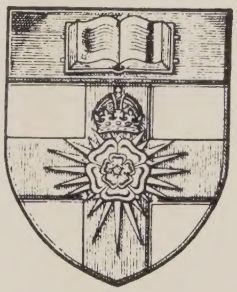
THIS BOOK
MUST NOT BE REMOVED
FROM THE LIBRARY

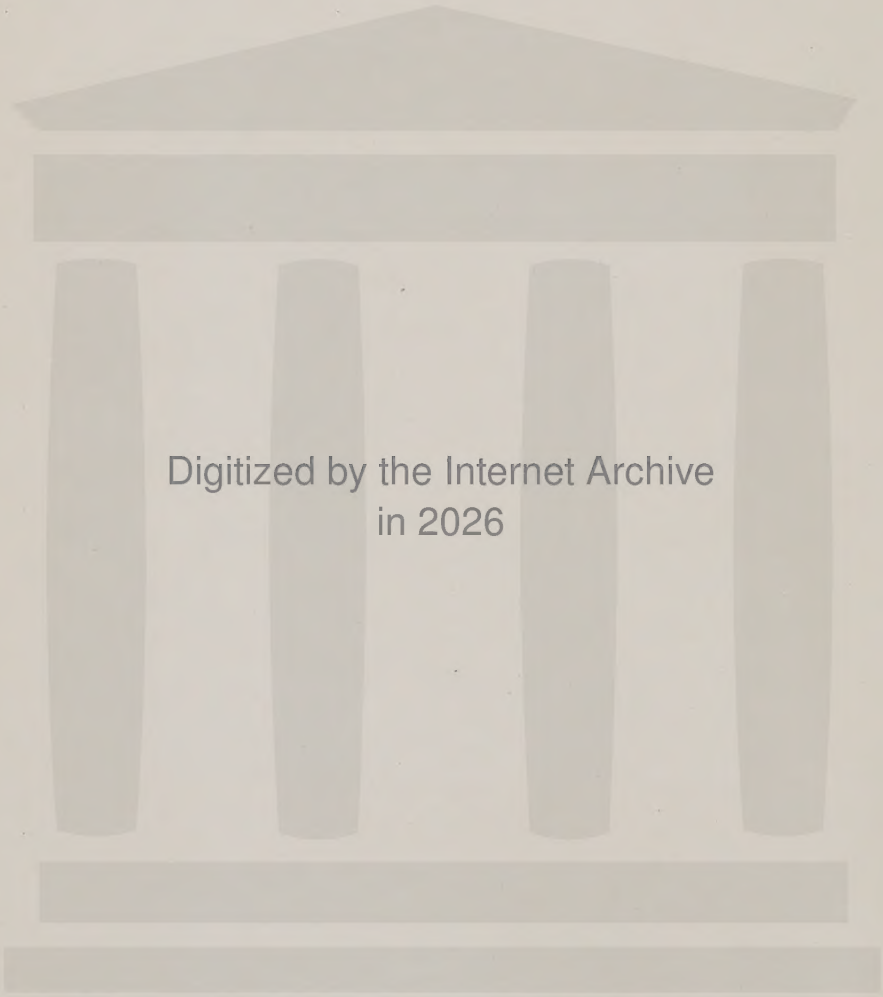
UNIVERSITY OF LONDON LIBRARY

REFERENCE ONLY

220.3
Mx. South Gallery.



UNIVERSITY OF LONDON
LIBRARY


Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2026

https://archive.org/details/dictionaryofbibl0004jame_w6f1

A

Dictionary of the Bible

Printed by MORRISON & GIBB LIMITED

FOR

T. & T. CLARK, EDINBURGH

LONDON: SIMPKIN, MARSHALL, HAMILTON, KENT, AND CO. LIMITED

NEW YORK: CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS

A

Dictionary of the Bible

DEALING WITH ITS

LANGUAGE, LITERATURE, AND CONTENTS

INCLUDING THE BIBLICAL THEOLOGY

EDITED BY

JAMES HASTINGS, M.A., D.D.

WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF

JOHN A. SELBIE, M.A., D.D.

AND, CHIEFLY IN THE REVISION OF THE PROOFS, OF

A. B. DAVIDSON, D.D., LL.D., Litt.D.
PROFESSOR OF HEBREW, NEW COLLEGE, EDINBURGH

S. R. DRIVER, D.D., Litt.D.
REGIUS PROFESSOR OF HEBREW, OXFORD

H. B. SWETE, D.D., Litt.D.
REGIUS PROFESSOR OF DIVINITY, CAMBRIDGE

VOLUME IV

PLEROMA–ZUZIM

EDINBURGH: T. & T. CLARK, 38 George Street

NEW YORK: CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS, 153–157 Fifth Avenue

SHL
WITHDRAWN

First Impression . . . . *April* 1902.
Second Impression . . . *July* 1902.
Third Impression . . . . *June* 1904.

[*The Rights of Translation and of Reproduction are Reserved.*]

BIBL. LONDIN. UNIV.

PREFACE

In issuing the last volume of the Dictionary of the Bible, the Editor desires to record his sense of the goodness of God in enabling him to carry it through to the end, and to beseech His blessing on the use of it, that His Name may be glorified. He desires also very heartily to thank all those who have been associated with him in its production. He thanks the Publishers for their confidence at the beginning, for the liberty they have left him, and for the perfect courtesy of all their intercourse with him. He thanks the Printers also, Messrs. Morrison & Gibb, and their employees, for their skilful workmanship and their patient personal interest. And he thanks all the Authors. Chosen because they were believed to be able to give the best account of the subjects entrusted to them, they have done their work in such a way as to vindicate their choice; while the relations between them and the Editor have been most agreeable throughout. He thanks them all, but especially those with whom he has been most closely associated in the oversight of the work—Dr. John A. Selbie, Dr. S. R. Driver, Dr. H. B. Swete, and Dr. W. Sanday. There is another, Dr. A. B. Davidson, but he has passed beyond the voice of earthly gratitude.

*** While this volume completes the Dictionary as announced, an Extra Volume is in preparation, to contain Indexes and certain subsidiary articles of importance.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

I. General

Alex. = Alexandrian.
Apoc. = Apocalypse.
Apocr. = Apocrypha.
Aq. = Aquila.
Arab. = Arabic.
Aram. = Aramaic.
Assyr. = Assyrian.
Bab. = Babylonian.
c. = *circa*, about.
Can. = Canaanite.
cf. = compare.
ct. = contrast.
D = Deuteronomist.
E = Elohist.
edd. = editions or editors.
Egyp. = Egyptian.
Eng. = English.
Eth. = Ethiopic.
f. = and following verse or page; as Ac 10^{34}f.
ff. = and following verses or pages; as Mt 11^{28}ff.
Gr. = Greek.
H = Law of Holiness.
Heb. = Hebrew.
Hel. = Hellenistic.
Hex. = Hexateuch.
Isr. = Israelite.
J = Jahwist.
J″ = Jehovah.
Jerus. = Jerusalem.
Jos. = Josephus.
LXX = Septuagint.
MSS = Manuscripts.
MT = Massoretic Text.
n. = note.
NT = New Testament.
Onk. = Onkelos.
OT = Old Testament.
P = Priestly Narrative.
Pal. = Palestine, Palestinian.
Pent. = Pentateuch.
Pers. = Persian.
Phil. = Philistine.
Phœn. = Phœnician.
Pr. Bk. = Prayer Book.
R = Redactor.
Rom. = Roman.
Sam. = Samaritan.
Sem. = Semitic.
Sept. = Septuagint.
Sin. = Sinaitic.
Symm. = Symmachus.
Syr. = Syriac.
Talm. = Talmud.
Targ. = Targum.
Theod. = Theodotion.
TR = Textus Receptus.
tr. = translate or translation.
VSS = Versions.
Vulg. = Vulgate.
WH = Westcott and Hort's text.

II. Books of the Bible

Old Testament.

Gn = Genesis.
Ex = Exodus.
Lv = Leviticus.
Nu = Numbers.
Dt = Deuteronomy.
Jos = Joshua.
Jg = Judges.
Ru = Ruth.
1 S, 2 S = 1 and 2 Samuel.
1 K, 2 K = 1 and 2 Kings.
1 Ch, 2 Ch = 1 and 2 Chronicles.
Ezr = Ezra.
Neh = Nehemiah.
Est = Esther.
Job.
Ps = Psalms.
Pr = Proverbs.
Ec = Ecclesiastes.
Ca = Canticles.
Is = Isaiah.
Jer = Jeremiah.
La = Lamentations.
Ezk = Ezekiel.
Dn = Daniel.
Hos = Hosea.
Jl = Joel.
Am = Amos.
Ob = Obadiah.
Jon = Jonah.
Mic = Micah.
Nah = Nahum.
Hab = Habakkuk.
Zeph = Zephaniah.
Hag = Haggai.
Zec = Zechariah.
Mal = Malachi.

Apocrypha.

1 Es, 2 Es = 1 and 2 Esdras.
To = Tobit.
Jth = Judith.
Ad. Est = Additions to Esther.
Wis = Wisdom.
Sir = Sirach or Ecclesiasticus.
Bar = Baruch.
Three = Song of the Three Children.
Sus = Susanna.
Bel = Bel and the Dragon.
Pr. Man = Prayer of Manasses.
1 Mac, 2 Mac = 1 and 2 Maccabees.

New Testament.

Mt = Matthew.
Mk = Mark.
Lk = Luke.
Jn = John.
Ac = Acts.
Ro = Romans.
1 Co, 2 Co = 1 and 2 Corinthians.
Gal = Galatians.
Eph = Ephesians.
Ph = Philippians.
Col = Colossians.
1 Th, 2 Th = 1 and 2 Thessalonians.
1 Ti, 2 Ti = 1 and 2 Timothy.
Tit = Titus.
Philem = Philemon.
He = Hebrews.
Ja = James.
1 P, 2 P = 1 and 2 Peter.
1 Jn, 2 Jn, 3 Jn = 1, 2, and 3 John.
Jude.
Rev = Revelation.

III. English Versions

Wyc. = Wyclif's Bible (NT *c.* 1380, OT *c.* 1382, Purvey's Revision *c.* 1388).
Tind. = Tindale's NT 1526 and 1534, Pent. 1530.
Cov. = Coverdale's Bible 1535.
Matt. or Rog. = Matthew's (*i.e.* prob. Rogers') Bible 1537.
Cran. or Great = Cranmer's 'Great' Bible 1539.
Tav. = Taverner's Bible 1539.
Gen. = Geneva NT 1557, Bible 1560.
Bish. = Bishops' Bible 1568.
Tom. = Tomson's NT 1576.
Rhem. = Rhemish NT 1582.
Dou. = Douay OT 1609.
AV = Authorized Version 1611.
AVm = Authorized Version margin.
RV = Revised Version NT 1881, OT 1885.
RVm = Revised Version margin.
EV = Auth. and Rev. Versions.

IV. For the Literature

AHT = Ancient Hebrew Tradition.
AJSL = American Journal of Sem. Lang. and Literature.
AJTh = American Journal of Theology.
AT = Altes Testament.
BL = Bampton Lecture.
BM = British Museum.
BRP = Biblical Researches in Palestine.
CIG = Corpus Inscriptionum Græcarum.
CIL = Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.
CIS = Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum.
COT = Cuneiform Inscriptions and the OT.
DB = Dictionary of the Bible.
EHH = Early History of the Hebrews.
GAP = Geographie des alten Palästina.
GGA = Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen.
GGN = Nachrichten der königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen.
GJV = Geschichte des Jüdischen Volkes.
GVI = Geschichte des Volkes Israel.
HCM = Higher Criticism and the Monuments.
HE = Historia Ecclesiastica.
HGHL = Historical Geog. of Holy Land.
HI = History of Israel.
HJP = History of the Jewish People.
HPM = History, Prophecy, and the Monuments.
HPN = Hebrew Proper Names.
IJG = Israelitische und Jüdische Geschichte.
JBL = Journal of Biblical Literature.
JDTh = Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie.
JQR = Jewish Quarterly Review.
JRAS = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
JRL = Jewish Religious Life after the Exile.
JThSt = Journal of Theological Studies.
KAT = Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Test.
KGF = Keilinschriften u. Geschichtsforschung.
KIB = Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek.
LCBl = Literarisches Centralblatt.
LOT = Introd. to the Literature of the Old Test.
NHWB = Neuhebräisches Wörterbuch.
NTZG = Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte.
ON = Otium Norvicense.
OP = Origin of the Psalter.
OTJC = The Old Test. in the Jewish Church.
PB = Polychrome Bible.
PEF = Palestine Exploration Fund.
PEFSt = Quarterly Statement of the same.
PSBA = Proceedings of Soc. of Bibl. Archæology.
PRE = Real-Encyclopädie für protest. Theologie und Kirche.
QPB = Queen's Printers' Bible.
RB = Revue Biblique.
REJ = Revue des Études Juives.
RP = Records of the Past.
RS = Religion of the Semites.
SBOT = Sacred Books of Old Test.
SK = Studien und Kritiken.
SP = Sinai and Palestine.
SWP = Memoirs of the Survey of W. Palestine.
ThL or *ThLZ* = Theol. Literaturzeitung.
ThT = Theol. Tijdschrift.
TS = Texts and Studies.
TSBA = Transactions of Soc. of Bibl. Archæology.
TU = Texte und Untersuchungen.
WAI = Western Asiatic Inscriptions.
WZKM = Wiener Zeitschrift für Kunde des Morgenlandes.
ZA = Zeitschrift für Assyriologie.
ZAW or *ZATW* = Zeitschrift für die Alttest. Wissenschaft.
ZDMG = Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.
ZDPV = Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins.
ZKSF = Zeitschrift für Keilschriftforschung.
ZKW = Zeitschrift für kirchliche Wissenschaft.
ZNTW = Zeitschrift für die Neutest. Wissenschaft.

A small superior number designates the particular edition of the work referred to, as KAT^2, LOT^6.

MAP IN VOLUME IV

Canaan as divided among the Twelve Tribes . . . *facing page* 1

AUTHORS OF ARTICLES IN VOL. IV

ISRAEL ABRAHAMS, M.A., Reader of Talmudic and Rabbinic Literature in the University of Cambridge, Editor of the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, and Senior Tutor of the Jews' College, London.

Rev. ALEXANDER ADAMSON, M.A., B.D., Dundee.

Rev. WALTER F. ADENEY, M.A., D.D., Professor of New Testament Exegesis in New College, London.

Ven. A. S. AGLEN, M.A., D.D., Archdeacon of St. Andrews.

W. BACHER, Ph.D., Professor in the Landes-Rabbinerschule, Budapest.

Rev. JOHN S. BANKS, Professor of Systematic Theology in the Headingley College, Leeds.

Rev. W. EMERY BARNES, M.A., D.D., Fellow of Peterhouse, and Hulsean Professor of Divinity, Cambridge.

JAMES VERNON BARTLET, M.A., Professor of Church History, Mansfield College, Oxford.

GRAF WILHELM VON BAUDISSIN, Professor of Theology in the University of Berlin.

Rev. LLEWELLYN J. M. BEBB, M.A., Principal of St. David's College, Lampeter; formerly Fellow and Tutor of Brasenose College, Oxford.

Rev. WILLIS JUDSON BEECHER, D.D., Professor of Hebrew Language and Literature in Auburn Theological Seminary, New York.

P. V. M. BENECKE, M.A., Fellow and Tutor of Magdalen College, Oxford.

Rev. WILLIAM HENRY BENNETT, M.A., Litt.D., D.D., Professor of Old Testament Exegesis in Hackney and New Colleges, London; sometime Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge.

Rev. EDWARD RUSSELL BERNARD, M.A., Chancellor and Canon of Salisbury Cathedral; formerly Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford.

Rev. JOHN HENRY BERNARD, D.D., Fellow of Trinity College, and Archbishop King's Lecturer in Divinity in the University of Dublin.

FREDERICK J. BLISS, B.A., Ph.D., Director of the Palestine Exploration Fund in Jerusalem.

Rev. W. ADAMS BROWN, M.A., Ph.D., Professor of Systematic Theology in Union Theological Seminary, New York.

K. BUDDE, Ph.D., D.D., Professor of Theology in the University of Marburg.

Rev. WILLIAM CARSLAW, M.A., M.D., of the Lebanon Schools, Beyrout, Syria.

Rev. ARTHUR THOMAS CHAPMAN, M.A., Fellow, Tutor, and Hebrew Lecturer, Emmanuel College, Cambridge.

Rev. ROBERT HENRY CHARLES, D.D., Professor of Biblical Greek in the University of Dublin.

Col. CLAUDE REIGNIER CONDER, R.E., D.C.L., LL.D., M.R.A.S.

Rev. G. A. COOKE, M.A., formerly Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford.

Rev. HENRY COWAN, M.A., D.D., Professor of Church History in the University of Aberdeen.

The late Rev. A. B. DAVIDSON, D.D., LL.D., Professor of Hebrew and Oriental Languages in New College, Edinburgh.

Rev. T. WITTON DAVIES, B.A., Ph.D., M.R.A.S., Professor of Hebrew and Old Testament Literature in the Baptist College, Bangor, and Lecturer in Semitic Languages in University College, Bangor.

Rev. W. T. DAVISON, M.A., D.D., Professor of Systematic Theology in the Handsworth Theological College, Birmingham.

Rev. JAMES DENNEY, M.A., D.D., Professor of Systematic Theology in the United Free Church College, Glasgow.

The late Rev. W. P. DICKSON, D.D., LL.D., Professor of Divinity in the University of Glasgow.

Rev. SAMUEL ROLLES DRIVER, D.D., Litt.D., Canon of Christ Church, and Regius Professor of Hebrew in the University of Oxford.

Rev. DAVID EATON, M.A., D.D., Glasgow.

Rev. WILLIAM EWING, M.A., Glasgow, formerly of Tiberias, Palestine.

Rev. GEORGE FERRIES, M.A., D.D., Cluny, Aberdeenshire.

Rev. ROBERT FLINT, D.D., LL.D., Professor of Divinity in the University of Edinburgh.

Rev. ALFRED ERNEST GARVIE, M.A., B.D., Montrose.

Rev. JOHN GIBB, M.A., D.D., Professor of New Testament Exegesis in Westminster College, Cambridge.

G. BUCHANAN GRAY, M.A., Professor of Hebrew in Mansfield College, Oxford.

Rev. ALEXANDER GRIEVE, M.A., Ph.D., Forfar.

FRANCIS LLEWELLYN GRIFFITH, M.A., F.S.A., Superintendent of the Archæological Survey of the Egypt Exploration Fund.

Rev. HENRY MELVILL GWATKIN, M.A., D.D., Fellow of Emmanuel College, and Dixie Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Cambridge.

Rev. G. HARFORD-BATTERSBY, M.A., Balliol College, Oxford; Vicar of Mossley Hill, Liverpool.

J. RENDEL HARRIS, M.A., Litt.D., Fellow and Librarian of Clare College, Cambridge.

Rev. ARTHUR CAYLEY HEADLAM, M.A., B.D., Rector of Welwyn, Herts; formerly Fellow of All Souls' College, Oxford.

EDWARD HULL, M.A., LL.D., F.R.S., F.R.G.S., late Director of the Geological Survey of Ireland, and Professor of Geology in the Royal College of Science, Dublin.

MONTAGUE RHODES JAMES, M.A., Litt.D., Fellow and Dean of King's College, and Director of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

Rev. ARCHIBALD R. S. KENNEDY, M.A., D.D., Professor of Hebrew and Semitic Languages in the University of Edinburgh.

Rev. H. A. A. KENNEDY, M.A., D.Sc., Callander.

FREDERIC G. KENYON, M.A., D.Litt., Ph.D., of the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum, late Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford.

EDUARD KÖNIG, Ph.D., D.D., Professor of Old Testament Exegesis in the University of Bonn.

Rev. JOHN LAIDLAW, M.A., D.D., Professor of Systematic Theology in the New College, Edinburgh.

Rev. WALTER LOCK, M.A., D.D., Warden of Keble College, and Dean Ireland's Professor of New Testament Exegesis in the University of Oxford.

ALEXANDER MACALISTER, LL.D., M.D., F.R.S., F.S.A., Fellow of St. John's College, and Professor of Anatomy in the University of Cambridge.

Rev. GEORGE M. MACKIE, M.A., D.D., Chaplain to the Church of Scotland at Beyrout, Syria.

Rev. J. A. M'CLYMONT, M.A., D.D., Aberdeen.

Rev. HUGH MACMILLAN, M.A., D.D., LL.D., Greenock.

The late Rev. JOHN MACPHERSON, M.A., Edinburgh.

Rev. D. S. MARGOLIOUTH, M.A., Fellow of New College, and Laudian Professor of Arabic in the University of Oxford.

Rev. JOHN TURNER MARSHALL, M.A., Principal of the Baptist College, Manchester.

Rev. ARTHUR JAMES MASON, M.A., D.D., Lady Margaret's Reader in Divinity in the University of Cambridge, and Canon of Canterbury.

JOHN MASSIE, M.A., Yates Professor of New Testament Exegesis in Mansfield College, Oxford; formerly Scholar of St. John's College, Cambridge.

Rev. SELAH MERRILL, D.D., LL.D., U.S. Consul at Jerusalem.

Rev. GEORGE MILLIGAN, M.A., B.D., Caputh, Perthshire.

Rev. WILLIAM MORGAN, M.A., Tarbolton.

Rev. R. WADDY MOSS, Professor of Classics in the Didsbury College, Manchester.

Rev. JAMES H. MOULTON, M.A., D.Litt., Senior Classical Master in the Leys School, Cambridge.

W. MAX MÜLLER, Ph.D., LL.D., Professor of Old Testament Literature in the Reformed Episcopal Church Seminary, Philadelphia.

EBERHARD NESTLE, Ph.D., D.D., Professor at Maulbronn.

Rev. THOMAS NICOL, M.A., D.D., Professor of Divinity and Biblical Criticism in the University of Aberdeen.

W. NOWACK, Ph.D., Professor of Theology in the University of Strassburg.

Rev. WILLIAM P. PATERSON, M.A., D.D., Professor of Systematic Theology in the University of Aberdeen.

Rev. JAMES PATRICK, M.A., B.D., B.Sc., Examiner for Degrees in Divinity in the University of St. Andrews.

Rev. JOHN PATRICK, M.A., D.D., Professor of Biblical Criticism and Biblical Antiquities in the University of Edinburgh.

ARTHUR S. PEAKE, M.A., Professor in the Primitive Methodist College, Manchester, and Lecturer in Lancashire Independent College; sometime Fellow of Merton and Lecturer in Mansfield College, Oxford.

WILLIAM FLINDERS PETRIE, M.A., D.C.L., Professor of Egyptology in University College, London.

THEOPHILUS GOLDRIDGE PINCHES, LL.D., M.R.A.S., London.

Rev. ALFRED PLUMMER, M.A., D.D., Master of University College, Durham.

Rev. FRANK CHAMBERLIN PORTER, M.A., Ph.D., D.D., Professor of Biblical Theology in the Divinity School of Yale University, New Haven.

Rev. HARVEY PORTER, B.A., Ph.D., Professor in the American College, Beyrout, Syria.

Rev. GEORGE POST, M.D., F.L.S., Professor in the American College, Beyrout, Syria.

IRA MAURICE PRICE, M.A., B.D., Ph.D., Professor of Semitic Languages and Literatures in the University of Chicago.

Rev. CYRIL HENRY PRICHARD, M.A., late Classical Scholar of Magdalene College, Cambridge, and Lecturer at St. Olave's, Southwark.

The late Rev. GEORGE T. PURVES, D.D., LL.D., Professor of New Testament Literature and Exegesis in Princeton Theological Seminary, New Jersey.

WILLIAM M. RAMSAY, D.C.L., LL.D., Litt.D., Professor of Humanity in the University of Aberdeen, Honorary Fellow of Exeter and Lincoln Colleges, Oxford.

Rev. HENRY A. REDPATH, M.A., Rector of St. Dunstan's in the East, London.

Rev. FREDERICK RELTON, A.K.C., Vicar of St. Andrew's, Stoke Newington, London.

Rev. ARCHIBALD ROBERTSON, M.A., D.D., LL.D., Principal of King's College, London, late Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford.

J. W. ROTHSTEIN, Ph.D., D.D., Professor of Theology in the University of Halle.

Rev. STEWART DINGWALL FORDYCE SALMOND, M.A., D.D., F.E.I.S., Principal and Professor of Systematic Theology in the United Free Church College, Aberdeen.

Rev. WILLIAM SANDAY, M.A., D.D., LL.D., Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity, and Canon of Christ Church, Oxford.

Rev. ARCHIBALD HENRY SAYCE, M.A., LL.D., Fellow of Queen's College, and Professor of Assyriology in the University of Oxford.

Rev. JOHN A. SELBIE, M.A., D.D., Maryculter, Kincardineshire.

C. SIEGFRIED, Ph.D., Geh. Kirchenrath and Professor of Theology in the University of Jena.

Rev. JOHN SKINNER, M.A., D.D., Professor of Hebrew and Old Testament Exegesis in Westminster College, Cambridge.

Rev. GEORGE ADAM SMITH, M.A., D.D., LL.D., Professor of Hebrew in the United Free Church College, Glasgow.

Rev. VINCENT HENRY STANTON, M.A., D.D., Fellow of Trinity College, and Ely Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge.

JOHN F. STENNING, M.A., Fellow and Lecturer in Hebrew and Theology, Wadham College, Oxford.

Rev. GEORGE BARKER STEVENS, Ph.D., D.D., Dwight Professor of Systematic Theology in Yale University.

Rev. W. B. STEVENSON, M.A., B.D., Professor of Hebrew and Old Testament Introduction in the Theological College, Bala.

ST. GEORGE STOCK, M.A., Pembroke College, Oxford.

Rev. JAMES STRACHAN, M.A., St. Fergus.

HERMANN L. STRACK, Ph.D., D.D., Professor of Theology in the University of Berlin.

Rev. JOHN TAYLOR, M.A., Litt.D., Vicar of Winchcombe.

HENRY ST. JOHN THACKERAY, M.A., Examiner in the Board of Education, formerly Divinity Lecturer in Selwyn College, Cambridge.

Rev. THOMAS WALKER, M.A., Professor of Hebrew in the Assembly's College, Belfast.

Rev. B. B. WARFIELD, M.A., D.D., Professor of Theology in Princeton University.

Lieut.-General Sir CHARLES WARREN, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., F.R.S., Royal Engineers.

Rev. ADAM C. WELCH, M.A., B.D., Glasgow.

The late Rev. HENRY ALCOCK WHITE, M.A., Tutor in the University of Durham, and formerly Fellow of New College, Oxford.

Rev. H. J. WHITE, M.A., Fellow and Chaplain of Merton College, Oxford.

Rev. NEWPORT J. D. WHITE, M.A., B.D., Librarian of Archbishop Marsh's Library, and Assistant Lecturer in Divinity and Hebrew in the University of Dublin.

Rev. OWEN C. WHITEHOUSE, M.A., D.D., Principal and Professor of Biblical Exegesis and Theology in Cheshunt College.

Rev. A. LUKYN WILLIAMS, M.A., Vicar of Guilden Morden and Examining Chaplain to the Bishop of Durham.

Lieut.-General Sir CHARLES WILLIAM WILSON, R.E., K.C.B., K.C.M.G., D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.S.

Rev. FRANCIS HENRY WOODS, M.A., B.D., Vicar of Chalfont St. Peter, and late Fellow and Theological Lecturer of St. John's College, Oxford.

Rev. JOHN WORTABET, M.A., M.D., Beyrout, Syria.

CANAAN
as divided among
THE TWELVE TRIBES
English Miles
0 5 10 20
SYRIA
DAMASCUS
Sidon
Zarephath
Type & (Zor)
Acco
Joppa
Ashkelon
Gaza
Geraar
Beersheba
Rehoboth
Hezron
Arad
Aroer
Kir Moab
Bozrah
Tophel
Dibon
Jahaz
Heshbon
Rabbath Ammon
Mizpeh
Ramah Mizpeh
Edrei
Ashtaroth Karnaim
Golan
Aphek
Succoth
Penuel
Mahanaim?
Jabesh Gilead
Beth-shean
Megiddo
Dor
Rakkon
Ashdod
Ekron
Gath
Lydda
Ono
Aijalon
Gibeon
Jericho
Gilgal
Ai
Bethel
Ophrah
Shiloh
Shechem
Tirzah
Thebez
Bezek
Jabbok
Jordan
Dead Sea
Sea of Chinnereth
Waters of Merom
Hazor
Kedesh Naphtali
Beth-anath
Abel-meholah
Zaphon
Succoth
Penuel
Jogbehah
Nebo
Pisgah
Medeba
Beth-Jeshimoth
Abel-shittim
Beth-nimrah
Beth-haran
Bamoth-Baal
Baal-meon
Kiriathaim
Aroer
Ar Moab (Rabbath Moab)
Zered
Arnon
Ammon
Gilead
Bashan
Argob
Havoth Jair
Haurân
Golan
Manasseh
Naphtali
Asher
Zebulon
Issachar
Dan
Gad
Reuben
Judah
Simeon
Ephraim
Benjamin
Jerusalem
Land of Tob
Geshurites
Maachathites
Canaanites
Hittites
Perizzites
Amorites
Philistines
Edom
The Negeb
Wilderness of Judea
Wilderness of Zin
Salt Sea
Sea of the Plain
Great Sea (Mediterranean)
Plain of Sharon
Plain of Esdraelon
Mount Ephraim
Mount Lebanon
Anti Lebanon
Mount Hermon
R. Leontes
R. Jordan
R. Abana
R. Pharpar
R. Besor
Brook Kanah
Ascalon
Ziklag
Hormah (Zephath)
Arad
Moladah
Kadesh
Tekoa
Hebron
Bethlehem
Kirjath-sepher (Debir)
Anab
Eshtemoa
Maon
Carmel
Juttah
Socoh
Jattir
Anim
Keilah
Adullam
Libnah
Lachish
Eglon
Beth-tappuah
Aphek
Shunem
Jezreel
Megiddo
Taanach
Ibleam
Dothan
Jokneam
Kishon
Mt Carmel
Plain of Esdraelon
Harosheth
Hazor
Kedesh
Iron
Ahlab
Ramah
Hukkok
Helkath
Achshaph
Rimmon
Nahallal
Bethlehem
Abez
Shihor-libnath
Dabbesheth
Jabneel
Chesulloth
Endor
Tabor
Shamir
Adami
Rakkath
Ziddim
Hammon
Hammath
Mishal
Abdon
Ummah
Rehob
Hosah
Migdal-el
Beth-dagon
Jarmuth
Adullam
Socoh
Azekah
Shaalabbin
Aijalon
Gibeah
Ramah
Mizpah
Chephirah
Zorah
Eshtaol
Timnah
Ekron
Jabneel
Gath-rimmon
Taanach
Megiddo
Ibleam
Gath-hepher
Kattath
Nazareth
Rimmon
Ain
Rimmon
Gezer
Makkedah
Libnah
Timnah
Zanoah
Jarmuth
Shochoh
Azekah
Beth-shemesh
Aijalon
Zorah
Eshtaol
Mahaneh-dan
Kirjath-jearim
Chesalon
Beth-horon
Gibeon
Mizpah
Ramah
Gibeah
Almon
Anathoth
Geba
Michmash
Michmethah
Shiloh
Shalim
Shilhah
Ophrah
Beeroth
Chephirah
Kirjath-jearim
Beth-arabah
Jericho
Gilgal
Abel-shittim
Beth-hoglah
Almon
Anathoth
Nob
Mt Olivet
Jerusalem
Bethlehem
Rachel's Tomb
Stone of Bohan
Middin
Tekoa
Beth-zur
Halhul
Beth-anoth
Hebron
Jattir
Anim
Eshtemoa
Maon
Carmel
Ziph
Jezreel
Jokdeam
Ain
En-gedi
Zanoah
Jarmuth
Socoh
Azekah
Adullam
Libnah
Lachish
Eglon
Gezer
Makkedah
Beth-dagon
Lydda
Ono
Gath
Joppa
Ashdod
Ekron
Gaza
Geraar
Beersheba
Rehoboth
Ziklag
Hormah (Zephath)
Hezron
Aroer
Moladah
Kadesh
Arad
Kir Moab
Bozrah
Tophel
Dibon
Jahaz
Heshbon
Rabbath Ammon
Mizpeh
Ramah Mizpeh
Edrei
Ashtaroth Karnaim
Golan
Aphek
Succoth
Penuel
Jogbehah
Nebo
Pisgah
Medeba
Beth-Jeshimoth
Abel-shittim
Beth-nimrah
Beth-haran
Bamoth-Baal
Baal-meon
Kiriathaim
Aroer
Ar Moab (Rabbath Moab)
Zered
Arnon
Ammon
Gilead
Bashan
Argob
Havoth Jair
Haurân
Golan
Manasseh
Naphtali
Asher
Zebulon
Issachar
Dan
Gad
Reuben
Judah
Simeon
Ephraim
Benjamin
Jerusalem
Land of Tob
Geshurites
Maachathites
Canaanites
Hittites
Perizzites
Amorites
Philistines
Edom
The Negeb
Wilderness of Judea
Wilderness of Zin
Salt Sea
Sea of the Plain
Great Sea (Mediterranean)
Plain of Sharon
Plain of Esdraelon
Mount Ephraim
Mount Lebanon
Anti Lebanon
Mount Hermon
R. Leontes
R. Jordan
R. Abana
R. Pharpar
R. Besor
Brook Kanah
Ascalon
Ziklag
Hormah (Zephath)
Arad
Moladah
Kadesh
Tekoa
Hebron
Bethlehem
Kirjath-sepher (Debir)
Anab
Eshtemoa
Maon
Carmel
Juttah
Socoh
Jattir
Anim
Keilah
Adullam
Libnah
Lachish
Eglon
Beth-tappuah
Aphek
Shunem
Jezreel
Megiddo
Taanach
Ibleam
Dothan
Jokneam
Kishon
Mt Carmel
Plain of Esdraelon
Harosheth
Hazor
Kedesh
Iron
Ahlab
Ramah
Hukkok
Helkath
Achshaph
Rimmon
Nahallal
Bethlehem
Abez
Shihor-libnath
Dabbesheth
Jabneel
Chesulloth
Endor
Tabor
Shamir
Adami
Rakkath
Ziddim
Hammon
Hammath
Mishal
Abdon
Ummah
Rehob
Hosah
Migdal-el
Beth-dagon
Jarmuth
Adullam
Socoh
Azekah
Shaalabbin
Aijalon
Gibeon
Jericho
Gilgal
Ai
Bethel
Ophrah
Shiloh
Shechem
Tirzah
Thebez
Bezek
Jabbok
Jordan
Dead Sea
Sea of Chinnereth
Waters of Merom
Hazor
Kedesh Naphtali
Beth-anath
Abel-meholah
Zaphon

DICTIONARY OF THE BIBLE

PLEROMA (πλήρωμα; Lat. *plenitudo, supplementum, pleroma*; AV and RV 'fulness').—A word of common Greek usage, which is raised to a semi-technical meaning in relation to God in certain books of the NT connected with Asia Minor (Ephesians, Colossians, John (prol.)). This meaning may have been given to it first by St. Paul; but his absolute use of it in Col 1^{19}, without any explanation added, suggests that it was already in use among the false teachers against whom he is writing. Lightfoot conjectures that it had a Palestinian origin, representing the Hebrew מלא.

The word itself is a relative term, capable of many shades of meaning, according to the subject with which it is joined and the antithesis to which it is contrasted. It denotes the result of the action of the verb πληροῦν; but πληροῦν is either (*a*) to fill up an empty thing (*e.g.* Mt 13^{48}), or (*b*) to complete an incomplete thing (*e.g.* Mt 5^{17}); and the verbal substantive in *-μα* may express either (1) the objective accusative after the verb, 'the thing filled or completed,' or (2) the cognate accusative, 'the state of fulness or completion, the fulfilment, the full amount,' resulting from the action of the verb (Ro 11^{12} 13^{10} 15^{29}, 1 Co 10^{26}). It may emphasize totality in contrast to its constituent parts; or fulness in contrast to emptiness (κένωμα); or completeness in contrast to incompleteness or deficiency (ὑστέρημα Col 1^{24}, 2 Co 11^{9}, ἥττημα Ro 11^{12}). A further ambiguity arises when it is joined with a genitive, which may be either subjective or objective, the fulness which one thing gives to another, or that which it receives from another.

In its semi-technical application it is applied primarily to the perfection of God, the fulness of His Being, 'the aggregate of the Divine attributes, virtues, energies'; this is used quite absolutely in Col 1^{19} (ἐν αὐτῷ εὐδόκησεν πᾶν τὸ πλήρωμα κατοικῆσαι), but further defined (1) as πᾶν τὸ πλήρωμα τῆς θεότητος, 'the whole completeness of the Divine nature,' in Col 2^{9}, (2) as πᾶν τὸ πλήρωμα τοῦ θεοῦ, 'the whole (moral) perfection which is characteristic of God,' in Eph 3^{19}. Secondarily, this same πλήρωμα is transferred to Christ; it was embodied permanently in Him at the Incarnation (Col 1^{19}); it still dwells permanently in His glorified Body, ἐν αὐτῷ κατοικεῖ σωματικῶς (Col 2^{9}); it is τὸ πλήρωμα τοῦ χριστοῦ (Eph 4^{13}), the complete, moral, and intellectual perfection to which Christians aspire and with which they are filled (Eph 4^{13}, Col 2^{9} ἐστὲ ἐν αὐτῷ πεπληρωμένοι. Cf. Jn 1^{16} ἐκ τοῦ πληρώματος αὐτοῦ ἡμεῖς πάντες ἐλάβομεν, where πλήρωμα is the state of Him who is πλήρης χάριτος καὶ ἀληθείας, 1^{14}, cf. Lk 2^{40} πληρούμενον σοφίας). This indwelling emphasizes the completeness with which the Son represents the Father; it is the fulness of life which makes Him the representative, without other intermediary agencies, and ruler of the whole universe; and it is the fulness of moral and intellectual perfection which is communicable through Him to man; it is consistent with a gradual growth of human faculties (Lk 2^{40}), therefore with the phrase ἑαυτὸν ἐκένωσεν of Ph 2^{7}, which is perhaps intended as a deliberate contrast to it [KENOSIS]. One further application of the phrase is made in Eph 1^{23}, where it is used of the Church, τὸ πλήρωμα τοῦ τὰ πάντα ἐν πᾶσιν πληρουμένου. Here the genitive is perhaps subjective—the fulness of Christ, His full embodiment, that fulness which He supplies to the Church—emphasizing the thoroughness with which the Church is the receptacle of His powers and represents Him on earth. The analogy of the other uses of the word with the genitive of the person (Eph 3^{19} 4^{13}), and the stress throughout these books on Christians being filled by Christ (Eph 3^{19} 4^{13} 5^{18}, Col 1^{9} 2^{10} 4^{12}, Jn 1^{16} 3^{34}), favours this view. But the genitive may be objective, 'the complement of Christ,' that which completes Him, which fills up by its activities the work which His withdrawal to heaven would have left undone, as the body completes the head. The analogy of the body, the stress laid on the action of the Church (Eph $3^{10.\ 21}$), St. Paul's language about himself in Col 1^{24} (ἀνταναπληρῶ τὰ ὑστερήματα τῶν θλίψεων τοῦ χριστοῦ), support this, and it is impossible to decide between the two. The former view has been most common since the thorough examination of the word by Fritzsche (*Rom.* ii. pp. 469 ff.) and Lightfoot (*Col. ad loc.* and Additional Note), and is still taken by von Soden (*Hand-Comm. ad loc.*) and Macpherson (*Expositor*, 1890, pp. 462–472). But the latter view, which was that of Origen and Chrysostom, has been strongly advocated of late by Pfleiderer (*Paulinism*, ii. p. 172), T. K. Abbott (*International Critical Comm. ad loc.*), and most fully J. A. Robinson (*Expositor*, 1898, pp. 241–259).

Outside the NT the word occurs in Ignatius in a sense which is clearly influenced by the NT, and apparently in the meaning of the Divine fulness, as going forth and blessing and residing in the Church (*Eph.* Inscr. τῇ εὐλογημένῃ ἐν μεγέθει θεοῦ πατρὸς πληρώματι, and *Trall.* Inscr. ἣν καὶ ἀσπάζομαι ἐν τῷ πληρώματι, almost = ἐν Χριστῷ [but see Lightfoot, *ad loc.*]).

In Gnosticism the use becomes yet more stereotyped and technical, though its applications are still very variable. The Gnostic writers appeal to the use in the NT (*e.g.* Iren. I. iii. 4), and the word

retains from it the sense of totality in contrast to the constituent parts; but the chief associations of πλήρωμα in their systems are with Greek philosophy, and the main thought is that of a state of completeness in contrast to deficiency (ὑστέρημα, Iren. I. xvi. 3; Hippol. vi. 31), or of the fulness of real existence in contrast to the empty void and unreality of mere phenomena (κένωμα, Iren. I. iv. 1). Thus in Cerinthus it expressed the fulness of the Divine Life out of which the Divine Christ descended upon the man Jesus at his baptism, and into which He returned (Iren. I. xxvi. 1, III. xi. 1, xvi. 1). In the Valentinian system it stands in antithesis to the essential incomprehensible Godhead, as 'the circle of the Divine attributes,' the various means by which God reveals Himself: it is the totality of the thirty æons or emanations which proceed from God, but are separated alike from Him and from the material universe. It is at times almost localized, so that a thing is spoken of as 'within,' 'without,' 'above,' 'below' the Pleroma: more often it is the spirit-world, the archetypal ideal existing in the invisible heavens in contrast to the imperfect phenomenal manifestations of that ideal in the universe. Thus 'the whole Pleroma of the æons' contributes each its own excellence to the historic Jesus, and He appears on earth 'as the perfect beauty and star of the Pleroma' (τελειότατον κάλλος καὶ ἄστρον τοῦ πληρώματος, Iren. I. xi. 6). Again, each separate æon is called a πλήρωμα in contrast to its earthly imperfect counterpart, so that in this sense the plural can be used, πληρώματα (Iren. I. xiv. 2); and even each individual has his or her Pleroma or spiritual counterpart (τὸ πλήρωμα αὐτῆς of the Samaritan woman,—Heracleon, *ap.* Origen, xiii. p. 205; *ap.* Stieren's *Irenæus*, p. 950). Similarly it was used by Ophite writers as equivalent to the full completeness of perfect knowledge (*Pistis Sophia*, p. 15). It thus expressed the various thoughts which we should express by the Godhead, the ideal, heaven; and it is probably owing to this ambiguity, as well as to its heretical associations, that the word dropped out of Christian theology. It is still used in its ordinary untechnical meaning, *e.g.* Theophylact (p. 530) speaks of the Trinity as πλήρωμα τοῦ θεοῦ; but no use so technical as that in Ignatius reappears.

For fuller details cf. Suicer's *Thesaurus*, *s.v.*; Lightfoot, *Col.* ('Colossian Heresy' and Additional Note); Smith's *Dict. Christ. Biogr. s.vv.* 'Gnosticism,' 'Valentinus'; *Cambridge Texts and Studies*, i. 4, p. 105. W. LOCK.

PLOUGH, PLOUGHSHARE.—See AGRICULTURE in vol. i. p. 49.

PLUMBLINE, PLUMMET.—A line or cord with a heavy weight attached, used by masons when erecting a building, to ascertain if the walls are perpendicular. The plumbline used by the Syrian masons is a cord passing freely through a hole in the centre of a cylindrical piece of wood about 3 in. long; at one end of the cord is a hollow cone of copper filled with lead. The cord is fastened to a ring inserted into the centre of the base of the cone-shaped plummet, the diameter of the base being the same as the length of the cylinder of wood. One end of the piece of wood is applied to the face of the wall, and the plummet is allowed to descend slowly. If the rim of the base just touches the surface of the stones the wall is perpendicular. Several Heb. words are rendered plummet or plumbline. **1.** אֶבֶן, literally, a stone, probably showing that the original plummet was a suspended stone, Is 34[11]. In Zec 4[10] the expression אֶבֶן הַבְּדִיל (see Nowack, *ad loc.*), a stone of tin, a plummet, is used. **2.** אֲנָךְ Am 7[7-8]. The etymology of this word is doubtful. There are similar words in cognate languages for 'lead,' 'tin' (cf. *Oxf. Heb. Lex. s.v.*). **3.** קִשְׂקֶלֶת in 2 K 21[13], קַשְׂקֶלֶת Is 28[17], a weight. In all the Scripture references to 'plummet' or 'plumb-line,' the term is used metaphorically, *e.g.* in Am 7[8], where J" is to set a plummet in the very midst of His people (*i.e.* apply to it a crucial moral test), and whatever does not conform to its standard will be destroyed (Driver, *ad loc.*).

W. CARSLAW.

POCHERETH - HAZZEBAIM. — Amongst the 'children of Solomon's servants' who returned with Zerubbabel are mentioned the בְּנֵי פֹכֶרֶת הַצְּבָיִם, Ezr 2[57]=Neh 7[59] (בְּנֵי פ' הַצְּבָיִים). The LXX, misunderstanding the passage, divides into two proper names (in Ezr B υἱοὶ Φασρὰθ, υἱοὶ Ἀσεβωείν, A Φακερὰθ, Ἀσεβωείμ; in Neh B υἱοὶ Φακαράθ, υἱοὶ Σαβαείμ, A . . . Φαχαράθ . . .). In 1 Es 5[34] the LXX has υἱοὶ Φακαρὲθ Σαβ(ε)ίη. See PHACARETH. The Heb. *pochereth-hazzebaim* means 'hunter of gazelles.'

J. A. SELBIE.

POET.—Only Ac 17[28] 'As certain even of your own poets have said, For we are also his offspring.' By 'your own poets' (οἱ καθ' ὑμᾶς [WH marg. ἡμᾶς after B, 33 etc., Copt.] ποιηταί) Lightfoot thinks St. Paul meant poets belonging to the same school as his Stoic audience (*Dissertations on Apost. Age*, p. 288 f.). The words have been traced to Cleanthes' *Hymn to Zeus*, 5, where we read, 'For Thine offspring are we (ἐκ σοῦ γὰρ γένος ἐσμέν), therefore will I hymn Thy praises and sing Thy might forever. Thee all this universe which rolls about the earth obeys, wheresoever Thou dost guide it, and gladly owns Thy sway.' Than in this 'sublime hymn,' says Lightfoot (*Dissert.* p. 306), 'heathen devotion seldom or never soars higher.' Cleanthes belongs to the 4th cent. B.C. The exact words of St. Paul's quotation (τοῦ γὰρ καὶ γένος ἐσμέν) have been found in another Stoic's writings, the *Phænomena* of Aratus of Soli (of the 3rd cent. B.C.), and the form of the apostle's expression, '*some* of your own poets,' may mean that he knew the words to be found in more than one poet.

In 1 Co 15[33] and Tit 1[12] quotations have been discovered from other Greek poets, but they partake rather more of the character of common proverbs than the quotation from Cleanthes or Aratus. The first (φθείρουσιν ἤθη χρήσθ' ὁμιλίαι κακαί) has been traced to the *Thais* of Menander, a comic poet of the 3rd cent. B.C. The line is iambic trimeter, and the form χρήσθ' of the TR is necessary for the scansion; χρηστά is, however, the form in almost all MSS, and adopted by almost all editors, so that the feeling for the metre of the line was not present when the apostle wrote. The second (Κρῆτες ἀεὶ ψεῦσται, κακὰ θηρία, γαστέρες ἀργαί) is a complete hexameter verse, and comes from the Περὶ χρησμῶν of Epimenides, who lived about B.C. 600. It is also found in the *Hymn to Zeus* of Callimachus.

These fragments of Greek verse exhaust the poetry (if the word is to be used in its usual connotation) of the NT. It is extremely probable, however, that many of our Lord's sayings were cast in the forms of Hebrew poetry. See the articles by Briggs on 'The Wisdom of Jesus the Messiah' in the *Expos. Times*, vol. viii. (1897) pp. 393 ff., 452 ff., 492 ff., vol. ix. (1898) 69 ff., and less fully in his *Study of Holy Scripture* (1899), p. 373 ff. J. HASTINGS.

POETRY (HEBREW).—

Introduction.
i. The Form of Heb. poetry.
A. Poems written in Prose.
B. Poems written in Verse.
1. The External evidence.

2. The rules for the form of Heb. poetry: (*a*) the line; (*b*) the verse; (*c*) parallelism; (*d*) metre: the *kinah* and other kinds of verse; (*e*) the scale for the lines; (*f*) strophes; (*g*) subordinate matters of form.

ii. The Material of Heb. poetry.
- *A*. The different species of poetry.
- *B*. The employment of poetry.
  1. Folk-poetry: (*a*) in family life; (*b*) in the life of the community; (*c*) in the religious life; (*d*) in the national life.
  2. The poetry of the Prophets.
  3. Artistic poetry.

Poems are works of art, whose substratum is supplied by human speech. Since they make their impression only through oral utterance, which from its very nature dies away, they require for their perpetuation—differing in this from the works of plastic art—the medium of writing. By the signs of the latter they can afterwards be reproduced with more or less fidelity, in proportion to the sufficiency of the system of writing and the state of preservation of the script in which it has reached us. Like every work of art, the poem has for its chief source the creative imagination of its author; in every instance a strong element of invention enters into its construction. Its aim is æsthetic enjoyment, it seeks to work upon the senses, the emotions, the imagination, of the hearer. An ulterior purpose, namely, to influence directly the will and conduct of those who happen to make acquaintance with the poem, is, strictly speaking, outside the scope of poetry, as of art in general. But although a discourse whose interest is judicial, political, or social, has certainly, in spite of all the rhetorical art expended upon it, no claim to be called a poem, yet the border-line is a shifting one. There are edifying, didactic, political compositions, which in spite of their underlying 'tendency' do not cease to be poems in the fullest sense, while the claim of others to this title may be disputed.

The aim of poetry may be reached without the employment of special, external, palpable means such as distinguish the language of poetry from that of daily use. There are poems free from the trammels of verse, composed in simple prose, nay, in recent times the employment of the prose form in poetry is more common than that of verse. This is the case above all with the drama, and in the next place with the epos in the form of the novel; it is only for lyric poetry that the use of the prose form constitutes a great exception.* In ancient times the employment of verse was the rule for every species of poetry; where the prose form prevails, it will generally be found to be in compositions which lie upon the dubious border-line referred to above.

The question *whether poetry has a place in the Holy Scriptures* could be raised as long as men held fast to the strict verbal inspiration doctrine. From that standpoint the admixture of so strongly human and subjective an element might appear to contradict the purely Divine and objective origin of the words of the Bible. Better knowledge now teaches us that no device of human language is to be declared incapable of employment in Scripture. Yet poetry will not be the rule there, for neither of the two collections of books that make up the Bible is arranged from the point of view of art, but from that of religious value; they are collections not of national *belles lettres* but of Sacred Writings. At the same time, however, *the Old Testament* embraces all that has come down to us of the literature of the people of Israel in its early days, so that for our knowledge of the poetry and the poetical art of the ancient Hebrews we have to turn solely to this collection of their Sacred Writings.

* Cf. *e.g.* Hardenberg (Novalis), *Hymnen an die Nacht.*

i. The Form of Hebrew Poetry.—*A. Poems written in Prose.*—Prose-poems are not absent from the OT, yet the border-lines for their recognition are hard to draw. If all fiction could be called poetry, then the tale of the woman of Tekoa (2 S 14^{5-7}) would have to be included in this category, and still more the story told by the prophet Nathan (2 S 12^{1-4}). But in both these narratives we have simply rhetorical artifices, both give themselves out in the first instance as bare statements of actual occurrences. It is otherwise with Jotham's fable (Jg $9^{8ff.}$), which presents itself within the framework of his address as a didactic composition, and is to be placed on the same plane as the parables of Jesus in the New Testament. The Books of Jonah, Ruth, Esther, and the Daniel narratives in Dn 1–6, are regarded by modern OT science as products of Jewish novel-writing, of which further instances, outside the Canon, have come down to us in the Books of Judith, Tobit, 2 Maccabees, etc.* But their quality as poetry stands and falls with the verdict reached by criticism, for, the moment their contents are declared to be historical, they lose all claim to this title. In any case, it is to be observed that these prose-poems one and all belong to a late period; but, on the other hand, the prologue and the epilogue of the Book of Job, which in contradistinction from the speeches in chs. 3–41 are composed in prose, show that the date alone does not decide the procedure in this matter. The reason for this difference of form will have to be examined below (see pp. 9^{b} and 10^{a}).

B. Poems written in Verse.—1. *The External Evidence.*—Far more prominent are the poems composed in verse, and of these alone we mean to speak in what follows. That the ancient Hebrews possessed and consciously employed in poetry prescribed poetical forms constructed for that special purpose, may be proved with certainty from the OT itself. The evidence is found first of all in the peculiar expressions used to designate poetry, the poet and his activity (cf. especially the roots מָשַׁל and שִׁיר), in the application of these peculiar terms to certain compositions (cf. the numerous introductions and superscriptions, such as Ex 15^{1}, Jg 5^{1}, Nu $21^{17.\ 27}$), in the statement that certain passages were recited to the accompaniment of music, and sometimes of dancing, *e.g.* Ex 15^{20}, 1 S 18^{6}; cf. also many of the titles of the Psalms. We are carried a point beyond this by the alphabetical poems, in which equal poetical units are clearly separated from one another through their initial letters being arranged so as to form the Heb. alphabet. Most important are Pss 111 and 112, in which each several line bears a new letter, and next to these are to be reckoned those poems in which, like Pss 25. 34. 145, Pr 31^{10-31}, a letter is given to each verse. The Synagogue tradition (*Shabbath* 103*b*, *Sopherim*, ch. 12; cf. Strack, *Prolegom. crit. in Vet. Test. Heb.* p. 80) at least testifies to and enjoins the writing in distinct lines of the songs Ex 15, Dt 32, Jg 5, 2 S 22, no doubt because these are called 'songs' in the titles they bear. But this is to recognize expressly the poetical form of these passages.

2. *The rules for the form of Heb. poetry.*—**a. The line.**—Far more uncertain than the fact that the Hebrews possessed a form of composition specially devised for use in poetry is the question as to the rules of this form, or, in other words, as to the metrical system of the ancient Hebrews. On this subject there is no tradition worthy of the name, rather must the laws of Heb. metre be deduced from the poems themselves. Fortunately,

* Cf. C. A. Briggs (*General Introd. to Study of Holy Scripture*, New York, 1899, p. 341 ff.), who calls these books 'prose works of the imagination.'

there are two factors that from the first stand out as indubitably established. The first of these is the *line* (στίχος), externally authenticated, as has just been said, by Pss 111 and 112, as well as by the circumstance that in the MSS some poems are written stichically, and latterly also by the newly discovered fragments of the Heb. Sirach, which are likewise written in *stichoi*. It is the fundamental rule of all metrical composition, the one indispensable condition, that the continuous flow of the discourse should be divided into short word-groups, which, as far as the sense is concerned, have a certain independence. It is only in highly developed forms of poetry that the independence of the lines, in this matter of the sense, is more or less superfluous. The limit for the length of these lines is one imposed by nature, namely, that each line should be capable of being pronounced in *a single* easy breath. Such lines detach themselves from one another with perfect clearness in all the poetical parts of the OT, and there cannot be a moment's doubt that it is not the logic of the discourse but an artificial design that has divided the flow of the language in this way. In Hebrew, especially, the end of the line uniformly coincides with a break in the sense, and even the accentuation of our texts is seldom wrong as to the correct division. It is possible to have poems which employ no other method as to their form than such a separation into the briefest units that give a complete sense, although these do not stand in an exact rhythmical relation to one another or mutually unite themselves into uniform groups. This is exemplified, for instance, in a number of Goethe's finest poems, such as *Der Gesang der Geister über den Wassern, Grenzen der Menschheit, Ganymed, Prometheus*, etc.

b. The verse.—As well established as the line is the second higher poetical unit, the *verse*. In Heb. poetry a plurality of lines, in by far the majority of instances two of these, regularly combine to form a verse. This unit is likewise witnessed to by tradition. The sign for the close of the verse (the double point סוף פסוק) is undoubtedly the earliest addition made to the consonantal text, and is handed down along with the latter, where accents, vowels, and diacritical points are wanting. The division by פסוקים is already witnessed to in the Mishna (*Megillah* iv. 4). The verse-division, to be sure, is not confined to the poetical sections of the OT, but is carried through everywhere. But it is a circumstance of extreme importance that in the poetical sections the verse-divider does not stand at the close of each *stichos*, but regularly (with extremely rare exceptions) includes several of these. And though it happens frequently that several metrical verses are combined in a single Massoretic verse, on the other hand it is one of the rarest occurrences to find the verse-divider wrongly separating *stichoi* of the same verse from one another.

c. Parallelism.—The connecting agency, however, which unites the verse-members so as to form the verse, was not clearly recognized and defined till last century. The merit of this belongs to Bishop Lowth in his epoch-making book, *De sacra poesi Hebræorum*, which appeared in the same year (1753) as Astruc's *Conjectures*. There in his Prælectio xix., p. 237,* he says:—

'Poetica sententiarum compositio maximam partem constat in æqualitate, ac similitudine quadam, *sive parallelismo*, membrorum cujusque periodi, ita ut in duobus plerumque membris res rebus, verbis verba, quasi demensa et paria respondeant.'

From this passage came the term *parallelismus membrorum*, which has since then been generally employed. We have to do here not with a formal contrivance like rhyme, assonance, alliteration, regularly changing length of the lines (cf. the dactylic distich), but with a connexion by means of the sense, which finds its full expression only in parallelism, and, at the same time, in parallelism separates itself from what precedes and what follows. Lowth continues quite correctly—

'Quæ res multos quidem gradus habet, multam varietatem, ut alias accuratior et apertior, alias solutior et obscurior sit';

but by distinguishing three kinds of parallelism, *synonymous*, *antithetic*, and *synthetic*, as well as by the very name 'parallelism,' which was capable of being misunderstood, he contributed at the same time to encourage too narrow a conception of the phenomenon.* Nor is it any advantage to complete the scheme, as H. Ewald in particular has sought to do; all this has only a casual value as compared with the general principle established, that the individual *stichoi*, which themselves each form a unit of sense, combine in the verse to form a larger unit. The possible variety of relation between the *stichoi* is endless.

A wider background for this phenomenon has lately been gained by observing that the same rule holds good in the poetry of the ancient Babylonians and Assyrians, and, perhaps in a less developed form, also in that of the ancient Egyptians. Schrader † assumes that Israel took over this principle, along with much else, from Mesopotamia, and Briggs (*op. cit.* p. 368) also considers this extremely probable. Still the possibility remains that this poetical rule is the common heritage of a large group of the nations of antiquity.‡

It is radically wrong to see in the parallelism merely a rhetorical phenomenon, and to disregard it accordingly, as need may be, in conducting metrical investigations. In this way one overlooks the fact that the parallelism is founded on the previous separation of the *stichoi*. It is possible, of course, to take the sense-parallelism and apply it to a prose composition, at the same time dispensing with a uniform separation into lines, and in this way to weaken it down to a purely rhetorical form, but, when coupled with that separation, the parallelism assumes the character of a fixed device of art. The best proof of this is found in the circumstance that for nearly 2000 years men felt and recognized the Psalms and other poetical portions of the OT to be poems, without having any clear consciousness of the device employed to constitute them so. It is a specially happy providence that this device is so connected with the contents that it had practically to be handed down along with these.

* Compare with this the more detailed discussion in the *Preliminary Dissertation* to Lowth's works on Isaiah, 1778 [German by Koppe, 1779 ff.].

* Still the distinguishing of three possibilities has a certain logical value. In the unpublished second part of the present writer's *Akademische Antrittsvorlesung*, 1873 (cf. *SK*, 1874, p. 764, Anm.), an attempt is made to explain the *parallelismus* by going back to the word מָשָׁל as a term for poetical discourse. If this Heb. word means originally 'comparison, likeness,' bipartition and parallelism find their ground in the nature of the case. The result of a comparison may be one or other of three kinds. It may disclose (1) equality or resemblance, *e.g.* Pr 10^{26} $11^{16.\ 22.\ 30}$, (2) inequality, unlikeness, or opposition, *e.g.* Pr $10^{1\text{-}25}$, (3) a more or less, a better or worse, etc., by which a movement, a progress is given, *e.g.* Pr 12^{9} $15^{16.\ 17}$ 16^{8} 17^{1} 19^{1}, as also 11^{31} 15^{11}. There can be hardly any doubt that the parallel verse exhibits its greatest independence and purest development in the various apophthegms of Pr 10 ff., which all fall under this threefold scheme. The circumstance that, at least in their written form, these belong to the later products of Hebrew literature, is certainly no adequate objection to the view put forward in the above-cited lecture, that the fundamental rule for the form of Heb. poetry is borrowed from the apophthegm. Yet it is so hopeless a task to reach any probable pronouncement regarding these first beginnings that the present writer is no longer disposed to maintain that former view.

† His article in the *Jahrb. f. prot. Theol.* i. (1875) p. 121 ff., is still well worthy of study.

‡ Cf. W. Max Müller, *Die Liebespoesie der alten Ægypter*, 1899, p. 10, Anm. 1.

d. Metre: the Ḳinah and other kinds of verse.—From what has just been said, it is self-evident that *the length of the lines* is not a matter of indifference. These must be fashioned in a certain uniform relation to one another, in order to produce the impression of rhythmic units. The sure proof that the Heb. poet consciously fixed the length of the lines is found in the circumstance that for a special occasion that presented itself in the life of the people he uniformly chose a special length of line. This is established in the case of the קִינָה, the Hebrew lament for the dead, *i.e.* the songs which women as mourners (מְקוֹנְנוֹת Jer 9^{16}) sang at funerals in ancient Israel. These were uniformly composed in verses of two members, the length of the first of which stands to that of the second in the proportion of 3 : 2, giving rise to a peculiar limping rhythm, in which the second member as it were dies away and expires. These verses are very sharply distinguished from the others, in which equal length of verse-members in the same verse is the rule. For proof of the correctness of these observations the present writer's art. 'Das hebräische Klagelied' in *ZATW*, 1882, pp. 1–52, may still suffice, if it be read with care. It will not do either to unite the two unequal *stichoi* into a single 'long line,' or to pronounce it a matter of indifference whether the longer line comes first or last.* Equally established beyond all doubt is the original connexion of this kind of verse with the popular lament for the dead. When Briggs (*op. cit.* p. 381) says, 'there is no propriety in the name,' and, further, supposes that the name was given to it by the present writer 'because apparently he first noticed it in the Book of Lamentations,' the one remark is as mistaken as the other. The second of the two merely proves that Briggs has not followed our argument, which is founded rather upon the fact that the prophets, whenever they introduce the mourning women speaking in person (Jer $9^{18.\ 20}$ 38^{22}),† or when they themselves in their symbolical actions assume the rôle of the mourning women (Am 5^{1}, Ezk 19, etc.), uniformly choose this measure.‡ The objection that David does not employ it in his lament for Saul and Jonathan (2 S $1^{17ff.}$) can be urged only by one who holds that David meant to take the place of the mourning women at the obsequies, or to attach himself to their lamentations. And when Grimme (*loc. cit.* p. 549) suggests that the earliest employment of this measure should rather be sought for in the oracles of the priests, not only must we first wait for proof that the ancient oracles were composed in it,§ but must ask, further, which was the earlier in Israel, the funeral or the oracle, and whether it is likely that this form of verse was originally learned by the mourning women from the lips of the priests as they pronounced their oracles, to be afterwards copied from the women by the prophets. Woman is the most conservative of all social forces, and if even at the present day in an Arab nursery the *ḳinah* verse is still to be heard from the lips of the mother (as reported by Snouck-Hurgronje), there is nothing more probable than that in this a recollection has been preserved of a time when it was *par excellence* the verse of women.*

But now that it has been thus shown that in one particular case Hebrew poets consciously fixed the length of their verses and shaped it accordingly, we must conclude that in the case of other verses (or lines) as well they had a clear consciousness of one or more different lengths. And, as a matter of fact, examination shows that throughout wide tracts the individual lines have the usual length of the first member of the *ḳinah* verse; amongst others this is by far the predominating length all through the Book of Job. Elsewhere we may observe a longer line than the prevailing one, something like double the length of the shorter *ḳinah* line.

e. The scale for the lines.—But although one cannot avoid recognizing the facts just mentioned, it yet remains a very difficult task to determine the *scale* by which the Heb. poet measured the length of his lines. Here comes in the attempt to establish a metrical system for Heb. poetry, which during the last centuries has again and again attracted amateurs and scholars. The theories put forward as the basis of this system exhaust all the possibilities that are to hand, and at the present day almost all of them still stand unreconciled side by side. Some have counted, marked quantity, accented, or combined the first or the second of these processes with the last. Others have taken now the syllable and now the word as the fundamental unit. Others have sometimes been content to take the traditional pronunciation with the vocalization and accentuation, and to interpret metrically, and reduce to rule what lies before us in the Massoretic text. At other times, upon the ground of a fixed theory, all liberties with the text have been considered allowable, the accent has been shifted, the vocalization altered in whole or in part, and changes of the consonantal text proposed to a greater or less extent. Systems have been constructed, which leave much licence open, licence partly of a purely arbitrary kind and partly in strict subordination to the system; there have been other systems, again, which permit no deviation to the right hand or to the left, but yield metres carried through with the utmost rigour. Space forbids our going into all these manifold attempts, nor does the case require it.† We must confine ourselves to a brief description of the most important of the systems put forward at present, indicating at the same time the difficulties involved, and we shall finally draw a number of conclusions whose probability we believe it necessary to maintain.

J. Ley‡ operates with the *word-accent*. Every word that conveys an idea has a tone-syllable, certain words may have more than one. Every tone-syllable forms, along with the preceding unaccented syllables and the following syllable of the falling tone, *one* metre. The number of un-

* Both these things have been done recently by Grimme (*ZDMG*, 1896, p. 545 f.). The examples he adduces in justification of his procedure appear to us to be altogether inadequate. Some of them are due to faulty scansion, in others a false length is given to the lines by a wrong division of the context, some are cited from a corrupt unemended text, others are to be explained in accordance with *ZATW* ii. p. 7, No. 3. No agreement seems possible between the present writer and Grimme, for not only would this necessitate the acceptance of the metrical system of the latter, but Grimme's 'fünf-hebiger Vers' is something quite different from the *ḳinah* verse.

† Cf. *ZATW*, 1883, p. 299 ff.

‡ Grimme (*ZDMG*, 1897, p. 693) declares that one might as well assert that the Greek hexameter is properly a mourning strain because it is in it that the women lament for the dead Hector. Yes, no doubt, were it not that the rest of the Iliad also is written in hexameters. In the same place he seeks to prove that Jer 9^{1-18} is wholly composed in the *ḳinah* measure, but his argument breaks down completely. Only 8^{23}–9^{5} was originally an independent poem in this measure.

§ The examples which Grimme (*ZDMG*, 1897, p. 707 f.) brings forward and scans exactly (Gn 25^{23} $27^{28f.\ 39f.}$) may be, according to his system, pentameters, but they have nothing whatever to do with the 'mourning verse' noted by the present writer.

* For the later history of the *kinah* measure in the OT cf. the present writer's art. 'The Folk-Song of Israel in the mouth of the Prophets' in *The New World*, 1893, p. 28 ff.

† Cf., for the earlier attempts, Saalschütz, *Von der Form der heb. Poesie*, 1825; Budde, 'Ueber vermeintliche metrische Formen in der heb. Poesie,' in *SK*, 1874; Briggs, *General Introduction*, p. 361 ff. All the modern systems are fully explained and criticised in Ed. König's *Stilistik, Rhetorik, Poetik*, etc., 1900.

‡ *Grundzüge des Rhythmus, des Vers- und Strophenbaues in der heb. Poesie*, 1875, *Leitfaden der Metrik der heb. Poesie*, 1887, and a great number of articles in various periodicals. Ley has constantly sought to perfect his system.

accented syllables makes no difference, so that a significant word of a single syllable may have the same metrical value as a whole series of syllables. The kind of verse is determined by the number of such metres, as pentameter, hexameter, octameter, decameter, and, further, assumes a much greater variety of forms through the possibility of divers cæsuras. The unit ('verse') for Ley (1887) is the verse formed by parallel lines; the cæsuras serve to divide the individual lines from one another. In this way it becomes possible to unite lines of very different lengths in the same verse. Ley accepts the traditional vocalization and accentuation, but has lately proposed a moderate number of changes of the text.

G. Bickell * applies the Syriac metre to the OT, holding the next to the last syllable, as in Syriac, to be as a rule the tonic one, and frequently altering the vowel-pronunciation. He *counts the syllables* of each line, and then makes rises and falls interchange with perfect regularity, in such a way that all lines with an even number of syllables are trochaic, and all with an odd number iambic. He everywhere ends by carrying through with the utmost exactness the metre assumed, and in order to reach this result proposes numerous alterations on the consonantal text, when the liberties taken with the vowel-pronunciation prove insufficient.

H. Grimme † bases his system upon a new theory of the accent and the vowels, which above all attributes to the vowel-signs a very different value from that assigned to them on the doctrine held in other quarters. He thus abides by the traditional written signs, but understands them quite differently. His metrical system is at once *quantitative* and *accentual*. It is quantitative, because, in accordance with an ingeniously carried out system of '*morœ*,' he attributes to each syllable and to each syllabic beat a definite quantity, a definite number of '*morœ*' (Lat. *mora*, 'lapse of time,' 'stop'). Every final principal-tone syllable of a '*Sprechtakt*' counts as a rise; whether other syllables are to be reckoned rises or not is determined by counting, according to fixed rules, the value of the '*morœ*' of the syllables which fall within the same sphere. The number of rises determines the species of verse. Grimme recognizes verses (*i.e.* lines) with 2, 3, 4, 5 rises, but the verse with 2 rises occurs only as an accompanying metre to that with 4 and 5 rises. Grimme, like Ley, is relatively sparing in the matter of changes of the text.

All the above systems are worked out with extreme care, and in the opinion of their authors leave no unexplained residuum. The earliest two (those of Ley and Bickell) have each found many adherents, the third is yet too recent to have done so. Still, in the majority of instances, perhaps even without exception, the declarations of adherence given in by other writers have regard merely to the acceptance of a metrical system and to principles, but not to the complete systems elaborated by their respective authors. Thus C. A. Briggs, the principal English-speaking champion of Hebrew metre, declares that his views 'correspond in the main with those of Ley.' ‡ A similar attitude towards Duhm (*i.e.* Bickell) is assumed by Cheyne.§ As a matter of fact, in these systems the leading possibilities are represented in such a way that everyone will feel himself more or less in sympathy with one view or another.

The circumstance that theories so diametrically opposed are able time after time to maintain themselves side by side, and that each of them can be held up as the infallibly correct one, is due to the peculiarly unfavourable conditions under which we have to work in this matter. (*a*) We have to do with a text originally written without vowels, and whose living sound was first marked at a very late period by additional points and lines. One is entitled to question the correctness of this vowel-pronunciation and accentuation, and there will be a disposition to draw the boundaries of this incorrectness narrower or wider according to the needs of a metrical system, without its being possible for an opponent to adduce conclusive evidence in favour of the contrary position. (*b*) It is equally certain that the consonantal text of the OT has suffered seriously, not only through mistakes but frequently also through conscious well-intentioned editing. Since the latter was always undertaken from religious points of view and would have little regard to the artistic form of the poems included in the collection of Sacred Writings, its employment must have been fraught with specially serious issues in the sphere with which we are dealing. Here again it is impossible to set objective limits to the changes which, upon the ground of an assumed metre, may be proposed with a view to the restoration of the original text. But, on the other hand, a metrical system which finds an easy application to the traditional text, including all the disfigurations it has undergone in the course of time, only shows by this that it is itself untenable. (*c*) Finally, all information about the music of the ancient Hebrews has been lost to us. But music was originally always combined with poetry, and protected the metrical form, just as, on the other hand, it helped what was defective.* This aid, too, we must entirely dispense with.

Under such conditions subjectivity finds here an open field without any sure boundaries. But this awakens the imagination and fires the courage. Besides, we have here to do with a subject akin to mathematics, a subject giving scope for playing with numbers. It is a fact perhaps too little observed, that all departments of study akin to this offer a special incentive to the ingenuity. We need only recall the subject of Chronology. One must have at some time gone deeply for himself into the question of Hebrew metre and triumphed over the temptation to lose oneself there, before he can understand the attraction wielded by such speculations. Since the present writer has had this experience he has no finished metrical system to offer, nor can he attach himself unreservedly to any of the others that have been proposed, although he cheerfully concedes that to each of the above-named champions of metre we are indebted for much stimulus and help. He can therefore merely indicate what he considers probable, and emphasize some points which appear to him worthy of attention.

(1) As regards *the scale for the length of the lines*, the vastly preponderating probability appears to belong to the theory of Ley, who counts the 'rises' without taking account of the 'falls.' In favour of this there is first of all the practice of vowelless writing, with irregular, in olden times doubtless very sparing, introduction of the vowel-letters, as contrasted with the regular employment

* *Metrices biblicæ regulæ exemplis illustratæ*, 1879, *Carmina veteris testamenti metrice*, 1882, and a great number of later publications in which he introduces many changes and improvements on his earlier attempts at scansion.

† 'Abriss der biblisch-hebräischen Metrik,' in *ZDMG*, 1896, pp. 529–584; 1897, pp. 683–712, etc.; cf. his book *Grundzüge der heb. Accent- und Vocallehre*, Collectanea Friburgensia, fasc. v, Freiburg i. d. Schweiz, 1896.

‡ *General Introduction*, p. 370, where at the same time an account is given of Briggs' earlier metrical contributions.

§ In Haupt's *SBOT*, 'Isaiah,' p. 78.

* Cf. W. Max Müller, *Liebespoesie der alten Ægypter*, p. 11: 'We, scanning Epigoni, forget only too often that the lost melody was the main thing.'

of these for the long vowels in Arabic. An exact measurement of a verse by syllables could hardly have been carried out with such a method of writing, and, conversely, if it came into use, it must in course of time have brought about a corresponding transformation of the writing. Further, great weight must be laid upon the circumstance that the lines (*stichoi*) in Hebrew are without exception separated from one another by the sense. Where a perfectly exact, rigorously self-asserting system of metre is used, in course of time the separating of units of sense into single lines comes to be regarded as superfluous, and the sense flows over from one line into another. We may compare, for instance, classical hexameters or ode-measure, and modern rhyming verse. The same view is favoured if we compare the Bab.-Assyrian and Egyptian poetical methods which, so far as one can yet see, are likewise to be brought under the above rule.* In general it may be added that a comparison ought to be made neither with extremely refined systems like the classical, nor decaying ones like the Syrian, but with primitive systems, even if these stand ethnologically far apart. The two-membered alliterative verse of the ancient Germans, which likewise takes account only of rises, appears to us to present the closest analogy, when, that is to say, it is looked at from the purely formal point of view, and without regard to the peculiar device by which the lines are connected.

(2) As regards *the non-accenting or the accenting of words*, much latitude must be conceded to the living language and to music, so that it would be very difficult to lay down strict and inviolable rules according to which this or that word is under certain circumstances to be non-accented or accented. In this way verse-members which appear to the eye very unequal may yet from the rhythmical point of view be counted of equal value.†

(3) We have, moreover, *no certain guarantee for the intention to carry through with perfect uniformity the measure which in general rules in a poem.* It is possible that it was considered legitimate to admit at times a line with four rises beside one with three, and conversely to introduce a whole verse with a different length of line, or finally to put a verse of three lines alongside of others with only two. On this whole subject cf. what W. Max Müller (*op. cit.* p. 11) has established for Egyptian, and Zimmern (*ZA* xii. 382) for Babylonian poetry.

(4) In general, one receives the impression that *in the older poems greater freedom rules than in the later ones.*‡ An unerringly regular parallelism, exact counting of the rises in verses of uniformly identical construction, all this is, nearly without exception, the mark of later poems. The gap was, no doubt, filled up by music, which always accompanied poetry in early times, whereas in later times learned scansion with the pen in the hand and without regard to musical sound appears to have been the rule. But, on the other hand, one is entitled to make stricter demands on lyrical poetry in the narrowest sense, especially on dance-songs such as perhaps meet us in Canticles, than on longer didactic poems like the Book of Job, which can hardly at any time have been sung.

(5) The more decided and sharply cut any particular measure is, the more confidently may this be used *as a medium for restoring the text.* Thus, for instance, one may undertake the work of textual criticism on the *ḳinah*-measure with surer results than in the case of an evenly-flowing measure, because the peculiar limping form of the *ḳinah* must have demanded closer attention on the part of the poet. In any case, we should do well, in all textual criticism which deals with anything beyond superfluous expletives, to assure ourselves of strong support on other grounds besides metrical, and not repose too much confidence in emendations based on metrical grounds alone.

(6) Finally, it must always be kept steadily in view that the quality and the effect of poetry are still in by far the majority of instances secured for the texts by the *parallelism*, even where regularity in the measure is not carried out. Hence one must guard against assigning too great importance to metrical regularity.

f. Strophes.—We must deal more briefly with the use of *strophes, i.e.* larger formal units embracing several verses. The first to put forward a special strophe-theory was Fr. Köster in his article, 'Die Strophen oder der Parallelismus der Verse der heb. Poesie,' in *SK*, 1831, pp. 40–114. His example was widely followed, and, long before the stricter verse-theories were put forward, the division of the OT poems into strophes of lengths more or less equal or artistically interchanging was prosecuted as nothing short of a pastime. The results correspond exactly to those described above (pp. 6 and 7[a]) in the case of verse-theories. The variety of conclusions and the contradictions between them are perhaps even greater in this instance than in that. Here too in varying degrees may be seen mere strophic arrangement of the material received from tradition, alternating with a re-shaping of the text based upon a settled theory; great irregularity alternating with the strictest attention to rule; simplicity in the form obtained alternating with the extreme of artificiality; recognition of the parallel verse as the basis of the strophe alternating with acceptance of the line as the fundamental unit, reaching even to the denying and destruction of the parallel verse, etc. At present, in addition to the before-named leading upholders of different verse-theories, who also all put forward a special strophe-theory, the most prominent place is occupied by *D. H. Müller*, with a most ingeniously worked-out strophic system based upon three fundamental principles—the *responsio*, the *concatenatio*, and the *inclusio*.* In opposition to the line followed by him, a disposition at present prevails, following the lead of Bickell, Duhm, and others, to rest content, wherever possible, with the simplest strophic framework, consisting of four lines, equal to two verses each of two parallel members.

That Hebrew poetry has a strophic arrangement is generally taken for granted as self-evident. The

* For the former cf. H. Zimmern, *ZA* viii. 121 ff., x. 1 ff.; for the latter W. Max Müller, *Die Liebespoesie der alten Ægypter*, 1899, p. 10 ff. Whether, in this state of things, the actual relation of the falls to the rises can be reduced to summary formulæ is another question. This will depend mainly upon the structure of the particular language. Thus Zimmern now (*ZA* xii. 382 ff.) thinks he can build the Bab. poetic rhythm practically upon the foundation of the *Ionicus a minori*. But when the result is to obtain in all six different feet admissible in the same verse, when from one to three falls are possible between two rises, when occasionally (cf. *Schöpfung*, iv. 4, p. 389) two more falls are elided in accordance with an assumed licence, there is certainly enough of field-room. Zimmern (p. 383) tells us that Sievers has succeeded in 'proving' the existence in Heb. poetry of a pronounced 'uniform rhythm.' Since his observations for Babylonian are based upon work carried on in common with Sievers, and he several times emphasizes the agreement between it and Hebrew, the above remark as to Zimmern's scheme will probably hold good also of Sievers' observations on Hebrew, with which the present writer has not yet made acquaintance.

† Cf. for instance in the Old Germ. poem *Heliand* v.[22] with v.[5] or v.[9], or the two halves of v.[39] or v.[269] with one another.

‡ W. Max Müller (*op. cit.* p. 10) says rightly: 'To me it is a very suspicious circumstance that the Song of Deborah and the latest Psalms still continue to be measured *in one and the same fashion.*'

* *Die Propheten in ihrer ursprünglichen Form*, 2 vols., Wien, 1896, *Strophenbau und Responsion*, Wien, 1898. Müller's system has been adopted and contributions made in support of it by F. Perles, *Zur heb. Strophik*, Wien, 1896, and J. K. Zenner, *Die Chorgesänge im Buche der Psalmen*, 2 parts, Freiburg i. B., 1896.

right to make this assumption is open, however, to serious question. It scarcely needs to be proved that there is such a thing as poetry that makes up verses but not strophes. But in this case the postulate of strophes is already satisfied beforehand. For the parallel verse is really a strophe, a higher unit produced by the union of smaller units, the lines. No metrical forms are shown by experience to resist more the reduction to a strophic formation than such double structures which have an inward completeness of their own. It may suffice to remind the reader of the two-membered alliterative verse of the Old German poetry and the dactylic distich of the Greeks and Romans. Upon this ground one may not, indeed, be able to dispute the possibility of strophes of a higher order, but in all probability these will form the exception, and parallel verses without any further union will be the rule.

Further, the strophe-theory finds, at all events, no support from *tradition*. In particular, the term סלה (appended 71 times in the Psalms and in Hab 3) cannot be urged in its favour. No significance attaches to the so-called *alphabetical poems*, a species of acrostics in which the letters א–ת are made to succeed one another at the opening of sections of equal length. These prove, as was emphasized above (p. 4[a]), the presence of *stichoi* (in Pss 111, 112), but nothing more. If we can distinguish the single *stichos*, we can also count, according to the length designed for the poem, two (Pss 25. 34. 145, Pr 31^{10-31}) or four (Ps 9 f. 37) *stichoi*, and, if the *kinah*-measure is an established fact (cf. La 3, where each verse bears a letter, but each letter is repeated three times), we may include two (La 4) or three (La 1. 2) of these verses under a single letter. At most it may be said that the verse as a unit is witnessed to when in Ps 119 the same letter commences eight successive verses of two lines each. But this is yet a long way from the same thing as a strophe of eight verses or sixteen lines.*

It is generally left entirely out of sight that any new metrical unit must have a new formative medium. No one thinks of proving the existence of the latter. True, indeed, one framework of this kind is occasionally to be encountered in the OT, namely, the *recurring verse* or *refrain*. It must be admitted that this is in a high degree adapted to mark off strophes, especially when, as in Ps 42 f. ($42^{6.\ 11}$ 43^{5}), at regular intervals it interrupts a sharply defined measure in the other verses by a different structure of verse. With always diminishing strength and importance the refrain occurs, further, in Pss 80. 46. 39. 57. 59. 49. 99. 56. 62. 67. But even if one were disposed to assume and carry through a fixed strophic structure in all these poems, upon the ground of the refrain, after all only about a dozen of the hundreds of Heb. poems would have been proved to be strophic, while the conclusion regarding the others must at best be to the effect that they are not constructed strophically.

As a special basis for the division into strophes, it is the custom simply to fall back everywhere upon the contents. A metric strophe is supposed to coincide with a section constituted by the sense, the supposition being that the poet divided his material into sections whose length, in virtue of certain rules, showed a rhythmical correspondence with one another. This assumption, however, is all the harder, since *the contents* have already done their part in the formation of the parallel verse. Not only so, but this very parallelism gives to Heb. poetry in general the impression of aphorisms linked together, and renders it extremely difficult for the poet to exhibit a finely-articulated strictly progressive development of thought. Still the possibility of the nearest and easiest approach to this may be conceded, namely, that a single repetition of the parallelism, combining two verses of two lines, might fall rhythmically upon the ear, and that at the same time an idea seemed to exhaust itself in two parallel verses.* Deeper-reaching divisions of the sense could scarcely succeed in striking the ear as rhythmic units.

On the other hand, it is equally true that the theory of strophes is not to be refuted by postulates; the evidence of facts must decide. But any one who has convinced himself from the literature of the subject what finely artificial structures, with ever new forms, have been successively proved to underlie the same poems, and after being long forgotten have had their place taken by as artificial successors, will not waive his right to a radical scepticism on this subject. The charm of playing with numbers makes itself felt here almost more strongly than in the instance of verse; and the results, the more artistically these work themselves out, as in recent times those of Müller and Zenner, make their impression much more, being carefully printed, upon the eye, than upon the ear. The following sentences may serve for guidance and caution in this sphere of inquiry.†

(α) Under no conditions must the search for strophes lead to the abandonment of the certainly ascertained unit, the parallel verse, as has been frequently done (*e.g.* by Delitzsch, Merx, Diestel). Never must the end of a strophe break up a verse, and the verse, not the *stichos*, must remain the measure of the strophe.

(β) A great risk incurred by the search for strophes is this, that in their favour the *sense* of a poem might be divided wrongly and thus the poem receive a wrong interpretation. The endeavour should be to get first at the sense and its pauses, and then to ask whether strophe-like forms are the result.

(γ) We must not obstinately persist in carrying through rigorously a division which upon the whole is uniform, such as that into four lines. The possibility is not absolutely excluded that it was considered legitimate to interrupt this uniformity occasionally by verses of two or of six lines. This practice is assumed by Zimmern for Bab. poetry (cf. p. 7[a] footnote *), and, as another instance, it may be frequently noted in the Old Germ. poetry. Hence we must be cautious in the way of excising or of adding lines and verses, upon the ground of the strophic measure.

(δ) Conversely, a succession of sections of the most varied extent are not to be called strophes, by a misapplication of a term which denotes a rhythmic whole. This practice has been frequently followed, and is so still.‡

(ε) We must not demand strophes everywhere, but must, in the first place, make a distinction according to the different species of poetry. That dance-songs such as are found in Canticles should be strophic is not indeed necessary, but is extremely probable; that the Book of Job should ex-

* A device of a precisely similar kind has lately been shown to exist in the Bab.-Assyr. literature (*ZA*, x. 1ff.). Every 11th time the same syllable stands at the commencement of a two-membered verse, and the initial syllables of 25 sections each of 11 verses form a connected sentence. Yet Zimmern does not think of taking each of these long sections as a strophe, but concludes that every two verses make a strophe (of 4 lines), and that the 11th verse always stands by itself. It may be modestly asked whether each verse should not rather be taken by itself and the strophic structure given up.

* Cf. the Otfried strophe of the Old High Germ. poetry, which consists of two rhyming couplets.

† Cf. earlier statements of the present writer's views in *ZATW*, 1882, p. 49 ff., and *Actes du sixième Congrès international des Orientalistes*, Leyden, 1884, p. 93 f.

‡ Thus C. A. Briggs (*op. cit.* p. 399) cites, as 'a fine specimen' of Old Egypt. strophe-formation, a poem whose twenty strophes exhibit the following number of lines: 12, 14, 8, 7, 13, 8, 9, 11, 9, 15, 14, 9, 10, 5, 11, 13, 10, 5, 10, 18. So we find strophes of from 5 to 18 lines ranged side by side!

hibit strophes throughout is the unlikeliest thing in the world. Likewise the age of the poem must be taken into account; strophes and a more regular structure of these will be looked for rather in later than in earlier times.

(ζ) Above all, we may recognize in a regular interchange of the length of lines an indication pointing to strophe-formation, because we have here a new formative method. Hence it is no fortuitous circumstance that the *kinah* verse which is composed of unequal members lends itself with special readiness to strophe-like forms such as meet us in La 1. 2. 4 and Ps 42 f. For here the equiponderance is restored by repetition of the unequal pairs.

Upon the whole, in this matter too little will do less harm than too much, and doubt will be more prudent than blind confidence.

g. Subordinate matters of form. — *Rhyme*, as well as the other things we have spoken of, has frequently been claimed as a medium employed in Heb. poetry.* The Heb. language has at its disposal a great number of sonorous endings and flexional additions used to denote a particular grammatical or logical relation. These would supply quite extraordinary facilities for the employment of terminal rhyme for poetical purposes. Yet, as is generally admitted, rhyme never became the prevailing medium of poetry. But it is self-evident that, where the same logical relations govern a series of lines, rhyme *must* come in with more or less regularity. As illustrations, Job 10^{9-18} (cited by Sommer) and Ps 6 (cited by Briggs) may serve, although in neither instance is the rhyme satisfactory throughout. Here and there the poet himself may have been conscious of it and thus indulged in a species of by-play; but in reality the occurrence of rhyme has scarcely any more significance than attaches to J. Chotzner's (*PSBA*, Jan. 8, 1884) collection from the OT of a whole series of the finest dactylic hexameters. In spite of these, one will hardly agree with Chotzner's conclusion that the Greeks borrowed the hexameter of the Homeric poems in Asia Minor from their Heb. slaves (Jl 3^{6}). Thus, then, textual alterations ought not to be proposed in certain passages in order to make the rhyme frequently occurring in these perfectly uniform.

Assonance and *Paronomasia* play a large and unquestionably a conscious rôle in the OT. But they belong to rhetorical, not to strictly poetical devices. All these phenomena receive exhaustive treatment in the Dissertation of I. M. Casanowicz, *Paronomasia in the Old Test.*, Boston, 1894.

That, finally, Hebrew, like other languages, has in a certain measure its peculiar poetical vocabulary and grammar is a matter of course, but can be simply mentioned here.

ii. The Material of Hebrew Poetry.—*A. The different Species of Poetry.* — In the literature of Israel the *drama* is wholly wanting. This peculiarity it shares with the whole Semitic literature, whereas in that of the Indo-Germanic peoples the drama three times over sprang up quite fresh and independent from the germ, namely on Indian, Greek, and German soil. This may perhaps be set down to a certain one-sidedness of disposition, a want of objectivity on the part of the Semites. The belief, to be sure, has often been cherished that precisely the OT itself forms an exception to this rule, and that it contains two dramas, *Canticles* and *Job*. In the case of the former of these, this opinion is based upon a false conception of the book, which is rather a collection of lyric (in fact, marriage) songs;† in the case of the latter it is based upon a false definition of the drama.* It is only in chs. 3–41 that the Book of Job is disposed as a dialogue, and this disposition it shares with the majority of Plato's philosophical works, which no one thinks it necessary on that account to call dramas. Nay, the latter from beginning to end follow the method of dialogue, whereas in Job the whole *action*, from which the drama takes its name, is given in narrative form in chs. 1. 2. 42.†

Further, L. Diestel (art. 'Dichtkunst' in Schenkel's *Bibel-Lexicon*, i. [1869] p. 609) denies that anywhere in Semitic literature can the *epos* be found any more than the drama. This has since been shown to be incorrect, as on Bab.-Assyrian soil quite an extensive epic literature, whose contents are mythological, has been found composed in poetic form. But for Heb. poetry, so far as this is represented in the OT, Diestel's contention remains true. The OT enshrines a small number of historical poems or fragments of such — it may suffice to name the Song of Deborah in Jg 5— but this is lyric, not epic, poetry. Pss 105–107 are quite secondary productions, versification of the ancient popular history for liturgical purposes; they are litanies, not epics. The Jewish works of fiction of later times, the Books of Ruth, Jonah, Esther, Dn 1–6‡ are wholly in prose. The strongest evidence is furnished by the narrative proper in the Book of Job, the so-called prologue and epilogue in chs. 1. 2. 42. Although it is practically certain that these were borrowed from the mouth of the people,§ and are thus no secondary work, but an original one composed in the form current among the people for such subjects, these passages are written in prose, although this is unusually lofty or, if one will, has the breath of poetry. They share also with other narrative passages the characteristic that the *direct speech* of the parties acting occasionally reaches at the most critical points poetic expression (Job 1^{21}, cf. elsewhere Gn 9^{25-27} $21^{6b.\ 7}$ 25^{33} $27^{27-29.\ 39f.}$, Jg 15^{16}). It is difficult to regard these intermingled lines of verse as the last remnants of an originally poetic composition. We may rather find here an indication that poetry had with the Hebrews a wholly subjective, *i.e.* lyric, tinge, but that it was not in use for objective epic description. We must reckon with this fact, without being able to offer any sufficient explanation of it. Perhaps, however, in this matter the common Semitic tendency is upon the side of the Hebrews, the exceptional development upon that of the Babylonians and Assyrians.‖

Such we consider to be the state of the case, and C. A. Briggs alone appears to come to a different conclusion. But even when he represents Jotham's fable (Jg 9^{8-15})—to take the most extensive illustration—as written in metre (see his metrical division of it, *op. cit.* p. 416 f.), this does not go essentially beyond what was said above. For here we have direct address and at least gnomic poetry, even if it is written in prose. ¶ But when the two Creation

* Cf., for early times, G. Sommer, *Biblische Abhandlungen*, 1846, p. 85 ff., and for modern, C. A. Briggs, *op. cit.* p. 373 ff.

† Cf. the present writer's Commentary on Canticles in the *Kurzer Hdcomm. z. AT*, xvii. (1898) p. xii ff.

* Cf. the present writer's Commentary on Job in Nowack's *Handkomm.* ii. 1 (1896), p. vi f. J. Ley's rejoinder (*Neue Jahrb. f. das klass. Altertum*, etc., Leipzig, Teubner, Jahrg. 1899, ii. Abth. p. 295 ff.) only shows that he has not rightly apprehended the point on which we are at issue.

† The above remarks are not of course meant to exclude the recognition of a dramatic element in many passages in the OT, including even the Bk. of Job. The present writer could assent to the remark of C. A. Briggs (*op. cit.* p. 419), 'the dramatic element is quite strong in Hebrew poetry,' but not to the heading 'Dramatic Poetry,' nor to the statement (p. 420) that the dramatic element reaches its climax in the Song of Songs.

‡ Cf. above, p. 3^{b}.

§ Cf. Budde, *Comm.* p. vii ff.

‖ So also Grimme, *ZDMG*, 1897, p. 684.

¶ Parallelism proper is wanting, it is simply the rhetorical construction, with fourfold repetition of the same scene (cf. such a passage as Job 1^{13-19}) that gives the appearance of rhythm. The alterations made by Briggs on v.^{15} are warranted, however, even without a metrical scheme, only we must read נֹגְפִי and

narratives (P's in Gn 1 and J's in 2^4–4), as well as the two forms of the story of the Flood (Gn 6–8), are declared to be poetical passages, metrically composed (Briggs, *op. cit.* p. 559 f.), this gives rise to a new, otherwise unheard of, state of things. *Before* any examination of these passages, the objection lies to hand that one cannot see why then Gn 9 and 11^{1-9} are not to be regarded as poetical, and, most pertinently of all, ch. 5, the Sethite table which forms the transition to the story of the Flood. But when one looks more closely at the passages in question, it becomes plain that the whole doctrine of the form of Heb. poetry, as explained above, must be radically transformed before these narratives can be forced into metrical forms. We find them dominated neither by stichical division nor by parallelism. Nothing is proved by the circumstance that here and there the tone of the language rises and takes a certain poetical flight, or that here and there a few lines are capable of scansion, or that the relation between certain clauses may claim the name of parallelism. In reality the primitive history of both sources (P and J) is, so far as the form is concerned, not otherwise constructed than the following history of the patriarchs, etc., and is transmitted to us as history, not poetry, just as strictly as that is.* The conclusion, then, holds that the poetically composed epos as well as the drama is wanting in Hebrew literature.

Accordingly, only *one* of the leading varieties of poetry, the earliest and the simplest of them, was cultivated in Israel, namely the *lyric*. At the same time it must not be forgotten that a secondary variety of this, namely *gnomic* poetry, which we might call 'thought-lyric,' likewise attained to a rich development.

B. The Employment of Poetry.—For the sake of brevity, we shall seek here to combine as far as possible a sketch of the history of OT poetry with a schematic survey of the poems that have come down to us. Only the folk-poetry of early times needs to be handled in any detail; the other survivals of Heb. poetry will be found treated of in this Dictionary in separate articles.

1. *Folk-Poetry.*—This is everywhere the oldest form of poetry. Poetry as an art never makes its appearance till later epochs. The saying of J. G. Hamann (1730–1788), 'Poetry is the mother-tongue of the human race,' which was more fully explained and established by his pupil J. G. Herder (1744–1803), and has in recent times been emphatically asserted especially by Ed. Reuss (cf. Herzog's *RE*^{2} v. [1879] p. 671 f.), finds everywhere its complete justification. Poetry is in point of fact older than prose; all the most ancient utterances of different nations are couched in poetry. One may lay down the rule: *in the case of a primitive people all discourse that is intended for publicity or for memorial purposes will be found clothed in a poetical form.* To these two categories belongs everything of a religious character, and it must be borne in mind that in the life of ancient peoples much that appears to us secular bears the stamp of religion. In this way poetry has its home in Israel as elsewhere:—

(*a*) *In family life.*—What specially come into view here are the *wedding-song* and the *lament for the dead*. Of the former of these we possess a whole collection of fine specimens, which, thanks to a mistaken exegesis, found their way into the Canon of the Sacred Writings, in the book which is called in Hebrew שִׁיר הַשִּׁירִים and, in English, Canticles or the Song of Solomon. Though these songs are of late origin, yet they will have preserved, as genuine folk-songs, the quality of early times with essential fidelity.* A *contrafactum*† of the wedding-song of older days is exhibited by the prophet Isaiah at the beginning of his Parable of the Vineyard ($5^{1ff.}$). —Of the lament for the dead we possess only *contrafacta*, applied to historical persons and personifications, first in the mouth of the prophets and then in the Book of Lamentations (chs. 1–4). See fuller details on this point above, i. *B* 2 **d**, p. 5. In the case of lamentations for the dead, women alone were the composers and the performers (מְקוֹנְנוֹת, חֲכָמוֹת, Jer 9^{16}), who sought to increase their collection of dirges and handed down their art by instruction (v.^{19}). At weddings, on the other hand, young men and young women seem to have contended for the pre-eminence.‡ From the official lament we ought certainly to distinguish exceptional cases when an accomplished friend might dedicate a eulogy to the dead, such as has come down to us in David's fine lament for Saul and Jonathan (2 S $1^{17ff.}$), and in a lament for Abner of which at least a few lines have survived (2 S $3^{33f.}$). Whether it was the custom to use songs to celebrate other important events and festivals in the family life, such, for instance, as weaning (cf. Gn 21^8) and circumcision, we have no means of determining.

(*b*) *In the life of the community.*—That even the industrial life of the Israelitish farmer and nomad was interpenetrated with song we may assume without further question. Examples are thinly scattered. From the earliest times we have the *Song of the Well* (Nu $21^{17f.}$).§ From the life of the agriculturist Is 65^8 has preserved some words of a *vintage blessing*. Harvest songs, too, may be taken for granted, in view of the harvest feasts and the proverbial joy of harvest (Is 9^3), and perhaps the feast of sheep-shearing (1 S $25^{4ff.}$, 2 S $13^{23ff.}$) had also its special songs. If our interpretation of the difficult text Jg 5^{11} is correct, the rehearsal of songs is presupposed even there as part of the shepherd's life. People did not like to be made 'the subject of verse' (מָשָׁל, cf. Is 14^4, Mic 2^4, Hab 2^6) or 'of music' (נְגִינָה, cf. La 3^{14}, Job 30^9, Ps 69^{12}). Hence the '*taunt-song*' must have been much in vogue. Even for early times its use is not to be denied, while for a later period a short specimen of quite a unique kind has been preserved in the song upon the forgotten courtezan, Is 23^{16}, which sounds as if it belonged to the category of *drinking-songs* mentioned in Ps 69^{12}, but presupposed also in Am 6^5 and 2 S 19^{35}. At least no banquet proper (מִשְׁתֶּה, *συμπόσιον*) can well have been without music, including songs. It is not necessary to suppose, indeed, that on such occasions only pronounced drinking-songs were sung; rather will the want have frequently been met in early times by national songs. A special class of composers and singers, whose services were called into requisition on such occasions, is named in Nu 21^{27} (מְמֹשְׁלִים). By this Hebrew name we are to understand a guild of 'travelling singers,' rhapsodists such as flourished in ancient Greece and on German soil, who not only had a rich repository of national saga and heroic poems, but also treated their

וַתֹּאכַל 'and there came out fire and devoured.' By the way, Grimme (*ZDMG*, 1897, p. 512), too, represents Jotham's fable as written in verse, although he gives a somewhat different arrangement of it.

* It appears to us that Briggs is in general inclined to draw too lightly the boundaries of poetical form, confusing, as he does, rhetorical and metrical forms. This remark applies also very specially to many NT passages to which he gives a metrical arrangement.

* Cf. Budde, 'Das Hohelied' in *Kurzer Hdcomm.*

† This is the name applied to the church songs of the close of the Middle Ages, which were composed in imitation of the measure, melody, and words of familiar secular songs.

‡ Cf. the description, for modern Syria, by Wetzstein (*Ztschr. f. Ethnol.*, 1873, p. 287 ff.).

§ For evidence that this is not a properly historical poem, but a song such as it was customary to sing at the discovery of new springs in the desert, as well as for an attempt to restore its original form, see Budde in *The New World*, 1895, p. 136 ff.

audience to songs of a more or less wanton or frivolous character. At the royal court 'singing men and singing women' are taken for granted as part of the regular *personnel* (2 S 19[35]). To the category under consideration belongs also the single certain ancient trace of *gnomic poetry* which has come down to us, namely Samson's riddle (Jg 14[14a]), along with its solution, and Samson's reply in v.[18]. Such displays of wit may have been much in vogue as 'social games' at merrymakings. That, along with these, proverbs and wise saws also had wide currency among the people we may take for granted. No doubt the collection of these in the Book of Proverbs dates from later times, but all the same this may embody very ancient material, altered or not, as the case may be. The oracle, which under the title of 'the last words of David' interrupts the context in 2 S 23[1-17], must have a late date assigned to it; the saying of Jahweh about Moses in Nu 12[6-8] appears to have been before the mind's eye of the writer. Another example of the same species is found in the words of Samuel in 1 S 15[22f.] It must be added that all three of the last cited passages tend to pass over into the following divisions—the religious, the national, and the prophetical.

(*c*) *In the religious life.*—In the first place it is extremely probable that the ancient *priestly oracle*, where it did not simply, by the casting of the lot, give the answer 'yes' or 'no' to the question put, was couched in verse. A classical example is furnished by Gn 25[23], an oracle, indeed, which belongs at the same time to our next division. Likewise for the cultus proper we have examples that are both ancient and certain. These are, in the first place, *the Aaronic blessing* (Nu 6[24-26]), then *the formulæ pronounced at the taking up and the setting down of the ark of J"* (Nu 10[35f.]),* and finally *Solomon's words in dedicating the temple* (1 K 8[12f.]), which must be supplemented and restored after the LXX (8[53]). How far the religious service, *i.e.* in particular the sacrificial actions, was even in ancient times embellished by special songs, cannot now be determined. All that have come down to us emanate exclusively from the temple at Jerusalem in post-exilic times, as far at least as the form in which they now lie before us is concerned. But as surely as the religious gatherings were joyous feasts (Dt 12[7. 12. 18]), with equal certainty may we conclude that even in early times music and poetry must have assumed their rôle at these, whenever any sanctuary obtained a name and a brilliant equipment, and considerable bodies of worshippers came together.

(*d*) *In the national life.*—Here we may distinguish the state of rest on the one side, and of activity, *i.e.* war, on the other. To the first category belong the extremely numerous *eulogistic* and *denunciatory sayings* in which a people celebrates its own qualities and its superiority to other peoples; or separate divisions or groups of a people may express their own distinctive characteristics. This species of poetry is extraordinarily widespread and everywhere highly developed, but most of all amongst Israel's relations, the ancient Arabs. It may exhibit all degrees, from empty unmeaning braggadocio up to the finest and loftiest poetical utterance. In the OT it begins with the boastful *song of Lamech* (Gn 4[23f.]), which occurs in the primitive genealogical table inherited from the Kenites (קין), and is a genuine type of the original form of this species as found in the mouth of a small tribe. Then come the *sayings of Noah* (Gn 9[25-27]), in which Israel (שם) maintains its prestige over against the wealthy Phœnician (יפת) and the slave Canaan (כנען). Here for the first time this species clothes itself in the form of the 'blessing,' in which, suitably to the quality of our sources, which look at everything from the religious view-point, it meets us in by far the majority of instances. The characteristic of his half-brother *Ishmael* is defined by Israel in the words put into the mouth of Jahweh in Gn 16[11f.], which can hardly have retained their original form. So Israel states his relation to his twin brother *Edom* in the oracle of Gn 25[23], and separately for each in the double blessing of 27[27-29] and v.[39f.], very much, of course, to the prejudice of the brother. The more extensive *oracles of Balaam* (Nu 23[7-10. 18-24] 24[3-9. 15-24]), which show indications that they have undergone several expansions, make glorious promises to Israel, in contrast to Moab, and even, further, to other nations. But this species shows its finest development in the two poems in which each of the tribes of Israel has its dignity and its special quality assigned to it in relation to the other tribes, namely the *Blessing of Jacob* (Gn 49) and the *Blessing of Moses* (Dt 33). It is by no accident that these two oracles have been put into the mouth of these two particular men, for Jacob is the fleshly and Moses the spiritual father of Israel, and they alone can pass judgment upon all their sons. The Blessing of Moses presupposes the Blessing of Jacob, and on the basis of the altered relations brought about by time (perhaps in the first half of the 8th cent.) gives it a new form. Thus, then, from the two sources, J and E, the older and the younger compositions are taken over. The older, the Blessing of Jacob, may have been compiled from separate sayings that were current about the different tribes. The self-consciousness of the tribe in which the finished poem took its rise, namely Judah, at last gave the general tone to the whole. Numerous sayings of the same kind, characterizing towns and hamlets, meadows, and clans, must have been current. A relic of these has survived in the now sorely mutilated saying about the city of Abel-beth-maacah, 2 S 20[18f.].

The principal specimen of the real historical folk-song is the fine *Song of Deborah*, Jg 5. This attaches itself closely, at the same time, to the preceding species, being as it is a poem in which praise and blame are distributed, from v.[12] onwards. First of all, praise is given to Deborah, who by her recruiting-song has called to the battle, and then to Barak as the commander (v.[12]). This is followed by an enumeration of the tribes who put in an appearance (vv.[13-15a]), with censure and ridicule of those who kept at a distance (vv.[15b-17]). Next a tribute is paid to the valour of the tribes of Zebulun and Naphtali (v.[18]), the city of Meroz is cursed (v.[23]), while to the Kenite woman Jael is awarded the palm for the greatest deed of personal heroism (v.[24ff.]). We have here, at least from v.[6] onwards, the primitive mode of a song that grew up in the life of the nation as a whole. We are directly reminded of the distribution of the rewards of victory after the battles of Platæa and Mykale. Of other war-songs we possess only fragments (Nu 21[14f. 27-30], Jos 10[12f.]) or very brief extracts compressed into a single verse, such as *the Song at the Passage of the Red Sea* (Ex 15[21]), and that which was sung in honour of *Saul and David when they defeated the Philistines* (1 S 18[6f.]). Similarly, the substance of a *song of triumph over Samson* is put into the mouth of the Philistines in Jg 16[23f.]. On the other hand, it is clear that the *Song contained in Ex 15[1-20]* is a late composition in Psalm style, expanded from the short v.[21] and really meant to take the place of this; and in like manner *David's triumphal song* in 2 S 22 = Ps 18 is a late insertion.

As a feature of the real life of ancient times it is

* Cf. further, *Actes du dixième Congrès de Orientalistes*, iii. (Leyden, 1896), p. 18 ff.

to be noted that in Ex 15^{21} as well as in 1 S $18^{6f.}$ it is the women, or rather the maidens, who meet the returning warriors with songs, and the same custom is presupposed in Jg 11^{34}, in the story of Jephthah. Among the Arabs at the present day a victory is still followed by a sword-dance, performed by a maiden to the accompaniment of a song.

It is an extremely important circumstance that Nu 21^{14}, according to the note wherewith it is introduced, is derived from ספר מלחמות יהוה, **the Book of the Wars of Jahweh,** *i.e.* of the wars of Israel, which, as such, are the wars of Israel's God (cf. 1 S 25^{28}). We have thus to do here with a collection of ancient war-songs which already lay before the ancient historian as a source, and thus to a certainty mark the beginning of writing amongst the Hebrews. Side by side with this source we read in Jos 10^{13b} of a ספר הישר or **Book of the Upright,** from which v.$^{12\text{-}13a}$ is said to be cited. From it, according to 2 S 1^{18}, is cited also *David's lament for Saul and Jonathan*, no less than *Solomon's words in dedicating the Temple*, according to the LXX of 1 K 8^{53}, where ἐν βιβλίῳ τῆς ᾠδῆς = סֵפֶר הַשִּׁיר, and the last Heb. word is doubtless corrupted from הַיָּשָׁר. Here, then, we have to do with an ancient song-book, which contained more than war-songs, and whose composition, or at least completion, must be brought down as far as the time of Solomon. We have no room to complain that more of the contents of these two books have not come down to us, when we consider that Charlemagne's collection of Old German songs has been completely lost.

2. *The Poetry of the Prophets.*—That the prophets availed themselves of poetical composition is self-evident from the first. For their utterances were intended for publicity, and, as time went on, more and more for being treasured in the memory, while at the same time the prophetic movement grew out of the popular soil, which was completely saturated with poetry.* The prophets have accordingly not suffered to escape their notice any of the manifold forms of poetry that unfolded themselves in the midst of the people. At the same time, thanks to the great variety of entrances upon the scene made by the writing prophets of whose literary activity more extensive remains have come down to us, we must, even in the matter of poetical form, distinguish a number of possibilities which show a marked divergence from one another.

(*a*) The prophet may adopt the poetical forms current in other social circles, and come forward himself as a poet, thus playing a strange part, as in the extremely frequent prophetical laments (cf. above, i. *B*, **d**), or the isolated marriage-song, Is $5^{1ff.}$ (cf. above, ii. *B*, **a**). But, even apart from these special cases, later prophecy has a special fondness for interrupting a prophetical address by songs, whether these are sung by the prophet himself, as happens with special frequency in Deutero-Isaiah, or are put into the mouth of other persons, as happens repeatedly in Is 24–27, and as has been done by a redactor in Is 12. In all these instances the language necessarily follows the laws of strictly poetical composition, because it attaches itself to fixed forms taken as a model.

(*b*) The prophet may communicate Divine oracles, which he has himself received. Here again strict, measured form is natural.

(*c*) The prophet may speak in his own name, taking for his basis, and expanding, Divine oracles. Betwixt these last two possibilities the great mass of prophetical passages continually oscillates; and transition cases occur, in which it is impossible to draw the boundaries sharply.

(*d*) The prophet may himself tell of his entrance upon office and what happened in connexion with it, such as the conversations he held. To this category belong, for instance, the accounts of visions such as we have in Am 7 ff., the appearances beheld by an Ezekiel or a Zechariah, etc., but no less the experiences of Hosea (chs. 1–3), not to speak of the little Book of Isaiah, whose kernel is the story of the prophet's meeting with king Ahaz (6^{1}–9^{6}), and some things related of Jeremiah (*e.g.* $18^{1ff.}$).

(*e*) Another author may tell about the prophet in such a way that the latter becomes the hero of the story. In such instances it is relatively indifferent if occasionally it is the prophet who speaks of himself in the third person, but this is scarcely a likely contingency. To this last category belong Am $7^{10ff.}$, Is 20, and in a much less degree chs. 36–39, but, above all, large sections of the Book of Jeremiah, particularly from ch. 26 onwards. If these last-named sections at last expand into a life of Jeremiah, nay, into a history of his times, if Is 36–39 was mainly taken from a popular work of history and appended to the older Book of Isaiah, it is evident that we have now reached the sphere of prose pure and simple. But even in these sections there are prophetical discourses which by a stretch may be said to lead us back to the realm of poetry.

Besides, personal endowments must be taken into account. One might have the full consciousness of a call to the prophetic office and yet be no born poet. Then it might happen that at one time the prophet would put on the unwonted poetic harness and go earnestly to work for a while, only to relapse presently into heedlessness, while at another time he would disdain to use it at all and would employ prose. Something of this kind may be observed, for instance, in Ezekiel.

Under such conditions the literary form in the prophetic writings continually vacillates to and fro, and we meet also with transition forms betwixt prose and poetry, which it is difficult to class with certainty. The possibility of a careless treatment of poetical rules, giving rise to an imperfect type or mixed species of discourse, is open to Hebrew as well as to any other language, nay, it lies nearer to hand in it than in many other languages. The stichic structure only needs to be neglected for the discourse to flow on with tolerable freedom from restraint, while the parallelism is retained as far as possible and by its peculiar undulating progress always makes itself felt. Grimme (*ZDMG*, 1897, p. 683 f.) is wrong, then, when he rejects *in toto* the idea of a 'rhythmic prose'; the dilemma by which he attempts a *reductio ad absurdum* of it is not cogent for those who do not accept his system. His argument fails in particular to do justice to the parallelism of the thought. For an analogy to the above-named mixed species, we may compare our own doggerel verse or rhymed prose.

For the prophetical books, then, a sliding scale must be adopted, with many indefinable transitions. The poetical form will be most strictly observed in the cases described above under (*a*) and, a little less, (*b*); the prophet himself will move with more freedom in those included under (*c*); the instance cited under (*d*) will give ample scope for the intermixture of prose; finally, in the last case prose will be the form started with, which will only occasionally make way for poetry. Details would be out of place here.

3. *Artistic Poetry.*—To this category belong in a certain sense the whole of the poetical books, for these were all either composed or collected in full view and with clear consciousness of their artistic

* Cf., for the origin of earlier and later prophecy, the present writer's American Lectures, *The Religion of Israel to the Exile*, New York and London, Putnam, 1899, Lect. iii. and iv.

form. This took place, without exception, in later post-exilic times. But at the same time there is scarcely one of them which had not its roots in the ancient folk-poetry. Along with lyric poetry, the gnome and the Wisdom literature occupy the forefront in this arena.

(*a*) *Lyric Poetry.*—(1) **The Song of Songs.**—This belongs, as was pointed out above (p. 10), wholly to the realm of folk-poetry. It is a collection of popular wedding-songs, belonging to a late period. But it owed its retention in the Canon simply to the circumstance that it was taken to be an extremely ingenious allegorical poem with a religious meaning, and that its author was assumed to be Solomon. It is not an impossible suggestion that, because of this conception, the book underwent here and there editorial revision.* See, further, art. SONG OF SONGS.

(2) **The Book of Lamentations.**—Here, truly, poetry as an art rules, till artificiality is reached in the alphabetic arrangement. But this art is based on the employment by the prophets of the popular lament for the dead, and is an imitation of the latter. A higher degree of art than that found in chs. 1. 2. 4 is present in ch. 3, which is meant to be, as it were, a central peak between the other chapters; ch. 5, again, is popular, and alien in subject and form from the rest.† See, further, art. LAMENTATIONS.

(3) **The Psalms.**—In this collection we have to recognize the Temple hymn-book of the post-exilic community, the religious lyric with artistic development. Only in a single instance has a secular song strayed into this company, namely Ps 45, also a wedding-song, but one of quite an artificial character. More frequent is gnomic poetry, although with a decidedly religious application; cf. *e.g.* Ps 1. But even here the popular basis is not wanting. In its purest form this meets us in the collection known as the *Pilgrim Songs*, Pss 120–137. Psalms outside the collection proper are found in Hab 3, which exhibits the same kind of titles and technical terms as meet us in the Psalms; in 2 S 22=Ps 18; in 1 S 2^{1-10} wrongly put in the mouth of Hannah; further, suitable to the situation are Ex 15^{1-20} (cf. above); the Song of Moses, Dt 32; Is 12. Perhaps also Nah 1 was originally an alphabetical psalm (see art. NAHUM for a defence of this view). In the so-called *Psalms of Solomon* (which see) there has come down to us, although only in the Greek language, another small collection of psalms from the 1st cent. B.C. The title 'Psalms of *Solomon*' expresses nothing more than that they are secondary, as compared with the canonical Psalms, which as a whole are attributed by tradition to *David*.

On the titles found in the Book of Psalms see art. PSALMS, p. 153 ff.

(*b*) *The Wisdom Literature.*—(1) **The Book of Proverbs** unites in itself *gnomic poetry* of the most diverse kinds and with the most varying degrees of development. The basis and the kernel (chs. 10–22^{17}, also chs. 25–29) are supplied by the two-line *māshāl*, which in form and contents is certainly the oldest structure of this species, and in its origin is distinctly popular. To this were appended, towards the end, more elaborate species, apophthegms expressed at greater length, enigmatical and numerical sayings, and finally (31^{10-31}) an alphabetical eulogy of the virtuous woman. At the beginning of the book (chs. 1–9) we have a connected series of pædagogical-philosophical didactic discourses, in which Wisdom and Folly personified are introduced. For details see art. PROVERBS.

(2) **The Book of Job** is based upon a popular story, and gives to the problem raised in this a new turn which it carries artistically through the conversations of chs. 3–42^6. The form adopted is essentially the same as is found in Pr 1–9, but the poet has succeeded in giving to this a lyric movement throughout, and has even cast the different speakers in so plastic a mould and kept them so well apart as to give rise to the appearance of a dramatic performance (cf. above, p. 9). Beyond any doubt, the Book of Job is the highest product of the poet's art to be found in the OT. It brings to a focus, as it were, all that Heb. poetry could contribute, and stands out as one of the noblest poetical compositions of any age, or any people. See, further, art. JOB.

(3) **Qoheleth.**—This book takes its place as a counterpart to Pr 1–9, as a philosophical didactic poem, but has an essentially different point of view. Belonging to a very late period, it does not stand high poetically; both language and verse-structure leave much to be desired. See, further, ECCLESIASTES.

(4) To the same species belongs the **Book of Sirach.** This is probably older than Qoheleth, it stands higher as regards language and form; from the religious standpoint it is more valuable, if less original in its views. It concerns us here because recently a considerable part of its contents has been recovered in the original Hebrew (see SIRACH). With this book we may bring our survey to a close.

K. BUDDE.

POISON (חֵמָה *ḥēmāh*, 5 times, Dt $32^{24.\ 33}$, Job 6^4, Ps 58^4 140^3; רֹאשׁ *rō'sh*, in Job 20^{16}; LXX *θυμός* except in Ps 140^3, where it is *ἰός* as in NT; Vulg. *indignatio* Job 6^4, *caput* Job 20^{16}, *furor* Dt 32^{24}, Ps 58^4, *venenum* Dt 32^{33}, Ps 140^3, Ro 3^{13}, Ja 3^8).—The commonest signification of *ḥēmāh* is fury or the heat of anger, in which sense it occurs over 100 times in the OT. In some of these passages the ideas of anger and of poison are united, as in Is 51^{17-22}, where the cup of God's wrath is spoken of; see also Job 21^{20}, Jer 25^{15}, etc. Luther translates 'fervent lips' of Pr 26^{23} by *giftiger Mund*. The Greek word *θυμός* likewise primarily means that part of human nature which is affected with passion or anger. The Hebrew idea is therefore that poison is a substance which causes fatal heat and irritation, and in nearly every instance in the OT the material referred to is the venom of serpents or scorpions; see Dt $32^{24.\ 33}$, Job 6^4 20^{16}, Ps 58^4 140^3, and in the NT Ro 3^{13}.

Six species of poisonous snakes occur in Palestine, *Vipera Euphratica*, *V. Ammodytes*, *Daboia xanthina*, *Echis arenicola*, *Naja Haje*, the hooded cobra common in the southern border countries, but not often found in the cultivated tracts; and *Cerastes Hasselquistii*, the horned viper, very common, and often found lurking in hollows of the ground. Tristram has seen it in the imprints made on soft ground by camels. The Israelites were therefore well acquainted with the effects of poisonous wounds inflicted by these, as well as by the scarcely less dreaded centipedes and scorpions. In Egypt poison was likewise chiefly associated with serpent bites. In the Book of the Dead (c. 149, l. 27 ff.) the poison of the serpent *Rtwḳ* is called *shmnt*, which comes from a root which also means to be hot, or to produce fever.

The natives of the neighbouring countries had, like most races of savage or semi-civilized man, learned to utilize this poison to render their darts and arrows more destructive. This was an ancient practice (cf. *Odyssey*, i. 261; Soph. *Trachiniæ*, 574), and it is referred to in Job 6^4. This usage has shown itself in the change of meaning in the word *τοξικός*, possibly also in that of *ἰός*, although it is now generally held that in its Homeric sense

* Cf. the present writer's *Comm.*, p. xx f.
† Cf. *Kurzer Hdcomm.*

as an arrow it is connected with the Sanskrit *ishus*, while in its Sophoclean sense as a poison, 'εἶτα φοινίας ἐχθρᾶς ἐχίδνης ἰός,' it is related to the Sanskrit *vishas*.

The poison of insect bites is mentioned directly in Wis 16[9] and implicitly in other passages. The word *rō'sh* occurs 11 times, but is usually translated 'gall' ('venom' in Dt 32[33], 'poison' in Job 20[16], 'hemlock' in Hos 10[4]). It was most probably a poisonous plant, and one which communicates its bitterness and poisonous properties to water (Jer 8[14] 9[15]); but in the absence of more definite information it is not easily identified. Perhaps the poppy is the plant indicated (see GALL in vol. ii. 104), but the grapes of gall of Dt 32[32] are most probably the fruit of *Calotropis procera*.

Metaphorically, the influence of evil speech is said to be the deadly poison of that unruly evil, the tongue, Ja 3[8]. The forked tongue of the snake was believed to be the darter of its venom before the structure of the poison fangs was known; cf. Job 20[16] 'he shall suck the poison of asps, the viper's tongue shall slay him.'

The administration of poison internally for suicidal or homicidal purposes is not mentioned in NT or OT. In 2 Mac 10[13] there is, however, one instance given—that of the suicide of Ptolemy Macron. Poisoning and sorcery were, as they still are in savage and semi-savage countries, closely connected in ancient times and in the NT. Sorcerers are called φαρμακοί, as in LXX Ex 7[11] 9[11] 22[18] and eight other passages, as well as in Rev 21[8] 22[15]; and sorcery is φαρμακία in Gal 5[20]. Sorcery in the OT is, however, more directly connected with incantation, as implied by its root נָשַׁף. See MAGIC, vol. iii. p. 210. Josephus (*Ant.* XVII. iv. 1), in describing the death of Pheroras, says that the Arabian women were skilful in compounding poisons; but the art of poisoning was in ancient times much more commonly employed among Indo-European than among Semitic peoples.

In the appendix to St. Mark's Gospel (16[18]) one of the promises made to 'those that believe,' is that if they drink any deadly thing (θανάσιμόν τι), it shall not hurt them—a promise which, according to Papias (*ap.* Eus. *HE* iii. 39), was fulfilled in the case of Joseph Barsabbas.

The word 'poison' in English is borrowed from the French *poison*, which originally meant a potion or remedy. In the *Roman de la Rose*, l. 2043, it is thus used—

> 'Car ge sais par quel poison
> Tu seras tret à garison';

but from the 13th cent. it has been used in English in the sense of a deadly drug. See the passage in Langtoft's *Chronicle*, where he describes the administration of 'puson' to Ambrosius. This, though written in a sort of French, is the work of an Englishman; see also Britton, ed. Nichols, i. 34, where the word is spelled 'poysoun.'

For notes on the history of poisons in ancient times see Schulze, *Diss. sistens toxicologiam veterum plantas venenatas describentem veteribus cognitas*, Halæ, 1788. A. MACALISTER.

POLE.—The brazen serpent was displayed upon a pole (Nu 21[8. 9] AV, the only occurrence of the word 'pole' in the Bible). The Heb. is נֵס (LXX σημεῖον), which appears to mean primarily 'a flagstaff,' and is used in a transferred sense for the banner itself. RV tr. **'standard.'** See, further, art. BANNER.

POLL.—The poll (of Teut. origin, Scotch *pow*) is the head, especially its rounded back part. Thus Shaks. *Hamlet*, IV. v. 196—'All flaxen was his poll'; and Bacon, *Essays*, p. 122, 'Not the hundred poll will be fit for an helmet.' The word is thence used in very early English for the person, as Piers Plowman, B. xi. 57, 'Pol bi pol'=individually. A poll-tax is a tax on each person, and a poll or polling is a census or record of persons. The subst. is used in AV only in the phrase 'by the poll' (Nu 3[47]) or 'by their polls' (Nu 1[2. 18. 20. 22], 1 Ch 23[3. 24]). Cf. Shaks. *Coriol.* III. iii. 9—

> 'Have you a catalogue
> Of all the voices that we have procured
> Set down by the poll?'

The Heb. word is always גֻּלְגֹּלֶת *gulgoleth*, which in the places where it is rendered 'poll' as well as in Ex 16[16] (AV 'for every man,' AVm 'by the poll or head,' RV 'a head') and 38[26] (AV 'A bekah for every man,' AVm 'a poll,' RV 'a head') means the head or the person in counting, taxing, etc., but elsewhere means the head as severed from the body (2 K 9[35], 1 Ch 10[10]), or the skull as broken with a stone (Jg 9[53]). The idea in the Heb. word as in the Eng. is *roundness*.*

To 'poll the head' is to make it look more rounded by cutting off the hair. The expression occurs in 2 S 14[26 *ter*] (Heb. [גָּלַח] in Piel, usually tr. 'to shave') and Ezk 44[20] (Heb. קָצַם, its only occurrence); and 'to poll' by itself in Mic 1[16] 'Make thee bald and poll thee for thy delicate children' (Heb. גָּזַז, usually to 'shear'). Cf. Wyclif's (1388) tr. of Job 1[20] 'Thanne Joob roos, and to-rente his clothis, and with pollid heed he felde doun on the erthe'; and 1 Co 11[5] (1380), 'Forsoth ech womman preiynge, or prophesyinge, the heed not hilid, defoulith hir heed; forsoth it is oon, as yif sche be maad ballid, *pollid, or clippid*.'

In Jer 9[26] 25[23] 49[32] RV changes 'that are in the utmost corners' into 'that have the corners of their hair polled,' in accordance with AVm. See HAIR, vol. ii. p. 284[a]. J. HASTINGS.

POLLUTION.—See PURIFICATION.

POLLUX.—See DIOSCURI.

POLYGAMY.—See MARRIAGE.

POLYTHEISM.—See GOD, and IDOLATRY.

POMEGRANATE (רִמּוֹן *rimmōn*, ῥόα, *granatum*).—There can be no doubt of the identity of this tree. Its Arab. name, *rummân*, is plainly of the same origin. Its botanical name is *Punica Granatum*, L., of the order *Granateæ*. It is 10–15 feet high, with oblong lanceolate deciduous leaves, a woody-leathery top-shaped calyx, five to seven scarlet petals, very numerous stamens in several rows, and an ovary with two tiers of cells, three in the lower and five in the upper tier. The fruit is apple-shaped, crowned by the lobes of the woody calyx, yellowish or brownish, with a blush of red, and contains very numerous angular seeds, surrounded by a juicy pulp. It grows wild in N. Syria and possibly in Gilead. The fruit is of two varieties, the sweet and the acid. The pomegranate is repeatedly mentioned in the Ḳoran as one of the trees of Paradise. It is constantly alluded to in Arab stories.

The Scripture allusions to the pomegranate are also frequent. The spies brought pomegranates (Nu 13[23]). The Israelites in the wilderness of Zin (Nu 20[5]) lamented the pomegranates of Egypt, along with its figs and vines. Moses, in recounting the good things of Canaan, did not forget them (Dt 8[8]). Saul abode under a pomegranate tree (1 S 14[2]). Solomon compares the temples of his bride to a piece of the fruit (Ca 4[3]), and her whole person to an orchard of them (v.[13]). The beautiful

* This perhaps explains the name GOLGOTHA, 'the place of a skull,' Mt 27[33], Mk 15[22], Lk 23[33] (RV), Jn 19[17].

flower is alluded to (6^{11} 7^{12}), and the juice or wine as a beverage (8^{2}). The withering or barrenness of this tree was a sign of desolation (Jl 1^{12}, Hag 2^{19}). The fruit was embroidered (Ex 28^{33}), and sculptured (1 K 7^{18}, etc.). It was also sculptured on the Egyptian monuments. It is mentioned in Sir 45^{9}. Numerous places were named from this tree, as Rimmon (Jos 15^{32}), Gath-rimmon (21^{25}), En-rimmon (Neh 11^{29}). The pomegranate is as extensively cultivated and as highly prized now as in ancient times. The beautifully striped pink and crystal grains are shelled out, and brought to table on plates. The acid sort is served with sugar. Rose-water is sometimes sprinkled over the grains. The juice of the acid sort is sweetened as a beverage, and also used in salads. The rind is used in tanning. It is also a powerful anthelmintic, principally against the tape-worm. A knife used in cutting the rind turns black, as does also the section of the rind, from the formation of tannate of iron. G. E. POST.

POMMEL (from Old Fr. *pomel*, dim. of *pomme*; Lat. *pomum*, an apple) is the tr. in 2 Ch $4^{12\,bis.\,13}$ of גֻּלָּה *gullah*, which in the parallel passage, 1 K $7^{41\,bis.\,42}$, is tr. 'bowl.' RV gives 'bowl' in 2 Ch also. The reference is to the 'bowl- or globe-shaped portion of capitals of the two pillars in the temple' (*Oxf. Heb. Lex.*), so that *pommel* (which like the Heb. word contains the idea of roundness) is not unsuitable. Wyclif uses the word, not only of the round end of the handle of a sword, but of the whole handle, Jg 3^{22} 'the pomel (1388 *ether hilte*) folwide the yren in the wound.' In Pr 25^{11} (1388) he uses it in the orig. sense of an apple, 'A goldun pomel (Vulg. *mala aurea*) in beddis of silver is he that spekith a word in his time.'

J. HASTINGS.

POND.—See POOL.

PONTIUS PILATE.—See PILATE.

PONTUS (Πόντος) was a name used in a vague and loose way to designate certain large tracts of country in the north-eastern part of Asia Minor adjoining the Black Sea (which was often called by the Greeks '*the* Sea'). Originally, the name was applied to all or any part of the Black Sea coasts; and the Attic orators regularly use it of the Tauric Chersonese (Crimea) and the Cimmerian Bosporus;* and comparatively late writers also, such as Trogus, Diodorus, etc., sometimes apply the name to those remote parts. Herodotus, vii. 95, on the other hand, speaks of the Greeks of Pontus contributing 100 ships to the fleet of Xerxes in 480 B.C., obviously meaning the south Euxine coasts in general; and Xenophon in the *Anabasis* uses it of the eastern parts of the south coast. The term, as thus applied, was rather a mere description than a real name. It was only at a late period, and through political circumstances, that 'Pontus' began to have a definite sense as a geographical name.

i. THE FIRST KINGDOM OF PONTUS.—In the confusion that followed on the death of Alexander the Great, an adventurer named Mithridates managed to found a new state beyond the Halys in north-eastern Asia Minor, about B.C. 302. He assumed the title of king probably towards the end of B.C. 281, and was afterwards known as Ktistes, 'the Founder.' In later times the vanity of the dynasty descended from him invented the story of a legendary kingdom in older times, ruled by a Persian noble family; but that older kingdom rests on no historical basis. The kingdom ruled by the Mithridatic dynasty was, to a great extent, part of the country previously called Cappadocia: it also included some of the mountain tribes near the Black Sea coasts, and part of Paphlagonia. But, as a political unity, it required a name. Polybius in the 2nd cent. B.C. called it 'Cappadocia towards the Euxine,' and Strabo mentions that some called it 'Pontus,' and some 'Cappadocia towards the Pontus.'* Such elaborate names could never establish themselves in common use: Cappadocia was fixed as the name of the kingdom which included the centre and south of the country hitherto embraced under that title, and Pontus as the name of the northern kingdom which was ruled by the Mithridatic dynasty for 218 years, B.C. 281–63. The extent of the name varied according to the varying bounds of the kingdom, which was sometimes larger (including Armenia Minor, etc.), sometimes smaller.

The meaning of the name Pontus changed in B.C. 64. It had previously designated a kingdom, and that kingdom in that year ceased to exist. The Romans then incorporated part of the former kingdom in the empire, constituting it along with BITHYNIA as the double province *Bithynia et Pontus*, which continued to exist with hardly altered limits for more than three centuries until the reorganization of the provinces by Diocletian.

The rest of the old kingdom of Pontus was broken up by Pompey into a number of parts, which were treated in diverse ways; several self-governing cities were constituted; Comana was governed by a priest; Gazelonitis and Pontic Armenia were bestowed on Deiotarus, the Galatian chief and king. The rapid vicissitudes of that part of Pontus in the following years cannot here be followed up in detail. Pharnaces, son of Mithridates the Great, had been made by Pompey king of Bosporus, ruling over the countries on the north-eastern coasts of the Euxine; but he took advantage of the civil wars to reinstate himself in his father's realm of Pontus, till he was defeated by Cæsar in B.C. 47. The kingdom of Pontus was reconstituted by Antony in B.C. 39, and given first to Darius, son of Pharnaces, and afterwards, in B.C. 36, to Polemon.† Polemon founded a dynasty of kings who ruled over Pontus until A.D. 63.

ii. HISTORY OF PONTUS IN NEW TESTAMENT TIMES.—The new Pontic dynasty touched Christian history in several noteworthy ways; and it also was distinguished by coming into relationship with the reigning emperors, Caligula and still more nearly Claudius. The second wife of Polemon I. was Pythodoris, daughter of Antonia and granddaughter of Antony the Triumvir. Pythodoris reigned as queen of Pontus in her own right after her husband's death in B.C. 8 until some time after A.D. 21; but the history of the kingdom is quite unknown in her reign, and an interval seems to have occurred at her death. Her daughter Tryphæna reigned in association with her own son, Polemon II., during part of the reigns of Caligula, Claudius, and Nero. The one date which is certain is that Caligula ‡ made Polemon II. king of Pontus and Bosporus in A.D. 38. Previously, Tryphæna seems to have lived for some time in Cyzicus, and she had married Cotys, king of Thrace (who died in A.D. 19). She perhaps retired to the neighbourhood of Iconium at some time during the reign of Claudius. Her father, Polemon I., had at one time governed a kingdom or state in the south,

* Bosporus was the term which afterwards was employed to designate those regions when formed into a kingdom.

* Καππαδοκία ἡ περὶ τὸν Εὔξεινον, Polyb. v. 43. 1; ἡ πρὸς τῷ Πόντῳ Καππαδοκία, Strab. p. 534.

† Son of Zenon, the rhetor of Laodicea in the Lycus valley, see vol. ii. p. 86.

‡ Caligula's grandmother, Antonia, was half-sister of Tryphæna's grandmother. The first year of Tryphæna and Polemon ended (according to the current Pontic year) in autumn 38; and their coins are known as late as their eighteenth year (Imhoof-Blumer in *Zft. f. Numism.* xx. p. 268; Wroth, *Catalogue of Brit. Mus.*, *Pontus*, p. 47), A.D. 54–55.

containing Iconium and great part of Cilicia Tracheia; and presumably some estates near the city may have remained in possession of the family.* The remarkable story contained in the *Acta Pauli et Theclæ* mentions this queen Tryphæna as present at a great imperial festival in Pisidian Antioch under the reign of Claudius, and calls her a relative of the emperor. She could hardly be present at that festival of the provincial cult of the emperor, unless she were resident in the southern part of the province Galatia (of which part Antioch was capital), or, perhaps, on the frontier in the Cilician kingdom, which was given to Polemon by Claudius in 41 (see below); and she was a near connexion of the emperor Claudius, whose mother was Antonia, half-sister of Tryphæna's grandmother.

The residence of Tryphæna near Iconium under Claudius can only have been temporary, as she appears with the title of queen on Pontic coins in the year A.D. 54–55, when Nero was emperor. According to the story (which is probably founded on fact) in the *Acta* above mentioned, she protected Thecla, St. Paul's Iconian convert, and was converted to Christianity by her protégée. The name Tryphæna evidently lasted in Christian tradition; and we find a martyr Tryphæna at Cyzicus, which was at one time very closely associated with the queen (*Acta Sanct.* 31 Jan. p. 696).

The dynasty of Polemon is also connected with the legends about the Apostle Bartholomew. According to one legend he preached in Bosporus, the kingdom of Polemon I., and from A.D. 38 to 41 of Polemon II.; and afterwards in Armenia Magna, where he suffered martyrdom in the city Ourbanopolis. Now Polemon II. received a Cilician kingdom in exchange for Bosporus in A.D. 41; and the capital of that kingdom was Olba, a Hellenized form of a native name Ourwa or Oura, called also Ourbanopolis.† His brother Zenon was made king of Armenia Magna in A.D. 18 under the name of Artaxias.

Another legend makes Bartholomew preach in Lycaonia, or in Upper Phrygia and Pisidia. Part of Lycaonia with Iconium was ruled by Polemon I., and the inhabitants of Iconium considered it a Phrygian city. The most probable foundation for this legend is that Bartholomew preached to the Phrygian tribe called the Inner Lycaones; see Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, pt. ii. p. 709. A third legend transports the scene of Bartholomew's preaching to India, but still assigns the name Polemios or Polymios to the king of the country, and Astreges or Astyages to his brother; and these are evidently mere distortions of the names Polemon and Artaxias.

It seems impossible that so many links should have been forged by tradition connecting the dynasty of Polemon with the early history of Christianity, unless there had been some historical reality out of which legend could draw its material. It would be out of place to investigate the subject further here. The discovery of the first traces of connexion was made by von Gutschmid in the *Rhein. Museum*, 1864, p. 170 (where he wrongly made Tryphæna the wife of Polemon). See also Lipsius, *Apocryphen Apostelgeschichten*, ii. 2, p. 55 ff.; Ramsay, *Church in the Roman Empire before 170*, ch. xvi.; and on the Polemon dynasty, Mommsen, *Ephem. Epigraph.* ii. p. 259 ff.; Hill in *Numism. Chron.* 1899, p. 181 ff.; also many other recent papers quoted in these works.

In A.D. 63 the government of Nero came to the conclusion that the kingdom of Pontus had been raised to such a level of peace and order that it might safely be taken into the empire. The western part was incorporated as a region of Galatia, and the eastern part was incorporated in Cappadocia (see below). Polemon II. still retained the title of king, with a kingdom in Cilicia Tracheia, where he presumably went to reside after A.D. 64.

Polemon II. became connected with NT history in another way. In 41 the kingdom of Olba (including a large part of Cilicia Tracheia) was given him by Claudius in exchange for Bosporus;‡ and he retained this Cilician kingdom at least as late as 68, for a coin of Olba bearing his name was struck under Galba (though he had lost the kingdom of Pontus in 63). Berenice, daughter of Herod Agrippa I. (Ac 12), sister of Herod Agrippa II. (Ac 26), and widow of her uncle Herod of Chalcis, married Polemon, king of Cilicia, after inducing him through desire of her wealth to submit to circumcision; but she soon tired of him and abandoned him, whereupon he ceased to conform to the Jewish law.* This is evidently the same Polemon II. who was king of Pontus. Josephus does not mention the date; and above, in vol. ii. p. 360 f., the view is stated (following Smith's *DB* ii. *s.v.* 'Pontus,' and other authorities), that the marriage with Polemon was earlier than the interview of St. Paul with Berenice and her brother Agrippa. But that early date for the marriage is not certain, for Josephus speaks of Polemon as being king of Cilicia, and presumably living there, when the marriage occurred; and this implies a date after A.D. 63, for up till that year Polemon doubtless lived in Pontus, and would have been called king of Pontus rather than king of Cilicia. Berenice had been long a widow, as Josephus says,† when she married Polemon: now her husband, Herod of Chalcis, died in A.D. 48–49.

Thus in the 1st cent. A.D. the name Pontus had two distinct meanings: it might denote either the kingdom of Polemon, or the Roman province united with Bithynia. Further, there were other two uses of the name in the 1st cent. after Christ which are revealed to us by inscriptions. The kingdom of Polemon, though called Pontus, did not embrace nearly all the old Mithridatic kingdom of Pontus. Apart from the Roman province Pontus, a great part of western Pontus had been attached to the province Galatia, one part in B.C. 2 (with the cities Amasia and Sebastopolis), another in A.D. 35 (with the city Comana Pontica).‡ This district, then, had to be distinguished from Pontus the province and Polemon's Pontus, and the method of distinction is clearly shown in many authorities: the province was called Pontus simply, Polemon's Pontus was called Pontus Polemoniacus (a name which remained in use for centuries after the death of the last king Polemon), and the part included in the province Galatia was called Pontus Galaticus. Those names are used in Ptolemy's geography and in many inscriptions of the 1st and 2nd cents.: they may be compared with the division of Lycaonia during the same period into two parts, one ruled by king Antiochus and called Lycaonia Antiochiana or simply Antiochiana (a name that continued in use late in the 2nd cent. and occurs in Ptolemy), and one attached to the province Galatia and called Lycaonia Galatica or simply Γαλατικὴ χώρα (see LYCAONIA, and on another similar pair of parts see PHRYGIA).

Still a fourth Pontus is mentioned by Ptolemy and in inscriptions, as Pontus Cappadocicus. This included the regions that lay east of Polemoniacus, between the Euxine Sea and Armenia; and it had been comprised in the dominions of Polemon I., whose realm extended so far as to embrace even Bosporus. Some modern authorities consider on account of the name Cappadocicus that it was not in the dominions granted to Polemon II. in A.D. 38. Queen Pythodoris had married Archelaus king of Cappadocia after the death of Polemon I., and there is much obscurity as to the fate of the Pontic realm in the later years of the queen and immediately after her death until A.D. 38; and the opinion has been held by some that the eastern regions were attached to Cappadocia and assigned specially to Archelaus, so that at his death in A.D. 17 Pythodoris continued to reign over only the western part of Polemon's former kingdom. But this is very improbable; for Bosporus was included along with Pontus in the

* See GALATIA, vol. ii. p. 86.

† On these names for Olba see Ramsay, *Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, p. 364.

‡ Dion Cass. 60. 8. See GALATIA, vol. ii. p. 86 f.

* Josephus, *Ant.* xx. vii. 3.

† Πολὺν χρόνον ἐπιχηρεύσασα, xx. vii. 3.

‡ Gazelonitis must also be added, as stated above.

kingdom of Polemon II. from 37 to 41, and if so, eastern Pontus also would naturally be comprised in his dominions. Moreover, Archelaus' kingdom was made into a Roman province in A.D. 17, but Trapezus and Cerasus, two cities of Pontus Cappadocicus (Trapezus being made capital of it by Trajan), dated from A.D. 63 as era, and this era must according to analogy be interpreted as the year when they were taken into the Roman Empire by being incorporated in a province. Now A.D. 63 was the year when Polemon's Pontic kingdom was taken into the empire, and the cities of Polemoniacus date from that year as era (so Zela and Neocæsareia); hence Cerasus and Trapezus would seem to have been included in the kingdom of Polemon II.; and if so, then presumably all Cappadocicus was similarly included. The difference of name, Polemoniacus and Cappadocicus, in that case, probably began only in A.D. 63, and was due to the fact that the eastern half of the kingdom was attached to the province Cappadocia and named accordingly, while the western half was attached to the province Galatia, and retained its former name Polemoniacus in distinction from the older Pontus Galaticus. An inscription, dating probably between 63 and 78, mentions Pontus Polemoniacus and Pontus Galaticus as parts of the province Galatia;* but does not mention Pontus Cappadocicus, thus proving that the latter was not in Galatia; and, as we know that Trapezus by that time was Roman, Cappadocia is the only province to which it could have been attached. Such is the probable sequence of events.

Subsequently, Pontus Galaticus and Polemoniacus, after being included in the united provinces of Galatia and Cappadocia from about A.D. 78 to 106, were attached permanently to Cappadocia, when the two provinces were again separated by Trajan. Such is the arrangement described by Ptolemy. Yet the three names, Pontus Galaticus, Polemoniacus, Cappadocicus, persisted, with their separate capitals, Amasia, Neocæsareia, Trapezus, implying that they were considered for administrative purposes as distinct regions of the vast province of Cappadocia, to which all three were henceforward attached.

iii. THE NAME PONTUS IN THE NEW TESTAMENT.—When the name Pontus occurs in the NT, what are we to understand by it amid this puzzling complicacy of three or even four distinct regions, all bearing the name? As we have seen, the simple name Pontus, without any qualifying epithet, was regularly employed to designate the Roman province united with Bithynia;† and the writers of the NT seem to have observed this rule of ordinary usage. In 1 P 1^1 Pontus is clearly the province. Few could doubt this; and Hort has proved it beyond all question in his posthumous edition of part of the Epistle. Similarly, when the Jew Aquila, who bore a Roman name, is called a man of Pontus, Ac 18^2, it is practically certain that the province Pontus is meant. The Roman name demands a Roman connexion. The suggestion that he was originally a slave from Pontus Polemoniacus, who had been set free in Rome, seems impossible, as the freedman would not retain his slave nationality: the statement that Aquila was a man of Pontus, implies a lasting and present characteristic. Equally improbable is it that Pontus Galaticus is meant; for in the imperial system that district was merely a part of the province Galatia. In fact, there is practically no doubt that the intention in Ac 18^2 is to state that Aquila, though in recent time resident in Rome, was a provincial from Pontus, and not one who originally belonged to the city. The question then arises whether Aquila was a *civis Romanus* of the province Pontus (as St. Paul was a *civis Romanus* of the province Cilicia). That, however, is impossible, for he ranked to the Romans as a Jew, not as a Roman: the edict of Claudius, Ac 18^2, would not have applied to him if he had been a Roman either by birth or as the freedman of a Roman master;* but, being a Jew by nation, a provincial residing in Rome, he was expelled by the terms of the edict.

The remaining case is not so clear. In Ac 2^9 among the Jews and proselytes in Jerusalem at the Feast of Pentecost are mentioned 'dwellers in Judæa and Cappadocia, Pontus and Asia.' That list presents many difficulties, and is probably not composed by the author of Acts, but quoted by him from an older authority to whom he was indebted for the account of an incident which he himself had not seen (see PHRYGIA, vol. iii. p. 867). Hence it is not possible to say whether Pontus there means the Roman province united with Bithynia, or the whole country with its three distinct parts. But the former is much more probable, for Jews tended to prefer the peaceful and civilized countries, finding them much more suitable for trade and residence; and therefore it is exceedingly unlikely that there were many, if any, Jews in Polemoniacus in the year A.D. 29 or 30. Pontus Galaticus with the great city of Amasia would be more likely to contain Jews. But there is no possibility of reaching certainty about that unique and peculiar passage; and, being unique, it is less important.

iv. SPREAD OF CHRISTIANITY IN PONTUS.—The Churches of Pontus addressed by St. Peter (1 P 1^1) were evidently mainly composed of converted pagans. When that Epistle was composed, it must be concluded that Christianity had already taken strong root in Pontus, as contrasted with its feeble hold on LYCIA and PAMPHYLIA, which are not addressed in the Epistle.† Pontus lay so far from the earliest lines of the Christian propaganda that the strength of the new religion in it is, certainly, to be regarded as an argument in favour of a date later than A.D. 64.‡ It is highly probable that Christianity spread thither by sea from the Asian coasts, and even from Rome (as Hort in the remarkable essay appended to his posthumous edition of 1 Peter is inclined to believe), for it is improbable that any missionary movement occurred at so early a date on the lines leading north from Syria or Cilicia through the barbarous lands of Cappadocia and Pontus Polemoniacus. Thus it was the cities of the *Ora Pontica* or Pontic coast lands which earliest received the new religion; and probably Amastris was its chief centre at first. By A.D. 111–113 it had spread so strongly in the province Pontus that Pliny, governor of *Bithynia et Pontus*, when making a progress through Pontus, wrote to Trajan *Ep.* 96 (probably from Amastris, where he wrote the following letter, 98), giving a remarkable account of the spread of Christianity. He says that many persons, men and women, of all ages and every rank in the state, not merely in the great cities, but also in the villages and on farm lands, were affected by the new superstition, the temples were to a great extent deserted, the sacrificial ritual had been for a long time interrupted,

* *CIL* iii. Suppl. 6818, with the remarks in Ramsay, *Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, p. 253.

† Except, of course, where the context imposed another sense without any need for a distinctive epithet. Κοινὸν Πόντου on coins of Neocæsareia the capital of Polemoniacus means only that region: similarly, on coins of Zela τοῦ Πόντου. Πρώτη Πόντου on coins of Amasia means Pontus Galaticus.

* Many excellent authorities, in defiance of this obvious and inevitable fact, regard him as a freedman. See Sanday-Headlam, *Romans*, p. 418 ff.

† The failure of Cilicia is due to its being part of the province Syria-Cilicia, and not included in the special group of provinces contemplated, viz. Asia Minor.

‡ See *The Church in the Roman Empire before 170*, p. 284.

and few persons were found to buy animals for sacrifice. This state of the province was of long standing (*diu*), and some who were accused declared that they had abandoned Christianity 20 or 25 years ago.* Hence we cannot believe that less than 40 to 50 years had elapsed since the evangelization of the province began. While it is evident that Pliny is speaking of the province in general, it is noteworthy that it was in Pontus that he finally became so strongly impressed with the evil, and wrote to Trajan for advice about it. Towards the middle of the 2nd cent. Lucian confirms the testimony of Pliny (not that any confirmation is needed to establish the truth of that official report), alluding incidentally to Pontus, the native country of Alexander the impostor of Abonouteichos, as 'filled full with Epicureans and atheists and Christians' (*Alex.* 25). Like Phrygia, Pontus appears in the 2nd cent. as a region where Christianity was so strong that its history was no longer that of a militant religion against paganism, but rather of a contest of sect against sect. The heretic Marcion was born at Sinope in Pontus about 120. Aquila, the translator of the OT into Greek, was also a native of Pontus.

From the coast lands of the province, however, Christianity spread inland only slowly. Incidentally we observe here that it is necessary to distinguish carefully between the different meanings of the name Pontus, for neglect to do so has led some good scholars into needless difficulties. Thus, when Gregory Thaumaturgus was made bishop of Neocæsareia in Pontus about A.D. 240, he is said to have found only seventeen Christians in the country;† and, though no reliance can be placed on the exact number, still a clear tradition, doubtless trustworthy, is implied that Gregory had gone to a practically pagan country. This has been often set in opposition to the facts implied in 1 P 1^1 and in Pliny. But Gregory preached in Pontus Polemoniacus, whose capital was Neocæsareia, while the older authorities speak of the province; and the contrast between the rapid spread in the one and the failure in the other is due to the tendency of the new religion to be restricted to the imperial bounds, to prefer civilized regions to uncivilized (Polemoniacus being remote and backward compared to the province), and to flourish best in districts where there had long been a strong Jewish element to prepare the soil.

Still the inner lands of Pontus appear to have been Christianized to a considerable extent during the 3rd cent. by the work of Gregory Thaumaturgus and other less famous missionaries. Such martyrs as Theodorus Tiro at Amasia, Theodorus the Soldier at Heracleopolis‡ and Eukhaita, with many others,§ are mentioned in the latest persecutions under Diocletian, Maximian, and Licinius. Before the time of Constantine the ecclesiastical system in all the districts of Pontus had been organized to a very considerable degree of completeness, not indeed so perfectly as in Pisidia and Lycaonia, but more thoroughly than in Galatia (see GALATIA, vol. ii. p. 85). For example, Hierocles gives a list of five cities in Pontus Polemoniacus, and three of these were represented at the Council of Nicæa in A.D. 325. But, as a whole, the evidence points to the 3rd and even the 4th cents. as the period when Christianity spread through inner Pontus, while the 1st and 2nd cents. were the time when the seacoast, *i.e.* the province Pontus, was evangelized. Hence it is on the coast, at Sinope, that we find an early martyr, like Phocas the bishop of Trajan's persecution.*

About A.D. 295 Diocletian reorganized the provincial system and broke up the large provinces. The Pontic districts were then completely rearranged. The province Pontus was partitioned between Paphlagonia and Diospontus. The latter, which was afterwards named Helenopontus, after the mother of Constantine, contained also parts of Paphlagonia, Pontus Galaticus, and Polemoniacus. Pontus Polemoniacus retained its name, but was reduced in size, losing Zela to Diospontus, and Sebasteia to Armenia Minor. Pontus Galaticus disappeared entirely, losing Amasia, etc., to Diospontus, Sebastopolis-Heracleopolis to Armenia Minor, Comana, Ibora, and Zela to Polemoniacus, and probably some parts to Galatia the Byzantine province. The ecclesiastical organization followed this new arrangement. W. M. RAMSAY.

POOL is the tr^{n} in OT of three Heb. words.—**1.** אֲגַם *'ăgam*, 'pond' of stagnant or muddy water, from [אגם] to be troubled or muddy. The 'ponds,' RV 'pools,' of Egypt (Ex 7^{19} 8^{5} *διώρυγες*, *paludes*), were probably the sheets of stagnant water left by the inundation of the Nile. In Ps 107^{35} 114^{8} the word is rendered 'standing water,' RV 'a pool of water' (*λίμνη*, *stagnum*); in Is 14^{23} 35^{7} 41^{18} 42^{15} 'pool' or 'pools' (*ἕλος*, *palus*, *stagnum*); and in Jer 51^{32} it is put for 'reeds,' or reedy places (*συστέματα*, *paludes*). In Is 19^{10}, whilst the Vulg. renders by *lacuna*, the LXX has *ζῦθος*, 'beer' (see art. FISH-POOL). **2.** מִקְוֶה *miḳveh*, or מִקְוָה *miḳvah*; a place where waters flow together, from קוה (Niph. 'assemble'). The word is tr^{d} differently upon each occasion of its use. In Gn 1^{10} it is rendered the 'gathering together' (of the waters) when the earth and the seas were created (*τὰ συστέματα*, *congregationes* [*aquarum*]). In Ex 7^{19} the 'pools,' RV 'ponds' (*τὰ ἕλη*, *lacus*), of Egypt were probably reservoirs for the storage of water, as opposed to the stagnant water (*'ăgam*) left by the inundation. In Lv 11^{36} it is translated 'plenty,' RV 'gathering' (of water) (*συναγωγή*, *congregatio* [*aquarum*]). In Is 22^{11} the 'ditch,' RV 'reservoir' (*ὕδωρ*, *lacus*), made between the two walls at Jerusalem appears to have been formed by damming up the valley.

3. בְּרֵכָה *bĕrēkhah*, a 'pool,' or an 'artificial tank'; hence the Arabic *birket*, and the Spanish *al-berca*. The LXX generally tr. the word by *κολυμβήθρα*, but in four instances (2 S 2^{13} 4^{12}, 1 K 22^{38}, 2 K 20^{20}) by *κρήνη* and in one (Ca 7^{4}) by *λίμνη*. The Vulg. has *piscina* and once (Neh 2^{14}) *aquæductus*. In the NT (Jn $5^{2.\ 4.\ 7}$ 9^{7}) *κολυμβήθρα* is used. In Ps 84^{6}, where the plural occurs, AV reads 'filleth the pools,' whilst RV has 'covereth it with blessings' (*i.e.* *bĕrākhôth* instead of *bĕrēkhôth*); with this may be compared the 'valley of Berachah,' *κοιλὰς εὐλογίας*, *vallis benedictionis*, 2 Ch 20^{26}.

The pools were formed by building a dam across a valley, or by excavation; and they were supplied by surface drainage, by springs, or by water brought from a distance by conduits. They allowed the water to deposit any sediment it contained; and they were often connected with aqueducts and baths. They also frequently supplied water for irrigation, and were open to the air. The pools near towns were usually rectangular in form, and had their sides lined with water-tight cement. They were sometimes surrounded by porticoes (*στοαί*), in which bathers undressed themselves and lounged before or after bathing. The

* *Viginti quoque*, editio princeps; *viginti quinque*, conjecture.

† Gregory Nyss. *Vit. Greg. Thaum.* xlvi. pp. 899, 954 (ed. Migne)

‡ Wrongly called Heracleia in the extant *Acta* (the best being the Armenian, translated by Conybeare, *Monuments of Early Christianity*, p. 224): it bore the double name Sebastopolis-Heracleopolis, and was not far from Eukhaita; see *Acta Sanctorum*, 7 Feb. vol. ii. pp. 23, 891.

§ In the *Martyrolog. Hieronym.* the martyrs' names are often very corrupt (see Duchesne's Index, *s.vv.* Amasia, Neocæsarea, Sebastia); see also the Syriac *Martyrology*, 18th Aug.

* The best *Acta* are the Armenian in Conybeare's *Monuments of Early Christianity*, p. 103; see also *Acta Sanctorum*, July 14, vol. iii. p. 600 ff.

pool of Siloam had four such porticoes, and remains of them have been found by excavation; Bethesda, which was a *double* pool, had five porticoes (Jn 5^{2}), one on each of the four sides, and the fifth in the middle between the two pools.

Pools are mentioned in the Bible at Hebron (2 S 4^{12}), Gibeon (2 S 2^{13}), Samaria (1 K 22^{38}), and Heshbon (Ec 2^{6}); and in general terms in Is 14^{23} 19^{10} and Nah 2^{8}. At or near Jerus. there were several pools: the Upper P. (2 K 18^{17}, Is 7^{3} 36^{2}); the Lower P. (Is 22^{9}); the Old P. (Is 22^{11}); the King's P. (Neh 2^{14}); the P. of Siloah, RV Shelah (Neh 3^{15}), apparently the same as the P. of Siloam (Jn 9^{7}); the 'P. that was made' (Neh 3^{16}); 'a' P., RV 'the' P. made by Hezekiah (2 K 20^{20}); and the P. of Bethesda (Jn $5^{2.\ 4.\ 7}$). Josephus also mentions the Serpents' P. (*BJ* v. iii. 2); Solomon's P. (*BJ* v. iv. 2); the P. Amygdalon, and the P. Struthius (*BJ* v. xi. 4). Many of the ancient pools may still be seen in Palestine. The best known are those at Hebron and Jerusalem, and the 'pools of Solomon,' near Bethlehem, which are possibly the 'pools of water' (Ec 2^{6}) that Solomon constructed to irrigate his gardens and orchards. These pools are three in number, and they have been formed by building solid dams of masonry across the valley of Urtas. They have a total capacity of 44,147,000 gallons, and are so arranged that the water from each of the higher pools can be run off into the one immediately below it. The water was conveyed to Jerusalem by a conduit.

C. W. Wilson.

POOR.—1. This word, especially when it represents the Heb. עָנִי, is used sometimes with a semi-religious connotation, the nature of which it is the object of the present article to explain. In order to understand the term satisfactorily, it is necessary to bear in mind the meaning of the cognate verb, Heb. עָנָה, Arab. *'anā* (*'anā*^{w}). The Arab. *'anā* means *to be lowly, submissive, obedient*, especially by becoming a captive, and so the ptcp. is often used simply in the sense of *a captive**: the Heb. עָנָה means analogously *to be humbled*, Is 31^{4} (RV 'abase himself'), in the causative conj. *to humble, mishandle*, esp. by depriving of independence, or liberty, or recognized rights (EV usually 'afflict'): cf. Gn 16^{6} (RV 'dealt hardly'), Jg 19^{24} ('humble'), —in both, parallel with 'do to her (them) that which is good in thy (your) eyes,' Gn 31^{50} (of the maltreatment of wives by a husband), Ex $22^{22.\ 23}$ (of the ill-treatment of a widow or orphan), Jg $16^{5.\ 6.\ 19}$ (of ill-using Samson); and often of the ill-treatment of a nation in bondage, as Gn 15^{13} (‖ 'to serve'), Ex $1^{11.\ 12}$ (cf. v.^{13} 'make to serve'); see also 2 S 7^{10} (Ps 89^{22}), Ps 94^{5}.†

2. The subst. *'ānī* (EV mostly 'afflicted,' or 'poor') thus means properly *one humbled* or *bowed down*, especially by oppression, deprivation of rights, etc., but also, more generally, by misfortune: as the persons thus 'humbled' would commonly be the 'poor,' the term came to denote largely the class whom we should call the 'poor,' and 'poor' is thus one of the conventional renderings of the word: it must, however, be remembered that *'ānī* does not really *mean* 'poor,' and that while in the English word 'poor' the prominent idea is the poverty of the person or persons so described, in the Heb. *'ānī* the prominent idea is that of the ill-treated, or the miserable: in other words, the *'ānī*, while often, no doubt, a person in need, was primarily a person suffering some kind of social disability or distress.

3. רָשׁ *rāsh*, is the Heb. word which expresses distinctively the idea of poverty; but this occurs only 1 S 18^{23}, 2 S $12^{1.\ 3.\ 4}$, Ps 82^{3} (RV 'destitute'), Ec 4^{14} 5^{8}, and 15 times in Proverbs. It is worth noticing (Rahlfs, p. 75) that *'āshīr*, 'rich,' never appears as the opposite of *'ānī*, while it is the true antithesis of *rāsh* (2 S $12^{1.\ 2.\ 4}$, Pr 14^{20} 18^{23} $22^{2.\ 7}$ 28^{6}).

'Poor' is also sometimes the tr. of *'ebyōn*, 'needy'; and often that of *dal* (prop. *thin, reduced, feeble*): cf. Driver, *Parallel Psalter*, pp. 450, 452. *'Ebyōn* is once opposed to *'āshīr*, Ps 49^{2}; and *dal* is opposed to it 5 times, Ex 30^{15} Pr 10^{15} 22^{16} 28^{11} Ru 3^{10}.

It is to be regretted that there is no English word which would both suit all the passages in which *'ānī* occurs, and also indicate its connexion with *'ānāh*, *'innāh*, and *'ōnī*.

4. In the laws of Ex 22^{25}, Lv 19^{10} (=23^{22}), Dt 15^{11} $24^{12.\ 14.\ 15}$, now, *'ānī* is used as a purely colourless designation of the persons whom we should describe as the 'poor.' But in the prophets and poetical books, esp. the Psalms, we see gradually other ideas attaching themselves to the term. Thus allusions are made, especially by the prophets, to the oppression of the *'ănīyyīm*, at the hands of a high-handed and cruel aristocracy (Am 8^{4} [Heb. marg.], Is $3^{14.\ 15}$ 10^{2} 32^{7} [Heb. marg.], Ezk 16^{49} [in Sodom], 18^{12} 22^{29}; Job $24^{4.\ 9.\ 14}$, Pr 30^{14}); so that they become the objects of special regard on the part of a righteous king (Jer 22^{16}, Ps $72^{2.\ 4.\ 12}$), or individual (Ezk 18^{17}, Is 58^{7}, Zec 7^{10}, Ps 82^{3}, Pr 22^{22} $31^{9.\ 20}$; cf. Pr 14^{21} [Heb. text], Dn 4^{27}), and especially of Jehovah (Is 14^{32}, cf. v.^{30}; implicitly, also, in the other passages quoted).

5. Comp. the allusions to the oppressions of the 'needy' (אֶבְיוֹנִים) in Am 2^{6} 4^{1} 5^{12} $8^{4.\ 6}$, Is 32^{7}, Jer 23^{4} 5^{28} and elsewhere, and of the 'reduced' (דַּלִּים, EV 'poor') in Am 2^{7} 4^{1} 5^{11} 8^{6}, Is 10^{2} etc. (both words often in parallelism with *'ănīyyīm*); and the manner in which it is promised that they will be in a special degree under the protection of the ideal king (Ps $72^{4.\ 12.\ 13}$, Is 11^{4}), and that—like the *'ănīyyīm* in Is 14^{30}—they will be the first to benefit, when society is regenerated, and J" establishes His ideal kingdom (Is 14^{30} 25^{4} 29^{19}).

6. So in Ps 18^{27} God is spoken of as saving the 'afflicted (*or* humbled) people' (עַם עָנִי), but as abasing the 'haughty eyes'; and in Is 26^{6}, when the tyrannical city has been destroyed, it is mentioned, as a special ground for satisfaction, that the *'ānī* and the *dallīm* may then tread unmolested over its ruins. *'Ānī* is used also of Israel, suffering in the wilderness or in exile or war, and regarded as implicitly or ideally righteous, and eliciting in consequence Jehovah's compassion, Ps 68^{10}, Is 41^{17} 49^{13} 51^{21} 54^{11}, cf. Hab 3^{14}. In Zeph 3^{12} the ideal Israel of the future, who survive after the coming judgment has removed from Jerusalem the 'proudly exulting' ones, so that none will any more be 'haughty' in God's holy mountain, are characterized as a 'humbled and poor people' (עַם עָנִי וָדָל), who will 'take refuge' in the name of J", and (v.^{13}) be free from all iniquity. Perhaps, indeed, the expression means also Israel generally in Is 26^{6}.

7. These passages show that *'ānī* ('afflicted,' 'poor'), as also its frequent parallel *'ebyōn* ('needy'), and, though somewhat less distinctly, *dal* (EV also mostly 'poor'), came gradually to imply more than persons who were merely in some kind of social subjection, or material need: they came to denote the *godly* poor, the suffering righteous, the persons who, whether 'bowed down,' or 'needy,' or 'reduced,' were the godly servants of Jehovah. It is evident that in ancient Israel, especially in later times, piety prevailed more among the humbler classes than among the wealthier and ruling classes: indeed the latter are habitually taken to task by the prophets for their cruel and unjust treatment of the former. In particular, as Rahlfs (p. 89) observes, *'ānī* acquired thus, not indeed a religious *meaning*, but a religious *colouring*. This colouring appears most frequently in the Psalms: note the following passages, in which, if they are compared carefully with the context, it will become evident that the *'ănīyyīm* (frequently ‖ with the 'needy') are substantially identical with those who are elsewhere in the same Psalms called 'the godly,' 'the righteous,'

* See Rahlfs, עָנִי *und* עָנָו *in den Psalmen*, 1892, pp. 67–69.

† Comp. the cognate subst. *'ōnī*, *state of being humbled* or *bowed down*, EV 'affliction,' Gn 16^{11} 31^{42}, Ex $3^{7.\ 17}$, Is 48^{10} *al.*

'the faithful,' etc.: Ps 9^{12} (Heb. text*; RV) $10^{2.\ 9.\ 9.\ 12}$ (Heb. text*; RV) [comp. 9^{10} 'those that know thy name' and 'that seek after thee,' 10^{17} 'the humble' (see below)]; 12^{5} [see v.^{1} 'the godly,' 'the faithful']; 14^{6a} [v.^{b} 'for J" is his refuge']; 18^{27} 22^{24} 25^{16} ('I am solitary and *'ānī*'; cf. 69^{29} 88^{15}), 34^{6} $35^{10.\ 10}$ (delivered by J"), 37^{14} (cf. v.^{12}), 40^{17} $=70^{5}$ ('I am *'ānī* and needy'; so 86^{1} 109^{22}), $74^{19.\ 21}$ 102^{title} 109^{16} 140^{12}; see also Is 66^{2}, Job 34^{28} $36^{6.\ 15}$ (cf. the cognate subst. *'ŏnī*, AV 'trouble,' or 'affliction,' in Ps 9^{13} 25^{18} 31^{7} 88^{9} $119^{50.\ 92.\ 153}$, of the Psalmists' own sufferings: also 44^{24} $107^{10.\ 41}$). Most of these passages—indeed, except Ps 18^{27}, probably all—are post-exilic; and reflect the social and religious conditions of the post-exilic community: the religious 'colouring' of *'ānī*, which had been previously in process of acquisition, was then confirmed. The troubles of which the *'ānī* complains are, however, not *poverty*, but chiefly social and religious wrongs.

8. From *'ānī* is to be carefully distinguished a word with which it has been sometimes very needlessly confused, *'ānāw*. While *'ānī* means one who is 'humbled' or 'bowed down' by adverse external circumstances, *'ānāw* means one who is 'humble' in disposition and character, 'humble-minded' (Cheyne, *OP*, 98), or, to speak more specifically, one who *bows* voluntarily under the hand of God, and is 'submissive to the Divine will' (Cheyne, *Introd. to Is.* 64 f., 266). It thus, unlike *'ānī*, has from the beginning an essentially moral and religious connotation. In AV and RV it is mostly rendered 'meek'; but meekness is predicated of a person's attitude towards other men, whereas *'ānāw* denotes rather a man's attitude towards God; so that 'humble' would be the better rendering. *'Ānāw* is less common than *'ānī*: it occurs in Nu 12^{3} (of Moses); in the prophets, Am 2^{7} 8^{4} (Heb. text†), Is 11^{4} 29^{19} 32^{7} (Heb. text‡) 61^{1}, Zeph 2^{3}; in the poet. books, Ps 9^{18} (Heb. text‡), 10^{17} 22^{26} $25^{9.\ 9}$ 34^{2} 37^{11} ('the humble shall inherit the earth'), 69^{32} 76^{9} 147^{6} 149^{4}, and the Heb. margin of Pr 3^{34} (opposed to לֵצִים 'scorners'), 16^{19} (opposed to 'the proud'; cf. Sir 10^{14} [Heb.]),—in all, of the 'humble,' either as victimized by wicked oppressors, or as the objects of Jehovah's regard, and recipients of His salvation.§ The cognate subst. *'ănāwāh* occurs Ps 18^{35} (of J"), 45^{4},‖ Zeph 2^{3} ('seek righteousness, seek *humility*'), Pr $15^{33}=18^{12}$ ('before honour is *humility*'), 22^{4}.

9. The Heb. marg. (*Kerê*) substitutes thrice (Am 8^{4}, Is 32^{7}, Ps 9^{13}) *humbled* ('poor') for *humble* of the text (*Kethibh*); and five times (Ps 9^{12} 10^{12}, Pr 3^{34} 14^{21} 16^{19}) *humble* for *humbled* ('poor') of the text (*Kethibh*),—in each case, it seems (cf. Rahlfs, p. 54 f.), deeming the correction to express an idea better suited to the context (in Am 8^{4}, Is 32^{7}, Ps 9^{18} the parallel clause has *needy*; in Pr 3^{34} 16^{19} *humble* forms evidently a juster antithesis to 'scorner' and 'proud' than *afflicted* or 'poor'). The correction is certainly right in Pr 3^{34} 16^{19}, probably also in Am 8^{4}; in the other passages it does not seem to be necessary.

10. The two terms which have been here discussed seem, in fact, to have been two of the more prominent and distinctive designations of a *party* in ancient Israel, which appears to have first begun to form itself during the period of the later pre-exilic prophets, but which, during the Exile and subsequently, acquired a more marked and distinctive character—the party, viz., of the faithful and God-fearing Israelites, who held together, and formed an *ecclesiola in ecclesia*, as opposed to the worldly and indifferent, often also paganizing and persecuting, majority. The Psalms, especially the Psalms of 'complaint,' abound with allusions to these two opposed parties, the opposition between which seems to have been intensified in the post-exilic period, till it culminated, in the age of Antiochus Epiphanes, in the struggle between the nationalists and the Hellenizers. The God-fearing party are described by many more or less synonymous designations, such as 'those that fear (or love) J",' 'those that seek (or wait for) J",' 'the servants of J",' the 'godly' (*ḥăsīdīm*), the 'righteous,' etc.; from the point of view of their social condition they are specially the *'ăniyyīm* or (to adopt the conventional rendering) the 'poor,' from the point of view of their character they are the *'ănāwīm* or the 'humble.' The party opposed to them are the 'wicked,' the 'evil-doers,' the 'proud,' the 'haters,' 'enemies,' or 'persecutors' of the Psalmists and their co-religionists, who are described as 'seeking their life' and 'delighting in their hurt,' etc., and as setting themselves in various ways to dishonour Jehovah, and bring reproach upon His servants (cf. Cheyne, *JRL* pp. 114–125).* The former party was that out of which a considerable number of the Psalms appear to have sprung, especially those which possess a *representative* character, and in which the Psalmist seems to give expression not simply to his own experiences and spiritual emotions, but also to those of a circle of similarly circumstanced godly compatriots.

See, further, Grätz, *Die Psalmen* (1882), 20–37 (whose view, however, that the *'ănāwīm* were Levites, is not probable); Isidore Loeb, 'La Littérature des Pauvres' in *REJ*, 1890–92 (Nos. 40–42, 45, 46, 48), also published separately, Paris, 1892 (clever: exemplifies very fully the characteristics of the 'poor,' especially in the Psalms, but exaggerates the idealism of the Heb. poets, and also generalizes too freely); Rahlfs, *op. cit.* Hupfeld (on Ps 9^{13}) contended that עָנִי and עָנָו were used without any distinction of meaning, both signifying *afflicted*, with the collateral idea of *humble*; but this view is antecedently improbable, and not required by the facts.† Ges. (*Thes.*) treated both words as meaning properly *afflicted*, but regarded *'ānāw* as having always the collateral idea of *humble, meek*. Recent scholars, as Delitzsch and Cheyne (both on Ps 9^{13}), Lagarde, *Mitth.* i. 81, Rahlfs, pp. 62–66, 73–80 (cf. König, *Lgb.* ii. 134, 76), more correctly distinguish *'ānī*, 'bowed down,' from *'ānāw*, 'one who bows himself,'—Del. and Cheyne, however, thinking also that, as affliction is the school of humility, and a man may be 'bowed down' with consent of his own will, *'ānī* acquired secondarily the sense of 'humble.' It seems best, with Rahlfs, to keep the words entirely distinct: the *'ăniyyīm* were, no doubt, known to be also 'humble,' and so could be opposed to the 'proud,' Ps 18^{27}, or classed with the 'stricken in spirit,' Is 66^{2}; but the fact is not expressed by the term used. It would be easier, if necessary, to *read* one word for the other, than to give one word the meaning of the other. The LXX preserves, on the whole, a consciousness of the distinction between the two words: the translators render *'ānī* (*Kt.*) by πένης 13 times, by πτωχός 38 times, by ταπεινός 9–10 times, by πραΰς only Zeph 3^{12}, Zec 9^{9}, Is 26^{6}; and *'ānāw* (*Kt.*) by πραΰς 8 times, by πένης 3 times, by πτωχός 4 times, by ταπεινός 4 times: in view, however, of the frequency with which י and ו are confused in LXX (Driver, *Samuel*, lxv–lxvii), we cannot be sure that they always read the Heb. text exactly as we do. In the Targ., also (especially in the Psalms, Rahlfs, p. 56 f.), the greatly predominant rendering of *'ānī* is 'poor,' 'distressed,' etc., while that of *'ānāw* is 'humble' (עַנְוְתָן). And the Vulg. nearly always renders *ānī* by *pauper, egenus, inops*, but *'ānāw* by *mitis* or *mansuetus*.

S. R. Driver.

POPLAR occurs twice in EV (Gn 30^{37}, RVm 'styrax,' Hos 4^{13}). The Heb. לִבְנֶה, *libneh*, signifies 'a white tree.' The LXX in Genesis gives στυράκινος=*storax*, and in Hosea λεύκη='poplar.' The authority of the Arab. *lubna*, which signifies the *storax*, may be considered decisive as to the meaning of the Hebrew. *Styrax officinalis*, L., of the order

* The Heb. marg. (*Kerê*) has in these passages *the humble* (RVm 'meek'): see § 9.

† The Heb. marg. (*'ăniyyê*), followed by RV, yields, however, a more suitable sense here; it would also be better to read *'ăniyyê* in 27 (cf. Is 10^{2}).

‡ Heb. marg. (*Kerê*) *the poor*; see § 9.

§ With Is 61^{1} (LXX, wrongly, πτωχοί, and so in the quotation, Lk 4^{18}) cf. Mt 11^{5}=Lk 7^{22}.

‖ Where 'ride on *on behalf of . . . meekness* (humility)' means that the king addressed is to take the field on behalf of the humble against their proud oppressors (see Cheyne or Kirkpatrick, *ad loc.*).

* Rahlfs, following Ewald, calls attention (pp. 5–29) to the numerous similarities of expression and situation characterizing in particular the group of Psalms, 22. 25. 31. 34. 35. 38. 40. 69. 71. 102. 109; he assigns the group (p. 30 ff.) to the close of the Exile or shortly after.

† The note is much abbreviated (the sentence on the original difference of עני and ענו being added) in Nowack's revised ed. of Hupfeld's *Comm.* (1888).

Styracaceæ, is a shrub or tree 6 to 20 feet high, with ovate to round-ovate leaves, glabrescent at upper, and white-woolly at lower, surface. It bears numerous snowy-white flowers, resembling orange blossoms, 1 to 2 inches broad, and a green drupe-like berry. The officinal storax is the inspissated juice of the inner layer of the bark. It has an agreeable vanilla-like odour. It was formerly employed in medicine as a stimulant expectorant, but is little used now. The name *libneh*, 'white,' is well justified by the snowy-white under surfaces of the leaves, and the wealth of beautiful white blossoms. No wild tree of the country is more ornamental than this. It is common in thickets from the coast to the sub-alpine regions. In Syria it is called *ḥauz*. It has been objected to the rendering 'styrax' (Hos 4^{13}) that it is not large enough to give the 'shadow' required, and that therefore 'poplar' should be retained. We have, however, indicated that *Styrax officinalis* attains a height of 20 feet, and such trees would give a better shade than the tall, cylindrical poplar. Moreover, the poplar is a tree of valleys and plains, growing only by water-courses, while *Styrax* grows on dry hillsides, in localities similar to those of the oak and terebinth. G. E. Post.

PORATHA (פּוֹרָתָא; B Φαραδάθα, ℵ Φαραάθα, A Βαρδάθα).—The fourth of the sons of Haman, who were put to death by the Jews (Est 9^8). The name is probably Persian, and the LXX reading suggests that the true form is Poradatha (פּוֹרָדָתָא = 'given by fate'?).

PORCH.—A covered entrance to a building. It is generally outside the main building, and so differs from vestibule which is inside, and from which doors open into the several apartments of the house. Two words in OT denote porch, viz. Heb. אֻלָם (*'ēlām*), found in Ezk 40 only, and אוּלָם (*'ûlām*), which occurs in 1 K, 1 and 2 Ch, Ezk, and Joel. As to the identical meaning of these Heb. words see under Arch.

There is another Heb. word מִסְדְּרוֹן (*miṣdĕrôn*), which EV tr. by porch (Jg 3^{23} 'Then Ehud went into the porch'). This word is not used elsewhere; and while we do know that some part of a house is denoted, we have no means of saying what part. The versions render little if any aid, nor do the cognates throw any light on the meaning. The root is סֶדֶר (*seder*), a row, series, order. So מִסְדְּרוֹן (*miṣdĕrôn*) might be expected, according to its etymology, to denote something built in line with or according to the form of something else, such as a wing, built along the outside walls of a porch, with sides at right angles to the main building.

The word *'ûlām* or *'ēlām* is variously applied in OT.

1. It is used of the porch erected to the east of Solomon's temple, 1 K 6^3 and 7^{19}, and 2 Ch 15^8 $29^{7.17}$. It was 20 cubits long by 10 broad; its height is not given in 1 K, but in 2 Ch 3^4 it is said to be 120 cubits high. Now, a porch 20 cubits long, 10 broad, and 120 high would be a monstrosity; indeed the whole verse as it stands is senseless. Kautzsch, Bertheau, Oettli, and Kittel attempt a reconstruction, and all agree that 120 for the height is an evident mistake; A of the LXX, the Syr., and Arab. versions have 20, which is likely enough to be correct, though Bertheau prefers reading 30. Aug. Hirt (*Der Tempel Salomo's*, p. 4), together with the above authorities, excepting Bertheau, decide for 20. If the text is to be upheld, it is to be explained, as by Ewald (*Gesch.* iii. p. 42), according to the well-known leaning of the Chronicler to exaggeration; but in this case the exaggeration is one which makes the writer ridiculous, and it is far better to emend the text. The similarly situated porch of Ezekiel's temple has the same name, Ezk 40^{48} 41^{15} (read with Cornill, sing. 'porch'). **2.** The same word is employed for each of the two porches belonging to Solomon's palace, the 'porch of pillars' 1 K 7^6, and the 'throne porch' (or place of judgment), 1 K 7^7. **3.** In Ezk the word stands for the two large apartments, one lying at the inner end of the outer gate, the other at the outer end of the inner gate. It is in this connexion that the form *'ēlām* is mostly, though not exclusively, employed. Of these minor porches there were in all six: one at each of the three outer (N. E. S.), and one at each of the three corresponding inner gates.

In NT three separate Gr. words are translated in EV 'porch.'

1. Mk 14^{68} 'And he (Peter) went into the porch.' The Gr. word (προαύλιον) denotes a covered way leading from the street into the court of a house; a sort of passage. 'Forecourt' is the word given in RVm. **2.** Mt 26^{71} 'And when he (Peter) was gone out into the porch.' This passage is parallel with the former, and, though πυλών usually means door, doorway, there can be no doubt that it has here the same signification as προαύλιον in Mk. **3.** Jn 5^2 'Now there is in Jerus. by the sheep gate a pool, which is called in Heb. Bethesda, having five porches.' These porches (στοαί) are simply five covered ways joining the street with a pool. In three other places, in each case in the phrase **'Solomon's porch,'** is the word στοά found (Jn 10^{23}, Ac 3^{11} 5^{12}). This was a portico on the eastern side of the temple building, hence called by Jos. (*Ant.* xx. ix. 7) στοὰ ἀνατολική, and supposed by him to have survived the destruction of the temple in B.C. 586, and to go back to Solomon's own day (*ib.* xiv. xi. 5, xx. ix. 2; *Wars*, v. v. 1). It is generally agreed that this eastern porch, as well as the other porches existing in our Lord's time, were due to Herod's restoration; yet, if this porch was built so near the time of Josephus, it is singular that he should have thought it to be the work of Solomon. T. W. Davies.

PORCIUS FESTUS.—See Festus.

PORCUPINE.—See Bittern.

PORPOISE.—See Badger.

PORT.—This word has in its time played many parts. It has meant (1) carriage of the body, demeanour (from Lat. *portare*, to carry); (2) a harbour (from Lat. *portus*); (3) an entrance, a gate (from Lat. *porta*, through Fr. *porte*); and (4) a wine (from Oporto, in Portugal). Of these meanings (1) and (3) are now almost obsolete. In AV the only occurrence of the word is Neh 2^{13}, where it means 'gate,' the same Heb. word (שַׁעַר) being translated 'gate' in the same verse. In Ps 9^{14} Pr. Bk. there is an instance of the same meaning, 'That I maye shewe all thy prayses wyth in the portes of the daughter of Syon.' Knox often uses the word, sometimes adding 'gate' as if the classical 'port' might not be familiar. Thus, *Hist.* p. 408, 'They caused to keep the Ports or Gates and make good Watch about the Towne'; *Works*, iii. 311, 'Let every man put his sworde upon his thygh, and go in and out from porte to porte in the tentes; and let every man kil his brother, his neyghbour, and every man his nigh kynsman'; p. 323, 'They begynne to syncke to the gates of hell and portes of desperation.' Davies quotes Scott's line in *Bonnie Dundee*—

'Unheuk the West Port, and let us gae free.'

J. Hastings.

PORTER (שׁוֹעֵר, in Ezr 7[24] Aram. תָּרַע; LXX πυλωρός and θυρωρός, NT θυρωρός) occurs frequently in our English versions, especially in the Bks. of Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah. It has always the sense of *gatekeeper* (French *portier*), being a derivative from *porta*, 'a gate.' Owing to the ambiguity of the Eng. word, which also means *the carrier of a burden* (French *porteur*, from *porter*, 'to carry'), it would have been well if 'gatekeeper' had been uniformly adopted as the rendering of the Heb. and Gr. terms. RV has at least 'doorkeepers' in 1 Ch 15[18] 16[38] 23[5] 26[1. 12. 19], 2 Ch 8[14].

For the employment of 'porters' in public or private buildings, as well as at sheepfolds (Jn 10[3]), see art. GATE in vol. ii. p. 113[a]; and for the duties and the organization of the Levitical 'porters,' see art. PRIESTS AND LEVITES. J. A. SELBIE.

POSIDONIUS (Ποσιδώνιος).—An envoy sent by Nicanor to Judas Maccabæus (2 Mac 14[19], cf. 1 Mac 7[27-31]).

POSSESS.—The verbs *possidēre* and *possidĕre* are said to be distinguished in Latin, the former meaning to 'have in possession,' 'own,' the latter to 'take possession of,' 'win.' The Eng. verb 'to possess' adopted both meanings. In AV it nearly always means 'to take possession of,' 'win.' This is sometimes evident, as Nu 13[30] 'Let us go up at once and possess it'; Jos 13[1] 'There remaineth yet very much land to be possessed.' But sometimes it is not so, as Gn 22[17] 'Thy seed shall possess the gate of his enemies'; Lk 18[12] 'I give tithes of all that I possess'; 21[19] 'In your patience possess ye your souls';* 1 Th 4[4] 'That every one of you should know how to possess his vessel in sanctification and honour.' Cf. Fuller, *Holy Warre*, 14, 'The Saracens had lately wasted Italy, pillaged and burned many churches near Rome it self, conquered Spain, invaded Aquitain, and possessed some islands in the mid-land-sea'; and Ac 1[18] Rhem. 'And he in deede hath possessed a field of the reward of iniquitie.'

Sometimes the meaning is to 'enter into possession,' 'inherit,' as Job 7[3] 'So am I made to possess months of vanity' (וְכֵן הֻנְחַלְתִּי לִי); Zec 8[12] 'I will cause the remnant of this people to possess all these things' (וְהִנְחַלְתִּי, RV 'I will cause . . . to inherit').

So 'to be possessed of' a thing is to inherit it, to have it in possession, Jos 22[9] 'the land of their possession, whereof they were possessed.' Cf. Fuller, *Holy Warre*, 213, 'Charles subdued Manfred and Comadine his nephew . . . and was possessed of Sicilie, and lived there.' The active form is found in Knox, *Hist.* 265, 'Them hee possessed in the Land of Canaan.'

To be possessed with a spirit (of good† or evil) is in Ac 8[17] 16[16] simply to be 'held' by the spirit, but elsewhere means to be under the influence of a demon (δαιμονιζόμενος). See next article.

J. HASTINGS.

POSSESSION means the control or mastery of the will of an individual by another and superhuman personality. This is a familiar feature in early Jewish psychological beliefs, bound up with the prevalent demonology and angelology of pre-exilian and post-exilian Israel. See art. DEMON in vol. i., and for NT especially, p. 593.

That psychological relations were in primitive times construed in material and spatial forms need not be argued here. It is obvious even from a superficial examination of the language employed. Thus in 1 S 16[16] the 'evil spirit from God' is said to be *upon* (עַל) Saul, and the same preposition is employed in Is 61[1] of the spirit with which God inspires the prophet. Cf. the use of the phrase 'the hand of the LORD was upon . . .' The spirit of God passed into (צָלַח בְּ) Saul when he prophesied (1 S 10[10] 18[10]). On the other hand, in 1 S 16[14] the evil spirit is said to terrify (בָּעַת) Saul. In the vision of Micaiah the deceiving spirit proceeds from the presence of Jehovah, and is 'in the mouth' of His prophets (1 K 22[22]).

The same language, therefore, is employed of Divine inspiration as of possession by an evil spirit. The supernatural agency was considered to pass into the individual and take possession of him, and he became visibly affected thereby. The lips of the prophet were for the time under the control of the Divine supernatural will, which spake by the mouth of the holy prophets (Lk 1[70]; but the same power might also cause dumbness, cf. vv.[20. 22]). While admitting that in some cases we have no more than the inevitable language of metaphor, the cumulative evidence of analogy leads us to refrain from pressing this view unduly. Thus the necromancer was considered to be occupied for the time by the spirit of the dead, and was said to be בַּעַל אוֹב, though language in this case appears to invert the relation (see *Necromancy* under SORCERY). Similarly, the demon or evil spirit was believed to enter or pass out of the human subject or to be driven out. While subject to his influence, the individual was said to be δαιμονιζόμενος (in Arab. مجنون *mejnún*, or possessed by a *Jinn*). Demon-possession was manifested by anything abnormal in personal appearance, especially in the strange look of the eyes. Among the many stories about Jân related by Doughty in his *Arabia Deserta* (vol. ii. p. 188ff.) the following statement by Amm Mohammed is a good illustration:—

'Last year a jinn entered into this woman, my wife, one evening: and we were sitting here, as we sit now; I, and the woman, and Haseyn. I saw it come in her eyes, that were fixed, all in a moment; and she lamented with a labouring in her throat. . . . This poor woman had great white rolling eyes, and little joy in them' (p. 191).

Anything of an unhealthy nature, such as an uncanny expression; any disease, and especially epilepsy or insanity, was ascribed to demon-possession. Epilepsy, in fact, derives its name (ἐπίληψις, ἐπιληψία) from having been regarded as due to an assault by demons (cf. Mk 9[18]). In New Hebrew the epileptic patient is called נִכְפֶּה 'overpowered' (cf. Syr. ܡܨܦ), In the NT the demon was said to 'bind' (δεῖν), seize and rend (καταλαβεῖν and ῥήσσειν in the graphic passage Mk 9[18]), enter and pass out of (εἰσέρχεσθαι and ἐξέρχεσθαι) the human subject. The terms predicated of the human subject may be found in art. DEMON, vol. i. p. 593. Animals were likewise affected, Mk 5[13].

Among the Jews and other nations of antiquity magical formulæ were employed in which the potent names of supernatural powers were recited. Among the Jews this was chiefly the name of Jehovah varied in all possible forms, while among the Christians the name of Christ was so employed. See article MAGIC and also EXORCISM

* The Greek of this familiar passage is ἐν τῇ ὑπομονῇ ὑμῶν κτήσισθε τὰς ψυχὰς ὑμῶν. There is a various reading κατήσασθε for κτήσεσθε well supported and adopted by Tischendorf. But with either form the meaning is 'gain possession of,' 'win' (RV), not 'hold in possession,' which would demand the perf. tense. The Vulg. gives *possidebitis*, after which Wyc. 'ye schulen welde'; Tind. has 'With youre pacience possesse youre soules,' and he is followed pretty closely by subsequent versions, the meaning probably always being 'win.' But that the modern misunderstanding is not very modern may be shown from Clement Cotton's tr. of Calvin's *Isaiah* 40[2] (p. 400), 'He is earnest in giving of hope to the godly, wishing them to possesse their soules in patience, until the Prophets were sent unto them with this joyfull and comfortable message.' The Latin is *qua patienter devorent moræ tædium.*

† Cf. Tindale's *Works*, i. 97, 'The Faith only maketh a man safe, good, righteous, and the friend of God . . . and possesseth us with the Spirit of God.'

Other remedies of a material character were also used. It is doubtful whether in Ja 5[14] there is anything of a magical or semi-magical character, implying a belief in demon-possession. It should be noticed, however, that in this case the 'name' was invoked, just as in exorcisms.

OWEN C. WHITEHOUSE.

POST.—i. *Door or gate-post.*—**1.** אַיִל, rendered 'lintel' in 1 K 6[31] (RVm 'posts'), where, probably, the stone case of the door is intended; as also in Ezk 40 and 41, where RV prefers 'jambs' to AV 'posts.' It is derived from אוּל as indicating what *projects* in front of or around the door. **2.** אֵסָּה (possibly from אֵם in a metaphorical sense), once rendered by AV 'posts' (Is 6[4]); RV substitutes 'foundations.' **3.** מָזוּזָה, from an unused root זוּז 'to move oneself about,' applied to the post on which the hinges turn. In later times the name was transferred to the small cylinder attached to the doorpost, containing a strip of parchment on which are written these two passages, viz. Dt 6[4-9] and 11[13-21]. Every pious person on passing out or in touches this reverently, and then kisses his finger. **4.** סַף, from root סָפַף 'to spread out,' rendered 'post' three times in AV (2 Ch 3[7], Ezk 41[16], Am 9[1]). In each case RV rightly substitutes 'threshold.'

On the doorposts the blood of the lamb was sprinkled (Ex 12[7] etc.); and here the words of the law were to be written (Dt 6[9] etc., see No. **3**, above). Moslems copy the Jews in writing verses from the Koran on their doorposts. The German Temple Christians in Palestine have engraved a text of Scripture over every doorway in their colonies. A servant who wished not to avail himself of the law of freedom was brought by his master 'unto God,' 'unto the doorpost,' and had his ear pierced with an awl (Ex 21[6]). A special sanctity seems in the East always to gather round the doorway (see art. THRESHOLD). To this it may be due that while the woodwork of the temple was of Lebanon cedar, the doorposts were made of native-grown olive (1 K 6[33]).

ii. *Carrier of letters or despatches.*—רָץ, pl. רָצִים ('runners'), once (2 K 11[13]) רָצִין, from רוּץ 'to run.' The 'runners' formed the royal guard (1 S 22[17], see art. GUARD), kept the king's house, and were available for other service (1 K 14[27ff.], 2 K 10[25] 11[4ff.]). From them were chosen the couriers, who conveyed royal mandates throughout the kingdom (2 Ch 30[6], Est 3[13. 15]). Those of the Persian monarch were mounted on 'swift steeds' (Est 8[10. 14] RV*). The swiftness characteristic of this service gives point to the saying of Job 9[25] 'My days are swifter than a post.'

W. EWING.

POT.—See FOOD in vol. ii. p. 40, *s.* 'Vessels.'

POTIPHAR (פּוֹטִיפַר; LXX in Gn 37[36] A Πετρεφῆς, E Luc. Πετεφρῆς, in 39[1] ADE Luc. Πετεφρῆς;† Vulg. *Putiphar*).

The name is generally regarded (*e.g.* by Ebers, in Smith, *DB*[2] I. ii. 1794[a]) as a Heb. abbreviation of **Potiphera** פּוֹטִי פֶרַע, in which case it would be Egyp. *P'-dy-p'-R'*, and mean 'He whom the Ra (or the Sun-god) gave'; see Sethe, *De aleph prosthetico in lingua æg. verbi formis præposito*, 1892, p. 31 (a reference, for which the writer is indebted to Mr. F. Ll. Griffith), who quotes as parallel formations *P'-dy-'Imn* 'He whom Ammon gave,' *P'-dy-'st* 'He whom Isis gave.' Sethe also observes that in Greek transcriptions the first two syllables are commonly represented by Πετε-, as in Πετεφρῆς itself, Πετεῆσις, Πετεασσάρτη, Πετεχῶνσις, Πετόσιρις, etc., and refers, for a long list of such names, from papyri and other sources, to Parthey, *Æg. Personennamen*, 1864, p. 79 ff. Lieblein's proposal (*PSBA*, 1898, p. 208 f.) to identify 'Potiphar' with the isolated and uncertain *Pt-ber* (p. 24 n.*), does not make the etymology any clearer.

The name of the 'officer' (סָרִיס, lit. *eunuch*) of Pharaoh, and 'captain of the body-guard' (שַׂר הַטַּבָּחִים; see vol. ii. p. 768[a] n. ‡), to whom Joseph was sold by the Midianites (Gn 37[36]), and who appointed Joseph to wait upon the prisoners confined in the state-prison (*ib.* p. 767[b], 768 n. §) for supposing, as is done by nearly all modern critics, that the words 'Potiphar, an officer (eunuch) of Pharaoh's, the captain of the guard' in 39[1], are an addition made by the redactor, who identified Joseph's 'master,' mentioned in ch. 39, with Potiphar, the 'captain of the body-guard,' of 37[36] 40[3f.]; if this view be correct, the original narrative of ch. 39 (J) knew nothing of 'Potiphar,' but simply mentioned 'an' (unnamed) 'Egyptian,' to whom the Ishmaelites sold Joseph. It may be noticed that, in the existing narrative, the description, 'an Egyptian,' attached in 39[1] to 'Potiphar, an eunuch of Pharaoh's,' etc., seems a rather pointless addition, whereas, standing alone, it would have an adequate *raison d'être*.

It is doubtful whether these two personages are not in reality distinct. Gn 37[36] 40[1ff.] belong to E, and 39[1ff.] to J; and there are strong reasons (cf. *ib.* pp. 767[b], 768 n. §) for supposing, as is done by nearly all modern critics, that the words 'Potiphar, an officer (eunuch) of Pharaoh's, the captain of the guard' in 39[1], are an addition made by the redactor, who identified Joseph's 'master,' mentioned in ch. 39, with Potiphar, the 'captain of the body-guard,' of 37[36] 40[3f.]; if this view be correct, the original narrative of ch. 39 (J) knew nothing of 'Potiphar,' but simply mentioned 'an' (unnamed) 'Egyptian,' to whom the Ishmaelites sold Joseph. It may be noticed that, in the existing narrative, the description, 'an Egyptian,' attached in 39[1] to 'Potiphar, an eunuch of Pharaoh's,' etc., seems a rather pointless addition, whereas, standing alone, it would have an adequate *raison d'être*.

The 'captain of the guard' was not a specially Egyptian office; the same title (with only רַב for שַׂר) being used also of a chief officer of Nebuchadnezzar (2 K 25[8] *al.*; see above, ii. 768[a] n. ‡). The number of court- and state-officials mentioned in Egyp. inscriptions is very great (Ebers, *Æg. u. die Bb. Mose's*, p. 300; and esp. Brugsch, *Die Ægyptologie*, 1889, pp. 213 f., 222–227, 243 f., 299–301); but the office attributed to Potiphar does not appear to have been definitely identified: perhaps it was that of 'the general and eldest of the court' of the Hood-papyrus, an important official, whom Brugsch (p. 213) and Maspero (*Journ. As.* 1888 (xi.), p. 273) identify with the ἀρχισωματοφύλαξ, often mentioned in the Ptolemaic period; see Grenfell, *Greek Pap.* 1896, 38. 1, 42. 1; M. L. Strack, *Die dyn. der Ptol.* 1897, p. 219 ff., Inscr. Nos. 77 (=*CIG* 4677), 95, 97 (*CIG* 2617), 108 (*CIG* 4893), 109, 111, 171; Jos. *Ant.* XII. ii. 4 (cf. 2).* Eunuchs were apparently not as common in ancient Egypt as in other countries, though they seem to be represented on the monuments (Ebers, *l.c.* p. 298); it is, however, possible that *ṣārîṣ* is used in the more general sense of *officer*,—neither the 'captain of the body-guard,' nor the chief butler or baker (to both of whom the same term is applied in 40[2. 7]), holding a kind of office which would be very naturally deputed to a eunuch (though cf. Jos. *Ant.* XVI. viii. 17,—cup-bearers at Herod's court): Ges., however (*Thes.* p. 973), doubts this general application of the term; and LXX, at any rate, have σπάδων in 37[36] and εὐνοῦχος in 39[1]. If the name Potiphar did not occur in the original text of ch. 39, the question of his marriage does not arise; it may be mentioned, however, that (assuming the word *ṣārîṣ* to have its proper force) cases are on record, in both ancient and modern times, of eunuchs being married (Burckhardt, *Arabia*, i. 290; Ebers, p. 299).

On the narrative of ch. 39 enough has been said above, vol. ii. pp. 768[a], 772. It is remarkable that

* The rendering '*swift* steeds' is probable, but not certain רָכֵשׁ (a rare synonym of סוּס) denotes a species of horse possessed of some valuable quality, which may likely enough have been *swiftness*.

† The form Πενταφρῆς is also found, as in ed. Ald., and a 15th cent. MS *ap.* Lagarde, *Gen. Graece* [cf. p. 20]; Philo, i. 134, 604 (Mang.); Cramer, *Anecd. Par.* ii. 174. 25 (Parthey, p. 78). But it is certainly false (Griffith).

* Of course שַׂר הַטַּבָּחִים means properly 'chief (or superintendent) of the slaughterers (*or* cooks [1 S 9[23]])'; and, in spite of 2 K 25[8] etc., it *might* in Genesis have this meaning (cf. LXX ἀρχιμάγειρος): in this case, the expression might (as Mr. Griffith suggests) denote the 'royal cook,' an official who acquired at Thebes in the New Empire many important administrative functions—leading expeditions to the quarries, investigating tomb-robberies, etc. (see Erman, *Ægypten*, Index, *s.v.* 'Truchsess'; and comp. above, vol. ii. p. 774, the note on *Ahi*).

names of the form 'Potiphera,' 'Potiphar' (if this be rightly regarded as really the same name), appear first in the 22nd dyn. (the dyn. of Shishak),* and are frequent only in the 26th dyn. (B.C. 664–525); it is thus at least doubtful how far either one or the other really springs from the age of Joseph (see, further, vol. i. 665[b], ii. 775[a]).

S. R. DRIVER.

POTIPHERA (פּוֹטִי פֶרַע; LXX A Πετρεφῆς, E Luc. Πετεφρῆς;† Vulg. *Putiphare*; on the etym. see under POTIPHAR).—The priest—*i.e.*, no doubt, the chief priest—of ON (which see),—*i.e.* of the famous and ancient temple of the Sun, at On,—whose daughter Asenath was given by Pharaoh to Joseph for a wife (Gn 41[45. 50] 46[20]).

S. R. DRIVER.

POTSHERD.—This is the translation in Job 2[8], Ps 22[15], Pr 26[23], and Is 45[9 bis] of חֶרֶשׂ *ḥeres*, which is rendered 'sherd' in Is 30[14], Ezk 23[34], but elsewhere (usually with גֶּלִי) 'earthen vessel.' Potsherd occurs also in Sir 22[7] as tr. of ὄστρακον, which is the LXX word for *ḥeres* in Job 2[8], Ps 22[15], Pr 26[23], Is 30[14]. The Eng. word, which is a sherd (shred) or fragment of pottery, is illustrated by Skelton's (Skeat's *Specimens*, 143)—

> 'But this madde Amalecke,
> Lyke to a Mamelek,
> He regardeth lordes
> No more than potshordes'—

and Spenser, *FQ* VI. i. 37—

> 'They hew'd their helmes, and plates asunder brake,
> As they had potshares bene.'

In translating, the distinction has to be made between 'earthen vessel' and 'fragment of earthen vessel.' The latter is the meaning, according to *Oxf. Heb. Lex.*, in Job 2[8] 41[22], Is 30[14], Ezk 23[34]. RV makes two changes. Job 41[30] AV 'sharp stones are under him' is changed into 'his underparts are like sharp potsherds'; Pr 26[23] 'a potsherd' becomes 'an earthen vessel.'

J. HASTINGS.

POTTAGE (נָזִיד *nāzîd*, LXX ἔψημα, Vulg. *pulmentum*).—A kind of thick broth made by boiling lentils or other vegetables with meat or suet, usually in water, but sometimes in milk. Robinson says that lentil pottage made in this manner is very palatable, and that he 'could very well conceive, to a weary hunter, faint with hunger, they (lentils) might be quite a dainty' (i. 167). Thomson speaks of its appetizing fragrance, which it diffuses far and wide; and he gives an account of a meal in which this pottage was eaten out of a saucepan placed on the ground in the middle of the company, a cake of bread, doubled spoon-fashion, being dipped in the pot to carry the pottage to the mouth. 'European children born in Palestine are extravagantly fond of it' (*L. and B.* i. 252). The pottage prepared by Jacob was of the red lentil (see FOOD, vol. ii. 27), hence Esau's emphatic 'the red, this red' (Gn 25[30]). For a mess of this, called in He 12[16] βρῶσις μία ('a mess of meat'), Esau sold his birthright. Labat in his account of the visit of the Chevalier d'Arvieux to Hebron in 1660 says that at the entrance to St. Helena's Church, now a mosque, there is a great kitchen where pottage is daily prepared of lentils and other vegetables in commemoration of this event, which is supposed to have taken place here (?), and is freely distributed to all comers; 'We have partaken of it' (ii. p. 237). This practice does not seem to be kept up at the present day.

Pottage was known in Egypt at an early period, and was called *āshā* (Copt. ⲟⲟϣ). Wilkinson has copied a tomb-painting representing a man cooking this food (ii. 34, fig. 301, 9). In Palestine a variety of vegetables entered into its composition, as in Scotch broth. Apparently the globe cucumber (*Cucumis prophetarum*), a common plant about Samaria, was sometimes used to thicken it; and we are told in 2 K 4[39] that one of the 'sons of the prophets' mistook פַּקֻּעַת שָׂדֶה, probably the violently purgative *Citrullus colocynthis*, for this plant. The colocynth is common in the Shephēlah and about the shores of the lower Jordan Valley, but not in the middle higher lands (see FOOD, vol. ii. p. 28).

The prophet Haggai names pottage with bread, wine, and oil as the common articles of diet which a priest, bearing holy flesh, would be likely to touch inadvertently with the skirt of his garment (2[12]). *Nāzîd*, being chiefly made of vegetables, differs from *pārāḳ* (only in const. *pĕraḳ*, Is 65[4] *Kethibh*), which seems to have been a kind of minced collops made of meat disjointed, or finely cut up and boiled in water (cf. 'mortrewes and potages' below). *Ḳerê* has *mĕraḳ*, as in Jg 6[19. 20], a name which is also applied to the same dish. Some suppose these to be soup poured over broken bread.

The word 'pottage' was originally the same as the French *potage* and spelled like it, as in Chaucer's *Prologue to the Pardoners Tale*, 82, and Piers Plowman, who writes 'potage and payn (bread) ynough' (Text B. xv. 310), 'mortrewes (pounded meat) and potages' (*ib.* xiii. 41). In the *Boke of Curtasye*, whose date is uncertain, probably about 1460, potage is the first course at dinner (iii. 765), and is to be eaten without 'grete sowndynge' (i. 69). In the 1557 ed. of Seager's *Schoole of Vertue* (iv. 444), it appears with two t's, and it is spelled as we now have it in all editions of the English Bible from 1560 to the present. In Russell's *Boke of Nurture*, dating from about 1460, there is a section on different kinds of potages.

A. MACALISTER.

POTTER, POTTERY.—The art of the potter (Heb. יוֹצֵר or יֹצֵר, ptcp. of יָצַר 'to form *or* fashion'; Gr. κεραμεύς) can be traced back to a very early date in Egypt, and within recent years there have been considerable 'finds' in Palestine of specimens of pottery, some of which are much older than the date of the Israelite conquest. Upon the ground especially of the discoveries at *Tell el-Ḥesy* (? Lachish), Flinders Petrie has sought to construct a complete history of the pottery of Palestine, which he divides into three periods (see the following article, and compare Petrie and Conder in *PEFSt*, 1891, p. 68 ff.; also Nowack, *Lehrb. der Heb. Arch.* i. 265 ff.; Benzinger, *Heb. Arch.* 261 ff.). The products of the potter's industry would naturally be little used by the Israelites during the nomadic period of their existence, when vessels of skin or of wood must have been found more serviceable than those of earth (Nowack, *l.c.* p. 242; Benzinger, *l.c.* p. 214). Even after they entered Canaan, the Israelites appear to have been slow to adopt the vessels of the potter; a skin is still used for holding milk (Jg 4[19]), wine (1 S 16[20]), or water (Gn 21[14f.]); the Heb. in the first two of these passages is נאד, in the third חֵמָת, the Gr. in all three is ἀσκός. The earliest mention of pottery in the OT is in 2 S 17[28], where, amongst the articles brought to David during his flight from Absalom,

* For the name 'Petu-baal' cited above, vol. ii. 774[a] n. ¶, is very doubtful, Mr. Griffith informs the writer, in both meaning and date. It is properly *Pt-ber* (Lieblein, *Dict. des Noms Hiérogl.* No. 553); and 'though *ber* is the correct spelling for Baal, there is no determinative to show that it was intended for that. *Pt*, also, is not the same as *P'-dy* (in *P'-dy-'Imn*, etc., above); and it is difficult to find a meaning for it. The name is at present known only to occur once; and it may be wrongly copied, or may not be a compound at all. The period to which it belongs is also quite uncertain: it may be that of the Hyksos; but it may also be earlier, or much later.'

† Also Πεντεφρῆς, ed. Ald., and the MS cited p. 23 n. †; Euseb. *Præp. Ev.* ix. 21. 9; Cramer, *Aneed. Par.* ii. 175. 14; Fabric. *Cod. Pseudepigr.* ii. 86 (Parthey, p. 78).

were 'earthen vessels' (כְּלֵי יוֹצֵר; B *σκεύη ὀστράκινα*, A om.).

Both in the OT and in the Apocrypha there are allusions to the various processes carried on by the potter. He treads the clay (חֹמֶר) with his feet (Is 41[25], Wis 15[7]), kneads it like dough and places it upon the wheel, or rather wheels (אֲבָנִים Jer 18[3]; LXX *ἐπὶ τῶν λίθων*, implying a reading הָאֲבָנִים). The *'obnayim* (a dual form used elsewhere only in Ex 1[16] of the 'birth-stool') consisted, as the name implies, of *two* discs of wood, connected by a wooden pivot, and arranged the one above the other, the under wheel being the larger of the two. The wheels, which were capable of being revolved in opposite directions, were set in motion by the foot of the potter, who sat at his work. All these points, as well as the processes of firing and glazing, are referred to in Sir 38[29ff.] (cf. the illustrations in Wilkinson, *Anc. Egyp.* 1837, iii. 164). The first of these processes, the firing, perhaps explains Ps 22[15] 'My palate [reading חִכִּי for כֹּחִי 'my strength'] is dried up like a potsherd' (חֶרֶשׂ, *ὄστρακον*). The glazing process, in which the oxide of lead obtained in the course of refining silver was chiefly employed, gives point to the saying of Pr 26[23] 'Fervent [or perhaps 'smooth,' see Toy, *ad loc.*] lips and a wicked heart are like an earthen vessel overlaid with silver dross' (כֶּסֶף סִיגִים מְצֻפֶּה עַל־חֶרֶשׂ; LXX *ἀργύριον διδόμενον μετὰ δόλου ὥσπερ ὄστρακον ἠγητέον*).

Under the later kings the industry of the potter was so familiar as to furnish the prophets with figures in addressing their hearers. The classic instance of this is Jer 18, where the prophet describes how he paid a visit to the house of the potter,* and found him fashioning a work on the wheels. 'And when the vessel that he made of the clay was marred in the hand of the potter, he made it again another vessel, as seemed good to the potter to make it' (v.[4]). The lesson drawn is, 'Cannot I do with you as this potter? saith the LORD. Behold, as the clay in the potter's hand, so are ye in mine hand, O house of Israel' (cf. Is 29[16] 45[9] 64[8], Wis 15[7ff.], and the famous argument of St. Paul in Ro 9[20ff.], a passage which will be fully discussed in art. PREDESTINATION, along with which it will be well to refer to Sanday-Headlam's 'Romans' in *Internat. Crit. Comm. ad loc.*). Again, in Jer 19[1ff.] a potter's earthen bottle (בַּקְבֻּק יוֹצֵר חֶרֶשׂ, LXX *βικὸς πεπλασμένος ὀστράκινος*) is purchased by the prophet, and afterwards broken in typical allusion to the approaching irretrievable ruin of the nation (cf. Ps 2[9]=Rev 2[27], Is 30[14]).

A guild of potters is mentioned by the Chronicler (1 Ch 4[23]). In P the 'earthen vessel' (כְּלִי חֶרֶשׂ) is repeatedly mentioned: Lv 6[28] [Heb. [21]] as used for boiling the flesh of the sin-offering; 11[33] as defiled by contact with unclean animals; 14[5. 50] one of the two birds offered on behalf of the cleansed leper or leprous house is to be killed 'in an earthen vessel over running water' [*i.e.* so as to let the blood drop into the vessel and mingle with the water contained in it]; 15[12] as defiled by an issue; Nu 5[17] as used to contain the water in the jealousy ordeal. In all these instances the LXX has *σκεῦος ὀστράκινον* except in Lv 14[5] and Nu 5[17], in both of which it has *ἄγγιον ὀστράκινον*. In Jer 32[14] we read of a legal document (the deed of purchase of Hanamel's field) being kept in an earthen vessel.

The figure of the potter at work is more or less consciously present in a number of instances where the verb יצר is employed to describe the Divine activity in creating or fashioning men or other objects: Jahweh forms man of dust from the ground, Gn 2[7]; beasts and birds from the ground, v.[19]; Israel as a people, Is 27[11] 43[1. 21] 44[21] 45[9 bis. 11] 49[5] (even from the womb) 64[7]; the individual Israelite, Is 43[7]; Jeremiah in the womb, Jer 1[5]; the eye of man, Ps 94[9]; the locust, Am 7[1]; Leviathan, Ps 104[26]; the dry land, Ps 95[5]; the earth, Is 45[18 bis]; the mountains, Am 4[13]; the universe (הַכֹּל), Jer 10[16]=51[19]. The figure appears to be lost sight of, and יצר simply='form,' in such instances as Is 45[7] the forming of light, Ps 74[17] summer and winter, Zec 12[1] the spirit of man, Ps 33[15] the hearts of men. יצר is also used figuratively of fashioning, *i.e.* foreordaining, an event or situation, Is 22[11] 37[26] (=2 K 19[25]) 46[11], Jer 33[2], cf. Ps 139[6].

The potter's clay and the vessels fashioned from it are emblems in Scripture of what is feeble or of little value. In Dn 2[41] the feet of the image seen in vision by Nebuchadnezzar are described as part of iron and part of potter's clay (Aram. חֲסַף דִּי־פָחָר; Theod. B simply *ὀστράκινον*, A[a?(mg)] *ὀστράκινον κεραμίου*; LXX *ὀστράκου κεραμικοῦ*), which leads to the interpretation, 'the kingdom shall be partly strong and partly broken' (RVm 'brittle,' Aram. תְּבִירָה, Theod. *συντριβόμενον*, LXX *συντετριμμένον*). In La 4[2] we have the forcible contrast: 'The precious sons of Zion, comparable to fine gold, how are they esteemed as earthen pitchers, the work of the hands of the potter' (לְנִבְלֵי־חֶרֶשׂ מַעֲשֵׂה יְדֵי יוֹצֵר, LXX *εἰς ἄγγια ὀστράκινα, ἔργα χειρῶν κεραμέως*). Again, in 2 Co 4[7] St. Paul declares, 'We have this treasure [*sc.* the ministry entrusted to him] in earthen vessels' (*ἐν ὀστρακίνοις σκεύεσιν*), perhaps in allusion especially to the weak bodily frame of the apostle. 'In a great house there are not only vessels of gold and of silver, but also of wood and of earth,' 2 Ti 2[20] (*σκεύη ὀστράκινα*); cf. also Is 29[16] 45[9].

Zec 11[13] is a difficult passage, especially when considered in connexion with Mt 27[9f.]. The Massoretic text is thus rendered in RV: 'The LORD said unto me, Cast it unto the potter, the goodly price that I was prised (*sic*) at of them. And I took the thirty pieces of silver and cast them unto the potter in the house of the LORD.' Instead of אֶל־הַיּוֹצֵר 'unto the potter,' Gesenius (*Thes.*) follows the Syr. in reading אֶל־הָאוֹצָר 'into the treasury.' This is adopted also by G. A. Smith, Wellhausen, Nowack, and others. The LXX has *εἰς τὸ χωνευτήριον*, 'into the smelting furnace.' The words אוצר and יוצר might all the more readily be confused owing to the tendency of א to pass into י between two vowels. It is not improbable, however, that the Massoretes purposely obscured the reading אוצר from a feeling that the paltry wage which was unworthy of the prophet's acceptance could not fittingly be cast into the treasury of God. In like manner the chief priests in Mt 27[6] say of the thirty pieces of silver returned by Judas, 'It is not lawful to put them into the treasury, since it is the price of blood.' Accordingly, they took counsel and bought with them the potter's field to bury strangers in. In this Mt characteristically discovers a fulfilment of prophecy, and it is manifestly the prophecy of Zec 11[13] that is in view, although it is attributed to Jeremiah, and quoted in a form that agrees neither with the MT, of which we have just quoted the translation, nor with the LXX. The substitution of *Jeremiah* for Zechariah is no doubt simply due to a *lapsus memoriæ*, which might occur all the more readily in view of the allusions to the *potter* in Jer 18 and 19, and the narrative of the purchase of a *field* from Hanamel in 32[6ff.]. The following are the readings of the LXX (B) of Zec 11[13] and of the professed quotation in Mt 27[9f.] (according to WH's text)—

Zec 11[13].	Mt 27[9f.]
Καὶ εἶπεν Κύριος πρὸς μέ, Κάθες αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ χωνευτήριον, καὶ σκέψομαι (A	Καὶ ἔλαβον τὰ τριάκοντα ἀργύρια, τὴν τιμὴν τοῦ τετιμημένου ὃν ἐτιμήσαντο ἀπὸ

* Situated probably near the gate Harsith (Jer 19[2] RV), or 'gate of the potsherds' (?), a name perhaps derived from the quantity of potsherds thrown out there. See HARSITH.

Zec 11^{13}.	Mt $27^{9f.}$.
σκέψαι αὐτό) εἰ δόκιμόν ἐστιν, ὃν τρόπον ἐδοκιμάσθη (B*fort AℵQ ἐδοκιμάσθην) ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν. καὶ ἔλαβον τοὺς τριάκοντα ἀργύρους καὶ ἐνέβαλον αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸν (A om. τόν) οἶκον Κυρίου εἰς τὸ χωνευτήριον.	υἱῶν Ἰσραήλ, καὶ ἔδωκαν (A*vid ἔδωκεν, ℵ ἔδωκα) αὐτὰ εἰς τὸν ἀγρὸν τοῦ κεραμέως καθὰ συνέταξέν μοι Κύριος.

RV in Mt 'And they (marg. 'I') took the thirty pieces of silver, the price of him that was priced, whom (certain) of the children of Israel did price (marg. 'whom they priced on the part of the sons of Israel'), and they (marg. 'I') gave them for the potter's field, as the Lord appointed me.' The reading 'potter' is thus retained (although there appears to be in the context a consciousness also of the reading 'treasury'), the language is accommodated to cover the purchase by the priests of the potter's field, and the passage has manifestly a Messianic character imposed upon it (see, further, Wellhausen, *Die kleinen Propheten*, *ad loc.*, and arts. AKELDAMA, and QUOTATIONS E *d* and J *a*). J. A. SELBIE.

POTTERY.—Materials for the study of the pottery of Southern Palestine from 1700 to 300 B.C. were furnished by the systematic excavation of the mound Tell el-Ḥesy by Petrie and Bliss, 1890–93 (see art. LACHISH). At this site was found a series of superimposed mud-brick towns, eight in number, each distinguished by its own types of pottery. The already-dated foreign types (Greek and Phœnician) furnished a scale for approximately dating the local ware with which they were associated, or which they overlaid. The results obtained at Tell el-Ḥesy have since been confirmed and amplified by extensive excavations at three other mounds, Tell Zakarîya, Tell eṣ-Ṣafi, and Tell ej-Judeideh, as well as at Jerusalem. Briefly, these results are as follows. The pre-Seleucidan pottery may be divided into three groups—(1) earlier pre-Israelite; (2) later pre-Israelite; (3) Jewish.

(1) *The earlier pre-Israelite* ware has been found, unmixed with other styles, on the rock or virgin soil at three sites. The types include—(*a*) large bowls with very thick brims, the interior being faced with red or yellow and burnished with lines sometimes crossing; (*b*) large jars with flat disc bottom, invecked necks, and ornamented with a cable-moulding; (*c*) jars with surfaces scraped

EARLY PRE-ISRAELITE JAR.

over with a comb and having ledge-handles of a wavy shape. These handles are typical of certain Egyptian pottery, regarded by Petrie as pre-historic; he suggests a Lybian origin. All these characteristics come down to later times, especially

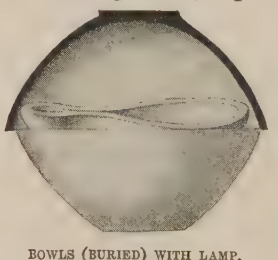
LEDGE-HANDLE.
(Early Pre-Israelite.)

the patterned burnishing, which is found in a debased form in Jewish jars.

(2) *The later pre-Israelite* ware comes down to Jewish times, and is found in connexion with known 'Phœnician' types, ranging from about 1400 to 1000 B.C., and with Mycenæan ware of the same period. The most characteristic native forms are—(*a*) the open lamps and bowls, both with rounded bottom, often found purposely buried in groups; (*b*) ware with painted ornament, consist-

LATER PRE-ISRAELITE PAINTED WARE.

ing chiefly of birds, zigzags, and spirals; (*c*) small flasks with pointed bottoms; (*d*) stands for holding these; (*e*) female figurines (*teraphim*).



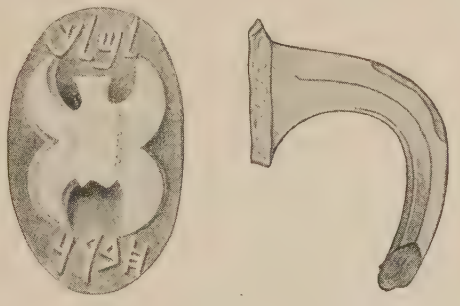
BOWLS (BURIED) WITH LAMP.

(3) The ware we call *Jewish* appears to be characteristic of the later Jewish monarchy, when the

local pre-Israelite and the Phœnician types had blended and had become debased. The commonest types are—(*a*) cooking pots (blackened with smoke), with large wide mouths and small handles; (*b*) open lamps, with thick disc bases;

JEWISH COOKING POT.

(*c*) tiny rude black jugs; (*d*) flasks with long neck and stand, out of all proportion to the small body; (*e*) large jars with ribbed handles, stamped. The stamps are of three classes: stars of various forms; ellipse containing name of the owner or maker in old Hebrew letters; royal stamps. The

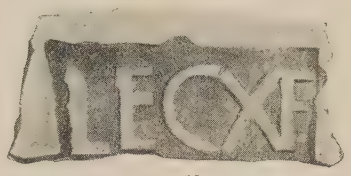


ROYAL STAMP ON JAR HANDLE.

latter show a creature in two varieties, one with two expanded wings, the other with four. The second type is clearly a *scarabæus*. Above the symbol is invariably the legend למלך; below, the name of a town, as שוכה. As this ware appears to date from the time of the Jewish monarchy, the reading 'Belonging to the king of Shocoh' is untenable. Accordingly we should rather read: 'To the king: (dedicated by) Shocoh.' Thus far three names of known towns have been recovered, Shocoh, Hebron, and Ziph, as well as the name ממשת, which is not mentioned in the Bible. As to the exact meaning of the stamp, several hypotheses have been brought forward. From the discovery of these stamped handles at Jerusalem it has been argued that they belonged to jars containing oil, wine, or other tribute sent to the capital by the towns mentioned. The wide geographical distribution (such as the finding of the stamp with Shocoh at five different sites) suggests that the place-names were those of royal potteries, situated at Hebron, Ziph, Shocoh, etc.

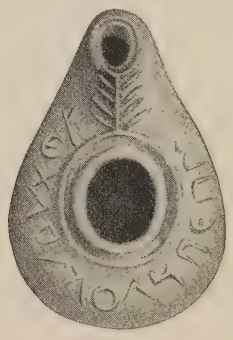
Associated with the above-mentioned Jewish types we find Greek pottery, chiefly ribbed bowls, and large amphoræ with loop handles. The red and black figured ware was also imported.

The *post-Seleucidan* pottery of Palestine has not been as carefully studied as the earlier types. The Seleucidan forms are similar to those found at Alexandria. Rhodian jar-handles stamped with Greek names are common. Roman sites contain the well-known ribbed amphoræ, and tiles with the stamp of the tenth legion: LEG(IO) X. FRE(TENSIS), are common about Jerusalem. In Chris-



STAMP OF THE 10TH LEGION.

tian graves are found many closed lamps, stamped with elaborate patterns, sometimes showing crosses or a Greek inscription, as ΑΤΧΝΑΡΙΑ ΚΑΑΑ.



CHRISTIAN LAMP.

The same general type extended to Arab times. Finally, we have the Arab glazed ware, found in Crusading sites, such as Blanche Garde at Tell eṣ-Ṣafi.

LITERATURE.—Petrie, *Tell el-Hesy*; Bliss, *Mound of Many Cities*; Reports on the Excavations at Tell Zakariya, Tell eṣ-Ṣafi, and Tell ej-Judeideh, *PEFSt*, 1899–1900; also the forthcoming volume on these Excavations.

F. J. BLISS.

NOTE.—The above illustrations are reproduced with the kind permission of the Palestine Exploration Fund Committee.

POTTER'S FIELD. — See AKELDAMA and POTTER.

POUND.— See MONEY, vol. iii. p. 428[a], and WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

POVERTY. — A. IN OLD TESTAMENT. — The paucity of abstract terms in Hebrew is illustrated by the fact that the words translated 'poverty' in EV occur chiefly in the Book of Proverbs, and other post-exilic works. These are (*a*) from חסר, 'to lack':—חֶסֶר, מַחְסוֹר (cf. חֹסֶר, חֶסְרוֹן), *ἔνδεια, ὑστέρημα*, etc., *egestas*, etc.; (*b*) from רוּשׁ:—רֵאשׁ, רִישׁ, רֵישׁ, *πενία, egestas*, etc. The poor are frequently mentioned, the following terms being so translated: (*c*) מַחְסוֹר [cf. (*a*)]; (*d*) רֵשׁ, ptcp. of רוּשׁ [cf. (*b*)], *πένης, πτωχός*, etc., *pauper*, etc.; (*e*) from ענה 'be bowed down':—עֲנָה (Aram.), עָנִי 'afflicted,' 'poor,' עָנָו 'humble,' 'lowly' (see art. POOR), *πένης, πτωχός, πραΰς, ταπεινός*, etc., *pauper*, etc.; (*f*) from אבה 'crave':—אֶבְיוֹן 'needy,' *πένης, πτωχός*, etc., *pauper*, etc.; (*g*) from דלל 'hang down':—דַּל 'weak, depressed,' in Gn 41[19] of *lean* cows, *πένης, πτωχός, ταπεινός*, etc., *pauper*, etc.; (*h*) מִסְכֵּן (Aram.) only in

Ecclesiastes, 'poor,' *πένης*, *pauper*; (*i*) the obscure and doubtful חֶלְכָּה, חֶלְכָּאִים, in Ps $10^{8.\ 10.\ 14}$, perhaps 'hapless,' *πένης*, *πτωχός*, *pauper*.

The *causes of poverty*, apart from sloth, thoughtlessness, and extravagance, were specially—(i.) Failure of crops and loss of cattle through bad seasons; thus the Shunammite left her homestead, by Elisha's advice, to avoid a famine (2 K 8^{1-7}, cf. Neh 5^3). At such times the townsfolk would suffer from the high price of food, and the falling off of trade through the destitution of the farmers. (ii.) Raids and invasions. (iii.) Loss of property through the violence of the nobles, supported by corrupted law courts, *e.g.* Naboth's vineyard (1 K 21) and the appropriation of the Shunammite's land during her absence. (iv.) Ruinous taxation and forced labour (*corvée*) (Neh $5^{4.\ 5}$). (v.) Extortionate usury, which took advantage of the distress caused by bad seasons and heavy taxes to lend at high interest on the security of land. In many instances the debtors could not pay, and forfeited land and liberty to their creditors (Neh 5^{1-5}).

In considering the *character and extent of poverty*, stress must be laid on the influence of polygamy and slavery. The almost universal habit of early marriage which seems to have existed amongst freemen, together with concubinage and polygamy, checked the growth of that destitution amongst unmarried women which is the most painful feature of modern poverty. Indeed, if the principles of family and clan life had been loyally carried out, a free Israelite could want only when the whole family or clan were destitute. But actual practice mostly fell far short of this ideal.

Again, with us, the last resort of the poor is either the workhouse, or crime, or slow starvation; in ancient Israel, the destitute became slaves. Indeed, the class corresponding to the great bulk of our poorer workers for wages, both domestic and industrial, was the slave-class. Hence the article SLAVE deals with the condition of the greater portion of the poor. There were, however, slaves whose position was much more honourable and comfortable than that of English labourers, and there were poor who were not slaves. The existence of slavery added to the resources of the poor man by enlarging his credit: he and his family could offer their persons as security for loans.

Again, the mere lack of means, if it did not amount to absolute destitution, was far less distressing than with us, because so little was needed in the way of house, furniture, clothes, firing, or even food.

The classes of the poor most often mentioned are widows and orphans, and the *gērīm*, or resident aliens. The former suffered because the family ties were not as real as they were supposed to be, the latter because they had no actual family ties, and the bond of hospitality was soon strained to breaking point (Lv 19^{10}, Dt 14^{29}, Ps 94^6, Jer 22^3, Zec 7^{10}, Mal 3^5). See art. GER.

As regards poverty, however, the conditions were very different in the four great periods of OT history. (1) *The Nomadic period.* In a nomad tribe there were richer and poorer and slaves; but the bond of brotherhood in the tribe was kept alive by the constant necessity of mutual help and defence; and distressful poverty was possible for the individual only when the fortunes of the whole tribe were at a very low ebb.

(2) *The Judges and the Early Monarchy.*—During this period the clan and family system maintained a great, though perhaps diminishing, vitality; and its influence, as we have said, was against the growth of poverty. The great majority of free Israelite families held land; they might suffer from bad seasons, and from invasion, or the oppression of powerful fellow-countrymen;* whole families might be swept away by plague or famine, carried away captive by the enemy, or reduced to slavery by native oppressors; but with certain exceptions (see below) there was little permanent poverty. Gideon says (Jg 6^{15}) 'My clan (*lit.* 'thousand') is the poorest (דַּל) in Manasseh, and I am the least in my father's house'; but the context shows that Gideon was fairly well off. It is probably not a mere accident that the first mention in history of a class of poor freemen comes soon after the establishment of the Monarchy. 1 S 22^2 tells us that there resorted unto David 'every one that was in distress (אִישׁ מָצוֹק), or in debt, or discontented.'

In this period, however, certain classes of landless poor seem to have arisen. When the frontier receded through the successful attack of a neighbouring tribe, the Israelite refugees would seek shelter amongst their brethren. They could not always be provided with land, and probably formed a large portion of the *gērīm*, the *gēr* in this case being an Israelite settled in a strange tribe. In this period, too, the Levites are apparently both landless and poor, *e.g.* Micah's Levite, Jg 17. 18, and the Levite of Jg 19, both of whom were *gērīm*; cf. LEVI. The scant references to the poor in the older (JE) legislation, the Ten Commandments, the Book of the Covenant, etc., *e.g.* Ex 22^{25} 23^6, indicate that poverty was not very widespread in this period.

(3) *The Later Monarchy.*—We learn from the prophets of the 8th cent. that as the Israelite kingdoms advanced in wealth and civilization, pauperism developed. The rich added 'house to house, and field to field' (Is 5^8), and the landless poor multiplied.

The growth in luxury led to an increase of the artisan class and the town population generally. When the tide of prosperity ebbed, these classes bore the brunt of bad times. The prophets tried to keep the land for the peasant farmers, but their efforts were futile. Deuteronomy shows that poverty was a serious and widespread evil (10^{17-19} $14^{28.\ 29}$ 15. $23^{19.\ 20}$ 24^{10-21} 26^{12-15}), and frequently refers to the Levites as an impoverished class ($12^{12.\ 19}$ 18). The Deuteronomic legislation attempted to remedy the evil, but it came too late.

(4) *After the Exile.*—The community in Palestine was poor as a whole, and Neh 5 shows that the nobles and priests profited by the misfortunes of the peasants to absorb their land. The general tone of the Psalms, and the use of the term *'ānāw*, 'lowly,' for the pious Jews, suggest that the bulk of the people were permanently poor. See art. POOR. The Priestly Code shows great consideration for the poor (Lv $5^{7.\ 11}$ etc. 19^{9-15} 23^{22} 25).

As the Jews passed from the rule of the Persians to that of the Greek kings of Egypt and Syria, the bulk of the people, whether in the Dispersion or in Syria, became subject, in a measure, to the general conditions of social life; and the information as to the poor in the ancient classical world will apply to that extent to the scattered Jews. But in most cities, as in Alexandria, and in many country districts, the Jews formed communities bound by racial and religious ties. Such ties are very real, especially in small societies, when those who own them are in the midst of aliens of another faith. Poverty might be prevalent, but would be much alleviated by mutual helpfulness. In Jewish Galilee and Judah there were the agricultural settlements, where social conditions were comparatively simple; and the intensely Jewish city of Jerusalem, whose size implies a large poor popula-

* Cf. Nathan's parable, in which the rich man robbed his poor neighbour (2 S 12^{1-6}).

tion. The Bk. of Sirach, the work of a Jerusalem Jew, implies a measure of poverty and emphasizes the helplessness of the poor before the oppression of the rich (7[32] 10[30. 31] 13[3. 18] 21[5] 29[22] 35[13] 41[2]); but conveys the impression that the wrongs and sufferings of the poor about B.C. 200 were far less grievous than in the time of Amos and Isaiah.

As regards *provision for the poor*, there was first of all, perhaps most efficacious of all, the possibility of finding sustenance in slavery, a fate probably regarded with less horror, and carrying with it less disgrace, than the modern workhouse. Before this, the poor might have recourse to their family or clan. In early times, when each clan inhabited its own district, the claims of poorer members commanded recognition; but as time went on, and the clan system broke up, this resource became less and less to be relied on. The successive codes sought to remedy the evil by various enactments. In Ex 22[25-27] loans are to be without interest, so also Dt 15[7. 8] 24[10. 13], Lv 25[35. 37]; cf. Ps 15[5] etc.; and in Ex 23[11] the poor are to have the produce of the land in Sabbatical years, so also Lv 25[6]. In Deuteronomy tithes are to be given to the poor (14[28] 26[12. 13]); who are to be entertained at the great Feasts (16[11. 14]; cf. Neh 8[10]); to be allowed to glean, and to have something left to glean, to have the right to take what grew in the corners of fields, and any sheaves that might be forgotten (24[19. 21]); cf. Lv 19[9. 10], Ru 2[2]. The most serious attempt to deal with poverty was the Law of the Jubilee Year in the Priestly Code (Lv 25[25-54]; cf. Dt 15[12-15]), which, if carried out, would have secured the periodical restoration of the landless poor to freedom and their return to the land, but this law remained an ideal. These various provisions were supplemented by ALMSGIVING (which see).

B. IN NEW TESTAMENT.—The term 'poverty, *πτωχεία, paupertas, inopia*, is used only in 2 Co 8[2. 9], Rev 2[9], where it has a general or figurative sense; but the 'poor,' *πένης* (2 Co 9[9]), *πενιχρός* (Lk 21[2]), *πτωχός* (frequently, especially in the Gospels and Ja 2), *pauper*, etc., are often mentioned. As regards poverty, the NT period did not differ in any essential features from the Greek period. On the one hand, the exactions of the Herodian and Roman officials were probably more severe than those of the Greek rulers; on the other, the duty of almsgiving was more diligently inculcated as a religious duty which would be richly rewarded. In this respect the Christian Church followed in the steps of the synagogue. The Church at Jerusalem made an abortive experiment in communism (Ac 2[44] 4[32]), which probably aggravated its poverty; and gave opportunity for the collection for 'the poor saints at Jerusalem' which St. Paul organized amongst his Gentile converts (Ro 15[26], Gal 2[10]). The early Christian Churches followed the example of the synagogues in holding it a duty to provide for their poor (Ro 12[13], 1 Ti 6[18], 1 Jn 3[17] etc.; cf. art. 'Alms' in Smith and Cheetham's *Dict. of Christian Antiquities*). But Ja 2[2-6] shows that this duty was often neglected. In later times the Jews have usually set an example to Christendom by their care for their poor co-religionists.

While we read that 'the common people (*ὁ πολὺς ὄχλος*, Mk 12[37], cf. Jn 12[9]) heard' Jesus 'gladly,' we are not told that His actual disciples were poor; they rather seem to have belonged to the lower middle class—fishermen owning boats, tax-collectors, etc. The early Church included many poor, and few rich, powerful, or distinguished members (1 Co 1[26]); but Prof. Orr, in his *Neglected Factors in the Study of the Early Progress of Christianity*, maintains that the strength of the Church lay in the middle classes. Cf. ALMSGIVING, FAMILY, GLEANING, SABBATICAL YEAR, TITHES.

W. H. BENNETT.

POWER (chiefly חַיִל, כֹּחַ, עֹז; *δύναμις, ἐξουσία*).*—**1.** All the power in the universe is traced in Scripture to a spiritual source. God created all things by His word; and the word being the expression of the will, it is the spiritual God Himself who is the ground and origin of all that is (Gn 1. 2, Ps 33[9] 148[5], Pr 8[27ff.], Is 40[12ff.], Jer 32[17], Jn 1[3. 10]). While God is the Creator of the world, and continually rules all the agents in it for His own ends, there is real power made over to nature. There is no pantheistic identification of nature's power with God's. According to Gn 1, the earth has the function assigned to it of bringing forth grass and herbs, and the trees and all the living creatures bring forth fruit 'after their kind': nature follows its own laws (cf. He 6[7]). Or, again, the sea has a place and power which are definitely fixed, indeed, but are thereby proved to be real (Job 38[11], Pr 8[29]). In like manner there is true power, though it is derivative, committed to man. He was made 'in the image of God' (Gn 1[26f.]), and so his original endowment includes the gift of power like God's. It is proved by his exercising dominion over the other living creatures (1[28]), and by his possessing freedom of choice (2[16f.]). The power of man is lost by sin (Gn 2[17], 1 S 28[20], Ro 7[18ff.] etc.). Nevertheless, he is treated in every condition as a rational and moral being; the wicked are commanded on almost every page of Scripture to bestir themselves, to repent and turn to God.

2. God continually upholds the world by His power in *Providence*, *i.e.* (*a*) in the *preservation*, (*b*) in the *government* of the creation. (*a*) The fact of the world's persistence amid change, and while everything in it is characterized by transiency, is referred to the direct action of the Divine Will (Gn 8[22], Ps 104[29f.] 139, Jer 14[22], Ac 17[28], He 1[3] etc.). Then (*b*) God's government of the world consists in His guiding all its processes for certain predetermined ends. Thus He causes grass to grow 'for the cattle,' and herb 'for the service of man' (Ps 104[14f.]). Human success is due to the favouring presence and power of God, and serves for the fulfilment of the Divine purposes, both as respects the earthly life (Jos 1[11ff.]) and the higher life of the soul (Ro 8[28ff.], Ph 2[13]). All the ways of men are justly recompensed by the Almighty (Jer 32[19]). Wickedness is overruled and brought to naught on the earth, a feature of God's providential action which is naturally emphasized in OT. God fulfils His purpose of love in spite of all opposing agents, whether visible or invisible, angelic or Satanic (Ro 8[38f.]).

3. Special displays of power made by the Almighty. Israel was often saved by God from its enemies, the signal deliverance from Egyptian bondage which He effected for His people 'by a mighty hand and by an outstretched arm' being the type of these supernatural interventions (Dt 5[15]). The chosen people were guided in their career, and kept together as a nation, a remnant at least being preserved. God revealed His laws and ordinances; and these, duly honoured, were calculated to realize the highest good to the nation, to impart the blessing of 'life' and all that that implies (Dt 28[1ff. 30[15ff.], Ps 19[7ff.], Pr 3). These influential manifestations of the Divine Will lead up to the completed revelation in Christ, who is superior to every world-power, and whose gospel is 'the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth' (Ro 1[16]). The full manifestation of His power occurs when 'the kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of our Lord, and of his Christ: and he shall reign for ever and ever' (Rev 11[15]). The personality of Jesus in the

* Broadly speaking, *δύναμις* in NT is power, and *ἐξουσία* authority to wield it. See Mason, *Conditions of Our Lord's Life on Earth*, p. 98 f.; Lightfoot on Col 1[13]; Swete on Mk 2[10].

Gospels presents throughout the characteristics of spiritual power. He exhibits the unequalled power of perfect righteousness and love, *e.g.* in drawing disciples to Himself with a few words (Mt $4^{18ff.}$, Mk 2^{14}), refuting learned and influential adversaries, so that they could not answer Him a word or venture to question Him (Mt 22^{46}, Mk 12^{34}, Lk 14^{6} 20^{40}), driving out of the temple a crowd of those who dishonoured the building (Mt 21^{12}), working miracles in kindness to men and for the furtherance of faith (Mt 11^{5} etc.), extending pity and forgiveness to penitent sinners, and thereby raising them to a new and better life (Lk $7^{47ff.}$). These qualities of holiness and love in Jesus appear at their best when He is under trial; His endurance of the cross proves them to be stronger than death. Hence it is when He is 'lifted up' that He 'will draw all men' unto Him (Jn 12^{32}). Then the resurrection of Christ proves His power over death and His glory as the triumphant Son of God (Ac 2, etc.).

4. Power restored in man. God works in man for the restoration of the soul's own power, and hence the believer should 'work out his own salvation with fear and trembling' (Ph $2^{12f.}$). At length the full power of the soul is recovered through the aid of the Holy Spirit (Ro $8^{1ff.}$, Gal $5^{16ff.}$). See HOLY SPIRIT. For the attainment of this end in man we have thus (*a*) the activity on God's side, and (*b*) the activity of man. (*a*) There is a providential leading or drawing by the Father before men can come to Christ (Jn 6^{44}). Then through the death of Christ believers become dead to the power of sin: there is a breach with it in principle (Ro 6), or sanctification is begun. 'Not that anything in human nature was actually changed as by magic in the moment when Christ died, but in the completion of this holy life there was established a universal and personal principle of victory (a *δύναμις σωτηρίας*), which is able wherever it is received to break sin in the *σάρξ* and kill the natural selfishness, so that the man may walk no longer *κατὰ σάρκα*, but *κατὰ πνεῦμα*' (Beyschlag). Furthermore, through the resurrection of Christ men obtain power to accept salvation (1 Co 15^{17}): faith not actuated by the risen, living Christ, but only by man's own natural endeavours, is 'vain' or powerless. The life of faith throughout its progress derives its power from the believer's communion with the risen and glorified Christ (Ro 5^{10}, 2 Co $3^{17f.}$, Gal 2^{20}). Again, our Lord's resurrection imparts the power of a great hope; Christians have a sure hope beyond the present world. And they are empowered in consequence to be righteous in the world and worthy of their high calling, so that their hope may be fulfilled. (*b*) On man's side there has to be fervent prayer accompanied with righteousness (Ja 5^{16}), faith which overcomes the world (1 Jn 5^{4}), and to which nothing is impossible (Mt 17^{20}); and love, which leads to the keeping of Christ's words (Jn 14^{23}), and which casts out fear (1 Jn 4^{18}). Or man has to walk in the Spirit (a process which presupposes the peace of forgiveness), and then he obtains the amplest power, shown by his not fulfilling the lust of the flesh (Gal 5^{16}), and by his bringing forth the varied fruits of the Spirit, or growing without cessation into the likeness of Christ (Gal $5^{22f.}$). By the interaction of these Divine and human means power is obtained by the Christian for the performance of any manifest duty, and the possession of sufficient power should be assumed. Christ is to him the Bread of Life, strengthening for the accomplishment of all righteousness (Jn $6^{27ff.}$, Ph 4^{13}), as food supplies the body with power for all its physical acts; though in neither case can we comprehend the steps of the process (so Dods in 'Expositor's Bible,' *John*, i. 220 n.).

A passage that has created much discussion is 1 Co 11^{10} 'For this cause ought the woman to have power (*ἐξουσίαν*, RV '*a sign of* authority') on her head because of the angels.' The apostle's argument seems to be, Because the woman was derived from (v.[8]) and was created for (v.[9]) the man, therefore she should have on her head a covering in token that she is under the authority of the man. The abstract 'authority' is put for the concrete 'sign of authority.' Then a new encouragement is added. If women will not do this out of natural seemliness, let them remember that the angels are present (cf. art. HEAD, vol. ii. p. 317[a]) in their assemblies, and for their sakes, the messengers of order, cover their heads. This is the interpretation of almost all modern expositors. For the presence of angels at Divine worship, see especially Meyer, *in loc.*

For **Powers** see under DOMINION.

G. FERRIES.

POWER OF THE KEYS.—The ecclesiastical connotation of these words must not be altogether identified with the meaning of them in the NT passage (Mt 16^{19}) from which they are taken, although the first is included in the second. And the language about the keys in that passage must be distinguished again from the language about 'binding and loosing' which follows.

The image of the keys is not infrequent in Scripture (cf. Is 22^{22}, Rev 1^{18}). 'The key (מפתח, also קלידי) to the prophets, as well as to the Rabbis, was the symbol of physical and moral authority and power' (Wünsche, *Neue Beiträge*, p. 195). The kingdom of heaven, here to be understood of the Messianic theocracy about to be established, is likened to a house or palace, of which our Lord promises that St. Peter shall be the chief steward or major-domo, who is entrusted with full authority over everything which the house contains. The keys are not merely those of the outer doors of the house, which give the holder power to admit or to eject; the porter's office is only a part of the authority committed to St. Peter. They are the keys of inner chambers also, giving command, for example, of the 'treasures' from which it will be his duty (Lk 12^{42}) to feed the household. As the house is at the same time 'the kingdom,' it is evident that the authority is of very wide range. In the passage of Isaiah, which offers the nearest parallel (though it is to be observed that the sing. is there used, not the plur.), the thought of the key suggests an indisputable power of ingress and egress, both for the holder and for others at his discretion—a power (as interpreted in Rev 3^{2}) of granting or withholding opportunities and facilities of various kinds.

In this last view the 'power of the keys' leads on naturally to the power of 'binding and loosing,' which, though not the same as the power of the keys, may be regarded as one of the chief exercises of that power. The 'binding' and 'loosing' is not the binding and loosing of persons but of things—not 'whomsoever thou shalt loose,' but 'whatsoever.' To 'bind' (לאסור), in rabbinic language, is to forbid; to 'loose' (להתיר) is to permit. Lightfoot says that 'thousands of examples' of this usage might be produced. One instance may suffice. 'Concerning the moving of empty vessels [on the Sabbath day], of the filling of which there is no intention; the school of Shammai binds it, the school of Hillel looseth it' (Hieros. *Shabb.* fol. 16, 2, quoted by Lightfoot, *Exercit. upon St. Matt.* p. 238). It is the power of laying down the law for his fellow-disciples, like a true Rabbi, which is thus bestowed upon St. Peter. Or perhaps it is more exact to say that it is the power of interpreting in detailed application the law which God has laid down in general terms. Authority is given him to say what the law of God allows, and what it forbids; and the promise is added that his ruling shall be upheld in heaven,—and is consequently to be regarded as binding upon the consciences of Christians. The power of binding and loosing is in fact the power of legislation for the Church.

The gift of 'the keys' is not expressly bestowed on any one else besides St. Peter, but the legislative power is afterwards extended to others (Mt 18^{18}). It is not certain who are the persons there addressed. 'The disciples' mentioned in v.[1] are doubtless the apostles, or at any rate include some of the apostles; but it is not easy to prove that the power of binding and loosing is there bestowed upon them exclusively. That opinion, however ancient and however widely held, involves the further conclusion that the promises which follow, and upon which the binding and loosing power is made to depend, are to be similarly restricted. It is, according to this interpretation, to the apostles alone that Christ promises that the prayer of two of them shall be heard, and that where two or three are gathered in His name, He will be there. This is difficult to suppose. We must accordingly conclude that the binding and loosing power first bestowed upon St. Peter is not represented in NT as an exclusive privilege of the apostles. It is the common privilege of the Christian society—even of a small branch of it—when acting in agreement (v.[19]) and solemnly assembled in (or 'to') Christ's name as its ground of union (v.[20]). In this case, however, the power appears to be connected with judicial discipline over individual members of the society. The 'binding and loosing' are not, in this case any more than elsewhere, to be interpreted as the absolving and retaining of sins; they seem to mean the prescribing what the offender is to do and not to do. But, in case of his refusal to comply with these requirements of 'the Church,' he is to be treated as 'a heathen man and a publican,' *i.e.* as excommunicate; and the resistance to the authority of the Church is to be considered as resistance to the will of Heaven. The prayer of the slighted Church will be heard, for Christ Himself is present at the gathering, and Heaven will give its sanction to the sentence (see interesting parallels in Wünsche, p. 218).

There is, accordingly, a close connexion between the authority to bind and loose and the authority to absolve and retain sins (Jn 20^{23}). The discipline which prescribes what the sinner must do, on pain of encountering a sentence at once earthly and heavenly, cannot but involve a 'power of the keys' in the (inaccurate) sense which that term has borne in the Church since patristic times.

Christians of all ages have rightly seen a signal instance of St. Peter's use of the keys in the admission of Cornelius to the Church. He thus 'opened' the door indeed to the Gentiles, 'and no man' has ever since 'shut' it to them. But there is no reason to think that this one act was all that was in our Lord's mind when He made the promise; nor is it likely that He referred only to the authority to baptize at discretion exercised by the apostle. The whole of his chief-stewardship was included in the promise; and both in his appointments of other Christians to sacred offices, in the administration of the Christian sacraments at large, and in his expositions of Christian truth, he was exercising the power of the keys.

An equally signal instance of 'binding and loosing' on a large scale is the regulation laid down by St. Peter, along with 'the apostles and the elders,' for the discipline of the Gentile Christians in regard to meats and manner of life (Ac 15^{28}). They 'loosed' for them all other kinds of food; they 'bound' for them 'things offered to idols, and blood and things strangled, and fornication.' Similarly, at a later time, St. Paul at Corinth 'loosed' even the eating of things offered to idols,—though he 'bound' it in certain circumstances (1 Co $10^{25f.}$),—and laid down various rules concerning marriage (1 Co 7), and concerning public worship (1 Co 11–14). 'So ordain I in all Churches' is his formula (1 Co 7^{17}).

Of 'binding and loosing' in relation to the individual, the case which we are able to follow with the greatest degree of clearness is that of the incestuous man at Corinth; which recalls with remarkable exactness the language of Mt $18^{18f.}$. St. Paul was evidently surprised that the Church of Corinth had not dealt with the case on its own responsibility. It ought to have 'mourned,' with a view to the removal of the offender (1 Co 5^2). The 'mourning' he would have expected was clearly a public and united humiliation of the Church before God, to the intent that God might 'take away' the man who had done the deed (see Godet, *ad loc.*). In answer to the solemn and concerted prayer, a stroke from heaven would have fallen upon him, as upon Ananias and Sapphira, or, without such prayer, upon the profaners of the Eucharist at Corinth itself (1 Co 11^{30}). Probably this appeal to God would have been preceded or accompanied by an act of formal separation from the sacramental fellowship of the Church; certainly by an exclusion of the sinner from social intercourse with the brethren (1 Co 5^{11}). As the Corinthian Church had not thus acted, the apostle informs them of his own intended procedure, with which he demands that they should co-operate. Though absent from them in body, he calls upon them to assemble; he himself will spiritually be present in the assembly, armed with 'the power (not merely with the authority) of our Lord Jesus.' The sentence which he has already passed upon the man 'in the name of the Lord Jesus' will then be formally pronounced. He will be 'delivered unto Satan for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord.' Delivery to Satan was not a rabbinical formula for excommunication in any form (Lightf. *Exercitations, ad loc.*). The phrase is probably derived from Job 1^{12} 2^6. St. Paul seems to have intended that either by a judicial death, or by some wasting disease, the man should be so punished as to bring him to repentance (cf. 1 Ti 1^{20}). The discipline seems to have had the desired effect. The majority of the Corinthian Church (2 Co 2^6) administered a 'rebuke' to the man,—which was probably excommunication in its less severe form ('reproof with the Babylonian writers was the same with excommunication,' Lightf. p. 183). The man was overwhelmed with sorrow,—so much so that the apostle feared lest the excess of it should be fatal to his soul (2 Co 2^7). He bids the Corinthians therefore 'forgive and comfort him.' He himself, acting as Christ's representative (ἐν προσώπῳ Χριστοῦ) has already forgiven him, though he will not consider his forgiveness as absolute (εἴ τι κεχάρισμαι) until the Corinthian Church has joined in it. The solemn gathering 'in the name of the Lord,' the confidence that His 'power' would be present to ratify what was done by His representatives upon earth, the punishment and the release, all appear to be directly based upon the language of our Lord recorded by Mt.

Of the exercise of discipline in less unusual cases we naturally have scantier evidence in NT. Perhaps the most interesting reference to it is that in Ja $5^{14f.}$. The sick man is there advised to call for the presbyters of the Church, who are to pray over him, 'anointing him with oil in the name.' In answer to this action of the Church represented by its local heads, the writer says that the sick man will recover (for to interpret σώσει and ἐγερεῖ otherwise seems impossible in the context), and adds that 'if he have committed sins,' *i.e.* obviously, grave and marked sins, 'he shall be forgiven' (κἂν ἁμαρτίας ᾖ πεποιηκώς, ἀφεθήσεται αὐτῷ). That the ἀφεθήσεται αὐτῷ is a promise of what God will do in

answer to the prayer of the presbyters, and not an instruction to the presbyters themselves, seems to be required by the structure of the sentences. It is parallel in sense to σώσει and ἐγερεῖ. If St. James had intended the word to mean that the presbyters were to absolve the man, he would probably have put it in the imperative, like προσκαλεσάσθω and προσευξάσθωσαν. But the forgiveness of God is a blessing granted to the faithful prayers of the presbyters; and, in order to encourage such prayers, the apostle proceeds to insist upon the value of them. 'Confess therefore your sins one to another, and pray one for another,' he says, 'that ye may be healed.' By 'one to another' he means 'to your fellow-men,' *i.e.* not to God only. It is clear that he cannot mean mutual confession in the ordinary sense of the term, for (1) he assumes that the prayers to which he ascribes such efficacy are those of 'righteous men,' not those of men who 'have committed sins'; (2) the special object with which the prayers are to be offered (not indeed the contents of the prayers, which are directly connected with forgiveness) is 'that ye may be healed' (ὅπως ἰάθητε); if, therefore, the prayers are to be in the strict sense mutual prayers, it is implied that both parties, praying and prayed for, are alike sick, and the mutual confession would be only between sick man and sick man, which is absurd. Evidently, the sick man is exhorted to make his confession to the presbyters whom he has called in, and they in turn are exhorted to pray for his forgiveness, upon which his recovery is made to depend, and are reminded what power their prayers have, if only they are what they ought to be. The apostle selects from the OT history the example of one who exercised the 'power of the keys' upon a national scale, both 'shutting' and 'opening' the stores of heaven for his people. Though but 'a man of like passions with us,' Elijah by his (unrecorded) prayers shut up the rain from his guilty countrymen for three years and a half; and on their showing signs of repentance, he opened it again for them. We need not therefore wonder (such is St. James' argument) if, when we confess our sins to beings of the same make as ourselves, their intercession is able to obtain for us the remission of them. (On the rabbinic view of Elijah and the 'Keys,' see Wünsche, p. 195).

Our accounts of life within the Christian communities of the first age are so fragmentary that we cannot be surprised at not finding many references to the penitential discipline which existed among them. That there should have been some power on earth answering to what was occasionally exhibited even in OT times—as in the absolution of David by Nathan (2 S 12^{13})—is only what was to be expected in the covenant of grace. When Christ claimed to forgive sins as 'the Son of Man,' the multitudes 'glorified God which had given such authority *unto men*' (Mt 9^{8}). The last word may mean either that the authority to absolve was committed by God to men, to use on His behalf; or that by delegation of such an authority God had bestowed a blessing upon men: in other words, the 'men' spoken of may be either the holders of the authority, or those on whose behalf it was given. But in either case it was recognized that the assurance of forgiveness had been made accessible in a new way; and Christ, in His first appearance to the assembled Church after His resurrection, gave His disciples to understand that the authority which He had exercised in relation to absolving and retaining of sins was henceforth vested in them, as the continuators of His own mission (Jn $20^{21ff.}$). It is not an exhaustive interpretation of these words which would see in them only a commission to impose or to remove ecclesiastical censures. All acts of the Christian society, according to the NT conception of it, are fraught with spiritual efficacy.

It may be added that some eminent interpreters consider the 'laying on of hands' in 1 Ti 5^{22} to be the sign of absolution (see art. LAYING ON OF HANDS); but the interpretation is far from certain. A. J. MASON.

PRÆTORIAN GUARD.—See PRÆTORIUM.

PRÆTORIUM (Gr. τὸ πραιτώριον). — This Lat. word, adopted in the later Gr., signified originally the general's (*prætor's*) tent (*e.g.* Livy, *Hist.* vii. 12, x. 33). Then it was applied to the council, composed of the chief officers of the army, which assembled in the general's tent (*e.g.* Livy, *Hist.* xxvi. 15, xxx. 5, xxxvii. 5); then to the official residence of the governor of a province (*e.g.* Cic. *in Verr.* II. iv. 28, II. v. 35; Tert. *ad Scap.* 3); then, in the post-Augustan age, to any princely house (*e.g.* Juv. *Sat.* x. 161), and even to a large villa or country-seat (*e.g.* Suet. *Octav.* 72, *Calig.* 37, *Tib.* 39; Juv. *Sat.* i. 75; Statius, *Sylv.* I. iii. 25); and finally to the imperial bodyguard, whose commander was *præfectus prætorio* or *prætorii* (*e.g.* Tac. *Hist.* i. 20, ii. 11, 24, iv. 46; Suet. *Nero*, 9; Pliny, *NH* xxv. 2). No certain example occurs of its application either to the prætorian camp or barracks or to the emperor's residence in Rome, though it was often used of the emperor's residence away from Rome.

In AV the word appears only once (Mk 15^{16}); but in the Gr. of NT it is used in Mt 27^{27} (AV 'the common hall'; marg. 'governor's house'; RV 'the palace'), Mk 15^{16} (AV 'the hall, called Prætorium'; RV 'within the court which is Prætorium'; marg. 'palace'), Jn 18^{28} (AV 'the hall of judgment'; marg. 'Pilate's house'; RV 'palace'), 18^{33} and 19^{9} (AV 'judgment hall'; RV 'palace'), Ac 23^{35} (AV 'Herod's judgment hall'; RV 'Herod's palace'), Ph 1^{13} (AV 'in all the palace'; marg. 'Cæsar's court'; RV 'throughout the whole prætorian guard').

In the Gospels the term denotes the official residence in Jerus. of the Roman governor, and the various tr^{ns} of it in our versions arose from a desire either to indicate the special purpose for which that residence was used on the occasion in question, or to explain what particular building was intended. But whatever building the governor occupied was the Prætorium. It is most probable that in Jerus. he resided in the well-known palace of Herod, since Philo (*ad Gaium*, 31) states that Pilate hung there the shields which offended the Jews (see PILATE), and Josephus (*BJ* II. xiv. 8, II. xv. 5) speaks of Gessius Florus as living in 'the king's palace,' and since in Cæsarea (see Ac xxiii. 35) Herod's palace is known to have been used for the same purpose. Herod's palace in Jerus. was a magnificent structure in the upper or western part of the city, and was connected by a causeway over the valley of Tyropœon with the western wall of the temple. It is described by Josephus (*BJ* v. iv. 4, *Ant.* xv. ix. 3) in admiring terms. It was surrounded by a wall, rising to the height of 30 cubits, and adorned with towers at equal distances. The enclosure was large enough to contain a small army. The building had two marble wings, called by Herod the Cæsareum and the Agrippeum. It contained large rooms within and spacious porticoes without. It was sumptuously furnished, and was surrounded by a beautiful park. Here the governor with his guards lived when in Jerus., while the regular garrison occupied the castle of Antonia; and it was doubtless before this building that the Jews presented themselves with the demand for Jesus' execution. Tradition, indeed, has placed the residence of Pilate in the lower city, a short

distance north of the temple. Not a few also have identified it with the castle of Antonia (Rosenmüller, *Alterthumskunde*, II. ii. 228; Caspari, *Introd.* p. 225; Wieseler, *Chron. Syn.*, Eng. tr. p. 372; Weiss, *Life of Christ*, iii. 346 n.; Westcott, *St. John*)—partly because tradition has located the house of Pilate near the site of the castle; partly because, since the castle was the regular barracks for the garrison, and was sufficiently large for the purpose, it is thought probable that the governor also used it; and also because many identify 'the place called the Pavement, but, in the Hebrew, Gabbatha,' with the elevated, paved area between the castle and the temple (see GABBATHA). But, for the reasons given above, the identification with Herod's palace is probably to be preferred (so Meyer, Winer, Alford, Schürer, Edersheim, and others). In like manner, as already observed, Herod's palace in Cæsarea was used as the Prætorium there. The expression in Ac 23[35] ('Herod's Prætorium') is abbreviated from 'the prætorium of Herod's palace,' and thus describes both the particular building and the purpose for which it was used.

In Ph 1[13] 'in the whole Prætorium' has been very variously explained. Many commentators, ancient and modern, have tr[d] it 'palace' (so AV), coupling it with 4[22], where allusion is made to believers who belonged to 'Cæsar's household.' But no other instance appears of the application of the term to the emperor's residence in Rome. Such an application would have been intolerable to the Romans, since it would have shocked the republican traditions under which the empire was organized. Hence many, as Perizonius (*De orig. signif. et usu vocc. prætoris et prætorii*, 1687, *Disquisitio de prætorio*, 1690), Clericus, Michaelis, Hoeleman, Wiesinger, Milman, Weiss, Ellicott, Meyer, understand it of the barracks of the **prætorian guard** (*castra prætorianorum*). But Lightfoot (*Com. on Phil.* p. 99) has shown that neither can this use of the word be established. Wieseler (*Chron. d. Apost. Zeit.* p. 403), followed by Conybeare and Howson, refers it, not to the prætorian camp, but to the barracks of the palace guard, which Augustus established (Dio Cass. liii. 16) in the imperial enclosure on the Palatine hill; but, after the establishment of the *castra prætorianorum* by Tiberius, the word would naturally refer to it, if to any barracks. The following phrase (τοῖς λοιποῖς πᾶσιν) also more naturally describes persons than places, λοιπός being never in NT applied to places (Ellicott, *in loc.*). Presumably, therefore, 'prætorium,' too, is descriptive of persons. Hence Lightfoot has ably defended the meaning 'prætorian guard.' St. Paul is supposed to have been chained to soldiers of the guard, and thus, through the change of guards, his message spread throughout the whole body of soldiers. This meaning of Prætorium is frequent, and has been adopted in Ph 1[13] in RV. Recently, however, Mommsen (*Sitzungsb. der König. preuss. Acad. d. Wissensch.* 1895, p. 495, etc.), followed by Ramsay (*St. Paul the Trav.* p. 357), has proposed another view. He considers it improbable that St. Paul was put in charge of the prætorian guard. He believes that Julius, the centurion who brought Paul to Rome, belonged to the corps of *milites frumentarii* or *peregrini*, a corps drafted from legions in the provinces, whose duty it was to supervise the corn supply, and also probably to perform police service: and that Julius probably delivered his prisoners to the commander of his corps, *princeps peregrinorum*, whose camp perhaps was already, as it was afterwards, on the Cælian hill. But while St. Paul was not in charge of the prætorian guard, his case came before the prætorian council, consisting of the *præfecti prætorio* and their assistants. This council then, according to Mommsen and Ramsay, is the *prætorium* alluded to by the apostle, and τοῖς λοιποῖς πᾶσιν refers to the audience at the trial.*

G. T. PURVES.

PRAISE IN OT.—'Praise,' whether as a verb or a noun, has various applications in the OT, but its commonest use is to denote an act of homage or worship offered to God by His creatures, particularly by man. The object of this article will be mainly to examine the meaning and usage of the terms which our English versions render by 'praise,' and to sketch, as far as the data enable us to do so, the occasions, the modes, and the history of praise in Israel.

i. THE TERMS.—**1.** הלל. The original sense of this root is perhaps 'break out (in a cry),' especially of joy (cf. the name *Hallel* applied to Ps 113–118, the Aram. הִילוּלָא 'marriage-song,' and the Assyr. *alâlu* 'shout for joy'; see also Cheyne, *OP* 460), although it is possible that, as W. R. Smith (*RS*[1] 411) suggests, among the Semites 'the shouting (*hallel*) that accompanied sacrifice may, in its oldest shape, have been a wail over the death of the victim, though it ultimately took the form of a chant of praise (*Hallelujah*).' The idea of *making a noise* is what appears to be prominent. The same writer points out that the roots הלל 'to chant praises' and ילל 'to howl' are closely connected, and he thinks it possible that shouting in mourning and shouting in joy may have both been primarily directed to the driving away of evil influences. The sense of 'praise' is conveyed by the above root in the Piel הִלֵּל. This may have for its object (1) *man or woman*: Gn 12[15] (J) 'they praised (LXX ἐπῄνεσαν, AV 'commended') her (Sarah) to Pharaoh'; Pr 27[2] 'let another man praise thee (LXX ἐγκωμιαζέτω σε), and not thine own mouth'; 28[4] 'they that forsake the law praise (LXX ἐγκωμιάζουσιν) the wicked'; 31[28. 31] the virtuous woman is praised by her husband and by her works (LXX in both αἰνεῖν, but in v.[31] a different reading from that of MT is followed: καὶ αἰνέσθω ἐν πύλαις ὁ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς, 'and let her husband be praised in the gates'); Ca 6[9] (here and in the following passages, unless otherwise noted, LXX αἰνεῖν) of the Shulammite; 2 S 14[25] of Absalom's beauty (αἰνετός); 2 Ch 23[12] of king Joash. (2) The object is once *a false god*: Jg 16[24] of the Philistines praising (ὑμνεῖν) Dagon; (3) very frequently *God* (אֱלֹהִים or יהוה): Ps 69[34] (where 'heaven and earth, the seas, and everything that moveth therein' are called on to praise Him; cf. Ps 148); often of public worship in the sanctuary: Is 62[9], cf. 64[11] (εὐλογεῖν), Ps 22[22] (ὑμνεῖν, cf. v.[26] ὁ ἔπαινός μου) 35[18] 84[4] 107[32] 109[30] 146[2] 149[3]. Sometimes the object is 'the name of Jahweh *or* of God' (שֵׁם יהוה or שֵׁם אֱלֹהִים, τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ θεοῦ): Ps 69[30] 74[21] 145[2] 148[5], Jl 2[26]; or His word (דָּבָר, λόγος, ῥῆμα): Ps 56[4] (ἐπαινεῖν) [10] *bis* [v.[10b] may be an editorial addition, so Hupfeld, Cheyne *et al.*]; or the object may be unexpressed: Jer 31 [Gr. 38][7], Ps 63[5] (ἐπαινεῖν). The expression 'praise ye Jah' (**Hallelujah,** in Ps 135[3] הַלְלוּיָהּ [αἰνεῖτε τὸν Κύριον], elsewhere always as one word הַלְלוּיָהּ, Ἀλληλουιά [once Ps 104[35] הַלְלוּיָהּ, LXX omits here]) has generally a liturgical application and is mostly confined to late psalms. It occurs at the beginning of Ps 106. 111. 112. 113. 135. 146. 147. 148. 149, and at the end of 104. 105.

* Mommsen denies that στρατοπεδάρχης (AV **captain of the guard**), found Ac 28[16] in some authorities (cf. Blass, *ad loc.*), but omitted by WH, Tisch., and RV, could have been applied to a *præfectus prætorio*. This reading is evidently 'Western,' and Mommsen finds in the text of the Stockholm Latin MS ('Gigas'), *princeps peregrinorum*, at least a 2nd cent. interpretation of it, one which confirms his inference that the *castra peregrinorum* had been established in Rome in St. Paul's time. Positive evidence, however, for the existence of this corps and camp, under this name, appears only in the time of Severus, and the Latin MS may interpret the Gr. text before it by the light of later custom; while στρατοπεδάρχης itself was evidently a popular title, and really supplies no information as to who took charge of the apostle.

106. 113. 115. 116. 117. 135. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. See, further, art. HALLELUJAH. Instead of the direct object, הלל is generally followed, in the writings of the Chronicler, by ליהוה, in the account of the technical Levitical (or priestly) function of praising Jahweh: 1 Ch 16^4 $23^{5.30}$ 25^3, 2 Ch 5^{13} 20^{19} 29^{30} (*ὑμνεῖν*) 30^{21} (*καθυμνεῖν*), Ezr 3^{11}; but the simple יהוה occurs in Ezr 3^{10}, as it does also in Neh 5^{13} (Nehemiah's own Memoirs). The object is unexpressed in Neh 12^{24} (Chronicler), cf. 1 Ch 23^5, 2 Ch 7^6 ('when David praised by their ministry,' LXX *ἐν ὑμνοις Δανειδ διὰ χειρὸς αὐτῶν*) 8^{14} 23^{13} ('the singers also played on instruments of music and led the singing of praise' וְהַמְשֹׁרְרִים בִּכְלֵי הַשִּׁיר וּמוֹרִיעִים לְהַלֵּל, LXX *οἱ ᾄδοντες ἐν τοῖς ὀργάνοις, ᾠδοὶ καὶ ὑμνοῦντες αἶνον*) 31^2, in all of which הלל has its technical sense.—Similarly, the passive sense 'be praised' is conveyed by the Pual, and once (Pr 31^{30}) by the Hithpael: (1) of *human subjects* and *things*: Pr 12^8 'a man shall be praised (AV; RV 'commended,' LXX *ἐγκωμιάζεσθαι*) according to his wisdom'; Ps 78^{63} 'their maidens were not praised' (in marriage-song; see Cheyne *ad loc.*), so Aquila *οὐχ ὑμνήθησαν*, Symm. and Theod. *οὐκ ἐπηνέθησαν*, but LXX *οὐκ ἐπένθησαν*, 'did not raise the dirge'; Ezk 26^{17} of Tyre the 'praised (AV; RV 'renowned') city' (LXX *ἡ πόλις ἡ ἐπαινετή*); (2) of *God*, only in ptcp. (מְהֻלָּל) with gerundive force='to be praised,' 'worthy of praise': 2 S 22^4 (*αἰνετὸν ἐπικαλέσομαι Κύριον*) = Ps 18^3 (*αἰνῶν ἐπικαλέσομαι Κύριον*), Ps 48^1 96^4 (=1 Ch 16^{25}) 145^3 [in these last four the LXX has *αἰνετός*]; in Ps 113^3 the subject is His name (*αἰνεῖται τὸ ὄνομα Κυρίου*).

The noun for 'praise' from the root הלל is תְּהִלָּה (once תְּהִלָּל, Pr 27^{21} 'the fining pot is for silver and the furnace for gold, and a man [is to be estimated] according to his praise,' where לְפִי מְהֻלָּלוֹ probably means 'according to his reputation' [so Toy *et al.*, cf. LXX *ἀνὴρ δὲ δοκιμάζεται διὰ στόματος ἐγκωμιαζόντων αὐτόν*; see *Oxf. Heb. Lex.* for other possible explanations]). The word תְּהִלָּה is used (1) of *praise offered to J"*, sometimes individual, but more frequently general and public: Ps 34^1 48^{10} (both *αἴνεσις*) 65^1 ('unto Thee stillness is praise [לְךָ דֻמִיָּה] תְּהִלָּה], O God, in Zion,' but text and tr. are both doubtful; LXX *Σοὶ πρέπει ὕμνος*, 'praise is a fitting tribute to thee'; see Comm. *ad loc.*, and Driver, *Par. Psalter*), 71^6 (*ὑμνησις*), 8 (*αἰνεσις*), 100^4 (*ὑμνοι*); particularly of praise as *sung*: Ps 22^3 ('O Thou that sittest [throned] upon the praises of Israel,' an imitation of יוֹשֵׁב תְּהִלּוֹת יִשְׂרָאֵל, the idea perhaps being that the praises, ascending like clouds of incense, form, as it were, the throne upon which J" sits [so Kirkpatrick *et al.*, but see Duhm *ad loc.*, and cf. the LXX *σὺ δὲ ἐν ἁγίοις κατοικεῖς, ὁ ἔπαινος Ἰσραήλ*]), 33^1 (*αἴνεσις*), 40^3 (*ὕμνος*), 106^{12} Neh 12^{46} (both *αἰνεσις*), Is 42^{10} (*δοξάζετε τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ*). (2) The word תְּהִלָּה is used for a *song of praise* in the title of Ps 145 (*αἴνεσις*); cf. the New Heb. name for the Book of Psalms, סֵפֶר תְּהִלִּים or תְּהִלִּים, ס׳, or תִּילִּין. (3) It is used of *qualities, deeds, etc., of J" which demand praise*: Ex 15^{11} נוֹרָא תְּהִלֹּת 'terrible in praises' (*i.e.* in attributes that call for praise; LXX *θαυμαστὸς ἐν δόξαις*), cf. Ps 9^{14} ('that I may show forth all Thy praise'), 78^4 ('telling the praises of the LORD'), 79^{13} ('we will show forth Thy praise'), 102^{21} ('that men may declare His praise in Jerusalem'), 106^2 ('who can show forth all His praise?'), v.^{47}=1 Ch 16^{35} ('to triumph in Thy praise') [in the last six passages LXX *αἴνεσις*], Is 43^{21} ('this people shall show forth My praise,' LXX *ἀρεταί*), 60^6 ('they shall proclaim the praises of the LORD,' LXX *τὸ σωτήριον Κυρίου εὐαγγελιοῦνται*), 63^7 ('I will make mention of the praises of the LORD,' LXX *ἀρεταί*). (4) תְּהִלָּה may=*renown, fame, glory*, or *the object of these*: (*a*) of J": Hab 3^3 'the earth was full of His praise' (וַתְּהִלָּתוֹ מָלְאָה הָאָרֶץ, LXX *αἰνέσεως αὐτοῦ πλήρης ἡ γῆ*) || 'His glory covered the heavens' (כְּבֹדוֹ כִּסָּה שָׁמַיִם, LXX *ἐκάλυψεν οὐρανοὺς ἡ ἀρετὴ αὐτοῦ*), cf. Dt 10^{21} 'He is thy praise,' Jer 17^{14} 'Thou art my praise' (both *καύχημα*); (*b*) of other objects: Israel or Jerusalem, Dt 26^{19} (*καύχημα*), Is 62^7 (BA *ἀγαυρίαμα*, Theod. *καύχημα*), cf. 60^{18} ('thou shalt call thy walls Salvation and thy gates Praise,' *i.e.* probably 'thy fame or renown shall take the place of protecting walls'; LXX *κληθήσεται Σωτήριον τὰ τείχη σου, καὶ αἱ πύλαι σου Γλύμμα*), and 61^{11} (*ἀγαλλίαμα*); Moab, Jer 48[Gr. 31]^2 (*ἀγαυρίαμα*); Damascus, 49^{25} [Gr. 30^{14}], LXX follows a different reading; Babylon, 51 [Gr. 28]^{41} (*καύχημα*). Is 61^3 'the garment of praise' (מַעֲטֵה תְהִלָּה) is doubtful. It may= 'praise (renown) as a garment' (Delitzsch) or 'a splendid garment' (Dillmann), but perhaps the clauses should, with Bickell, Cheyne, Oort, Duhm, be arranged thus: שָׂשׂוֹן תַּחַת אֲבֵל תְּהִלָּה תַּחַת כֵּעָטֶה רוּחַ כֵּהָה 'oil of joy for the garment of mourning, a song of praise for a failing spirit.' The LXX has *δόξαν ἀντὶ σποδοῦ, ἅλιμμα εὐφροσύνης τοῖς πενθοῦσι, καταστολὴν δόξης ἀντὶ πνεύματος ἀκηδίας*.

In Lv 19^{24} the fruit of trees offered in the fourth year of their bearing is קֹדֶשׁ הִלּוּלִים לַיהוה (lit. 'holiness of praise to J",' LXX *ἅγιος αἰνετὸς τῷ Κυρίῳ*), cf. Jg 9^{27} [the only other occurrence of the Heb. word], where the Shechemites hold a vintage rejoicing or merry-making (וַיַּעֲשׂוּ הִלּוּלִים, LXX B *ἐποίησαν ἐλλουλείμ*, A *ἐπ. χορούς*) in the house of Baal-berith.

2. The root ירה whose primary sense is 'throw *or* cast.' The only occurrence of the Qal is in Jer 50 [Gr. 27]^{14} 'shoot at her' (Babylon; יְרוּ אֵלֶיהָ, LXX *τοξεύσατε ἐπ' αὐτήν*), but perhaps we should read here יָרוּ. This sense is borne also by the Piel in the only two passages where this stem occurs, namely, La 3^{53} (וַיַּדּוּ אֶבֶן בִּי 'and they cast stone(s) at me,' LXX *καὶ ἐπέθηκαν λίθον ἐπ' ἐμοί*) and Zec 2^4 [Eng. 1^{21}] (לְיַדּוֹת אֶת־קַרְנוֹת הַגּוֹיִם, LXX, by confusion with the Heb. word for 'hands,' reads *εἰς χεῖρας αὐτῶν τὰ τέσσαρα κέρατα*). All the other occurrences of the root show the Hiphil and Hithpael (the latter only in P, the Chronicler, and Daniel) stems, which have the sense of 'praise' or 'confess,' a sense which it is somewhat difficult to connect with the primary signification, although it has been suggested that the connecting link may be found in *gestures* accompanying the act of praise.

The Hiph. הוֹדָה (cf. Palmyrene מודא 'render thanks,' frequent in votive inscriptions) is used occasionally of praising *men*: Gn 49^8 of Judah [with play upon name, '*Judah*, thee shall thy brethren praise' (*yōdûkha*), LXX *αἰνεῖν*]; Ps 45^{17} of the king (AV 'praise,' RV 'give thanks'); 49^{18} 'men praise thee when thou doest well to thyself' (both *ἐξομολογεῖσθαι*); Job 40^{14} of Job, spoken ironically by the Almighty (LXX *ὁμολογεῖν*, AV and RV 'confess'). This sense of 'confess' is borne by the Heb. word also in 1 K $8^{33.35}$=2 Ch 6^{24} (all *ἐξομολογεῖν*), ^{26} (*αἰνεῖν*), Ps 32^5 (*ἐξαγορεύειν*), Pr 28^{13} (*ἐξηγεῖσθαι*); cf. [in Hithp.] Ezr 10^1 (*προσαγορεύειν*), Neh 1^6 $9^{2.3}$ (all *ἐξαγορεύειν*), Dn 9^4 (LXX and Theod. *ἐξομολογεῖσθαι*) ^{20} (LXX *ἐξομολογεῖσθαι*, Theod. *ἐξαγορεύειν*), Lv 5^5 16^{21} 26^{40}, Nu 5^7 (all *ἐξαγορεύειν*).—Much more frequently the object of praise is *God*: Gn 29^{35} where J explains the name *Judah* (which he takes as='praised,' as if from Hoph. of ירה) by the saying he puts in the mouth of Leah, 'this time will I praise (Heb. *'ōdeh*) the LORD' (*ἐξομολογήσομαι Κυρίῳ*); very frequently, especially in Ps and Ch, of praise offered in the ritual worship, the object being Jahweh explicitly or implicitly: *e.g.* Is 12^1 (*εὐλογεῖν*), ^{4} (*ὑμνεῖν*), $38^{18f.}$ (*αἰνεῖν, εὐλογεῖν*), Jer 33[Gr. 40] ^{11}, Ps 7^{17} 9^1 $30^{9.12}$ $32^{5.11}$ (all *ἐξομολογεῖσθαι*). Ps 76^{10} 'surely the wrath of man shall praise Thee, the residue of wrath shalt Thou gird upon Thee' (AV and RVm 'restrain') is doubtful. The MT reads כִּי חֲמַת אָדָם תּוֹדֶךָ שְׁאֵרִית חֵמוֹת תַּחְגֹּר, LXX *ὅτι ἐνθύμιον ἀνθρώπου ἐξομολογήσεταί σοι, καὶ ἐνκατάλιμμα ἐνθυμίου*

ἑορτάσει σοι. Duhm emends חַגֹּת to אַמֹּת, and כָּל to לְךָ, and in the next clause follows the LXX in reading לְךָ חָגוּ, thus obtaining the sense, 'all the tribes of men shall praise Thee, the residue of the tribes shall keep (pilgrimage) festival to Thee.' Wellhausen makes the same change, לְךָ חָגוּ, in the last clause; on חמת he remarks that by this word the *pious* are meant, but that the pronunciation and the meaning of the word are quite uncertain. Ps 139[14] reads 'I will praise (RV 'give thanks unto') Thee, for I am fearfully and wonderfully made' (lit. 'fearfully wondrous,' there being no 'made' in the Hebrew [Driver, *Par. Psalter*]). The LXX (BA ἐξομολογήσομαί σοι ὅτι φοβερῶς ἐθαυμαστώθης, but ℵ* ἐθαυμαστώθην), the Syr. and the Vulg. (*quia terribiliter magnificatus es*) have '*Thou* are fearfully wondrous,' and this is adopted by Wellh. in *SBOT*, *i.e.* נִפְלֵיתָ for נִפְלֵיתִי. The more radical emendations proposed by Duhm appear to be uncalled for.—In other instances the object is the *name* of God: Is 25[1] (ὑμνεῖν), Ps 44[8] 54[6] 99[3] 138[2] 142[7]; or His *wonders* (פֶּלֶא, τὰ θαυμάσια) Ps 89[5] (all ἐξομολογεῖσθαι). Instead of a simple accusative, הודה may be followed by ל, always referring to the ritual worship, *e.g.* לְשֵׁם Ps 106[47] 'to give thanks unto Thy holy name,' cf. 122[4] 140[13] (all ἐξομολογεῖσθαι); לְזֵכֶר קָדְשׁוֹ (τῇ μνήμῃ τῆς ἁγιωσύνης αὐτοῦ) Ps 30[4] 97[12] (AV 'at the remembrance of His holiness,' RV 'to His holy name,' both ἐξομολογεῖσθαι); ליהוה 1 Ch 16[4. 7. 41] (all αἰνεῖν), 23[30] (ἐξομολογεῖσθαι), 25[3] (where הודה and הלל occur together, LXX ἀνακρουόμενος ἐξομολόγησιν καὶ αἴνεσιν), 2 Ch 5[13] (similarly ἐξομολογεῖσθαι καὶ αἰνεῖν) 7[6] 20[21] 30[22] (Hithp.), Ps 33[2] 92[1] (all ἐξομολογεῖσθαι) 105[1]=1 Ch 16[8]=Is 12[4] (ὑμνεῖν); cf. the familiar 'Give thanks to J″ for He is good' (הוֹדוּ לַיהוה כִּי־טוֹב, ἐξομολογεῖσθε τῷ Κυρίῳ, ὅτι χρηστός or ἀγαθός) Ps 106[1] 107[1] 118[1. 29] 136[1], 1 Ch 16[34] (here, perhaps by a scribal error, ἀγαθόν), cf. Jer 33 [Gr. 40][11].

It will be observed that very frequently both AV and RV render הודה by 'give thanks to' instead of 'praise,' and in many instances (2 Ch 7[3. 6] 20[21], Ps 7[17] 9[1] 33[2] 44[8] 45[17] 52[9] 54[6] 57[9] 108[3] 109[30] 111[1] 118[19. 21] 119[7] 138[1. 2] 139[14] 142[7] 145[10], Is 12[1. 4], Jer 33[11]), although not uniformly, RV substitutes 'give thanks to' for AV 'praise.' It might be well to adopt this rendering in all instances where הודה describes a religious exercise, except those in which 'confess' is the appropriate sense, and to retain 'praise' for הלל.

The noun from this root is תּוֹדָה 'praise,' 'thanksgiving.' It is used of giving praise to J″ by confession of sin: Jos 7[19] JE; תֵּן־לוֹ תּוֹדָה, δὸς τὴν ἐξομολόγησιν, cf. Ezr 10[1]; but especially of the songs of thanksgiving, in liturgical worship: Ps 26[7] (αἴνεσις), 42[4] (ἐξομολόγησις), 69[30] (αἴνεσις), 95[2] 147[7] (both ἐξομολόγησις), Jon 2[9] (αἴνεσις καὶ ἐξομολόγησις), Neh 12[27] (ℵ ἐξομολόγησις, BA om.). In all these instances both AV and RV have 'thanksgiving'; in Ps 100 title and v.[4] (both ἐξομολόγησις) AV has 'praise,' RV 'thanksgiving.'—The word תּוֹדָה is used in Neh 12[31. 38. 40] of the 'two companies that gave thanks' (תּוֹדֹת, δύο περὶ αἰνέσεως), and possibly a similar sense ('choirs') is intended in Jer 30 [Gr. 37][19] (AV and RV 'out of them shall proceed thanksgiving,' LXX B ᾄδοντες). In several instances תּוֹדָה means a thank-offering: Am 4[5] (ὁμολογία), Lv 7[12. 13. 15] (θυσία [τῆς] αἰνέσεως) 22[29] (וְזַבַּח־תּוֹדָה, θυσία εὐχή), 2 Ch 29[31] 33[16] (both αἰνεσις), Ps 50[14. 23] (the latter verse reads in AV 'whoso offereth praise glorifieth Me,' RV 'whoso offereth the sacrifice of thanksgiving,' Driver [*Par. Psalter*] 'he that sacrificeth thanksgiving,' LXX θυσία αἰνέσεως δοξάσει με) 56[12] 107[22] 116[17], Jer 17[26] (all αἴνεσις) 33[11] (δῶρα). A doubtful form occurs in Neh 12[8] 'Mattaniah who was over the thanksgiving,' AV and RV; AVm '*i.e.* the psalms of thanksgiving'; RVm '*or* the choirs.' The Hebrew is עַל־הַתּוֹדוֹת, for which LXX, evidently by a confusion with the Heb. word for 'hands,' gives ἐπὶ τῶν χειρῶν; the Vulg. has *super hymnos*. Ewald, Bertheau, Keil, and Oettli read the abstract noun הֲתוֹדוֹת, Olshausen reads the infin. הוֹדוֹת. It is not improbable that JEDUTHUN (which see) also belongs to this root, and that it was originally a musical term and not a proper name.

As 'give thanks to' was suggested above as the most suitable rendering for הוֹדָה in its liturgical sense, 'thanksgiving' might be adopted for תּוֹדָה, and 'praise' retained for תְּהִלָּה.

3. In two instances, Jg 5[2] and Ps 72[15], where AV has 'praise,' RV substitutes 'bless,' which is the more exact rendering of ברך, the verb employed (LXX in both εὐλογεῖν).

4. זמר, only in Piel. According to Hupfeld (*Psalmen*, 1862, iv. 421 f.), the original reference of this root* (which in the Heb. literature known to us is used either of playing or singing [cf. Lat. *canere*]) is to the *hum* of a stringed instrument, and מִזְמוֹר, used in 57 titles as a designation of psalms, would be, properly, a song *sung to a musical accompaniment*. It is this word מִזְמוֹר which the LXX reproduces by ψαλμός (whence *psalm*) from ψάλλω, the usual LXX equivalent for זמר, and in Cod. Alex. (A) the Book of Psalms is entitled ψαλτήριον (whence *Psalter*). The word זמר, with two exceptions (Jg 5[3], in the Song of Deborah, 'I will sing praise [ψαλῶ] to the LORD,' ‖ שִׁיר; and Is 12[5] 'sing [ὑμνήσατε] unto the LORD, for He hath done excellent things') is confined to the Book of Psalms, where it occurs in the following collocations: (*a*) with ל and אֱלֹהִים or יהוה, usually rendered in EV by 'sing praise(s) unto'; LXX in this and in all the following constructions, unless otherwise noted, ψάλλειν: Ps 27[6] 101[1] 104[33] 105[2]=1 Ch 16[6] (ὑμνεῖν) [in all these ‖ שִׁיר] 9[12] 30[5] [both ‖ הודה] 47[6] ('to our king') 66[4] 71[22f.] ('to Thee,' ‖ אוֹדְךָ) 75[10] (‖ הגיד) 146[2] (‖ הלל); once אֵל- instead of ל, Ps 59[18] 'unto Thee, O my strength, will I sing praises'; or with לְשֵׁם 'to the name of God': Ps 18[50]=2 S 22[50] (‖ אוֹדְךָ) 92[2] (‖ לְהוֹדוֹת) 135[3] (‖ הללויה); —(*b*) with an object, either a pronominal suffix, 'sing Thee,' 'praise Thee in song': Ps 30[13] 57[10] 108[4] 138[1] (all ‖ אוֹדְךָ); or an accusative, God or the Lord: Ps 47[7] 68[33] (‖ שִׁיר) 147[1]; His name: 7[18] (‖ אודה) 9[3] 61[9] 66[4] 68[5] (‖ שִׁיר); the glory of His name: 66[2]; His power (גְּבוּרָה): 21[14] (‖ שִׁיר); once the accusative of the song: 47[8] (זַמְּרוּ מַשְׂכִּיל 'make ye melody with a skilful strain,' LXX ψάλατε συνετῶς);—(*c*) absolutely: 57[8] (‖ שִׁיר) 98[4] (‖ רוע, פצח, רנן) 108[2] (‖ שִׁיר). Instrumental accompaniment to the song appears in 108[3], and the word is used directly of playing upon an instrument in 33[2] 71[22] 98[5] 144[9] 147[7] 149[3].

Two nouns (besides מִזְמוֹר) from the root זמר are found in the OT.—(1) זִמְרָה, which is used of instrumental music in Am 5[23], where 'the melody of thy harps' (וְזִמְרַת נְבָלֶיךָ, ψαλμὸν ὀργάνων σου) is ‖ 'the noise of thy songs' (הֲמוֹן שִׁירֶיךָ, ἦχον ᾠδῶν σου); but of singing in Is 51[3] (תּוֹדָה וְקוֹל זִמְרָה, ἐξομολόγησιν καὶ φωνὴν αἰνέσεως), and prob. in Ps 81[3] (שְׂאוּ־זִמְרָה 'take up the melody,' λάβετε ψαλμόν) and 98[5] (קוֹל זִמְרָה 'the voice of melody,' φωνῇ ψαλμοῦ). In both the last instances, however, there is, in any case, an instrumental accompaniment implied.—Like תְּהִלָּה and תּוֹדָה (see above), זִמְרָה is used also for the *subject* of song: Ex 15[2], Is 12[2], Ps 118[14] עָזִּי וְזִמְרָת(י) יָהּ 'Jahweh is my strength and my [theme of] melody.' It may be noted that while MT is exactly the same in all three passages, LXX reads in Exodus [ὁ Κύριος] βοηθὸς καὶ σκεπαστής, in Isaiah ἡ δόξα μου καὶ ἡ αἴνεσίς μου Κύριος, in Psalms ἰσχύς μου

* Its relation, if any, to זמר Qal='trim *or* prune' is obscure (see Hupfeld, *Psalmen*, *loc. cit. supra*, footnote). It is uncertain whether in Ca 2[12] עֵת הַזָּמִיר means 'the time of the singing (of birds)' or 'the time of the pruning (of vines).' The LXX (καιρὸς τῆς τομῆς) and other versions take the latter view.

καὶ ὕμνησίς μου ὁ Κύριος.—(2) A by-form of the same word is זְמִיר. Its occurrences are: 2 S 23[1] [in the epithet applied to David נְעִים זְמִרוֹת יִשְׂרָאֵל, AV and RV 'the sweet psalmist of Israel,' RVm 'pleasant in the psalms of Israel'; on the construction see Driver on 2 S 8[10]. H. P. Smith, who renders 'the Joy of the songs of Israel' (cf. Cheyne, *OP* 22, 'the darling of Israel's songs'), thinks the translation 'the sweet singer of Israel' can hardly be obtained from the Heb. expression. The LXX has εὐπρεπεῖς ψαλμοὶ Ἰσραήλ]; Job 35[10] ['none saith, Where is God my Maker, who giveth songs in the night'?, *i.e.* perhaps (Dillm., Dav.; differently Duhm), who by sudden acts of deliverance gives occasion for songs of triumph in the midst of the night of trial; LXX, reading or interpreting differently, ὁ κατατάσσων φυλακὰς νυκτερινάς]; Is 24[16] ['from the uttermost parts of the earth have we heard songs (LXX τέρατα), Glory to the righteous']; Is 25[5] ['the melody of the terrible ones' (זְמִיר עָרִיצִים) ‖ 'the noise of strangers' (שְׁאוֹן זָרִים; both wanting in LXX), *i.e.* their hostile song of triumph, 'shall be brought low']; Ps 95[2] ['let us shout unto Him with melodies' (נָרִיעָה לוֹ בְּזִמְרוֹת; LXX ἐν ψαλμοῖς ἀλαλάξωμεν αὐτῷ) ‖ 'let us come to meet His face with thanksgiving' (נְקַדְּמָה פָנָיו בְּתוֹדָה; LXX προφθάσωμεν τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ ἐν ἐξομολογήσει)]; 119[54] ['Thy statutes have been (the subject of) melodies to me' (זְמִרוֹת הָיוּ־לִי חֻקֶּיךָ; LXX ψαλτὰ ἦσάν μοι τὰ δικαιώματά σου)].

AV and RV usually render the verb זמר by 'sing praises.' For the nouns זִמְרָה and זָמִיר they give 'song,' except in Is 51[3], Am 5[23] where both have 'melody,' Ps 81[3] 95[2] where both have 'psalm,' and Ps 98[5] where RV has 'melody' and AV 'psalm' (for 2 S 23[1] see above). Driver (*Par. Psalter*) consistently renders the verb throughout the Psalms by 'make melody,' and the nouns by 'melody,' and probably no closer equivalents in English could be found for the Hebrew terms.

5. שׁבח in Piel and Hithp. only; a late word, confined to Psalms (4 t.) and Ecclesiastes (once). Its Aram. form is found in Daniel (see below). It is doubtful whether it should be connected with שׁבח (Piel and Hiphil) = 'to still *or* calm' (in Pr 29[11] of anger, in Ps 65[8] 89[10] of the sea). Gesenius would find the connecting link in the notion of *stroking* or *smoothing*, hence 'to soothe with praises' (cf. the expression used of prayer, חלה אֶת־פְּנֵי ', 'to make the face of any one sweet *or* pleasant'). Its occurrences are: Ps 63[4] ['my lips shall praise Thee' (LXX ἐπαινεῖν) ‖ 'I will bless Thee' (אֲבָרֶכְךָ) and 'I will lift up my hands' (אֶשָּׂא כַפָּי)] 117[1] (א ἀνεῖν, A ἐπαινεῖν) 147[12] (ἀνεῖν; both ‖ הלל) 145[4] (B ἐπαινεῖν, A* ἀνεῖν; ‖ הגיד), Ec 4[2] (ἐπαινεῖν; 'I praised the dead which are already dead'), Dn 2[23] (ἀνεῖν; ‖ הודה, of Daniel praising God when the secret of Nebuchadnezzar's dream had been revealed to him) 4[34. 37] (ἀνεῖν; in v.[34] ‖ ברך 'bless' and הדר 'honour'; in v.[37] ‖ רומם 'extol' and הדר; of Nebuchadnezzar praising God after the restoration of his reason) 5[4. 23] (Theod. in both ἀνεῖν, so LXX in v.[23], but in v.[4] εὐλογεῖν; of Belshazzar and his guests praising the gods of gold and silver, etc.).—The Hithp. = 'make the subject of praise *or* boast' occurs in Ps 106[47] = 1 Ch 16[35] (לְהִשְׁתַּבֵּחַ בִּתְהִלָּתֶךָ 'that we may make our boast of Thy praise'; LXX in Psalms τοῦ ἐγκαυχᾶσθαι ἐν τῇ αἰνέσει σου, in 1 Chronicles καὶ καυχᾶσθαι ἐν ταῖς αἰνέσεσίν σου).

The verb שׁבח in Piel is everywhere rendered in AV 'praise,' and so in RV except in Ps 117[1] [but not, inconsistently enough, 147[12]] 145[4], where we have 'laud.' This last term, which is that employed in Driver's *Par. Psalter*, might, with advantage, be adopted uniformly, at least in the Psalms, where there are so many words that receive in the English versions the one rendering 'praise.' See art. LAUD.

ii. HISTORY OF PRAISE IN ISRAEL.—Like sacrifice and other branches of the cultus, the praise offered to Jahweh had in early times a more unconventional and spontaneous character than it afterwards assumed, especially in the second Temple. From the first, both vocal and instrumental music were employed in this exercise, of which heartiness and loud noise (cf. the meaning of *tĕhillāh* above) were leading characteristics. A typical example is the song of the children of Israel after the passage of the Red Sea (Ex 15), which, although in its present form it contains much that belongs to a later age, yet is undoubtedly to some extent archaic, while the description of the part played by Miriam and the women, with their timbrels and dances (v.[20f.]), may be regarded as a true picture of the manners in ancient Israel (cf. also the Song of Deborah in Jg 5, one of the most ancient of the undoubtedly genuine relics of early Heb. poetry). So in 2 S 6[5] (=1 Ch 13[8]) 'David and all the house of Israel played before the LORD with all their might, even with songs [reading, with 1 Ch 13[8], בְּכָל־עֹז וּבְשִׁירִים for בְּכָל־עֲצֵי בְרוֹשִׁים of 2 S 6[5], cf. the same phrase בְּכָל־עֹז used in v.[14] of David's dancing] and with harps and with psalteries, and with timbrels, and with castanets, and with cymbals.' In short, praise to God, whether upon the occasion of any great act of deliverance, or when the people assembled at the sanctuaries either of the Northern or the Southern kingdom, partook largely of the noisy character of vintage and bridal rejoicings (Jg 9[27], Lv 19[24], Ps 78[63]). When the prophet Amos denounces the crass unspiritual worship of his day, he delivers this message from Jahweh, 'Take thou away from Me the noise of thy songs, for I will not hear the melody of thy harps' (Am 5[23], cf. 8[10]). Isaiah promises to the people, 'Ye shall have a song as in the night when a holy feast is kept, and gladness of heart as when one goeth with a pipe to come unto the mountain of the LORD, to the Rock of Israel' (Is 30[29]). The author of La 2[7] can say of the rude plundering Chaldæan soldiery in the temple, 'They have made a noise in the house of the LORD as in the day of a solemn assembly.' The same impression is conveyed by some of the phrases which occur in the musical titles of the *earlier* psalms. For instance, Ps 57. 58. 59. 75 are set to the tune of *Al-tashheth*, 'destroy not,' probably the opening words of a vintage song (Is 65[8]). Cf., further, on this point W. R. Smith, *OTJC*[2] 209, 223 f.

We should have *individual* songs of praise in the Song of Hannah (1 S 2[1ff.]) and the Song of Hezekiah (Is 38[10-20]), were it not that neither of these can be supposed to have belonged originally to their present context (see on the former, Driver, *Text of Sam.* 21 f., and on the latter, Cheyne, *OP* 117 f., and cf. the analogous cases of the Prayer of Jonah and the Psalm of Habakkuk).

As to the arrangements for praise in the pre-exilic Temple, we have no precise information. In particular, we are left very much in the dark as to how far any *special class* performed or directed this service. The statements on this subject contained in the Books of Chronicles are unfortunately of little use, owing to the tendency of the Chronicler to antedate the institutions of his own day. But while it will be generally admitted that the part he attributes to David is greatly exaggerated, it is probable enough that this king, whose skill as a musician is witnessed to in Am 6[5], as well as in 2 S 6[5. 14], used his talents in organizing the Temple music, whether he furnished to any appreciable extent the hymns used or not. It is undoubtedly the case that, down to the Exile, praise was the privilege of the congregation at large (Cheyne, *OP* 194), but this is

not inconsistent with at least the rudiments of the elaborate system which we meet with in Chronicles having been in existence in pre-exilic times. It is hardly likely that the singers, who are first expressly named in Neh 7^{44} (=Ezr 2^{41}), and of whom 148 (128) returned, or were believed to have returned, with Zerubbabel, represent a class that had been instituted during the Exile, when no elaborate cultus was possible, or during the early years of the Return, when the circumstances were by no means favourable to such a new departure. It seems more reasonable to conclude that they were the representatives or descendants of singers who had performed this office in the pre-exilic Temple (see art. PRIESTS AND LEVITES, p. 74[b]). But it is equally beyond question that after the Return the whole system of praise was re-organized by Ezra and Nehemiah.

At the Return the singers appear to have formed a single guild, 'the sons of Asaph'* (Neh 7^{44}=Ezr 2^{41}), and are distinguished from the Levites (Ezr $10^{23f.}$, Neh $7^{1.73}$. In Neh $12^{27f.}$ the musical service at the dedication of the wall is divided between the Levites and 'the sons of the singers'). Such passages as Neh $11^{15\text{-}19.\ 22.\ 23}$ $12^{8.\ 9.\ 24.\ 25}$, where the singers are included among the Levites, do not belong to the Memoirs of Nehemiah, at least in a pure form, and their account approximates to the condition of things represented in 1 Ch $15^{16ff.}$ $23^{3\text{-}5}$, 2 Ch 29^{25} etc. (cf. Ezr 3^{10}, where 'the Levites the sons of Asaph' is the phrase of the Chronicler). The guild of Asaph at a later period shared the musical service with the Korahites (cf. 2 Ch 20^{19} and the titles of Ps 42–49 and 84. 85. 87. 88), who, by the time of the Chronicler, have become porters and doorkeepers (1 Ch 9^{19} $26^{1.\ 19}$ etc.). The Chronicler himself is acquainted with three guilds,—HEMAN, ASAPH, and JEDUTHUN or ETHAN (1 Ch $6^{33.\ 39.\ 44}$ 15^{17} $16^{41f.}$ $25^{1ff.}$), to whom a Levitical origin is attributed, Heman being descended from Kohath, Asaph from Gershom, and Ethan from Merari (1 Ch $6^{33\text{-}47}$). These three the Chronicler characteristically represents as choirmasters appointed by David, to whom the whole organization of the service of praise is attributed, and who is said to have divided the singers into 24 courses (1 Ch $6^{31ff.}$ $15^{16\text{-}19}$ 16^{4} $25^{1ff.}$, 2 Ch 5^{12} 29^{25}, cf. Sir 47^{9}).

When we pass to the question of the use of a hymnal or similar forms in the Temple service, we encounter fresh uncertainties. Whatever view be taken of the contents of the Psalter (and there is a growing tendency to increase the proportion not only of post-exilic but of Maccabæan psalms), it will be generally admitted that, in its present form, the whole collection bears marks of having been intended for use in the *second* Temple. To what extent it may contain older (possibly even Davidic) psalms, which have been adapted for later congregational use, to what extent Nehemiah found the work of collecting already done for him, and how far a later hand, say that of Simon the Maccabee (Cheyne, *OP* 12 and *passim*), is responsible for the book as we now have it, are questions that cannot be said to be yet finally decided. Even so cautious a scholar as W. R. Smith was inclined to think that certain 'facts seem to indicate that even Book I. of the Psalter did not exist during the Exile, when the editing of the historical books was completed, and that in psalmody as in other matters the ritual of the second Temple was completely reconstructed' (*OTJC*[2] 219). 'It would be absurd to maintain that there were no psalms before the Exile. But it is not absurd to question whether Temple-hymns can have greatly resembled those in the Psalter' (Cheyne, *OP* 213 f.).

It is a fair question whether praise was not offered in the SYNAGOGUE as well as in the Temple. This is usually denied (see Gibson, *Expositor*, July 1890, pp. 25–27, and cf. Schürer, *HJP* II. ii. 76, where the parts of the Synagogue service are enumerated), but Cheyne (*OP* 12, 14, 363) urges forcible considerations in favour of a different conclusion. There is all the less difficulty in conceiving of the Psalter as a manual of praise in the Synagogue when we observe that, even in post-exilic times, praise might be offered at other times and places than public worship. Thus, not only was Ps 118 sung in the Temple on high festival days (as on the eight successive days of the Feast of Booths and that of the Dedication), but the *Hallel* (Ps 113–118), of which it forms a part, was sung in two sections (113. 114. and 115–118) in every dwelling-place where the Passover was celebrated. It is to the singing of the second part of the *Hallel* over the fourth and last cup that the *ὑμνήσαντες* of Mt 26^{30}, Mk 14^{26} refers. Again, the 'Songs of the Ascents' (Ps 120–134) are perhaps most plausibly explained as 'Songs of the Pilgrimages,' *i.e.* songs with which the caravans of pilgrims enlivened their journey to the stated festivals. See, further, Duhm, 'Psalmen' (*Hdcom.*), p. xxiv.

How far in post-exilic times the general body of the people took part in the public service of praise is not clear, but the analogy of other parts of the ritual suggests that they participated in it to a very limited extent. In Sir $50^{16ff.}$ (referring to the time of Simon the high priest) the people 'fell down upon the earth on their faces to worship the Lord' and 'besought the Lord Most High in *prayer*' (cf. Lk 1^{10}, Ac 3^{1}). It is of *the sons of Aaron* that it is said that they 'shouted and sounded the trumpets of beaten work,' while '*the singers* also praised him with their voices.' This corresponds closely with 2 Ch 7^{3} 'all the people . . . bowed themselves with their faces to the ground upon the pavement and worshipped and gave thanks unto the LORD (וַיְשַׁתַּחֲווּ וְהוֹדוֹת לַיהוה, *καὶ προσεκύνησαν καὶ ᾔνουν τῷ Κυρίῳ*), saying, For he is good, for his mercy endureth for ever.' Even this last formula appears to be in this instance not so much the language of praise as of *prayer*. A similar remark applies to 1 Mac 4^{55} 'all the people fell upon their faces and worshipped and gave praise (*ηὐλόγησεν*) unto heaven, which had given them good success.' So in 2 Ch 29^{28} '*all the congregation worshipped*, and *the singers sang*, and the trumpets sounded' (on all these passages see Büchler, as cited in the Literature below). On the other hand, that some part in the service of praise was taken by the people is clear from such a liturgical direction as 'let all the people say Amen, Hallelujah' (Ps 106^{48}, cf. 1 Ch 16^{36}, where the citation of this Psalm is followed by the affirmation, 'and all the people said Amen, and praised the Lord'). Moreover, it is extremely probable that, in antiphonal psalms like Ps 118, the congregation as well as the Levitical choirs took part. Büchler (*ZATW* xix. [1899] p. 103 n.) will have it that the call in Ps 150^{3} 'praise him with the sound of the trumpet' (*shôphār*, 'horn,' mainly a secular instrument, whereas the official sacred trumpet is *ḥăṣōṣĕrāh*, cf. Driver, *Joel and Amos*, p. 144 f.) is addressed not to the Levites but to the congregation. He compares Ps $81^{3f.}$, and Jth $16^{1ff.}$ where Judith leads off and all the people take up the song.

Many psalms, *e.g.* 95. 96. 98. 99. 100, not to speak of the Hallelujah psalms (which are all post-exilic), were evidently composed from the first for liturgical use, and others may have been transformed from a more private and individual use to be the expression of the church-nation's praise. It is of course only to a limited extent that the Talmudic accounts of the service of praise in the Temple can be accepted as correct even for the

* This guild gives its name to one of the collections in the Psalter, consisting of Ps 50 and 73–83.

closing period of OT history, but there is good reason to believe that the list given in *Tamid* (vii. 4) of the psalms that were sung on each day of the week, at the morning sacrifice, is an ancient one. These psalms were as follows: Sunday 24 (B τῆς μιᾶς σαββάτων), Monday 48 (B δευτέρᾳ σαββάτου), Tuesday 82, Wednesday 94 (B τετράδι σαββάτων), Thursday 81, Friday 93 (B εἰς τὴν ἡμέραν τοῦ προσαββάτου ὅτε κατῴκισται ἡ γῆ), Sabbath 92 (Heb. שִׁיר לְיוֹם הַשַּׁבָּת, B εἰς τὴν ἡμέραν τοῦ σαββάτου). See, further, Neubauer, *Stud. Bibl.* ii. 1 ff. The singing and playing of the Levites on these occasions was accompanied by the blowing of silver trumpets (*ḥăzôzĕrôth*) by two priests (cf. Nu 10^{1-10}, Ezr 3^{10}, Neh 12^{35}, 1 Ch 15^{24} 16^{6}, 2 Ch 5^{12} 7^{6} 29^{26-28}, Sir 50^{16}).

See, further, on the whole subject, the articles MUSIC, PRIESTS AND LEVITES, PSALMS, TEMPLE, WORSHIP.

LITERATURE.—On the Heb. terms see the *Oxf. Heb. Lex.*, to which the first part of the present article has very special obligations. On the history, etc., of praise: Büchler, 'zur Gesch. d. Tempelmusik u. d. Tempelpsalmen,' in *ZATW* XIX. [1899] i. 96 ff., ii. 329 ff., xx. i. 97 ff.; Köberle, *Die Tempelsänger im AT*, 1899; Cheyne, *OP*, 1889, *passim*; W. R. Smith, *OTJC*², 1892, esp. pp. 190–225; Van Hoonacker, *Le sacerdoce lévitique*, 1899, *passim*; Nowack, *Lehrb. d. Heb. Arch.*, 1894, i. 271 f.; Schürer, *GJV*³, 1898, ii. 240 ff., 293 ff. [*HJP* II. i. 225 ff., 290 ff.]; and the Commentaries on the Psalms. J. A. SELBIE.

PRAISE IN NT.—Praise (αἶνος, ἔπαινος (1 P 2^{14} = תְּהִלָּה), αἴνεσις, δόξα, ἀρετή, αἰνεῖν, ἐπαινεῖν, δοξάζειν) plays a large part in the NT, both the praise of God by angels and by men, and the praise of man by God and his fellow-man.

i. The praise of God is the work of the angels (Lk $2^{13.14.20}$ 19^{38}), and also of man. The chief object of the existence of the redeemed is to show forth the praises of Him who called them out of darkness into light (1 P 2^{10}): Gentiles join now in the work of praise (Ro 15^{9-11}); and all, Jew and Gentile alike, exist to the praise of the glory of His grace (Eph 1^{3-14}, Ph 1^{11}, 2 Th 1^{10}, 1 P 2^{12}): Christians offer their sacrifice of praise to God (He 13^{15}): universal praise will be the characteristic of the last day (Rev 19^{8}): whereas failure to give God praise for His mercies is the note of heathenism (Ro 1^{21}, Rev 11^{17} 14^{7} 16^{9}, cf. Ac 11^{23}). The *subjects* of praise are God's intrinsic excellences (ἀρετάς, 1 P 2^{10}, where see Hort); His universal gifts of creation, of providence, of redemption (Rev $15^{3.4}$, Ac 2^{44} and *passim*); His promises to individuals (Ro 4^{20}); His blessings to individuals, especially for the miracles of our Lord's lifetime (Lk 18^{43} 19^{37}, cf. 2 Co 1^{3}). One idiomatic phrase in the mouth of the 'Jews' δὸς δόξαν τῷ θεῷ (Jn 9^{24} 'Give God the praise' AV, 'Give glory to God' RV) is remarkable, meaning, 'Confess thy sins' (cf. Joshua's words to Achan in Jos 7^{19}), and implying that truthful confession of the real facts of life brings glory to God.

The *tone* of praise to God is specially marked in the Gospel of St. Luke, the Acts, the Ep. to the Ephesians, and the Apocalypse. It finds its expression in semi-rhythmical language and formal hymns (see HYMN), and also in doxologies. The latter were primarily liturgical (cf. 2 Co 1^{20} δι' αὐτοῦ τὸ Ἀμὴν τῷ θεῷ πρὸς δόξαν δι' ἡμῶν), and are adaptations from existing Jewish liturgies. The fountain-head of them may perhaps be traced to 1 Ch 29^{10}, from which originated two types—(*a*) beginning with the word 'Blessed' (εὐλογητός, *i.e.* blessworthy, worthy of receiving blessing), implying 'an intelligent recognition of His abiding goodness, as made known in His past or present acts,' Lk 1^{68}, 2 Co 1^{3} 11^{31}, Ro 1^{25} 9^{5}, Eph 1^{3} (where see Lightfoot), 1 P 1^{3} (where see Hort); (*b*) ascribing to God glory (power, might, dominion) for ever. This is the commoner type in the NT and in subsequent Christian liturgies: the simplest form ᾧ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας· ἀμήν (Ro 11^{36}) is varied by the several writers to suit the exact context (Gal 1^{5}, Ro 16^{27}, Ph 4^{20}, Eph 3^{21}, 1 Ti 1^{17} 6^{16}, 2 Ti 4^{18}, He 13^{21} [see Westcott, Additional Note], 1 P 4^{11} 5^{11}, 2 P 3^{18}, Jude ^{25}, Rev 1^{6} 5^{13} 7^{12}), and it left its ultimate mark on the Lord's Prayer in the addition of the doxology, perhaps originally made when that prayer was used in Eucharistic worship (Chase, *The Lord's Prayer in the Early Church*, 'Texts and Studies,' I. iii. pp. 168–174).

On praise as a part of public worship, see art. CHURCH in vol. i. p. 428ᵃ, art. HYMN in vol. ii., and cf. the preceding article.

ii. 'The idea of man as praised by God is not distinctly recognized in the OT' (Hort on 1 P 1^{7}). There God is spoken of as well pleased with men; but the NT goes beyond this in the word 'praise,' which implies not only moral approbation, but the public expression of it. The difference may have arisen from our Lord's life; He had moved about among men, accepting praise and homage where it was simple and genuine (Mt 21^{16}); giving His own praise without stint to John the Baptist (Mt 11^{11}), to all acts of faith (Mt 8^{10} 9^{22} 15^{28} 16^{3}, Lk 7^{9}), to good and loyal service (Mt $25^{21.23}$, Lk 19^{17}), to all generosity of gift (Mk 12^{43} 14^{6}), to self-devotion (Lk 10^{41}), to prudence (Lk 16^{8}). Hence the ascended Lord is represented as sending His messages of praise as well as of blame to the Seven Churches of Asia (Rev 1^{4}); and the praise of God is the ultimate verdict to which Christians appeal (1 P 1^{7}), which will correct hasty judgments of men, and be the true praise exactly appropriate to each man's actions (1 Co 4^{1-5} ὁ ἔπαινος): the true Jew, who bears rightly the name of Judah (='praised'), is he whose praise comes from God not from men (Ro 2^{29}, where see Gifford in '*Speaker's*' *Com.*).

The praise of man *by his fellow-men* is naturally of more doubtful value. On the one hand it is liable to be unreal, shallow, flattering, and to lead to a false self-satisfaction; our Lord avoided the shallow praise of the crowds, and of individuals who did not weigh the meaning of their words (Lk 18^{19}); He warned His followers against the desire for such praise (Mt 6^{1}, Lk 6^{26}); He traced the rejection of the truth by the Pharisees to the fact that they sought honour from each other, and did not seek the honour that comes from the only God (Jn 5^{41-44}, cf. 12^{43}): St. Paul refused to seek glory from men (1 Th 2^{6}), and was ever on his guard against pleasing men (Gal 1^{10}).

On the other hand, St. Paul appeals to the consideration of any praise of men as a proper incentive to Christians (εἴ τις ἔπαινος, Ph 4^{8}): the proper function of human government is the praise of well-doers (Ro 13^{3}, 1 P 2^{14}): St. Paul praises whole Churches for their virtues (1 Co 11^{2} and *passim*): he lavishes the highest praises on each of his fellow-workers (1 Co 4^{17} and *passim*): their praise runs through all the Churches (2 Co 8^{18}): his aim is, and that of all Christians should be, to provide things honest in the sight of men as well as of God (2 Co 8^{21}, Ro 12^{17}). Praise of men is treated as a danger when it stands in antithesis to the praise of God; but when it reflects the praise of God in the mirror of the Christian's conscience, it is a welcome incentive to good. W. LOCK.

PRAYER.—An attempt will be made to treat the subject historically, keeping separate the evidence supplied by different portions of the Bible as to human practice and Divine teaching on the subject of Prayer. With regard to the OT, it will be assumed, for the purpose of the article, that the books which it contains, whatever their respective dates may be, are on the whole trustworthy guides as to the religious beliefs and practices of the periods which they describe.*

* It can scarcely be denied, however, that a writer like the Chronicler is apt to antedate the beliefs and practices of his own age.

I. In the Old Testament.—i. *Prefatory.*—It will first be necessary to limit the subject of inquiry. Prayer (תְּפִלָּה) may be understood widely, so as to include every form of address from man to God, whatever its character. Hannah's song (1 S 2) is a thanksgiving, yet it is introduced by the words 'Hannah prayed and said,' and the prayer of Hab 3 is a psalm. But address by way of petition must form the main subject of this article, though it is impossible to isolate this division of prayer, see, *e.g.*, Is 63^{7}–64^{12}, where praise, thanksgiving, pleading, confession, and supplication are blended.

Certain axioms with regard to prayer are taken for granted, viz. (1) God hears prayer; (2) God is moved by prayer; (3) prayer may be not merely a request, but a pleading, or even an expostulation. It may here be added that OT prayer is little occupied with what becomes the main subject of prayer in NT, viz. spiritual and moral needs. This remark, however, applies only partially to the Psalms.

The terms for 'prayer' must next be considered. The verbs are: **1.** קָרָא בְּשֵׁם (Gn 4^{26}, where see Dillmann's note), or simply קָרָא; this is the oldest and simplest phrase. It is perpetuated in NT (*ἐπικαλεῖσθαι τὸ ὄνομα*, Ac 2^{21} 9^{14} *al.*). The correlative word is עָנָה 'answer' (sometimes wrongly, *e.g.* Hos $2^{21.\ 23}$, tr. 'hear'), Gn 35^{3} and Psalms, *passim*. It signifies an answer either by external or spiritual help, or by inward assurance. **2.** הִתְפַּלֵּל primarily of intercessory prayer, Gn 20^{7}, Job 42^{10}, but also of prayer generally, 1 S 1^{27} and elsewhere. From this verb comes the common name for prayer in its widest sense, תְּפִלָּה, noticed above. **3.** פָּגַע, lit. 'to fall upon,' so 'to approach' in order to supplicate. See Is 53^{12}, where the 'approaching' is on behalf of others, and cf. *ἐντυγχάνειν* in NT. **4.** שָׁאַל 'to ask' (*α*) for some grace or deliverance, (*β*) for information or guidance. The correlative is again 1 S 28^{6}. **5.** חָלָה אֶת־פְּנֵי יְ׳ Ex 32^{11}, an anthropomorphic phrase ('make the face sweet *or* pleasant'), never literally tr. in AV, but rendered 'beseech,' etc. **6.** זָעַק 'cry,' used of those who pray for the redressing of a wrong.

Another detached point may be taken before entering on the historical treatment, viz.—

Postures in Prayer.—(1) *Standing.* This was the commonest attitude, *e.g.* Abraham, Gn 18^{22}; Hannah, 1 S 1^{26}. It continues in NT times (but cf. below on Acts); and in Jewish usage the *Shemoneh Esreh* had the name of *Amidah* (standing), because the congregation stood during their recital.

(2) *Kneeling*, Ps 95^{6}; Solomon, 1 K 8^{54}; Daniel, Dn 6^{10}; see, further, art. Kneel.

(3) *Prostration, i.e.* kneeling with face bent to the ground in case of urgency, Nu 16^{45}, 1 K 18^{42} (and in NT Mt 26^{39}).

(4) *Sitting*, 2 S 7^{18}, a doubtful instance (but see H. P. Smith, *ad loc.*). In addition to these postures of the body the attitude of the hands should be noticed. These were: (1) *lifted*, Ps 63^{4} (cf. 1 Ti 2^{8}), and (2) *spread out, i.e.* with open upturned palms symbolical of the act of receiving from God, Ex 9^{29}, Is 1^{15}.

ii. *Patriarchal Religion.*—Leaving these prefatory matters, we come to prayer as it appears in patriarchal religion. 'Then began men to call upon the name of the Lord' (Gn 4^{26}). This first notice is of real importance. There had been abundant consciousness of God before, but tradition fixed the commencement of habitual prayer at the beginning of the third generation. Thence we pass over a long interval to Abraham, and enter with him into the fullest and freest exercise of prayer. (1) His prayer is dialogue. It consists not merely in man drawing near to God, but God to man, inviting it and disclosing His purposes. The same thing occurs in the case of Moses, and something of the kind is supposed in certain psalms, where God Himself speaks, *e.g.* Ps 91. (2) Intercession is prominent in patriarchal prayer, Gn 17^{18} $18^{23\text{-}32}$ 20^{7}; cf. below on prophets as intercessors. (3) There are also personal prayers: Gn 15^{2}, a prayer for a son; Gn 24^{12}, Eliezer's on his journey; more prominent still in Jacob's life. Jacob's first prayer was a vow, Gn 28^{20}; his prayer in Gn $32^{9\text{-}12}$ is in fear of Esau; his wrestling with the angel (32^{24}) is described in Hos 12 ('made supplication') as involving prayer. (4) Patriarchal blessings are prayers. When man blesses man, it is (*α*) primarily a vision of the Divine purpose for the person blessed and a declaration of it; it is prophetic (*e.g.* Gn 49^{1}), but it is (*b*) also a prayer. This is especially clear in a blessing attributed to the next period, Dt 33, *e.g.* v.^{11}. As blessing is partly prayer, so also is cursing, as will be seen in considering the imprecatory psalms; cf. also Neh 13^{29}; Sir 4^{6}, where the curse is called a supplication. (5) The oath in Gn 14^{22} ('I have lift up mine hand') is a kind of prayer, being an imprecation, not on another, but on the speaker in case of his failing in his intention. The phrase becomes so fixed in common use that without regard to its original meaning it is even used of God Himself, Ezk 36^{7}. (6) The vow. See art. Vow.

iii. *The Law.*—The evidence of the Law as to prayer is negative. With one exception (Dt $26^{1\text{-}15}$), there is nothing about prayer in the Law. There is no ordinance as to the employment of the formulæ (or charms) common in the ritual of other nations. This did not tend to the undervaluing of prayer, but rather kept it in its proper place. It is not recognized as a means of doing service, but it is left to be a spontaneous expression of human needs. The lasting effect of this negative teaching may be seen in *Berakhoth* iv. 4. If prayers are said only to fulfil a duty (as a charge), they will not be heard by God. But to return to the exception, the formulæ of worship in Dt 26. Even these are not strictly prayers, vv.$^{5\text{-}11}$ are a thanksgiving, vv.$^{13.\ 14}$ a profession of past obedience, and v.^{15} alone contains supplication. Vv.$^{13.\ 14}$ are strangely like the so-called prayer of the Pharisee in Lk $18^{11.\ 12}$. There also is the claim of past obedience, and in respect to the same point, viz. the payment of tithe (the hallowed things). But we cannot doubt that private prayer was habitually connected with sacrifice from early times. Instances are spread over the OT, *e.g.* Abraham (Gn 12^{8}), Solomon (1 K $3^{4.\ 5}$), Job (42^{8}). There remains for consideration the typical character of incense. Incense (see Incense) was taken up into Hebrew usage from the stock of primitive religious customs among the nations around, and was originally an anthropomorphic form of propitiation by sweet odours (cf. Dn 2^{46}). But as time went on it was regarded as typical of prayer and associated with it. See Ps 141^{2}, and in NT Lk 1^{10}, Rev 5^{8} 8^{3}. But if the Law teaches nothing about prayer, the lawgiver teaches much. No biblical life is fuller of prayer than that of Moses. The history of his call (Ex 3. 4) gives prayer in the form of 'colloquy' with God as noticed above. There are his private prayers in times of difficulty (Ex 5^{22}, Nu $11^{11\text{-}15}$), and, above all, his frequent intercessory prayers (1) for Pharaoh to obtain relief from plagues; (2) for Israel in all the times of the murmuring and rebellion, *e.g.* Ex $32^{11\text{-}13}$. What Moses did not lay on Israel as a precept he taught them by example, though it may be doubted whether access to God in prayer was not looked upon as the prerogative of a prophet.

iv. *The Period of the Kingdom.*—This may be taken next, though in the intermediate time Jos

7^{6-9} 10^{14} and Jg 6 are to be noted, and the raising up of judges is almost always introduced by the phrase, 'the children of Israel cried unto the Lord.' Samuel next appears to carry on the great intercessory tradition. In Jer 15^{1} Moses and Samuel stand together as chief representatives of this form of prayer. And the narrative justifies the Divine words. Twice over Samuel makes great efforts of intercession for the nation (1 S 7^{5-12}); and again in regard to their desire for a king throughout chs. 8 and 12. He testifies himself to his continuous pleading for them, and expresses his sense that it is part of the obligation of his prophetic office, 'God forbid that I should sin against the Lord in ceasing to pray for you' (1 S 12^{23}). Besides his national, there is also his personal intercession. The rejection of Saul grieved Samuel, and he cried unto the Lord all night, 15^{11}. And something of prayer is implied in the mourning for Saul, recorded in 15^{35} and 16^{1}. David, being himself regarded as a prophet, is represented as praying without an intercessor. This appears in 2 S 7^{18-29}. It is hardly necessary to prove that both the lesser and the greater prophets of the kingly period are regarded as intercessors. It is mainly in this character, as intercessor for a nation perishing by famine, that Elijah stands before us in the great drama of 1 K 18. And the test which is there applied to decide between Jehovah and Baal is, which of the two hears prayer. Intercession, as part of the prophetic function, will come out more clearly still when we deal with the prophets who have left writings; but there is a special interest in finding it in men of action, such as Samuel, Elijah, Isaiah, Jeremiah, and another leader who was not a prophet, namely, Nehemiah. Their prayer is not merely to put the matter in the Lord's hand, but to strengthen themselves for action.

The Books of Samuel and Kings contain prayers which suggest the subject of the **place of prayer.** The ark denoted the local presence of God, and therefore the place of prayer. So Hannah (1 S 1) and David (2 S 7) resort thither. But as sacrifice is offered at 'high places,' prayer may be offered there also. So Samuel at Mizpah (1 S 7^{5}), and Solomon at Gibeon (1 K 3). When the temple is dedicated, it is as a house of prayer, if, notwithstanding its affinities to Deut., we may take 1 K 8 as in some degree representing the mind of the founder. If, however, the prayer belongs in form and spirit to another period, it is no less worthy of attention in two important respects. (1) At the dedication of the centre of a great sacrificial cultus, not a word is said in the prayer about the sacrifices, but only about prayer to be offered there, or 'toward' that 'place.' For prayer 'toward' a place, cf. Ps 28^{2}, Dn 6^{10}; and, even for Islam, Jerusalem was at first the Kibla. The temple is the house of prayer in Is 56^{7}; and it will be seen to have been so regarded in NT. (2) The other point to notice in Solomon's prayer is the apparent conflict of two conceptions—that of some local habitation of God therein, and that of the impossibility of limiting His presence.—We have also two prayers attributed to Hezekiah—the first in Is 37^{16-20}, offered in the temple, a prayer for God's glory in the spirit of Ps 115; the second (Is 38^{3}) a prayer for himself, recalling his righteousness in the spirit of Ps 26, yet none the less accepted.

v. *The Exile and Return.*—Ewald (*Hist. Isr.* (Eng. tr.) v. 23) has justly emphasized the importance assumed by prayer in this period. There were two main causes for this. (1) The necessary cessation of sacrifice after the destruction of the temple. This threw the burden of worship wholly on prayer. (2) A sense of abandonment by God, which produced earnestness in seeking for an explanation of His dealings, and a return of His favour. The evidence in support of Ewald's assertion is twofold—(*a*) the great prayers extant from this period; (*b*) the personal habits of individuals recorded in the narrative. (*a*) *Great prayers extant.* First and greatest is Is 63^{7}–64^{12}. The prophet comes forward and 'leads the devotions of the Church of the Exile.' The prayer is remarkable as appealing to the Fatherhood of God, 63^{16} 64^{8}. The other four are, Ezr 9^{5-15} chiefly confession; Neh 1; Levites' prayer in Neh 9, in the form of historical retrospect (cf. Ps 106); Daniel's confession, Dn 9. On these last four some general remarks may be made. Confession is prominent, acknowledgment of the sin of Israel and the righteousness of God. They are cast in the same model, and contain the same phrases. Fasting has become connected with prayer (cf. Zec 7^{5}). The confession in these prayers is representative confession, *e.g.* Nehemiah (Neh 1^{6}) takes the sins of Israel upon himself and confesses them as a whole. He is an intercessor, but he does not stand apart; he regards himself as involved in the guilt. (*b*) *Personal habits of individuals.* Ezra at the river Ahava (Ezr 8^{21-23}) relies on prayer for the safety of his expedition. As to Nehemiah, it is unnecessary to show in detail that constant prayer is the characteristic of his journal. It is his resource in difficulty and discouragement, and takes a distinctly personal character, 'remember me, O my God.' Again, Dn 6 is an illustration of how prayer to God had become a distinctive mark of the Jews in exile. In it the enemies of Daniel decide to find their opportunity, and on it base their attack. In this narrative (Dn 6^{10}) we first find unmistakable mention of the hours of prayer as afterwards practised by the Jews, though perhaps Ps 55^{17} may be taken to denote them. As is usually the case in ritual, an endeavour was made to find sanction for the three hours of prayer in the earliest times, and Gn 19^{27} 24^{63} 28^{11} were referred to by the Jews for this purpose.

vi. *The Prophets.*—'The Latter Prophets,' *i.e.* the prophetic writings, may now be considered as a whole, and without reference to date, in order to see what special characteristics are to be attributed to the prayers of prophets. It has already been seen that the latter were intercessors in virtue of their calling. The ground of this was twofold. The prophet was an acceptable person; but, further, he had the Spirit (*e.g.* Ezk 2^{2}), and the possession of it enabled him not only to interpret the mind of God to man, but also the mind of man to God (cf. Ro 8^{26}). The prophet thus knew what the needs of the nation were, much better than the nation itself. Intercession in the OT is not generally the duty of the priest. For an exception see Jl 2^{17}, Mal 1^{9}; and in Apocr. 1 Mac 7^{36-38}, when, of course, prophets had ceased to exist. Beyond this general intercessory function we may trace three special aspects of prayer in the prophetical writings, which may be illustrated almost exclusively from Jeremiah. (*a*) *Personal prayer.* In Jeremiah intermixed with and in reference to the difficulties and trials of his own mission (*e.g.* Jer 20). (*b*) *Seeking to know.* It is by prayer (in part, at least) that the prophet obtains the Divine revelations, Jer 33^{3} 42^{4} (where ten days pass before the answer is reported). (*c*) *Interceding to avert* present or predicted evil. See Am 7 and Jer 14. 15. The latter passage is an important example. In ch. 14 we have—(1) intercession, vv.$^{2-9}$; (2) answer forbidding intercession, $^{10-12}$; (3) renewed pleading in spite of prohibition; (4) renewed Divine threatenings, $^{14-16}$; (5) a wail from the prophet ending in fresh intercession, $^{17-22}$. To this again comes an answer (15^{1-9}) of final condemnation; but even this does not close the dia-

logue of prayer, which continues to 15[21]. This record of intercession throws a light upon the inner life of the prophets, and their intimate relations with God, which we hardly find elsewhere in OT. The limits here set to intercession are an anticipation of 1 Jn 5[16]. And the persistence of the prophet, although rejected, is nevertheless an inspired persistence.

vii. *Psalms, Proverbs, Job.* — Although the prayers in the Psalter exceed in amount and variety all other prayers in OT, yet they do not contribute to our study of the subject so much as they would do if the circumstances and persons from which they proceeded were known to us. Although the title 'Prayers of David' is implied in the subscription closing the second book (Ps 72[20]), yet only one psalm in these two books (Ps 17) is entitled 'a prayer.' And in the whole Psalter only five (including Ps 17) are so described. *Tehillim* (praises), not *tephilloth* (prayers), is the recognized name of the book; but the latter would be almost as accurate a title as the former. Prayer in the Psalms will be considered under six heads. (1) Prayer is regarded in the Psalms as the *pouring out of the heart*, 42[4] 62[8] 102 (title) 142[2]. Outside the Psalter, see 1 S 1[15] and 7[6] compared with La 2[19]. That which is poured out may be either the heart or its musing (שִׂיחַ, AV 'complaint'). In prayer the psalmist does not so much go before God with fixed orderly petition, as simply to pour out his feelings and desires, whatever they are, sweet or bitter, troubled or peaceful. (2) As a consequence of this aspect, *various moods are blended* in prayer. It passes from praise and commemoration to complaint, supplication, confession, despondency. Few psalms are entirely prayers in a strict sense. There is, however, another reason for the rapid transitions which occur. In some cases the moment of a felt answer to prayer is marked in the Psalm itself by transition to praise. Here we have an approach to the colloquy in prayer noticed in the cases of Abraham, Moses, and Jeremiah. In 143[7] an answer is distinctly expected; again in 6[8-10] it is received, as also in 31[22-24]. For strongly marked transitions see 57[6-11] 69[30-36]. There is a sense that God has heard, and that is equivalent to His granting the petition, cf. 1 Jn 5[15]. Yet this answer sometimes fails, and psalms from which it is absent strike us as abnormal, *e.g.* Ps 88. Here we come near what is frequent in Job, prayer struggling in the darkness, without a reply. It is that 'shutting out' of prayer which is described in La 3[8]. (3) *National* and *personal* prayer, how far can they be distinguished? Some prayers in the Psalter are evidently national, *e.g.* 60. 79. 80. But while 44 is no less evidently national, 'I' and 'me' occur in vv.[6] and [15]. Hence it is evident that the 1st pers. sing. is no proof that a psalm, *e.g.* 102, is personal. It may well be an expression of the complaint and needs of the nation. It may almost be said that the psalmist never felt himself alone, but always connected his personal joys or griefs with those of the nation. Cheyne (*OP* 276) quotes a Rabbinic saying, 'In prayer a man should always unite himself with the community.' The question then will generally be which of the two elements predominates, not which is exclusively present. (4) *Material and external blessings are the principal subjects of prayer in the Psalms.* Account must be taken, in considering this matter, of changes which have taken place in the meaning of words by the legitimate spiritualizing effect of Christian use. 'Say unto my soul, I am thy salvation' (35[3]) is a good instance of how a prayer for temporal deliverance has come to acquire the appearance of being a prayer for spiritual blessing. But although the Psalms are far more largely occupied with temporal and material than with spiritual needs, yet there are distinctly spiritual topics of prayer which fill a considerable place in them. These are: (*a*) Communion with God, prayer for the intercourse of prayer, as in 63. (*b*) Forgiveness of sins, besought with the greatest earnestness in 51 for its own sake, but more frequently taking the form of prayer for that deliverance from suffering and chastisement which was held to mark the forgiveness of sin (see art. SIN IN OT). (*c*) Ps 119 stands on a different footing. It contains much prayer for a knowledge of God's will. The prayer for quickening ('quicken' occurs 11 times) seems distinctly to have a spiritual sense. The 'He' division, with its initial verbs in Hiphil, is almost entirely prayer. The development of prayer in a spiritual direction has been carried some way in the Psalms, and prayer for external blessings has been cast in a form which will lend itself afterwards to spiritual interpretation. We must not, however, suppose that prayer of this kind differentiates the Psalms from the prayers of all other religions. Prayer for spiritual and moral gifts is found elsewhere (Tylor, *Prim. Culture*, vol. ii. pp. 373, 374). (5) *Urgency of Prayer.* There is a feeling that God must be induced to hear. This comes out in the anthropomorphic phrases which speak to Him as though He needed to be awakened, urged, or persuaded. We can scarcely suppose that this is, all of it, no more than a sacred irony. While NT put aside the thought of awakening Him, it retained that of pleading. On this subject see Ps 28[1] 44[23], and in correction of these Ps 121 throughout. (6) *Prayer of imprecation*, for vengeance. This is both frequent and urgent. It occurs in the highest strains of devotion, *e.g.* Ps 69[22-28], as well as in psalms of a lower level, *e.g.* 59. It reaches its extreme point in 109. In this Psalm attempts have been made to explain it away, but here no separate dealing is possible with a conception which enters into the tissue of so many psalms. It is certainly remarkable that the phrase which above any expresses the absorption of the psalmist in prayer ('I am prayer,' 109[4]) should occur where it does. Various considerations may help us to bear with this feature, but one is sufficient here. The devout Israelite of that day believed deeply in God, was perhaps more closely conscious of Him than we are, and yet looked out on a world of treachery, cruelty, and lust. The vision which we have before us of a future retribution in another life was entirely shut out from him. If his sense of justice was not dead, how could he help crying out for some manifestation of Divine righteousness by way of retribution, even apart from human instinct for revenge? An inspiration which ran counter to such desires would have disturbed the very foundations of his faith. See, further, art. PSALMS, p. 160.

Proverbs.—Only two points need be noticed: (1) Three passages in which the character of the person praying determines the acceptance of the prayer, 15[8. 29] 28[9]. This feeling, legitimate as it is, and admitted in the formularies of to-day, would tend to grow into that mistaken view of the matter which is corrected in the parable of the Pharisee and the Publican. (2) The prayer of Agur (30[7-9]), with its modest request for the middle state on account of the effect of riches and poverty on his relation with God. Cf. the prayer of Socrates (Plato, *Phædrus, sub fin.*, and also Thom. Aquinas, *Summa*, ii. 2, lxxxiii. 5).

Job.—The earlier part of the book is in the form of a dialogue between Job and his friends; but in fact, when his friends pause, it is often the case that Job, instead of answering them, turns away to God, and lets his address to God stand as

an answer to them. Thus, much of the book is prayer. See chs. 6. 7. 9. 10. 13. 14. The boldest of these is 10. Though full of doubt, rebelliousness, and half-way to renouncing God, it is nevertheless prayer. These chapters are, in fact, prayer for what at times is the most urgent of all needs, some explanation of pain and suffering. It is prayer for wisdom. So, long afterwards, St. James, writing to those who have fallen into manifold trials, bids them ask wisdom from God, that they may understand the purpose of His discipline (Ja 1^{2-5}).

To sum up, the axioms stated at the outset have been abundantly justified. It has plainly appeared that God hears and is moved by prayer, especially by persistent pleading prayer. This was the conviction not only of the mass of the nation, but also of a large number of highly gifted persons. Their experience of prayer, as attested by their writings, must always constitute an important element in that portion of the evidences for the being of God which is drawn from human consciousness. In the spiritual sphere it corresponds to the testimony which St. John gives to God manifest in the flesh, 1 Jn 1^{1-4}.

II. In the Apocrypha.—The Apocr. as a whole confirms strongly what has been said as to the increased prominence of prayer after the Exile. The Apocr. books incorporate, or even consist of prayers. The Additions to Esther are mainly two long prayers of Esther and Mordecai. See also Bar 1^{15}–3^{8}; the Prayer of Azarias (Abednego) prefixed to the Song of the Three Children; and the Prayer of Manasses: the two narratives Tobit and Judith both attest the power of prayer. In Tobit the miraculous interpositions and the happy issue of the story are entirely the result of the simultaneous prayers of Tobit and Sarah recorded in To 3, see esp. 3^{16}. And the place given to prayer in an ideal Jewish family is shown by the paternal injunctions of To 4^{19}. The Book of Tobit, although a fiction, engages respect and interest by its high moral tone; but the same cannot be said of the Book of Judith, in which the prayer of the heroine is tainted with the treachery which is glorified throughout the book. Her prayer in Jth 9^{10} is prayer for the success of deceit, and it would be hard to find anything baser in conception than her pretended scheme of inquiring by prayer as to the sins of her countrymen, that she may tell Holofernes when to attack them, Jth $11^{17.\ 18}$. The necessity of washing, before prayer, for those living among the heathen appears in Jth $12^{7.\ 8}$. In 1 Mac we pass from fiction to history. As Ezr-Neh showed prayer in men of action, so also 1 Mac, *e.g.* 4^{30-33} 5^{33} and 11^{71-72}, prayer was the secret of the Maccabæan victories. That it was so, is nowhere better expressed than in 2 Mac 15^{27}, 'contending with their hands and praying unto God with their hearts.' The notice of Mizpeh in 1 Mac 3^{46} as an ancient place of prayer, links the prayer and victory of Judas with those of Samuel in former time, and is proof of the surviving holiness of the ancient sanctuaries. 2 Mac does but renew in legendary guise the evidence of 1 Mac as to the frequency of prayer in the great patriotic struggle. But it contains two passages which favoured, if they did not suggest, later developments in Christian times. With 2 Mac 12^{40-45} before them as canonical Scripture, it is no wonder that men thought they had ample justification for offering sacrifice (in the Mass) on behalf of the dead. And the vision of Onias and Jeremiah (2 Mac 15^{12-14}) was a clear testimony to the intercession of saints on behalf of the living. Cf. also Bar 3^{4} if the text be correct.

The sapiential books of the Apocr. should next be considered. The Book of Wisdom from 9^{1} onward is a continuous address to God, and may be regarded as a prayer, though the character of supplication is not clearly discernible beyond the end of ch. 9. But $16^{27.\ 28}$ contains a beautiful illustration with regard to prayer. As manna had to be gathered at daybreak, lest it should melt in the heat of the sun, so we must rise at daybreak to gather spiritual food by prayer.

If the Book of Wisdom contributes little, Sirach compensates, as might be expected from the respective origin of the two books. It contains prayers, *e.g.* 22^{27}–23^{6} (personal); 36^{1-17} (national); 50^{22-24} partly thanksgiving, the source of Rinkart's famous hymn, 'Nun danket alle Gott.' Sir $7^{10.\ 14}$ 28^{2-4} prepare the way for our Lord's teaching on prayer, and may have been present to His mind: 38^{9-14} was certainly in St. James' mind when he wrote Ja 5^{14-16}. Sir 38^{34} may perhaps be the source of the proverb, 'Laborare est orare.' Taking the book generally, it is remarkable that the principal subject of prayer in Sirach is the forgiveness of sins, thus advancing the movement begun in OT to spiritualize the aims of prayer.

One more book of Apocr. requires notice, an apocalypse, the so-called 2 Esdras. Though chs. 3–14 inclusive are certainly post-Christian, and therefore do not, like the books hitherto considered, illustrate inter-Testamental Jewish thought, there is much that is of great interest in them, and not least in regard to prayer. The question is raised in $7^{102-112}$ (RV text) whether the intercession of prophets and leaders which had played so great a part in the history of Israel will not also be availing in the day of judgment, and the answer is a twice-repeated negative.

III. In the New Testament.—It will be convenient to state at once the main points in which the doctrine of prayer makes advance in NT. (1) Further development of prayer for spiritual blessings. It is the light here thrown on the possibilities of a higher life by the example and teaching of Christ which enlarges and raises the scope of prayer. (2) Extension of the guidance of the Holy Spirit to all believers, enables them for prayer. Power in prayer was a characteristic of the prophets in the OT, because they had the Spirit. Now all can pray, because all have the Spirit. (3) Prayer in the name of Jesus. This is absolutely new (Jn 16^{24}). The verse just cited gives the turning-point in the history of prayer. It does not divert prayer from the Father to the Son, but gives new access to the Father. Thus the normal idea of prayer is to pray in the Spirit, through the Son, to the Father.

NT words for 'prayer' must be briefly noticed. **1.** Prayer to God with implication of worship is *προσεύχεσθαι*. **2.** *εὔχεσθαι* barely exceeds an earnest wish, and needs *πρὸς τὸν θεόν* to give it the sense of prayer as in 2 Co 13^{7}. Its subst. *εὐχή* means a vow except in Ja 5^{15}. **3.** *δέομαι*, *δέησις*, though used of supplication to God even by our Lord Himself (Lk 22^{32}), may also be used of prayer to man (*e.g.* Lk 9^{40}), which is not the case with *προσεύχεσθαι*. **4.** *αἰτεῖν*, a simple word belonging to our childlike relation (Lk 11^{11}), contains no thought of worship; in RV always 'ask,' but disguised in AV by five different renderings, namely 'ask,' 'desire,' 'beg,' 'crave,' 'require.' The mid. voice (*αἰτεῖσθαι*) gives intensity to the request (see Mayor on Ja 4^{3}). **5.** *ἐρωτάω*, usually explained as involving a certain freedom in the manner and form of request. **6.** *ἐντυγχάνειν*, *ὑπερεντυγχάνειν*, tr. 'intercede,' though the sense is primarily to draw near the person addressed, and only secondarily on behalf of another. See below under 'Epistles.'

i. *Gospels.*—The example and teaching of our Lord: (1) His personal example. His prayer was real prayer, not merely offered by way of example

to disciples, but as real and intense as any ever uttered. Nothing brings out His true humanity more than His dependence on the Father in prayer. His prayers may be considered under three heads: (α) *At or before the great events of His life on earth:* at Baptism (Lk 3^{21}); before choice of apostles (Lk $6^{12.\ 13}$); before transfiguration, which is almost represented as the effect of prayer (Lk 9^{29}); before Gethsemane (Jn 17, the earlier verses of which refer to the consummation of His own work); during the agony (Lk 22^{39-46}, He 5^{7}). It is to be observed that, for these notices, we are mainly indebted to St. Luke, and his special interest in our Lord's teaching as to prayer will appear under other heads also. (β) *Prayer before performance of miracles:* implied in the case of Lazarus, Jn $11^{41.\ 42}$; probably implied Mk 7^{34}. Cf. Mt 17^{21}(TR); but much more frequent in miracles wrought by disciples. (γ) *Intercessory prayer:* for disciples and future believers, Jn 17^{6-26}, and continued after ascension, Ro 8^{34}, He 7^{25} (this continued intercession is not denied by Jn 16^{26}, which merely guards against the thought that our prayer is of itself unacceptable; His heavenly intercession is but another aspect of our asking in Jesus' name); prayer for individuals: St. Peter, Lk 22^{32}; soldiers at the cross, Lk 23^{34}. See Monrad, *World of Prayer*, p. 72, Eng. tr.

(2) The Lord's direct teaching in various ways. This may be considered under the following heads: (α) the Lord's Prayer; (β) parables; (γ) incidental sayings; (δ) last discourses.

(α) **The Lord's Prayer.** — There are grounds which appear to the present writer to be sufficient, but which cannot be stated here, for believing that the prayer was given on two occasions, and in two distinct forms. The latter circumstance would seem to show that stress was not laid on the repetition of the exact words, but on the teaching which the prayer conveyed as to the topics, proportion, and order of all prayer. There is but one clause in the Lord's Prayer relating to temporal wants, and even that not merely to the wants of the individual ('give *us*'). Moreover, it is capable of including spiritual needs, and is constantly so interpreted. On the other hand, it does legitimate prayer for temporal wants. In this connexion notice the direction given Mt 24^{20}. This tendency of the Lord's Prayer to fix desires on spiritual things is summed up in one of the *agrapha* quoted by Origen, *Sel. in* Ps 4^{4} LXX (Lomm. xi. 432) and elsewhere, and probably authentic, 'Ask the great things, and the little things shall be added to you; ask the heavenly things, and the earthly things shall be added to you' (Resch, *Agrapha*, Logion 41). Another characteristic of the Lord's Prayer is its *catholicity*. There is nothing of particularism in it. It is already conscious of its world-wide destiny. A merely Jewish prayer of this date would certainly have been addressed to the Lord God of Israel (of our fathers), and would have contained a petition for the nation. See Latham, *Pastor Pastorum*, p. 416. See, further, art. LORD'S PRAYER.

(β) *Parables.*—(1) Two parables on importunity in prayer. This characteristic of prayer has already been taught by OT, and is here approved by our Lord. The 'Friend at Midnight' (Lk 11^{5-8}) follows immediately the delivery of the Lord's Prayer. While it should be interpreted in the broadest way of all prayer, it may have special application to teachers, as being a prayer for bread for others. The second parable, the Importunate Widow (Lk 18^{1-8}), has throughout a special reference to the prayer of suffering believers in expectation of the Second Advent. The need of importunity in prayer expressed in both parables should be interpreted with Trench's words before us, 'We must not conceive of prayer as an overcoming of God's reluctance, but as a laying hold of His highest willingness' (*Parables*, xviii., the substance of which comes from the passage of Dante which he quotes, *Parad.* xx. 94–99). (2) A parable on right disposition in prayer follows immediately in Lk 18^{9-14}. Compare above on Dt 26^{13-15} under OT. In this parable we see a great step in advance. Under the new covenant a profession of ritual righteousness has no longer any place in prayer. On the contrary, we have Lk 17^{10}, which may, like the precept of forgiveness which it follows, have been spoken with reference to prayer and its conditions. It should be observed that these parables are preserved by St. Luke alone, and to them may be added the prayer of the prodigal son, 'Father, I have sinned,' etc. (Lk $15^{18.\ 19}$).

(γ) *Incidental sayings.*—(1) As to conditions of prayer. One of these is *humility*, as in the parable referred to above, Lk 18^{14}. Another is *forgiveness* of our brother men. This condition of prayer had already been strikingly stated in Sir 28^{2-4}. Mt $6^{14.\ 15}$ and Mk $11^{24.\ 25}$ do but repeat it, and the parable of the Unmerciful Servant grows out of the same root. A third condition of prayer is *to avoid outward show and to avoid repetition.* Our Lord's practice throws light on both these requirements. We read of His retirement to the mountain for prayer. Privacy in a house is difficult to obtain in the East. The other direction does not forbid all repetition. Words may be repeated to express urgent entreaty, as in Mt 26^{44}. A fourth condition is more important and more difficult of explanation—that of *faith*. It is obvious that faith must be a condition; a prayer which is, so to speak, an experiment, will not be answered. But Mk 11^{24} 'All things whatsoever ye pray and ask for, believe that ye have received them and ye shall have them,' seems to represent faith not merely as 'sine qua non,' but as 'cum qua semper.' Literally interpreted, the words would assign to every believer a kind of vicarious omnipotence. In interpreting any saying of our Lord, it must be remembered that the words as spoken by Him were not isolated, and were addressed to those who had heard other words which limited and explained them. It is reasonable to receive this saying with the explanation which St. John puts upon it, 1 Jn $5^{14.\ 15}$ ('if we ask anything according to his will, he heareth us'). The illustrations used to emphasize the power of prayer in faith, viz. the uprooting of mountains and trees, are taken from the language of the Jewish schools; and the same source supplies a parallel expression, 'If a person applies his whole attention during prayer, he may be sure that his prayer has been granted' (R. Samuel in *Berakhoth*, tr. p. 111). It is probable that our Lord, foreseeing that the power of prayer would be undervalued, preferred to state its force in this almost paradoxical way. It will follow that assurance of receiving the *precise* thing asked for is not what is required. There is a great instance in Ac 12 which may be taken here by anticipation. The Church is gathered together praying continuously and earnestly for the release of St. Peter. But when he is released and sent back to them, they keep him outside the gate because they cannot believe that their prayer has been granted. Yet who will say that that prayer was not a prayer of faith? The last condition of prayer to be mentioned is not a universal one, but carries special promise, namely, the condition of *union* in prayer, Mt $18^{19.\ 20}$. It does not necessarily imply public prayer, for two persons are enough. The effect of this saying appears in the frequent mention of united prayer in Acts.

(δ) *Last discourses.*—As in all other respects these discourses give new and distinctive teaching,

so in respect of prayer. It is henceforth to be *in Jesus' name*. 'Thus is given not a mere devotional form, but a new ground on which the worshipper stands, a new plea for the success of his petitions; and, in fact, a wholly new character to prayer, since it must be brought into unison with the mind of Him in whose name it is presented' (T. D. Bernard, *Central Teaching of Jesus Christ*, p. 156; and see preceding page). As this teaching was not possible in the early days when the Lord's Prayer was given, 'in Jesus' name' was not added to it. But that prayer being His, and in accordance with His will, is a prayer in His name, without the addition of 'through Jesus Christ,' which the Church has never presumed to make. This instance shows that the direction is not to be taken in a narrow, verbal way.

(3) Finally, the Gospels afford us teaching on prayer given in an entirely different way. Under (1) the Lord's example was considered on its human side, teaching about prayer by His own prayer. But even during His ministry the Divine nature, though in a certain sense hidden, began to show itself, and He is the recipient of prayer from those who need His help. Their requests are not described by the highest term προσεύχομαι, but by δέομαι, δέησις. But since these requests were made to the Son of God, His way of dealing with them instructs all who pray. (*a*) Requests are granted where there is faith. 'Believe ye that I am able to do this?' (*b*) Granting requests is delayed to produce importunity and test character (Mk 7^{27}). A saying of Seneca's well illustrates the difference between what the Stoic thought of the attitude of importunate prayer and the way in which Christianity regards it: 'Nihil carius emitur quam quæ precibus emta est.' Christianity would substitute 'nihil dulcius.' (*c*) Man's ignorance in prayer is insisted on in the case of the sons of Zebedee, Mt 20^{22}; and it is shown by experience in the case of St. Peter, whose request is granted that he may learn that it was presumptuous, Mt 14^{28-31}, cf. Ro 8^{26}. Here it may be added that the disciples who had asked Jesus daily and hourly for help and guidance while He was with them in the flesh, evidently continued to do so after God had 'exalted him to be a Prince and a Saviour.' St. Stephen says, 'Lord Jesus, receive my spirit'; and Christians are described by St. Paul as those who 'call upon (or invoke in prayer) the name of our Lord Jesus Christ,' 1 Co 1^2, cf. Ac 9^{14} 22^{16}. It is therefore going too far to say with Origen (*de Orat.* 15) that all prayer must be offered to the Father. Yet it is the case that Jesus teaches His disciples to pray, not to Himself, but to the Father in His name. Liddon (*Bampton Lectures*, note F) appears to press his argument further than a consideration of the whole evidence will justify.

ii. *Acts.*—The teaching and guidance given by our Lord manifests its results in the Acts and Epistles. Acts will show its external results in the Church as a whole, not, however, without some evidence of private practice. The Epp. will give its inward effect on the devotional life of individuals, especially of St. Paul, but here also something may be gathered as to external and corporate usages.

(1) Acts supplies notices of *times and places of prayer*. St. Peter observes the sixth hour (Ac 10^9), and he and St. John go up to the temple at the ninth hour, which is described as the hour of prayer (Ac 3^1). It is probable that the gathering described in Ac 2^1 was for worship, and this is fixed by 2^{15} as having taken place at the third hour, so we have recognition of all the three Jewish hours of prayer.

In the matter of prayer, as in most other external matters, the Christian body remained at first within the pale of Judaism. To ordinary observers they were only a new sect (αἵρεσις) of Judaism. They had their private worship (Ac 2^{42}), but they did not on that account forsake the temple; and it is possible that they still attended the synagogues, though there is no evidence on this point beyond the practice of St. Paul on his missionary journeys (in which case he had a special object in view), and Ja 2^2 (where 'synagogue' may mean a distinctively Christian assembly, cf. He 10^{25}). But with regard to the private worship of Christians, there is ample evidence in Acts, *e.g.* 4^{23-30} where the actual prayer used is recorded, and 12^{12} the assembly for prayer in the house of Mary the mother of Mark. Two farewell prayers from St. Paul's life may be added—the one at Miletus with tears and embraces (Ac 20^{36}), the other on the beach at Tyre (Ac 21^5). In both these cases they *knelt* in prayer. Kneeling is also the attitude of St. Stephen (Ac 7^{60}), St. Peter (Ac 9^{40}), and St. Paul (Eph 3^{14}). On the other hand, our Lord's words had authorized *standing* to pray (Mk 11^{25}).

(2) *Fulfilment of prayer.*—Acts is remarkably strong in its testimony on this point. There are: the release of St. Peter (Ac 12), the sending of St. Peter to Cornelius (10^4), the preservation of the crew and passengers who sailed with St. Paul (27^{24}). And there are the cases in which prayer is recorded as the means of working miracles (9^{40} 28^8). Passing to the Epp. we may take here the great instance of non-fulfilment of believing prayer, the thrice-repeated prayer of St. Paul to be delivered from the thorn in the flesh (2 Co $12^{8.9}$). Yet the prayer was not frustrate; what was granted was the power to rejoice in the infirmity.

(3) *Prayer in connexion with laying on of hands.*—In Acts there are mentioned three more or less distinct uses of the laying on of hands: (*α*) in healing as by Ananias (9^{17}), St. Paul (28^8); (*β*) as a complement to baptism by St. Peter and St. John at Samaria (8^{17}) and St. Paul at Ephesus (19^6); (*γ*) on appointment to ministries (6^6 13^3). Now in each of these three classes of instances, though not in every instance, there is a distinct mention of prayer, as though to show that those who use the form are not in possession of the gift so as to transfer it at their will, but rather have authority to ask for it to be given. See, further, art. LAYING ON OF HANDS.

(4) The passages in which prayer accompanies *the appointment to ministries* naturally raise another question. In Ac 13^3 14^{23} *fasting* accompanies prayer, cf. Lk 2^{37}. The connexion between fasting and prayer has already been observed in OT, but was it continued in the Apostolic Church? These two passages go in that direction, and it would be natural that the Christians should not abandon a practice in which as Jews they had been trained, and which appeared to have a possible sanction from Mt 9^{15}. But, in considering fasting as subsidiary to prayer, it should be observed that in four passages where it appears in that light in AV, viz. Mt 17^{21}, Mk 9^{29}, Ac 10^{30}, 1 Co 7^5, RV, following textual evidence, omits all mention of the subject. See, further, art. FASTING.

(5) One other point of interest from Acts is that prayer here bears out what was said under OT of prayer as *colloquy with God*. Such is the prayer in the visions of Ananias (Ac 9^{13-16}) and St. Paul (Ac 22^{17-21}).

iii. *The Epistles and Apocalypse.*—(1) *St. James.*—This Ep. takes up and applies to daily life the teaching of the gospel, and is especially related to Mt. Hence there is much as to prayer. The need of faith in prayer, and the fatal effect of doubting (Ja 1^{6-8}, observe same word [διακρίνομαι] for 'doubt' as in Mt 21^{21}); the neglect of prayer, and character of wrong prayer (Ja $4^{2.3}$), are put in a practical way.

But the most important passage is Ja 5^{13-18}. There in an emphatic position almost at the close of the Epistle we have the recommendation of a particular act of prayer on the part of the elders of the congregation, accompanied with the use of oil (in accordance with the early apostolic practice described Mk 6^{13}). This prayer is not only to effect bodily but also spiritual healing. The sufferer's sins will be forgiven. And then the power of prayer is still further urged, and the example of Elijah given. Intercession for one another is to be the rule of the Church (cf. 1 Jn 5^{16}).

(2) *Epp. of St. Paul.*—Only a few points can be noticed. (*a*) The *co-operation of the Holy Spirit* in prayer comes out clearly. In Ro 8^{15} the Spirit enables us to cry 'Abba, Father,' and in v.^{26} intercedes for us (ὑπερεντυγχάνει) along with our defective prayers. There is a special fitness in the use of ἐντυγχάνω (and its compound) with regard to the Spirit (as here) and the Son (v.^{34} and He 7^{25}), as it signifies close approach. For the help of the Spirit in prayer see also Eph 6^{18} and Jude ^{20}. Further, the gift of tongues was used in prayer as well as in praise (1 Co $14^{14.\ 15}$). The distinction which St. Paul here draws between the office of his (own) spirit and his mind in prayer is well illustrated by Thom. Aquin. ii. 2. lxxxiii., who says that prayer is 'rationis actus.' There must be some arrangement of petitions (*ordinatio*), and for this the mind must take part. (*β*) The *reciprocal prayer of St. Paul and his converts.* He constantly prays for them, he tells them so, and they pray for him. His prayer for them is sometimes in anxiety and sometimes with joy (Ph 1^{4}). It included mention of persons by name, *e.g.* Timothy and Philemon, and no doubt countless others. He looks on this reciprocal prayer as a bond. He begins and often closes his Epp. with mention of it. He regards the circumstances of his own life and his movements as in part determined by the prayers of the saints (2 Co 1^{11}, Philem ^{22}). (*γ*) Prayer is *striving*, an ἀγών (like Jacob's wrestling), see Ro 15^{30}, Col 2^{1} and 4^{12}. (*δ*) Some light is given as to the prayers of *the congregation.* There is the injunction in 1 Ti 2^{1}, where we find the rudiments of a fixed order of prayer. Clem. Rom. 61 shows how this command was obeyed. The chapter above quoted, 1 Ti 2, gives negatively in v.^{8} the same conditions of acceptable prayer 'without wrath and doubting' as are given positively in Mk 11^{25}, where forgiveness and faith are required for prayer. 'Wrath' here means refusal to forgive; such a condition condemns a literal use of the Imprecatory Psalms. (*ε*) In the Pastoral Epp. prayer has already become the *special duty of a certain class* (1 Ti 5^{5}).

(3) *Ep. to Hebrews.*—The great lesson here is *freedom of access to God in prayer.* This Christ has obtained for us (He 4^{16} 10^{22}). The latter verse reminds us that the baptized no longer need the ritual washing of their bodies before prayer (see above on prayer in Apocrypha).

(4) *Epp. of St. John.*—Here again is the same thought as in He 4^{16}, expressed by the same word (παῤῥησία). But in 1 Jn there is no question of entrance and approach (εἴσοδος, προσέρχεσθαι); we are already near. Thus παῤῥησία has more distinctly its primary sense of 'freedom of utterance' in prayer. See 1 Jn $3^{21.\ 22}$, where the promises of the certain fulfilment of prayer given in Jn $14^{13.\ 14}$ $15^{7.\ 16}$ $16^{23.\ 24}$ are concentrated and dwelt upon. The still stronger repetition of this assurance in 1 Jn $5^{14.\ 15}$ explains any difficulty that might attach to it, by substituting 'according to His will' for 'in His name.' These two conditions are really equivalent. We cannot truly associate ourselves with Christ in prayer (in His name) without His spirit of entire submission to the Father's will.

(5) *The Apocalypse.*—Here the prayer for vengeance (Rev 6^{10}) is an echo of Lk 18^{1-8}, but it is the prayer of the dead (cf. Bar 3^{4}). In Rev 5^{8} and 8^{3} the prayers of the saints are offered to God, but this is the prayer of the living which ascends from the earth. This prayer is mediated, being offered in one case by the elders, and in the other having incense added to it by angels. For this idea (common among the Jews) cf. To $12^{12.\ 15}$. The passages in Revelation are clearly symbolical, and do not warrant man in addressing angels for such a purpose. The mistranslation of Vulg. (Job 5^{1}) probably encouraged the error. For the connexion of prayers and incense see above, p. 39^{b}. Lastly, the Apocalypse ends with a prayer from the highest level of Christian faith and hope befitting the place assigned to it at the end of the Canon. It is a threefold prayer. It is the prayer of the Spirit, which animates all faithful prayer under the NT (22^{17}). It is the prayer of the Bride, *i.e.* the Church (*ib.*). It is also the prayer of the individual, the writer of the book (22^{20}). All other prayer resolves itself at last into prayer for the coming of the Lord Jesus, which will accomplish all desires.

LITERATURE.—Jerus. Talmud, *Berakhoth*, tr. Schwab; Origen, *de Oratione Libellus*; the artt. in Herzog on 'Gebet,' 'Gebet bei den Hebräern'; Bp. Monrad, *World of Prayer*, tr. Banks. The standard works on Biblical Theology, *e.g.* Oehler, Schultz, Beyschlag, have very scanty references to Prayer. Modern works on the efficacy of Prayer are not mentioned, being outside the scope of the present article. E. R. BERNARD.

PRAYER OF MANASSES. — See MANASSES (PRAYER OF).

PREACHER.—See ECCLESIASTES.

PREACHING (Heb. קְרִיאָה, Jon 3^{2}, from קָרָא 'cry out,' 'proclaim'; Gr. *κήρυγμα*, 'the message proclaimed,' from *κηρύσσω*, 'declare as a herald,' 'preach'; in NT used in marked distinction from *διδαχή*, 'teaching,' and *διδάσκω*, 'teach,' and always preserving in some degree the idea of the root-word *κήρυξ*, 'herald'). — Strictly speaking, Christian preaching is the proclamation of the gospel, which is to be followed by the more elaborate but less startling process of teaching. This limitation is observable in the NT accounts of our Lord's ministry where He first appears *preaching*, *i.e.* proclaiming the advent of the kingdom of God (*e.g.* Mt 4^{17}), following on the preaching of John the Baptist (*e.g.* Mt $3^{1.\ 2}$), and then proceeds to *teach* the nature and laws of the kingdom (*e.g.* Mt 5^{3}). The word *εὐαγγελίζω* is frequently used for Christian preaching, as the declaration of glad tidings (*e.g.* Lk 3^{18}). But although the NT words rendered 'preaching' have this limitation of meaning, it would be undesirable to confine the consideration of the subject of preaching to the cases in which they are strictly applicable, that subject, as we now understand it, including all instruction in religion which takes the form of popular discourse, and especially that which is associated with public worship.

i. JEWISH PREACHING.—Of the two streams of religious life and practice that are seen in the history of Israel—the priestly and the prophetic—preaching attaches itself to the latter. The sumptuous pageantry of the sacrifices spoke to the eye and taught by dramatic representation. The prophet was emphatically the preacher. In the earlier periods, indeed, his teaching is usually by means of the brief oracle. But the great 8th cent. prophets composed and delivered elaborate discourses. They were preachers before they were writers, falling back on the pen only when the living voice was silenced: in the case of Jeremiah, for the preservation of the warnings which his

contemporaries refused to hear (Jer 30^2); in the case of Ezekiel, because the circumstances of the Exile compelled the prophet to resort to literary channels for making his message known. Still even Ezekiel's prophecies may have been originally spoken (see Smend, *Der Prophet Ezechiel*, xxii.). On the other hand, Ewald held that Ezekiel wrote his oracles instead of speaking them because he felt a decay of the prophetic spirit (*Prophets of the OT*, iv. 2, 9). For the most part, at all events, the prophecies contained in OT are written discourses which had been preached or which were intended for preaching. Still there are two important differences between this preaching of the prophets and what we understand by the term to-day. (1) The preaching of the prophets was not a normal function of public worship taking its place in the ritual of the sanctuary. It was an utterance demanded by special crises, or prompted by a special revelation, and spoken in the court or the market-place, wherever the prophet could find the audience he was urged to address. (2) For the most part it dealt with public questions, national sins, judgments, and deliverances, rather than with individual conduct and need (see W. R. Smith, *Prophets of Israel*, Lect. II.). In Ezekiel, on the other hand, more personal preaching appears (see Cornill, *Der Prophet Ezechiel*, pp. 51, 52).

For a closer approach to what is commonly understood as preaching, we must come to the period of the return from the Captivity. The law is now the centre of the religion of Israel, and the law is now popularized in public teaching. The very meaning of the word rendered law (תּוֹרָה *instruction*) points in this direction. Accordingly, the Divine instruction given through priests or prophets at an earlier period is called by the same name (Hos 4^6, Am 2^4 [see Driver's note]). With the rise of the synagogue, preaching becomes a recognized function of public worship. The need of translating the Heb. text into the vernacular introduced the interpreter, who followed the reader sentence by sentence in the case of the law, but with a division into longer passages with the prophets (Schürer, *HJP* II. ii. 81; *Megilla*, iv. 4, 6, 10). The Targum thus originated prepared for the more lengthy exposition. While the Halacha is didactic and suited to the schools, the Haggada contains the legends and allegories which would be more acceptable to the popular audience in the synagogue service. In the time of Philo the popular discourse was the chief part of the service (see Schürer, II. ii. 76). There was no one appointed preacher. According to Philo, 'some (τις) priest who is present (ὁ παρών), or some one of the elders, reads the sacred laws to them, and expounds (ἐξηγεῖται) each of them separately till eventide' (Fragm. in Euseb. *Præp. Evang.* viii. 7). Indeed we learn from the same authority that any competent person (ἀναστὰς τις τῶν ἐμπειροτάτων) could take this part of the service (*de Septentario*, c. 6, Mang. ii. 282). From the latter passage it would seem that the preacher stood up to speak, the word ἀναστάς being used. But possibly Philo is thinking only of his act of rising to present himself before the people and offer his discourse. In delivering his sermon the preacher was seated in an elevated place (Lk 4^{20}; Zunz, *Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge*, p. 337; Delitzsch, *Ein Tag in Capernaum*, p. 127 f.).

ii. CHRISTIAN PREACHING.—John the Baptist was acknowledged as a prophet, and he revived the prophet's mission of preaching to the people apart from the normal religious services. His work consisted chiefly in preaching and baptizing, though with the necessary addition of private conversation with inquirers (Lk $3^{10\text{-}14}$). The burden of his message was the call to repentance, and the announcement of the approach of the kingdom of God, with a promise of the forgiveness of sins (Mt 3^1, Mk 1^4). This was the burden of the earlier preaching of Jesus (Mk $1^{14.\ 15}$). This earlier preaching of our Lord was carried on in the synagogues of Galilee (Mk 1^{39}). The incident in the Nazareth synagogue of which we have a full account, indicates that our Lord's method was to found His discourse on the portion of Scripture He had previously read (Lk $4^{16f.}$). This would be in accordance with the custom at the Sabbath meeting. When He preached in the open air it was under freer circumstances. Then, though He would frequently appeal to the OT in confirmation of His words, and especially in arguing with the scribes in the form of an *argumentum ad homines*, He did not adopt the method of the exposition of Scripture; He would start immediately from His great topic 'the kingdom of God,' and expound that. The evangelists are careful to point out the transition from this public teaching to the private training of the inner circle of disciples. His method was not the same in the two cases. It cannot be said that He had any esoteric doctrine which He deliberately withheld from the uninitiated, although His language on one occasion seemed to indicate this (Mk $4^{11.\ 12}$), because He always invited all capable hearers (*e.g.* Mk $4^{9.\ 22.\ 23}$). The public discourse more often took the form of parable; the private instruction was more direct and conversational. But even when delivering a public discourse Jesus was always liable to interruption, and this would frequently develop into discussion. Moreover, the reports of our Lord's discourses preserved in the Gospels appear to be abbreviated in some cases, or perhaps we have salient points, memorable epigrams, etc., selected from His discourses rather than full reports of them. Sometimes, as in the case of the Sermon on the Mount, it may be that we have a number of the sayings of Jesus uttered on various occasions collected and strung together by the reporter (perhaps Matthew in his *Logia*; see MATTHEW). In Lk we more often meet with utterances springing out of incidents, the event and the saying being both given by the third evangelist. For these reasons we cannot look to the Gospel accounts of the teachings of Jesus to furnish us with typical sermons. Still those accounts not only contain the teachings themselves, they illustrate our Lord's method of preaching—(1) His freshness and originality (διδαχὴ καινή, Mk 1^{27}); (2) His tone of authority (ὡς ἐξουσίαν ἔχων, Mk 1^{22}); (3) His winning grace—a point characteristically noted by the third evangelist (ἐθαύμαζον ἐπὶ τοῖς λόγοις τῆς χάριτος, Lk 4^{22}); (4) His graphic picturesqueness in illustration (Mk 4^{33}).

The Book of Acts supplies several specimens of apostolic preaching. In the earliest instances the text and starting-point are found in some event, *e.g.* the 'tongues' at Pentecost (Ac $2^{14f.}$), the healing of the lame man at the gate of the temple (Ac $3^{12f.}$). The OT is appealed to for the confirmation of what is said (*e.g.* Ac $2^{14.\ 25.\ 34}$ 7^{42} 8^{32}). With his marvellous versatility St. Paul employed the same method when speaking to pagans at Athens, illustrating his words by a citation from classic literature (Ac 17^{28}), though personally he attached unique importance to the inspiration of the OT, and cited this to Jews in the manner of the other apostles (*e.g.* Ac $13^{40.\ 47}$ 15^{15}). In substance the preaching of the apostles to Jews was a declaration of the Messiahship of Jesus with the confirmation of two arguments—(1) The resurrection; (2) the OT predictions. On this followed promises of the forgiveness of sins (*e.g.* Ac 2^{38} 3^{19}), and salvation through Christ (*e.g.* 4^{12}). The essential genuineness of the early speeches in Acts is proved by the

fact that they do not contain the Pauline doctrine of the Atonement, which was not developed at the time in which they are dated (Lechler, *Apost. and post-Apost. Times*, i. 266 f.). They refer to the death of Christ, charging the Jews with the crime, pointing out that it was predicted by the prophets, and therefore was foreknown by God and in His counsels, and showing that in spite of it the resurrection proved Jesus to be Christ. The apostolic preaching to the heathen, represented especially by St. Paul, exposes the absurdity of anthropomorphic polytheism (*e.g.* Ac 14[15]), idolatry (17[29]), and sorcery (19[19]); declares the spirituality and fatherhood of God (17[24ff.]); denounces sin, and warns of judgment to come through one whom God has appointed (17[31]); offers deliverance through faith in Jesus Christ (16[31]). The allusions to the definite preaching of Jesus Christ are very brief. But it is evident that there must have been some account of His life, death, and resurrection in St. Paul's preaching. Gal 3[1] plainly points to this. Similarly, if the second Gospel is St. Mark's record of 'the preaching of Peter,' it is plain that that apostle preached the facts of the life of Jesus.

In the churches of NT times great freedom of utterance was allowed. The right to preach depended on gifts, not on offices. At Corinth, in particular, the gift of prophecy, to which St. Paul assigns the first place (1 Co 14[1]), was found among the private members, and was freely exercised in the assembly (v.[31]). Nevertheless, the duty of admonishing the assembly rests especially with the leading authorities (*e.g.* 1 Th 5[12]). The chief functions of the elders or bishops was, not preaching, but the administration of practical affairs. But ability to teach is recognized, at all events, by the time of the Pastoral Epistles as the one necessary qualification of a bishop (1 Ti 3[2]) which is not also shared by the deacon. In course of time it was considered improper for a presbyter to preach in the presence of the bishop, universally so in the West (Possid. *Vit. S. Aug.* v.; *Conc. Hisp.* ii. (A.D. 619) can. 7), but not universally in the East, only *in quibusdam ecclesiis* (Jerome, *ad Nepot.* Epist. 2).

W. F. Adeney.

PREDESTINATION.—

i. The Terms.
ii. Predestination in OT.
1. Fundamental OT ideas.
2. Cosmical Predestination in OT.
3. Soteriological Predestination in OT.
iii. Predestination among the Jews.
iv. Predestination in NT.
1. The Teaching of Jesus.
2. The Teaching of the Disciples.
3. The Teaching of St. Paul.
v. The Bible Doctrine of Predestination.
Literature.

i. The Terms.—The words 'predestine,' 'predestinate,' 'predestination' seem not to have been domiciled in English literary use until the later period of Middle English (they are all three found in Chaucer: *Troylus and Cryseyde*, 966; *Orisoune to the Holy Virgin*, 69; tr. of *Boëthius*, b. 1, pr. 6, l. 3844; the Old English equivalent seems to have been 'forestihtian,' as in Ælfric's *Homilies*, ii. 364, 366, in renderings of Ro 1[4] 8[30]). 'Predestine,' 'predestination' were doubtless taken over from the French, while 'predestinate' probably owes its form directly to the Latin original of them all. The noun has never had a place in the English Bible, but the verb in the form 'predestinate' occurs in every one of its issues from Tindale to AV. Its history in the English versions is a somewhat curious one. It goes back, of course, ultimately to the Latin '*prædestino*' (a good classical but not pre-Augustan word; while the noun '*prædestinatio*' seems to be of Patristic origin), which was adopted by the Vulgate as its regular rendering of the Gr. προορίζω, and occurs, with the sole exception of Ac 4[28] (Vulg. *decerno*), wherever the Latin translators found that verb in their text (Ro 1[4] 8[29. 30], 1 Co 2[7], Eph 1[5. 11]). But the Wyclifite versions did not carry 'predestinate' over into English in a single instance, but rendered in every case by 'before ordain' (Ac 4[28] 'deemed'). It was thus left to Tindale to give the word a place in the English Bible. This he did, however, in only one passage, Eph 1[11], doubtless under the influence of the Vulgate. His ordinary rendering of προορίζω is 'ordain before' (Ro 8[29], Eph 1[5]; cf. 1 Co 2[7], where the 'before' is omitted apparently only on account of the succeeding preposition into which it may be thought, therefore, to coalesce), varied in Ro 8[30] to 'appoint before'; while, reverting to the Greek, he has 'determined before' at Ac 4[28] and, following the better reading, has 'declared' at Ro 1[4]. The succeeding Eng. versions follow Tindale very closely, though the Genevan omits 'before' in Ac 4[28] and, doubtless in order to assimilate it to the neighbouring Eph 1[11], reads 'did predestinate' in Eph 1[5]. The larger use of the word was due to the Rhemish version, which naturally reverts to the Vulg. and reproduces its *prædestino* regularly in 'predestinate' (Ro 1[4] 8[29. 30], 1 Co 2[7], Eph 1[5. 11]; but Ac 4[28] 'decreed'). Under this influence the AV adopted 'predestinate' as its ordinary rendering of προορίζω (Ro 8[29. 30], Eph 1[5. 11]), while continuing to follow Tindale at Ac 4[28] 'determined before,' 1 Co 2[7] 'ordained,' as well as at Ro 1[4] 'declared,' m. 'Gr. determined.' Thus the word, tentatively introduced into a single passage by Tindale, seemed to have intrenched itself as the stated English representative of an important Greek term. The RV has, however, dismissed it altogether from the English Bible and adopted in its stead the hybrid compound 'foreordained' (cf. art. Foreknow, Foreordain) as its invariable representative of προορίζω (Ac 4[28], Ro 8[29. 30], 1 Co 2[7], Eph 1[5. 11]),—in this recurring substantially to the language of Wyclif and the preferred rendering of Tindale. None other than a literary interest, however, can attach to the change thus introduced: 'foreordain' and 'predestinate' are exact synonyms, the choice between which can be determined only by taste. The somewhat widespread notion that the 17th cent. theology distinguished between them, rests on a misapprehension of the evidently carefully-adjusted usage of them in the *Westminster Confession*, iii. 3 ff. This is not, however, the result of the attribution to the one word of a 'stronger' or to the other of a 'harsher' sense than that borne by its fellow, but a simple sequence of a current employment of 'predestination' as the precise synonym of 'election,' and a resultant hesitation to apply a term of such precious associations to the foreordination to death. Since then the tables have been quite turned, and it is questionable whether in popular speech the word 'predestinate' does not now bear an unpleasant suggestion.

That neither word occurs in the English OT is due to the genius of the Hebrew language, which does not admit of such compound terms. Their place is taken in the OT, therefore, by simple words expressive of purposing, determining, ordaining, with more or less contextual indication of previousness of action. These represent a variety of Hebrew words, the most explicit of which is perhaps יָעַץ (Ps 139[16], Is 22[11] 37[26] 46[11]), by the side of which must be placed, however, יָצַר (Is 14[24. 26. 27] 19[12] 19[17] 23[9], Jer 49[20] 50[45]), whose substantival derivative עֵצָה (Job 38[2] 42[3], Jer 23[19], Pr 19[21], Ps 33[11] 107[11], Is 14[25. 26] 46[10. 11], Ps 106[13], Is 5[19] 19[17], Jer 49[20] 50[45], Mic 4[12]) is doubtless the most precise Heb. term for the Divine plan or purpose,

although there occurs along with it in much the same sense the term מְחִשָּׁכָה (Is 18[11] 29[11] 49[50] 50[45] 65[8], Jer 51[29], Mic 4[12], Ps 9[26]), a derivative of חָשַׁב (Gn 50[20], Mic 2[3], Jer 18[11] 26[3] 29[11] 36[3] 49[50] 50[45], La 2[8]). In the Aramaic portion of Daniel (4[17. 24]) the common later Hebrew designation of the Divine decree (used especially in an evil sense) גְּזֵרָה occurs: and חֹק is occasionally used with much the same meaning (Ps 2[7], Zeph 2[2], Ps 105[10]=1 Ch 16[17], Job 23[14]). Other words of similar import are זָמַם (Jer 4[28] 51[12], La 7[19], Zec 1[6] 8[14. 15]) with its substantive מְזִמָּה (Job 42[2], Jer 23[20] 30[24] 51[11]); חָפֵץ (Ps 115[3] 135[6], Pr 21[1], Is 55[11], Jon 1[14], Jg 13[23], La 2[25], Is 53[10]) with its substantive חֵפֶץ (Is 46[10] 44[28] 48[14] 53[10]); חָרַץ (Job 14[5], Is 10[22. 23] 28[22], Dn 9[26. 27] 11[36]); חָתַךְ (Dn 9[24]); הוֹאִיל (1 S 12[22], 1 Ch 17[27], 2 S 7[29]). To express that special act of predestination which we know as 'election,' the Hebrews commonly utilized the word בָּחַר (of Israel, Dt 4[37] 7[6. 7] 10[15] 14[2], Is 41[8. 9] 43[10. 20] 44[1. 2] 45[4], Jer 33[24]; and of the future, Is 14[1] 65[7. 15. 22]; of Jehovah's servant, 42[1] 49[7]; of Jerusalem, Dt 12[14. 18. 26] 14[25] 15[20] 16[7. 15. 16] 17[8. 10] 18[6] 31[11], Jos 9[27], 1 K 8[14. 48] 11[13. 32. 36] 14[21], 2 K 21[7] 25[27]) with its substantive בָּחִיר (exclusively used of Jehovah's 'elect,' 2 S 21[6], 1 Ch 16[13], Ps 89[4] 105[6. 43] 106[5. 23], Is 42[1] 43[20] 45[4] 65[9. 15. 22]), and occasionally the word יָדַע in a pregnant sense (Gn 18[19], Am 3[2], Hos 13[5], cf. Ps 1[6] 31[7] 37[18], Is 58[3], Neh 1[7]); while it is rather the execution of this previous choice in an act of separation that is expressed by הִבְדִּיל (Lv 20[24] 20[26], 1 K 8[53]).

In the Greek of the NT the precise term *προορίζω* (Ac 4[28], 1 Co 2[7], Ro 8[29. 30], Eph 1[5. 11]) is supplemented by a number of similar compounds, such as *προτάσσω* (Ac 17[26]); *προτίθημι* (Eph 1[9]) with its more frequently occurring substantive, *πρόθεσις* (Ro 8[28] 9[11], Eph 1[11] 3[11], 2 Ti 1[9]); *προετοιμάζω* (Ro 9[23], Eph 2[10]) and perhaps *προβλέπω* in a similar sense of providential pre-arrangement (He 11[40]), with which may be compared also *προοῖδον* (Ac 2[31], Gal 3[8]); *προγιγνώσκω* (Ro 8[29] 11[2], 1 P 1[20]) and its substantive *πρόγνωσις* (1 P 1[2], Ac 2[23]); *προχειρίζω* (Ac 22[14] 3[28]) and *προχειροτονέω* (Ac 4[41]). Something of the same idea is, moreover, also occasionally expressed by the simple *ὁρίζω* (Lk 22[22], Ac 17[26. 31] 2[23], He 4[7], Ac 10[42]), or through the medium of terms designating the will, wish, or good-pleasure of God, such as *βουλή* (Lk 7[30], Ac 2[23] 4[28] 13[36] 20[27], Eph 1[11], He 6[17], cf. *βούλημα* Ro 9[19] and *βούλομαι* He 6[17], Ja 1[18], 2 P 3[9]), *θέλημα* (*e.g.* Eph 1[5. 9. 11], He 10[7], cf. *θέλησις* He 2[4], *θέλω*, *e.g.* Ro 9[18. 22]), *εὐδοκία* (Lk 2[14], Eph 1[5. 9], Ph 2[13], cf. *εὐδοκέω* Lk 12[32], Col 1[19], Gal 1[15], 1 Co 1[21]). The standing terms in the NT for God's sovereign choice of His people are *ἐκλέγεσθαι*, in which both the compos. and voice are significant (Eph 1[4], Mk 13[20], Jn 15[16. 16. 19], 1 Co 1[27. 27], Ja 2[5]; of Israel, Ac 13[17]; of Christ, Lk 9[35]; of the disciples, Lk 6[13], Jn 6[70] 13[18], Ac 1[2]; of others, Ac 1[24] 15[7]), *ἐκλεκτός* (Mt [20[16]] 22[14] 26[22. 24. 31], Mk 13[20. 22. 27], Lk 18[7], Ro 8[33], Col 3[12], 2 Ti 2[10], Tit 1[1], 1 P 1[1] [2[9]], Rev 17[14]; of individuals, Ro 16[13], 2 Jn [1. 13]; of Christ, Lk 23[35], Jn 13[18]; of angels, 1 Ti 5[21]), *ἐκλογή* (Ac 9[15], Ro 9[11] 11[5. 7. 28], 1 Th 1[4], 2 P 1[10]),—words which had been prepared for this NT use by their employment in the LXX —the two former to translate בָּחַר and בָּחִיר. In 2 Th 2[13] *αἱρέομαι* is used similarly.

ii. PREDESTINATION IN OT.—No survey of the terms used to express it, however, can convey an adequate sense of the place occupied by the idea of predestination in the religious system of the Bible. It is not too much to say that it is fundamental to the whole religious consciousness of the Biblical writers, and is so involved in all their religious conceptions that to eradicate it would transform the entire scriptural representation. This is as true of the OT as of the NT, as will become sufficiently manifest by attending briefly to the nature and implications of such formative elements in the OT system as its doctrines of God, Providence, Faith, and the Kingdom of God.

1. *Fundamental OT ideas implying Predestination.*—Whencesoever Israel obtained it, it is quite certain that Israel entered upon its national existence with the most vivid consciousness of an almighty personal Creator and Governor of heaven and earth. Israel's own account of the clearness and the firmness of its apprehension of this mighty Author and Ruler of all that is, refers it to His own initiative: God chose to make Himself known to the fathers. At all events, throughout the whole of OT literature, and for every period of history recorded in it, the fundamental conception of God remains the same, and the two most persistently emphasized elements in it are just those of might and personality: before everything else, the God of Israel is the Omnipotent Person. Possibly the keen sense of the exaltation and illimitable power of God which forms the very core of the OT idea of God belongs rather to the general Semitic than to the specifically Israelitish element in its religion; certainly it was already prominent in the patriarchal God-consciousness, as is sufficiently evinced by the names of God current from the beginning of the OT revelation,—*El, Eloah, Elohim, El Shaddai*,—and as is illustrated endlessly in the Biblical narrative. But it is equally clear that God was never conceived by the OT saints as abstract power, but was ever thought of concretely as the all-powerful Person, and that, moreover, as clothed with all the attributes of moral personality,—pre-eminently with holiness, as the very summit of His exaltation, but along with holiness, also with all the characteristics that belong to spiritual personality as it exhibits itself familiarly in man. In a word, God is pictured in the OT, and that from the beginning, purely after the pattern of human personality,—as an intelligent, feeling, willing Being, like the man who is created in His image in all in which the life of a free spirit consists. The anthropomorphisms to which this mode of conceiving God led were sometimes startling enough, and might have become grossly misleading had not the corrective lain ever at hand in the accompanying sense of the immeasurable exaltation of God, by which He was removed above all the weaknesses of humanity. The result accordingly was nothing other than a peculiarly pure form of Theism. The grosser anthropomorphisms were fully understood to be figurative, and the residuary conception was that of an infinite Spirit, not indeed expressed in abstract terms nor from the first fully brought out in all its implications, but certainly in all ages of the OT development grasped in all its essential elements. (Cf. the art. GOD).

Such a God could not be thought of otherwise than as the free determiner of all that comes to pass in the world which is the product of His creative act; and the doctrine of Providence (פְּקֻדָּה) which is spread over the pages of the OT fully bears out this expectation. The almighty Maker of all that is is represented equally as the irresistible Ruler of all that He has made: Jehovah sits as King for ever (Ps 29[10]). Even the common language of life was affected by this pervasive point of view, so that, for example, it is rare to meet with such a phrase as 'it rains' (Am 4[7]), and men by preference spoke of God sending rain (Ps 65[9f.], Job 36[27] 38[26]). The vivid sense of dependence on God thus witnessed extended throughout every relation of life. Accident or chance was excluded. If we read here and there of a מִקְרֶה it is not thought of as happening apart from God's direction (Ru 2[3], 1 S 6[9] 20[26], Ec 2[14], cf. 1 K 22[34], 2 Ch 18[33]), and accordingly the lot was an accepted means of ob-

taining the decision of God (Jos 7^{16} 14^{2} 18^{6}, 1 S 10^{19}, Jon 1^{7}), and is didactically recognized as under His control (Pr 16^{33}). All things without exception, indeed, are disposed by Him, and His will is the ultimate account of all that occurs. Heaven and earth and all that is in them are the instruments through which He works His ends. Nature, nations, and the fortunes of the individual alike present in all their changes the transcript of His purpose. The winds are His messengers, the flaming fire His servant: every natural occurrence is His act: prosperity is His gift, and if calamity falls upon man it is the Lord that has done it (Am $3^{5.6}$, La 3^{33-38}, Is 47^{7}, Ec 7^{14}, Is 54^{16}). It is He that leads the feet of men, wit they whither or not; He that raises up and casts down; opens and hardens the heart; and creates the very thoughts and intents of the soul. So poignant is the sense of His activity in all that occurs, that an appearance is sometimes created as if everything that comes to pass were so ascribed to His immediate production as to exclude the real activity of second causes. It is a grave mistake, nevertheless, to suppose that He is conceived as an unseen power, throwing up, in a quasi-Pantheistic sense, all changes on the face of the world and history. The virile sense of the free personality of God which dominates all the thought of the OT would alone have precluded such a conception. Nor is there really any lack of recognition of 'second causes,' as we call them. They are certainly not conceived as independent of God: they are rather the mere expression of His stated will. But they are from the beginning fully recognized, both in nature—with respect to which Jehovah has made covenant (Gn $8^{21.22}$, Jer $31^{35.36}$ $33^{20.25}$, Ps 148^{6}, cf. Jg 5^{22}, Ps 104^{9}, Job $38^{10.33}$ 14^{5}), establishing its laws (חקות Job $28^{25.28}$, Is 40^{12}, Job 38^{8-11}, Pr 8^{29}, Jer 5^{22}, Ps 104^{9} 33^{7}, Jer 40^{26})—and equally in the higher sphere of free spirits, who are ever conceived as the true authors of all their acts (hence God's proving of man, Gn 22^{1}, Ex 16^{4} 20^{20}, Dt $8^{2.16}$ 13^{3}, Jg $3^{1.4}$, 2 Ch 32^{31}). There is no question here of the substitution of Jehovah's operation for that of the proximate causes of events. There is only the liveliest perception of the governing hand of God behind the proximate causes, acting through them for the working out of His will in every detail. Such a conception obviously looks upon the universe teleologically: an almighty moral Person cannot be supposed to govern His universe, thus in every detail, either unconsciously or capriciously. In His government there is necessarily implied a plan; in the all-pervasiveness and perfection of His government is inevitably implied an all-inclusive and perfect plan: and this conception is not seldom explicitly developed (cf. art. PROVIDENCE).

It is abundantly clear on the face of it, of course, that this whole mode of thought is the natural expression of the deep religious consciousness of the OT writers, though surely it is not therefore to be set aside as 'merely' the religious view of things, or as having no other rooting save in the imagination of religiously-minded men. In any event, however, it is altogether natural that in the more distinctive sphere of the religious life its informing principle of absolute dependence on God should be found to repeat itself. This appears particularly in the OT doctrine of faith, in which there sounds the keynote of OT piety,—for the religion of the OT, so far from being, as Hegel, for example, would affirm, the religion of fear, is rather by way of eminence the religion of trust. Standing over against God, not merely as creatures, but as sinners, the OT saints found no ground of hope save in the free initiative of the Divine love. At no period of the development of OT religion was it permitted to be imagined that blessings might be wrung from the hands of an unwilling God, or gained in the strength of man's own arm. Rather it was ever inculcated that in this sphere, too, it is God alone that lifts up and makes rich, He alone that keeps the feet of His holy ones; while by strength, it is affirmed, no man shall prevail (1 S 2^{9}). 'I am not worthy of the least of all thy mercies' is the constant refrain of the OT saints (Gn 32^{10}); and from the very beginning, in narrative, precept and prophetic declaration alike, it is in trust in the unmerited love of Jehovah alone that the hearts of men are represented as finding peace. Self-sufficiency is the characteristic mark of the wicked, whose doom treads on his heels; while the mark of the righteous is that he lives by his faith (Hab 2^{4}). In the entire self-commitment to God, humble dependence on Him for all blessings, which is the very core of OT religion, no element is more central than the profound conviction embodied in it of the free sovereignty of God, the God of the spirits of all flesh, in the distribution of His mercies. The whole training of Israel was directed to impressing upon it the great lesson enunciated to Zerubbabel, 'Not by might, nor by power, but by my Spirit, saith the Lord of hosts' (Zec 4^{6})—that all that comes to man in the spiritual sphere, too, is the free gift of Jehovah (cf. art. FAITH).

Nowhere is this lesson more persistently emphasized than in the history of the establishment and development of the kingdom of God, which may well be called the cardinal theme of the OT. For the kingdom of God is consistently represented, not as the product of man's efforts in seeking after God, but as the gracious creation of God Himself. Its inception and development are the crowning manifestation of the free grace of the Living God working in history in pursuance of His loving purpose to recover fallen man to Himself. To this end He preserves the race in existence after its sin, saves a seed from the destruction of the Flood, separates to Himself a family in Abraham, sifts it in Isaac and Jacob, nurses and trains it through the weakness of its infancy, and gradually moulds it to be the vehicle of His revelation of redemption, and the channel of Messianic blessings to the world. At every step it is God, and God alone, to whom is ascribed the initiative; and the most extreme care is taken to preserve the recipients of the blessings consequent on His choice from fancying that these blessings come as their due, or as reward for aught done by themselves, or to be found in themselves. They were rather in every respect emphatically not a people of their own making, but a people that God had formed that they might set forth His praise (Is 43^{23}). The strongest language, the most astonishing figures, were employed to emphasize the pure sovereignty of the Divine action at every stage. It was not because Israel was numerous, or strong, or righteous, that He chose it, but only because it pleased Him to make of it a people for Himself. He was as the potter, it as the clay which the potter moulds as he will; it was but as the helpless babe in its blood cast out to die, abhorred of man, which Jehovah strangely gathers to His bosom in unmerited love (Gn $12^{1.3}$, Dt 7^{6-8} 9^{4-6} $10^{15.16}$, 1 S 12^{22}, Is $41^{8.9}$ 43^{20} 48^{9-11}, Jer $18^{1ff.}$ 31^{3}, Hos 2^{20}, Mal $1^{2.3}$). There was no element in the religious consciousness of Israel more poignantly realized, as there was no element in the instruction they had received more insisted on, than that they owed their separation from the peoples of the earth to be the Lord's inheritance, and all the blessings they had as such received from Jehovah, not to any claim upon Him which they could urge, but to His own gracious love faithfully persisted in in spite of every conceivable obstacle (cf. art. KINGDOM OF GOD).

In one word, the sovereignty of the Divine will as the principle of all that comes to pass, is a primary postulate of the whole religious life, as well as of the entire world-view of the OT. It is implicated in its very idea of God, its whole conception of the relation of God to the world and to the changes which take place, whether in nature or history, among the nations or in the life-fortunes of the individual; and also in its entire scheme of religion, whether national or personal. It lies at the basis of all the religious emotions, and lays the foundation of the specific type of religious character built up in Israel.

2. *Cosmical Predestination in OT.*—The specific teaching of OT as to predestination naturally revolves around the two foci of that idea which may be designated general and special, or, more properly, cosmical and soteriological predestination; or, in other words, around the doctrines of the Divine Decree and the Divine Election. The former, as was to be expected, is comparatively seldom adverted to—for the OT is fundamentally a soteriological book, a revelation of the grace of God to sinners; and it is only at a somewhat late period that it is made the subject of speculative discussion. But as it is implied in the primordial idea of God as an Almighty Person, it is postulated from the beginning and continually finds more or less clear expression. Throughout the OT, behind the processes of nature, the march of history and the fortunes of each individual life alike, there is steadily kept in view the governing hand of God working out His preconceived plan—a plan broad enough to embrace the whole universe of things, minute enough to concern itself with the smallest details, and actualizing itself with inevitable certainty in every event that comes to pass.

Naturally, there is in the narrative portions but

little formal enunciation of this pervasive and all-controlling Divine teleology. But despite occasional anthropomorphisms of rather startling character (as, *e.g.*, that which ascribes 'repentance' to God, Gn 6^6, Jl 2^{13}, Jon 4^2, Jer $18^{8.\ 10}$ $26^{3.\ 13}$), or rather, let us say, just because of the strictly anthropomorphic mould in which the OT conception of God is run, according to which He is ever thought of as a personal spirit, acting with purpose like other personal spirits, but with a wisdom and in a sovereignty unlike that of others because infinitely perfect, these narrative portions of the OT also bear continual witness to the universal OT teleology. There is no explicit statement in the narrative of the creation, for example, that the mighty Maker of the world was in this process operating on a preconceived plan; but the teleology of creation lies latent in the orderly sequence of its parts, culminating in man for whose advent all that precedes is obviously a preparation, and is all but expressed in the Divine satisfaction at each of its stages, as a manifestation of His perfections (cf. Ps 104^{31}). Similarly, the whole narrative of the Bk. of Genesis is so ordered—in the succession of creation, fall, promise, and the several steps in the inauguration of the kingdom of God—as to throw into a very clear light the teleology of the whole world-history, here written from the Divine standpoint and made to centre around the developing Kingdom. In the detailed accounts of the lives of the patriarchs, in like manner, behind the external occurrences recorded there always lies a Divine ordering which provides the real plot of the story in its advance to the predetermined issue. It was not accident, for example, that brought Rebecca to the well to welcome Abraham's servant (Gn 24), or that sent Joseph into Egypt (Gn 45^8 50^{20}; 'God meant [חשׁב] it for good'), or guided Pharaoh's daughter to the ark among the flags (Ex 2), or that, later, directed the millstone that crushed Abimelech's head (Jg 9^{53}), or winged the arrow shot at a venture to smite the king in the joints of the harness (1 K 22^{34}). Every historical event is rather treated as an item in the orderly carrying out of an underlying Divine purpose; and the historian is continually aware of the presence in history of Him who gives even to the lightning a charge to strike the mark (Job 36^{32}).

In the Psalmists and Prophets there emerges into view a more abstract statement of the government of all things according to the good pleasure of God (Ps 33^{11}, Jer 10^{12} 51^{15}). All that He wills He does (Ps 115^3 135^6), and all that comes to pass has pre-existed in His purpose from the indefinite past of eternity ('long ago' Is 22^{11}, 'of ancient times' Is 37^{26}=1 K 19^{25}), and it is only because it so pre-existed in purpose that it now comes to pass (Is $14^{24.\ 27}$ 46^{11}, Zec 1^6, Job 42^2, Jer 23^{20}, Jon 1^{14}, Is 40^{10}). Every day has its ordained events (Job 14^5, Ps 139^{16}). The plan of God is universal in its reach, and orders all that takes place in the interests of Israel—the OT counterpart to the NT declaration that all things work together for good to those that love God. Nor is it merely for the national good of Israel that God's plan has made provision; He exercises a special care over every one of His people (Job $5^{15ff.}$, Ps 91. 121. 65^3 37. $27^{10.\ 11}$ 139^{16}, Jon 3^5, Is 4^3, Dn 12^1). Isaiah especially is never weary of emphasizing the universal teleology of the Divine operations and the surety of the realization of His eternal purpose, despite the opposition of every foe ($14^{24\text{-}27}$ 31^2 40^{13} $58^{8\text{-}11}$)—whence he has justly earned the name of the prophet of the Divine sovereignty, and has been spoken of as the Paul, the Augustine, the Calvin of the OT.

It is, however, especially in connexion with the OT doctrine of the Wisdom (חָכְמָה) of God, the chief depository of which is the so-called *Ḥokhmah* literature, that the idea of the all-inclusive Divine purpose (עֵצָה and מַחֲשָׁבוֹת) in which lies predetermined the whole course of events—including every particular in the life of the world (Am 3^7) and in the life of every individual as well (Ps $139^{14\text{-}16}$, Jg 1^5)—is speculatively wrought out. According to this developed conception, God, acting under the guidance of all His ethical perfections, has, by virtue of His eternal wisdom, which He 'possessed in the beginning of his way' (Pr 8^{22}), framed 'from everlasting, from the beginning,' an all-inclusive plan embracing all that is to come to pass; in accordance with which plan He now governs His universe, down to the least particular, so as to subserve His perfect and unchanging purpose. Everything that God has brought into being, therefore, He has made for its specific end (Pr 16^4, cf. $3^{19.\ 20}$, Job 28^{23} 38. 41, Is $40^{12ff.}$, Jer $10^{12.\ 13}$); and He so governs it that it shall attain its end,—no chance can escape (Pr 16^{33}), no might or subtlety defeat His direction (Pr $21^{30.\ 31}$ 19^{21} 16^9, cf. Is $14^{24.\ 27}$, Jer 10^{23}), which leads straight to the goal appointed by God from the beginning and kept steadily in view by Him, but often hidden from the actors themselves (Pr 20^{24}, cf. 3^6 $16^{1\text{-}9}$ 19^{21}, Job 38^2 42^3, Jer 10^{23}), who naturally in their weakness cannot comprehend the sweep of the Divine plan or understand the place within it of the details brought to their observation—a fact in which the OT sages constantly find their theodicy. No different doctrine is enunciated here from that which meets us in the Prophets and Psalmists,—only it is approached from a philosophical-religious rather than from a national-religious view-point. To prophet and sage alike the entire world—inanimate, animate, moral—is embraced in a unitary teleological world-order (Ps 19^{33} 33^6 104^{24} 148^8, Job 9^4 12^{13} 37); and to both alike the central place in this comprehensive world-order is taken by God's redemptive purpose, of which Israel is at once the object and the instrument, while the savour of its saltness is the piety of the individual saint. The classical term for this all-inclusive Divine purpose (עֵצָה) is accordingly found in the usage alike of prophet, psalmist, and sage,—now used absolutely of the universal plan on which the whole world is ordered (Job 38^2 42^3, cf. Delitzsch and Budde, *in loc.*), now, with the addition of 'of Jehovah,' of the all-comprehending purpose, embracing all human actions (Pr 19^{21} and parallels; cf. Toy, *in loc.*), now with explicit mention of Israel as the centre around which its provisions revolve (Ps 33^{11} 107^{11}, cf. Delitzsch, *in loc.*; Is 14^{26} 25^1 $46^{10.\ 11}$), and anon with more immediate concern with some of the details (Ps 106^{13}, Is 5^{19} 19^{17}, Jer 49^{20} 50^{45}, Mic 4^{12}).

There seems no reason why a Platonizing colouring should be given to this simple attributing to the eternal God of an eternal plan in which is predetermined every event that comes to pass. This used to be done, *e.g.*, by Delitzsch (see, *e.g.*, on Job $28^{25\text{-}28}$, Is 22^{11}; *Biblical Psychology*, I. ii.), who was wont to attribute to the Biblical writers, especially of the *Ḥokhmah* and the latter portion of Isaiah, a doctrine of the pre-existence of all things in an ideal world, conceived as standing eternally before God at least as a pattern if not even as a quasi-objective mould imposing their forms on all His creatures, which smacked more of the Greek Academics than of the Hebrew sages. As a matter of course, the Divine mind was conceived by the Hebrew sages as eternally contemplating all possibilities, and we should not do them injustice in supposing them to think of its 'ideas' as the *causa exemplaris* of all that occurs, and of the Divine intellect as the *principium dirigens* of every Divine operation. But it is more to the point to note that the conceptions of the OT writers in regard to the Divine decree run rather into the moulds of 'purpose' than of 'ideas,' and that the roots of their teaching are planted not in an abstract idea of the Godhead, but in the purity of their concrete theism. It is because they think of God as a person, like other persons purposeful in His acts, but unlike other persons all-wise in His planning and all-powerful in His performing, that they think of Him as predetermining all that shall come to pass in the universe, which is in all its elements the product of His free activity, and which must in its form and all its history, down to the least detail, correspond with His purpose in making it. It is easy, on the other hand, to attribute too little 'philosophy' to the Biblical writers. The conception

of God in His relation to the world which they develop is beyond question anthropomorphic; but it is no unreflecting anthropomorphism that they give us. Apart from all question of revelation, they were not children prattling on subjects on which they had expended no thought; and the world-view they commend to us certainly does not lack in profundity. The subtleties of language of a developed scholasticism were foreign to their purposes and modes of composition, but they tell us as clearly as, say, Spanheim himself (*Decad. Theol.* vi. § 5), that they are dealing with a purposing mind exalted so far above ours that we can follow its movements only with halting steps, —whose thoughts are not as our thoughts, and whose ways are not as our ways (Is 55[8]; cf. 40[13. 28] 28[29], Job 11[7f.], Ps 92[5] 139[14f.] 147[5], Ec 3[11]). Least of all in such a theme as this were they liable to forget that infinite exaltation of God which constituted the basis on which their whole conception of God rested.

Nor may they be thought to have been indifferent to the relations of the high doctrine of the Divine purpose they were teaching. There is no scholastic determination here either; but certainly they write without embarrassment as men who have attained a firm grasp upon their fundamental thought and have pursued it with clearness of thinking, no less in its relations than in itself; nor need we go astray in apprehending the outlines of their construction. It is quite plain, for example, that they felt no confusion with respect to the relation of the Divine purpose to the Divine foreknowledge. The notion that the almighty and all-wise God, by whom all things were created, and through whose irresistible control all that occurs fulfils the appointment of His primal plan, could govern Himself according to a foreknowledge of things which—perhaps apart from His original purpose or present guidance—*might haply* come to pass, would have been quite contradictory to their most fundamental conception of God as the almighty and all-sovereign Ruler of the universe, and, indeed, also of the whole OT idea of the Divine foreknowledge itself, which is ever thought of in its due relation of dependence on the Divine purpose. According to the OT conception, God foreknows only because He has predetermined, and it is therefore also that He brings it to pass; His foreknowledge, in other words, is at bottom a knowledge of His own will, and His works of providence are merely the execution of His all-embracing plan. This is the truth that underlies the somewhat incongruous form of statement of late becoming rather frequent, to the effect that God's foreknowledge is conceived in the OT as 'productive.' Dillmann, for example, says (*AT Theologie*, p. 251): 'His foreknowledge of the future is a productive one; of an otiose foreknowledge or of a *præscientia media* . . . there is no suggestion.' In the thought of the OT writers, however, it is not God's foreknowledge that produces the events of the future; it is His irresistible providential government of the world He has created for Himself: and His foreknowledge of what is yet to be rests on His prearranged plan of government. His 'productive foreknowledge' is but a transcript of His will, which has already determined not only the general plan of the world, but every particular that enters into the whole course of its development (Am 3[7], Job 28[26. 27]), and every detail in the life of every individual that comes into being (Jer 1[5], Ps 139[14-16], Job 23[13. 14]).

That the acts of free agents are included in this 'productive foreknowledge,' or rather in this all-inclusive plan of the life of the universe, created for the OT writers apparently not the least embarrassment. This is not because they did not believe man to be free,—throughout the whole OT there is never the least doubt expressed of the freedom or moral responsibility of man,—but because they did believe God to be free, whether in His works of creation or of providence, and could not believe He was hampered or limited in the attainment of His ends by the creatures of His own hands. How God governs the acts of free agents in the pursuance of His plan there is little in the OT to inform us; but that He governs them in even their most intimate thoughts and feelings and impulses is its unvarying assumption: He is not only the creator of the hearts of men in the first instance, and knows them altogether, but He fashions the hearts of all in all the changing circumstances of life (Ps 33[15]); forms the spirit of man within him in all its motions (Zec 12[1]); keeps the hearts of men in His hands, turning them whithersoever He will (Pr 21[1]); so that it is even said that man knows what is in his own mind only as the Lord reveals it to him (Am 4[13]). The discussion of any antinomy that may be thought to arise from such a joint assertion of the absolute rule of God in the sphere of the spirit and the freedom of the creaturely will, falls obviously under the topic of Providential Government rather than under that of the Decree (see PROVIDENCE): it requires to be adverted to here only that we may clearly note the fact that the OT teachers, as they did not hesitate to affirm the absolute sway of God over the thoughts and intents of the human heart, could feel no embarrassment in the inclusion of the acts of free agents within the all-embracing plan of God, the outworking of which His providential government supplies.

Nor does the moral quality of these acts present any apparent difficulty to the OT construction. We are never permitted to imagine, to be sure, that God is the author of sin, either in the world at large or in any individual soul—that He is in any way implicated in the sinfulness of the acts performed by the perverse misuse of creaturely freedom. In all God's working He shows Himself pre-eminently the Holy One, and prosecutes His holy will, His righteous way, His all-wise plan: the blame for all sinful deeds rests exclusively on the creaturely actors (Ex 9[27] 10[16]), who recognize their own guilt (2 S 24[10. 17]) and receive its punishment (Ec 11[9] compared with 11[5]). But neither is God's relation to the sinful acts of His creatures ever represented as purely passive: the details of the doctrine of *concursus* were left, no doubt, to later ages speculatively to work out, but its assumption underlies the entire OT representation of the Divine modes of working. That anything—good or evil—occurs in God's universe finds its account, according to the OT conception, in His positive ordering and active concurrence; while the moral quality of the deed, considered in itself, is rooted in the moral character of the subordinate agent, acting in the circumstances and under the motives operative in each instance. It is certainly going beyond the OT warrant to speak of the 'all-productivity of God,' as if He were the only efficient cause in nature and the sphere of the free spirit alike; it is the very delirium of misconception to say that in the OT God and Satan are insufficiently discriminated, and deeds appropriate to the latter are assigned to the former. Nevertheless, it remains true that even the evil acts of the creature are so far carried back to God that they too are affirmed to be included in His all-embracing decree, and to be brought about, bounded and utilized in His providential government. It is He that hardens the heart of the sinner that persists in his sin (Ex 4[21] 7[3] 10[1. 27] 14[4] 14[8], Dt 2[30], Jos 11[20], Is 69[10] 63[17]); it is from Him that the evil spirits proceed that trouble sinners (1 S 16[14], Jg 9[23], 1 K 22, Job 1); it is of Him that the evil impulses that rise in sinners' hearts take this or that specific form (2 S 16[9] 24[1], 1 K 12[15]). The philosophy that lies behind such representations, however, is not the pantheism which looks upon God as the immediate cause of all that comes to pass; much less the pandaimonism which admits no distinction between good and evil; there is not even involved a conception of God entangled in an undeveloped ethical discrimination. It is the philosophy that is expressed in Is 47[5] 'I am the LORD, and there is none else; beside me there is no God. . . . I am the LORD, and there is none else. I form the light and create darkness; I make peace and create evil; I am the LORD that doeth all these things'; it is the philosophy that is expressed in Pr 16[4] 'The LORD hath made everything for its own end, yea, even the wicked for the day of evil.' Because, over against all dualistic conceptions, there is but one God, and He is indeed GOD; and because, over against all cosmotheistic conceptions, this God is a PERSON who acts purposefully; there is nothing that is, and nothing that comes to pass, that He has not first decreed and then brought to pass by His creation or providence. Thus all things find their unity in His eternal plan; and not their unity merely, but their justification as well; even the evil, though retaining its quality as evil and hateful to the holy God, and certain to be dealt with as hateful, yet does not occur apart from His provision or against His will, but appears in the world which He has made only as the instrument by means of which He works the higher good.

This sublime philosophy of the decree is immanent in every page of the OT. Its metaphysics never come to explicit discussion, to be sure; but its elements are in a practical way postulated consistently throughout. The ultimate end in view in the Divine plan is ever represented as found in God alone: all that He has made He has made for Himself, to set forth His praise; the heavens themselves with all their splendid furniture exist but to illustrate His glory; the earth and all that is in it, and all that happens in it, to declare His majesty; the whole course of history is but the theatre of His self-manifestation, and the events of every individual life indicate His nature and perfections. Men may be unable to understand the place which the incidents, as they unroll themselves before their eyes, take in the developing plot of the great drama: they may, nay, must, therefore stand astonished and confounded before this or that which befalls them or befalls the world. Hence arise to them problems—the problem of the petty, the problem of the inexplicable, the problem of suffering, the problem of sin (*e.g.* Ec 11[5]). But, in the infinite wisdom of the Lord of all the earth, each event falls with exact precision into its proper place in the unfolding of His eternal plan; nothing, however small, however strange, occurs without His ordering, or without its peculiar fitness for its place in the working out of His purpose; and the end of all shall be the manifestation of His glory, and the accumulation of His praise. This is the OT philosophy of the universe—a world-view which attains concrete unity in an absolute Divine teleology, in the compactness of an eternal decree, or purpose, or plan, of which all that comes to pass is the development in time.

3. *Soteriological Predestination in OT.*—Special or Soteriological Predestination finds a natural place in the OT system as but a particular instance of the more general fact, and may be looked upon as only the general OT doctrine of predestination applied to the specific case of the salvation of sinners. But as the OT is a distinctively religious book, or, more precisely, a distinctively soteriological book, that is to say, a record of the gracious dealings and purposes of God with sinners, soteriological predestination naturally takes a more prominent place in it than the general doctrine itself, of which it is a particular application. Indeed, God's saving work is thrown out into such prominence, the OT is so specially a record of the establishment of the kingdom of God in the world, that we easily get

the impression in reading it that the core of God's general decree is His decree of salvation, and that His whole plan for the government of the universe is subordinated to His purpose to recover sinful man to Himself. Of course there is some slight illusion of perspective here, the materials for correcting which the OT itself provides, not only in more or less specific declarations of the relative unimportance of what befalls man, whether the individual, or Israel, or the race at large, in comparison with the attainment of the Divine end; and of the wonder of the Divine grace concerning itself with the fortunes of man at all (Job $22^{3f.}$ $35^{6f.}$ 38, Ps 8^{4}): but also in the general disposition of the entire record, which places the complete history of sinful man, including alike his fall into sin and all the provisions for his recovery, within the larger history of the creative work of God, as but one incident in the greater whole, governed, of course, like all its other parts, by its general teleology. Relatively to the OT record, nevertheless, as indeed to the Biblical record as a whole, which is concerned directly only with God's dealings with humanity, and that, especially, a sinful humanity (Gn 3^{9} 6^{5} 8^{21}, Lv 18^{24}, Dt 9^{4}, 1 K 8^{46}, Ps 14^{1} 51^{5} 130^{3} 143^{2}, Pr 20^{9}, Ec 7^{20}, Is 1^{4}, Hos 4^{2}, Job 15^{14} 25^{4} 14^{4}), soteriological predestination is the prime matter of importance; and the doctrine of election is accordingly thrown into relief, and the general doctrine of the decree more incidentally adverted to. It would be impossible, however, that the doctrine of election taught in the OT should follow other lines than those laid down in the general doctrine of the decree,—or, in other words, that God should be conceived as working in the sphere of grace in a manner that would be out of accord with the fundamental conception entertained by these writers of the nature of God and His relations to the universe.

Accordingly, there is nothing concerning the Divine election more sharply or more steadily emphasized than its graciousness, in the highest sense of that word, or, in other terms, its absolute sovereignty. This is plainly enough exhibited even in the course of the patriarchal history, and that from the beginning. In the very hour of man's first sin, God intervenes *sua sponte* with a gratuitous promise of deliverance; and at every stage afterwards the sovereign initiation of the grace of God—the Lord of the whole earth (Ex 19^{5})—is strongly marked, as God's universal counsel of salvation is more and more unfolded through the separation and training of a people for Himself, in whom the whole world should be blessed (Gn 12^{3} 18^{18} 22^{18} 26^{4} 28^{14}): for from the beginning it is plainly indicated that the whole history of the world is ordered with reference to the establishment of the kingdom of God (Dt 32^{8}, where the reference seems to be to Gn 11). Already in the opposing lines of Seth and Cain (Gn $4^{25.26}$) a discrimination is made; Noah is selected as the head of a new race, and among his sons the preference is given to Shem (Gn 9^{25}), from whose line Abraham is taken. Every fancy that Abraham owed his calling to his own desert is carefully excluded,—he was 'known' of God only that in him God might establish His kingdom (Gn 18^{19}); and the very acme of sovereignty is exhibited (as St. Paul points out) in the subsequent choice of Isaac and Jacob, and exclusion of Ishmael and Esau; while the whole Divine dealing with the patriarchs—their separation from their kindred, removal into a strange land, and the like—is evidently understood as intended to cast them back on the grace of God alone. Similarly, the covenant made with Israel (Ex 19–24) is constantly assigned to the sole initiative of Divine grace, and the fact of election is therefore appropriately set at the head of the Decalogue (Ex 20^{2}; cf. $34^{6.7}$); and Israel is repeatedly warned that there was nothing in it which moved or could move God to favour it (*e.g.* Dt 4^{37} 7^{7} 8^{17} 9^{4} 10^{11}, Ezk 16^{1}, Am 9^{7}). It has already been pointed out by what energetic figures this fundamental lesson was impressed on the Israelitish consciousness, and it is only true to say that no means are left unused to drive home the fact that God's gracious election of Israel is an absolutely sovereign one, founded solely in His unmerited love, and looking to nothing ultimately but the gratification of His own holy and loving impulses, and the manifestation of His grace through the formation of a heritage for Himself out of the mass of sinful men, by means of whom His saving mercy should advance to the whole world (Ps 8^{7}, Is 40. 42. 60, Mic 4^{1}, Am 4^{13} 5^{8}, Jer 31^{37}, Ezk 17^{22} 36^{21}, Jl 2^{28}). The simple terms that are employed to express this Divine selection —'know' (יָדַע), 'choose' (בָּחַר)—are either used in a pregnant sense, or acquire a pregnant sense by their use in this connexion. The deeper meaning of the former term is apparently not specifically Hebrew, but more widely Semitic (it occurs also in Assyrian; see the *Dictionaries* of Delitzsch and Muss-Arnolt *sub voc.*, and especially Haupt in *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, i. 14, 15), and it can create no surprise, therefore, when it meets us in such passages as Gn 18^{19} (cf. Ps 37^{18} and also 1^{6} 31^{8}; cf. Baethgen and Delitzsch *in loc.*), Hos 13^{5} (cf. Wünsche *in loc.*) in something of the sense expressed by the scholastic phrase, *nosse cum affectu et effectu*; while in the great declaration of Am 3^{2} (cf. Baur and Gunning *in loc.*), 'You only have I known away from all the peoples of the earth,' what is thrown prominently forward is clearly the elective love which has singled Israel out for special care. More commonly, however, it is בָּחַר that is employed to express God's sovereign election of Israel: the classical passage is, of course, Dt $7^{6.7}$ (see Driver *in loc.*, as also, of the love underlying the 'choice,' at 4^{37} 7^{8}), where it is carefully explained that it is in contrast with the treatment accorded to all the other peoples of the earth that Israel has been honoured with the Divine choice, and that the choice rests solely on the unmerited love of God, and finds no foundation in Israel itself. These declarations are elsewhere constantly enforced (*e.g.* 4^{37} 10^{15} 14^{2}), with the effect of throwing the strongest possible emphasis on the complete sovereignty of God's choice of His people, who owe their 'separation' unto Jehovah (Lv $20^{24.26}$, 1 K 8^{53}) wholly to the wonderful love of God, in which He has from the beginning taken knowledge of and chosen them.

It is useless to seek to escape the profound meaning of this fundamental OT teaching by recalling the undeveloped state of the doctrine of a future life in Israel, and the national scope of its election,—as if the sovereign choice which is so insisted on could thus be confined to the choice of a people as a whole to certain purely earthly blessings, without any reference whatever to the eternal destiny of the individuals concerned. We are here treading very close to the abyss of confusing progress in the delivery of doctrine with the reality of God's saving activities. The cardinal question, after all, does not concern the extent of the knowledge possessed by the OT saints of the nature of the blessedness that belongs to the people of God; nor yet the relation borne by the election within the election, by the real Israel forming the heart of the Israel after the flesh, to the external Israel: it concerns the existence of a real kingdom of God in the OT dispensation, and the methods by which God introduced man into it. It is true enough that the theocracy was an earthly kingdom, and that a prominent place was given to the promises of the life that now is in the blessings assured to Israel; and it is in this engrossment with earthly happiness and the close connexion of the friendship of God with the enjoyment of worldly goods that the undeveloped state of the OT doctrine of salvation is especially apparent. But it should not be forgotten that the promise of earthly gain to the people of God is not entirely alien to the NT idea of salvation (Mt 6^{33}, 1 Ti 4^{8}), and that it is in no sense true that in the OT teaching, in any of its stages, the blessings of the kingdom were summed up in worldly happiness. The covenant blessing is rather

declared to be *life*, inclusive of all that that comprehensive word is fitted to convey (Dt 30^{15}; cf. 4^{1} 8^{1}, Pr 12^{28} 8^{35}); and it found its best expression in the high conception of 'the favour of God' (Lv 26^{11}, Ps 4^{8} $16^{2.5}$ 63^{4}); while it concerned itself with earthly prosperity only as and so far as that is a pledge of the Divine favour. It is no false testimony to the OT saints when they are described as looking for the city that has the foundations and as enduring as seeing the Invisible One: if their hearts were not absorbed in the contemplation of the eternal future, they were absorbed in the contemplation of the Eternal Lord, which certainly is something even better; and the representation that they found their supreme blessedness in outward things runs so grossly athwart their own testimony that it fairly deserves Calvin's terrible invective, that thus the Israelitish people are thought of not otherwise than as a 'sort of herd of swine which (so, forsooth, it is pretended) the Lord was fattening in the pen of this world' (*Inst.* II. x. 1). And, on the other hand, though Israel as a nation constituted the chosen people of God (1 Ch 16^{13}, Ps 89^{4} $105^{6.13}$ 106^{5}), yet we must not lose from sight the fact that the nation as such was rather the symbolical than the real people of God, and was His people at all, indeed, only so far as it was, ideally or actually, identified with the inner body of the really 'chosen'—that people whom Jehovah formed for Himself that they might set forth His praise (Is 43^{20} $65^{9.15.22}$), and who constituted the real people of His choice, the 'remnant of Jacob' (Is 6^{13}, Am 9^{8-10}, Mal 3^{10}; cf. 1 K 19^{18}, Is $8^{16.18}$). Nor are we left in doubt as to how this inner core of actual people of God was constituted; we see the process in the call of Abraham, and the discrimination between Isaac and Ishmael, between Jacob and Esau, and it is no false testimony that it was ever a 'remnant according to the election of grace' that God preserved to Himself as the salt of His people Israel. In every aspect of it alike, it is the sovereignty of the Divine choice that is emphasized,—whether the reference be to the segregation of Israel as a nation to enjoy the earthly favour of God as a symbol of the true entrance into rest, or the choice of a remnant out of Israel to enter into that real communion with Him which was the joy of His saints,—of Enoch who walked with God (Gn 5^{22}), of Abraham who found in Him his exceeding great reward (Gn 15^{1}), or of David who saw no good beyond Him, and sought in Him alone his inheritance and his cup. Later times may have enjoyed fuller knowledge of what the grace of God had in store for His saints—whether in this world or that which is to come; later times may have possessed a clearer apprehension of the distinction between the children of the flesh and the children of the promise: but no later teaching has a stronger emphasis for the central fact that it is of the free grace of God alone that any enter in any degree into the participation of His favour. The kingdom of God, according to the OT, in every circle of its meaning, is above and before all else a stone cut out of the mountain 'without hands' (Dn $2^{34.44.45}$).

iii. PREDESTINATION AMONG THE JEWS.—The profound religious conception of the relation of God to the works of His hands that pervades the whole OT was too deeply engraved on the Jewish consciousness to be easily erased, even after growing legalism had measurably corroded the religion of the people. As, however, the idea of law more and more absorbed the whole sphere of religious thought, and piety came to be conceived more and more as right conduct before God instead of living communion with God, men grew naturally to think of God more and more as abstract unapproachableness, and to think of themselves more and more as their own saviours. The post-canonical Jewish writings, while retaining fervent expressions of dependence on God as the Lord of all, by whose wise counsel all things exist and work out their ends, and over against whom the whole world, with every creature in it, is but the instrument of His will of good to Israel, nevertheless threw an entirely new emphasis on the autocracy of the human will. This emphasis increases until in the later Judaism the extremity of heathen self-sufficiency is reproduced, and the whole sphere of the moral life is expressly reserved from Divine determination. Meanwhile also heathen terminology was intruding into Jewish speech. The Platonic *πρόνοια*, *προνοεῖν*, for example, coming in doubtless through the medium of the Stoa, is found not only in Philo (*περὶ προνοίας*), but also in the Apocryphal books (Wis 6^{7} 14^{3} 17^{2}, 3 Mac 4^{21} 5^{30}, 4 Mac 9^{24} 13^{18} 17^{22}; cf. also Dn $6^{18.19}$ LXX); the perhaps even more precise as well as earlier *ἐφορᾶν* occurs in Josephus (*BJ* II. viii. 14), and indeed also in the LXX, though here doubtless in a weakened sense (2 Mac 12^{22} 15^{2}, cf. 3 Mac 2^{21}, as also Job 34^{24} 28^{24} 22^{12}, cf. 21^{16}; also Zec 9^{1}); while even the fatalistic term *εἱμαρμένη* is employed by Josephus (*BJ* II. viii. 14; *Ant.* XIII. v. 9, XVIII. i. 3) to describe Jewish views of predestination. With the terms there came in, doubtless, more or less of the conceptions connoted by them.

Whatever may have been the influences under which it was wrought, however, the tendency of post-canonical Judaism was towards setting aside the Biblical doctrine of predestination to a greater or less extent, or in a larger or smaller sphere, in order to make room for the autocracy of the human will, the יִצְרָא, as it was significantly called by the Rabbis (*Bereshith Rabba*, c. 22). This disintegrating process is little apparent perhaps in the Book of Wisdom, in which the sense of the almightiness of God comes to very strong expression (11^{22} 12^{8-12}). Or even in Philo, whose predestinarianism (*de Legg. Allegor.* i. 15, iii. 24, 27, 28) closely follows, while his assertion of human freedom (*Quod Deus sit immut.* 10) does not pass beyond that of the Bible: man is separated from the animals and assimilated to God by the gift of 'the power of voluntary motion' and suitable emancipation from necessity, and is accordingly properly praised or blamed for his intentional acts; but it is of the grace of God only that anything exists, and the creature is not giver but receiver in all things; especially does it belong to God alone to plant and build up virtues, and it is impious for the mind, therefore, to say 'I plant'; the call of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob was of pure grace without any merit, and God exercises the right to 'dispose excellently,' prior to all actual deeds. But the process is already apparent in so early a book as Sirach. The book at large is indeed distinctly predestinarian, and such passages as 16^{26-30} 23^{20} 33^{11-13} $39^{20.21}$ echo the teachings of the canonical books on this subject. But, while this is its general character, another element is also present: an assertion of human autocracy, for example, which is without parallel in the canonical books, is introduced at 15^{11-20}, which culminates in the precise declaration that 'man has been committed to the hand of his own counsel' to choose for himself life or death. The same phenomena meet us in the Pharisaic Psalms of Solomon (B.C. 70–40). Here there is a general recognition of God as the great and mighty King ($2^{34.36}$) who has appointed the course of nature (18^{20}) and directs the development of history (2^{34} 9^{4} 17^{4}), ruling over the whole and determining the lot of each ($5^{6.18}$), on whom alone, therefore, can the hope of Israel be stayed (7^{8} 17^{3}), and to whom alone can the individual look for good. But, alongside of this expression of general dependence on God, there occurs the strongest assertion of the moral autocracy of the human will: 'O God, our works are in our own souls' election and control, to do righteousness or iniquity in the works of our hand' (9^{7}).

It is quite credible, therefore, when Josephus tells us that the Jewish parties of his day were divided, as on other matters, so on the question of the Divine predestination—the Essenes affirming that fate (*εἱμαρμένη*, Josephus' affected Græcizing expression for predestination) is the mistress of all, and nothing occurs to men which is not in accordance with its destination; the Sadducees taking away 'fate' altogether, and considering that there is no such thing, and that human affairs are not directed according to it, but all actions are in our own power, so that we are ourselves the causes of what is good, and receive what is evil from our own folly; while the Pharisees, seeking a middle ground, said that some actions, but not all, are the work of 'fate,' and some are in our own power as to whether they are done or

not (*Ant.* XIII. v. 9). The distribution of the several views among the parties follows the general lines of what might have been anticipated—the Essenic system being pre-eminently supranaturalistic, and the Sadducean rationalistic, while there was retained among the Pharisees a deep leaven of religious earnestness tempered, but not altogether destroyed (except in the extremest circles), by their ingrained legalism. The middle ground, moreover, which Josephus ascribes to the Pharisees in their attempt to distribute the control of human action between 'fate' and 'free will,' reflects not badly the state of opinion presupposed in the documents we have already quoted. In his remarks elsewhere (*BJ* II. viii. 14; *Ant.* XVIII. i. 3) he appears to ascribe to the Pharisees some kind of a doctrine of *concursus* also—a κρᾶσις between 'fate' and the human will by which both co-operate in the effect; but his language is obscure, and is coloured doubtless by reminiscences of Stoic teaching, with which philosophical sect he compares the Pharisees as he compares the Essenes with the Epicureans.

But whatever may have been the traditional belief of the Pharisees, in proportion as the legalistic spirit which constituted the nerve of the movement became prominent, the sense of dependence on God, which is the vital breath of the doctrine of predestination, gave way. The Jews possessed the OT Scriptures in which the Divine lordship is a cardinal doctrine, and the trials of persecution cast them continually back upon God; they could not, therefore, wholly forget the Biblical doctrine of the Divine decree, and throughout their whole history we meet with its echoes on their lips. The laws of nature, the course of history, the varying fortunes of individuals, are ever attributed to the Divine predestination. Nevertheless, it was ever more and more sharply disallowed that man's moral actions fell under the same predetermination. Sometimes it was said that while the decrees of God were sure, they applied only so long as man remained in the condition in which he was contemplated when they were formed; he could escape all predetermined evil by a change in his moral character. Hence such sayings as, 'The righteous destroy what God decrees' (*Tanchuma* on דברים); 'Repentance, prayer, and charity ward off every evil decree' (*Rosh-hashana*). In any event, the entire domain of the moral life was more and more withdrawn from the intrusion of the decree; and Cicero's famous declaration, which Harnack says might be inscribed as a motto over Pelagianism, might with equal right be accepted as the working hypothesis of the later Judaism: 'For gold, land, and all the blessings of life we have to return thanks to God; but no one ever returned thanks to God for virtue' (*de Nat. Deorum*, iii. 36). We read that the Holy One determines prior to birth all that every one is to be—whether male or female, weak or strong, poor or rich, wise or silly; but one thing He does not determine—whether he is to be righteous or unrighteous; according to Dt 30^{15} this is committed to one's own hands. Accordingly, it is said that 'neither evil nor good comes from God; both are the results of our deeds' (*Midrash rab.* on ראה, and *Jalkut* there); and again, 'All is in the hands of God except the fear of God' (*Megilla* 25*a*); so that it is even somewhat cynically said, 'Man is led in the way in which he wishes to go' (*Maccoth* 10); 'If you teach him right, his God will make him know' (Is 28^{26}; Jerus. *Challah* i. 1). Thus the deep sense of dependence on God for all goods, and especially the goods of the soul, which forms the very core of the religious consciousness of the writers of the Old Testament, gradually vanished from the later Judaism, and was superseded by a self-assertiveness which hung all good on the self-determination of the human spirit, on which the purposes of God waited, or to which they were subservient.

iv. PREDESTINATION IN NT.—The NT teaching starts from the plane of the OT revelation, and in its doctrines of God, Providence, Faith, and the Kingdom of God repeats or develops in a right line the fundamental deliverances of the OT, while in its doctrines of the Decree and of Election only such advance in statement is made as the progressive execution of the plan of salvation required.

1. *The Teaching of Jesus.*—In the teaching of our Lord, as recorded in the Synoptic Gospels, for example, though there is certainly a new emphasis thrown on the Fatherhood of God, this is by no means at the expense of His infinite majesty and might, but provides only a more profound revelation of the character of 'the great King' (Mt 5^{35}), the 'Lord of heaven and earth' (Mt 11^{25}, Lk 10^{21}), according to whose good pleasure all that is comes to pass. He is spoken of, therefore, specifically as the 'heavenly Father' (Mt 5^{48} $6^{14.\ 26.\ 32}$ 15^{13} 18^{35} 23^{9}, cf. $5^{16.\ 45}$ $6^{1.\ 9}$ $7^{11.\ 21}$ $10^{32.\ 33}$ 12^{50} 16^{17} $18^{14.\ 19}$, Mk $11^{25.\ 26}$, Lk 11^{13}) whose throne is in the heavens (Mt 5^{34} 23^{22}), while the earth is but the footstool under His feet. There is no limitation admitted to the reach of His power, whether on the score of difficulty in the task, or insignificance in the object: the category of the impossible has no existence to Him 'with whom all things are possible' (Mt 9^{26}, Mk 10^{27}, Lk 18^{27}, Mt 22^{29}, Mk 12^{24} 14^{36}), and the minutest occurrences are as directly controlled by Him as the greatest (Mt $10^{29.\ 30}$, Lk 12^{7}). It is from Him that the sunshine and rain come (Mt 5^{45}); it is He that clothes with beauty the flowers of the field (Mt 6^{28}), and who feeds the birds of the air (Mt 6^{26}); not a sparrow falls to the ground without Him, and the very hairs of our heads are numbered, and not one of them is forgotten by God (Mt 10^{29}, Lk 12^{6}). There is, of course, no denial, nor neglect, of the mechanism of nature implied here; there is only clear perception of the providence of God guiding nature in all its operations, and not nature only, but the life of the free spirit as well (Mt 6^{6} 8^{13} 24^{22} 7^{7}, Mk 11^{23}). Much less, however, is the care of God thought of as mechanical and purposeless. It was not simply of sparrows that our Lord was thinking when He adverted to the care of the heavenly Father for them, as it was not simply for oxen that God was caring when He forbade them to be muzzled as they trod out the corn (1 Co 9^{9}); it was that they who are of more value than sparrows might learn with what confidence they might depend on the Father's hand. Thus a hierarchy of providence is uncovered for us, circle rising above circle,—first the wide order of nature, next the moral order of the world, lastly the order of salvation or of the kingdom of God,—a preformation of the dogmatic *schema* of *providentia generalis*, *specialis*, and *specialissima*. All these work together for the one end of advancing the whole world-fabric to its goal; for the care of the heavenly Father over the works of His hand is not merely to prevent the world that He has made from falling into pieces, and not merely to preserve His servants from oppression by the evil of this world, but to lead the whole world and all that is in it onwards to the end which He has appointed for it,—to that παλιγγενεσία of heaven and earth to which, under His guiding hand, the whole creation tends (Mt 19^{28}, Lk 20^{34}).

In this divinely-led movement of 'this world' towards 'the world that is to come,' in which every element of the world's life has part, the central place is naturally taken by the spiritual preparation, or, in other words, by the develop-

ment of the Kingdom of God which reaches its consummation in the 'regeneration.' This Kingdom, our Lord explains, is the heritage of those blessed ones for whom it has been prepared from the foundations of the world (Mt 25^{34}, cf. 20^{23}). It is built up on earth through a 'call' (Mt 9^{13}, Mk 2^{17}, Lk 5^{32}), which, however, as mere invitation is inoperative (Mt 22^{2-14}, Lk 14^{16-23}), and is made effective only by the exertion of a certain 'constraint' on God's part (Lk 14^{23}),—so that a distinction emerges between the merely 'called' and the really 'chosen' (Mt 22^{14}). The author of this 'choice' is God (Mk 13^{20}), who has chosen His elect (Lk 18^{7}, Mt $24^{22.\ 24.\ 31}$, Mk 13^{20-22}) before the world, in accordance with His own pleasure, distributing as He will of what is His own (Mt $10^{14.\ 15}$); so that the effect of the call is already predetermined (Mt 13), all providence is ordered for the benefit of the elect (Mt 24^{22}), and they are guarded from falling away (Mt 24^{24}), and, at the last day, are separated to their inheritance prepared for them from all eternity (Mt 25^{34}). That, in all this process, the initiative is at every point taken by God, and no question can be entertained of precedent merit on the part of the recipients of the blessings, results not less from the whole underlying conception of God in His relation to the course of providence than from the details of the teaching itself. Every means is utilized, however, to enhance the sense of the free sovereignty of God in the bestowment of His Kingdom; it is 'the lost' whom Jesus comes to seek (Lk 19^{10}), and 'sinners' whom He came to call (Mk 2^{17}); His truth is revealed only to 'babes' (Mt 11^{25}, Lk 10^{21}), and He gives His teaching a special form just that it may be veiled from them to whom it is not directed (Mk 4^{11}), distributing His benefits, independently of merit (Mt 20^{1-16}), to those who had been chosen by God therefor (Mk 13^{20}).

In the discourses recorded by St. John the same essential spirit rules. Although, in accordance with the deeper theological apprehension of their reporter, the more metaphysical elements of Jesus' doctrine of God come here to fuller expression, it is nevertheless fundamentally the same doctrine of God that is displayed. Despite the even stronger emphasis thrown here on His Fatherhood, there is not the slightest obscuration of His infinite exaltation: Jesus lifts His eyes up when He would seek Him (11^{41} 17^{1}); it is in heaven that His house is to be found (14^{2}); and thence proceeds all that comes from Him (1^{52} 3^{13} $6^{31.\ 32.\ 33.\ 38.\ 41.\ 49.\ 50}$ 6^{58}); so that God and heaven come to be almost equivalent terms. Nor is there any obscuration of His ceaseless activity in governing the world (5^{17}), although the stress is naturally thrown, in accordance with the whole character of this Gospel, on the moral and spiritual side of this government. But the very essence of the message of the Johannine Jesus is that the will (*θέλημα*) of the Father (4^{34} 5^{30} $6^{38.\ 39.\ 40}$ 7^{17} 9^{31}, cf. 3^{8} 5^{21} 17^{24} $21^{22.\ 23}$) is the principle of all things; and more especially, of course, of the introduction of eternal life into this world of darkness and death. The conception of the world as lying in the evil one and therefore judged already (3^{18}), so that upon those who are not removed from the evil of the world the wrath of God is not so much to be poured out as simply abides (3^{36}, cf. 1 Jn 3^{14}), is fundamental to this whole presentation. It is therefore, on the one hand, that Jesus represents Himself as having come not to condemn the world, but to save the world (3^{17} 8^{12} 9^{5} 12^{47}, cf. 4^{42}), and all that He does as having for its end the introduction of life into the world ($6^{33.\ 51}$); the already condemned world needed no further condemnation, it needed saving. And it is for the same reason, on the other hand, that He represents the wicked world as incapable of coming to Him that it might have life ($8^{43.\ 21}$ 14^{17} 10^{33}), and as requiring first of all a 'drawing' from the Father to enable it to come ($6^{44.\ 65}$); so that only those hear or believe on Him who are 'of God' (8^{47}, cf. 15^{19} 17^{14}), who are 'of his sheep' (16^{26}).

There is undoubtedly a strong emphasis thrown on the universality of Christ's mission of salvation; He has been sent into the world not merely to save some out of the world, but to save the world itself (3^{16} 6^{51} 12^{47} 17^{21}, cf. 1^{29}, 1 Jn 4^{14} 2^{2}). But this universality of destination and effect by which it is 'the world' that is saved, does not imply the salvation of each and every individual in the world, even in the earlier stages of the developing salvation. On the contrary, the saving work is a process (17^{20}); and, meanwhile, the coming of the Son into the world introduces a crisis, a sifting by which those who, because they are 'of God,' 'of his sheep,' are in the world, but not of it (15^{19} 17^{14}), are separated from those who are of the world, that is, of their father the devil (8^{44}), who is the Prince of this world (12^{31} 14^{30} 16^{11}). Obviously, the difference between men that is thus manifested is not thought of as inhering, after a dualistic or semi-Gnostic fashion, in their very natures as such, or as instituted by their own self-framed or accidentally received dispositions, much less by their own conduct in the world, which is rather the result of it,—but, as already pointed out, as the effect of an act of God. All goes back to the will of God, to accomplish which, the Son, as the Sent One, has come; and therefore also to the consentient will of the Son, who gives life, accordingly, to whom He will (5^{21}). As no one can come to Him out of the evil world, except it be given him of the Father (6^{65}, cf. 6^{44}), so all that the Father gives Him ($6^{37.\ 39}$) and only such (6^{65}), come to Him, being drawn thereunto by the Father (6^{44}). Thus the Son has 'his own in the world' (13^{1}), His 'chosen ones' (13^{18} $15^{16.\ 19}$), whom by His choice He has taken out of the world (15^{19} $17^{6.\ 14.\ 16}$); and for these only is His high-priestly intercession offered (17^{9}), as to them only is eternal life communicated (10^{21} 17^{2}, also $3^{15.\ 36}$ 5^{24} $6^{40.\ 54}$ 8^{12}). Thus, what the dogmatists call *gratia præveniens* is very strikingly taught; and especial point is given to this teaching in the great declarations as to the new birth recorded in Jn 3, from which we learn that the recreating Spirit comes, like the wind, without observation, and as He lists (3^{8}), the mode of action by which the Father 'draws' men being thus uncovered for us. Of course this drawing is not to be thought of as proceeding in a manner out of accord with man's nature as a psychic being; it naturally comes to its manifestation in an act of voluntary choice on man's own part, and in this sense it is 'psychological' and not 'physical'; accordingly, though it be God that 'draws,' it is man that 'comes' (3^{21} $6^{35.\ 41}$ 14^{6}). There is no occasion for stumbling therefore in the ascription of 'will' and 'responsibility' to man, or for puzzling over the designation of 'faith,' in which the 'coming' takes effect, as a 'work' of man's (6^{29}). Man is, of course, conceived as acting humanly, after the fashion of an intelligent and voluntary agent; but behind all his action there is ever postulated the all-determining hand of God, to whose sovereign operation even the blindness of the unbelieving is attributed by the evangelist ($12^{39f.}$), while the receptivity to the light of those who believe is repeatedly in the most emphatic way ascribed by Jesus Himself to God alone. Although with little use of the terminology in which we have been accustomed to expect to see the doctrines of the decree and of election expressed, the substance of these doctrines is here set out in the most impressive way.

From the two sets of data provided by the Synoptists and St. John, it is possible to attain quite a clear insight into the conception of predestination as it lay in our Lord's teaching. It is quite certain, for example, that there is no place in this teaching for a 'predestination' that is carefully adjusted to the foreseen performances of the creature; and as little for a 'decree' which may be frustrated by creaturely action, or an 'election' which is given effect only by the creaturely choice: to our Lord the Father is the omnipotent Lord of heaven and earth, according to whose pleasure all things are ordered, and who gives the Kingdom to whom He will (Lk 12^{32}, Mk 11^{26}, Lk 10^{21}). Certainly it is the very heart of our Lord's teaching that the Father's good pleasure is a *good* pleasure, ethically right, and the issue of infinite love; the very name of Father as the name of God by preference on His lips is full of this conception; but the very nerve of this teaching is, that the Father's will is all-embracing and omnipotent. It is only therefore that His children need be careful for nothing, that the little flock need not fear, that His elect may be assured that none of them shall be lost, but all that the Father has given Him shall be raised up at the last day. And if thus the elective purpose of the Father cannot fail of its end, neither is it possible to find this end in anything less than 'salvation' in the highest sense, than entrance into that eternal life to communicate which to dying men our Lord came into the world. There are elections to other ends, to be sure, spoken of: notably there is the election of the apostles to their office (Lk 6^{13}, Jn 6^{70}); and Christ Himself is conceived as especially God's elect one, because no one has the service to render which He has (Lk 9^{35} 23^{35}). But the elect, by way of eminence; 'the elect whom God elected,' for whose sake He governs all history (Mk 13^{20}); the elect of whom it was the will of Him who sent the Son, that of all that He gave Him He should lose nothing, but should raise it up at the last day (Jn 6^{39}); the elect whom the Son of Man shall at the last day gather from the four winds, from the uttermost parts of the earth to the uttermost part of heaven (Mk 13^{27}): it would be inadequate to suppose that these are elected merely to opportunities or the means of grace, on their free cultivation of which shall depend their undecided destiny; or merely to the service of their fellow-men, as agents in God's beneficent plan for the salvation of the race. Of course this election is to privileges and means of grace; and without these the great end of the election would not be attained: for the 'election' is given effect only by the 'call,' and manifests itself only in faith and the holy life. Equally of course the elect are 'the salt of the earth' and 'the light of the world,' the few through whom the many are blessed; the eternal life to which they are elected does not consist in or with the silence and coldness of death, but only in and with the intensest activities of the conquering people of God. But the prime end of their election does not lie in these things, and to place exclusive stress upon them is certainly to gather in the mint and anise and cummin of the doctrine. That to which God's elect are elected is, according to the teaching of Jesus, all that is included in the idea of the Kingdom of God, in the idea of eternal life, in the idea of fellowship with Christ, in the idea of participation in the glory which the Father has given His Son. Their choice, and the whole development of their history, according to our Lord's teaching, is the loving work of the Father: and in His keeping also is the consummation of their bliss. Their segregation, of course, leaves others not elected, to whom none of their privileges are granted; from whom none of their services are expected; with whom their glorious destiny is not shared. This, too, is of God. But this side of the matter, in accordance with Jesus' mission in the world as Saviour rather than as Judge, is less dwelt upon. In the case of neither class, that of the elect as little as that of those that are without, are the purposes of God wrought out without the co-operation of the activities of the subjects; but in neither case is the decisive factor supplied by these, but is discoverable solely in the will of God and the consonant will of the Son. The 'even so, Father; for so it seemed good in thy sight' (Mt 11^{26}, Lk 10^{21}), is to our Lord, at least, an all-sufficient theodicy in the face of all God's diverse dealings with men.

2. *The Teaching of the Disciples.*—The disciples of Jesus continue His teaching in all its elements. We are conscious, for example, of entering no new atmosphere when we pass to the *Epistle of James.* St. James, too, finds his starting-point in a profound apprehension of the exaltation and perfection of God,—defining God's nature, indeed, with a phrase that merely repeats in other words the penetrating declaration that 'God is light' (1 Jn 1^{5}), which, reflecting our Lord's teaching, sounds the keynote of the beloved disciple's thought of God (Ja 1^{17}),—and particularly in a keen sense of dependence on God (4^{15} 5^{7}), to which it was an axiom that every good thing is a gift from Him (1^{17}). Accordingly, salvation, the pre-eminent good, comes purely as His gift, and can be ascribed only to His will (1^{18}); and its exclusively Divine origin is indicated by the choice that is made of those who receive it—not the rich and prosperous, who have somewhat perhaps which might command consideration, but the poor and miserable (2^{5}). So little does this Divine choice rest on even faith, that it is rather in order to faith (2^{5}), and introduces its recipients into the Kingdom as firstfruits of a great harvest to be reaped by God in the world (1^{18}).

Similarly, in the *Book of Acts*, the whole stress in the matter of salvation is laid on the grace of God (11^{23} 13^{43} $14^{3.\,26}$ 15^{40} 18^{27}); and to it, in the most pointed way, the inception of faith itself is assigned (18^{27}). It is only slightly varied language when the increase in the Church is ascribed to the hand of the Lord (11^{21}), or the direct act of God (14^{27} 18^{10}). The explicit declaration of 2^{47} presents, therefore, nothing peculiar, and we are fully prepared for the philosophy of the redemptive history expressed in 13^{48}, that only those 'ordained to eternal life' believed—the believing that comes by the grace of God (18^{27}), to whom it belongs to open the heart to give heed to the gospel (16^{14}), being thus referred to the counsel of eternity, of which the events of time are only the outworking.

The general philosophy of history thus suggested is implicit in the very idea of a promissory system, and in the recognition of a predictive element in prophecy, and is written large on the pages of the *historical books* of the NT. It is given expression in every declaration that this or that event came to pass 'that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophets,'—a form of statement in which our Lord had Himself betrayed His teleological view of history, not only as respects details (Jn 15^{25} 17^{12}), but with the widest reference (Lk 21^{22}), and which was taken up cordially by His followers, particularly by Matthew (1^{22} $2^{15.\,23}$ 4^{14} 8^{17} 12^{17} 13^{35} 21^{4} 26^{56}, Jn 12^{38} 18^{9} $19^{24.\,28.\,36}$). Alongside of this phrase occurs the equally significant 'δεῖ of the Divine decree,' as it has been appropriately called, by which is suggested the necessity which rules over historical sequences. It is used with a view now to Jesus' own plan of redemption (by Jesus Himself, Mt 8^{31}, Lk 2^{49} 4^{43} 9^{22} 13^{33} 17^{25} 24^{7}, Jn 3^{14} 10^{16} 12^{34}; by the evangelist, Mt 16^{21}), now to the underlying plan of God (by Jesus, Mt 24^{6}, Mk $13^{7.\,10}$, Lk 21^{9}; by the writer, Mt 17^{10}, Mk 9^{11}, Ac 3^{21} 9^{16}), anon to the prophetic declaration as an indication of the underlying plan (by Jesus, Mt 26^{58}, Lk 22^{37} $24^{26.\,44}$; by the writer, Jn 20^{9}, Ac 1^{16} 17^{3}). This appeal, in either form, served an important apologetic purpose in the first proclamation of the gospel; but its fundamental significance is rooted, of course, in the conception of a Divine ordering of the whole course of history to the veriest detail.

Such a teleological conception of the history of the Kingdom is manifested strikingly in the speech of St. Stephen (Ac 7), in which the developing plan of God is rapidly sketched. But it is in such declarations as those of St. Peter recorded in Ac 2^{23} 4^{28} that the wider philosophy of history comes to its clearest expression. In them everything that had befallen Jesus is represented as merely the emerging into fact of what had stood beforehand prepared for in 'the determinate counsel and foreknowledge of God,' so that nothing had been accomplished, by whatever agents, except what 'his hand and his counsel had foreordained to come to pass.' It would not be easy to frame language which should more explicitly proclaim the conception of an all-determining decree of God governing the entire sequence of events in time. Elsewhere in *the Petrine discourses* of Acts the speech is coloured by the same ideas: we note in the immediate context of these culminating passages the high terms in which the exaltation of God is expressed ($4^{24f.}$), the sharpness with which His sovereignty in the 'call' (προσκαλέομαι) is declared (2^{39}), and elsewhere the repeated emergence of the idea of the necessary correspondence

of the events of time with the predictions of Scripture (1[16] 2[24] 3[21]). The same doctrine of predestination meets us in the pages of *St. Peter's Epistles*. He does, indeed, speak of the members of the Christian community as God's elect (I 1[1] 2[9] 5[13], II 1[10]), in accordance with the apostolic habit of assuming the reality implied in the manifestation; but this is so far from importing that election hangs on the act of man that St. Peter refers it directly to the elective foreknowledge of God (I 1[2]), and seeks its confirmation in sanctification (II 1[10]), —even as the stumbling of the disobedient, on the other hand, is presented as a confirmation of their appointment to disbelief (I 2[8]). The pregnant use of the terms 'foreknow' (*προγινώσκω*) and 'foreknowledge' (*πρόγνωσις*) by St. Peter brought to our attention in these passages (Ac 2[23], 1 P 1[2. 20]), where they certainly convey the sense of a loving, distinguishing regard which assimilates them to the idea of election, is worthy of note as another of the traits common to him and St. Paul (Ro 8[29] 11[2], only in NT). The usage might be explained, indeed, as the development of a purely Greek sense of the words, but it is much more probably rooted in a Semitic usage, which, as we have seen, is not without example in OT. A simple comparison of the passages will exhibit the impossibility of reading the terms of mere prevision (cf. Cremer *sub voc.*, and especially the full discussion in K. Müller's *Die Göttliche Zuvorersehung und Erwählung*, etc. pp. 38 f., 81 f.; also Gennrich, *SK*, 1898, 382–395; Pfleiderer, *Urchristenthum*, 289, *Paulinismus*, 268; and Lorenz, *Lehrsystem*, etc. 94).

The *teaching of St. John* in Gospel and Epistle is not distinguishable from that which he reports from his Master's lips, and need not here be reverted to afresh. The same fundamental viewpoints meet us also in the Apocalypse. The emphasis there placed on the omnipotence of God rises indeed to a climax. There only in NT (except 2 Co 6[18]), for example, is the epithet *παντοκράτωρ* ascribed to Him (1[8] 4[8] 11[17] 15[3] 16[7. 14] 19[6. 15] 21[22], cf. 15[3] 6[10]); and the whole purport of the book is the portrayal of the Divine guidance of history, and the very essence of its message that, despite all surface appearances, it is the hand of God that really directs all occurrences, and all things are hastening to the end of His determining. Salvation is ascribed unvaryingly to the grace of God, and declared to be His work (12[10] 19[1]). The elect people of God are His by the Divine choice alone: their names are from the foundation of the world written in the Lamb's Book of Life (13[8] 17[8] 20[12-15] 21[22]), which is certainly a symbol of Divine appointment to eternal life revealed in and realized through Christ; nor shall they ever be blotted out of it (3[5]). It is difficult to doubt that the destination here asserted is to a complete salvation (19[9]), that it is individual, and that it is but a single instance of the completeness of the Divine government to which the world is subject by the Lord of lords and King of kings, the Ruler of the earth and King of the nations, whose control of all the occurrences of time in accordance with His holy purposes it is the supreme object of this book to portray.

Perhaps less is directly said about the purpose of God in the *Epistle to the Hebrews* than in any other portion of NT of equal length. The technical phraseology of the subject is conspicuously absent. Nevertheless, the conception of the Divine counsel and will underlying all that comes to pass (2[10]), and especially the entire course of the purchase (6[17], cf. 10[5-10] 2[9]) and application (11[39. 31] 9[15]) of salvation, is fundamental to the whole thought of the Epistle; and echoes of the modes in which this conception is elsewhere expressed meet us on every hand. Thus we read of God's eternal counsel (*βουλή*, 6[17]) and of His precedent will (*θέλημα*, 10[10]) as underlying His redemptive acts; of the enrolment of the names of His children in heaven (12[23]); of the origin in the energy of God of all that is good in us (13[21]); and, above all, of a 'heavenly call' as the source of the whole renewed life of the Christian (3[1], cf. 9[15]).

When our Lord spoke of 'calling' (*καλέω*, Mt 9[13], Mk 2[17], Lk 5[32], and, parabolically, Mt 22[2. 4. 5. 9], Lk 14[8. 9. 10. 12. 13. 16. 17. 24]; *κλητός*, Mt 22[14] [20[16]]) the term was used in the ordinary sense of 'invitation,' and refers therefore to a much broader circle than the 'elect' (Mt 22[14]); and this fundamental sense of 'bidding' may continue to cling to the term in the hands of the evangelists (Mt 4[21], Mk 1[20], cf. Lk 14[7], Jn 2[2]), while the depth of meaning which might be attached to it, even in such a connotation, may be revealed by such a passage as Rev 19[9] 'Blessed are they which are bidden to the marriage supper of the Lamb.' On the lips of the apostolic writers, however, the term in its application to the call of God to salvation took on deeper meanings, doubtless out of consideration of the author of the call, who has but to speak and it is done (cf. Ro 4[17]). It occurs in these writers, when it occurs at all, as the synonym no longer of 'invitation,' but rather of 'election' itself; or, more precisely, as expressive of the temporal act of the Divine efficiency by which effect is given to the electing decree. In this profounder sense it is practically confined to the writings of St. Paul and St. Peter and the Epistle to the Hebrews, occurring elsewhere only in Jude 1, Rev 17[14], where the children of God are designated the 'called,' just as they are (in various collocations of the term with the idea of election) in Ro 1[6. 7], 1 Co 1[2], Ro 8[28], 1 Co 1[24] (cf. Ro 1[1], 1 Co 1[1]). *Κλητός*, as used in these passages, does not occur in the Epistle to the Hebrews, but in 3[1] *κλῆσις* occurs in a sense indistinguishable from that which it bears in St. Paul (Ro 11[29], 1 Co 1[26], Eph 1[18] 4[1. 4], Ph 3[14], 2 Th 1[11], 2 Ti 1[9]) and St. Peter (2 P 1[10]); and in 9[15] (cf. special applications of the same general idea, 5[4] 11[8]), *καλέω* bears the same deep sense expressed by it in St. Paul (Ro 8[30. 30] 9[11-24], 1 Co 1[9] 7[15. 17. 18. 18. 20. 21. 22. 22. 24], Gal 1[6. 15] 5[8. 13], Eph 4[1. 4], Col 3[15], 1 Th 2[12] 4[7] 5[24], 2 Th 2[14], 2 Ti 1[9]) and in St. Peter (I 1[15] 2[9. 21] 3[9] 5[10], II 1[3], cf. *προσκαλέω*, Ac 2[39], and in the language of St. Luke, Ac 13[2] 16[10]). The contrast into which the 'called' (3[1]) are brought in this Epistle with the 'evangelized' (4[2. 6]), repeating in other terms the contrast which our Saviour institutes between the 'elect' and 'called' (Mt 22[14]), exhibits the height of the meaning to which the idea of the 'call' has climbed. It no longer denotes the mere invitation,—that notion is now given in 'evangelize,'—but the actual ushering into salvation of the heirs of the promise, who are made partakers of the heavenly calling, and are called to the everlasting inheritance just because they have been destined thereunto by God (1[14]), and are enrolled in heaven as the children given to the Son of God (2[13]).

3. *The Teaching of St. Paul.*—It was reserved, however, to the Apostle Paul to give to the fact of predestination its fullest NT presentation. This was not because St. Paul exceeded his fellows in the strength or clearness of his convictions, but because, in the prosecution of the special task which was committed to him in the general work of establishing Christianity in the world, the complete expression of the common doctrine of predestination fell in his way, and became a necessity of his argument. With him, too, the roots of his doctrine of predestination were set in his general doctrine of God, and it was fundamentally because St. Paul was a theist of a clear and consistent type, living and thinking under the influence of the profound consciousness of a personal God who is the author of all that is and, as well, the upholder and powerful governor of all that He has made, according to whose will, therefore, all that comes to pass must be ordered, that he was a predestinarian; and more particularly he too was a predestinarian because of his general doctrine of salvation, in every step of which the initiative must be taken by God's unmerited grace, just because man is a sinner, and, as a sinner, rests under the Divine condemnation, with no right of so much as access to God, and without means to seek, much less to secure, His favour. But although possessing no other sense of the infinite majesty of the almighty Person in whose hands all things lie, or of the issue of all saving acts from His free grace, than his companion apostles, the course of the special work in which St. Paul was engaged, and the exigencies of the special controversies in which he was involved, forced him

to a fuller expression of all that is implied in these convictions. As he cleared the whole field of Christian faith from the presence of any remaining confidence in human works; as he laid beneath the hope of Christians a righteousness not self-wrought but provided by God alone; as he consistently offered this God-provided righteousness to sinners of all classes without regard to anything in them by which they might fancy God could be moved to accept their persons,—he was inevitably driven to an especially pervasive reference of salvation in each of its elements to the free grace of God, and to an especially full exposition on the one hand of the course of Divine grace in the several acts which enter into the saving work, and on the other to the firm rooting of the whole process in the pure will of the God of grace. From the beginning to the end of his ministry, accordingly, St. Paul conceived himself, above everything else, as the bearer of a message of undeserved grace to lost sinners, not even directing his own footsteps to carry the glad tidings to whom he would (Ro 1^{10}, 1 Co 4^{19}, 2 Co 2^{12}), but rather led by God in triumphal procession through the world, that through him might be made manifest the savour of the knowledge of Christ in every place—a savour from life unto life in them that are saved, and from death unto death in them that are lost (2 Co $2^{15.\ 16}$). By the 'word of the cross' proclaimed by him the essential character of his hearers was thus brought into manifestation, —to the lost it was foolishness, to the saved the power of God (1 Co 1^{18}): not as if this essential character belonged to them by nature or was the product of their own activities, least of all of their choice at the moment of the proclamation, by which rather it was only revealed; but as finding an explanation only in an act of God, in accordance with the working of Him to whom all differences among men are to be ascribed (1 Co 4^{7})—for God alone is the Lord of the harvest, and all the increase, however diligently man may plant and water, is to be accredited to Him alone (1 Co $3^{5f.}$).

It is naturally the soteriological interest that determines in the main St. Paul's allusions to the all-determining hand of God,—the letters that we have from him come from Paul the evangelist,—but it is not merely a soteriological conception that he is expressing in them, but the most fundamental postulate of his religious consciousness; and he is accordingly constantly correlating his doctrine of election with his general doctrine of the decree or counsel of God. No man ever had an intenser or more vital sense of God,—the eternal (Ro 16^{26}) and incorruptible (1^{23}) One, the only wise One (16^{27}), who does all things according to His good-pleasure (1 Co 15^{38} 12^{18}, Col $1^{19.\ 15}$), and whose ways are past tracing out (Ro 11^{33}); before whom men should therefore bow in the humility of absolute dependence, recognizing in Him the one moulding power as well in history as in the life of the individual (Ro 9). Of Him and through Him and unto Him, he fervently exclaims, are all things (Ro 11^{36}, cf. 1 Co 8^{6}); He is over all and through all and in all (Eph 4^{6}, cf. Col 1^{16}); He worketh all things according to the counsel of His will (Eph 1^{11}): all that is, in a word, owes its existence and persistence and its action and issue to Him. The whole course of history is, therefore, of His ordering (Ac 14^{16} 17^{26}, Ro $1^{18f.}$ 3^{25} 9–11, Gal 3. 4), and every event that befalls is under His control, and must be estimated from the view-point of His purposes of good to His people (Ro 8^{28}, 1 Th $5^{17.\ 18}$), for whose benefit the whole world is governed (Eph 1^{22}, 1 Co 2^{7}, Col 1^{18}). The figure that is employed in Ro 9^{22} with a somewhat narrower reference, would fairly express St. Paul's world-view in its relation to the Divine activity: God is the potter, and the whole world with all its contents but as the plastic clay which He moulds to His own ends; so that whatsoever comes into being, and whatsoever uses are served by the things that exist, are all alike of Him. In accordance with this world-view St. Paul's doctrine of salvation must necessarily be interpreted; and, in very fact, he gives it its accordant expression in every instance in which he speaks of it.

There are especially *three chief passages* in which the apostle so fully expounds his fundamental teaching as to the relation of salvation to the purpose of God, that they may fairly claim our primary attention.

(*a*) The first of these—**Ro $8^{29.\ 30}$**—emerges as part of the encouragement which the apostle offers to his readers in the sad state in which they find themselves in this world, afflicted with fears within and fightings without. He reminds them that they are not left to their weakness, but the Spirit comes to their aid: 'and we know,' adds the apostle,—it is no matter of conjecture, but of assured knowledge,—'that with them that love God, God co-operates with respect to all things for good, since they are indeed the called according to [His] purpose.' The appeal is obviously primarily to the universal government of God: nothing takes place save by His direction, and even what seems to be grievous comes from the Father's hand. Secondarily, the appeal is to the assured position of his readers within the fatherly care of God: they have not come into this blessed relation with God accidentally or by the force of their own choice; they have been 'called' into it by Himself, and that by no thoughtless, inadvertent, meaningless, or changeable call; it was a call 'according to purpose,'—where the anarthrousness of the noun throws stress on the purposiveness of the call. What has been denominated 'the golden chain of salvation' that is attached to this declaration by the particle 'because' can therefore have no other end than more fully to develop and more firmly to ground the assurance thus quickened in the hearts of the readers: it accordingly enumerates the steps of the saving process in the purpose of God, and carries it thus successively through the stages of appropriating foreknowledge,—for 'foreknow' is undoubtedly used here in that pregnant sense we have already seen it to bear in similar connexions in NT,—predestination to conformity with the image of God's Son, calling, justifying, glorifying; all of which are cast in the past tense of a purpose in principle executed when formed, and are bound together as mutually implicative, so that, where one is present, all are in principle present with it. It accordingly follows that, in St. Paul's conception, glorification rests on justification, which in turn rests on vocation, while vocation comes only to those who had previously been predestinated to conformity with God's Son, and this predestination to character and destiny only to those afore chosen by God's loving regard. It is obviously a strict doctrine of predestination that is taught. This conclusion can be avoided only by assigning a sense to the 'foreknowing' that lies at the root of the whole process, which is certainly out of accord not merely with its ordinary import in similar connexions in the NT, nor merely with the context, but with the very purpose for which the declaration is made, namely, to enhearten the struggling saint by assuring him that he is not committed to his own power, or rather weakness, but is in the sure hands of the Almighty Father. It would seem little short of absurd to hang on the merely contemplative foresight of God a declaration adduced to support the assertion that the lovers of God

are something deeper and finer than even lovers of God, namely, 'the called according to *purpose*,' and itself educing the joyful cry, 'If God is for us, who is against us?' and grounding a confident claim upon the gift of all things from His hands.

(*b*) The even more famous section, **Ro 9. 10. 11,** following closely upon this strong affirmation of the suspension of the whole saving process on the predetermination of God, offers, on the face of it, a yet sharper assertion of predestination, raising it, moreover, out of the circle of the merely individual salvation into the broader region of the historical development of the kingdom of God. The problem which St. Paul here faces grew so directly out of his fundamental doctrine of justification by faith alone, with complete disregard of all question of merit or vested privilege, that it must have often forced itself upon his attention, — himself a Jew with a high estimate of a Jew's privileges and a passionate love for his people. He could not but have pondered it frequently and deeply, and least of all could he have failed to give it treatment in an Epistle like this, which undertakes to provide a somewhat formal exposition of his whole doctrine of justification. Having shown the necessity of such a method of salvation as he proclaimed, if sinful men were to be saved at all (1^{18}–3^{20}), and then expounded its nature and evidence (3^{21}–5^{21}), and afterwards discussed its intensive effects (6^{1}–8^{39}), he could not fail further to explain its extensive effects — especially when they appeared to be of so portentous a character as to imply a reversal of what was widely believed to have been God's mode of working heretofore, the rejection of His people whom He foreknew, and the substitution of the alien in their place. St. Paul's solution of the problem is, briefly, that the situation has been gravely misconceived by those who so represent it; that nothing of the sort thus described has happened or will happen; that what has happened is merely that in the constitution of that people whom He has chosen to Himself and is fashioning to His will, God has again exercised that sovereignty which He had previously often exercised, and which He had always expressly reserved to Himself and frequently proclaimed as the principle of His dealings with the people emphatically of His choice. In his exposition of this solution St. Paul first defends the propriety of God's action ($9^{6\text{-}24}$), then turns to stop the mouth of the objecting Jew by exposing the manifested unfitness of the Jewish people for the kingdom (9^{30}–10^{21}), and finally expounds with great richness the ameliorating circumstances in the whole transaction ($11^{1\text{-}36}$). In the course of his defence of God's rejection of the mass of contemporary Israel, he sets forth the sovereignty of God in the whole matter of salvation—'that the purpose of God according to election might stand, not of works, but of Him that calleth'—with a sharpness of assertion and a clearness of illustration which leave nothing to be added in order to throw it out in the full strength of its conception. We are pointed illustratively to the sovereign acceptance of Isaac and rejection of Ishmael, and to the choice of Jacob and not of Esau before their birth and therefore before either had done good or bad; we are explicitly told that in the matter of salvation it is not of him that wills, or of him that runs, but of God that shows mercy, and that has mercy on whom He wills, and whom He wills He hardens; we are pointedly directed to behold in God the potter who makes the vessels which proceed from His hand each for an end of His appointment, that He may work out His will upon them. It is safe to say that language cannot be chosen better adapted to teach predestination at its height.

We are exhorted, indeed, not to read this language in isolation, but to remember that the ninth chapter must be interpreted in the light of the eleventh. Not to dwell on the equally important consideration that the eleventh chapter must likewise be interpreted only in the light of the ninth, there seems here to exhibit itself some forgetfulness of the inherent continuity of St. Paul's thought, and, indeed, some misconception of the progress of the argument through the section, which is a compact whole and must express a much pondered line of thought, constantly present to the apostle's mind. We must not permit to fall out of sight the fact that the whole extremity of assertion of the ninth chapter is repeated in the eleventh ($11^{4\text{-}10}$); so that there is no change of conception or lapse of consecution observable as the argument develops, and we do not escape from the doctrine of predestination of the ninth chapter in fleeing to the eleventh. This is true even if we go at once to the great closing declaration of 11^{32}, to which we are often directed as to the key of the whole section—which, indeed, it very much is: 'For God hath shut up all unto disobedience, that he might have mercy upon all.' On the face of it there could not readily be framed a more explicit assertion of the Divine control and the Divine initiative than this; it is only another declaration that He has mercy on whom He will have mercy, and after the manner and in the order that He will. And it certainly is not possible to read it as a declaration of universal salvation, and thus reduce the whole preceding exposition to a mere tracing of the varying pathways along which the common Father leads each individual of the race severally to the common goal. Needless to point out that thus the whole argument would be stultified, and the apostle convicted of gross exaggeration in tone and language where otherwise we find only impressive solemnity, rising at times into natural anguish. It is enough to observe that the verse cannot bear this sense in its context. Nothing is clearer than that its purpose is not to minimise but to magnify the sense of absolute dependence on the Divine mercy, and to quicken apprehension of the mystery of God's righteously loving ways; and nothing is clearer than that the reference of the double 'all' is exhausted by the two classes discussed in the immediate context,—so that they are not to be taken individualistically but, so to speak, racially. The intrusion of the individualistic-universalistic sentiment, so dominant in the modern consciousness, into the interpretation of this section, indeed, is to throw the whole into inextricable confusion. Nothing could be further from the nationalistic-universalistic point of view from which it was written, and from which alone St. Paul can be understood when he represents that in rejecting the mass of contemporary Jews God has not cast off His people, but, acting only as He had frequently done in former ages, is fulfilling His promise to the kernel while shelling off the husk. Throughout the whole process of pruning and ingrafting which he traces in the dealings of God with the olive-tree which He has once for all planted, St. Paul sees God, in accordance with His promise, saving His people. The continuity of its stream of life he perceives preserved throughout all its present experience of rejection ($11^{1\text{-}10}$); the gracious purpose of the present confinement of its channel, he traces with eager hand ($11^{11\text{-}15}$); he predicts with confidence the attainment in the end of the full breadth of the promise ($11^{15\text{-}32}$),—all to the praise of the glory of God's grace ($11^{33\text{-}36}$). There is undoubtedly a universalism of salvation proclaimed here; but it is an eschatological, not an individualistic universalism. The day is certainly to come when the whole world—inclusive of all the Jews and Gentiles alike, then dwelling on the globe—shall know and serve the Lord; and God in all His strange work of distributing salvation is leading the course of events to that great goal; but meanwhile the principle of His action is free, sovereign grace, to which alone it is to be attributed that any who are saved in the meantime enter into their inheritance, and through which alone shall the final goal of the race itself be attained. The central thought of the whole discussion, in a word, is that Israel does not owe the promise to the fact that it is Israel, but conversely owes the fact that it is Israel to the promise,—that 'it is not the children of the flesh that are the children of God, but the children of the promise that are reckoned for a seed' (9^{8}). In these words we hold the real key to the whole section; and if we approach it with this key in hand we shall have little difficulty in apprehending that, from its beginning to its end, St. Paul has no higher object than to make clear that the inclusion of any individual within the kingdom of God finds its sole cause in the sovereign grace of the choosing God, and cannot in any way or degree depend upon his own merit, privilege, or act.

Neither, with this key in our hand, will it be possible to raise a question whether the election here expounded is to eternal life or not rather merely to prior privilege or higher service. These too, no doubt, are included. But by what right is this long section intruded here as a substantive part of this Epistle, busied as a whole with the exposition of 'the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth, to the Jew first and also to the Greek,' if it has no direct concern with this salvation? By what chance has it attached itself to that noble grounding of a Christian's hope and assurance with which the eighth chapter closes? By what course of thought does it reach its own culmination in that burst of praise to God, on whom all things depend, with which it concludes? By what accident is it itself filled with the most unequivocal references to the saving grace of God 'which hath been poured out on the vessels of his mercy which he afore prepared for glory, even on us whom he also called, not from the Jews only, but also from the Gentiles'? If such language has no reference to salvation, there is no language in the NT that need be interpreted of final destiny. Beyond question this section does

explain to us some of the grounds of the mode of God's action in gathering a people to Himself out of the world; and in doing this, it does reveal to us some of the ways in which the distribution of His electing grace serves the purposes of His kingdom on earth; reading it, we certainly do learn that God has many ends to serve in His gracious dealings with the children of men, and that we, in our ignorance of His multifarious purposes, are not fitted to be His counsellors. But by all this, the fact is in no wise obscured that it is primarily to salvation that He calls His elect, and that whatever other ends their election may subserve, this fundamental end will never fail; that in this, too, the gifts and calling of God are not repented of, and will surely lead on to their goal. The difficulty which is felt by some in following the apostle's argument here, we may suspect, has its roots in part in a shrinking from what appears to them an arbitrary assignment of men to diverse destinies without consideration of their desert. Certainly St. Paul as explicitly affirms the sovereignty of reprobation as of election,—if these twin ideas are, indeed, separable even in thought: if he represents God as sovereignly loving Jacob, he represents Him equally as sovereignly hating Esau; if he declares that He has mercy on whom He will, he equally declares that He hardens whom He will. Doubtless the difficulty often felt here is, in part, an outgrowth of an insufficient realization of St. Paul's basal conception of the state of men at large as condemned sinners before an angry God. It is with a world of lost sinners that he is representing God as dealing; and out of that world building up a Kingdom of Grace. Were not all men sinners, there might still be an election, as sovereign as now; and there being an election, there would still be as sovereign a rejection: but the rejection would not be a rejection to punishment, to destruction, to eternal death, but to some other destiny consonant to the state in which those passed by should be left. It is not indeed, then, because men are sinners that men are left unelected; election is free, and its obverse of rejection must be equally free: but it is solely because men are sinners that what they are left to is destruction. And it is in this universalism of ruin rather than in a universalism of salvation that St. Paul really roots his theodicy. When all deserve death it is a marvel of pure grace that any receive life; and who shall gainsay the right of Him who shows this miraculous mercy, to have mercy on whom He will, and whom He will to harden? (See REPROBATE).

(*c*) In **Eph 1**[1-12] there is, if possible, an even higher note struck. Here, too, St. Paul is dealing primarily with the blessings bestowed on his readers, in Christ, all of which he ascribes to the free grace of God; but he so speaks of these blessings as to correlate the gracious purpose of God in salvation, not merely with the plan of operation which He prosecutes in establishing and perfecting His kingdom on earth, but also with the all-embracing decree that underlies His total cosmical activity. In opening this circular letter, addressed to no particular community whose special circumstances might suggest the theme of the thanksgiving with which he customarily begins his letters, St. Paul is thrown back on what is common to Christians; and it is probably to this circumstance that we owe the magnificent description of the salvation in Christ with which the Epistle opens, and in which this salvation is traced consecutively in its preparation (vv.[4, 5]), its execution ([6, 7]), its publication ([8-10]), and its application ([11-14]), both to Jews ([11, 12]) and to Gentiles ([13, 14]). Thus, at all events, we have brought before us the whole ideal history of salvation in Christ from eternity to eternity—from the eternal purpose as it lay in the loving heart of the Father, to the eternal consummation, when all things in heaven and earth shall be summed up in Christ. Even the incredible profusion of the blessings which we receive in Christ, described with an accumulation of phrases that almost defies exposition, is less noticeable here than the emphasis and reiteration with which the apostle carries back their bestowment on us to that primal purpose of God in which all things are afore prepared ere they are set in the way of accomplishment. All this accumulation of blessings, he tells his readers, has come to them and him only in fulfilment of an eternal purpose—only because they had been chosen by God out of the mass of sinful men, in Christ, before the foundation of the world, to be holy and blameless before Him, and had been lovingly predestinated unto adoption through Jesus Christ to Him, in accordance with the good-pleasure of His will, to the praise of the glory of His grace. It is therefore, he further explains, that to them in the abundance of God's grace there has been brought the knowledge of the salvation in Christ, described here as the knowledge of the mystery of the Divine will, according to His good-pleasure, which He purposed in Himself with reference to the dispensation of the fulness of the times, to sum up all things in the universe in Christ,—by which phrases the plan of salvation is clearly exhibited as but one element in the cosmical purpose of God. And thus it is, the apostle proceeds to explain, only in pursuance of this all-embracing cosmical purpose that Christians, whether Jews or Gentiles, have been called into participation of these blessings, to the praise of the glory of God's grace,—and of the former class, he pauses to assert anew that their call rests on a predestination according to the purpose of Him that works all things according to the counsel of His will. Throughout this elevated passage, the resources of language are strained to the utmost to give utterance to the depth and fervour of St. Paul's conviction of the absoluteness of the dominion which the God, whom he describes as Him that works all things according to the counsel of His will, exercises over the entire universe, and of his sense of the all-inclusive perfection of the plan on which He is exercising His world-wide government—into which world-wide government His administration of His grace, in the salvation of Christ, works as one element. Thus there is kept steadily before our eyes the wheel within wheel of the all-comprehending decree of God: first of all, the inclusive cosmical purpose in accordance with which the universe is governed as it is led to its destined end; within this, the purpose relative to the kingdom of God, a substantive part, and, in some sort, the hinge of the world-purpose itself; and still within this, the purpose of grace relative to the individual, by virtue of which he is called into the Kingdom and made sharer in its blessings: the common element with them all being that they are and come to pass only in accordance with the good-pleasure of His will, according to His purposed good-pleasure, according to the purpose of Him who works all things in accordance with the counsel of His will; and therefore all alike redound solely to His praise.

In these outstanding passages, however, there are only expounded, though with special richness, ideas which govern the Pauline literature, and which come now and again to clear expression in each group of St. Paul's letters. The whole doctrine of election, for instance, lies as truly in the declaration of 2 Th 2^{13} or that of 2 Ti 1^{9} (cf. 2 Ti 2^{19}, Tit 3^{5}) as in the passages we have considered from Romans (cf. 1 Co 1^{26-31}) and Ephesians (cf. Eph 2^{10}, Col 1^{27} $3^{12, 15}$, Ph 4^{3}). It may be possible to trace minor distinctions through the several groups of letters in forms of statement or modes of relating the doctrine to other conceptions; but from the beginning to the end of St. Paul's activity as a Christian teacher his fundamental teaching as to the Christian calling and life is fairly summed up in the declaration that those that are saved are God's 'workmanship created in Christ Jesus unto good works, which God afore prepared that they should walk in them' (Eph 2^{10}).

The most striking impression made upon us by a survey of the whole material is probably the intensity of St. Paul's practical interest in the doctrine—a matter fairly illustrated by the passage just quoted (Eph 2^{10}). Nothing is more noticeable than his zeal in enforcing its two chief practical contents—the assurance it should bring to believers of their eternal safety in the faithful hands of God, and the ethical energy it should arouse within them to live worthily of their vocation. It is one of St. Paul's most persistent exhortations, that believers should remember that their salvation is not committed to their own weak hands, but rests securely on the

faithfulness of the God who has called them according to His purpose (*e.g.* 1 Th 5^{24}, 1 Co $1^{8f.}$ 10^{13}, Ph 1^{6}). Though the appropriation of their salvation begins in an act of faith on their own part, which is consequent on the hearing of the gospel, their appointment to salvation itself does not depend on this act of faith, nor on any fitness discoverable in them on the foresight of which God's choice of them might be supposed to be based, but (as 1 Th 2^{13} already indicates) both the preaching of the gospel and the exercise of faith consistently appear as steps in the carrying out of an election not conditioned on their occurrence, but embracing them as means to the end set by the free purpose of God. The case is precisely the same with all subsequent acts of the Christian life. So far is St. Paul from supposing that election to life should operate to enervate moral endeavour, that it is precisely from the fact that the willing and doing of man rest on an energizing willing and doing of God, which in turn rest on His eternal purpose, that the apostle derives his most powerful and most frequently urged motive for ethical action. That tremendous 'therefore,' with which at the opening of the twelfth chapter of Romans he passes from the doctrinal to the ethical part of the Epistle,—from a doctrinal exposition the very heart of which is salvation by pure grace apart from all works, and which had just closed with the fullest discussion of the effects of election to be found in all his writings, to the rich exhortations to high moral effort with which the closing chapters of this Epistle are filled,—may justly be taken as the normal illation of his whole ethical teaching. His Epistles, in fact, are sown (as indeed is the whole NT) with particular instances of the same appeal (*e.g.* 1 Th 2^{12}, 2 Th 2^{13-15}, Ro 6, 2 Co 5^{14}, Col 1^{10}, Ph 1^{21} $2^{12.13}$, 2 Ti 2^{19}). In Ph $2^{12.13}$ it attains, perhaps, its sharpest expression: here the saint is exhorted to work out his own salvation with fear and trembling, just because it is God who is working in him both the willing and the doing because of His 'good-pleasure'—obviously but another way of saying, 'If God is for us, who can be against us?'

There is certainly presented in this a problem for those who wish to operate in this matter with an irreconcilable 'either, or,' and who can conceive of no freedom of man which is under the control of God. St. Paul's theism was, however, of too pure a quality to tolerate in the realm of creation any force beyond the sway of Him who, as he says, is over all, and through all, and in all (Eph 4^{6}), working all things according to the counsel of His will (Eph 1^{11}). And it must be confessed that it is more facile than satisfactory to set his theistic world-view summarily aside as a 'merely religious view,' which stands in conflict with a truly ethical conception of the world—perhaps even with a repetition of Fritzsche's jibe that St. Paul would have reasoned better on the high themes of 'fate, free-will, and providence' had he sat at the feet of Aristotle rather than at those of Gamaliel. Antiquity produced, however, no ethical genius equal to St. Paul, and even as a teacher of the foundations of ethics Aristotle himself might well be content to sit rather at his feet; and it does not at once appear why a so-called 'religious' conception may not have as valid a ground in human nature, and as valid a right to determine human conviction, as a so-called 'ethical' one. It can serve no good purpose even to proclaim an insoluble antinomy here: such an antinomy St. Paul assuredly did not feel, as he urged the predestination of God not more as a ground of assurance of salvation than as the highest motive of moral effort; and it does not seem impossible for even us weaker thinkers to follow him some little way at least in looking upon those twin bases of religion and morality—the ineradicable feelings of dependence and responsibility—not as antagonistic sentiments of a hopelessly divided heart, but as fundamentally the same profound conviction operating in a double sphere. At all events, St. Paul's pure theistic view-point, which conceived God as in His providential *concursus* working all things according to the counsel of His will (Eph 1^{11}) in entire consistency with the action of second causes, necessary and free, the proximate producers of events, supplied him with a very real point of departure for his conception of the same God, in the operations of His grace, working the willing and the doing of Christian men, without the least infringement of the integrity of the free determination by which each grace is proximately attained. It does not belong to our present task to expound the nature of that Divine act by which St. Paul represents God as 'calling' sinners 'into communion with his Son,' itself the first step in the realization in their lives of that conformity to His image to which they are predestinated in the counsels of eternity, and of which the first manifestation is that faith in the Redeemer of God's elect out of which the whole Christian life unfolds. Let it only be observed in passing that he obviously conceives it as an act of God's almighty power, removing old inabilities and creating new abilities of living, loving action. It is enough for our present purpose to perceive that even in this act St. Paul did not conceive God as dehumanizing man, but rather as energizing man in a new direction of his powers; while in all his subsequent activities the analogy of the *concursus* of Providence is express. In his own view, his strenuous assertion of the predetermination in God's purpose of all the acts of saint and sinner alike in the matter of salvation, by which the discrimination of men into saved and lost is carried back to the free counsel of God's will, as little involves violence to the ethical spontaneity of their activities on the one side, as on the other it involves unrighteousness in God's dealings with His creatures. He does not speculatively discuss the methods of the Divine providence; but the fact of its universality—over all beings and actions alike—forms one of his most primary presuppositions; and naturally he finds no difficulty in postulating the inclusion in the prior intention of God of what is subsequently evolved in the course of His providential government.

v. The Bible Doctrine of Predestination.—A survey of the whole material thus cursorily brought before us exhibits the existence of a consistent Bible doctrine of predestination, which, because rooted in, and indeed only a logical outcome of, the fundamental Biblical theism, is taught in all its essential elements from the beginning of the Biblical revelation, and is only more fully unfolded in detail as the more developed religious consciousness and the course of the history of redemption required.

The *subject* of the Decree is uniformly conceived as God in the fulness of His moral personality. It is not to chance, nor to necessity, nor yet to an abstract or arbitrary will,—to God acting inadvertently, inconsiderately, or by any necessity of nature,—but specifically to the almighty, all-wise, all-holy, all-righteous, faithful, loving God, to the Father of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, that is ascribed the predetermination of the course of events. Naturally, the contemplation of the plan in accordance with which all events come to pass calls out primarily a sense of the unsearchable wisdom of Him who framed it, and of the illimitable power of Him who executes it; and these attributes are accordingly much dwelt upon when the Divine predestination is adverted to. But the moral attributes are no less emphasized, and the Biblical writers find their comfort continually in the assurance that it is the righteous, holy, faithful, loving God in whose hands rests the determination of the sequence of events and all their issues. Just because it is the determination of God, and represents Him in all His fulness, the decree is ever set forth further as in its *nature* eternal, absolute, and immutable. And it is only an explication of these qualities when it is further insisted upon, as it is throughout the Bible, that it is essentially one single composite purpose, into which are worked all the details included in it, each in its appropriate place; that it is the pure determination of the Divine will—that is, not to be confounded on the one hand with an act of the Divine intellect on which it rests, nor on the other with its execution by His power in the works of creation and providence; that it is free and unconditional—that is, not the product of compulsion from without nor of necessity of nature from within, nor based or conditioned on any occurrence outside itself, foreseen or unforeseen; and that it is certainly efficacious, or rather constitutes the unchanging norm according to which He who is the King over all administers His government over the universe. Nor is it to pass beyond the necessary implications of the fundamental idea when it is further taught, as it is always taught throughout the Scriptures, that the *object* of the decree is the whole universe of things and all their activities, so that nothing comes to pass, whether in the sphere of necessary or free causation, whether good or bad, save in accordance with the provisions of the primal plan, or more precisely save as the outworking in fact of what had lain in the Divine mind as purpose from all eternity, and is now only unfolded into actuality as the fulfilment of His all-determining will. Finally, it is equally unvaryingly represented that the *end* which the decreeing God had in view in framing His purpose is to be sought not without but within Himself, and may be shortly declared as His own praise, or, as we now commonly say, the glory of God. Since it antedates the existence of all things outside of God and provides for their coming into being, they all without exception must be ranked as means to its end, which

can be discovered only in the glory of the Divine purposer Himself. The whole Bible doctrine of the decree revolves, in a word, around the simple idea of purpose. Since God is a Person, the very mark of His being is purpose. Since He is an infinite Person, His purpose is eternal and independent, all-inclusive and effective. Since He is a moral Person, His purpose is the perfect exposition of all His infinite moral perfections. Since He is the personal creator of all that exists, His purpose can find its final cause only in Himself.

Against this general doctrine of the decree, the Bible doctrine of ELECTION is thrown out into special prominence, being, as it is, only a particular application of the general doctrine of the decree to the matter of the dealings of God with a sinful race. In its fundamental characteristics it therefore partakes of all the elements of the general doctrine of the decree. It, too, is necessarily an act of God in His completeness as an infinite moral Person, and is therefore eternal, absolute, immutable—the independent, free, unconditional, effective determination by the Divine will of the objects of His saving operations. In the development of the idea, however, there are certain elements which receive a special stress. There is nothing that is more constantly emphasized than the absolute *sovereignty* of the elective choice. The very essence of the doctrine is made, indeed, to consist in the fact that, in the whole administration of His grace, God is moved by no consideration derived from the special recipients of His saving mercy, but the entire account of its distribution is to be found hidden in the free counsels of His own will. That it is not of him that runs, nor of him that wills, but of God that shows mercy, that the sinner obtains salvation, is the steadfast witness of the whole body of Scripture, urged with such reiteration and in such varied connexions as to exclude the possibility that there may lurk behind the act of election considerations of foreseen characters or acts or circumstances—all of which appear rather as results of election as wrought out in fact by the *providentia specialissima* of the electing God. It is with no less constancy of emphasis that the roots of the Divine election are planted in His unsearchable love, by which it appears as *the supreme act of grace*. Contemplation of the general plan of God, including in its provisions every event which comes to pass in the whole universe of being during all the ages, must redound in the first instance to the praise of the infinite wisdom which has devised it all; or as our appreciation of its provisions is deepened, of the glorious righteousness by which it is informed. Contemplation of the particular element in His purpose which provides for the rescue of lost sinners from the destruction due to their guilt, and their restoration to right and to God, on the other hand draws our thoughts at once to His inconceivable love, and must redound, as the Scriptures delight to phrase it, to the praise of His glorious grace. It is ever, therefore, specifically to the love of God that the Scriptures ascribe His elective decree, and they are never weary of raising our eyes from the act itself to its source in the Divine compassion. A similar emphasis is also everywhere cast on the *particularity* of the Divine election. So little is it the designation of a mere class to be filled up by undetermined individuals in the exercise of their own determination; or of mere conditions, or characters, or qualities, to be fulfilled or attained by the undetermined activities of individuals, foreseen or unforeseen; that the Biblical writers take special pains to carry home to the heart of each individual believer the assurance that he himself has been from all eternity the particular object of the Divine choice, and that he owes it to this Divine choice alone that he is a member of the class of the chosen ones, that he is able to fulfil the conditions of salvation, that he can hope to attain the character on which alone God can look with complacency, that he can look forward to an eternity of bliss as his own possession. It is the very nerve of the Biblical doctrine that each individual of that enormous multitude that constitutes the great host of the people of God, and that is illustrating the character of Christ in the new life now lived in the strength of the Son of God, has from all eternity been the particular object of the Divine regard, and is only now fulfilling the high destiny designed for him from the foundation of the world.

The Biblical writers are as far as possible from obscuring the doctrine of election because of any seemingly unpleasant corollaries that flow from it. On the contrary, they expressly draw the corollaries which have often been so designated, and make them a part of their explicit teaching. Their doctrine of election, they are free to tell us, for example, does certainly involve a corresponding *doctrine of preterition*. The very term adopted in NT to express it—ἐκλέγομαι, which, as Meyer justly says (Eph 1^4), '*always* has, and must *of logical necessity* have, a reference to *others* to whom the chosen would, without the ἐκλογή, still belong'—embodies a declaration of the fact that in their election others are passed by and left without the gift of salvation; the whole presentation of the doctrine is such as either to imply or openly to assert, on its every emergence, the removal of the elect by the pure grace of God, not merely from a state of condemnation, but out of the company of the condemned—a company on whom the grace of God has no saving effect, and who are therefore left without hope in their sins; and the positive just reprobation of the impenitent for their sins is repeatedly explicitly taught in sharp contrast with the gratuitous salvation of the elect despite their sins. But, on the other hand, it is ever taught that, as the body out of which believers are chosen by God's unsearchable grace is the mass of justly condemned sinners, so the destruction to which those that are passed by are left is the righteous recompense of their guilt. Thus the discrimination between men in the matter of eternal destiny is distinctly set forth as taking place in the interests of mercy and for the sake of salvation: from the fate which justly hangs over all, God is represented as in His infinite compassion rescuing those chosen to this end in His inscrutable counsels of mercy to the praise of the glory of His grace; while those that are left in their sins perish most deservedly, as the justice of God demands. And as the broader lines of God's gracious dealings with the world lying in its iniquity are more and more fully drawn for us, we are enabled ultimately to perceive that the Father of spirits has not distributed His elective grace with niggard hand, but from the beginning has had in view the restoration to Himself of the whole world; and through whatever slow approaches (as men count slowness) He has made thereto—first in the segregation of the Jews for the keeping of the service of God alive in the midst of an evil world, and then in their rejection in order that the fulness of the Gentiles might be gathered in, and finally through them Israel in turn may all be saved—has ever been conducting the world in His loving wisdom and His wise love to its destined goal of salvation,—now and again, indeed, shutting up this or that element of it unto disobedience, but never merely in order that it might fall, but that in the end He might have mercy upon all. Thus the Biblical writers bid us raise our eyes, not only from the justly condemned

lost, that we may with deeper feeling contemplate the marvels of the Divine love in the saving of sinners no better than they and with no greater claims on the Divine mercy; but from the relatively insignificant body of the lost, as but the prunings gathered beneath the branches of the olive-tree planted by the Lord's own hand, to fix them on the thrifty stock itself and the crown of luxuriant leafage and ever more richly ripening fruit, as under the loving pruning and grafting of the great Husbandman it grows and flourishes and puts forth its boughs until it shall shade the whole earth. This, according to the Biblical writers, is the end of election; and this is nothing other than the salvation of the world. Though in the process of the ages the goal is not attained without prunings and fires of burning,—though all the wild-olive twigs are not throughout the centuries grafted in,—yet the goal of a saved world shall at the end be gloriously realized. Meanwhile, the hope of the world, the hope of the Church, and the hope of the individual alike, is cast solely on the mercy of a freely electing God, in whose hands are all things, and not least the care of the advance of His saving grace in the world. And it is undeniable that whenever, as the years have passed by, the currents of religious feeling have run deep, and the higher ascents of religious thinking have been scaled, it has ever been on the free might of Divine grace that Christians have been found to cast their hopes for the salvation alike of the world, the Church, and the individual; and whenever they have thus turned in trust to the pure grace of God, they have spontaneously given expression to their faith in terms of the Divine election.

See also ELECTION, REPROBATE, WILL.

LITERATURE.—The Biblical material can best be surveyed with the help of the Lexicons on the terms employed (esp. Cremer), the commentaries on the passages, and the sections in the several treatises on Biblical Theology dealing with this and cognate themes; among these last, the works of Dillmann on the OT, and Holtzmann on the NT, may be especially profitably consulted. The Pauline doctrine has, in particular, been made the subject of almost endless discussion, chiefly, it must be confessed, with the object of softening its outlines or of explaining it more or less away. Perhaps the following are the more important recent treatises:—Poelman, *de Jesu Apostolorumque, Pauli præsertim, doctrina de prædestinatione divina et morali hominis libertate*, Gron. 1851; Weiss, 'Predestinationslehre des Ap. Paul,' in *Jahrbb. f. D. Theol.* 1857, p. 54 f.; Lamping, *Pauli de prædestinatione decretorum enarratio*, Leov. 1858; Goens, *Le rôle de la liberté humaine dans la prédestination Paulinienne*, Lausanne, 1884; Ménégoz, *La prédestination dans la théologie Paulinienne*, Paris, 1885; Dalmer, 'Zur Paulinischen Erwählungslehre,' in *Greifswälder Studien*, Gütersloh, 1895. The publication of Karl Müller's valuable treatise on *Die Göttliche Zuvorersehung und Erwählung*, etc. (Halle, 1892), has called out a new literature on the section Ro 9–11, the most important items in which are probably the reprint of Beyschlag's *Die Paulinische Theodicee* (1896, first published in 1868), and Dalmer, *Die Erwählung Israels nach der Heilsverkündigung des Ap. Paul.* (Gütersloh, 1894), and Kuhl, 'Zur Paulinischen Theodicee,' in the *Theologische Studien*, presented to B. Weiss (Göttingen, 1897). But of these only Goens recognizes the double predestination; even Müller, whose treatise is otherwise of the first value, argues against it, and so does Dalmer in his very interesting discussions; the others are still less in accordance with their text (cf. the valuable critical note on the recent literature in Holtzmann's *NT Theologie*, ii. 171–174).

Discussions of the doctrine of post-Canonical Judaism may be found in Hamburger, *Real-Encyc.* ii. 102 f., art. 'Bestimmung'; Weber, *Jüd. Theol.* 148 ff., 205 ff.; Schürer, *HJP* II. ii. 14 f. (cf. p. 2 f., where the passages from Josephus are collected); Edersheim, *Life and Times of Jesus*, i. 316 ff., art. 'Philo' in Smith and Wace, 383a, and *Speak. Com.* on Ecclesiasticus, pp. 14, 16; Ryle and James, *Psalms of Solomon* on 9^7 and Introd.; Montet, *Origines des partis saducéen et pharisien*, 258 f.; Holtzmann, *NT Theologie*, i. 32, 55; P. J. Muller, *De Godsleer der middeleeuwsche Joden*, Groningen, 1898; further literature is given in Schürer.—For post-Canonical Christian discussion, see the literature at the end of art. ELECTION in the present work, vol. i. p. 681.

B. B. WARFIELD.

PREDICTION.—See PROPHECY, p. 120 f.

PRE-EXISTENCE OF SOULS.—The only hint in NT of a belief in the existence of human souls prior to birth is in Jn 9^2, where the disciples of Jesus put the question, 'Rabbi, who did sin, *this man*, or his parents, that he should be *born* blind?' The *primâ facie* interpretation of this passage certainly is that the disciples believed it possible that the soul of this man had sinned before the man was born. Many commentators, as, *e.g.*, Dr. David Brown, hold this to be untenable, because 'the Jews did not believe in the pre-existence of souls.' If by this is meant that this belief did not form part of the older Jewish religion, that would be correct, for the tenor of OT teaching is distinctly traducian. In Gn 2^7 we are taught that the soul of the first man was due to the Divine in-breathing; and Gn 5^3 tells that 'Adam begat a son, after his image.' But to affirm that Jews in Christ's time did not believe in pre-existence, is simply inaccurate. The disciples of Jesus had at all events *some* points of affinity with the Essenes; and Josephus expressly states that the Essenes believe that the souls of men are immortal, and dwell in the subtlest ether, but, being drawn down by physical passion, they are united with bodies, as it were in prisons (*BJ* II. viii. 11). In Wis 8^{11} the doctrine is clearly taught: 'A good soul fell to my lot: nay rather, being good I came into a body that was undefiled.' Philo also believed in a realm of incorporeal souls, which may be arranged in two ranks: some have descended into mortal bodies and been released after a time; others have maintained their purity, and kept aloft close to the ether itself (Drummond, *Philo Judæus*, i. 336). In the Talmud and Midrash, pre-existence is constantly taught. The abode of souls is called *Guph*, or the Treasury (אוֹצָר), where they have dwelt since they were created in the beginning. The angel Lilith receives instruction from God as to which soul shall inhabit each body. The soul is taken to heaven and then to hell, and afterwards enters the womb and vivifies the fœtus. (Weber, *Lehren des Talmud*, 204, 217 ff. [*Jüd. Theologie auf Grund des Talmud*^{2}, etc. 212, 225 ff.]).

Whence did Judaism derive a creed so much at variance with its earlier faith? Most probably from Plato. There are some scholars, however, who find support for the doctrine even in the OT: *e.g.* Job 1^{21} 'Naked came I from my mother's womb, and naked shall I return thither.' To find pre-existence here, one must suppose the mother's womb to be the abode of souls, and 'I' to be the naked soul. Sir 40^1 seems to be explaining the word 'thither' in Job 1^{21}, when it says, 'Great travail is created for every man, from the day they go forth from their mother's womb to the day of their return to the *mother of all living*.' Again, in Ps $139^{13\text{-}15}$ some scholars find an account of the origin, first, of the body, then of the soul: 'Thou hast woven me in the womb of my *mother*. My substance was not hid from thee, when I was formed in the secret place, when I was wrought in the deeps of the *earth*.' Since the doctrine of pre-existence is not in the line of Revelation, most divines are reluctant to admit that it is taught in these passages. Dr. Davidson on Job 1^{21} says, 'The words "my mother's womb" must be taken literally; and "return thither" somewhat inexactly, to describe a condition similar to that which preceded entrance upon life and light.' And as for Ps 139^{15}, Oehler, Dillmann, and Schultz prefer to interpret it of the formation of the *body* in a place as dark and mysterious as the depths of the earth. The passage in Jn 9^2 simply represents the earlier creed of the disciples. There is no evidence that it formed part of their mature Christian faith.

J. T. MARSHALL.

PREPARATION DAY (ἡ παρασκευή).—In the Gospels the day on which Christ died is called 'the

Preparation' (Mt 27[62], Mk 15[42], Jn 19[31]), 'the day of (the) Preparation' (Lk 23[54]), 'the Jews' Preparation (day)' (Jn 19[42]), 'the Preparation of the passover' (Jn 19[14]). In Mk and Lk it is further defined by the clauses, 'that is, the day before the Sabbath' (*προσάββατον*), and 'the Sabbath drew on.' 'The Preparation' therefore appears to have been the regular name for the sixth day of the week as 'Sabbath' was for the seventh. This is confirmed by Jos. (*Ant.* XVI. vi. 2), where it is said that Augustus relieved the Jews from certain legal duties on the Sabbath and on 'the Preparation which preceded it from the ninth hour.' In Jth 8[6] mention is made of *προσάββατα* as well as *σάββατα*, and also of *προνουμηνίαι* (day preceding the festival of new moon); cf. also the LXX in Ps 92 (93) title: *εἰς τὴν ἡμέραν τοῦ προσαββάτου*. In the Talm. also the sixth day is called עֲרוּבְתָּא (evening), and the same word is used in the Syriac Gospels (*'ărûbhtâ*); while, in ecclesiastical writers beginning with the *Teaching of the Apostles* (viii.), *παρασκευή* is the regular name for Friday, as it still is in modern Greek. The title naturally arose from the need of preparing food, etc., for the Sabbath (see SABBATH). It was apparently applied first to the afternoon of the sixth day and afterwards to the whole day.

The phraseology in Jn 19[14] ('it was the Preparation *of* the Passover') is, however, held by many expositors to indicate that by this term St. John meant the preparation *for* the paschal feast, *i.e.* Nisan 14. Some conclude that he used the term differently from the Synoptists, and as equivalent to the rabbinic עֶרֶב הַפֶּסַח (passover-eve); this being part of the alleged difference between him and them as to the date of Christ's death. Westcott (*Introd. to Gosp.* 1875, p. 339), on the other hand, argues that the Synoptists also meant 'preparation *for* the passover.' But the latter view forces their language, and St. John's phrase may properly mean 'the Preparation (day) of the paschal feast,' *i.e.* the Friday of passover-week. This is made the more probable by the Synoptists' use of it, and by its appearance, as the name for Friday, in so early a work as *The Teaching of the Apostles*. Its use in Jn 19[31, 42] also best accords with this interpretation.

G. T. PURVES.

PRESBYTER.—See BISHOP, CHURCH GOVERNMENT, and following article.

PRESBYTERY (*πρεσβυτέριον*).—The Gr. word is used in NT for the Jewish Sanhedrin (Lk 22[66], Ac 22[5]). See SANHEDRIN. It also occurs once where the connexion shows that it refers to the body of elders in a church, Timothy receiving a spiritual gift through the imposition of the hands of the presbytery (1 Ti 4[14]). This implies a certain corporate unity in the collective action of the elders. Wherever the eldership appears in NT there is a plurality of elders. We have no means of discovering how many there were in each presbytery. The only numerical reference to the subject in NT is descriptive of the heavenly presbytery (Rev 4[4] etc.), where the number 'twenty-four' is evidently mystical, referring perhaps to the double of the 'twelve,' which is drawn from the twelve tribes of Israel, or the twelve patriarchs together with the twelve apostles, or to the twenty-four courses of the priests (Simcox, *Rev.* p. 31). Probably the number would vary according to the size of the church, as the number of elders in a synagogue varied according to the population of Jews in its locality.

We have no evidence that in the earliest times there was a presbytery in every church. The references to discipline in Romans, Galatians, and esp. in 1 and 2 Corinthians, show that if presbyteries existed in the churches addressed they were not very prominent or powerful. The silence of St. Paul on the subject suggests the inference that at Corinth, at all events, and possibly also elsewhere, no presbytery had yet been formed. On the South-Galatian theory, however, Ac 14[23] would indicate that there must have been elders in the churches to which the Ep. to Gal. was sent. At first the presbytery was almost, if not entirely, confined to Jewish churches (Hatch in *Dict. Chr. Ant.* art. 'Priest,' p. 1699 f.). Still the title *πρεσβύτερος* and the organization of local government in Gr. cities, still more the use of this title in religious guilds, must have prepared for the acceptance of a presbytery in Gentile circles of Christians (Löning, *Die Gemeindeverfassung*, p. 9). Even among the Jews, however, it does not appear that there were elders in connexion with every synagogue (Schürer, *HJP* II. ii. 27). It is reasonable, therefore, to conclude that at first the organization of a presbytery proceeded more rapidly in some churches than in others.

In teaching, of course, the presbyters would have acted separately according to their individual gifts and opportunities. It would be in government and discipline that the corporate presbytery discharged its principal functions. These appear to have been the chief functions of the presbyters, as they are the most frequently referred to. It was not every elder who undertook the work of teaching (1 Ti 5[17]); but there is no indication that any of the elders were excepted from the duty of ruling. The function of exercising a general oversight of their church is implied in the use of the words *ἐπισκοπεῖν* (1 P 5[1ff.]) and *ἐπισκοπή* (Clem. Rom. 1st Ep. xliv. 1) for the duties of elders. At Jerusalem the presbytery served as a board of church finance, the contributions for the poor being delivered into the hands 'of the elders' (Ac 11[30]). These elders acted jointly at the 'Jerusalem council,' where they appear associated with the apostles—'the apostles *and* the elders, *with* the whole church' (Ac 15[22]). The reference to the ordination of Timothy shows that in performing that function the elders acted in concert (1 Ti 4[14]). The analogy of the synagogue would suggest that in the discharge of their administrative and judicial functions the presbyters were united into a council, corresponding to the local Jewish *συνέδριον*. We have no account of the way in which they came to a decision. The precedent of the Sanhedrin would suggest that they would discuss questions and decide by vote. There is no indication that there was ever a serious discord in a presbytery during NT times. The question of the presidentship in the primitive presbytery is most obscure. St. James is president of the church at Jerusalem; but his case is altogether exceptional. As the brother of Jesus, he seems to have had a personal pre-eminence given to him. It does not appear that he was a presbyter. No similar pre-eminence is seen in any other church. The apostles, when they visit a church, naturally take the lead. But that is only temporary. The emergence of one elder over the head of his brethren with the exclusive use of the name 'bishop,' which was previously given to a plurality, if not to the whole, of the elders, is not found in NT, nor does it appear before the 2nd cent. In the NT the presbytery seems to consist of a body of elders of equal rank. See BISHOP, CHURCH, CHURCH GOVERNMENT, ELDER.

W. F. ADENEY.

PRESENT.—See GIFT.

PRESENTLY in AV always means 'at once' instead of, as now, 'soon, but *not* at once.' It occurs in 1 S 2[16] (בַּיּוֹם, AVm 'as on the day,' RVm 'first'); Pr 12[16] (בַּיּוֹם, AVm 'in that day,' RVm 'openly'); Sir 9[13] (no Greek, RV omits); Mt 21[19]

(παραχρῆμα, RV 'immediately'); 26[53] (παραστήσει μοι, AV 'will presently give me,' RV 'will even now send me'); Ph 2[23] (ἐξαυτῆς, RV 'forthwith'). In the same sense it is used also in the Preface to AV, as 'Neither were we barred or hindered from going over it again, having once done it, like Saint Hierome, if that be true which himself reporteth, that he could no sooner write anything, but presently it was caught from him and published, and he could not have leave to mend it.' Cf. Fuller, *Holy Warre*, 178, 'The Dominicanes and Franciscanes . . . were no sooner hatched in the world, but presently chirped in the pulpits'; and *Holy State*, 14, 'Base is their nature who . . . will let go none of their goods, as if it presaged their speedy death; whereas it doth not follow that he that puts off his cloke must presently go to bed.'

J. HASTINGS.

PRESIDENT occurs in EV only in Dn 6[2. 3. 4. 6. 7], as tr[n] of סָרַךְ (only in plur. סָרְכִין, emphat. סָרְכַיָּא), which is probably a loanword from some Persian derivative of *sar* 'head,' and thus='chief' (Prince, *Dan.* p. 234). Daniel is said to have been one of the three 'presidents' who were set by Darius over the 120 satraps of his empire. Theod. renders in the above passage by τακτικοί except in v.[7], where he has στρατηγοί; LXX by ἡγούμενοι in v.[2], where alone the term is directly translated.

PRESS (ὄχλος) is used for a crowd in Mk 2[4] 5[27. 30], Lk 8[19] 19[3]; RV always 'crowd.' Cf. Jn 5[13], Tind., 'Iesus had gotten him selfe awaye, because that ther was preace of people in the place'; Elyot, *Governour*, ii. 292, 'Such noble courage was in great kynge Alexander, that in hys warres agayne Darius, he was sene of all hys people fightynge in the prease of his enemyes bare heded'; and Spenser, *FQ* I. iii. 3—

> 'Yet she most faithfull ladie all this while
> Forsaken, wofull, solitarie mayd,
> Far from all peoples preace, as in exile,
> In wildernesse and wastfull deserts strayd,
> To seeke her knight.'

The verb to press is used in the same sense: Gn 19[9] 'They pressed sore upon the man, even Lot, and came near to break the door' (יִפְצְרוּ בָאִישׁ; but in v.[3] AV 'press upon,' RV 'urge,' and in 33[11] AV and RV 'urge,' the same word is used figuratively); 2 Mac 14[9] 'Be careful for . . . our nation which is pressed on every side' (τοῦ περιῳσταμένου γένους ἡμῶν, RV 'our race, which is surrounded by foes,' RVm 'is hardly bestead'); Mk 3[10] 'Insomuch that they pressed upon him for to touch him' (ὥστε ἐπιπίπτειν αὐτῷ, AVm 'rushed upon him,' RVm 'fell upon him'); Lk 5[1] 'As the people pressed upon him to hear the word of God' (ἐν τῷ τὸν ὄχλον ἐπικεῖσθαι αὐτῷ); 8[45] 'The multitude throng thee and press thee' (οἱ ὄχλοι συνέχουσί σε καὶ ἀποθλίβουσι, RV 'the multitudes press thee and crush thee'). From this it is easy to pass to the sense of urgent endeavour, as Lk 16[16] 'Since that time the kingdom of God is preached, and every man presseth into it' (πᾶς εἰς αὐτὴν βιάζεται, RV 'every man entereth violently into it'); and Ph 3[14] 'I press toward the mark' (κατὰ σκοπὸν διώκω, RV 'I press on toward the goal'). In Ac 18[5] we have an application of the same meaning, but more figurative: 'Paul was pressed in the spirit and testified' (συνείχετο τῷ πνεύματι, edd. τῷ λόγῳ, RV 'was constrained by the word'). Cf. Lv 21[17] Tind. 'No man of thi seed in their generacions that hath any deformyte apon him, shall prese for to offer the bred of his God'; Lk 14[7] Tind. 'He put forthe a similitude to the gestes, when he marked how they preased to the hyest roumes'; Holland, *Marcellinus*, p. 70 (ed. 1609), 'Whiles the barbarous enemies preassed on all in plumpes and heapes.'

J. HASTINGS.

PRESS, PRESSFAT.—See FAT and WINE.

PREVENT.—This word is more frequently used in AV than in any previous version. It does not occur in Wyclif, and in Tindale but rarely. The AV was translated at the time of its greatest popularity. Its meaning is, after the Lat. *prævenire* and the Fr. *prévenir*, 'to be before,' 'to anticipate.' Very often the word has practically the opposite of its modern meaning. In a note to Jn 3[18] the Rhemish translators say, 'The obstinate Heretike is condemned by his owne judgement, preventing in him self, of his owne free wil, the sentence both of Christ and of the Church.' The Heb. verb so translated in AV is always [קדם], chiefly in the Piel, twice (Job 41[11], Am 9[10]) in the Hiphil. The Greek verbs are φθάνω (Wis 4[7] 6[13] 16[28], 1 Th 4[15]), or προφθάνω (1 Mac 10[23], Mt 17[25]), and once προκαταλαμβάνω (1 Mac 6[27]).

1. *To be before, anticipate:* Ps 88[13] 'In the morning shall my prayer prevent thee' (LXX προφθάσει σε, Vulg. *præveniet te*, Cov. 'cometh my prayer before thee,' Perowne 'cometh to meet thee,' RV as Cov. 'shall come before thee'); 119[147. 148] 'I prevented the dawning of the morning and cried' . . . 'mine eyes prevent the night watches' (LXX προέφθασάν με . . . προέφθασαν οἱ ὀφθαλμοί μου, Vulg. *præveni in maturitate . . . prævenerunt oculi mei*, Purvey 'I befor cam in ripenesse . . . myn eyen befor camen to thee ful eerli,' Cov. 'Early in the mornynge do I crie unto the . . . myne eyes prevente the night watches,' Cheyne 'I forestalled the daylight and cried for help . . . mine eyes outgo the night watches,' de Witt 'I am up before dawn . . . mine eyes forestall every watch in the night'); Wis 4[7] 'Though the righteous be prevented with death, yet shall he be in rest' (ἐὰν φθάσῃ τελευτῆσαι, Vulg. *si morte præoccupatus fuerit*, Cov. 'be overtaken with death,' Gen. 'be prevented with death,' RV 'though he die before his time'); 6[13] 'She [Wisdom] preventeth them that desire her, in making herself first known unto them' (φθάνει τοὺς ἐπιθυμοῦντας προγνωσθῆναι, Vulg. *Præoccupat qui se concupiscunt, ut illis se prior ostendat*, Cov. 'She preventeth them that desyre her,' RV 'She forestalleth them that desire to know her'); 16[28] 'We must prevent the sun to give thee thanks' (δεῖ φθάνειν τὸν ἥλιον, Vulg. *oportet prævenire solem*, Gen. 'We ought to prevente the sunne rising to give thankes. unto thee,' RV 'We must rise before the sun to give thee thanks'); Mt 17[25] 'When he was come into the house, Jesus prevented him, saying, What thinkest thou, Simon?' (προέφθασεν αὐτὸν ὁ Ἰησοῦς, Vulg. *prævenit eum Iesus*, Wyc. 'Jhesus came bifore hym,' Tind. 'Iesus spake fyrst to him,' Cov. 'Iesus prevented him,' RV as Tind. 'Jesus spake first to him'); 1 Th 4[15] 'We which are alive and remain unto the coming of the Lord shall not prevent them which are asleep' (ὅτι . . . οὐ μὴ φθάσωμεν τοὺς κοιμηθέντας, Vulg. *non præveniemus eos qui dormierunt*, Wyc. 'schulen not come bifore hem that slepten,' Tind. 'shall not come yerre they which slepe,' Gen. 'shal not prevent them which slepe'; RV 'shall in no wise precede them that are fallen asleep').

The following quotations illustrate this first meaning:—
Udall, *Erasmus' Paraphrase*, fol. vii., 'the Gentyles that wer far of do prevente the Jewes which wer thought to be next unto God'; Hall, *Contemplations*, ii. 122, 'When he was upon the sea of Tiberius . . . they followed him so fast on foot that they prevented his landing'; North's *Plutarch*, 879, 'The conspirators, having prevented this danger, saved themselves'; Mk 14[8] Rhem. 'She hath prevented to anoint my body to the burial'; Milton, *Hymn on the Nativity*—

> 'See how from far upon the eastern rode
> The star-led Wizards haste with Odours sweet;
> O run, prevent them with thy humble ode,
> And lay it lowly at his blessed feet;
> Have thou the honour first thy Lord to greet.'

2. *To anticipate for one's good:* Job 41[11] 'Who hath prevented me that I should repay him?' (מִי הִקְדִּימַנִי וַאֲשַׁלֵּם,* Vulg. *Quis ante dedit mihi ut reddam ei?*, Cov. 'Who hath geven me eny thynge afore hande, that I am bounde to rewarde him agayne?' RV 'Who hath first given unto me, that I should repay him?'); Ps 21[3] 'Thou preventest him with the blessings of goodness' (LXX *προέφθασας αὐτὸν ἐν εὐλογίαις χρηστότητος*, Vulg. *prævenisti eum in benedictionibus dulcedinis*; Wyc. 'thou wentist beforn him in blessingus of sweetnesse,' Cov. 'thou hast prevented him with liberall blessinges'); 59[10] 'The God of my mercy shall prevent me' (LXX *ὁ θεός μου, τὸ ἔλεος αὐτοῦ προφθάσει με*, Vulg. *Deus meus, misericordia ejus præveniet me*, Gen. 'My merciful God will prevent me'; Perowne, 'My God with his loving kindness shall come to meet me'); 79[8] 'Let thy tender mercies speedily prevent us' (LXX *ταχὺ προκαταλαβέτωσαν ἡμᾶς οἱ οἰκτιρμοί σου*, Vulg. *cito anticipient nos misericordiæ suæ*, Gen. 'Make haste and let thy tender mercies prevent us,' de Witt 'Let thy mercies with speed come to meet us'); Is 21[14] 'They prevented with their bread him that fled' (LXX *ἄρτοις συναντᾶτε τοῖς φεύγουσιν*, Vulg. *cum panibus occurrite fugienti*, Wyc. 'With loeves agencometh to the fleende,' Purvey 'Renne ye with looves to hym that fleeth'; Cov. 'Meet those with bread that are fled,' Gen. 'Prevent him that fleeth with his bread,' Cheyne 'With his bread meet the fugitive,' Skinner 'Meet the fugitive with bread [suitable] for him'; RV 'The inhabitants of Tema did meet the fugitives with their bread' [so Dt 23[4] AV itself for same Heb.]).

Illustrations of this meaning are:
Pr. Bk. (1549) *End of Communion*, 'Prevent us, O Lord, in all our doings with thy most gracious favour'; *Art. X*, 'We have no power to do good workes pleasaunt and acceptable to God, without the grace of God by Christe preventyng us'; Archbishop Hamilton's *Catechism*, fol. xvii, 'We prevenit nocht God with our lufe, luffand him first, bot he prevenit us first with his lufe'; Udall, *Erasmus' Paraphrase*, fol. xcvii, 'Whereas the gospell of my death shall bee preached throughout all the worlde, this woman also shall be mencioned, whiche, with a godly and an holy duety hath prevented my sepulture and buriall'; Hall, *Works*, 466, 'He whose goodnesse is wont to prevent our desires will not give denialls to our importunities'; Ro 12[10] Rhem. 'With honour preventing one another.'

3. *To get before or forestall so as to hinder:* 2 S 22[6] || Ps 18[5] 'The snares of death prevented me' (LXX *προέφθασάν με σκληρότητες* [Ps 18[5] *παγίδες*] *θανάτου*, Vulg. *prævenerunt* [Ps 18[5] *præoccupaverunt*] *me laquei mortis*, Wyc. 'There wenten before me the gnaris of deth,' Dou. 'The snares of death have prevented me,' RV 'The snares of death came upon me'); 22[19] || Ps 18[18] 'They prevented me in the day of my calamity' (LXX *προέφθασάν με ἡμέραι θλίψεώς μου* [Ps 18[18] *ἐν ἡμέρᾳ κακώσεώς μου*], Vulg. *Prævenit* [Ps 18[18] *prævenerunt*] *me in die afflictionis meæ*, Cov. in Ps 18[18] 'They prevented me in the tyme of my trouble,' Cheyne ['Parchment' ed.] 'They surprised me in the day of my calamity,' RV 'They came upon me in the day of my calamity'); Job 3[12] 'Why did the knees prevent me?' (LXX *ἵνα τί δὲ συνήντησάν μοι τὰ γόνατα*; Vulg. *Quare exceptus genibus?* Gen. 'Why did the knees prevent me?' RV 'Why did the knees receive me?'); 30[27] 'The days of affliction prevented me' (LXX *προέφθασάν με ἡμέραι πτωχίας*, Vulg. *prævenerunt me dies afflictionis*, Cov. 'The dayes of my trouble are come upon me,' Dou. 'The dayes of affliction have prevented me,' RV 'Days of affliction are come upon me'); Am 9[10] 'The evil shall not overtake nor prevent us' (LXX *οὐ μὴ ἐγγίσῃ οὐδὲ μὴ γένηται ἐφ' ἡμᾶς τὰ κακά*, Vulg. *non veniet super nos malum*, Driver 'come in front about us'); 1 Mac 6[27] 'If thou dost not prevent them quickly, they will do greater things than these' (*ἐὰν μὴ προκαταλάβῃ αὐτούς*, Vulg. *Nisi præveneris eos*, Cov. 'If thou dost not prevent them,' RV 'If ye are not beforehand with them'); 10[23] 'What have we done that Alexander hath prevented us in making amity with the Jews to strengthen himself?' (*προέφθακεν ἡμᾶς*, Vulg. *præoccupavit nos*, Cov. 'hath prevented us,' RV 'hath been beforehand with us'); 2 Mac 14[31] 'Knowing that he was notably prevented by Judas' policy' (*ὅτι γενναίως ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐστρατήγηται*, Vulg. *fortiter se a viro præventum*, Cov. 'When he knewe that Machabeus had manfully prevented him,' RV 'When he became aware that he had been bravely defeated by the stratagem of Judas').

Take the following as illustrations:
Fuller, *Holy Warre*, 214, 'Was he old? let him make the more speed, lest envious death should prevent him of this occasion of honour'; *Holy State*, 154, 'Expect not, but prevent their craving of thee'; Adams, *Exposition upon 2nd Peter*, 55, 'Satan's employment is prevented, when he finds thee well employed before he comes'; Knox, *Works*, iii. 319, 'Peter was synckinge downe, and loked for no other thyng but present death, and yet the hande of Christe prevented hym'; Milton, *Sonnets*—

> 'Doth God exact day-labour, light denied?
> I fondly ask. But Patience, to prevent
> That murmur, soon replies, God doth not need
> Either man's work or his own gifts.'

J. HASTINGS.

PREY.—Prey, from Lat. *præda*, booty (perhaps from *præ-hendo*, to seize beforehand), through Old Fr. *praie, preie*, is now narrower in meaning than formerly. In AV it includes *booty* or *spoil*. Heb. words properly denoting a wild beast's prey are (1) טֶרֶף *ṭereph*, from טָרַף to tear, to rend (the verb itself is tr. 'prey' in Ps 17[12] 'Like as a lion that is greedy of his prey,' כְּאַרְיֵה יִכְסֹף לִטְרֹף, AVm 'that desireth to ravin,' Cheyne 'longing to tear in pieces'). *Tereph* is tr. 'prey' in Gn 49[9], Nu 23[24], Job 4[11] 24[5] (RV 'meat'), Ps 76[4] 104[21] 124[6], Is 5[29] 31[4], Ezk 19[3. 6] 22[25-27], Am 3[4], Nah 2[12. 13] 3[1]. This is also the proper meaning of (2) חֶתֶף *hetheph* (from [חָתַף] to seize), and it is so tr. in its only occurrence, Pr 23[28] 'She also lieth in wait as for a prey,' AVm 'as a robber,' which is the RV text, RVm 'as for a prey.' Also (3) עַד *'ad* (from עָדָה to attack?), means 'prey,' and is so tr. in Gn 49[27], Is 33[23], Zeph 3[8], its only occurrences (against the view of Hitzig and others that it is עַד in this sense that appears in אַבִּיעַד of Is 9[5 (6)], see Dillmann, *ad loc.*). And (4) אֹכֶל *'ōkhel*, which means 'food,' is legitimately tr. 'prey' in Job 9[26] 39[29]. But all the remaining words mean *booty* or *spoil* taken in war or snatched as one's share. The chief word is בַּז *baz* (from בָּזַז to plunder, take as spoil; the verb itself is rendered 'take for a prey' in Dt 2[35] 3[7], Jos 8[2. 27] 11[14], Est 3[13] 8[11]; 'make a prey' in Ezk 26[12]; and 'prey upon' in Jer 30[16]). A late form of *baz*, בִּזָּה, is tr. 'prey' in Neh 4[4] ('give them for a prey,' RV 'give them up to spoiling,' Amer. RV 'for a spoil'), Est 9[15. 16] (RV 'spoil'), Dn 11[24] (so RV). The common word שָׁלָל *shālāl* (from שָׁלַל to plunder, the Hithpolel is tr[d] 'make oneself a prey' in Is 59[15]), which over sixty times is rendered 'spoil,' is tr[d] 'prey' in Jg 5[30 *ter*] 8[24. 25] (RV 'spoil'), Is 10[2] (RV 'spoil'), Jer 21[9] 38[2] 39[18] 45[5] (so RV). The only remaining word is מַלְקוֹחַ *malḳôaḥ*, which simply means something captured (from לָקַח to take), which is given as 'prey' in AV and RV in Nu 31[11. 12. 26. 27], Is 49[24. 25]: in Nu 31[32] AV gives 'booty,' RV 'prey.'

For prey meaning booty cf. Merlin (in Early Eng. Text. Soc.), ii. 152, 'So thei entred in to the londe, and toke many prayes, and brent townes and vilages, and distroyed all the contrees'; Chapman, *Iliads*, ii. 205—

> 'Come, fly
> Home with our ships; leave this man here to perish
> with his preys';

* The LXX is different, *τίς ἀντιστήσεταί μοι καὶ ὑπομενεῖ*; St. Paul therefore is nearer to the Heb. than to the LXX in Ro 11[35] *τίς προέδωκεν αὐτῷ, καὶ ἀνταποδοθήσεται αὐτῷ*;

and Shaks. *II Henry VI.* IV. iv. 51—

'The rascal people, thirsting after prey,
Join with the traitor, and they jointly swear
To spoil the city and your royal court.'

J. HASTINGS.

PRICE (from Lat. *pretium*, worth, value, through Old Fr. *pris*, *preis*) means in AV the worth of a person or thing in the widest sense, and not in money only. See especially Mt 13[46] 'When he had found one pearl of great price' (ἕνα πολύτιμον μαργαρίτην), and 1 P 3[4] 'the ornament of a meek and quiet spirit, which is in the sight of God of great price' (πολυτελές). Cf. Chaucer, *Sir Thopas*, 185, 'Men speke of romances of prys'; He 13[4] Tind. 'Let wedlocke be had in pryce in all poyntes.'

The verb to price (spelt 'prise') occurs in Zec 11[13] 'A goodly price that I was prised at of them.' Cf. Mt 27[9] Rhem. 'They tooke the thirtie pieces of silver, the price of the priced, whom they did price of the children of Israel.' J. HASTINGS.

PRICK.—See GOAD in vol. ii. 194[b].

PRIESTS AND LEVITES.—

1. The names *kōhēn* and *lēwî*.
2. The priesthood in the earliest times.
3. The priesthood from David to Josiah.
4. The priesthood according to Deuteronomy.
5. The priesthood from Josiah's reform to the Exile.
6. The priesthood in Ezekiel's State of the future.
7. The priesthood from Ezekiel to Ezra.
8. The priesthood according to the law contained in the 'Priestly Writing.'
   a. The priests in the Law of Holiness and in particular *tôrôth*.
   b. The Aaronite priests.
   c. The high priest.
   d. The Levites.
   e. The serving women.
   f. The revenues of the priests and Levites.
   g. The date of the priestly system in the 'Priestly Writing.'
9. The priesthood from Ezra to the Chronicler.
10. The priesthood after OT times.
    a. Priests and Levites.
    b. The revenues of the priests and Levites.
    c. The duties and offices of the priests.
    Literature.

[Throughout this article the abbreviation *Gesch.*, when not preceded by an author's name, stands for Baudissin's *Geschichte des alttest. Priesterthums*, Leipzig, 1889. Whenever a citation consists simply of an author's name and the number of a page, the reference is to that work of his whose title will be found in the Literature at the end of the article.]

1. THE NAMES *KŌHĒN* AND *LĒWÎ*.—The name for 'priest' in the OT is *kōhēn* (כֹּהֵן). The same word (כהן) is met with in Phœnician inscriptions as the official name of the priest, as well as the feminine form כהנת. The corresponding word in Arabic, *kâhin*, is employed to designate the soothsayer. It is *per se* quite conceivable that the priests of the Hebrews were originally soothsayers (Stade, *GVI*, Bd. i., Berlin, 1887, p. 471; cf. Kuenen, *De Godsdienst van Israël*, Bd. i., Haarlem, 1869, p. 101). There are, certainly, no traces in the OT of ecstatic conditions on the part of the priests, but one of their most important functions in the earlier history of Israel was the giving of oracles by means of the lot. A reference to this is to be discovered in the Urim and Thummim which are described as still present in the dress of the high priest. But the Arabic usage is not decisive for the original meaning of the word *kōhēn*; the sense borne by *kâhin* may be secondary, for the Arabs borrowed largely, in matters connected with the cultus, from the Israelites (so also Van Hoonacker, *Sacerdoce*, etc. p. 235 f.). The ecstatic form of prophecy appears in the OT coupled with priestly functions only in the story of the youth of Samuel, to whom God speaks in a revelation, while he is officiating as priest at the sanctuary (1 S 3[4ff.]). This unusual coupling of the priestly and the prophetic office may be due in this instance to the combination of two conceptions of the person of Samuel: one of which thought of him, as is the case for the most part in the story of his youth, as priest; whereas the other, which alone has survived in the narratives relating to his later activity, thought of him as prophet.

The root meaning of the word *kōhēn* does not appear to speak in favour of its being a designation of the 'seer.' Derived from a verb *kâhan*, probably equivalent in meaning to *kûn* 'stand,' *kōhēn* will be explained most simply as 'he that stands.' In other instances, too, the expression 'stand (עמד) before Jahweh' is used of the priestly office, especially of the service at the altar which the priest performs standing. This last, then, is perhaps what is referred to also in the name *kōhēn*, which will then designate the priest as offerer, or, since 'stand before one' is said of service in general, as servant of the deity. This general conception deserves the preference, because in ancient times it is not the offering of sacrifice but other functions that appear as the special duty of the priests. The sense of 'servant' is obtained for *kōhēn* also by Hitzig (on Is 61[10]), who connects the word with the Pi'el *kihēn* (Is 61[10] = הֵכִין 'make ready'; elsewhere, indeed, *kihēn* is a derivative from *kōhēn* [see Ewald, *Heb. Sprache*, § 120*e*]), to which he assigns the sense '*parare*, *aptare*, and then *ministrare*.'

The word *kĕmārîm* (כְּמָרִים) is used in the OT only of heathen priests. It answers to the word כמר found in Aramaic inscriptions, Syr. *kûmrâ* 'priest,' and hence in the OT is manifestly a word borrowed along with their idolatry from the Aramæans.

In Deuteronomy the priests are called 'Levite priests' (הַכֹּהֲנִים הַלְוִיִּם), and already in a very ancient narrative in the Bk. of Judges (chs. 17 f.) we find a 'Levite' (לֵוִי) regarded as having a special call to priestly functions. In like manner the Jehovistic book of the Pentateuch (JE) contains a tradition, according to which Moses assigned priestly rights to the 'sons of Levi' (Ex 32[26ff.] [whether 32[25ff.] belonged to the original Jehovistic book has, indeed, been doubted by Kuenen, *De boeken des ouden verbonds*[2], Leiden, 1887 ff., § 13, note 21]; cf. Jos 13[14. 33] 18[7], see *Gesch.* p. 100 f.). In the prophetical writings the name 'Levites' occurs for the first time in the Bk. of Jeremiah (33[17ff.] 'Levite priests' הַכֹּהֲנִים הַלְוִיִּם), in a section which is wanting in the LXX, and is pretty certainly not the work of Jeremiah, but, judging from v.[24], was probably composed by an exile in Babylon. During the Exile the term 'Levites' is witnessed to by Ezekiel. But, in view of Jg 17 f., there can be no doubt of the higher antiquity of the term, even apart from the passages cited above, regarding which doubts have been expressed whether they belong to the pre-Deuteronomic elements of the Jehovistic book. The Bk. of Dt presupposes the name as generally current, and Dt 33, in which (vv.[8-11]) Levi is represented as holder of the priesthood, dates to all appearance from a period prior to the Fall of Samaria.

The view of the author of the Deuteronomic law (18[1]), as well as that expressed in the Blessing of Moses (Dt 33[8-11]), and in the tradition embodied in the 'Priestly Writing' of the Pentateuch (also in Jos 13[14. 33] [JE?]), is that the term 'Levites' indicates that the priests belong to a tribe of Levi. The origin of this priestly designation and this tribal name is obscure. The Blessing of Jacob, which as a whole is not earlier than the monarchical period, presupposes a tribe of Levi without any allusion to its call to priestly functions (Gn 49[5-7]). On the other hand, the OT contains certain indications which appear to presuppose that the

word *lēwî* was once regarded as the official name of the priest. In the Jehovistic book Aaron as distinguished from Moses is called 'the Levite' (Ex 4^{14}), although the two are conceived of as brothers. In this passage there is certainly no reason to pronounce (with Nowack, p. 99) the designation an interpolation introduced under the influence of the Priests' Code, for such an influence would have led to Aaron's being called, not 'the Levite,' but 'the priest.' The Levite who figures in Jg 17 f. is of the tribe of Judah, and hence, apparently, does not belong to a special tribe of Levi, unless perhaps he belonged to Judah merely as a settler, as appears to be the interpretation adopted in what should probably be pronounced a gloss, namely, 17^{7} (cf., however, *Gesch.* p. 184 f.). In any case, it is conceivable that the word *lēwî* was originally an official name, and only came afterwards to be treated as the patronymic for the particular family or guild which was considered to have been called to priestly service. At all events the coincidence of a tribal name with the priestly designation cannot be accidental, and accordingly one may not assume on the ground of Gn $49^{5ff.}$ that there was a tribe of Levi which afterwards disappeared, and that the Levitical priests have no connexion with it.

If the word *lēwî* was once an official name, then it might be possible that a reminiscence of this original sense has survived in an explanation of the word found in the Priests' Code (Nu $18^{2.\ 4}$), although in itself this explanation is nothing more than a word-play. According to this passage, those who belong to the tribe of Levi are to attach themselves (*yillāwû, nilwû*) to Aaron, for the service of the tabernacle. The word *lēwî* is, as a matter of fact, probably to be derived from *lāwāh*, 'to twine, to attach oneself,' and might perhaps be used to designate an escort 'attaching itself,' such as the troop that escorted the wandering sanctuary of the nomad period of Israel's history (so *Gesch.* p. 73 f., following others, especially de Lagarde). The word would thus be not strictly a designation of the priest, but of a body from which by preference the priests were chosen. Since a special body with a genealogical connexion had presumably to be conceived of as set apart for the above-named duty of escorting the ark, it might happen in the end that *lēwî* was taken as the tribal name of this body.

This explanation of the word *lēwî* as an official name, finds, however, no certain support in the history that has come down to us, and it must always remain a difficulty to conceive of an alleged tribal name having originated from an official name, especially as in Gn 49 we have a view of the tribe of Levi presented in which there is no allusion to its being a priestly tribe. For this reason also it is not likely that *lēwî* is the name for foreigners, say Egyptians, who had 'attached' themselves to the Hebrews (so, following others, Renan, *Hist. du peuple d'Israël*, vol. i., Paris, 1887, p. 149 f., who makes Levi= *inquilinus*; see, further, on this point, *Gesch.* p. 70 f.). Besides, the view that the Levites were originally non-Israelites is extremely improbable, for the reason that Moses, the deliverer of Israel, who is reckoned to the tribe of Levi, was certainly a Hebrew. Moreover, Levi, the father of the tribe, is represented as son of one of those two wives of Jacob whose birth was equal to his own, and who were his relations. Levi's descent then was regarded as a pure Hebrew one. Hence, taking everything into account, the more probable conclusion is that *lēwî* was at first actually a tribal name, and only afterwards in a secondary way came to be treated as the official name of the priests because these were chosen from this tribe. It is not impossible that the tribal name *Levi* is connected with the name *Leah* (לאה) which is given as that of the mother of Levi (Wellhausen, *Geschichte Israels* [*Prolegomena*[1]], 1878, p. 149; Stade, *ZATW*, 1881, p. 115 f.), in which case it may remain an open question whether in *Leah* we are to find, with Stade (*l.c.*, following Wetzstein), an animal name, 'wild cow.' The difficulty involved in the circumstance that Gn $49^{5ff.}$ is acquainted with a tribe of Levi but does not represent it as a priestly one, is not to be obviated by the assumption that this passage relates to pre-Mosaic conditions (so Van Hoonacker, *Sacerdoce*, etc. pp. 309, 311); for all the other sayings in the so-called Blessing of Jacob have to do with the time when Israel was settled in Canaan, and even the scattering of Levi among Israel, spoken of in Gn 49^{7}, presupposes the settlement. There remains hardly any resource but to suppose that to the author of Gn $49^{5ff.}$ the want of a Levitical tribal territory presented itself so strongly as a punishment occasioned by the conduct of the father of the tribe, that he did not look beyond this penal condition of things to the honourable priestly vocation of the members of this tribe. What the conduct of the tribe had really been which occasioned the unfavourable judgment passed upon it, is a question we cannot answer. It is held by H. Guthe (*Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, Freiburg i. B., 1899, p. 169 f.) that certain descendants of a non-priestly dowerless tribe of Levi had procured maintenance for themselves by undertaking priestly functions, and that in this way *Levi* became a priestly appellation. But this view, which might otherwise be a possible one, can hardly be regarded with favour, because such a condition of things would not account for the relatively ancient tradition as to the relations of the tribe of Levi to the person of Moses (see below, § 2).

The above is the result of a consideration of the OT data. But if it should be established that in the Minæan inscriptions the word *lawi'u* is a term for 'priest,' and that this is connected with the OT *lēwî* (Fr. Hommel, *AHT*, London, 1897, p. 278 f.), it will be necessary after all to think of the latter as an official name, and that an ancient Semitic one (otherwise Van Hoonacker, *Sacerdoce*, etc. p. 312 ff.).

On *bĕnê ha-lēwî* and *bĕnê ha-lĕwiyyîm* (rare and late for the usual *bĕnê lēwî*), forms in which *lēwî* is treated as a gentilic name, see Ed. König, 'Syntaktische Excurse zum AT,' in *SK*, 1898, p. 537 ff.

2. The Priesthood in the earliest Times.—As everywhere in the history of religion, there may be recognized also in the beginning of Hebrew history a period when no special priestly class existed. Of course it is upon an artificially constructed basis that the view presented in the 'Priestly Writing' (P) of the Pentateuch rests, according to which neither sanctuary nor sacrificial acts nor a priestly class had any existence before the Divine revelation given through Moses. Even in the narratives of the Jehovistic book, relating to the pre-Mosaic period, there are scarcely to be discovered any reminiscences of the then condition of the cultus; but these narratives will hardly be wrong in representing relations which still persisted at a later period, as the only ones present in the patriarchal period, as when they describe the head of the family in the patriarchal house as exercising the priestly function of offering sacrifice. Besides this, we have in the Jehovistic book a single mention, during the patriarchal period, of inquiring at an oracle (Gn 25^{22}), and also one reference to the giving of tithes (Gn 28^{22}). Both these allusions imply the existence of a sanctuary with a priest in charge of it. Here the narrators

have momentarily forgotten the ancient situation which is assumed elsewhere, yet without expressly naming the priest on either occasion. The author of the prologue of the Bk. of Job, again, introduces his hero, whom he conceives of as a shepherd-prince living in remote antiquity in the land of Uz, as offering sacrifices for his family (Job 1^5; cf. $42^{8f.}$, and contrast 12^{19} *kōhănîm*). The story of Gn 14^{18-20}, where Abraham is represented as giving tithes to Melchizedek the priest-king of Salem, is, in its present form, a glorification of the later priesthood of Salem, *i.e.* Jerusalem.

According to a narrative contained in the Jehovistic book, Moses instituted a special priestly body when he set apart the 'sons of Levi' for this purpose (Ex $32^{26ff.}$). In the first instance, Moses himself, according to this book, performs the sacrificial act (Ex 24^6). In that descriptive narrative, which makes him receive the Divine revelations in the holy tent outside the camp to which the people went 'to seek Jahweh' (Ex $33^{7ff.}$), the function of communicating oracles appears as a distinction conferred only upon Moses personally. But in this way he is clearly thought of as the presiding authority over the holy tent—in other words, as a priest. The Priestly Writing, on the other hand, makes Moses officiate as priest only upon the occasion of the instalment of the priests in their office (Ex 29); and from this point onwards, according to this source, priestly functions are discharged only by Aaron and his sons, who are selected from the body of the tribe of Levi for this purpose. According to a prophetical discourse interpolated into the older text of the history of the youth of Samuel (1 S $2^{27f.}$), God, during the bondage in Egypt, revealed Himself to the fathers' house of Eli, the priest of Shiloh, and chose this house out of all the tribes of Israel, to be priests. Here too, then, without any mention indeed of Aaron or Levi, appears the conception of an institution of the priesthood in the time of Moses. This conception, in the form in which it here makes its appearance, cannot be of quite recent origin, since in opposition to the later claims of the Zadokite priesthood, which existed from the time of Solomon, it represents the Elidæ, who were different from these, as the original legitimate priests. It is in itself quite credible that Moses, in his arrangements for the Israelitish nation and its cultus, made provision for the performance of religious service by a special body, and it is a very plausible supposition that he who is represented as belonging like Aaron to the tribe of Levi, selected his own family for this office. Among the ancient Arabs as well, the priesthood was largely in possession of special families, which did not belong to the tribe amongst whom they exercised their office (Wellhausen, *Reste*^{2}, p. 130 f.). Guthe (*Geschichte*, p. 21 f.) opposes the view that Moses belonged to the tribe of Levi, and holds that the priestly tribe first originated in Canaan. This later origin, however, is difficult to prove, and along with it the objections fall, which are brought against a genealogical connexion between Moses and the priestly tribe.

If *lēwî* actually stood originally for the retinue of the sacred ark, only individuals from this body would have been priests proper. Apart from this, it is in any case not incredible that Moses should have destined his own family in the narrower sense to be priests, but that he should have chosen precisely the family of his brother Aaron is less likely. Aaron, it is true, is not only represented in P as the father of the priests, but even in JE as 'the Levite' *κατ' ἐξοχήν* (Ex 4^{14}). Yet he does not appear to be known to all the strata of this last book; and in all the passages where mention is made of him he is a less individualized figure, to which features from the later history are transferred in a prefigurative way (*Gesch.* p. 199). It is not impossible that in his case we have to do with a personification, although no satisfactory explanation of his name *'Ahărōn* has yet been discovered. With *'ărôn* the designation of the sacred ark (a combination proposed, following the lead of others, by Renan, *l.c.* p. 179), this name can hardly, in view of the different way in which it is written, have anything to do.

In an ancient gloss to the narrative in the Bk. of Judges about the Levite who first on Mt. Ephraim and afterwards at Dan officiated as priest, this Levite, to whom the priesthood at Dan traced its descent down to 'the carrying captive of the land' (*i.e.* down to the overthrow of Ephraim in the Assyrian period), is described as a 'son of Gershom the son of Moses' (in Jg 18^{30} *Mĕnashsheh* is an alteration of the original *Mōsheh*). Here, then, Moses himself may be viewed as father of the priests in general. But all the same it is difficult to understand the person of Aaron as a purely fictitious one, because there is no apparent reason why the priesthood should have exchanged the more glorious descent from the lawgiver for descent from a brother of his. Moses has been supposed to be referred to in Dt 33^8 as the representative, and then, presumably, as the father, of the priesthood; but the context of this passage favours rather a reference to Aaron in this capacity (*Gesch.* p. 76), in harmony with which is the circumstance that Dt 33 probably had its origin in Ephraim, and we find traces that it was in Ephraim that Aaron first came to be looked upon as father of the priests (see below, § 3, on the bull-worship of Aaron).

If really from the time of Moses one special body was regarded as called to the priesthood, yet it is by no means the case that from that time it alone exercised priestly functions. Long after Moses, it is not contested that men of non-Levitical descent discharged the priest's office occasionally or even permanently. In the latter case they probably passed as adopted into the tribe of Levi, which accordingly we are not to think of as having originated in a purely genealogical way. Only, one can hardly, with Wellhausen, appeal in favour of this to what is said in Dt 33^9 about Levi's having renounced his kinship. Seeing that in this passage the denying of his sons is also spoken of, the reference must be understood not of the loosening of connexion with a family, but of impartial official action, without regard to family interests, in allusion to the narrative of Ex $32^{27.\ 29}$ (*Gesch.* p. 77; Sellin, p. 110 ff.; Van Hoonacker, *Sacerdoce*, etc. p. 133). As in Dt 33 the whole tribe of Levi appears as in possession of the priesthood, so elsewhere down to a late period no trace is to be found of a distinction between Levites and priests proper.

No special weight is to be laid on the circumstance that, according to the statement of one source of the Jehovistic book, Moses employed 'young men of the children of Israel' to offer sacrifice (Ex 24^5); it is impossible that either here or in 1 S $2^{13.\ 15}$ *na'ar*, in its sense of 'servant,' can be a designation of the priest as the servant ['*ministre*'], namely, of the cultus or of the people 'in the celebration of Divine worship' [so Van Hoonacker, *Sacerdoce*, etc. p. 140 f.]), for this happened prior to the appointment (recorded, indeed, as it seems, by a different narrator) of the Levites to the priestly service (Ex $32^{26ff.}$). As early as the arrival at Sinai we read in Ex $19^{22.\ 24}$ (a narrative in any case from another hand than $32^{26ff.}$) of priests (*Gesch.* p. 58 ff.) without being told whether these are to be thought of as Levites or not. It is mentioned in the Jehovistic book, as

an arrangement in force all through the lifetime of Moses, that his attendant, Joshua, who is represented as of non-Levitical descent (Nu 13^{8}, P), did not depart out of the holy tent (Ex 33^{11}). The Ephraimite Micah, in the period of the Judges, appoints as priest in his private sanctuary, first of all one of his sons (Jg 17^{5}). Gideon, of the tribe of Manasseh (Jg $6^{26f.}$), and Manoah of the tribe of Dan (13^{19}), offer sacrifice with their own hands. Under Saul the Israelites pour out the blood of the captured animals at the altar stone without any priestly interposition (1 S 14^{34}). At a still later period the non-priestly prophet Elijah sacrifices with his own hand (1 K $18^{30ff.}$). While the sacred ark, in the course of its wanderings, tarried in the house of Abinadab, who was plainly no priest, it was served by his sons (1 S 7^{1}, 2 S $6^{3f.}$; the emendation of Van Hoonacker, *Sacerdoce*, etc. p. 171, is unwarranted). Of the ancient priestly prerogative of the father of the house, a relic was preserved down to the latest times of the Jewish cultus, in the slaughtering of the Paschal lamb by the father of the house without any priest taking part in the ceremony (Ex $12^{6ff.}$ [P] vv.$^{21ff.}$ [JE]), although it is true, at the same time, that the sacrificial character of the Paschal lamb had been obliterated.

Sacrificing was, then, manifestly, in early times not the exclusive function of a priestly class. The latter was certainly in existence. Yet even for admittance to this no special descent was requisite. Samuel, by birth an Ephraimite, yet, according to the representation contained in the history of his childhood, becomes, in fulfilment of a vow of his mother, a servant of Jahweh, clothed with the priestly ephod, at the sanctuary at Shiloh (1 S $1^{ff.}$ $2^{11.\ 18}$). The fact that Samuel becomes a priest in consequence of a vow, shows that he was not one by descent; and the representation of the Chronicler (1 Ch $6^{13.\ 18}$), according to which he is a Levite, is not, with Van Hoonacker (*Sacerdoce*, etc. p. 265 f.) and Girdlestone ('To what tribe did Samuel belong?' in *Expositor*, Nov. 1899, pp. 385–388), to be justified, as if Samuel were a Levite from Ephraim. In the descriptions of Samuel's later life he appears not as a priest, but as one who, in the extraordinary capacity of *shōphēṭ* and *nābî'*, presents the offerings of the people (1 S $7^{9f.}$ $16^{2ff.}$). A priestly class is presupposed by the oldest collection of laws, the so-called Book of the Covenant (Ex 22^{8}), and yet, in an enactment later prefixed to this, the general right to sacrifice is assumed in the demand made of the Israelites as a whole: 'An altar of earth thou shalt make unto me, and shalt sacrifice thereon thy burnt-offerings and thy *shĕlāmîm*-offerings' (Ex 20^{24}). When, on the other hand, in the Jehovistic book the people of Israel is called 'a kingdom of priests' (Ex 19^{6}), this is certainly to be understood not of the actual exercise of priestly rights, but in a transferred sense as meaning that the whole of Israel stands in a priestly relation to God.

Where a professional priest was not available, young men appear to have, by preference, replaced the father of the house in the exercise of his priestly function, or even to have acted as priests for a larger body. Of Moses we found it recorded that he appointed young men to offer sacrifice. The Ephraimite Micah installs one of his sons as priest. Certain traces appear to point to a preference at one time for making firstborn sons priests, or even to indicate that in earlier times the whole of the firstborn sons were regarded as destined for holy service—an idea which certainly can hardly at any time have been strictly carried out in practice. The circumstance that Samuel, according to the story of his childhood, was a firstborn son, is of no importance, because it was not as such that he was set apart for priestly functions, but in consequence of a vow of his mother. But in the ancient code, the Book of the Covenant (Ex 22^{28} [Eng. ^{29}]), the demand is made that the firstborn son be given to Jahweh. The spirit of this book, whether it belongs to the time of the Judges or to the earlier monarchical period, appears to exclude the interpretation that the firstborn is to be offered in sacrifice to the deity; and then there remains scarcely any other possibility except to understand the 'giving' to mean consecration to holy service (*Gesch.* p. 55 ff.; Smend, *Alttest. Religionsgeschichte*^{2}, Freiburg i. B., 1899, p. 282 f., note 3; cf. Kamphausen, *Das Verhältnis des Menschenopfers zur israel. Religion*, Bonn, 1896, p. 66). In the Priestly Writing it is said of the Levites that they are 'given' to Jahweh (Nu 8^{16}), and even the consecration of Samuel is described by the term 'given' (1 S 1^{11}).

In spite of this freedom in the matter of sacrificial arrangements, from early times it was considered an advantage in the regular and constant service of a sanctuary to have a 'Levite' for priest. When one of these happens to pass the sanctuary of Micah the Ephraimite, the latter gives the preference to him as priest over his own son (Jg $17^{7ff.}$); and the Danites who wish to establish for themselves a new sanctuary in their new home, do not let the opportunity slip to obtain by force the services of this same Levite ($18^{15ff.}$). Even if in the time of Moses a single family amongst the Levites had possession of the priesthood proper, in subsequent times, at all events, this was viewed not as their exclusive privilege, but as that of the Levites in general. Nevertheless, the term 'Levite' nowhere occurs as the exact equivalent of 'priest,' a circumstance which is not without importance in its bearing upon the origin of the term. The above-named Micah the Ephraimite is represented as saying, 'The Levite has become my priest' (Jg 17^{13}).

As to the instalment in the priestly office, even that ancient narrative in the Bk. of Judges mentions certain formalities which in a modified form are retained in the later ceremonial law of the Pentateuch. Micah **'fills the hand'** of one of his sons, so that he becomes his priest (Jg 17^{5}). He does precisely the same thing afterwards to the Levite (v.^{12}). Wherein this 'filling of the hand' consisted is not clear. It has been suggested that it means the handing over of the earnest money (Vatke, Wellhausen), which appears to be favoured by the fact that the Levite who renders priestly services to Micah certainly speaks of himself as 'hired' by the latter (Jg 18^{4}). This hiring, however, need not refer to a sum of money paid down, but may consist in the arrangement about an annual salary, clothing, and maintenance (17^{10}). It is not at all likely that Micah hired his own son with a piece of earnest money, and in any case the narrator in the Jehovistic book (Ex 32^{29}) was not thinking of earnest money when he makes Moses say to the sons of Levi themselves: 'Fill your hands to-day for Jahweh.' Still less likely is it that the expression 'fill the hand' refers to the handing over of the arrows which are alleged to have been used in giving the priestly oracle (Sellin, p. 118 f.). This interpretation is based upon Ex 32^{29}, where, however, *lĕ-Jahweh* standing alone cannot mean 'on behalf of Jahweh' (*sc.* take hold of the arrows), but shows that 'fill your hand' refers in some way to a consecration to Jahweh, an instalment into service related to Him (still another interpretation of the 'filling the hand' in Ex 32^{29} is adopted by Van Hoonacker, *Sacerdoce*, etc. p. 135). In the Priestly Writing the expression 'fill the hand' is retained in speaking of instalment into the priestly office (Ex 28^{41} *al.*), and the term 'fill-offering' (*millû'îm*, Ex 29^{22} *al.*)

is used of the offering which was presented at the consecration of Aaron and his sons to the priestly office. This offering has the characteristic rite that Moses places certain portions of the sacrificial animal upon the hands of Aaron and his sons—in other words, fills the hands of those about to be consecrated with these portions of the sacrifice. What are specified are the parts of the animal which in sacrifice were burned upon the altar or which fell to the priests. The consecration ceremony was meant thus to express that the priest is empowered to lay these pieces upon the altar, or, as the case may be, to take them for himself. Accordingly, it is, to say the least, not improbable that the expression 'fill the hand,' used of installation in the priestly office, had in view from the first such a handing over of sacrificial portions as pointed to the priestly functions (*Gesch.* p. 183 f.; so also Weinel, art. 'מלא und seine Derivate,' in *ZATW* xviii. [1898] p. 61). Such a solemn introduction to office might well be employed even by the layman Micah in the case of the Levite, as of one who was not installed by him as a priest in general but as his own priest (otherwise Nowack, p. 121).

But it may be, further, that the expression 'fill the hand' had not originally a special reference to introduction to the priestly office, for in Assyrian the corresponding *kâtû mullû* has the general sense of 'give, appoint, enfeoff, present' (Nowack, p. 120 f., following Halévy; cf. on the Assyrian expression, Frd. Delitzsch, *Assyr. Handwörterb. s.v.* מלא, p. 409). Even if the above was the original sense of the Hebrew expression, it was no longer understood in Ex 32^{29}.

In early times the priest, even when he was a young man, was called by the title of honour, 'father' (Jg 17^{10} 18^{19}). The priests who served at any of the sanctuaries of ancient Israel were marked outwardly by the linen ephod they wore (1 S 2^{18}). They lived, as we learn in the case of Eli and Samuel, in the sanctuary (1 S $3^{2ff.}$). There they offered the sacrifices on the altar, a work in which at the more frequented places of worship they were assisted by servants (1 S $2^{13.\ 15}$). Portions of the offerings presented were assigned them for their maintenance (1 S $2^{13ff.}$); whether these were definitely fixed (*Gesch.* p. 208, and against this Nowack, p. 125), or were left to the pleasure of the offerer, can scarcely be determined.* At the private sanctuaries, as we are told of Micah the Ephraimite, the owner of the sanctuary paid his priest a salary and supplied his clothing and his food (Jg 17^{10}). While the offering of sacrifice was in early times open to others as well as to the priests, it is only of professional priests that it is recorded that they gave oracles. Micah's Levite consults God at the request of others (Jg 18^{5}; on the giving of oracles by the priests among the ancient Arabs, see Wellhausen, *Reste*[2], p. 131 ff.).

As would appear from what we hear of Ahijah (Ahimelech) the descendant of Eli (1 S 14^{3}), and his son Ebiathar (ABIATHAR) the priest of Nob (1 S 23^{6}), it was only the chief priest of a considerable sanctuary who had another ephod different from the linen one, by means of which he gave oracles (1 S $14^{18f.}$, where for *'ărôn* read *'ĕphôd*). In this must have been kept the oracle-lots, the prototype of the Urim (cf. 1 S 28^{6}) and Thummim of the later high priest. In the Blessing of Moses (Dt 33^{8}), Thummim and Urim are thought of as the special dower of Levi, and probably more specifically as that of Aaron. The name *thummim*, 'right,' points to the fact that the giving of priestly oracles originally served mainly the interests of the administration of justice, which was in the last resort the task of the priests. In order to decide a difficult lawsuit the parties are required by the Book of the Covenant to appear 'before God' (Ex 22^{8}), *i.e.* to appeal to a decision by the priestly lot. The same place which bears the name *Ḳādēsh*, 'sanctuary,' is called also *'Ên-mishpāt*, 'well of decision' (Gn 14^{7}).

In the administration of justice, but no doubt also in the indication of what was ritually proper, and in general of what was well-pleasing to the deity, will thus have consisted the *tôrāh*, 'instruction' or 'direction' (see LAW IN OT, vol. iii. p. 64^{b}), which from ancient times appears as the duty of the priests (Dt 33^{10}). It has been suggested that the root-word (*hôrāh*) in this notion of 'instructing' should be traced back to the casting of the sacred lots. But this is scarcely probable in view of the use of *tôrāh* also for the teaching of the prophets, which has nothing to do with oracles obtained by lot. Rather had *hôrāh*, which is used of shooting arrows (1 S 20^{36} *al.*), the meaning of 'aim at something,' and then 'lead to a goal,' 'point out something' (Gn 46^{28}), 'instruct' (*Gesch.* p. 207, note 1).

When they settled in Canaan, the Israelites had taken over the sacred places of the Canaanites and set up the worship of Jahweh at them. These sanctuaries did not all enjoy the services of a Levitical priest, as we see from the fact that a son of Micah the Ephraimite acted as priest. The numbers of the Levites were probably insufficient to meet the needs of such service. They will have settled only at the more important sanctuaries. A reminiscence of this is preserved in the Priestly Writing of the Hexateuch, which conceives of specially appointed Levitical or priestly cities. Some of the names of cities specified in this connexion clearly point to ancient places of worship (cf. below, § 8, f *end*, and g).

The most important sanctuary in the time of the Judges was the temple at Shiloh, whose annual festivals were resorted to by a wide circle of worshippers. There officiated Eli and his house, which traced back its priestly rights to the time of the Exodus from Egypt (1 S $2^{27f.}$), and thus at all events belonged to the category of the Levites. It may be that the house of Eli also laid claim to descent from the priestly brother of Moses, namely Aaron; so at least the matter was viewed by those in later times who traced the descent of the Elidæ to Ithamar a son of Aaron (1 Ch 24^{3}). But it may be also, as we have seen, that originally the priest of the Exodus, and even the ancestor of the house of Eli was held to be Moses himself, for whom his brother might come to be substituted only in after-times (Wellhausen, *Prolegomena*[1], p. 146 f.). In the history of the childhood of Samuel, Eli is introduced abruptly (1 S 1^{9}); a passage paving the way for the mention of him must have been lost, and in this his genealogy was probably given. Eli, as no doubt was the case equally with the head of the family elsewhere, held the position of chief priest in the temple, as may be gathered from the relation to him of Samuel and of his own sons. Eli's sons perished in the wars with the Philistines, and with them probably also the sanctuary of Shiloh, which is never afterwards mentioned as existing (1 S $4^{11ff.}$). The house of Eli was not, however, completely extinguished; a great-grandson of his, Ahijah the son of Ahitub, the son of Phinehas, the son of Eli, bore the ephod in the time of Saul (1 S 14^{3}). He is evidently identical with the son of Ahitub whom another source calls Ahimelech. This Ahimelech, apparently as chief priest, had his residence, along with his fathers' house, at Nob (1 S $21^{2ff.}$ $22^{9ff.}$),

* We find traces that among the Phœnicians and the Babylonians, as was doubtless the case with all highly developed cults, the priests had their allowance from the offerings (see F. C. Movers, *Das Opferwesen der Karthager, Commentar zur Opfertafel von Marseille*, Phönizische Texte, Theil ii., Breslau, 1847, pp. 118, 126 ff.).

the 'city of the priests' (22[19]). Here then it would appear that the ancient priestly family of the Exodus gathered itself together after the downfall of Shiloh. Renan (*Histoire*, i. 420, note 1) finds difficulty in the identification of Ahijah with Ahimelech, because the priests of Nob can, he thinks, hardly have belonged to the family of the priests of Shiloh. But why not, and why should it be necessary to impute an error to 1 K 2[27], where Ebiathar (Ahimelech's son) is reckoned to the house of Eli? There was similarly at Dan a Levitical priesthood which traced its descent to the before-mentioned Levite of Micah the Ephraimite, and consequently to Moses (Jg 18[30]).

3. The Priesthood from David to Josiah.—When David had acquired for his capital the Jebusite citadel, he conferred upon it the distinction of transferring the sacred ark to the summit of its hill, the threshing-floor of Araunah the Jebusite. By this act he established a royal sanctuary of which the king was the proprietor, in the same sense in which the private person Micah was the owner of the sanctuary set up by him. David and, subsequently to the building of the temple by Solomon on Mt. Zion, his successors assumed a kind of chief priestly position at the sanctuary of Jerusalem.* David presented offerings, manifestly discharging priestly functions in person, for it is said that he 'made an end of offering' (2 S 6[17f.]); he pronounced the liturgical blessing (v.[18]), and danced in the priestly garb, the linen ephod, before the ark of the covenant (v.[14]). Of Solomon, too, it is recorded that, at the dedication of the temple, he offered sacrifice (1 K 8[5. 62ff.]), and that three times in the year he offered burnt-offerings, and peace-offerings and 'sweet smoke' (1 K 9[25]). There is no mention of priests on this occasion; their presence may, however, be taken for granted as self-evident, for, of course, Solomon could not, without help of some kind, have overtaken all the dedicatory offerings. From the above statements, then, it is not clear to what extent Solomon in his offering discharged priestly functions in person. But it is difficult to suppose him to have acted in this matter differently from David. In any case the blessing which, standing by the altar, he pronounced upon the people (1 K 8[55]) is a priestly act. Of the first king of the Northern kingdom, Jeroboam, we are expressly told that he ascended the altar of Bethel and made the offering (1 K 12[33]), although he too had priests at his command (v.[31]). The position of the kings of the Northern kingdom in relation to its chief sanctuary at Bethel will have been practically the same as that of the kings of Judah to the temple at Jerusalem. Under Jeroboam II. Amaziah the priest at Bethel speaks of the sanctuary there as a royal one (Am 7[13]); Amaziah, that is to say, officiated under the king's commission. Of one of the later kings of Judah, Ahaz, it is expressly recorded that he ascended the temple altar, kindled the offering, poured out the drink-offering, and sprinkled the altar with the sacrificial blood (2 K 16[12f.]). Consequently it is at least not an incorrect condition of things that is presupposed in Chronicles when we are told how Uzziah, the second predecessor of Ahaz, offered incense upon the altar of incense (2 Ch 26[16ff.]). All that belongs to the later standpoint of the Chronicler is the notion that this offering by the king in person was an illegitimate encroachment upon the priestly privileges, and that Uzziah was on that account punished with leprosy; perhaps also the assumption of a special altar for incense bespeaks a later viewpoint.

At least the earliest kings looked upon the Jerusalemite priests as subordinate officials whom they could appoint and depose. From the massacre which Saul perpetrated amongst the priests at Nob who held with David (1 S 22[16ff.]), none escaped of the family of Eli but Ebiathar, who fled for refuge to David, carrying with him the oracle-ephod (1 S 22[20] 23[6]). He was installed by David as priest in attendance on the sacred ark on Mt. Zion. Along with him Zadok is named as David's priest (2 S 8[17], where read 'Ebiathar son of Ahimelech'). Both have their sons at their side as priests (2 S 15[27. 36]). Ebiathar must have held the higher rank of the two, for we are told in 1 K 2[35] that Solomon, after deposing Ebiathar, gave his post to Zadok. Ebiathar, with his son Jonathan, had taken the side of Adonijah when the latter conspired against his father David (1 K 1[25. 42ff.]). By command of David, Zadok anointed Solomon king (1 K 1[32ff.]), and Ebiathar was banished. He retired to his landed property at Anathoth (1 K 2[26f.]), where in the time of Jeremiah we still find a priestly family settled, to which Jeremiah himself belonged (Jer 1[1] 32[6ff.]). Accordingly Jeremiah was probably a descendant of Ebiathar, and thus of the ancient priestly family which dated its possession of the dignity from the time of the Exodus (see above, § 2).

The house of Zadok continued in possession of the Jerusalemite priesthood. This we know from the exilian prophet Ezekiel, who constantly speaks of the Jerusalemite priests as 'the sons of Zadok.' What was Zadok's descent is not clearly to be seen. This much only is plain, that he did not belong, like Ebiathar, to the old-privileged priestly family, for a prophecy, put into the mouth of an unnamed man of God in the time of Eli, announces that God, after He had chosen in Egypt the fathers' house of Eli for the priesthood, had now rejected this house, and would appoint for Himself a trustworthy priest who should walk after Jahweh's heart and mind, for whom Jahweh would build an enduring house, and who should walk before Jahweh's anointed for ever (1 S 2[27ff.]). This prophecy is in 1 K 2[27] understood of the installation of Zadok in the Jerusalemite priesthood, and was certainly so intended from the first, for—the only other conceivable supposition—to refer it to the priestly Samuel will not answer, seeing that Samuel is never represented as a king's priest. Thus, then, Zadok did not belong to the family or the fathers' house of Eli, and consequently not to the ancient priesthood. Zadok cannot, therefore, as Poels supposes, have really belonged, although, to be sure, later generations represented him as belonging, to an ancient Aaronite family, namely that of the Eleazarites. This family, according to Poels, had discharged the priestly duties at Nob, and when the national sanctuary was transferred to Jerusalem, Zadok came from Nob to the capital (so, already, essentially, Movers, *Kritische Untersuchungen über die biblische Chronik*, Bonn, 1834, p. 294 f., according to whom Zadok was at first chief priest in the Mosaic tabernacle at Gibeon [which Poels identifies with the sanctuary of Nob]). It is maintained by Van Hoonacker (*Sacerdoce*, etc. p. 168 ff.) that according to 1 S 2[27] the house of Eli was chosen 'non pas isolément,' but, together with others, as one particular family of the priesthood which included a plurality of families; but this notion is read into the text. Zadok is called the son of Ahitub (2 S 8[17]). In the state of the case just described, we are not to think of this Ahitub as the same as the grandson of Eli (1 S 14[3]). The above-cited oracle of the man of God gives undoubtedly the correct account of Zadok, for in later times, when the sons of Zadok had exclusive possession of the priesthood, men would not have attributed to them a prestige as priests less lofty

* Among the Assyrians as well the king was at the same time the chief priest (see Alf. Jeremias, *Die bab.-assyr. Vorstellungen vom Leben nach dem Tode*, Leipzig, 1887, p. 97, note 1).

in its origin than that of the Elidæ who had now fallen into the background. Under these circumstances it may be doubted whether Zadok was a Levite at all. No certain decision can be pronounced, because we do not know how much is included in the expression 'fathers' house' of Eli in the above oracle. If it means the same thing as 'sons of Levi,' then Zadok was no Levite; but it may be intended in a narrower sense, perhaps, to mean the house of Aaron. Since even prior to the time of David, as we saw from the story of the Levite of Micah the Ephraimite, it was considered desirable to have a Levite for priest, David is unlikely to have overlooked this advantage in the selection of Zadok, who primarily was his priest. Subsequent generations naturally did full honour to the genealogy of Zadok, whose descent was traced back to a son of Aaron, nay, to his eldest son Eleazar (1 Ch 24^3). In the circumstance that the later writers made the Elidæ to be descended from another son of Aaron, namely Ithamar (1 Ch, *l.c.*), there is preserved a reminiscence of the difference in the descent of the two priestly families.

The descendants of Ebiathar, when expelled from the priesthood at Jerusalem, are hardly likely to have all remained settled at Anathoth. Probably a portion of them found employment at the sanctuaries of the Northern kingdom, where they took part in the official worship of Jahweh under the figure of a bull. In this way we may explain the narrative in the Jehovistic book, which attributes to Aaron a part in bull-worship, Ex $32^{1ff.}$ (*Gesch.* p. 199; so previously Th. Nöldeke, *Untersuchungen zur Kritik des AT*, Kiel, 1869, p. 55, note). At all events the Northern kingdom too had an organized priestly body, as may be gathered from the story that, after the downfall of Samaria, a priest from amongst the exiles was sent back to Ephraim, to instruct the inhabitants of the land in the worship of the god of the land, *i.e.* Jahweh (2 K $17^{27ff.}$).

Besides Ebiathar and Zadok and the son of Ebiathar and the son of Zadok, there is mention of another otherwise unknown 'Ira as priest under David (2 S 20^{26}). According to the traditional text he was a *Jairite*, *i.e.* belonged to a Gileadite family, and was consequently no Levite; but perhaps the statement should be emended to the effect that he was a *Jattirite*, *i.e.* belonged to the priestly city Jattir in Judah (so [following Thenius, *ad loc.*] *Gesch.* p. 192, and Löhr, *ad loc.*), in which case the possibility is not excluded that he was a Levite. In addition to him, David's own sons are called in 2 S 8^{18} *kōhănîm*. In itself there is nothing impossible in the view that David appointed members of his own non-Levitical family to be actual priests, for we see from the picture of Samuel as a priest that at that time and probably for long afterwards the priestly status was not at all bound up with a special descent. But, on the other hand, against understanding *kōhănîm* in the literal sense, when applied to David's sons (as is done by Löhr and H. P. Smith, *ad loc.*), is the circumstance that just immediately before (v.^{17}) the priests of David, namely Zadok and Ebiathar, have been already enumerated amongst the other court officials. Hence it is perhaps probable rather that the sons of David only bore the title of *kōhănîm* in the same way as, in the time of Solomon, we find Zabud, a son of Nathan (probably the son of David), called '*kōhēn*, friend of the king' (1 K 4^5 [Van Hoonacker, *Sacerdoce*, etc. p. 280 f., and Benzinger, *ad loc.*, following B and Luc. of the LXX, strike out the כהן; but Kittel, *ad loc.*, defends its genuineness]), where in any case 'friend' is a title. But *kōhēn* can scarcely be the title of a court official in the sense of 'representative,' *scilicet*, of the king (so Klostermann, *ad loc.*, who reads 2 S 8^{18} *kōhănê ha-melekh*). As little justification is there for giving up the statement in Samuel in favour of the different expression of the Chronicler (1 Ch 18^{17}), as is done by Van Hoonacker, *Sacerdoce*, etc. p. 275 f. Hitzig's emendation of *kōhănîm* to *ṣōkhĕnîm*, 'administrators' (Is 22^{15}), which is adopted afresh by Cheyne, rests upon the correct impression that from the context it must be a court office that is in view, and the emendation is not demonstrably wrong. Yet it would be surprising if in two passages copyists erroneously introduced the word *kōhēn* in a context where this word must have struck them as strange. Perhaps, then, *kōhēn* is in both instances the original reading after all. Such a title as *kōhēn* may be an imitation of the Phœnicians, amongst whom members of the royal house were often invested with priestly offices (so Movers, and similarly Ewald; see *Gesch.* p. 191 f., and cf., further, Driver on 2 S 8^{18}, who is not quite decided as to the sense of *kōhănîm* in this passage, although he believes that it means *priests* of some kind).

Although the Judæan kings always reserved for themselves a kind of chief priestly position, yet in view of the importance of the temple at Jerusalem as the central sanctuary, and the considerable number of priests which such a sanctuary presupposes, it is hardly possible to avoid supposing that amongst the Jerusalemite priests there was one who claimed the first place, as had already been done at Shiloh by the head of the priestly family. The priest who evidently claimed this first place is in the Books of Kings called for the most part simply 'the *kōhēn*'; so Jehoiada (2 K $11^{9f.}$ *al.*), Urijah ($16^{10f.\ 15f.}$), and Hilkiah (22^{10} *al.*). The same title is given in Is 8^2 to Uriah, and in Jer 29^{26} to Jehoiada.* Along with this we have once in Kings (2 K 25^{18} = Jer 52^{24}) the term 'head-priest' (*kōhēn hā-rō'sh*) applied to Seraiah. This title in this instance (differently in 2 S 15^{27} where we should read *ha-kōhēn hā-rō'sh*) is certainly not due to later insertion (Nowack, p. 107, note 1), for in that case the designation 'high priest,' sanctioned by the Priests' Code of the Pentateuch, would have been employed. The title 'head-priest,' found nowhere else except in Ezr 7^5 and in Chronicles, where it occurs along with 'high priest,' is certainly, for the very reason that it is not found in the Priests' Code, derived from earlier antiquity. On the other hand, it is possible that the title by which the later high priest is distinguished, namely *ha-kōhēn ha-gādôl*, which is once applied to Jehoiada (2 K 12^{11}) and thrice to Hilkiah ($22^{4.\ 8}$ 23^4), is due to antedating of this title on the part of the redactor of Kings who wrote during the Exile, or it may even be a later insertion. The Deuteronomic law uses the simple title 'the *kōhēn*' to designate the chief priest.

The dignity and influence of the chief priest of Jerusalem must even in early times have been great. This comes out especially in the commanding rôle which, about the middle of the 9th cent. B.C., was played by the chief priest Jehoiada in connexion with the overthrow of queen Athaliah and the proclamation of her grandson Joash as king, in whose name Jehoiada at first directed the government (2 K $11^{4ff.}$ 12^3).† The authority

* It may, indeed, be doubted whether in Jeremiah the reference is to the same Jehoiada, who was chief priest under Joash. Renan (*Hist.* ii. [1889] 323, note) and Van Hoonacker (*Sacerdoce*, etc. p. 158 f.) contest it; but see Hitzig and Graf on Jer 29^{26}.

† Tradition furnishes no warrant for reconstructing the history with Renan (*Hist.* ii. 323, 409, note 1), who introduces, alongside of Jehoiada the priest, in 2 K 11^4, an officer of the guard of the same name. No priest, it is true, had the right to summon the army, but the priest Jehoiada could act in accord with the chiefs of the army. That the latter allowed themselves to be led by him is an indication of the respect paid to his position.

of the chief priest, however, scarcely extended, as a rule, beyond the sphere of the temple at Jerusalem, besides which there continued to exist even in Judah other places of worship with their own priests, down to the time of Josiah's reformation. Yet the prediction above referred to regarding the downfall of Eli's house represents the survivors of this house as begging of the royal priest to put them into one of the priests' offices that they might obtain a morsel of bread (1 S 2^{36}). This may indicate that the chief priest of Jerusalem, so long as the existence of the smaller sanctuaries of Judah was not opposed in the interest of the temple at Jerusalem, exercised a certain supremacy over these, and made appointments to their staff of priests. It can scarcely be that we are to think of reception of the Elidæ into priestly offices at Jerusalem, where the Zadokites would be very slow to suffer the intrusion of strangers.

Alongside of the head-priest Seraiah there is mention in 2 K 25^{18} (Jer 52^{24}) of Zephaniah as *kōhēn mishneh* (*kōhēn ha-mishneh*), lit. 'priest of the repetition,' *i.e.* probably representative of the head-priest. The same title occurs in 2 K 23^4, where, instead of the plural *kōhănê ha-mishneh*, the singular is to be read with the Targum, since a plurality of 'priests of the second rank,' beside the high priest, who is here named, and the keepers of the threshold, would come in strangely when there has been no mention of priests of the first rank (it is therefore not permissible, with Van Hoonacker, *Sacerdoce*, etc. p. 162, to find in the *kōhănê ha-mishneh* the Levites of the Priestly Writing). The Zephaniah in question appears in Jer $29^{25f.}$ as principal overseer of the police arrangements in the temple. The **keepers of the threshold** (*shōmrê ha-ṣaph*) are also named in 2 K 25^{18} (Jer 52^{24}) along with the head-priest and the 'second' priest; according to this passage the keepers of the threshold were three in number. Plainly we must think here of a fairly exalted priestly office, different from the humbler station of the post-exilian doorkeepers (*shō'ărîm*), of whom there were a great many (2 Ch 34^9 confuses these with the keepers of the threshold who are reckoned among the Levites). The keepers of the threshold already appear in the time of Joash (2 K 12^{10}) as having to guard the entrance to the inner fore-court with the altar of burnt-offering. According to this same passage as well as 2 K 22^4, one of the duties of the keepers of the threshold was to collect the people's contributions to the temple. We must suppose that other priests or temple attendants were at their command in the discharge of their duties, which could scarcely have been overtaken by only three persons. Beyond all doubt we have in the keepers of the threshold to do with an actual pre-exilian priestly office, for it is an office which is unknown in later times.

According to 2 K 19^2 (Is 37^2), the priestly body was arranged in groups as early as the time of Hezekiah, for here we read of 'elders of the priests,' who can be nothing else than chiefs of groups.

In only a few passages, apart from Chronicles, where post-exilian relations are everywhere transferred to earlier times, are Levites named during the monarchical period. In 1 S 6^{15} and 2 S 15^{24} they appear as bearers of the ark of Jahweh, just as in the Priestly Writing and in Deuteronomy. The first of these passages, where the Levites make their appearance quite abruptly, is manifestly interpolated. On the other hand, in the second passage the Levites, who are found here in the retinue of the priest Zadok, are not out of place; but it must be confessed that the text of the whole passage is corrupt, and on this account doubt is here again cast upon the presence of the Levites. In Kings there is only a single mention of Levites, namely in 1 K $8^{3f.}$. Here they are clearly thrust into the text by means of a later interpolation (the close of v.[4] is found in the LXX only in A), for it is said first of all that priests took up the ark, the tent of meeting and its vessels, and only afterwards is the supplementary remark made that priests *and Levites* did this. All the same, however, the term 'sons of Levi' for those who were entitled to exercise the priestly office was known to the author of Kings, who blames Jeroboam for making priests 'from among all the people, which were not of the sons of Levi' (1 K 12^{31}).

The existence of a class of sanctuary attendants, different from the priests or subordinate to them, and who were called 'Levites,' cannot be proved for the monarchical period. But there are clear enough allusions, during this period, to temple attendants or slaves. According to Jos 9^{23}, the **Gibeonites**, on account of the fraud they perpetrated upon the Israelites, were pronounced by Joshua accursed and degraded to be serfs, namely hewers of wood and drawers of water for the house of his God. This passage, from the mention of 'the house of God' (not 'tabernacle,' as in the Priestly Writing), is seen to be from the Jehovistic book (differently P in v.[21], cf. v.[27] [JE and P, with a Deuteronomic addition]). In this account of the institution of temple-slaves the writer of the Jehovistic book is thinking unquestionably of those that belonged to the Jerusalem temple as κατ' ἐξοχήν the house of God, and thus anticipates the temple and its set of attendants. Saul had not quite succeeded in exterminating the Gibeonites (2 S $21^{1ff.}$); what survived of them belonged no doubt to the remnants of the Canaanites in the midst of Israel, of whom it is related that Solomon put them to forced service (1 K $9^{20f.}$). Even in the post-exilic period there were still **'servants of Solomon,'** along with other temple-slaves, the **Nethinim**, *i.e.* 'those given' (Ezr $2^{54ff.}$ *al.*). After the Exile we hear also of Nethinim, who are said to have been given by David and the princes 'for the service of the Levites,' *i.e.* for the temple (Ezr 8^{20}).

Even the pre-exilic period would appear to have been acquainted with other grades, in addition to this lowest grade, of sanctuary attendants, who were also distinct from the priests proper. In the time of Nehemiah there was in the new community a large body of **temple-singers** and **doorkeepers,** who were then, or at a later period, considered to have returned from the Exile with Zerubbabel (Neh $7^{44f.}$ = Ezr $2^{41f.}$). It is difficult to suppose that these groups of sanctuary servants took their rise in the cultus-lacking period of the Exile, and equally so to believe that they were a new creation during the miserable beginnings of the restored religious service in the period between the First Return and the advent of Nehemiah. The post-exilic temple-singers and doorkeepers are therefore, in all probability, descendants of those who had discharged the same offices in the pre-exilic temple (so also A. Kuenen, *Hist.-krit. onderzoek naar het ontstaan en de verzameling van de boeken des Ouden Verbonds*, vol. iii. Leiden, 1865, p. 288 f.; and especially Köberle, whose assumptions, however, regarding the pre-exilic period go much farther).

4. The Priesthood according to Deuteronomy.—The relations of the cultus *personnel* at the close of the monarchical period are unquestionably portrayed in the Deuteronomic law, not but that the attempt is made by the legislator to modify these relations upon the ground of the centralization of the cultus for which he contends. The Deuteronomic law in its primitive form, which

has to be recovered from the present Bk. of Dt, is that book of the law which was found in the temple in the reign of Josiah, and which was the occasion of his reform of the cultus. The law-book proper is in any case contained in chs. 12–26. As a whole it cannot be much older than the date of its discovery, since its standpoint and its language both point to the time of Jeremiah. A ritual code proper it is not, rather are regulations about the cultus treated of only in so far as they touch the one demand of the legislator directly affecting the cultus, namely that for a single sanctuary, or have a bearing upon the social relations about which he is concerned. Even the demand for a single place of worship is not really made in the interest of the cultus, but rather in that of the form of the belief in God. In the course of his legislation, which is not directed specially from the point of view of the Divine service, the author of the Deuteronomic law is far from giving a complete picture of the existing priestly relations, or of those to be established. In what he says about them there are gaps which must be filled up from what we know from other sources. This cannot be done with complete certainty on all points.

The priests are constantly referred to in Dt as 'the Levite priests' (*ha-kōhănîm ha-lĕwiyyîm*, $17^{9.18}$ 18^{1} *al.*). The legislator evidently has in view, in this expression, a special descent, for in 21^{5}, in an older enactment, as it seems, borrowed by the author, there occurs the other expression, 'the priests, the sons of Levi' (so also 31^{9}). The same inference follows from 18^{1} 'the Levite priests, the whole tribe of Levi,' where the second designation is probably in apposition with the first, in which case the author of the Deuteronomic law would not distinguish between 'Levite priests' and 'Levites.' Since he recognizes only the one place chosen by Jahweh, namely Jerusalem, as a place of worship, it is only there that in his estimation real priests are to be found. But he knows of Levites who live scattered up and down in the land, and appears to be willing to concede to the whole of these, if they come to reside at Jerusalem, the same rights at its temple as the Levite priests who are settled there. Such at least is the simplest way of understanding Dt $18^{6ff.}$: 'And if a Levite come from any of thy gates out of all Israel, where he sojourneth, and come with all the desire of his soul unto the place which Jahweh shall choose, to minister there in the name of Jahweh his God like all his brethren, the Levites, who stand there before Jahweh, he shall eat the same portion [as they].' This last expression appears to refer to the priest's right to the sacrificial portions mentioned in v.$^{3f.}$ and to the *rĕ'shîth*. Every Levite thus appears to acquire priestly rights as soon as he takes up his abode at Jerusalem. It is true that 18^{7} does not say that [the Levite] serves there 'like all his brethren the Levite priests,' but 'like all his brethren the Levites.' Hence the interpretation is not absolutely excluded that the passage means to say that every member of the tribe of Levi who comes to Jerusalem may discharge functions there, according to his special station, whether as priestly or as serving Levite, and that he is entitled to the payment corresponding to the particular service rendered (so Van Hoonacker, *Sacerdoce*, etc. p. 174). This explanation, however, is not a probable one, because even in this passage there is not the slightest hint of any distinction amongst the Levites; and the expression here used of the Levites at Jerusalem, 'stand before Jahweh,' appears also outside Dt as the designation of the specifically priestly service (Ezk 44^{15}).

In Dt 21^{5} it is prescribed that the 'priests, the sons of Levi,' are to assist in the atoning ceremony for a murder that has been committed in the neighbourhood of a city of Israel; those meant then are apparently priests from this particular city. In like manner in 24^{8}, where the treatment of leprosy is entrusted in quite general terms to the Levite priests, the existence of priests outside Jerusalem appears to be presupposed, for the Jerusalem priests could hardly have exercised the supervision in question for the whole country. Both these passages, which appear to be out of harmony with the Deuteronomic conception that there are priests only at Jerusalem, are probably borrowed from older laws which recognized a priesthood scattered up and down throughout the land.

A distinction between priests and Levites is equally unknown to the expansions of the Deuteronomic law. The parenetic introduction to Dt assumes that the tribe of Levi, after the destruction of the golden calf (10^{1}, cf. $9^{16ff.}$), was chosen by Jahweh to bear the ark of the covenant, to stand before Jahweh to serve Him, and to bless in His name (10^{8}). This serving (*shārēth*) and blessing are specially priestly functions. The meaning of this passage might, indeed, be that these functions and the bearing of the ark (which, according to another conception, that of the Priests' Codex [see below, § 8 **d**], is not a specially priestly office) were divided amongst different branches of the tribe of Levi. But in the passage belonging to some redactor of the Deuteronomic law, 31^{9}, the ark is borne by 'the priests, the sons of Levi,' while in v.^{25} its bearers are the Levites. The preservation of the law is, according to $31^{25f.}$, the business of the Levites; according to v.^{9} (and 17^{18}), it is the business of the priests, the sons of Levi (the Levite priests). Everywhere here there appears to be no difference recognized between Levites and priests. In ch. 27, which is also a section belonging to a redactor of the Deuteronomic law, the same persons who in v.^{9} are called Levite priests, appear to be called in v.^{14} Levites (but cf., on this passage, Kautzsch, p. 288). Taking everything into account, neither in the Deuteronomic law nor in the additions to it is 'Levite' employed as the special designation for a class of temple-servants subordinate to the priests. The supposition is, indeed, not absolutely excluded that priests and temple-servants are both included in the name 'Levites,' but even this is not likely. Rather would it appear that all through the Bk. of Deuteronomy we are to understand by Levites those only who are called to the priesthood proper. There can, indeed, be no doubt, after what we know from the Jehovistic account in the Bk. of Joshua (see above, § 3) about temple-slaves, that the author of the Deuteronomic law and those who expounded his law were acquainted with lower grades of temple-servants, but to all appearance they did not reckon these among the Levites.

In the words of Dt 26^{3} 'the priest who shall be in those days,' there appears to be an allusion to one special priest, a chief priest. In 17^{12}, on the other hand, 'the priest' may be taken rather as a typical designation for any priest (although it is against this interpretation that in v.^{9} we have the sing. 'the judge' side by side with 'the Levite priests' in the plural). Certainly in the redactory addition to the narrative introduction to Deuteronomy, namely 10^{6}, a chief priest is taken for granted: 'Aaron died, and his son Eleazar became priest in his stead,' *i.e.* Eleazar then became *chief* priest, he was *a* priest already (*Gesch.* p. 88 f.).

If no undoubted mention of a chief priest can be found in the Deuteronomic law proper, still less does it speak of the other priestly dignities which,

according to the Books of Kings (see above, § 3), already existed in the pre-exilic period. This shows the incompleteness of the Deuteronomic data regarding priestly relations.

Deuteronomy shows a distinct advance upon the older relations witnessed to in the Jehovistic book, in this, that no longer do we hear of lay priests. It is plainly assumed in Dt that only Levite priests are entitled to offer sacrifice. The whole duty of the priests is summed up in the expression 'serve Jahweh' (*shārēth Jahweh*, 17^{12} 21^{5}, also *shārēth* absolutely, $18^{5.\ 7}$), or in the equivalent expression, 'stand before Jahweh' ($18^{5.\ 7}$). To this service belongs the pronouncing of the blessing upon the people (21^{5} 10^{8}). Besides their special functions in connexion with the cultus, the priests are entrusted with the supervision of leprosy (24^{8}). Further, the priest has to give a hortatory address to the host of Israel before it moves out to battle ($20^{2ff.}$). The ancient priestly task of giving judicial decisions still persists in Deuteronomy. To deal with difficult lawsuits, a superior court is established at Jerusalem ($17^{8ff.}$), in which Levite priests have a seat along with a lay judge (*shōphēṭ*). By the body of judges mentioned in 19^{17} as consisting of priests and a plurality of *shōphēṭîm*, we should probably understand the local court. According to the decision of 'the priests, the sons of Levi,' shall every controversy and every offence be judged, hence the priests have to take part in the atoning ceremony performed when a man has been murdered by an unknown hand (21^{5}). Moreover, according to a passage, whose place as a constituent of the primitive Deuteronomy is not uncontested, 'the priests, the sons of Levi,' have to see to the preservation of the book of the law (17^{18}; cf. 31^{9} and also v.^{26}).

The tribe of Levi has, according to Dt, no inheritance in the land; Jahweh is their inheritance, *i.e.* the Levite priests are to live by their holy service ($18^{1f.}$ *al.*, also in the introduction 10^{9}). Personal ownership of land on the part of a Levite is not thereby excluded (18^{8}). As he discharges his holy office, certain specified portions of the sacrifices and the dedicated gifts fall to the officiating priest. He receives the shoulder, the cheek, and the maw of all offerings in cattle and sheep (18^{3}). The priest is to have the *rē'shîth*, the best, of corn, must, oil, and (cf. 15^{19}) wool of sheep (18^{4}). According to $26^{10f.}$, however, the whole of the *rē'shîth* did not fall to the priest, at least not that of the fruit of trees (vv.$^{2.\ 4}$); on the contrary, a feast is to be made of this, which does not, however, exclude the supposition that a portion of this meal had to be given to the priest. In what relation this *rē'shîth* stands to the tenth, and whether the regulations about the *rē'shîth* belong to the original elements of the Deuteronomic law, is not quite clear (Nowack, p. 126); there is no mention of the officiating priest having a share of the meals held with the tithes.

Quite peculiar weight is laid by the author of the Deuteronomic law on injunctions of kindness to the Levites. These manifestly cannot have in view the Levites who exercise priestly functions at Jerusalem, for they had their fixed perquisites from the offerings, and did not require kindness. Rather has the lawgiver in his mind the Levites of the country who did not discharge holy services, and he refers to them clearly in the expression, 'the Levite that is within thy gates' ($12^{12.\ 18}$ *al.*). It is expressly enjoined that the Levites, along with other needy persons, are to be invited to the meals held with the tithes ($14^{27.\ 29}$), to the sacrificial meals ($12^{12.\ 18f.}$ 26^{11}), especially to the joyous celebration of the festivals ($16^{11.\ 14}$), and that the third year's tithe is to be given to them and to other needy ones (26^{12}). One is not, as it is expressed in these enactments, to 'forsake' the Levite (12^{19} 14^{27}), who is thus in need of religious charity. It is not clear at the outset what kind of Levites outside Jerusalem the author of the Deuteronomic law has in view in the above injunctions. It is generally supposed that he refers to the country Levites in general, in so far as these, owing to the centralization of the cultus demanded by the Deuteronomic law, would be deprived of their former income derived from the numerous places of worship in the country, the *bāmôth*. But it is not at all likely that the author of the Deuteronomic law should confess to so special an interest in the priests of the *bāmôth* service which he prohibits, and which was largely mingled with idolatry. Moreover, he evidently conceives of the Levites, who are commended to charitable support, as already in destitution; it is not as of the future but as of something present that he speaks, when he refers to the Levite 'who is within thy gates.' Probably he is thinking of those Levites who had not taken part in the service on the high places, and yet, as not belonging to the Jerusalem priesthood, were excluded from officiating in the cultus of the temple. He may also have had this class specially in view in speaking of the Levites to whom he desires to open the entrance to the cultus at Jerusalem whenever they take up their abode there. That there were such Levites in the time of Josiah is not to be doubted. The priestly family to which Jeremiah belonged lived at Anathoth, probably traced its origin to the Elidæ (see above, § 3), and can hardly be supposed to have been admitted by the Zadokite priests at Jerusalem to a share in the temple service. On the other hand, it is not conceivable, at least in the case of Jeremiah himself, that he took part in the *bāmôth* service, and thus his priestly descent brought him no income. Other Levites, too, may have found themselves in the same situation.

The attitude of the author of the Deuteronomic law to the non-Jerusalemite Levites is of great importance for the forming of a judgment on his legislation and its origin. It is accordingly, in the opinion of the present writer, improbable that the author of the Deuteronomic law belonged, as is mostly held at present, to the Jerusalemite priesthood, and it is further extremely probable that although, like the prophets long before him, he stands up for Jerusalem as the legitimate place of worship, the cultus forms he describes are not specifically Jerusalemite. To this may be ascribed many of the differences between the Deuteronomic prescriptions and those of other codes in the Pentateuch. In any case the author of the Deuteronomic law, in view of the many points of contact between Jeremiah and the laws in Dt, must have stood near to the circle in which Jeremiah moved, that is to say, at once the prophetical and the non-Jerusalemite Levitical circle. The circumstance that it was **Hilkiah**, the chief priest under Josiah, who caused the 'book of the law' (*i.e.* Deuteronomy), which he found in the temple during the execution of some repairs, to be submitted to the king (2 K $22^{8ff.}$), is no evidence that this book was the genuine expression of the then aims of the Jerusalemite priesthood. We have no reason to doubt that Hilkiah *bonâ fide* regarded the book which he had found, and whose origin he need not have known, as the ancient book of the law, and gave weight to it as such, without regard to the convenience or inconvenience of its contents. Besides, we may suppose that the requirement of the centralization of the cultus, which underlies the whole of Dt, was so extremely welcome to the Jerusalemite chief priest that it would go less against the grain for him to take into the bargain other requirements which did not exactly serve the special interests of

the Jerusalemite priesthood. Further, we have no reason to think of Hilkiah as prejudiced in favour of this special interest.

5. The Priesthood from Josiah's Reform to the Exile.—The requirements of Dt on behalf of the Levites were not carried out to their full extent in Josiah's reform. Even from this circumstance it may be inferred that Hilkiah, under whose guidance probably the reform was conducted, is not to be credited with the formulating of the Deuteronomic legislation. A consistent carrying out of the letter of the Deuteronomic prescriptions would have required that, after the abolition by Josiah of all places of worship except the temple at Jerusalem, all non-Jerusalemite Levites who desired it should be equally admitted to the cultus at Jerusalem; for Dt sets up no distinction amongst the Levites outside Jerusalem, between those who are entitled to this and those who are not. Notwithstanding, in so far as the narrative in Kings is correct, and in this instance its correctness hardly admits of doubt, nothing like a general admission of Levites took place. Hilkiah, if he was the moving agent in formulating Dt, must thus either have failed to carry out thoroughly his own aims, or he did not in the Deuteronomic programme give correct expression to these aims. Little probability attaches to either of these suppositions.

According to the narrative of Kings (2 K 23), Josiah, in his purification of the cultus by the suppression of the *bāmôth* worship, appears to have distinguished between three categories of priests outside Jerusalem. The **kĕmārîm** he deposed (v.[5]). By these are meant, in accordance with the uniform OT use of this word (see above, § 1), and in view of the way in which the *kĕmārîm* are introduced in connexion with the suppression of the Baal worship which found expression in the adoration of sun, moon, and stars—idolatrous priests. The *kōhănîm* from the cities of Judah were assembled by the king (v.[8]), but he did not permit the priests of the high places to ascend the altar of Jahweh at Jerusalem, but allowed them to 'eat *maẓẓôth* in the midst of their brethren' (v.[9]). By this is perhaps meant that they had to remain in their respective places and there find their bread. In this sense the expression would certainly be somewhat strange, and there would be no indication then that these *bāmôth* priests were treated with any less severity than the *kĕmārîm*, although it must be assumed that they were. We must therefore suppose that the expression 'eating of *maẓẓôth*' has reference to some favour shown them in the matter of maintenance (*Gesch.* p. 225 f.). Of a third class of non-Jerusalemite priests there is not express mention; but since it is said that the *kōhănîm* (in a body) were assembled at Jerusalem, and then the special treatment of the *kōhănîm* of the high places is indicated, the assembling can hardly have had any object except to separate these *bāmôth* priests from other non-Jerusalemite priests who had not been priests of the high places. Kuenen (*ThT*, xxiv. [1890] p. 27) objects, indeed, to this explanation, with apparent right, when he says that then the order of words in 2 K 23[9] would require to be *'akh kōhănê ha-bāmôth lō' ya'ălû*. But the contrast is between 'he *brought* to Jerusalem' (v.[8]) and 'the priests of the high places *went not up*,' so that the order of words (*'akh lō' ya'ălû*) can be justified also on our view. Those non-Jerusalemite priests who had not been priests of the high places were then probably admitted by Josiah, in accordance with the directions of Dt regarding the Levites, to a share in the cultus at Jerusalem. If this was done, the requirements of Dt were satisfied in the spirit, although certainly not to the extent of what, taken in the letter, they might express. On the other hand, if by the priests of the high places (v.[9]) who were excluded by Josiah from the service of the altar, we are to understand all non-Jerusalemite Levites, it must be held that the Deuteronomic demands in favour of the admission of the non-Jerusalemite Levites had no regard paid to them at all. Considering the impression which the law made upon Josiah, this is not exactly probable, for Dt demands in no ambiguous terms that the non-Jerusalemite Levites should be admitted to some share in the holy service. It is possible, no doubt, that in the narrative of Kings the admission of non-Jerusalemite Levites to the cultus is passed over in silence, not without intention, because it might appear objectionable to the author. In the cities of the old kingdom of Samaria, which were likewise purified of the *bāmôth*, Josiah, according to the narrative of Kings, offered all the *bāmôth* priests upon the altars (v.[20]). Whether this bloody measure was literally carried out may indeed be doubted. On other points the story of the reform of the cultus makes the impression of being based upon good authority. For instance, in the mention of the eating of *maẓẓôth* (or whatever may have been the original expression in what is perhaps now a corrupt text) by the former priests of the high places in the midst of their brethren, the author must have had in view a special arrangement no longer clearly intelligible to us, which cannot have been invented by him after the analogy of certain relations in which the priests found themselves at a later period, or which were known from other sources.

The Bk. of Jeremiah calls the prophet's relatives at Anathoth *kōhănîm* (1[1]); they would have been called in Dt *Levites*. Besides this, in a passage which it is difficult to assign to Jeremiah himself, the Deuteronomic expression 'Levite priests' is employed (33[18]), and in the same place there is mention of 'the Levites, the priests, my (*sc.* Jahweh's) ministers' (v.[21]), or, more briefly, 'the Levites that minister to me' (v.[22]). The Bk. of Jeremiah bears no witness to the existence of a class of Levites distinct from the priests. But it certainly witnesses to an organization of the priestly body. There is mention of elders of the priests (19[1]), the office of chief superintendent in the temple (20[1] 29[25f.]), as well as that of keeper of the threshold (35[4]). The priests, even the higher grades of them, appear to be still regarded as court officials; at least the chief superintendent Zephaniah (29[25f. 29]) makes his appearance as a messenger of king Zedekiah (21[1] 37[3]).

6. The Priesthood in Ezekiel's State of the Future. — During the Exile, the prophet Ezekiel, the son of Buzi, of priestly descent (Ezk 1[3]), drew up a set of statutes for the future theocracy. These statutes are thoroughly imbued with a priestly spirit, and in view of the commanding position which is assigned in them to the sons of Zadok, the Jerusalemite priestly family, there can be no doubt that Ezekiel himself belonged to this family.

In the State of the future, in what shall then be the sole existing temple, that at Jerusalem, he permits (44[15f.]) none but the Levite priests (cf. 43[19]), the sons of Zadok, to enjoy priestly rights, to offer to Jahweh fat and blood, to enter His sanctuary and to approach His table; this prerogative is to belong to them because they kept the charge of the sanctuary of Jahweh when the children of Israel went astray. The prophet's meaning clearly is, that the Zadokites kept the service of Jahweh pure when the people deviated into idolatry—a statement which, of course, has only a measure of truth, for the intrusion of idolatry into the temple at Jerusalem in the reign of Manasseh cannot

have taken place without some complicity on the part of the Jerusalemite priests. The Zadokites are contrasted by Ezekiel with the Levites who went astray from Jahweh when Israel apostatized, who left the service of Jahweh for that of idols. They are to bear their iniquity, they shall not approach Jahweh to exercise the office of priest to Him, nor approach His holy things; on the contrary, they are to take the place of the foreigners who have hitherto been allowed to enter the sanctuary as keepers of it, and in their room they are to keep watch at the doors of the temple, to be ministers of the house, to slay the burnt-offering and the sacrifice of the people, and to stand before them (the Israelites) to minister to them ($44^{6ff.}$). Besides slaughtering the victims, the 'ministers of the house,' *i.e.* the non-Zadokite Levites, have, further, to cook the sacrifices of the people (46^{24}).

It is plain that by the non-Zadokite Levites, Ezekiel means the former priests of the high places, who had abetted the people's practice of idolatry on the high places. For this they are to be deprived of their former priestly rank and degraded to the position of temple-servants. From this it may be seen that Josiah's reform had not been able to destroy the former *bāmôth* priests' claim to priestly rights. They could, in face of that reform, appeal to the enactment of Dt, whereby an equal share in the priestly service at Jerusalem was open to all Levites who might come to attach themselves to the cultus there.

The explanation of Ezekiel's 'Levites' as the former priests of the high places has been rightly maintained, especially by Graf, Kuenen, and Wellhausen. On the other hand, one cannot infer, as has been done by the writers just named, from Ezekiel's presentation of the case, that up till then there were in the temple at Jerusalem no other servants of the priests or of the temple beyond the foreigners spoken of. Ezekiel demands merely that the foreigners who had previously given service in the sanctuary, and who are known from the Jehovistic passages in the Bk. of Joshua (see above, § 3) as temple-slaves, should have their place taken in future by the former priests of the high places. But besides such servants, there may, even prior to the time of Ezekiel, have been Israelites, possibly even Levites in particular, who held in the temple a position subordinate to the priests and intermediate between them and the laity. Ezekiel speaks of a degradation not of the Levites as a body, but only of those of them who had been priests of the idol-worship. Only in a later passage (48^{11}) does he say of the 'Levites' generally, in distinction from the sons of Zadok, that they 'went astray,' but, after the previous description of the manner of this going astray, it may be so put for the sake of shortness. That besides those who went astray and the Zadokites there is yet another group of Levites recognized by Ezekiel, namely those who had even at an earlier period occupied the position now assigned to the former *bāmôth* priests, of this there is certainly nowhere a clear expression. One might think to deduce it from $40^{45f.}$, where—before the degrading of the idolatrous Levites is spoken of—a distinction is made between 'the priests, the keepers of the charge of the house,' and 'the priests, the keepers of the charge of the altar, which are the sons of Zadok, who from among the sons of Levi draw near to Jahweh to minister to him' (*Gesch.* p. 106). Smend (*ad loc.*) and Kuenen (*ThT*, 1890, p. 23) would refer the words 'these are the sons of Zadok' to both the preceding definitions of the *kōhănîm*, so that by 'keepers of the charge of the house' we should not have to understand Levites as distinguished from Zadokites. This does not appear to the present writer to be permissible, seeing that in 44^{11} it is expressly said of the Levites that they are to be 'ministers of the house,' and in 44^{14} that it is they that are to be 'keepers of the charge of the house' (cf. 46^{24}), whereas 44^{16} says of the sons of Zadok that they are to draw near to the table of Jahweh, which corresponds to the definition 'to keep the charge of the altar.' Kuenen appears to be decidedly wrong when, in answer to the present writer's distinguishing of two classes of priests in $40^{45f.}$, he objects that the south hall and the north hall in $40^{45f.}$, of which the first is for the keepers of the charge of the house, and the second for the keepers of the charge of the altar, are, according to 42^{13}, both intended for the priests proper, 'who draw near to Jahweh,' *i.e.* the Zadokites. The south hall and the north hall of $40^{45f.}$ are quite different from the north halls and south halls of 42^{13} (observe halls to the north and halls to the south,' both times in the plural). The two single halls of $40^{45f.}$ lie outside the inner gate, *i.e.* the south gate and the north gate leading to the inner fore-court, by the side of the gate (v.^{44}). The north halls and south halls of 42^{13} are situated opposite the inner fore-court, *i.e.* outside the latter, on its north and south sides (see Smend, *ad loc.*). From 42^{13} it cannot then be inferred that the *kōhănîm* mentioned in $40^{45f.}$ are all to be regarded as Zadokites. But even if in this passage a distinction is already made between priests of first and second rank, it is possible that there is in this a proleptic reference to the later statements about the degrading of the priests of the high places. If so, it is certainly surprising that only in 40^{45} are even the lower class spoken of as *kōhănîm*. The two classes are elsewhere distinguished by Ezekiel in the same fashion, but the designation *kōhănîm* for the lower class occurs no more after the rule has been laid down in ch. 44 that the Levites who went astray are no longer to discharge priestly services. On the contrary, $45^{4f.}$ speaks of 'the priests, the ministers of the sanctuary, who draw near to minister to Jahweh,' and, along with these, of 'the Levites, the ministers of the house.' Therefore it seems to follow from the peculiar form of designation, *kōhănîm*, applied only in $40^{45f.}$ to the lower class, that the distinction of *kōhănîm* of two grades was familiar to Ezekiel from already existing relations (so Van Hoonacker, *Sacerdoce*, etc. p. 195), but that in his later utterances he purposely avoided giving to the lower class the name of 'priests,' after he had denied the priestly character to the apostate Levites who were assigned to this class. That there should have been a second class of priests even prior to the Exile is not astonishing in view of the various priestly dignities recognized in the Bks. of Kings (see above, § 3). If this were really the case, the priests of secondary rank will, of course, have been different from the foreigners, the temple-slaves. The latter are required by Ezekiel to be in future wholly discarded. His Levites, *i.e.* the former priests of the high places, are, on this presupposition, to discharge in the future cultus the duties which hitherto have been discharged by the priests of the second rank and the foreigners.

A chief priest is not known to the future theocracy of Ezekiel any more than a king, but only a 'prince' (*nāsî'*), to whom certain priestly prerogatives belong, as they had done to the pre-exilic king. The prince may upon certain occasions enter the east gate of the inner fore-court, but not this court itself; he is to defray the cost of the daily offering and the material for the offerings at the great festivals, and for the people (*Gesch.* p. 129 f.). 'The priest' who officiates at the atonement for the sanctuary on the first day

of the first and seventh months (45$^{19f.}$) can hardly be the chief priest (Smend, *ad loc.*), but may rather be regarded as the particular Zadokite who happens to officiate. It has frequently been assumed that these ordinances of Ezekiel imply the non-existence of a '**high priest**' up to his time. It may be, indeed, that prior to Ezekiel no priest bore the exact title 'high priest'; but there can be no doubt, from the account of things in the Bks. of Kings, that prior even to the Exile there was a *chief* priest at Jerusalem. In Ezekiel's theocracy Jahweh is directly present, hence it has no room for a human king, and is just as little in want of a single priestly mediator (this also against Van Hoonacker, *Sacerdoce*, etc. p. 368, who holds that Ezekiel intends, by the emphasis he lays on Zadok as the father of the Jerusalemite priesthood, to recognize in his State of the future a 'high priest' such as Zadok was). Ezekiel's temple has no sacred ark, to which such a priest had to draw near, but God Himself dwells in the temple. It may be that in the words, 'Away with the tiara (*miẓnepheth*, elsewhere only as the designation of the high priest's turban in the Priests' Code, cf. *ẓānîph* in Zec 3^{5}), hence with the crown' (Ezk 21^{31} [Eng.^{26}]), there is a distinct rejection both of the kingship and of the high priesthood expressed (*Gesch.* p. 118 f.). At all events, in view of the dropping of the title of 'king' in Ezekiel's theocracy, it would not be surprising if he meant a hitherto existing high priesthood to be also discarded.

Ezekiel gives special injunctions to the priests. They are to perform the holy service, clothed in linen, not in wool, in order to avoid sweat (44$^{17f.}$). This official dress they are to put off when they go out to the outer court, that they may not sanctify the people with their holy garments (v.^{19}). In like manner, in order to avoid sanctifying the people, it is enacted that the priests are to boil the guilt-offering and the sin-offering and to bake the *minḥāh* in chambers of the inner court, but not to bring them into the outer court (46$^{19f.}$). Their hair they are neither to let grow long nor to shave off, but to cut; when they go into the inner court they may not drink wine (44$^{20f.}$). They may not marry a divorced woman, but only a virgin of the house of Israel or the widow of a priest (v.^{22}). They are not to defile themselves with dead bodies except in the case of the nearest relations; in the event of such defilement the priest is not to be allowed to enter the inner court and present his sin-offering till the seventh day after his purification (v.$^{26f.}$). An injunction, which was indeed of general application (cf. Ex 22^{30}), is addressed with special emphasis to the priests, namely that they are not to eat of animals that have died of themselves or been torn (v.^{31}). Amongst the functions assigned to the priests, besides the offering of sacrifice, there is the instruction of the people in the difference between holy and profane, clean and unclean, as well as the giving of judicial decisions (v.$^{23f.}$).

The principle already laid down in Dt, and repeated by Ezekiel, that the priests are to have no inheritance in the land of Israel, that Jahweh is their inheritance (44^{28}), is not carried through consistently by Ezekiel. He assigns to the priests the land immediately surrounding the temple, as a holy *tĕrûmāh* or 'portion' to dwell on (45$^{1ff.}$ 48$^{10ff.}$); the Levites receive the district touching on the priests' land (45^{5} 48^{13}). The land of the priests and Levites is an inalienable possession (48^{14}). Besides this the priests have, as in Dt, but after a different arrangement, definite portions assigned them of the sacrifices and sacred gifts. The *minḥāh*, the sin-offering and the guilt-offering they have to consume in the chambers of the temple (42^{13} 44^{29}). Every 'devoted thing' in Israel falls to them (44^{29}), and, in the case of the consecrated gifts, the best (the *rē'shîth*) of all the first-fruits of everything, and of every heave-offering (*tĕrûmāh*), of everything of all heave-offerings, along with which special mention is made, further, of the best (the *rē'shîth*) of the dough (44^{30}). By the heave-offering appears to be meant vegetable products of the land, along with the first-fruits already mentioned. Of the heave-offering also only the *rē'shîth* is assigned to the priest. What is to be done with the rest is not indicated, perhaps it goes to the State (*Gesch.* p. 126 f.).

7. The Priesthood from Ezekiel to Ezra.—Ezekiel's ordinances were of an ideal character, calculated upon a hoped-for restoration of the theocracy. During the Exile, when there was no holy service performed, we learn nothing about the condition of the priestly arrangements. Only Deutero-Isaiah speaks of 'holy princes' (43^{28}), by which probably priest-princes are meant, and in that case a priesthood organized in different grades is presupposed, such as we make acquaintance with in Kings. A prophet writing in the period after the Return, who appears to have belonged to the school of Deutero-Isaiah, but can scarcely have been identical with him, rises to the broad-minded expectation that Jahweh in the future will take to Himself even Gentiles 'for priests, for Levites' (Is 66^{21}, where read לְכֹהֲנִים לְלֵוִים; see *Gesch.* p. 249 f.). Whether the prophet understands the terms 'priests' and 'Levites' to be identical in meaning, or distinguishes between them (so, recently, again, Van Hoonacker, *Sacerdoce*, etc. p. 206 ff.), is not perfectly clear; but the probability is that the two terms are regarded as equivalent, as otherwise there would be an anti-climax in the order 'priests, Levites.' The statement assumes the simplest character if one emends (with Kuenen, Duhm [*ad loc.*], Kittel [*ad loc.*], and Cheyne [*Introd. to the Book of Isaiah*, London, 1895, p. 377]) לְכֹהֲנֵי לֵוִיִּם 'for Levite priests.'

From the post-exilic community we have authentic information about the condition of the priesthood, first of all from Haggai and Zechariah in the second year of king Darius (Hystaspis), B.C. 520. Both these prophets speak of Joshua, the head of the priestly body, as '**high priest**' (*hakkōhēn ha-gādôl*, Hag 1$^{1.\ 12.\ 14}$, Zec 3$^{1.\ 8}$ *al.*), a designation of which we have found hitherto only isolated occurrences in Kings, without having any guarantee from these that we are entitled to look upon it as a pre-exilic title. When, in the vision of Zechariah, the Satan accuses the high priest, his complaint is repelled by the angel of Jahweh, in the name of Jahweh 'who has chosen Jerusalem' (Zec 3^{2}). The high priest then is clearly viewed as the representative of Jerusalem, and thus, in all probability, of the whole community. Without the high priest, Zechariah cannot portray the consummation of all things under the *Ẓemaḥ*, *i.e.* the Messiah. He thinks of a priest as standing on the right (LXX) of the future king (6^{13}). In another passage in this same prophet, the Messiah himself appears to be represented as in possession of priestly prerogatives, when it is said of Joshua and his companions, *i.e.* the rest of the priests, that they are 'men of the sign,' in allusion to the coming of the *Ẓemaḥ*, under whom the sin of the land is to be taken away in one day (3$^{8f.}$). To Joshua the promise is made that, if he will walk in Jahweh's ways and keep His charge, he shall judge Jahweh's house (*i.e.* Israel; *tādîn* would scarcely be used of the management of the temple [Wellhausen, Nowack], although the temple appears to suit better the mention of 'courts' in the same context), keep His courts, and have a place to walk among those who stand before God (3^{7}). Joshua is thus thought of as the culminating head of the people, the director

of the cultus, the mediator between the community and God. The high priest is manifestly conceived of by Zechariah as anointed (as in the Priests' Code), for the 'two sons of oil' of Zec 4^{14} can hardly stand for anything else than the Davidically descended Zerubbabel and the high priest Joshua.

All this marks a view of the dignity of the chief priest which is diametrically opposed to the programme of Ezekiel, and which cannot be understood as a direct expansion of what we have learned from Dt or the prophets or the historical books to have been the development of things hitherto. Of course, through the restoration of Israel, after the Exile, the dignity of the chief priest acquired extra elevation, because he was now head of the community with no longer a king by his side. But in spite of all this it appears to the present writer inconceivable, that in the course of the 52 years which had elapsed since Ezekiel in the five and twentieth year of his captivity (B.C. 572) had his vision of the new Jerusalem with its new ordinances (40^{1}), the high priestly dignity should have made its appearance as a wholly new creation. If Ezekiel is silent about a chief priest, this is—as the statements in the Bks. of Kings show — plainly not because there had been no chief priest at Jerusalem up till then, but is due to an intentional reaction against a then actually existing office. But even if this be so, the rank of the chief priest must, in the interval between Dt and Zechariah, or even between Ezekiel and Zechariah, have been raised in a way of which there is no evidence in the sources as yet adduced, and which is not intelligible on the ground simply of the changed circumstances. We shall have to return later on to inquire to what influence this alteration is to be ascribed (see below, § 8 **g**).

In Haggai the priests are asked for *tôrāh*, *i.e.* oral direction, and this with reference to the distinction of clean and unclean ($2^{11ff.}$). From the fact that the reply is given by word of mouth, it does not follow that there was as yet no written *tôrāh* at all on this subject; even where such exists, oral direction as to its application in any particular case is still requisite. By Zechariah, too, it is regarded as the business of the priests—as well as the prophets—to give information about a question affecting religious observances (7^{3}).

Neither Haggai nor Zechariah make any mention of Levites alongside of priests. Our first authentic witness to Levites is in the time of Ezra. According to the account given in Ezra's own Memoirs (indicated hereafter by M, which stands also for the Memoirs of Nehemiah), Ezra was accompanied to Palestine by two priestly houses, that of Gershom of the sons of Phinehas, and that of Daniel of the sons of Ithamar (Ezr 8^{2} M). No Levites came forward at first to join him (v.^{15} M). It was only at Ezra's special request that 38 Levites were at length prepared to go with him (v.$^{18f.}$ M). Of the Nethinim, 'whom David and the princes had given for the service of the Levites,' there went with Ezra 220 men (v.^{20} M). The fact that so few Levites, and these only after much pressing, consented to follow Ezra, must have been due to special circumstances. The Levites, who in Ezr and Neh are everywhere sharply distinguished from the priests, must be understood to be those whom Ezekiel had called Levites in the narrower sense, *i.e.* the descendants of the non-Jerusalemite priests of the high places. The station which Ezekiel had assigned to them in the State of the future must have presented few attractions. Still the distinction between priests and Levites among those who returned with Ezra can scarcely be based merely upon the ordinance proposed by Ezekiel, but, like the appearance of the high priest in Zechariah, is probably to be attributed to the influence of another classification which had meanwhile come into force (cf. below, § 8 **g**). But even apart from such, and even if there was no thought of introducing the ideal constitution of Ezekiel, the situation was not a favourable one for these 'Levites.' As Ezra himself, according to what is quite a credible account of his descent (Ezr $7^{1ff.}$), was a Zadokite, the descendants of the former priests of Jerusalem would, as a matter of course, take the lead amongst the returned exiles, so that other 'Levites,' who were not in a position to claim that they belonged to the priestly aristocracy, must give way to them.

The Memoirs of both Ezra and Nehemiah make a distinction, which the Bks. of Ezr and Neh do not make everywhere throughout, between the Levites and the **singers** and **doorkeepers** of the temple (*e.g.* Ezr $10^{23f.}$ M; see *Gesch.* p. 142, and cf. below, § 9). These are classes which meet us for the first time in the post-exilic period (the 'singers' of Ezk 40^{44} are based upon a textual error, see Smend, *ad loc.*; otherwise Köberle, p. 17 ff.). But it is not likely that these classes constitute a really new phenomenon, which first took its rise in the Exile, for, during a period when there was neither temple nor cultus, professional classes like these can scarcely have been formed. And as little—even if the representation given in Neh 7 (?M) = Ezr 2, that already amongst those who returned with Zerubbabel there were singers and doorkeepers, should be incorrect—can these classes have come into being for the first time under the wretched conditions that marked the beginnings of the cultus in post-exilic Jerusalem. Rather, it may be inferred, in the post-exilic singers and doorkeepers we have to do with the descendants of doorkeepers and singers of the pre-exilic temple, just as in the **Nethinim** with descendants of pre-exilic temple-slaves. The post-exilic singers, doorkeepers, and Nethinim are consequently an argument in favour of the existence of a numerous non-priestly *personnel* of servants in the pre-exilic temple.

In a statistical account of the Astarte temple, inscribed on stone, found on the site of the ancient Kition, and belonging perhaps to the 4th cent. B.C. (*CIS*, I. 86A and B), there is mention of a whole series of different servants of the temple, who correspond in part to the Jerusalem temple-servants: those who had charge of the curtains, gatekeepers, those who had to attend to the slaying of the sacrificial victims, female singers or dancers (עלמת). A *personnel* of a similar kind was, in fact, required by every considerable temple.

The post-exilic Levites in the narrower sense, on the other hand, cannot be identified with any office in the pre-exilic temple. Although the class known in post-exilic times as 'Levites' owed its origin, to all appearance, to the programme of Ezekiel, yet the presence of special doorkeepers, alongside the Levites, in the post-exilic temple, shows that the Levites had not become precisely what he intended, for he had assigned to them the charge of the temple doors (see above, § 6). From the same circumstance it may be inferred with probability that the class of doorkeepers existed prior to Ezekiel, and that he intended to amalgamate his Levites with these. If the list contained in Neh 7 is what in the present text it gives itself out to be, namely a catalogue of those who at the first returned from the Exile with Zerubbabel (Neh 7^{7}), the first *gôlāh* that returned already included all the above classes of sanctuary servants. Along with 4289 priests the list mentions 74 Levites, 148 (128) singers, 138 (139) doorkeepers, 392 Nethinim and sons of

Solomon's servants (Neh $7^{39ff.}$, cf. Ezr $2^{36ff.}$). But perhaps the probability is greater that we have to do here with a list of the population of Judah at the time of Nehemiah. The very small number of Levites will have to be explained in this passage in the same way as in the notice regarding those that returned with Ezra (see above). Another list (Neh 11^{10-19}), which likewise has reference perhaps to the time of Nehemiah (the Chronicler, at all events, understands it so), gives, amongst the numbers of those dwelling in Jerusalem, for the priests 1192; for the Levites, to whom the singers are here reckoned, 284; for the doorkeepers 172. This list, however, as it does not distinguish between Levites and singers, may not have been drawn up till after the time of Nehemiah. Ezra himself says nothing of singers and doorkeepers having returned with him; it is only in the later narrative, Ezr 7^7, that they are mentioned, but without any statement of their numbers, amongst the different classes of those who accompanied Ezra. It may be that they had already returned in such numbers, that, when Ezra set out, there were either no more singers and doorkeepers in Babylon at all (Vogelstein, p. 38 f.), or none that were prepared to go with him. On the other hand, 220 Nethinim returned with Ezra (Ezr 8^{20} M).

The same list in Neh 7, whose date is uncertain, lays great stress on the priests being able to prove their priestly genealogy; the families that could not do this were excluded from the priesthood (v.$^{63ff.}$). What was demanded in the matter of this genealogy is not evident from the expressions used, whether perchance descent from Zadok had to be proved, in accordance with the ordinance of Ezekiel, or from Aaron, as is required by the Priests' Code.

The above were the constituent elements of the service of the temple, when, according to the usually accepted date, in B.C. 445 or 444, during the governorship of Nehemiah, Ezra caused the Law to be read aloud in solemn assembly (Neh 8 ff.). This law—probably the whole Pentateuch, otherwise only the so-called Priests' Code, *i.e.* the ceremonial law contained in the middle books of the Pentateuch — contained also regulations regarding the priesthood which up till then had not possessed normative force, at whatever time they may have originated. In the position, however, answering to that in the Priests' Code, which was assumed by the high priest in the new Jewish community, even before the arrival of Ezra (see above), we shall have to recognize an influence exerted, prior to its public promulgation, by the legislation of the Priests' Code which was gradually arranged or collected, if not composed, by the scribes in Babylon. In this Code, as is well known, the high priest has a unique position given to him. The influence of the same legislation is probably to be traced likewise in the explicit distinction between priests and Levites amongst those who returned with Ezra, and still more clearly in the circumstance that some priests who returned with Ezra traced their descent to Aaron (Ithamar), but not to Zadok (Phinehas). This influence of the Priests' Code upon the relations of the new community prior to Ezra's appearance in Palestine, is enough to exclude the view, which is sometimes put forward, that Ezra composed the Priests' Code after his arrival, *i.e.*, according to the usual chronology, between the years B.C. 458 and 445 or 444. At least the rudimentary stage of the Priests' Code must be placed, in view of the position of the high priest in the time of the prophet Zechariah, not less than about a century before the time of Ezra.

In all probability the publication of the Law was preceded by the appearance of the short prophetical writing which has come down to us under the name *Malachi*, which is derived from one of its catch-words, or may even be a title of honour given to its author. It was probably written after the arrival of Ezra, as it occupies itself with the question of the mixed marriages, which, so far as we know, was first agitated by him. The covenant with the priests is called in Malachi the covenant with Levi or with the Levites ($2^{4.8}$), which does not agree with the terminology of the Priests' Codex, and hence appears to point to a date prior to its publication. It cannot, surely, be supposed that, with reference to an oppression of the serving Levites by the priests, the latter are reminded by Malachi that Jahweh has entered into covenant with the whole tribe of Levi (Vogelstein, p. 24 f.), for what Malachi complains of is not ill-treatment of the Levites by the priests, but that the priests handle the *tôrāh* wrongly and with respect of persons ($2^{8f.}$), *i.e.* of course in their dealings with the community. Malachi calls those who present the offerings 'sons of Levi' (3^3), and betrays no acquaintance with the term 'Levites' in the special sense of the Priests' Code, namely as the appellation of a class of inferior ministers of the sanctuary. The terminology of the Priests' Codex had thus, at all events, not become current in the time of Malachi. It is true that in Malachi the paying of the tithes is demanded, not for the holding of feasts, as in Dt, but for the store-house of the temple, as 'food,' *i.e.* for those who live by their temple service ($3^{8.10}$). This agrees with the requirement of the Priests' Code published by Ezra, but this particular ordinance may have come into force even prior to the publication of the Code.

8. THE PRIESTHOOD ACCORDING TO THE LAW CONTAINED IN THE 'PRIESTLY WRITING.'—We do not know what was the compass of the law-book which obtained recognition under Ezra. Probably we should understand by it the whole Pentateuch. The narrative of the reading of the law and the binding of the people to obey it is scarcely, it is true, taken directly from the Memoirs of Ezra, but certain traces indicate that it goes back to these. The indications which the narrative of the reading of the law gives as to its contents point in part (the prohibition of marriage with the Canaanites, Neh 10^{31}) to Deuteronomy, or even to the still older legislation contained in the Jehovistic book, but in great measure to enactments which are to be found only in the code contained in that source of the Pentateuch which it has become customary to call as a whole the 'Priestly Writing' (Neh $8^{15.18}$ $10^{34.36ff.}$). This portion of the law of Ezra is a new factor which, at whatever time it may have originated, had not hitherto obtained public recognition or been generally known. It is true that in certain new ordinances regarding the situation of the priests, introduced in the period between the First Return and the arrival of Ezra (see above, § 7), influences are to be traced which proceeded from this code, whether already in existence or in process of coming into being.

The Priestly Writing occupies itself more than any of the collections of laws that had hitherto obtained validity, with the relations of the priesthood, and, on this account and because of its having undeniably originated in the circle of the priests, may be called after them. Its legislation, which deals mainly with ritual, is not, indeed, specially designed for the priests. It is not meant to be a manual of rules for the discharge of the priestly service. These, indeed, are not fully given on many points; rather are the readers or hearers it has in view, primarily the members of the con-

gregation. The latter, however, are instructed mainly about the organization of the holy service and of those who perform it, about the rights and duties appertaining to the priests. Nevertheless, for the sake of brevity, the law contained in the 'Priestly Writing' may be called, after the example of others, the Priests' Code.

a. *The priests in the Law of Holiness and in particular 'tôrôth.'*—It is owing only to redaction by a single hand that the Priests' Code has reached a harmonious character; this redaction has clearly welded it together from a variety of components. Even the views it gives of the priestly relations have not been all cast in one mould. In those components of the Priests' Code which manifestly are to be recognized as the oldest, the so-called 'Law of Holiness,' *i.e.* the main stock of Lv 17–26, as well as particular *tôrôth* akin to this, which were perhaps originally combined with it or may have had currency by themselves (Lv 6 f., 11 [12–15. 27], Nu $5^{11ff.}$ 6^{1-21} 15^{37-41}), we hear only of 'the priests' or 'the priest,' namely the one officiating; but the priests are not more clearly defined as to their descent, and there is no mention of Levites or other sanctuary servants along with them. It is a later process of redaction that has introduced into these passages the designation of the priests with reference to Aaron and his sons. In Lv 6^{7} (Eng.^{14}) 'sons of Aaron' appears to stand in the place of an original 'the priest,' for this subject is followed in v.$^{8\,(15)}$ by the singular of the verb. The quite isolated mention of the Levites in these portions (Lv 25^{32-34}) is certainly an interpolation. On the other hand, even the original Law of Holiness probably contained very minute prescriptions as to purity on the part of the priests (Lv $21^{1ff.}$). This law appears, further, to have been acquainted with a chief priest, for the connexion of the section which lays down special rules for his purity (Lv $21^{10ff.}$) with the Law of Holiness scarcely admits of a doubt (it is doubted, indeed, by H. Weinel, 'משח und seine Derivate,' in *ZATW*, 1898, p. 28 ff.). In favour of this connexion is the expression, not used elsewhere in the Priests' Code, 'the priest who is greater than his brethren' (v.^{10}). To the older elements probably belongs also the prescription that this first priest is not to leave the sanctuary in the event of a bereavement (Lv 21^{12}), which presupposes that he lives in the sanctuary (as Eli did), a view which is taken nowhere else in the Priests' Code.

To what date these oldest components of the Priests' Code should be attributed it is hard to decide. At present they are usually assigned to the Exile, near the time of Ezekiel. So much is unquestionably right, that the Law of Holiness still existed as a collection by itself during the Exile, and that it received then its conclusion which fits only that period (Lv $26^{3ff.}$) But, beyond this, it does not follow necessarily from the special points of contact between Ezekiel and this law, that both belong to nearly the same period. These points of contact may be due to the fact that Ezekiel made quite a special use of the Law of Holiness, and specially attached himself to it. The demand which stands at the head of this law (Lv $17^{1ff.}$), that all slaying of animals must take place before the sanctuary (which was afterwards brought by a redactor into relation to the tent of meeting, which was not originally mentioned), could be obeyed only at a time when there were more sanctuaries than one (so, following Dillmann, *Gesch.* p. 47). This would lead us to think of the pre-Deuteronomic period. That the author of the Deuteronomic law was acquainted with the *tôrāh* about leprosy which has come down to us in Lv 13 f., outside the specially so-called 'Law of Holiness,' but belonging to those special *tôrôth* akin to this law (see above), is not improbable, seeing that, at all events, some leprosy-*tôrāh* entrusted to the priests is known to him (Dt 24^{8}).

If the Law of Holiness originally presupposed the existence of a plurality of sanctuaries, it remains doubtful whether it thinks of a single chief priest for all the sanctuaries, or assumes that there will be a number of chief priests taking charge of the different sanctuaries.

b. *The Aaronite priests.*—The other components of the Priests' Code exhibit a harmonious system of organization of the priesthood; although even here, in matters of detail, differences of various strata and innovations are not to be overlooked. A priesthood, according to the Priestly Writing, first came into being in Israel in the time of Moses, when the one legitimate place of sacrifice, the tent of meeting, was by Divine direction established. Previously, according to this writing, the fathers of Israel had offered no sacrifices, and consequently required no priests. Moses installed as priests his brother Aaron and the latter's sons. Only to the descendants of these do the priestly rights pass on. The terms 'sons of Aaron' and 'priests' are thus synonymous (Ex 28^{41} 29^{44} $40^{12ff.}$ etc.). Only two of Aaron's sons, Eleazar and Ithamar, perpetuate the family. A preference, however, is given to the sons of Eleazar above those of Ithamar, when, on the occasion of a propitiatory action on the part of Phinehas, the son of Eleazar, the covenant of an everlasting priesthood is entered into only with him and his seed (Nu $25^{12f.}$).

For the exercise of the holy office the sons of Aaron are provided with a special *priestly attire*, Ex $28^{40ff.}$—linen breeches and a long coat (*kĕthōneth*), besides a girdle and a turban. The upper garments are, according to Ex 39^{28}, to be all of *shēsh*, *i.e.*, borrowing an Egyptian term, *byssus*, therefore white, till we come to the girdle, which, according to Ex 39^{29} (if here it is the girdle of the priests in general and not that of the high priest that is spoken of), is composed of the four colours of the sanctuary, namely white, crimson, blue-purple, and red-purple. At all events, according to Josephus (*Ant.* III. vii. 2), the white ground of the priest's girdle had flowers of the four colours wrought into it. Shoes, which are nowhere mentioned, are apparently not to be worn by the priests while performing the sacred office; they probably go barefooted (Ex 3^{5} [JE]), just as the Phœnician priests wore not shoes but linen socks (Pietschsmann, *Gesch. der Phönizier*, Berlin, 1889, p. 223). The white garments of *shēsh* correspond to the linen robe, the *'ēphōd bad*, which in olden times was worn by the Hebrew priests (1 S 2^{18}). Linen was the material of the priest's dress also among the Babylonians (Gunkel, *Archiv f. Religionswissenschaft*, i. [1898] p. 297) and the Egyptians (Ancessi, p. 102 ff.; Renan, *Hist. du peuple d'Israël*, i. 149; *Gesch.* p. 70 f.). The employment of *shēsh* instead of the more common linen is to be set down as a later refinement.

The *ritual functions* of the priests, specified in the Priests' Code, are of a manifold character. The priests have to sprinkle the blood of the victim in the sanctuary (Lv $1^{5.\,11.\,15}$ etc.), to offer the sacrifices (*i.e.* lay them upon the altar and cause them to go up in the sacred fire (Lv $1^{7-9.\,12f.\,15-17}$ etc.); they alone may accomplish the *kappārāh* ('covering') effected by the presentation of the offerings (Lv $4^{26.\,35}$ etc.). On the other hand, the killing, flaying, and cutting up of the victim is, according to the Priests' Code (differing in this from Ezekiel), the business of the person making the offering, even should he be a layman (Lv $1^{5f.}$ *al.*; see *Gesch.* p. 114 f.). The priests have,

further, to pour out the drink-offering (Nu 6^{17}), they have to perform the whole service connected with the altar of burnt-offering (Ex 30^{20}) and (spoken with special reference to Aaron) the altar of incense (Ex $30^{7f.}$). Only an Aaronite, and 'no stranger' may offer incense at all (Nu 17^{5} [Eng. 16^{40}]). The Aaronites alone have charge of the table of shewbread (Lv 24^{8}, spoken specially of Aaron) and the candlestick (Ex 27^{21}). From Ex $30^{7f.}$, Lv 24^{3}, Nu $8^{2f.}$ it does not result that, according to another older enactment, only the high priest had charge of the candlestick (Vogelstein, p. 63). When 'Aaron' alone is spoken of here, it is as the representative of the priesthood in general. As such he performs in the Priests' Code the whole of the priestly service, and in other passages as well he is named alone as standing for the priests in general. Ex 27^{21} 'Aaron and his sons' will not be incorrect, then, as the explanation of the other passages which speak of Aaron alone. Only the priests may go within the sanctuary (Ex 30^{20}). A 'stranger,' *i.e.* a non-Aaronite, who approaches the altar or the space inside the curtain shall die (Nu 18^{7}). Amongst the holiest articles which may be approached only by holy persons, *i.e.* only by the priests, is reckoned even the laver in the fore-court (Ex $30^{28f.}$).

Even *outside the sanctuary* there are special duties assigned to the priests. They have to remove the ashes from the altar to a clean place without the camp (Lv 6^{4} [Eng. ^{11}]); they have (specially Eleazar, but this while Aaron was yet alive) charge of the holy anointing oil (Nu 4^{16}, which is perhaps to be assigned to a redactor, see Dillm. *Numeri*, etc., 1886, p. 14 f.). They alone may pronounce the blessing upon the people (Nu $6^{22ff.}$), and in war or at the festivals are to blow with the sacred trumpets (Nu $10^{8ff.}$ 31^{6}). They have to watch over the distinction between holy and profane, unclean and clean, and to instruct the children of Israel in all statutes which Jahweh has spoken to them through Moses (Lv $10^{10f.}$), whereby probably those statutes are specially intended which have regard to holy and profane, clean and unclean.

The priests have, further, to pronounce the curse on the woman who is accused of adultery, and to give her the water of bitterness to drink (Nu $5^{15ff.}$); they have to reconsecrate the head of the Nazirite who has been defiled (Nu 6^{11}), to determine the presence of leprosy in human beings, in houses, and in clothes, as well as to pronounce the declaration of cleanness from leprosy, and, in the latter case, to carry out the sprinkling of the man to be cleansed with the sacrificial blood, as well as the sprinkling and pouring out of oil (Lv 13 f.). At the slaying and burning of the red heifer, from whose ashes the water of purification for those who have been defiled by touching a dead body is to be prepared, the priest (Eleazar in the lifetime of Aaron) is to be present; he has to sprinkle the blood, and to throw various ingredients into the burning (Nu $19^{3ff.}$). The priests have, further, to determine the valuation of persons that have been vowed (Lv 27^{8}), of vowed unclean beasts (v.$^{11f.}$), of the consecrated house (v.^{14}) or field (v.$^{16ff.}$).

Aaron and his sons are *installed in office* by a solemn consecration, with 'filling of the hand,' *i.e.* by the presenting of a dedicatory offering placed in their hand, the 'fill-offering' (Ex 29, Lv 8 *al.*; cf. on the filling of the hand, above, § 2). That this act of consecration is to be repeated in the case of every priest afterwards is not said, and how far this was actually done is questionable (Schürer, p. 231 f., note 25). In other passages an anointing of the priests is spoken of (Ex 28^{41} 30^{30} *al.*). But at the same time the title 'the anointed' as an expression of honour is used only of the high priest (Lv $4^{3.\ 5.\ 16}$ *al.*). At the ceremony of consecrating the priests there is mention only of the anointing of Aaron (Ex 29^{7}), and the anointing is viewed as the sign of the high-priestly succession (v.^{29}).

Clearly we have to do here (as Wellhausen was the first to see) with two strata of the Priests' Code; one of which assumes the anointing of all priests, the other only that of the high priest. Through combining the two views, the description has originated which makes it appear as if originally all priests were anointed, while in future the high priest alone is to be anointed (*Gesch.* pp. 25, 48 f.). Nowhere in the OT outside the Priests' Code is the anointing of ordinary priests assumed, but that of the high priest is assumed in several passages (Weinel in *ZATW*, 1898, p. 28).

Full priestly rights belong to such Aaronites as are *free from bodily defects*. No one who suffers from any such blemish is to go within the sanctuary or approach the altar. On the other hand, even such persons are entitled, like the other Aaronites, to eat of the holy and the most holy offerings (Lv $21^{16ff.}$). On pain of being cut off, the priests have to refrain from sacrificing and from eating of the sacrificial flesh as long as they are tainted with any *Levitical uncleanness* (Lv $22^{2ff.}$). The prohibition which applied to all Israelites (Lv $17^{15f.}$) against eating the flesh of an animal that had died of itself or been torn, is addressed with special emphasis to the priests (Lv 22^{8}). Before performing the sacred office they have to wash their hands and feet in the brazen laver (Ex $30^{19ff.}$ $40^{31f.}$), and may not, before going into the sanctuary to perform their duties, drink wine or strong drink (Lv $10^{8f.}$). They are forbidden to marry a harlot, a polluted, or a divorced woman (Lv 21^{7}). A priest's daughter who by harlotry has profaned the office of her father is to be burned with fire (v.^{9}). The priests are forbidden to defile themselves through the dead, with the exception of defilement by the corpse of the nearest blood relations (Lv $21^{1ff.}$). In all cases of bereavement they are forbidden to exhibit signs of mourning by making a baldness upon their heads, cutting their beards at the corners, or making cuttings in their flesh (v.^{5}).—These prescriptions for the maintaining of purity on the part of the priests are found to a large extent in the Law of Holiness, and may already have belonged to its main stock, and thus have been merely adopted by the Priests' Code.

c. *The high priest.*—At the head of the priestly body stands, in the time of Moses, his brother Aaron, and in later times always one of the descendants of the latter (Ex $29^{29f.}$ etc.). After the death of Aaron the functions of chief priest are undertaken by his eldest son Eleazar, who in turn is succeeded by his son Phinehas (Nu $25^{11ff.}$); which seems to assume an arrangement for the succession of the firstborn. Aaron, like the other priests, usually bears the simple title *ha-kōhēn* (Ex 29^{30} 31^{10} etc.). There are few passages in which the chief priest receives the name of honour 'the anointed priest' (*ha-kōhēn ha-māshîaḥ*, Lv $4^{3.\ 5.\ 16}$ 6^{15}; cf. *Gesch.* p. 26; these passages, and, in general, the majority of those in P in which an anointing is mentioned, are considered by Weinel [*ZATW*, 1898, p. 30 ff.] to be additions). Equally seldom, three times only, does the chief priest bear the title 'high priest' (*ha-kōhēn ha-gādôl*, Lv 21^{10}, Nu $35^{25.\ 28}$). The high-priestly dignity is clearly thought of as conferred for life (Nu $35^{25.\ 28}$). With solemnities lasting for seven days each new high priest is to be installed in office, with putting on of the holy attire, anointing, and filling the hand (Ex $29^{29f.}$); he has on this occasion, like Aaron on the day of his anointing, to offer a *minḥāh* (Lv $6^{13ff.}$; so at least according to the present text, see Dillm. *ad loc.*).

The chief priest is distinguished by two minutely described *official costumes*. One of these is wholly of linen. He wears this only when he goes into the Holy of Holies on the Day of Atonement (Lv $16^{4.\ 23.\ 32}$). In discharging the rest of his functions, he has to wear above the white *kĕthōneth* of *shēsh* worn by all the priests, a variegated dress of the four colours of the sanctuary, blue-purple, red-purple, crimson, and white, interwoven with gold (Ex $28^{6ff.}$, Lv $8^{7ff.}$ *al.*). The different parts of this dress are described in detail, yet their exact structure is not quite clearly recognizable. Above his undergarment the high priest wears his distinguishing ephod, kept together at the shoulders by a couple of clasps formed of *shōham* stone, upon each of which are engraved six names of the tribes of Israel (cf. art. EPHOD). Upon his breast, above the ephod, the high priest wears the four-cornered *ḥōshen* suspended by little chains. Set in this externally are twelve precious stones in four rows, having engraved upon them the names of the twelve tribes. The *ḥōshen* must be conceived of as a species of pocket (cf. art. BREASTPLATE OF THE HIGH PRIEST), for in it are deposited the Urim and Thummim, which evidently are to be thought of as tangible objects (cf. art. URIM AND THUMMIM). Upon the hem of the upper-garment (*mĕ'īl*) which was attached to the ephod, there hang alternately pomegranates and little bells. In the front of his turban (*miznepheth*) the high priest wears upon his forehead a golden diadem inscribed 'Holy to Jahweh.' The high priest alone is entitled to carry the Urim and Thummim (Ex 28^{30}, Lv 8^{8}), and to pronounce the 'judgment of the Urim' before Jahweh; and by this decision, as that of a Divine oracle, Israel has to abide (Nu 27^{26}).

None but the high priest may go into the Holy of Holies on the yearly Day of Atonement, to make propitiation for the priests and the congregation, and carry through the ceremony with the two goats, in which he has to make atonement also for the sanctuary (Lv $16^{6ff.}$, cf. Ex 30^{10}). Above all, it rests with him alone to make atonement for his own guilt and that of his house (Lv $4^{3ff.}$, cf. $9^{8ff.}$), as well as for the community as a whole (Lv $4^{16ff.}$, cf. $9^{15ff.}$; differently, as it would appear, Nu 15^{25}, see *Gesch.* p. 27, note). He has to offer a daily *minḥāh* (Lv 6^{12-16}, where 'on the day of his anointing' [v.^{13}] is probably a later addition, by which the daily offering is transformed into one offered once for all at the time of his installation in the priestly office). Moreover, he has to take his share in the service rendered by the other priests (Ex 27^{21}). The rôle of *mediator*, apart from the above-mentioned atoning transactions, he assumes by bearing upon his breastplate the names of the children of Israel, when he goes into the sanctuary (Ex 28^{29}).

The high priest Eleazar is named in the first rank, along with Joshua, the prince of the tribes (Nu $34^{17ff.}$, cf. Jos 14^{1}). At his word, spoken by means of the Urim, the whole congregation is to go out and come in (Nu $27^{20ff.}$). After the death of the high priest the manslayer is safe to leave the city of refuge (Nu $35^{25.\ 28}$). The duration of the high priest's office is treated in this enactment as an epoch at whose close certain questions that have remained open are to be regarded as now settled (the interpretation proposed in *Gesch.* p. 28, and approved by Van Hoonacker, *Sacerdoce*, etc. p. 340, finds no justification either in the Priests' Code or in the OT generally). The high priest holds no other position of secular authority. When Moses and Aaron together number the people (Nu $1^{3.\ 17}$), Aaron acts in this matter simply as the brother of Israel's leader.

Special *injunctions regarding purity* are laid upon the high priest, which are stricter than those for the rest of the priests. Like the latter, they are found in the Law of Holiness. According to them, 'the priest who is greater than his brethren' may marry only a virgin of his people, and not, as is permitted to the other priests, a widow (Lv $21^{13ff.}$). He is not to defile himself through any dead body, even that of a father or mother (v.^{11}). He is forbidden, as a sign of mourning, to let his hair grow long or to rend his clothes (v.^{10}).

If the high priest have brought guilt upon the people through any sin of his, he has to present a sin-offering, with ceremonies specially prescribed for this particular case (Lv $4^{3ff.}$), because a sin on the part of the spiritual head of the people is looked on as bringing special trouble upon the whole community. Sins affecting the priesthood, *i.e.* violations of the laws given to the priests, have to be expiated by Aaron and his sons (Nu 18^{1}; not by the high priest alone [Benzinger, p. 422], but by him and the rest of the priests).

d. *The Levites.*—The Aaronite priests are, in the Priests' Code, a special family of the tribe of Levi. The designation 'Levites' is only in isolated instances used of all that belong to this tribe, including the Aaronites (Ex 6^{25}, Lv $25^{32f.}$, Nu $35^{1ff.}$); it is usually applied to the non-Aaronite Levites alone. The whole tribe is, like the other tribes, divided into 'fathers' houses' with their heads or princes (Ex 6^{25}, Nu $3^{14ff.}$). The tribe as a whole is considered as consecrated to God, this by way of compensation for the firstborn of man in Israel who all rightfully belonged to the Deity (Nu $3^{12f.}$ *al.*). The Levites in the narrower sense are not, like the Aaronites, servants of Jahweh, but are given to the priests or to Jahweh for the service of the tabernacle, as is emphatically expressed in the designation of the Levites as *nĕthūnîm*, 'given' (Nu 3^{9} 8^{19} 18^{6}), which clearly stands in some relation to the name applied to the foreign temple-slaves in the Bks. of Ezr and Neh, namely, *Nethinim*. In other passages, without the term *nĕthūnîm* being employed, it is said of the Levites that they serve the dwelling-place of Jahweh, or that they serve Aaron, or the congregation. Here, as in the case of the priestly service, the verb *shārēth* is used, but not, as in that case, absolutely, but with the object of service: the 'dwelling-place,' *i.e.* the tent of meeting, 'Aaron,' or 'the congregation' (Nu 1^{50} 3^{6} 16^{9} 18^{2}). The Levites minister to the priests 'before' the tent of meeting. The Levites are forbidden to approach, like the priests, the vessels in the inner sanctuary or the altar; by doing so they would bring death upon themselves and upon the priests (Nu $18^{2f.}$). The technical term for the service of the Levites is *shāmar*, 'guard,' which suits the Levites of the Priests' Code in so far as they, in the arrangement of the camp, have to encamp with the priests immediately around the tabernacle, so that in point of fact they do guard the latter (Nu $1^{50.\ 53}$ *al.*). A 'stranger,' *i.e.* one who is neither priest nor Levite, who intrudes into this circle round the holy dwelling-place, shall die (Nu 3^{38}). The standing employment of the verb *shāmar* for the service of the Levites indicates clearly that the prescription for the (purely ideal) arrangement of the camp corresponds to some actual duties performed by those whom the Priests' Code calls Levites. Surely the *shāmar* of the Levites has some connexion with the work of the doorkeepers of the temple in the Bk. of Ezra. The Levites are called in the Priests' Code directly *shomrê mishmĕreth*, 'guardians' of the sanctuary or 'the dwelling-place' of Jahweh (Nu $3^{28.\ 32}$ $31^{30.\ 47}$). In Nu 3^{38} the term is extended even to the priests, with reference to the arrangement of the camp. Besides, the same verb *shāmar*

is employed in an untechnical sense, in a few isolated instances in the Priests' Code (Nu 3^{10} 18^{7}), of the priestly service in general (so also in the post-exilic Zechariah), and then, further (so *shāmar* is used in the Priests' Code), of the service of God in general, *i.e.* of one's attitude towards His commandments (Gn 26^{5}). All this shows that we have here to do with a very ancient terminology, which probably reaches back far beyond the time when there was a special class of doorkeepers of the temple. Perhaps it preserves a trace that the Levites were originally the 'guarding' escort of the sacred ark, which would be quite conceivable, even if the name *lēwî* has nothing to do with this duty (see above, § 1). In any case, it may be gathered from the above use of *shāmar* that the guarding of a sanctuary in some form was at one time the essential task of the Levites. It has been suggested that it was the guarding of a divine image, as was the main duty of the priest among the ancient Arabs (Wellhausen, *Reste*^{2}, p. 130). But there appears to be a special reference to the escorting of the sacred ark, which accompanied Israel in their journeyings and campaigns, in the remarkable term, likewise used very occasionally of the Levites' service, *ṣābā'*, 'to render military service' (Nu 4^{23} *al.*).

When the host of Israel is upon the march, the Levitical family of the Kohathites has charge of carrying the tabernacle and its vessels, after these have been covered by the priests from the view of the Levites, who may not look upon them (Nu $4^{5ff.}$). None but Levites may attend to the carrying and the setting-up of the tabernacle; any non-Levite doing so must be put to death (Nu 1^{51} $18^{4.\ 22}$). Hence the service of the Levites is spoken of as a 'covering' for the children of Israel, that no plague come upon them when they come nigh to the sanctuary (Nu 8^{19}). Then it is the Levites who, according to Ex 38^{21}, under the direction of the Aaronite Ithamar, take charge of the 'numbering of the dwelling of the testimony,' *i.e.* the keeping account of the gifts offered for its construction. There is no indication of any other duties performed by the Levites than those of carrying the tabernacle, encamping around the sanctuary, and keeping the account just mentioned. Wherein, apart from encamping round the sanctuary, consisted the charge assigned to the Levites over the dwelling of the testimony and all its vessels and everything belonging to it (Nu 1^{50}), or 'the keeping of the charge' of the dwelling of the testimony and its vessels (Nu 1^{53} 3^{8} *al.*), or the 'work' of the Levites 'about the tabernacle' (Nu 4^{3}), or their 'service' about the dwelling or the tabernacle (Nu $3^{7f.}$ 4^{23} *al.*)—is not indicated. Thus we do not learn what the Levites have to do when the sanctuary is set up and the service is being conducted in it, and thus have, further, no indication of what is to be the work of the Levites once Israel has reached the goal of its wanderings and attained to a settled mode of life. It may only be supposed from the designation of the Levites' work as 'service of the congregation,' that the intention of the law was to assign to the Levites some kind of intermediate function between the congregation and the priests. The lower services at the sanctuary, once it was set up, appear also to be pointed to in Nu 1^{50}, where the service of the tabernacle is presented as a duty distinct from that of carrying it.

The data regarding *the period of service of the Levites* are not harmonious. In Nu $4^{3ff.}$ it is given as from the thirtieth to the fiftieth year; Nu 8^{23-26}, on the other hand, enacts that the Levites have to serve from their twenty-fifth year, and it is added that from their fiftieth year onwards they are no longer to serve, but to assist their brethren (the serving Levites). This enactment is clearly a later addition (*Gesch.* p. 34).

In Nu $8^{5ff.}$ a ceremony for *the installation of the Levites* is described: the children of Israel (no doubt the elders) lay their hands upon them as upon an offering, and the Levites are waved before Jahweh as a gift of the Israelites—a representation which manifestly results from the conception of the Levites as a substitute for the offering of the firstborn of man. They are to be treated in this ceremony—which cannot be thought of as literally performed, but simply gives expression to a theory—like those sacrificial portions which fall to the priests, because the Levites also are given to the latter to be their own (so rightly A. Van Hoonacker, *Le vœu de Jephthé*, Louvain, 1893, p. 40 ff.).

The 'tribe of Levi,' *i.e.* probably the Levites and also the Aaronites, is exempted from being numbered amongst the children of Israel (Nu 1^{49} 2^{33}), *i.e.* from military service.

Sins affecting the sanctuary, *i.e.* any defilement of it, have to be expiated by the Aaronites and Aaron's father's house, the Kohathites, that branch of the Levites who have to carry the holiest vessels (Nu 18^{1}). The Levites, without distinction, have to expiate the sins of their service (Nu 18^{23}).

The *distinction between priests and Levites* is not represented as having gained validity without opposition. The narrative of the rebellion of the Levite Korah against Aaron and Moses (Nu 16) serves to exhibit this distinction as one divinely determined: the prerogatives of Aaron are established in opposition to Korah. In this account, however, a still older narrative, belonging to another stratum of the Priests' Code, may be disentangled, in which Korah stands up, not for the prerogatives of the Levites as against the Aaronites, but for those of the whole congregation as against the Levites. To this older stratum attaches itself the narrative of Nu $17^{6ff.}$, in which the budding of Aaron's rod confirms the unique position, not of the Aaronites, but of the whole tribe of Levi (*Gesch.* p. 34 ff.; cf. art. KORAH, DATHAN, ABIRAM).

e. *The serving women.*—Only in a single passage in the Priests' Code is there mention of serving women (Ex 38^{8}). They minister at the door of the tabernacle; and this service, like that of the Levites, is described by the term *ṣābā'*; but wherein it consisted we have not a word of information. We learn merely that these women were provided with mirrors of brass. The only other reference in the whole of the OT to such women as serving at the sanctuary is in 1 S 2^{22b} (wanting in LXX except in A and Luc.), where they are introduced as if they had been in existence in the time of Eli at Shiloh; but as in this passage the 'tent of meeting' is spoken of, as in the Priests' Code, whereas, in other passages, at Shiloh a built temple is presupposed, we have to do, no doubt, with an interpolation based upon the Priests' Code.

f. *The revenues of the priests and Levites.*—The priests, like the Levites, have a fixed revenue assigned them in return for their services. It is presupposed in this that they are without possessions, *i.e.* they have not, like the other tribes, a tribal territory (Nu $18^{20.\ 23f.}$ 26^{62}).

The priests' dues from the offerings, the *tĕrûmôth*, 'heave-offerings' (Nu $18^{8.\ 19}$), are calculated on a more liberal scale than in Dt and even than in Ezk, or at all events they are specified more exactly than in the latter book, which does not name the tithe and the firstlings. The skin of the burnt-offering falls to the officiating priest (Lv 7^{8}); from the *shĕlāmîm*-offerings he is entitled to a cake (v.^{14}), as well as to the wave-breast and the heave-thigh (Ex $29^{27f.}$ *al.*); in the case of the

shĕlāmîm-offering of the Nazirite he receives not only the wave-breast and heave-thigh, but also the shoulder of the ram and two cakes as a wave-offering (Nu $6^{19f.}$). Of the 'holy,' *i.e.* not 'most holy,' offerings the male and female members of the house of Aaron are to eat in a clean place the wave-breast and the heave-thigh, and in general the *tĕrûmôth* that fell due of these offerings (Lv $10^{14f.}$, Nu 18^{19}); the priest who presents the offering may thus bring these portions into his house and there distribute them. The members of the priest's house who are entitled to participate in these meals are exactly specified; any one who by mistake and without warrant eats of the holy thing is to restore to the priest what he has taken, with a fifth part added to it (Lv $22^{10ff.}$). Every *tĕrûmāh* belongs to the particular priest to whom on any occasion one hands it over, and not to the whole of the priests (Nu $5^{9f.}$). Of the 'most holy' offerings—the *minḥāh*, the guilt-offering, and the sin-offering—nothing may be taken into the priests' houses; whatever portion of these does not find its way to the altar, or is not in certain specified instances burned (Lv 6^{23}), is to be eaten only by Levitically clean male Aaronites in the holy place, according to the different regulations for the respective offerings, it may be by the priest who presents the offering, it may be by all male Aaronites (Lv 2^3 5^{13} 6^{19} etc.). The shewbread also, as most holy, is to be eaten by male Aaronites in the holy place (Lv 24^9).

Besides the above, the priests have firstling-dues. To them belong the firstborn of clean beasts; those of unclean beasts and of man are to be redeemed (Nu $18^{15ff.}$). The redemption price, for arriving at which a mode of reckoning is given, probably falls, as a logical consequence, to the priests, although this is not expressly stated (*Gesch.* p. 41). In later times, at all events, it was so arranged (Schürer, p. 254). In the case of the firstborn of clean beasts, the flesh, in so far as this is not the portion of the altar, falls to the priest, and may be eaten by him and the male and female members of his household (Nu $18^{17f.}$). The *rē'shîth* that has to be offered of oil, must, and corn, as well as the first-fruits (*bikkûrîm*) of everything, belong to the priests; all clean persons in the priest's house, male and female, may eat of them (Nu $18^{11ff.}$). The question whether *rē'shîth* and *bikkûrîm* have both to be paid from the same products of the ground may remain open (*Gesch.* p. 124 ff.; Schürer, p. 245). The two leavened firstling-loaves of the Feast of Pentecost, along with the two lambs to be added as a *shĕlāmîm*-offering, are assigned to the priest (Lv 23^{20}). Further, of the devoted things that which is called *ḥérem* belongs to the priests (Nu 18^{14}); likewise in the year of jubilee there falls to them the field regarded as *ḥérem*, which has been dedicated, not redeemed, and yet sold (Lv 27^{21}). The *rē'shîth* of dough, which, according to Nu 15^{17-21}, is to be paid to Jahweh, is probably to be understood as falling to the priests, although this is not expressly said. In the case of a withholding of the proper dues, restitution has to be made to the priest, with the addition of a fifth part (Lv 5^{16}). If any one has unwittingly taken from his neighbour anything belonging to him, and if restitution to the injured party is not possible, the articles which require to be restored belong to the priest who offers the guilt-offering for the offender (Nu 5^8).

Of sacred dues **the tenth** belongs to the Levites, who in turn have to pay a tenth of this to the priests (Nu $18^{21.\ 24ff.}$). Originally, according to Nu 18^{30}, all that was in view here was the tenth of field and vineyard produce. It appears to be a later expansion when Lv $27^{32f.}$ demands, in addition to this, the tenth of cattle and sheep. Priests and Levites receive a fixed percentage of the spoil taken in war (Nu $31^{28ff.}$).

The Priests' Code enjoins, further, in what is perhaps an addition subsequent to the time of Nehemiah, a *tax for the sanctuary* (Ex $30^{11ff.}$; see *Gesch.* p. 219 f.); this does not fall to the priests, but is spent on the 'service of the tent of meeting,' *i.e.* for the expense of the regular cultus.

The idea that the tribe of Levi has no inheritance finds strange expression in the purely theoretical and evidently late added (*Gesch.* p. 42 f.) statement (Nu $3^{41.\ 45}$) that Jahweh has taken to Himself the cattle of the Levites in place of the firstborn of the cattle of the children of Israel. The matter is meant thus to be viewed as if the Levites had not an absolute property in their cattle, but only the usufruct of them. In speaking of the possession of cattle the Priests' Code is thinking of the injunction (which is not quite in harmony with the absence of possessions on the part of the tribe of Levi) that 48 cities in the Promised Land should be set apart for the tribe of Levi to dwell in, along with the surrounding pasture lands to feed their cattle (Nu $35^{1ff.}$). These cities, with their houses and pasture lands, are an inalienable possession; whatever may have been sold of them is redeemable at any time, and, if it is not redeemed, it returns to the Levites in the year of jubilee (Lv $25^{32ff.}$). The carrying out of this enactment about Levitical cities is recorded in a narrative in the Bk. of Joshua (ch. 21), belonging to the Priestly Writing; and here a distinction, not found in the earlier directions, is made between Levitical and priestly cities; the sons of Aaron receive 13 of the 48 cities.

g. *The date of the priestly system in the 'Priestly Writing.'*—Even apart from the older elements (P^1, see above, § 8 **a**) which detach themselves from the main body of the Priests' Code, the date of the priestly system exhibited by this Code is not a single one. In general the consistent character of the system (P^2) is not to be denied, but certain smaller constituents detach themselves as clearly new to it (P^3). But, even after the removal of these elements, everything (in P^2) is not of one cast; in the view taken of the Levites, for instance, apart from an innovation (Nu 8^{5-22} [see, further, below] and vv.$^{23-26}$ [see above, § 8 **d**]), there is no mistaking the presence of two different strata (in Nu 16, cf. ch. 17; see, further, below).

At present it is commonly held that the whole of the priestly system of the Priests' Code, and in general this whole Code itself, belongs to the post-exilic period, and that Ezekiel's enactments regarding the priests, especially his distinction between Levites and priests, paves the way for the Priests' Code (so the adherents of the Graf hypothesis). On one point there can be no doubt, namely this, that the affinity between the law of Ezekiel and the Priests' Code is so great that it can be explained only by the dependence of one of these upon the other. For the priority of Ezekiel it is quoted as decisive that in his State of the future he knows no high priest such as stands at the head of the priestly body in the Priests' Code. Ezekiel, it is argued, does not mention the one unique function assigned to the high priest in the Priests' Code, namely the propitiatory transactions on the Day of Atonement, and it is hard to suppose him to have been acquainted with them. But the law concerning the Day of Atonement in Lv 16 bears quite a peculiar character which, *e.g.* in the conception of AZAZEL (which see), distinguishes it from the rest of the Priests' Code. This law has its place immediately before the Law of Holiness (Lv 17–26), which, as it appears to the present writer necessary to assume, was incorporated in the system of the Priests' Code, not by the real

author of P^2 but by a later redactor; probably the section contained in Lv 16 was also a later addition (*Gesch.* p. 128 f.), and so were also, in that case, as a matter of course, the merely brief allusions to the Day of Atonement which are found elsewhere in the Priests' Code. Ezekiel has no Day of Atonement, but merely certain propitiatory transactions on two days every year, which look like a first step towards the Day of Atonement. There is no period at which the law of the Day of Atonement, of which there is not a trace in the pre-exilic history, can be more readily conceived to have originated than during the great chastening of the Exile, or even it may be shortly thereafter. Zec 3^9 appears to contain the earliest allusion to the Day of Atonement. If the function assigned by the Priests' Code to the high priest on the Day of Atonement is a later insertion, the original high priest of this Code has no station left to him but that of *primus inter pares*. Even the distinctive dress he wears appears to mean nothing more (see below). A chief priest, however, was, beyond all doubt, found at Jerusalem prior to Ezekiel (see above, § 3). As to the further argument in favour of the priority of Ezekiel's system to that of the Priests' Code, namely that Ezekiel was the first to introduce the distinction between priests and Levites, this rests upon an interpretation, which *per se* is a possible one, but which is not to be deduced unconditionally from the language of Ezekiel. It is true that Ezekiel gave a new arrangement to the station of those Levites who had formerly been priests at the high places, but his language by no means excludes or even renders improbable the supposition that in the pre-exilic temple there were other Levites besides these, or that there were, besides the foreign temple-slaves, other temple-servants not called Levites, or priests of the second rank side by side with the priests proper, *i.e.* the Zadokites (see above, § 6). We will seek to show further, below, that Ezekiel's designating of the priests as 'Zadokites,' in contrast to their being called in the Priests' Code 'Aaronites,' is by no means an evidence of Ezekiel's priority.

On two points, it is true, the Priests' Code contains regulations affecting the priests which cannot be separated from its system (P^2), and which yet undoubtedly go beyond what is found in Ezekiel. In the Priests' Code the tenth falls to the Levites and the tenth of the tenth to the priests, to whom belong also the firstborn of clean beasts. Ezekiel says nothing about either of these things. But in the Deuteronomic regulations it is clear that neither the tenth nor the firstborn are considered as belonging to the Levites or priests (cf., further, below).

Other differences between the law of Ezekiel and that of the Priests' Code appear to the present writer to speak necessarily in favour of the priority of the Priests' Code, or at least of the system represented by it. In this Code the killing, flaying, and cutting up of the sacrificial animal has to be done by the layman presenting the offering (Lv $1^{5f.\ 11f.}$ etc.; see *Gesch.* p. 114); in Ezekiel the Levites have to perform the killing. There can be no doubt that in this instance the Priests' Code represents the earlier custom, which was based upon the view that by slaying his sacrifice the offerer himself presents his gift to the deity, and thereby expresses the fact that it is meant for him. In Ezekiel, on the other hand, this action is undertaken by the Levites as a class intermediate between laity and priests, in order to remove the layman a stage further from sacred functions. Vogelstein (p. 67), indeed, reverses the chronological order, and holds that the flow of an anti-Levite current has withdrawn from the Levites the slaying of the sacrificial victims; but surely the slaughter by the hand of the sacrificing layman is a relic of primitive times when every Israelite was entitled to offer sacrifice. Besides, by setting down the killing of the animal by the lay offerer as a later custom, a very improbable course would be given to the development of the practice in this matter (as it cannot be imagined that the regulations of the Priests' Code we are considering are due to a later alteration of the text); that is to say, the Chronicler, who makes the Levites take part in the slaying of the victims (see below, § 9), would, on this view, have taken a step backwards from the Priests' Code in the direction of Ezekiel. The practice of later times in regard to the temple service appears, indeed, to have excluded both laymen and Levites from the slaying of the sacrificial animals, and to have reserved this for the priests alone (Büchler, *Priester*, 136 ff.); it is probably a matter of pure theory when the Talmud, in agreement with the Priests' Code (Vogelstein, p. 68, note 1), represents laymen as performing the act of slaughter. Amongst the ordinances of Ezekiel which go beyond the Priests' Code in the sense of keeping the laity at a distance, besides the one we have considered, there are the enactments that the priests are not to come out amongst the people with their holy garments or with the sacrificial portions, lest the people be hallowed thereby—regulations which are wanting in the Priests' Code. We find expressed here a materialistic conception of holiness as if it were something that could be transferred by external contact. The same conception shows itself in the Priests' Code only, on what is not an impossible explanation, in the case of the sin-offering (whoever touches the flesh of this offering 'becomes holy' [?], Lv 6^{20} [Eng.^{27}]), and the 'most holy' offerings in general (Lv 6^{11} [Eng.^{18}]; cf. Ex 29^{37} 30^{29}). But in these passages the thought of 'becoming holy' (*Heiligwerden*) by touching can hardly be really present, rather would it appear that it is 'being holy' (*Heiligsein*), *i.e.* 'being a priest,' that is specified as the condition of touching (see Baudissin, *Studien zur semit. Religionsgeschichte*, ii., Leipzig, 1878, p. 54 f. note). The post-exilic Haggai ($2^{11f.}$) denies that contact with the skirt of a garment in which one carries holy flesh makes holy; but he does not deny that direct contact with sacrificial flesh has this effect. In this way he does not, as Kuenen (*ThT*, 1890, p. 17) supposes, contradict Ezekiel; and, therefore, we may not infer from Haggai's language that Ezekiel's view was an older one, which was abandoned in the post-exilic period (and so also in the Priests' Code, on the assumption of its post-exilic composition).

It is alleged that Ezekiel was not acquainted with Lv $21^{1ff.}$, where, perhaps, the priest is forbidden (although this is extremely questionable) to defile himself for a dead wife. But this does not follow (Nowack, p. 115, note 1) from the fact that in Ezk $24^{15ff.}$ mourning on the part of the priest for his wife is assumed as a matter of course, for it is not mourning in general that is forbidden in Lv $21^{1ff.}$, but only certain specified mourning customs, besides the defilement by the corpse (v.^{5}; cf. Ezk 44^{20}; cf. Joh. Frey, *Tod, Seelenglaube und Seelenkult im alten Israel*, Leipzig, 1898, p. 74 f.).

Ezekiel's arrangements about the Levitical and priestly land are much more practical than in the Priests' Code. In Ezekiel's State of the future, priests and Levites live in the immediate neighbourhood of the temple where they have to serve; according to the Priests' Code they are distributed among different cities throughout the land, where they have nothing to do. It is hardly conceivable that the author of the Priests' Code should have so changed for the worse the arrangements of Ezekiel, if these were the earlier. Rather does the Priests'

Code in this instance still adhere more than Ezekiel to the conditions which really existed in the pre-exilic period. Amongst the priestly cities named in Jos 21 (P), is Anathoth, which we know from Jeremiah as a city where priests lived. Among the Levitical cities are, further, included the six Cities of Refuge. The latter were old sanctuaries to whose altar the manslayer fled. Besides, in the case of four of these Cities of Refuge which are named in Jos 21[13ff.], it may be shown either from history or from the names themselves that they were places of worship (Hebron, Shechem, Kadesh, Ramoth [probably identical with Mizpah of Hos 5[1]]).

If the system represented by the Priests' Code is prior to Ezekiel, then the silence of the latter about the tenth and the firstborn as priestly dues, can be explained only by assuming that these particular ordinances had not obtained practical recognition before Ezekiel's time, and that he purposely passes them over, presumably because he had doubts as to the possibility of carrying them out. He is silent also as to the tithe-meals of Dt, and the sacrificial meals which, according to Dt, are to be held with the firstborn of cattle and sheep. He must have been acquainted with both these regulations, and has thus not sought to interfere with the treatment of the tenth and the firstborn. The old view, as represented in the Jehovistic book (Gn 28[22]), is that the tenth is to be given to the Deity. The same demand is expressly made by the Book of the Covenant (Ex 22[29]) in the case of the firstborn of cattle and sheep. The arrangement in the Priests' Code, in so far as it assigns tithes and firstborn to the servants of the Deity, comes nearer to this view than the common meals of Dt (see Dillmann on Lv 27[33]). The term 'tenth' can originally have been applied only to an impost, and not to the material for a sacrificial meal (so also Van Hoonacker, *Sacerdoce*, etc. p. 393). Only in this particular is something secondary to be recognized in the Priests' Code, namely that it assigns the tenth—differently with the firstborn—not, or at least only indirectly, to the proper servants of the Deity, namely the priests, but in the first instance to the servants of the sanctuary, the Levites.

That the priestly legislation of the Priests' Code (P^2) is to be placed prior to Ezekiel, appears to the present writer to result also from the circumstance that it shows no regard to the special conditions of the *personnel* of the sanctuary at the Return from the Exile. In the early days of the Jewish colony, at all events at the time of Ezra, if not earlier, we find, alongside of the priests, these classes—Levites, singers, and doorkeepers (both these originally distinct from the Levites), and Nethinim; the Priests' Code, on the other hand, knows only the two classes—priests and Levites. The Levites, called in the Priests' Code *nĕthûnîm*, are evidently intended to replace the foreign Nethinim who are no less disapproved of in the Priests' Code indirectly than they are in the direct polemic of Ezekiel. It may be seen from the narrative portions of the Bk. of Joshua which belong to the Priestly Writing, that the latter does not, indeed, mean to set aside the Nethinim entirely; for in Jos 9[21], which evidently belongs to this source, it is said that the inhabitants of Gibeon and the neighbouring cities were set aside by the princes of Israel to be hewers of wood and drawers of water 'for the congregation.' These serfs are thus looked upon here, not as servants of the temple or the priests, but as servants of the congregation, *i.e.* the laity. As far as the temple service is concerned, their place is to be taken by the Levites. But the latter have in this matter, as it would appear, to discharge the functions, not so much of the Nethinim as of the post-exilic doorkeepers, for they are called 'keepers.'—It is difficult to suppose that a legislator, who was face to face with the complicated relations of the temple *personnel* in post-exilic times, should have imagined that he could come to an adjustment with them by simply throwing all non-priestly temple-servants, without any further argument or justification, into a single class.

In particular, upon any theory which makes the Priests' Code exilic or post-exilic, we miss in it that regard we should expect to the former priests of the high places, who, since the centralization of the cultus under Josiah, gave rise to difficulties. Josiah sought to exclude them from the Jerusalem cultus, but evidently was unable to set aside their pretensions to a share in the priestly service in the temple; for Ezekiel considered it necessary to announce to them in unambiguous terms that it was God's decree that they should be removed from the priesthood. In Ezra's time only a few of the descendants of the old priests of the high places, those who, in Ezekiel's terminology, are called 'Levites,' had accommodated themselves to the position assigned to them. It is true that the Priests' Code contains a clear trace of a conflict between the Levites and the priests, in the narrative of the rebellion of the Levite Korah against Moses and Aaron. But that the conflict here spoken of has regard to the claims of the deposed priests of the high places is not to be gathered. On the contrary, Korah cannot be the representative of these whilom *bāmôth* priests, for in the post-exilic period the Korahites belong to the singers or to the doorkeepers (1 Ch 6[22] 9[19] *al.*), and hence not to the Levites in the sense of that term as used by Ezekiel, and in the Memoirs of Ezra and Nehemiah, whose use of the term is fashioned upon Ezekiel's model. Instead of a conflict between former priests of the high places and the old Jerusalem priests, one might see in the narrative about Korah the description of a conflict in the time after Ezra, when the singers were reckoned to the Levites. This is the view of Vogelstein (p. 45 ff.), who, upon the ground of very precarious combinations, places an attempt of these later Levites to seize the right of offering incense, in the time of the high priest Johanan I. (the son of Joiada) and the Persian satrap Bagoses, who probably belong to the reign of Artaxerxes II. (B.C. 404–359). But the narrative of Korah's rebellion, *i.e.* the later account of the Priests' Code about this rebellion (see above, §8 d *end*, and cf., further, below), can scarcely be separated from the Priests' Code of Ezra (P^2) and assigned to a later innovation (P^3); for then the law of Ezra would merely have contained a narrative giving expression to the priestly prerogatives of the whole tribe of Levi as against the rest of the congregation. But this is not to be supposed, seeing that the Priests' Code (P^2) everywhere insists most distinctly on the priestly rights of the Aaronites alone. This it does, in the opinion of the present writer, not in opposition to claims of non-Jerusalemite priests, which do not come into view with P^2 at all, but rather—and so also in the story of Korah—in opposition to pretensions put forward by the *personnel* at the Jerusalem temple who were not counted as belonging to the (Zadokite) priestly family.

The duties of the Levites of the Priests' Code and their relations to priests and people are so vaguely defined as to give rise to the impression that these 'Levites,' as servants of the priests, are simply an innovation of the legislator, not corresponding at all to the actually existing relations. In other words, the legislator appears to have written at a time when, in addition to a special priestly family, namely the Aaronites of the

Priests' Code, there was not a class, who from their descent might be called Levites, serving as lower officials at the sanctuary; and the employment of Levites for this office appears to be a matter of pure theory on the part of the legislator, whose system elsewhere also is based in large measure upon ideal construction. He appears to substitute the name 'Levites' for the lower grade of sanctuary servants, singers, and doorkeepers. In the priestly system of the Priests' Code, so far as this has a real basis, the only parties in view would, in this way, be the *personnel* of the old Jerusalem temple — a circumstance most easily capable of explanation if this system took its rise at a time when one had no motive for taking into consideration the non-Jerusalemite priests or their descendants.

The Priests' Code is acquainted, on the other hand, with a class amongst the *personnel* of the sanctuary with which we meet nowhere in the post-exilic period, namely the **serving women** (see above, § 8 **e**). These may be connected with the consecrated women, the *kĕdēshôth* of the ancient Canaanite sanctuaries, who in certain pre-exilic periods were found even in the Jerusalem temple (*Gesch.* pp. 36 f., 179 f.; cf. Ismar J. Peritz, 'Woman in the ancient Hebrew Cult,' in *JBL*, 1898, pt. ii. p. 145 ff.), although a legislator of the Jahweh religion could not think of women at the sanctuary serving the purpose of the Canaanite *hierodouloi*, but only as employed in cleaning and such like. A later age did away with these serving women entirely, as tending to recall the *hierodouloi*, and as furnishing occasion for moral abuses.

The designation chosen for priests in the Priests' Code, namely 'Aaronites,' appears to the present writer to point to the time before Josiah's reform, or at least before Ezekiel. Its result was that a priestly family returned with Ezra, which traced its descent, not, like the Zadokites, to the family of Phinehas or Eleazar, but to that of Ithamar (Ezr 8^2 M), and thus did not belong to the old Jerusalem priesthood. The real existence of such non-Zadokite 'Aaronites' is also probable from other indications. As we found occasion to conclude (see above, § 3, cf. § 2) from the history of Eli's descendant Ebiathar, who was banished to Anathoth, and of the priests at Anathoth in Jeremiah's time, who probably traced back their descent to Ebiathar, the priesthood of Anathoth, in distinction from the house of Zadok, held itself to be derived from the ancient priestly family at the time of the Exodus, and perhaps from Aaron. Consequently, the enactment of the Priests' Code, that the sons of Aaron are all entitled to exercise the priestly office, was not, when the new community was set up, fitted to serve the special interest of the Zadokites, for it required these to treat even those priests who did not belong to their family as equally entitled to sacred functions with themselves. Now there can be no doubt that the author of the priestly legislation of the Priests' Code (P^2) belonged to the priesthood of Jerusalem, for otherwise he could not be so familiar as he is with the ritual of the one legal place of worship, the tabernacle, *i.e.* the antedated single temple. But it is extremely improbable that a Zadokite of the period after Ezekiel should, in divergence from this prophet, have conceded to non-Zadokite priests equal rights with the Zadokites. The substitution of the ancient Aaron for the relatively modern Zadok cannot be a mere play with names on the part of an exilic or post-exilic legislator, for, as Ezr 8^2 shows, there were actually non-Zadokite 'Aaronites.' While the adherents of the Graf hypothesis had hitherto for the most part seen in the term 'Aaronites' simply an archaism for 'Zadokites,' Kuenen (*ThT*, 1890, p. 28 ff.), latterly agreeing with Oort, the present writer, and Vogelstein, came to the conclusion we have reached. The connotation of the term 'Aaronites' is—and this not merely in theory, but as applied in practice—even in the post-exilic period wider than that of 'Zadokites.' Kuenen, accordingly, following Oort and Vogelstein, held that a compromise took place between the Zadokites after Ezekiel's time and non-Zadokite priestly families, and that to this compromise the enactments of the Priests' Code owed their origin (so also Schürer, p. 239, note 49; cf., for the same explanation, as the first after Oort [1884], Stade, *GVI* ii., Berlin, 1888, p. 104). But it is not at all likely that on the one hand Ezekiel's distinction between non-Zadokite Levites and Zadokites should have gained acceptance, as it undoubtedly did, to such an extent that a new class, 'the Levites,' was formed out of the former priests of the high places; but that, on the other hand, this same distinction found so little acceptance that, in direct opposition to it, new regulations were introduced, by which non-Zadokites had to be admitted into the number of the priests. About the year 572 Ezekiel had made the first attempt to have all non-Zadokite Levites declared to be sanctuary servants. A movement of non-Zadokite priestly families must, as Oort and his followers think, have formed itself in opposition to this ordinance, and must have been not without effect, so that, when Ezra returned in the year 458, Ezekiel's limitation of the priesthood was already forgotten so far that a non-Zadokite family of priests joined Ezra, and no opposition was offered to the recognition of their priestly rights. Of a decisive contest of the non-Zadokite priestly families with the Zadokites in this matter, tradition shows no trace, and the development subsequently to Ezekiel's time is much more easily explained if the rule entitling all Aaronites to the priesthood was an older one, with which an adjustment had to be made. With what right the house of Ithamar, which does not appear in the history prior to Ezr 8^2 (M), was traced back to Aaron, as is done in the Priests' Code, it is impossible to say (cf. Nowack, p. 105, note 2). But it is not likely that the connexion of Ithamar with Aaron was first put forward after the Ithamarites under Ezra had gained entrance to the priesthood, for in that case it would not be intelligible by what other title this entrance could have been gained by the Ithamarites in opposition to the Zadokites and to the statutes of Ezekiel. Seeing that the family of Eli in any case was, even in pre-exilic times (in view of 1 S 2^{36}, and probably also 1 K 2^{27}, the oracle of 1 S $2^{27ff.}$ cannot be exilic or post-exilic), traced back (1 S $2^{27f.}$) to the priest of the Exodus (who is not, indeed, named), the assumption is, to say the least, not improbable that even in pre-exilic times there were non-Zadokite priests who traced their descent to Aaron as the priest of the Exodus. The very same conclusion results from the account in the Jehovistic book of Aaron's part in the worship of the golden calf, for he is thus presented as the type, nay probably also as the ancestor, of the priests of the Northern kingdom. If from pre-exilic times there were 'Aaronites' who did not belong to the house of Zadok, the fact that the name 'Aaron' or 'sons of Aaron' is employed by a legislator belonging to the priesthood of the only legitimate sanctuary, the temple of Jerusalem, for this very priesthood, appears to the present writer to be intelligible only at a time when the participation of non-Jerusalemite 'Aaronites' in the temple cultus did not form the subject of question, because at that time they did not desire such participation, *i.e.* at a time when, besides the temple at Jerusalem, there were other sanctuaries at which they could dis-

charge priestly service—in other words, before Josiah's reform.

The Priests' Code appears to the present writer to betray quite clearly the circumstance that, at the time when it was written, all Aaronites did not *de facto* enjoy priestly rights, but only that branch to which (so Ezr $7^{1ff.}$) the Zadokites were reckoned, namely the branch of Phinehas (cf. Ezr 8^{2} M). In Nu $25^{12f.}$ it is only to Phinehas, of all the Aaronites, that an everlasting priesthood is promised. And yet Ezra had to admit priests who were not reckoned to the house of Phinehas. This appears to us to be explicable only on the supposition that that saying about the everlasting priesthood of Phinehas alone belongs to a different age from that of Ezra. This cannot be the age after Ezra, for the non-Zadokite Ithamarites who under him were admitted to the priesthood at Jerusalem were not afterwards removed from this office (*Gesch.* p. 139). No doubt the Zadokites, as is shown by the term *Sadducees* derived from their family name, formed still later a special priestly aristocracy; but this does not authorize our taking, with Kuenen (*ThT*, 1890, p. 37), the promise of an everlasting priesthood to Phinehas alone, as a later interpolation, for the everlasting priesthood was from the time of Ezra not an exclusive characteristic of Phinehas, *i.e.* of the Zadokites.

In the narrative of the Priests' Code regarding the destruction of two of Aaron's sons, Nadab and Abihu, without issue (Lv 10^{1-7}, Nu 3^{4} 26^{61}, cf. Lv 16^{1}), we should apparently find either a reminiscence of priestly families that actually died out (so, fancifully, Ad. Moses, *Nadab und Abihu oder der Untergang der Sauliden und des grössten Theils des Stammes Benjamin*, Berlin, 1890: Nadab = Abinadab, 1 S 7^{1}; Abihu = Abiel, 1 S 9^{1}), or even a polemic against the claim of certain families to belong to 'Aaron.' If the latter is the case, the genuineness of the genealogy of these families, which went back to Nadab and Abihu, would be denied, since these sons of Aaron perished without leaving any issue behind them. It is impossible to find in the narrative of their fate any indication of conditions pointing to a particular period of time, unless we are to hold, with Oort (p. 331), that the 'strange fire' which Nadab and Abihu brought 'before Jahweh' has reference to their participation in *bāmôth* worship. The effect of this would be that in this narrative the Aaronite families Nadab and Abihu would stand for the non-Jerusalemite priests (as 'Aaron' stands elsewhere for the priests of the bull-worship) who were displaced by Aaron's son Eleazar, whom the Zadokites regarded as their ancestor. Such an interpretation, however, is not very probable, for the 'strange fire' is at least offered to Jahweh, which appears to presuppose that it is offered at the legal sanctuary and not in the high places (see, further, art. NADAB).

The designation of the priests as 'Aaronites' does not belong to the oldest strata of the Priests' Code, even apart from the Law of Holiness and the *tôrôth* akin to it. In a version of the story of Korah which has been worked over, and which does not belong to the Jehovistic book but to the Priests' Code, Korah is regarded as the champion of the congregation against Moses and Aaron (Nu 16^{3}), *i.e.* the Levites. Here the Levites as a body are thought of as priests, just as in the narrative of the rod that blossomed (Nu $17^{16ff.}$) Aaron is the representative of the tribe of Levi, which in its totality is thought of as invested with priestly prerogatives. In opposition to this older conception of the Levites as priests, the main body (P^{2}) of the Priests' Code seeks to establish the exclusive right of the Aaronites, *i.e.*, in the view of the legislator, the Jerusalem priesthood.

A different procedure, again, is followed by a recent addition to the legislation, which seeks to present the Levites as more like the priests. We refer to what evidently was never carried into actual practice, the consecration of the Levites (Nu $8^{5ff.}$), which is intended to be an analogue to the consecration of the priests. This representation, which shows a higher estimate of the Levites, will belong to the exilic or post-exilic period (P^{3}), when by 'Levites' were understood the families of the former priests of the high places, and it was desired to give to these a priest-like rank corresponding to their pretensions.

Among the later elements of the Priests' Code would have to be reckoned also the description of the vestments of the high priest, if we are to see in the latter an investiture with the insignia of royalty, of which, of course, there could be no word before the post-monarchical period, when the high priest was the only visible head of Israel. But the purple in the high priest's robe can hardly be the symbol of royalty; the principal colour of the high priest's garments is not *red-* but *blue-*purple. The diadem, to be sure, is a sign of princely rank, but 'holy princes' (*sārîm*) appear already in the exilic 'Isaiah' (43^{28}), surely not as a new creation of the Exile. The chief priest of royal Tyre assumed a very high dignity as 'next after the king' (Movers, *Die Phönizier*, II. i. 1849, p. 542 ff.). The circumstance that the high priest of the Priests' Code bears, as the most important item in his attire, the Urim and Thummim, is not favourable to an exilic or post-exilic date for the composition of the passage embodying this view, for the post-exilic period had no Urim and Thummim (Neh 7^{65}). The priests in old Israel were in possession of them prior to the overthrow of the Northern kingdom (Dt 33^{8}). Perhaps these insignia, and probably also the sacred ark, were lost when the temple was destroyed by Nebuchadrezzar. That the author of the Priests' Code had before his mind's eye the post-exilic high priest as also the secular head of the community, does not follow from Nu 27^{21} (Benzinger, p. 423), where it is said that Joshua and all the children of Israel and the whole congregation are 'to go out and come in at the word of Eleazar.' Eleazar gives this direction on the ground of the Urim and Thummim, that is, God issues His commands through him. No other means of ascertaining the will of God was open to the congregation after the death of Moses; there is no thought here of a ruling position occupied by the high priest himself, least of all of the position of the post-exilic high priest who had not the Urim and Thummim at all. The circumstance that in Nu 34^{17} and Jos 14^{1} the priest Eleazar is mentioned first, before Joshua, among the heads of the people, is due to the fact that Eleazar, as Aaron's son, stands in a closer relation to Moses, the former leader of the people, than does Moses' servant Joshua or any of the other then princes of the people (on the relation between the high priest in P and in the post-exilic period, cf. Van Hoonacker, *Sacerdoce*, etc. p. 324 ff.).

It is scarcely possible to arrive at a definite date for the various strata of the priestly system in the Priests' Code, and thus for the Priests' Code as a whole. The probable conclusion from the preceding considerations, if these are justified,—differing from what is reached on the view of the case adopted by the majority of modern critics,—would be that the main stock of the Priests' Code (P^{2}) is prior to Ezekiel, and, in that case, belongs probably even to the period preceding Josiah's reform of the cultus. The programme of Ezekiel, which in one way or other is of decisive importance for the dating of the Priests' Code, appears to the present writer to be intelligible,

if the prophet considers an older cultus-legislation to have been abolished with the overthrow of the ancient temple, and if he substitutes a new system for use in his new temple. But it appears difficult to comprehend how a legislator posterior to Ezekiel should have displaced the law of the prophet written down for the new Israel by a legislative scheme of his own. On the other hand, again, it is readily intelligible that through the impulse of the law of Ezekiel, and owing to the new conditions and the new conceptions that grew up during the Exile, expansions and modifications should have been made by exilic priests upon an ancient law, in order to fit it for application to the new community. The form of the Bk. of Ezekiel, apparently intermediate between Deuteronomy and the Priests' Code, is more simply explained if Ezekiel is dependent, not only, as he clearly is, upon Deuteronomy and Jeremiah, but also upon an older code emanating from the Jerusalem priesthood, than if he makes an original start in dealing with the cultus. The same remark applies to his language, which on the one hand recalls Deuteronomy and Jeremiah, and on the other hand the Priests' Code.

The different views held as to the date of the system of the Priests' Code do not affect essentially the actual history of the priesthood itself except on a few points, as, for instance, in the view which is to be taken of the position of the chief priest prior to the time of Ezekiel, if the Code is to be placed thus early. This is owing to the fact that the organization of the priesthood in the Priests' Code is of a theoretical character, for as a whole it does not fit the real conditions of any period whatever. Of much more importance is the question of the date of the Priests' Code for the history of sacrifice.

But, whatever date may be fixed for the redaction of the system of this legislation, it will not be possible to avoid the conclusion that the whole body of ritual set up in it could not have taken its rise in its special form—*i.e.* in its deviation from Dt and Ezk—during the relatively short period between Ezekiel (B.C. 572) and Ezra (B.C. 458), namely some 110 years, but that it represents a long development of cultus-practice as well as cultus-language. The beginnings of this development go back in any case to the pre-exilic period, and are not unintelligible there, when we consider, what to the mind of the present writer is clear, that the Deuteronomic law did not emanate from the priesthood at Jerusalem, in which case no specimen of the cultus-language and cultus-practice of this priesthood prior to Ezekiel has been preserved outside the Priests' Code, and when we note, further, that Jeremiah (8^8) is acquainted with a literary activity exercised in the way of giving form to the *tôrāh*, an activity of which he disapproves, and which therefore cannot be taken to refer to the codifying of the Deuteronomic law, with which the prophet undeniably sympathized. What incurs his disapproval can scarcely be anything else than the resolving of God's will, which he interprets ethically ($7^{22f.}$), into ritual demands. Here, then, in Jeremiah we find pretty clear traces of a priestly literary activity answering to the rise of the Priests' Code. These literary productions, however, as may be gathered from the same reference in Jeremiah, have not yet gained the position of a generally accepted ceremonial law. Even the Deuteronomic law betrays no acquaintance with this last, but knows only of some particular *tôrāh* for the priests (Dt 24^8), which may afterwards have been taken over by the Priests' Code (see above, § 8 a). On the other hand, a point which cannot be more fully discussed here, the redaction of the Deuteronomic law and the position it assigns to this as a farewell address of Moses, presupposes an acquaintance with the Priests' Code, and an acceptance of it as the law proper, of which Dt is meant to appear as a recapitulation. The redaction of Dt is, in view of its relations to the Deuteronomic law, not to be placed at a very great distance from the latter; it cannot belong to so late a period as the rise of the new post-exilic community.

If the system of the Priestly Writing is earlier than the Exile, and thus probably prior to Josiah's reform, it can have originated at such a time purely as an ideal picture sketched by a Jerusalem priest, and not, or at least only very partially, as a description of the actually existing state of things. At whatever time the Priests' Code was written, the first unmistakable trace which at the same time is capable of being dated with certainty, of the influence of the system embodied in it, is to be found in the place given to the high priest in Zechariah, and the first evidence of its close is found in the reading aloud of the law in the time of Ezra.

9. The Priesthood from Ezra to the Chronicler.—After the Pentateuch had, under Ezra, obtained recognition as the lawbook, we find, as could not but have been expected, that the relations of the sanctuary servants were moulded according to the finished system set forth in the Priests' Code. The Deuteronomic views of these relations, not being rounded off into one well-compacted whole, must give place to this system.

Thus, with the author of the chronicle written between B.C. 300 and 200, *i.e.* in the Books of Chronicles and in the redaction by his hand of the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah, we find the relations of the *personnel* of the sanctuary, as these had existed in the time of Ezra and Nehemiah, modified in various points, in order to bring them more into harmony with the requirements of the Priests' Code. The Chronicler transfers the relations existing in his own time without distinction to earlier times, as if everything had been in force in the same way from the time of David downwards. It is possible, indeed, that his descriptions do not in every single point correspond to the actual conditions of his own day. It cannot, however, be inferred from this, with Van Hoonacker, that the Chronicler portrays the pre-exilic conditions as these really existed, for this conclusion is opposed by all that we know from earlier writings. The Chronicler may be assumed to have used for the pre-exilic history, at least indirectly if not directly, ancient sources that have not come down to us, but for his account of the condition of the priesthood prior to the Exile he certainly had no such sources at his disposal. Wherever this account exhibits a deviation from the conditions after the Exile, the Chronicler evidently puts forward, as a rule, not something corresponding to any actual state of things, but only what appeared to him desirable. His descriptions tend to glorify the Levites, to whom he everywhere shows regard even more than to the priests. Probably he was himself a Levite, and, in view of his special interest in the temple singers, he may have belonged to this group of the Levites.

The Chronicler is acquainted with 24 divisions or families of priests, which, after his manner, he carries back to the time of David (1 Ch $24^{7ff.}$). Since in the list of these divisions, as it lies before us, the first place is occupied by the family of Joiarib, from which the Hasmonæans sprang, it may perhaps be inferred that this list was first drawn up in the Hasmonæan period (Schürer, p. 237, note 44). These 24 priestly families are referred to, in some instances clearly, in others at least to all appearance, by the

terms *mahlĕḳôth*, 'divisions' (1 Ch 24[1] 28[13. 21], 2 Ch 8[14] [23[8] ?] 31[2. 15f.]); *bêth 'ābôth*, 'fathers' houses' (1 Ch 24[4. 6] *al.*); and *mishmārôth*, 'watches' (2 Ch 31[16]), this last occurring already in Nehemiah (13[30] M). According to the Rabbinic tradition, the 24 classes, with which Josephus (*Ant.* VII. xiv. 7; *Vita*, 1) is acquainted as still existing in his time, are held to have been in existence from the time of the Exile (Schürer, p. 232 f.). This cannot be quite correct. The list in Neh 7[39ff.] names only four priestly families (cf. Ezr 10[18-22]), and two returned with Ezra (Ezr 8[2] M). But Neh 12[1-7] mentions, for the time of Zerubbabel and Joshua, 22 divisions of priests, and the same, with one omission, are given in Neh 12[12-21] for the time of Joiakim the son of Joshua. Neh 10[3-9], on the other hand, names 21 divisions, in which, indeed, the names show changes (cf. Ed. Meyer, p. 168 ff.). Those four families in Neh 7 should therefore probably be thought of as falling into subdivisions. The two groups that returned with Ezra do not necessarily represent other two families besides those four; they are representatives of the two great branches into which, according to the Priests' Code, the whole body of priests falls, namely Phinehas (or Eleazar) and Ithamar, *i.e.* Zadokites and non-Zadokites. The heads of the 21 to 24 divisions are spoken of as *rā'shîm* of fathers' houses (Neh 12[12], 1 Ch 24[4. 6]), with whom we should probably identify the priest-princes (*sārîm*) of Ezr 8[24. 29] M, 10[5], 2 Ch 36[14].

The Chronicler divides the singers likewise into 24 classes (1 Ch 25), and appears to have designed to give in like manner, for the Levites in general, a list of 24 classes, which has certainly not reached us in a correct form in the present text of 1 Ch 23[6-24]. Since the division of the Levites into 24 classes is witnessed to in the period posterior to the OT (Jos. *Ant.* VII. xiv. 7; cf. Schürer, p. 242, and, on the other side, Van Hoonacker, *Sacerdoce*, etc. p. 41 ff.), these statements of the Chronicler are probably due to the circumstance that with him the classes of singers and Levites are practically identical (see below, § 10). Divisions of the Levites, without specification of the number of these, are presupposed by the Chronicler in various ways (*mahlĕḳôth*, 1 Ch 28[13. 21] *al.*; *mishmārôth* of the Levites [singers] and *mahlĕḳôth* of the doorkeepers, 2 Ch 8[14]; [*bêth*] *'ābôth* of the Levites, 1 Ch 9[34] *al.*), and even Nehemiah (13[30] M) speaks of *mishmārôth* of the Levites. The heads of the divisions of the Levites, like those of the priests, are called by the Chronicler *sārîm* (Ezr 10[5], 1 Ch 15[4ff.] *al.*) or *rā'shîm* (Neh 12[22f.], 1 Ch 9[33f.] [of the singers and doorkeepers, vv.[14-32]] *al.*). In the Priests' Code *nāsî'* is the designation of the heads of the Levitical fathers' houses (Nu 3[23ff.]), along with which we find *rā'shîm* used of the heads of the whole tribe of Levi (Ex 6[25]).

In the position of the high priest no essential change can be traced since the time of Ezra. The very first of the post-exilic high priests assumed the place claimed for him in the Priests' Code. Nehemiah (3[1. 20] M, 13[28] M) and the Chronicler give to the high priest the title of *ha-kōhēn ha-gādôl* (2 Ch 34[9]), the Chronicler has also the older title [*ha-*] *kōhēn ha-rō'sh* (Ezr 7[5], 2 Ch 19[11] *al.*). In addition, the Chronicler employs the designation, not found in the Pentateuch, 'prince (*nāgîd*) of the house of God' (1 Ch 9[11] *al.*; cf. 'prince of Aaron,' 1 Ch 27[16f.]), which marks the later time when the high priest was at the same time the head of the political community. Usually, however, the Chronicler (1 Ch 16[39]), as well as Nehemiah (Neh 13[4] M), calls the high priest simply 'the priest,' as is likewise done frequently in the Priests' Code.

By the Chronicler, as in the Priests' Code, the priests recognized are the Aaronites, including both the Eleazarites and the Ithamarites (1 Ch 24[3ff.] *al.*). The equalizing of the latter with the Zadokites (*i.e.* Eleazarites), which as a necessary concession to the system of the Priests' Code appears to have been first recognized under Ezra (Ezr 8[2] M), has thus become permanent.

A difference, as compared with the conditions in the time of Ezra, reveals itself with the Chronicler only in regard to the inferior *personnel* of the temple, and in some points concerning the relation of this to the priests. A distinction between Levites on the one hand and **singers and doorkeepers** on the other, such as we noted (see above, § 7) in the time of Ezra, is no longer made. The written source in which the Chronicler would appear to have found at the same time the Memoirs of Ezra and those of Nehemiah, appears to have still made this distinction, seeing that even outside the Memoir passages in the Bks. of Ezr and Neh the singers are only very occasionally, and the doorkeepers not at all, reckoned to one comprehensive class, the Levites (*Gesch.* p. 143 f.). On the other hand, for the Chronicler singers and doorkeepers are subdivisions of the one class, the Levites (1 Ch 6[16ff.] [note v.[32]] 9[26] *al.*, see *Gesch.* p. 151 ff.). C. C. Torrey (*The Composition and Historical Value of Ezra-Nehemiah*, Giessen, 1896, p. 22 f.) is decidedly wrong when he denies the existence of a difference in this respect between the Chronicler and the older portions of the Bks. of Ezra and Nehemiah (see above, § 7). Still less, in view of the material evidence that exists, can it be held, with Köberle and Van Hoonacker (*Sacerdoce*, etc. p. 49, cf. 70), that the reckoning of the singers and doorkeepers to the Levites, as we find done by the Chronicler in the Bks. of Chronicles themselves and in his working over of the sources of Ezr and Neh, is presupposed by Ezra and Nehemiah as existing, and rests even upon a pre-exilic application of the name 'Levites' to those classes of sanctuary servants. On the contrary, the application of the name 'Levite' even to the singers and doorkeepers is plainly introduced through the influence of the Priests' Code, which knows of only the one class besides the priests, namely the Levites. The Nethinim, who under Ezra were received into the community (Neh 10[29]), appear to have disappeared at the time of the Chronicler, who mentions them only once, namely at the time of the founding of the first post-exilic community (1 Ch 9[2]). Whether they were removed from the service of the sanctuary or by a genealogical device were absorbed among the Levites can scarcely be determined, but even here the influence of the Priests' Code is unmistakable.

For the priests the Chronicler sometimes uses the expression, which is somewhat strange for him, *ha-kōhănîm ha-lĕwiyyîm*. It is not, indeed, quite certain that he actually uses it, for the copulative *waw* may easily have dropped out between the two appellations just quoted, and the readings of the MSS vacillate (*Gesch.* p. 154 ff.). But there is an *a priori* probability in favour of the reading without *waw*, for this form of expression is just what does not correspond with the ordinary usage of later times, and in any case in 2 Ch 30[27], where it is said of the 'Levite priests' that they blessed the people, this reading is undoubtedly correct, since blessing is the function of the priests exclusively. In this instance, by way of exception, the terminology of Dt has again forced itself to the front, as in like manner the designation 'Levites' is also occasionally still used by the Chronicler in a wider sense so as to include the priests (*Gesch.* p. 136). In the employment of the title 'Levite priests' we may find an approxima-

tion of the position of the Levites to that of the priests, which would have to be viewed as a concession to the pretensions of those whom Ezekiel and Ezra called Levites, namely the descendants of the deposed priests of the high places.

Such a raising of the dignity of the Levites would not be without analogies in Chronicles. In point of fact they have in these books a more priest-like standing. This is shown, in particular, by the services they have to render at the offering of the burnt-offering on the Sabbaths, and at the new moons and great festivals (1 Ch 23^{31}), and by their (in an exceptional way) helping the priests to flay the victims on the occasion of extraordinary offerings for the whole people (2 Ch 29^{34}). From the latter passage it may be inferred that the service of the Levites at the offering of the burnt-offering also on holy days consisted in the flaying, and, it may be, in accordance with Ezekiel's enactment, the slaying of the victims. At all events, in Chronicles it is the Levites who undertake the killing and flaying of the Paschal lambs, hand to the priests the blood for sprinkling (2 Ch $30^{16ff.}$ $35^{6.\ 10f.}$), and attend to the roasting of the Paschal offering (2 Ch $35^{13f.}$); whereas in the Priests' Code it is the head of the house who kills and roasts the Paschal lamb (Ex $12^{6ff.}$; *Gesch.* p. 163). On the other hand, in 2 Ch $29^{22.\ 24}$ it is the priests who slay the sacrifices, probably because we have here to do with extraordinary sacrifices for the whole people. By the 'Kohathite Levites' who prepare the shew-bread (1 Ch 9^{32}), the Chronicler appears to mean not the Aaronites (who, to be sure, belonged to the Kohathites), to whom alone that duty falls in the Priests' Code (but cf. *Gesch.* p. 161 f.). While, further, in the Priests' Code the duty of teaching belongs only to the priests, this duty, particularly that of instructing in the *tôrāh*, is assigned in Neh 8^{7-9} (cf. v.^{11}), 2 Ch $17^{8f.}$ 35^{3} also to the Levites (*Gesch.* p. 163 f.). The more priest-like position of the Levites finds quite peculiar expression in the fact that in Chronicles not only the priests, as in the Priests' Code, but also the Levites are called holy (2 Ch 23^{6} 35^{3}; cf., further, Ezr 8^{28} M, where already the Levites seem to be included [with the priests] in the 'Ye are holy to Jahweh').

Regarding the service of the *doorkeepers* in particular, we learn that they had daily to set in all 24 watches, under four chiefs belonging to the doorkeepers, at the four quarters of the temple (1 Ch 26^{12-18}) — an arrangement which, although given as existing in the time of David, will really have reference to the temple of Zerubbabel. As concerns the *singers*, Büchler (*ZATW*, 1899, p. 97 ff.) seeks to prove that the data regarding temple music and temple singing were not found in the authority used by the Chronicler, and are thus added by himself. This is not impossible; but so sharp a distinction between the Chronicler and his authority (the lost Midrash on Kings), with which we are wholly unacquainted, appears to the present writer incapable of being carried out.

There is, moreover, an 'external activity,' *i.e.* one outside the sanctuary, assigned to the Levites in Chronicles (1 Ch 26^{29}). They are employed as overseers and, like the priests, as judges (1 Ch 23^{4} 26^{29} *al.*). In particular, their charge of measures is referred to in 1 Ch 23^{29} (*Gesch.* p. 162). While the Priests' Code fixes the commencement of the Levites' service at their thirtieth, or, according to an innovation, their twenty-fifth year, they have, according to 1 Ch $23^{24ff.}$ and other passages, to serve from their twentieth year onwards—an arrangement which the Chronicler is aware is a deviation from the legal statute, and which he seeks to justify as a change made by David.

In the matter of the *revenues* falling to the priests and Levites, from the time of Ezra an attempt was made to carry out the prescriptions of the Priests' Code. But the setting-up of **Levitical cities** was as little carried into practice after Ezra as it had been up till then. When the Chronicler represents these cities as having existed in the time of David (1 Ch 13^{2}) and later, this is simply due to his theory, which he forgets in 2 Ch 23^{2}, where the Levites, at the accession of Joash, are assembled out of all the cities of Judah. Nor is the meaning of the *migrāsh* of the Levitical cities quite clear to the Chronicler (2 Ch 31^{19}). According to Neh 7^{73}=Ezr 2^{70}, and other passages, in the post-exilic period priests, Levites, singers, door-keepers, and Nethinim dwelt dispersed in various localities, which did not, however, bear the character of the Levitical cities of the Priests' Code. So also in the period subsequent to the OT, the priests did not all live at Jerusalem: the Maccabees came from Modein (1 Mac 2^{1}), to which, indeed, they had retired from Jerusalem only in consequence of the troubles under Antiochus Epiphanes; and the priest Zacharias (Lk $1^{39f.}$) had his home in the hill-country of Judah (cf. Büchler, *Priester*, pp. 159–205: 'Die Priester ausserhalb Jerusalem's'). The doorkeepers, according to 1 Ch 9^{25}, betook themselves every seven days, according to their divisions, from their villages to Jerusalem to perform their service. The Levites and singers (and so, no doubt, the priests also) in Nehemiah's time possessed at their places of residence fields, from whose produce they supported themselves when their dues were not paid (Neh 13^{10} M), and probably in general when they were not on duty, for the tenth in the time of Nehemiah was paid at the temple (Neh $13^{5.\ 12f.}$ M), and thus will hardly have extended to the Levites and priests outside Jerusalem. The Nethinim lived in Nehemiah's time on the OPHEL (which see) at Jerusalem (Neh $3^{26.\ 31}$ M); the (officiating) priests had houses in Jerusalem, situated apparently on the temple area (Neh 3^{28} M).

On the subject of the dues falling to the temple *personnel*, we have a certain amount of information for the time of Nehemiah. The latter tells us in his Memoirs (Neh 13^{5}) that before his departure from Jerusalem the tenth of corn, must, and oil was paid and deposited in the storehouses as the portion of the Levites, temple-singers, and door-keepers, which three classes received the tenth, and the priest the *tĕrûmāh*. The *tĕrûmāh* here might possibly mean the tenth of the tenth, but linguistic usage favours rather our referring it to the handing over of the first-fruits. In that case the paying of the tenth of the tenth to the priests is not witnessed to for the time of Nehemiah. The tenth of the tenth in Neh 10^{38-40} owes its presence apparently to a later hand (*Gesch.* p. 171 f.), to which is due also the additional enactment, which perhaps suits even the time of Nehemiah, but in any case is characteristic of the later development, that an Aaronite priest is to superintend the operations of the Levites, as they receive the tithes (v.^{39}). After a while remissness in paying the tithes set in, so that Nehemiah at his second visit had to adopt drastic measures in order to bring the payment of them into force again (Neh $13^{10ff.}$ M). There is no mention in Nehemiah of the tenth of cattle. The demand for this made by the Priests' Code is probably an innovation, the result of purely theoretical construction, and is perhaps not earlier than the period subsequent to Nehemiah. The Chronicler, on the other hand, is acquainted with the requirement of the tenth of cattle (2 Ch 31^{6}). Priests and Levites were appointed by Nehemiah to take charge of the wood that had to be delivered at fixed times, and of the *bikkûrîm* (Neh $13^{30f.}$ M). According to Neh 10^{32} those contributions of wood

for the requirements of the altar of burnt-offering were imposed upon the priests, the Levites, and the people—a prescription which is not contained in the Pentateuch, although this passage in Nehemiah appeals to the Torah (but cf. Lv $6^{5f.}$).

The Chronicler or his predecessor in the redaction of the Memoirs of Nehemiah had no longer a clear understanding of the whole of the regulations respecting dues. It is impossible to gain a distinct view from the confused picture he draws (*Gesch.* p. 169 ff.). Only in Chronicles is there any allusion to a tenth of honey (2 Ch 31^{5}); the tenth of dedicated gifts which is likewise mentioned (v.^{6}), rests upon a confusion of the tenth with the *tĕrûmāh*. The various kinds of dues are most concisely enumerated in Neh 12^{44}, a passage regarding which it is doubtful whether it belongs to the Memoirs of Nehemiah. Three species are named in it: *tĕrûmôth*, *rē'shîth*, and tenth. On this is based the Talmudic distinction of three kinds of dues, which finds no direct support in the Torah.

10. The Priesthood after OT Times.—Several further developments in the relations of the *personnel* of the sanctuary still show themselves in the period subsequent to the OT.

a. *Priests and Levites.*—The consequence of the inclusion of the singers and doorkeepers among the Levites was that these two classes, which at the time of Ezra and Nehemiah were much more numerous than the Levites so-called in the narrower sense, dispossessed these of their unique character. At least the tendency to this result is already discoverable in the OT in Chronicles, where singers and doorkeepers play a more important part than the Levites so-called in the narrower sense, so that one might be tempted to suggest that the latter had even for the Chronicler merely a theoretical existence (Vogelstein, pp. 30, 102 ff.). It is doubtful whether in 1 Ch 9^{14-34} other 'Levites' (vv.$^{14.\ 33f.}$) besides the doorkeepers (vv.$^{17.\ 22.\ 26}$) and the singers (v.^{33}) are assumed to exist (*Gesch.* p. 157 f.). The Talmud at all events knows only two kinds of Levitical service, that of song and that of watching in the temple (cf. Maimonides, *ap.* Vogelstein, p. 85; and, further, Büchler, *Priester*, p. 118 ff., esp. 136 ff.). This is a result that is not surprising in view of the origin of the Levites in the narrower sense. The ancient, *i.e.*, as would appear, pre-exilic (see above, § 3 *end*), classes of sanctuary servants included, besides the priests, only the singers and doorkeepers. The class known to Ezekiel and in the time of Ezra as 'Levites' was an artificial creation, which served only the purpose of disposing of the old non-Jerusalemite priests. In so far as these were not, like the Ithamarites, admitted to the post-exilic priesthood, they received as 'Levites' an intermediate place, which is hard to define, between the priests on the one hand and the singers and doorkeepers on the other. Thus it came about that at last the Levites κατ' ἐξοχήν were absorbed in the singers and doorkeepers, who constituted the only two surviving professional classes of Levites. In this way the arrangement gained ground, which the author of the Priests' Code, if we judged rightly, had in view. He thought of his Levites as singers (for he reckons to them the singer-family of the Korahites) and doorkeepers (for he employs to describe their service the technical term 'keep'). Of any other kind of Levites he for his part seems to know nothing, and the close of the history of the Israelitish cultus *personnel* knows as little.

In fixing the position of the cultus *personnel*, a later age accepted on other points as well the simpler and more natural arrangement, and disregarded ordinances which had for some time enjoyed validity, thanks to an artificial theory or to historical confusion. The *tenth* as a sacred due is readily intelligible if it is either devoted to a sacrificial meal (as proposed in Dt), or even given to the priests, as representatives of the deity, but not when it falls to subordinate servants of the sanctuary. The Priests' Code, which assigns it to the Levites, shows by this very circumstance that the name 'Levites' was originally a designation of the priests (*Gesch.* p. 52 f.). After the tithe regulation of the Priests' Code had been actually put in force under Nehemiah in later times, according to the testimony of Josephus (*Ant.* xx. viii. 8, ix. 2; *Vita*, 12, 15) and the Talmud (see the references in Graetz, *Monatsschrift*, 1886, p. 97 ff.), the tithes were withdrawn from the Levites and assigned exclusively to the priests (cf. Van Hoonacker, *Sacerdoce*, etc. p. 40). The Mishna (*Maaser sheni*, v. 6) appears, indeed, to assume as the correct practice that some receive the first tenth and others the *tĕrûmāh* of the tenth. The first class could be only the Levites (Schürer, p. 258, note 44); but then this description, as it seems, would not correspond with the actually existing relations of later times. It is possible that, as Vogelstein (p. 72 ff.) holds, the tradition handed down in the Mishna, to the effect that the high priest Johanan abolished 'the prayer of thanksgiving and confession at the tithe,' refers to the abolition of the paying of the tithe to the Levites, and that by this Johanan is to be understood the contemporary of the Persian satrap Bagoses (cf. above, § 8 **g**; so also Van Hoonacker, *Sacerdoce*, etc. p. 401, who, according to his chronological scheme [p. 60 f.], regards this Johanan as a contemporary of Ezra; on the other hand, Biberfeld, p. 18, holds that the Johanan who abolished the tithe prayer was John Hyrcanus). Our earliest evidence that the priests received the tenth comes from a much later time. Josephus (*l.c.*) assumes it as a matter of right that the priests receive the tenth, and complains only that some priests take it by force. He is speaking of the time of Agrippa II. Since Josephus describes the priests as taking the tithe at the hands of the laity, he cannot have in view the tenth that had to be paid by the Levites to the priests. He appears thus to be quite unacquainted with the paying of the tenth to the Levites as a usual thing. From the fact that the Talmud looks upon it as a punishment that the tithe was withdrawn from the Levites and paid to the priests instead, which was the custom after the destruction of the temple (Graetz, *Monatsschrift*, 1886, p. 107 f.), it has been inferred by Graetz (*l.c.* p. 98 ff.) that the offence in view as punished may be the presumption of the Levites, who—but only the temple singers—in the time of Agrippa II. succeeded in obtaining the right to wear the linen garment of the priests (see below). The historical motive for deviating from the law cannot be determined, but it is readily conceivable that any opportunity would be seized for altering the awkwardly complicated tithe law of the Priests' Code.

Not only the tithe but other previous rights were withdrawn from the Levites. They were no longer trusted with the whole of the *watch service* of the temple, but had, according to the Mishna, to keep watch only on the outside at 21 points, whereas the three stations in the inner court were occupied by priests. The guard supplied by the Levites was under the control of a captain of the temple, *i.e.* a priest (*Middoth* i. 1, 2).

Seeing that the Nethinim, who apparently were no longer even in the time of the Chronicler employed as a special class for the service of the temple, although still mentioned at a later period, are not mentioned in connexion with the temple service, the *lower services* must have been discharged by others. Philo assigns not only the

watch service but also the cleaning of the temple to the *νεωκόροι*, *i.e.* the Levites; for other duties, growing boys of the priests were employed (Schürer, p. 279). In addition, we hear (*Sukka* iv. 4; *Tamid* v. 3) of 'attendants' (חַנָּיִם), without its being clear whether they were Levites (so Büchler, *Priester*, p. 149 ff.) or non-Levites that were thus employed. In any case the only class of Levites that could enter into consideration would be the doorkeepers, for the singers were doubtless regarded as holding too dignified a position to have such a name applied to them.

Shortly before the destruction of the temple, the *singers* succeeded in obtaining from Agrippa II. and the Sanhedrin permission to wear the 'linen' garment of the priests (Jos. *Ant.* XX. ix. 6). The desire to do this was not new; according to 1 Ch 15^{27}, 2 Ch 5^{12}, in the time of David and Solomon not only the singers but the Levites in general wore the priestly *byssus* robe—a statement which shows merely that at the time of the Chronicler this practice was an object of desire. Agrippa II. not only granted the desire of the singers, but allowed a portion of the Levites, by whom only *doorkeepers* can be meant, to learn the singing of hymns (Jos. *l.c.*), *i.e.* to hold an equal place with the division of singers.

It is to the Levites apparently that we should refer the designation *οἱ γραμματεῖς τοῦ ἱεροῦ*, 'the teachers of the law of the temple,' which occurs in the letter of Antiochus the Great, *ap.* Jos. *Ant.* XII. iii. 3. As these *γραμματεῖς* are named between the *ἱερεῖς* and the *ἱεροψάλται*, they can hardly be other than Levites (Sam. Krauss, p. 675). The mention of them tallies with what we learn from Neh 8^{7-9} about the instruction in the Torah which was given by the Levites.

b. *The revenues of the priests and Levites.*—The dues demanded for the priests by the Priests' Code were augmented by that imposed by Deuteronomy upon sheep's wool (*Chullin* xi. 1, 2). By combining the requirements of Dt with those of the Priests' Code, the income of the priests was further augmented, inasmuch as those portions of the sacrificial victims which, according to Dt, fell to the priests, had at a later period to be paid to them from all animals that might legitimately be offered in sacrifice, even when these were slaughtered for a common use, namely the foreleg, the cheek, and the maw of cattle, sheep, and goats (*Chullin* x. 1; cf. Schürer, p. 255). The *bikkûrîm* were more specifically defined as having to be paid from seven sources, adopted from Dt 8^{8}, namely wheat, barley, grapes, figs, pomegranates, olives, and honey. According as the parties concerned resided near to or far from Jerusalem the *bikkûrîm* were to be handed over fresh or dried, and were to be brought in general processions to Jerusalem (Schürer, p. 249). A distinction, based on Neh 12^{44}, was made between the *bikkûrîm* and the *tĕrûmāh* in the narrower sense, *i.e.* the due levied on the best not only of the above seven kinds but on all fruits of field and tree. There was no fixed measure prescribed for these dues, but on an average they were to amount to $\frac{1}{60}$th of one's income. This *tĕrûmāh* was to be eaten, according to Nu 18^{12}, by priests alone (Schürer, p. 249 f.). The due to be presented of dough was also more specifically defined, as well as the products of the ground which had to be regarded as tithable (Schürer, p. 250 ff.).

According to the Mishna (*Menaḥoth* x. 4), a portion of the firstling sheaf that was waved by the priest before Jahweh (Lv $23^{10f.}$) falls to the priest—an arrangement of which there is no indication in the OT. According to Josephus (*Ant.* IV. iv. 4), the redemption price for the vow of one's own person is considered to belong to the priests, whereas in the Priests' Code (Lv 27) this is not expressly said, as it is in the case of the *ḥérem*. Perhaps the statement of Josephus is inexact; as a rule, at least the things vowed appear to have been used for general cultus purposes (Schürer, 256 f.).

In one point the practice of later times took a turn less favourable to the temple-servants than the Priests' Code had intended. Not only the so-called second tenth, *i.e.* the one which, upon the ground of the tithe regulations in Dt was levied besides the tithe of the Levites, but also the tithe of cattle, are required by the Rabbinical rules to be devoted to sacrificial meals at Jerusalem. The latter thus did not fall, as is unquestionably the intention of the Priests' Code, to the Levites and priests (Schürer, p. 251 f., note 22).

Those dues of the priests which did not consist of portions of the offerings, and which were not therefore necessarily brought to Jerusalem, were paid 'everywhere where there was a priest,' *i.e.* on the spot to any priest who happened to be present, and this was enjoined to be continued even after the destruction of the temple (Schürer, p. 257).

c. *The duties and offices of the priests.*—The enactments concerning the priests were in later times simply made more precise, upon the basis of the Priests' Code; for instance, the *laws about their marriage* (Schürer, p. 227 f.), and *the requirements of freedom from bodily blemish* (*ib.* p. 230 f.). It would appear that in later times it was, not indeed a law but a custom that the principal priests married only the daughters of priests (Büchler, *Priester*, p. 88 ff.). A particular *age for admittance* to the priestly service was no more fixed in the period following the OT than is done by the Priests' Code in the case of the Aaronites; but, as a matter of practice, those admitted required apparently to have passed their twentieth year (Schürer, p. 231).

Among the priestly duties, *the blowing of trumpets* takes a wider scope than in the Priests' Code or the statements of the Chronicler, according to which this ceremony was practised only in war and at the regular festivals and on special festive occasions. In later times it took place also in connexion with the sabbatical and daily offerings (Jos. *Ant.* III. xii. 6), and to announce the beginning of the Sabbath from the battlements of the temple (*BJ* IV. ix. 12; cf. Schürer, p. 278 f.). In addition to the *washing*, required in the Priests' Code, of hands and feet in the brazen laver before performing the sacred office (on the mode of performing this washing see Büchler, *Priester*, p. 74, note 1), the priests had in later times to take a plunge-bath every morning before commencing the work of the day (Schürer, p. 283). In the last days of the temple it would appear that the higher ranks of priests took no part in the work of sacrifice, with the exception of the offerings presented by the high priest on the feast days, as this non-participation in sacrificial work is to all appearance to be assumed in the case of the priest Flavius Josephus (Büchler, *Priester*, p. 70 ff.).

The 24 *divisions of priests*, of which we know as early as Chronicles, served for the performance of the cultus to which they attended in turn. The 24 divisions are distinguished, in the literature posterior to the OT, as the *mishmārôth*, from the subdivisions not mentioned in the OT, the *bāttê 'ābôth*. Each principal division included, according to tradition, from five to nine subdivisions (Schürer, p. 235 f.). A principal division is called in Greek *πατριά* (Jos. *Ant.* VII. xiv. 7), or *ἐφημερία* (Lk $1^{5.\,8}$), or *ἐφημερίς* (Jos. *Vita*, 1); a subdivision, *φυλή* (Jos. *Vita*, 1). Each of the 24 divisions went on duty for a week, the exchange with the next division taking place on the Sabbath. At the three great annual festivals all the 24 divisions officiated simultaneously (Schürer, p. 279 f.)

The position of the *high priest* underwent a change towards the close of the Jewish hierarchy through respect being no longer paid to the office as one that was to be held for life and to be hereditary. The elevation of the Hasmonæans to the high-priestly dignity had already marked a breaking with the past, for thereby the hereditary succession of high priests was interrupted. The Hasmonæans sprang from the priestly class of Joiarib (1 Mac 2^{1} 14^{29}). Whether the latter was reckoned to the Zadokites or not, cannot be determined. In the lists contained in the Book of Nehemiah ($12^{1-7.\ 12-21}$) it holds a subordinate position; a list, perhaps not earlier than the time of the Hasmonæans (cf. above, § 9), found in 1 Ch $24^{7ff.}$, assigns to it the first place. In one of the recently discovered fragments of the Hebrew original text of Jesus Sirach, namely $51^{12c(9)}$, the house of Zadok is highly exalted: 'O give thanks unto Him that chose the sons of Zadok to be priests' (S. Schechter and C. Taylor, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira, Portions of the Book Ecclesiasticus*, Cambridge, 1899). The whole hymn to which this passage belongs, namely vv.$^{12c(1)-12c(15)}$, is omitted in the Greek translation of the grandson of Jesus Ben Sira, perhaps as Schechter (p. 35 f.) suggests (cf. Th. Nöldeke, *ZATW*, 1900, p. 92), because in the interval between the composition of the original text and that of the translation (*i.e.* between *c.* 200 and 130 B.C.) the family of the previous Zadokite high priests had been superseded by the Hasmonæans. But after this latter event the high priesthood again became hereditary in the Hasmonæan line. At a later period Herod and the Romans set up and deposed high priests at their pleasure. From these non-acting high priests arose the group known as ἀρχιερεῖς. But the custom was always rigidly adhered to of selecting the high priests only from certain special priestly families (Schürer, p. 215 ff.). The anointing of the high priest, which is ordained in the Priests' Code, was not in later times carried out in the case of all high priests, perhaps it was in general omitted; the Mishna knows of high priests who were installed in office simply by clothing them with the official robes (*Horajoth*, iii. 4; cf. *Gesch.* p. 140; Schürer, p. 232, note 26; Weinel, *ZATW*, 1898, p. 66 f.; Van Hoonacker, *Sacerdoce*, etc. p. 351 f.). The high priest, who, during the period of Jewish independence, was the head also of the State, was at least in later times president of the Sanhedrin, and in so far also the representative of the people in political matters in dealing with the Romans. As regards his participation in the performance of the cultus, it was a later custom for him to offer the daily offering during the week preceding the Day of Atonement; any other share he might take in the work of sacrifice was simply according to his pleasure (*Joma* i. 2). Josephus states that the high priest offered as a rule on the Sabbath, at the new moon, and at the yearly festivals (*BJ* v. v. 7; Büchler, *Priester*, p. 68 ff., doubts whether in later times the high priest offered except at the yearly festivals). The daily *minḥāh*, which according to the original intention of Lv $6^{12ff.}$ he had to offer (see above, § 8 c), was not always offered by the high priest in person, but he defrayed the cost of it (Jos. *Ant.* III. x. 7, where ἱερεύς can be none but the high priest), a duty which Ezekiel imposed upon the 'prince.' In the Roman period a conflict arose on the question of the keeping of the high priest's robes (Jos. *Ant.* XV. xi. 4, XVIII. iv. 3, XX. i. 1, 2); when Jerusalem was taken, his robe of state fell into the hands of the Romans (*BJ* VI. viii. 3).

Besides the high-priestly office, we hear in the Rabbinical literature of an exalted priestly office, that of the *sĕgan* (סְגָן), of which there is no mention in the OT. The *sĕgan* has usually been viewed as the high priest's substitute, who had to take his place if he was prevented by Levitical uncleanness from discharging the duties of his office. But the existence of a standing *vicarius* for the high priest is rendered improbable by the statement of the Mishna (*Joma* i. 1) that seven days before the Day of Atonement 'another priest' was to be set apart to act for the high priest in the event of his being prevented from officiating. It is not at all likely that this statement in the Mishna relates to an earlier practice, and that afterwards (subsequent to the year A.D. 63) the *sĕgan* was appointed as substitute for the high priest (Büchler, *Priester*, p. 113), for there is nothing known of such a change. Since the LXX usually reproduces the word *sĕgānîm*, which is used in the OT for non-priestly officials, by στρατηγοί, Schürer (p. 264 f.) is probably right in seeing in the *sĕgan* the captain of the temple (στρατηγὸς τοῦ ἱεροῦ), who is repeatedly mentioned in the NT and by Josephus, and in attributing to him the principal oversight of the external order of the temple. Yet *Joma* 39ᵃ (Büchler, *Priester*, p. 105) looks upon the *sĕgan* as in some measure the representative of the high priest. The *sĕgānîm* in the plural (*Bikkurim* iii. 3) are doubtless, like the στρατηγοί (Lk $22^{4.\ 52}$), heads of the temple police subordinate to the *sĕgan*. In the Mishna (*Bikkurim* iii. 3) there are mentioned as going to meet the festive procession which accompanied the *bikkûrîm*—the *paḥôth* (פחות), the *sĕgānîm*, and the *gizbārîm*. It may be inferred that by the first of these designations, as by the two following, priests are intended, although *paḥôth* is used also for secular governors. But a special priestly office can hardly be connoted by the word, which apparently corresponds to the NT ἀρχιερεῖς (Schürer, p. 266). The *gizbārîm* (גִּזְבָּרִים, *Peah* i. 6 *end*) or γαζοφύλακες (Jos. *Ant.* XV. xi. 4, XVIII. iv. 3) had charge of the rich temple treasures. From the description of the Chronicler, it appears necessary to hold that in his time the administration of the temple revenue and capital was in the hands of the Levites. At a later period the higher posts as treasurers appear to have been held by priests, for the *gizbārîm* appear as high temple officials alongside of the *sĕgānîm* (*Bikkurim* iii. 3), and Josephus (*Ant.* XX. viii. 11) names the γαζοφύλαξ, *i.e.* probably the head of the treasurers, immediately after the high priest. It is possible that the Chronicler, in his account of the management of the temple treasury, has, in his preference for the Levites, arbitrarily put these in the foreground (but cf. Ex 38^{21}). But, seeing that in the matter of other duties and rights the Levites were in point of fact displaced in later times by the priests, the same may have happened with the holding of treasury offices. Under Nehemiah (Neh 13^{13} M) a priest was at the head of the treasurers (*i.e.* those who were set over the *'ôẓārôth*, 'storehouses'), among whom only one is stated to have been a Levite. Sam. Krauss (p. 673 f.) doubts, however, whether the *gizbārîm* were priests, they being, as far as is known to the present writer, nowhere directly called such. To the treasury officials probably belonged also the *'ămarkĕlîn* (אמרכלין), who, without a more particular definition of the term, are mentioned in the Mishna only once, along with the *gizbārîm* (*Shekalim* v. 2), and are named also in later literature, as a rule, together with the *gizbārîm* (Schürer, p. 270 f.). Sam. Krauss (p. 673) holds the *'ămarkĕlîn* also to have been laymen, drawing this inference from the Midrash *Wajikra Rabba* (Par. v. ch. v. 3; in A. Wünsche's *Bibliotheca Rabbinica*, Liefer. 26, 1884, p. 36), according to which the *'ămarkōl* had a right to partake of the holy things, but not, like the high priest, of the offerings. But Schürer (p. 270) is probably right in referring to *Tosefta Horajoth, end* (*Tosefta*,

ed. by M. S. Zuckermandel, 1880, p. 476, *bottom*), where in a graduated list the *'ămarkōl* and the *gizbār* are above the ordinary priest, the latter is above the Levite, and this last again above the Israelite, *i.e.* the layman (cf. also Graetz, *Monatsschrift*, 1885, p. 194). It is correct, however, that the official name *'ămarkōl* is used to designate the office not only of priest, but of administrator in general (Büchler, *Priester*, p. 100 ff.; Schürer, p. 270). According to Büchler (p. 90 ff.), there were, in addition to the regular priestly *gizbārîm* and *'ămarkĕlîn*, others who were selected from the successive divisions of officiating priests; but no express testimony is known of the use of these two names for heads of these divisions.—Only in the Jerusalem Talmud is the office of the *ḳatolikin* (קתוליקין, *καθολικοί*) named (Schürer, p. 271).

The cultus was, according to the Law, to be performed by all priests; but in course of time the different functions became so complicated and in part difficult, that, according to the Mishna, they were apportioned among different priestly officials, and certain duties, such as that of preparing the shewbread and the incense, became hereditary in particular families (Schürer, p. 275 ff.).

In addition to their service in the temple, the priests are known to Josephus as administrators of the most important concerns of the community, under the presidency of the high priest (*c. Apion.* ii. 21). He has in view primarily Jerusalem. But in all cities there were, according to him (*Ant.* IV. viii. 14), as Moses had enjoined, men of the tribe of Levi appointed, two for each court of seven, to assist the members as *ὑπηρέται*. Such an enactment is not found in the Pentateuch; Josephus must then have in view arrangements existing in his own time in Judæa under the Romans (differently Van Hoonacker, *Sacerdoce*, etc. p. 45 f.). From the designation *ὑπηρέται* it is more likely that these two assessors were Levites (Schürer, p. 178) than that priests are meant (Büchler, *Priester*, p. 180). According to the Mishna (*Sanhedrin* i. 3), priests are in certain instances to be called in as judges (cf. Jos. *c. Apion.* ii. 21). This judicial activity of the priests, perhaps also of the Levites, is a continuation of the corresponding duties assigned to the priests in Deuteronomy and Ezekiel, and to the priests and Levites in Chronicles. In the last resort this species of activity on the part of the *personnel* of the sanctuary goes back to the practice, with which we make acquaintance in the Book of the Covenant, of having certain lawsuits decided at the sanctuary, by means of the oracle of the Deity communicated by the priests.

LITERATURE.—Jn. Lightfoot, *Ministerium Templi quale erat tempore nostri Salvatoris descriptum ex scriptura et antiquissimis Judæorum monumentis* (Opera, Roterodami, 1686, vol. i. pp. 671–758); Joh. Lundius, *Die alten jüdischen Heiligthümer, Gottesdienste und Gewohnheiten, für Augen gestellet, in einer ausführlichen Beschreibung des gantzen Levitischen Priesterthums*, etc., *itzo von neuem übersehen, und in beygefügten Anmerckungen, hin und wieder theils verbessert, theils vermehret durch Joh. Christoph. Wolfium*, Hamburg, 1738; Joh. Gottlob Carpzov, *Apparatus historico-criticus antiquitatum sacri codicis et gentis hebrææ uberrimis annotationibus in Thomæ Goodwini Mosen et Aaronem*, Francofurthi et Lipsiæ, 1748.—On various points connected with the subject: Blasius Ugolinus, *Thesaurus antiquitatum sacrarum*, vols. ix. xii. and xiii., Venetiis, 1748, 1751, and 1752, especially 'Pauli Frid. Opitii commentarius de custodia templi nocturna,' vol. ix. cc. DCCCCLXXIX–MLXXVI; 'Joh. Sauberti de sacerdotibus et sacris Ebræorum personis commentarius,' vol. xii. cc. I–LXXX; 'Jonæ Krumbholtz Sacerdotium Ebraicum,' *ib.* cc. LXXXI–CXX; 'Blas. Ugolini Sacerdotium Hebraicum,' vol. xiii. cc. CXXXV–MCLVI.—K. H. Graf, 'Zur Geschichte des Stammes Levi,' in Merx' *Archiv für wissenschaftliche Erforschung des Alten Testamentes*, Bd. i. 1867–1869, pp. 68–106, 208–236; S. I. Curtiss, *The Levitical Priests, a contribution to the criticism of the Pentateuch*, Edinburgh and Leipzig, 1877, also *De Aaronitici sacerdotii atque Thoræ elohisticæ origine dissertatio historico-critica*, Lipsiæ, 1878; Oort, 'De Aäronieden,' in *ThT*, Jaarg. xviii. 1884, pp. 289–335; W. W. Grf. Baudissin, *Die Geschichte des alttestamentlichen Priesterthums untersucht*, Leipzig, 1889, on pp. xi–xv of which see a fuller list of the Literature on the history of the OT priesthood since 1806, to which may be added: J. M. Jost, *Geschichte des Judenthums und seiner Secten*, Abtheilung i., Leipzig, 1857, pp. 146–156 ('Der jüngere Priesterstand'), p. 156 f. ('Leviten'), pp. 158–167 ('Gottesdienst-Ordnung im Tempel'), pp. 168–186 ('Gottesdienst der Synagoge und gottesdienstliche Handlungen'); Graetz, 'Die letzten Tempelbeamten vor der Tempelzerstörung und die Tempelämter,' in *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, Jahrg. xxxiv. 1885, pp. 193–205, also 'Eine Strafmassregel gegen die Leviten,' *ib.* xxxv. 1886, pp. 97–108; Heinr. Biberfeld, *Der Übergang des levitischen Dienstgehaltes auf die Priester* (Leipziger Dissertation), Berlin, 1888.—More recent works: E. Kautzsch, article 'Levi, Leviten,' in Ersch and Gruber's *Allgemeine Encyklopädie*, Section ii. Thl. xliii. 1889, pp. 282–293; H. Vogelstein, *Der Kampf zwischen Priestern und Leviten seit den Tagen Ezechiels*, Stettin, 1889; A. Kuenen, 'De geschiedenis der priesters van Jahwe en de ouderdom der priesterlijke wet,' in *ThT*, Jaarg. xxiv. 1890, pp. 1–42 [=*Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Biblischen Wissenschaft*, tr. by K. Budde, Freiburg i. B. 1894, pp. 465–500]; Ch. Piepenbring, 'Histoire des lieux de culte et du sacerdoce en Israel,' in *Revue de l'histoire des Religions*, Ann. xii. t. xxiv. 1891, pp. 1–60, 133–186 (a *résumé* of the Reuss-Wellhausen view of the history); Bruno Baentsch, *Das Heiligkeitsgesetz Lv xvii–xxvi*, Erfurt, 1893, pp. 142–144 ('Die heiligen Personen'); J. H. Breasted, 'The development of the priesthood in Israel and Egypt, a comparison,' in *The Biblical World*, new series, II. i., July 1893, pp. 19–28 [not seen]; I. Benzinger, *Hebräische Archäologie*, Freiburg i. B. 1894, pp. 405–428; W. Nowack, *Lehrbuch der hebräischen Archäologie*, Freiburg i. B. 1894, Bd. ii. pp. 87–130: Ad. Büchler, *Die Priester und der Cultus im letzten Jahrzehnt des Jerusalemischen Tempels*, Wien, 1895 (see a review of this work by Schürer in *ThLZ*, 1895, col. 516 ff.); Samuel Krauss, 'Priests and worship in the last decade of the temple at Jerusalem,' in the *JQR*, vol. viii. 1896, pp. 666–678; Ed. Meyer, *Die Entstehung des Judenthums*, Halle a. S. 1896, pp. 168–183 ('Die Geistlichkeit'); H. A. Poels, *Examen critique de l'histoire du sanctuaire de l'arche*, tome i., Louvain, 1897, pp. 292–301 ('Les prêtres de Nob'); E. Sellin, *Beiträge zur Israelitischen und jüdischen Religionsgeschichte*, Heft ii., Leipzig, 1897, pp. 109–121; E. Schürer, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi* [Eng. tr. from 2nd ed., under title *History of the Jewish People in the time of Jesus Christ*, 5 vols., Edin., T. & T. Clark, 1885–1890], Bd. ii., Leipzig, 1898, pp. 214–299 ('Die Hohenpriester,' 'Die Priesterschaft und der Tempelcultus'); Ad. Büchler, 'Zur Geschichte des Tempelcultus in Jerusalem,' in *Recueil des travaux rédigés en mémoire du Jubilé Scientifiq de M. Daniel Chwolson*, Berlin, 1899, pp. 1–41 (I. 'Die Verloosung der Dienstgeschäfte'; II. 'Simon, der Gerechte'; III. 'Die Signale im Tempel für die einzelnen Dienstgeschäfte'); T. K. Cheyne, 'The priesthood of David's sons,' in *Expos.*, Fifth series, ix. [1899] pp. 453–457; A. Van Hoonacker, *Le sacerdoce Lévitique dans la loi et dans l'histoire des Hébreux*, London and Louvain, 1899 (cf. *ThLZ*, 1899, col. 359 ff.), 'Les prêtres et les lévites dans le livre d'Ezéchiel,' in *Rev. bibl. internat.* 1899, ii. pp. 177–205 [not seen]; Fr. v. Hummelauer, *Das vormosaische Priesterthum in Israel*, Freiburg i. B. 1899; J. Wellhausen, *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels*[6], Berlin, 1899, Kap. 4 ('Die Priester und Leviten'), Kap. 5 ('Die Ausstattung des Klerus') [1st ed., under title 'Geschichte Israels,' 1878, pp. 123–174].

On the high priests, see Literature in Schürer (*l.c.* p. 214), and add B. Pick, 'The Jewish High Priests subsequent to the return from Babylon,' in the *Lutheran Church Review*, 1898, i. pp. 127–142, ii. pp. 370–374, iii. pp. 550–556, iv. pp. 655–664 [not seen].

On the temple singers: Justus Köberle, *Die Tempelsänger im Alten Testament*, Erlangen, 1899 (cf. *ThLZ*, 1899, col. 676 ff.); Ad. Büchler, 'Zur Geschichte der Tempelmusik und der Tempelpsalmen,' in *ZATW*, xix. 1899, pp. 96–133, 329–344, xx. 1900, pp. 97–135.

On the Nethinim, see Literature in Schürer, *l.c.* p. 279, note 94.

On the *kĕmārîm*: Christoph. Braunhardt, *Dissertatio philologica de* כמרים *seu hierophantis Judæorum ex 2 Reg. 23. 5*, Wittebergæ, 1680; Conr. Ikenius, *Dissertatio theologico-philologica de Cemarim ad illustrationem locorum 2 Reg. 23. 5, Hos. 10. 5, Zeph. 1. 4*, Bremæ, 1729.

On the priests' dress: Joh. Braun, *Vestitus sacerdotum Hebræorum*[2], Amstelod. 1701; 'Bened. David Carpzovii dissertatio de pontificum Hebræorum vestitu sacro,' in Ugolinus, *Thesaurus*, vol. xii. cc. DCCLXXXV–DCCCX; further, on the same subject, some other dissertations, *ib.* vols. xii. and xiii.; F. de Saulcy, 'Recherches sur le costume sacerdotal chez les Juifs,' in *Revue archéologique*, nouv. série, vol. xx. 1869, pp. 100–115; V. Ancessi, 'Les vêtements du grand prêtre et des lévites' (*L'Égypte et Moïse*, première partie), Paris, 1875. Cf., further, the Literature cited in Schürer, *l.c.* p. 263 f. note 6.

On the priesthood among the ancient Arabs: J. Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*[2], Berlin, 1897, pp. 130–140 ('Heilige Personen'); among the Babylonians: Friedr. Jeremias in Chantepie de la Saussaye, *Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte*[2], Freiburg i. B. 1897, Bd. i. p. 203 f.; among the Phœnicians: F. C. Movers, *Die Phönizier*, Bd. i., Bonn, 1841, pp. 676–690. WOLF BAUDISSIN.

PRIEST IN NT.—1. The word 'priest' (*ἱερεύς*) is used in the NT of the sacrificing ministers of any

religion. The priest of Zeus is mentioned in Ac 14^{13}, the priest of the true God in Mt 8^{4}. References, indeed, are numerous in the NT, especially in the Gospels, to the priests of the OT. In Lk $1^{5.\ 8}$ allusion is made to the twenty-four *ἐφημερίαι* into which they were divided, and to the assignment of certain of their duties by lot. The NT throws little light, however, on the standing of the priests generally, or on the service they rendered to the nation. The Gospels speak almost exclusively of those whom they call the *ἀρχιερεῖς*, or chief priests. The high priest was chosen, as a rule, from one of a small number of priestly families, and, when the office ceased to be held for life, there might be a number of persons entitled by courtesy to the name. An ex-high priest, if a man of unusual force of character, might actually exercise a greater influence in the direction of ecclesiastical or political affairs than the proper holder of the office, and either overshadow the latter in the common mind, or practically share his distinction. It is thus we must explain such expressions as Lk 3^{2} *ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέως Ἄννα καὶ Καϊάφα* = 'in the high priesthood of Annas and Caiaphas,' and the part taken by Annas (while Caiaphas was titular high priest) in the trial of Jesus (Jn 18^{13}). So also in Ac 4^{6} the dignity of the high priesthood is reflected on if not extended to all the members of the *γένος ἀρχιερατικόν*; there was a kind of aristocracy among the priests, and it was from it that the high priest proper was chosen. Though the *ἀρχιερεῖς* made common cause with the Pharisees in their hostility to Christianity, they were themselves on the Sadducæan side (Ac 5^{17}), and the most determined opposition to the preaching of the resurrection came from them. Probably the inferior members of the priestly order, who had but a nominal share in its prerogatives, were more free from its prejudices; it would be among them that the great multitude of priests was found which 'became obedient to the faith' (Ac 6^{7}). On the whole subject of the Jewish priests in NT times, see Schürer, *GJV*[3] ii. 214–305 [*HJP* II. i. 195–305], and the preceding article, esp. § 10c.

2. A more important subject is that which is suggested by the use of the word 'priest' in the interpretation of the *Christian* religion. In the NT it is only in the Epistle to the Hebrews that Jesus is spoken of as *ἱερεύς*, *μέγας ἱερεύς*, and *ἀρχιερεύς*—terms which are not to be distinguished from each other, the last two only signifying Christ's eminence in the priestly character. In the highest sense of the term, so to speak, He is a priest. But what is a priest? In the Ep. to the Hebrews, it may be said, the priest is the person through whom and through whose ministry people draw near to God, through whom they are 'sanctified'; that is, made a people of God, and enabled to worship. The writer does not think of such a thing as a religion without a priest. Men are sinful men, and without mediation of some kind they cannot draw near to God at all. The people of God had mediators under the OT, and they have a mediator under the NT. It is on the character of the mediator that the character of the religion depends. If he is imperfect the religion will be imperfect; there will be no real or permanent access to God, no real liberation of the conscience. But if he is what he should be, then the perfect, and therefore the final, religion has come. The conscience will be effectually purged, sin as a barrier between God and man will be effectually removed, the way into the holiest of all will be opened, and the covenant realized in the abiding fellowship of God and His people. It is from this point of view that the writer works out the contrast between the OT and the NT. The Jewish religion was a true one, for God had given it; but it was not *the* true and therefore not the final one, for its priesthood was imperfect. Everything about it was imperfect. The priests themselves were imperfect. They were mortal men, and could not continue because of death. They were sinful men, too, and had to offer for their own sins before they could offer for those of the people. The sanctuary was imperfect, a *ἅγιον κοσμικόν*, not the real dwelling-place of God. The sacrifices were imperfect; the blood of bulls and goats and other animals, whatever its virtue, could not make the worshippers perfect touching the conscience; that is, could not bring them to the desired goal of a fearless peace toward God. The very repetition of the sacrifices showed that the work of removing sin had not really and once for all been achieved. And, finally, the access to God was imperfect. The priests had no access at all into the Holiest Place, and when the high priest did enter on one day in the year it was no abiding entrance; the communion of the people with God, which his presence there symbolized, was lost, it might be said, as soon as won; he came out from the shrine and the veil closed behind him, 'the Holy Ghost this signifying, that the way into the holiest of all had not yet been made manifest.' Everything in the old religion had imperfection written upon it—the imperfection involved in the nature of its priests (*οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐτελείωσεν ὁ νόμος*, He 7^{19}).

It is in contrast with this that Christ's priesthood is set forth. Christianity is the perfect and final religion, because Christ is the perfect priest. An OT foundation for this doctrine is found in Ps 110^{4}, where the Messiah is addressed by God as 'a priest for ever, after the order of Melchizedek.' Perhaps one should call it rather a point of attachment than a foundation, for though it probably served the writer's purpose in arresting the attention of his readers, the ideas which he connects with the priesthood of Christ are not, strictly speaking, derived from it. The order of Melchizedek is contrasted with that of Aaron: the two orders exclude each other. Christ is not a priest after the order of Aaron upon earth, and afterwards, in heaven, a priest after the order of Melchizedek: being what He is, the Son of God, in the sense understood in this Epistle, His priesthood can be of the Melchizedek order alone. In Him and through His ministry a fellowship with God has been realized on the behalf of men which is perfect and which abides. The word which is used to express this in the Epistle is *αἰώνιος*. Inasmuch as He is the true priest, Christ's blood is the blood of an *eternal* covenant, He offered Himself through *eternal* spirit, He has become the author of *eternal* salvation, has obtained *eternal* redemption, and enables men to get hold of the *eternal* inheritance (5^{9} $9^{12.\ 14.\ 15}$ 13^{20}). All these are ways of indicating the perfection and finality of His priesthood, *i.e.* of His function to mediate between the holy God and sinful men, and to realize in Himself, and enable sinful men to realize, a complete and abiding fellowship with God.

Among the aspects or constituents of Christ's priesthood on which the writer lays emphasis are these. (1) His *commission*, He 5^{4}. God must appoint the priest, for he is to be the minister of His grace. No man can take this honour to himself. The writer seems to find the Divine commission in the psalms quoted in He $5^{5f.}$ (Ps 2^{7} 110^{4}), but he connects these immediately in v.$^{7f.}$ with what seems to be a reference to the agony in Gethsemane, as though it were there, historically, that Jesus received this high and hard calling. (2) His *preparation*. This is a point on which great stress is put. To be a merciful and trustworthy high priest (2^{17}), it is necessary that he

should be to the utmost possible extent one with those whom he represents before God. Hence he becomes like them a partaker of flesh and blood (2^{14}), is tempted in all points like us (4^{15}), learns obedience by the things which he suffers (5^{8}), knows what it is to worship with others and to wait upon God ($2^{12f.}$), and at last to taste death. Sin apart (4^{15}), nothing human is alien to him; in virtue of his nature and his experience he can sympathize with us; through suffering, especially, he has been made 'perfect,' *i.e.* been made all that he ought to be as a 'captain of salvation,' or a priest to stand before God for sinful men, able truly to enter into their case. On the word 'perfect' (τελειῶσαι) see Davidson, *Hebrews*, p. 207 f. (3) His *offering*. Every priest is appointed to offer gifts and sacrifices (8^{3}) for sins (5^{1}), and this one also must have something to offer. What is it? In a word, it is himself. This is more easily said than interpreted. There is a passage in the Epistle (10^{4-9}) in which, following Ps 40^{7-9}, what Christ did is contrasted with 'sacrifices and offerings and whole burnt-offerings and sin-offerings,' as 'doing the will of God'; and it is said that Scripture puts away the first to establish the second. From this it is often inferred that Christ's work was not sacrificial, and especially that His death is not to be conceived as an offering for sin; sacrifice, it is said, is abolished to make room for obedience. But this is certainly not the contrast in the writer's mind. The conception of offering or sacrifice is essential to him, and to Christ as priest. This priest, like every other, *must* have somewhat to offer. Indeed, immediately after the remark that He puts away the first (the OT sacrifices) to establish the second (the doing of God's will), he adds, 'in which will we have been sanctified *through the offering of the body of Jesus Christ once for all*.' What He opposes is not sacrifice and obedience *simpliciter*, but the OT sacrifices, in which the victims were involuntary, and the offering therefore morally imperfect, not to say meaningless, and Christ's willing sacrifice of Himself, which was an act of obedience to the Father. As a voluntary act of obedience this sacrifice had a significance and a moral worth which no animal sacrifice could have. But the obedience involved in it was not simply the obedience required of man as such; it was the obedience required of the Son whom the Father had commissioned to be the mediator of a new covenant, the restorer of fellowship between Himself and sinful men; in other words, it was *the obedience of a priest*, who had '*to annul sin by the sacrifice of himself*' (9^{27}), to be '*offered once for all to bear the sins of many*' (9^{28}), to enter into the sanctuary '*through his own blood*' (9^{12}), '*by one offering* to perfect for ever them that are being sanctified' (10^{14}). In short, it is not sacrifice and obedience that are blankly contrasted here, but unintelligent will-less animal sacrifice, and the sacrificial obedience of the Priest who willingly dies to make purgation of sins (1^{3}). As the perfect priest Christ made once for all the perfect sacrifice for sin; that is why the Levitical sacrifices have passed away. (4) The *scene of His ministry*, or the *sanctuary*. The true offering is made in the true sanctuary, *i.e.* heaven. It is there that Christ appears in the presence of God for us. It is there, in His person, that there is realized the abiding fellowship of God and man into which the gospel calls us. But this does not mean that what has been spoken of under the head of His offering, namely His death, is not included in His priestly work. To break the work of the perfect priest into pieces in this way is foreign to the writer's mode of thought. The priest's work, his offering, is not consummated till he enters with it (and by means of it) into God's presence; it is then that he is in the full sense a priest. Hence Christ is conceived as exercising His priestly function in the sanctuary above; but He could not be priest there except in virtue of the commission, the preparation, and the offering, which have just been described. All these therefore *belong* to the conception of the priesthood as much as what is done in the heavenly sanctuary itself. (5) His *intercession*. He is able to save to the uttermost those who draw near to God through Him, seeing He ever liveth to make intercession for them. In what the intercession consists is nowhere explained. The writer to the Hebrews does not define it as the perpetuating, or making prevalent for all time, of an atoning work achieved on earth; he does not conceive of the atoning work as achieved at all except through the entrance of the priest into the presence of God διὰ τοῦ ἰδίου αἵματος. On the other hand, it seems to be less than what he means, if we say that His mere appearing in God's presence, even with the virtue of His sin-annulling work in Him, is itself the intercession — a continuous and prevailing plea with God to receive even those who have sinned into fellowship with Himself, and not to let sin annul His covenant. It is a fair inference from 4^{16} (that we may find grace *for timely succour*), taken in connexion with what precedes, that the intercession of the great High Priest is not a continuous unvarying representation of man before God, but relates itself sympathetically to the variously emergent necessities and crises of individual life. (6) The *result* of Christ's priesthood. The result is, in a word, the establishment of the new covenant between God and man. In Christ, and on the basis of His work, God is our God again, and we are His people. Because Christ is all that a priest should be, the new relation of God and man realized in Him is all that such a relation should be; Christianity is a new, but also the final, because the perfect religion. There are various ways in which this is expressed in detail. Those who have the perfect priest are freed from the fear of death (2^{15}); can come with boldness to God's throne and find it a throne of grace (4^{16}); have a hope of immortality that nothing can shake, knowing as they do that Jesus has entered within the veil as their forerunner (6^{20}); have an assurance, in the indissoluble life of Christ (7^{16}), in the priesthood which as founded on it never passes to another or can never be trenched upon by another (7^{24}), and in the intercession of their deathless representative, that complete salvation awaits them; in their worship are made perfect as touching the conscience, *i.e.* completely delivered from sin as that which hinders access to God (9^{9-14}). And as the blessings of the covenant are infinite, so the deliberate and wilful rejection of them, and the relapse from the fellowship with God assured in Christ to any inferior religious standpoint ($6^{4ff.}$ $10^{26ff.}$), is the unpardonable sin.

3. The Epistle to the Hebrews does not attribute to believers as priests any of the special functions involved in the unique priesthood of Christ. In Ex 19^{6} Israel is spoken of as מַמְלֶכֶת כֹּהֲנִים, *i.e.* God's people are His kingdom, and they are priests, with the right of access to Him. As the NT point of view is that there is only one people of God through all time, this conception is found in the NT also: see especially Rev 1^{6} 5^{10} 20^{6}, 1 P $2^{5.9}$ (ἱεράτευμα ἅγιον, βασίλειον: βασιλείαν, ἱερεῖς τῷ θεῷ καὶ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ). In substance, the same thing is meant when we read in Hebrews of the right to 'draw near with boldness,' or in Eph 2^{17} that through Christ all Christians alike have 'their access (τὴν προσαγωγήν: the characteristic privilege of the new religion, Ro 5^{2}, 1 P 3^{18}) in one spirit to the Father.' To the Father: for in experience the

sonship of believers and their priesthood are one and the same thing. Sonship and priesthood are two figures under which we can represent the characteristic relation of man to God, his characteristic standing toward God, in the new religion instituted by Christ. Formally distinguishable, they are really and experimentally the same. Christ Himself was perfect priest only because He was true Son of God; His priesthood, though it was His vocation, was grounded in His nature: it had nothing official in it, but was throughout personal and real. So it is with the priesthood of believers: it also is involved in sonship, is one element or function of sonship, and only as such has it any meaning. The writer to the Hebrews speaks of Christians as offering to God sacrifices of praise, the fruit of lips making confession to His name. He bids them remember beneficence and charity, for with such sacrifices God is well pleased. So St. Peter says Christians are a holy priesthood to offer spiritual sacrifices, acceptable to God through Jesus Christ (1 P 2^5); and St. Paul bids the Romans present their bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable to God, which is the rational worship required of them (Ro 12^1). Praise, self-consecration, charity,—if we include Rev 8^3, we may add, after the analogy of Ps 141^2, prayer,—these are the only sacrifices which the priestly people of God may offer now. There is no such thing in the NT as a sacrifice for sin except the sacrifice which Christ offered once for all.

4. The NT does not apply the word *ἱερεύς* to any Christian minister, nor indeed to any Christian at all, except so far as the people of God are spoken of as a 'royal priesthood.' It is easy to see why. Christianity is what it is—a perfect and abiding fellowship with God—because it is realized in the Eternal Son of God. It cannot be realized or guaranteed in any other. He is the Mediator of it, to whom it owes its character. To introduce into it, no matter how we define their relation to Him, *official* mediators, is to relapse from the Melchizedek priesthood to the Aaronic; it is in principle to apostatize from Christianity. The pictorial use of language borrowed from the old religion is, of course, intelligible enough. St. Paul, *e.g.*, can speak of himself as *ἱερουργῶν τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ θεοῦ*, discharging a sacred function toward the gospel, and presenting the Gentiles as an offering to God (Ro 15^{16}; cf. Ph 2^{17}). But there is not, as in the nature of the case there could not be, any trace in the NT of a Christian priest making sacrifice for sin, and mediating again (in the Aaronic, official, mortal, never perfect, and never to be perfected fashion) between God and man.

LITERATURE.—Schürer, as above; the books on NT theology, Weiss, Pfleiderer, Beyschlag, Holtzmann; the commentaries on Hebrews, esp. the extended notes in Davidson; Bruce, *Ep. to the Hebrews*, and art. HEBREWS in this Dictionary; Milligan, *Ascension and Heavenly Priesthood*; Westcott, *Hebrews*; also *Priesthood and Sacrifice* (Report of Conference at Oxford), edited by W. Sanday, 1900.

J. DENNEY.

PRINCE is the AV tr. of no fewer than 16 Hebrew or Hebraized terms in OT and 3 Greek ones in NT.

1. נָשִׂיא, lit. 'exalted one' from נָשָׂא 'lift up.' This word is practically confined (the only exceptions are Ex $22^{27\,(28)}$ [J or E], 1 K 8^1 11^{34} [both R^D], and Pr 25^{15}) to the writings of P, the Chronicler, and Ezekiel. It is used in Gn 17^{20} (LXX *ἔθνη* 'nations') 25^{16} (*ἄρχοντες*) of the twelve 'princes' descended from Ishmael; in 23^6 it is put by P in the mouth of the 'children of Heth' as a designation of Abraham (LXX *βασιλεύς*); in 34^2 it is applied to Shechem the son of Hamor (*ἄρχων*; so, or *ἄρχοντες*, in the LXX of all the following passages, unless otherwise noted); in Nu 25^{18} of a prince of Midian; in Jos 13^{21} of the princes of Sihon. It is especially frequent for the heads of the Isr. tribes: Ex 16^{22} 34^{31}, Lv 4^{22} (AV and RV in these three passages 'rulers'), Nu 2^3 $7^{2ff.}$ 31^{13} etc., Jos $9^{15.\,18.\,19.\,21}$ 17^4 $22^{14.\,30.\,32}$, so also 1 Ch 2^{10} 4^{38} 5^6 7^{40} etc., cf. Ex $22^{27\,(28)}$ ('Thou shalt not revile God nor curse a ruler of thy people'), and 1 K 8^1 (A *ἐπησμένοι*, prob. error for *ἐπηρμένος*, Aq.'s tr. of נְשִׂיא in Ex 22^{28}; B om.) = 2 Ch 5^2 (*ἄρχοντες*), where the princes of the fathers' houses of the children of Israel were assembled by Solomon. In 1 K 11^{34} the term *nāsî'* is used of Solomon himself ('I will make him prince,' נְשִׂיא אֲשִׁיתֶנּוּ, LXX *ἀντιτασσόμενος ἀντιτάξομαι*), and in Ezr 1^8 the Chronicler applies it to Sheshbazzar. In Ezk not only is it used of the king of Judah ($12^{10.\,12}$ 21^{30} [Eng. 25] [*ἀφηγούμενος*]), and of Isr. and foreign princes (7^{27} 21^{17} [Eng. 12] [*ἀφηγούμενοι*] 26^{16} 30^{13} 32^{29} etc.), but *han-nāsî'* is the special designation of the head of the future ideal State (34^{24} 37^{25} [both *ὁ ἄρχων*] 44^3 [*ὁ ἡγούμενος*] $45^{7.\,16.\,17.\,22}$ $46^{2.\,4.\,8.\,10.\,12.\,16.\,17.\,18}$ $48^{21.\,22}$ [all] *ὁ ἀφηγούμενος*]). For the later Talmudic use of *nāsî'* as the technical title for the president of the Sanhedrin see art. SANHEDRIN; Kuenen, *Gesamm. Abhandl.* [Budde's tr.] p. 58 f.; Schürer, *HJP* II. i. 180 ff.; Weber, *Jüd. Theologie*, p. 140. The title *nāsî'* was also assumed by Simeon bar-Cochba (the leader of the Jewish revolt A.D. 132), whose coins are stamped 'Simeon *nāsî'* of Israel' (see art. MONEY in vol. iii. p. 430^b, and Schürer, *HJP* I. ii. 299).

2. שַׂר occurs with extreme frequency. The verbal form שָׂרַר is found 4 times in Qal (Jg 9^{22}, Is 32^1, Pr 8^{16}, Est 1^{22}), twice in Hithp. (Nu $16^{13\,bis}$), and once in Hiph. (Hos 8^4). In Jg 9^{22} and Hos 8^4 it is pointed in MT as if from שׂוּר, but see König, i. 328, 352. It is uncertain whether this is the primitive root = 'have power,' 'exercise rule,' or whether it is a denominative from שַׂר. Amongst other applications, שַׂר [in the following passages reproduced in LXX, unless otherwise noted, by *ἄρχων*] is used of officers or rulers whether military Ex 18^{21} (AV and RV 'rulers'), Nu 21^{18}, Is 21^5, 2 Ch 32^{21} ‖ נָגִיד (AV and RV 'captains'), or civil 1 Ch 27^{31} (*προστάται*, AV and RV 'rulers'), cf. 29^6 etc., particularly of royal officials Gn 12^{15}, 2 K 24^{12}, Hos 3^4, Ezr 8^{25}; of the chiefs of foreign nations Jg 7^{25} 8^3 (Midian), 1 S 18^{30} (Philistines); of leaders in war 1 S 22^2 (*ἡγούμενοι*, AV and RV 'captains'), cf. 2 S 24^4 and Neh 2^9 (*ἀρχηγοί*); of the 'ruler of the city' Jg 9^{30}, cf. 1 K 22^{26} (*βασιλεύς*, AV and RV 'governor'), Neh 7^2; of the chief of the eunuchs Dn $1^{7t.\,9ff.}$ (*ἀρχιευνοῦχος*); the chief of the butlers or bakers Gn $40^{2.\,20}$ (*ἀρχιοινοχόος*, *ἀρχισιτοποιός*), etc.; the head of the priestly or Levitical classes Ezr 8^{29} 10^5, 1 Ch $15^{16.\,22}$ etc.; the directors of the post-exilic community Neh 4^{10}, cf. Ezr 9^1 10^{14}, Neh 11^1. With the sense of 'prince' proper, שַׂר is mainly post-exilic, Est 1^{14}, Job 29^9 (*ἀδροί*) ‖ נְגִידִים, Ps $119^{23.\,161}$; of the Messiah, 'the prince of peace' Is 9^6 (A *ἄρχων εἰρήνης*, B follows a different text); of the guardian angels of the nations Dn $10^{13.\,20.\,21}$ 12^1 (Theod. in all *ἄρχων*, LXX in first three *στρατηγός*, in last *ἄγγελος*); of God Dn 8^{11} ('prince of the host,' *ἀρχιστράτηγος*) [25] ('prince of princes,' LXX follows a different text).

The noun **'princess'** in EV always represents שָׂרָה (cf. the proper name SARAH). Its only two occurrences in AV are 1 K 11^3 (of the seven hundred wives of Solomon; LXX *ἄρχουσαι*), La 1^1 (of Jerusalem 'princess among the provinces'; LXX *ἄρχουσα*). To these RV adds Est 1^{18} (AV 'ladies,' LXX *τυραννίδες*). There are only two other occurrences of שׂרה in the Hebrew Bible. The one is Jg 5^{29} חַכְמוֹת שָׂרוֹתֶיהָ (AV and RV 'her wise ladies,' Moore [cf. his note on the text], 'the sagest of her princesses'; LXX *ἄρχουσαι*); the other is Is 49^{23} (AV and RV 'queens,' AVm 'princesses'; LXX *ἄρχουσαι*).

3. נָגִיד. The root meaning is probably 'one *in front*,' 'a leader.' This word is used in general of rulers or princes in Job 29^{10} (AV and RV 'nobles,' LXX wants this verse) 31^{37} (LXX follows

a different text), Ps 76[12 (13)] (ἄρχων), Pr 28[16] (βασιλεύς). More particularly it is the designation of (*a*) *the king of Israel:* Saul 1 S 9[16] 10[1] [the use of נָגִיד is peculiar to the earlier of the two narratives of Saul's election, מֶלֶךְ 'king' being used in the other; the same distinction is observed in the LXX ἄρχων and βασιλεύς]; David 13[14] (ἄρχων; in the following passages ἡγούμενος unless otherwise noted) 25[30], 2 S 5[2] (εἰσηγούμενος) 6[21] 7[8], 1 Ch 11[2] 17[7], 2 Ch 6[5] [in all these passages relating to Saul and David, RV has 'prince,' AV has 'captain' in all except 1 S 25[30], 2 S 6[21] 7[8], 1 Ch 11[2] 17[7], 2 Ch 6[5], where it has 'ruler'], Is 55[4] (AV and RV 'leader,' RVm 'prince,' LXX ἄρχων); Solomon 1 K 1[35] (AV 'ruler'), 1 Ch 29[22] (AV 'chief governor,' LXX βασιλεύς); Jeroboam 1 K 14[7]; Baasha 16[2]; Hezekiah 2 K 20[5] (AV 'captain'); Abijah 2 Ch 11[23] (AV 'ruler'); cf. the choice of Judah 1 Ch 28[4] (AV 'ruler,' LXX ἐν Ἰούδᾳ ἡρέτικεν τὸ βασίλειον).—(*b*) *A foreign ruler or prince:* the prince of Tyre Ezk 28[2] (ἄρχων); perhaps also 'the prince that shall come' Dn 9[26] (? Antiochus Epiphanes, see below; Theod. ὁ ἡγούμενος ὁ ἐρχόμενος, LXX βασιλεία ἐθνῶν).—(*c*) *A high temple official:* Pashhur Jer 20[1] (AV 'chief governor,' RV 'chief officer'); cf. 1 Ch 9[11], 2 Ch 31[13] 35[8] (AV and RV 'ruler(s')', LXX in last ἄρχοντες), Neh 11[11] (AV and RV 'ruler,' LXX ἀπέναντι οἴκου τοῦ θεοῦ); the high priest Dn 11[22] ('the prince of the covenant'), and perhaps 9[25. 26] (AV in v.[25] 'the Messiah the prince,' RV 'the anointed one, the prince'; Theod. χριστὸς ἡγούμενος). The prince in v.[25] is frequently understood of Cyrus, and in v.[26] of Epiphanes, but Bevan argues in favour of understanding the reference in both instances to be to the high priest, the first being to Joshua the son of Jozadak (Ezr 3[2], Hag 1[1], Zec 3[1]), and the second [reading עִם יִשָּׁחֵת 'shall be destroyed with,' for עַם יַשְׁחִית 'the people shall destroy'] to Jason, the brother and successor of Onias III.—(*d*) *A ruler in other capacities.* This use of the word is late: the 'ruler' of each tribe 1 Ch 27[16], 2 Ch 19[11]; the 'ruler' of the Korahites 1 Ch 9[20]; the 'leader' of the Aaronite warriors 1 Ch 12[27]; the 'leader' of an army division 1 Ch 13[1] 27[4] (AV and RV 'ruler,' LXX ἄρχων), 2 Ch 11[11] ('captain' of a fortress) 32[21] (in the Assyrian army; AV and RV 'leaders,' LXX ἄρχοντες); the 'ruler' over the temple treasuries 1 Ch 26[24] (ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν θησαυρῶν), cf. 2 Ch 31[12] (ἐπιστάτης). In 2 Ch 28[7] the 'house' (הַבַּיִת) of which Azrikam was ruler (AV 'governor'), is probably the palace; cf. the familiar אֲשֶׁר עַל־הַבַּיִת Is 22[15] 36[3], 1 K 4[6], 2 K 15[5] etc.

4. נָדִיב, lit. 'willing,' *e.g.* נְדִיב לֵב 'willing of heart' Ex 35[5. 22], 2 Ch 29[31]; רוּחַ נְדִיבָה 'a willing (AV and RV 'free') spirit' Ps 51[14 (12)]; cf. the use of the verb נָדַב 'to volunteer' Jg 5[2. 9], 2 Ch 17[16], Neh 11[2], and the noun נְדָבָה 'freewill offering' Ex 35[29 36], Ezr 1[6] *et al.* Hence נָדִיב may mean *generous* or *noble* in disposition: Pr 17[26] (AV 'princes,' RV 'the noble,' ‖ צַדִּיק), v.[7] (LXX δίκαιος; AV and RV 'a prince' is quite misleading, see Toy, *ad loc.*), Is 32[5. 8] (AV and RV 'the liberal'; opposed here, as in Pr 17[7], to נָבָל). The word is used of noble or princely rank in Nu 21[18] (the Song of the Well; AV and RV 'the nobles,' LXX βασιλεῖς, ‖ שָׂרִים 'princes,' ἄρχοντες. In the following passages, unless otherwise noted, ἄρχων is used by LXX to tr. נָדִיב), 1 S 2[8] ('to make them sit with princes, μετὰ δυναστῶν λαῶν), Job 12[21]=Ps 107[40] ('He poureth contempt upon princes') 21[28] ('Where is the house of the prince?' B οἶκος ἄρχοντος, but A οἶκος ἀρχαῖος) 34[18], Ps 47[10 (9)] 83[12 (11)] (AV and RV 'nobles') 113[8 bis] 118[9] 146[3], Pr 8[16] (‖ שָׂרִים, LXX μεγιστᾶνες and τύραννοι respectively) 19[6] (AV and RVm 'prince' seems preferable to RV 'liberal man'; LXX βασιλεῖς) 25[7] (δυνάστης), Ca 7[1] ('O prince's daughter,' B θύγατερ Ναδάβ, A θυγ. Ἀμιναδάβ).

5. נָסִיךְ (Assyr. *nasîku*), from root נסך 'install' (cf. Ps 2[6] נָסַכְתִּי מַלְכִּי עַל־צִיּוֹן 'I have installed my king upon Zion'), occurs 4 times in OT: Jos 13[21] 'the princes (AV 'dukes,' LXX ἄρχοντες [but the Gr. text is confused]) of Sihon'; Ezk 32[30] 'the princes (ἄρχοντες) of the north'; Mic 5[4 (5)] 'eight principal men' (נְסִיכֵי אָדָם, RVm 'princes among men,' LXX δήγματα ἀνθρώπων); Ps 83[12 (11)] 'make their princes (‖ נְדִיבִים, see above; LXX ἄρχοντες) like Zebah and Zalmunna.' In Dn 11[8] נְסִיכֵיהֶם, which is rendered in AV and RVm 'their princes,' is much more likely from another נֵסֶךְ, a by-form of נָסֶךְ, and means 'their molten images' (so RV, *Oxf. Heb. Lex.* etc.; cf. LXX and Theod. τὰ χωνευτά). We reach the same result by simply changing the Massoretic reading to נִסְכֵּיהֶם. See, further, Bevan, *ad loc.*

6. אֲחַשְׁדַּרְפְּנִים (Ezr 8[36], Est 3[12] 8[9] 9[3]) or אֲחַשְׁדַּרְפְּנַיָּא (Dn 3[2. 3. 27] 6[2. 4. 5. 7. 8]) is uniformly rendered by RV **satraps,** while AV gives 'lieutenants' in the passages in Ezra and Esther, 'princes' in those in Daniel. See art. LIEUTENANT.

7. חַשְׁמַנִּים in Ps 68[31 (32)] is rendered by both AV and RV 'princes.' The LXX has πρέσβεις 'ambassadors,' Vulg. *legati*; but all these renderings are purely conjectural, founded upon the context. Probably we ought, with Nestle (*JBL*, 1891, p. 152), to emend to בְּשָׁמְנִים 'they shall come with oils *or* ointments' (so Duhm, *et al.*).

8. כְּהָנִים is rendered 'princes' in AV of Job 12[19], but there is no reason for departing from the usual meaning 'priests' (so RV, LXX ἱερεῖς).

9. סְגָנִים Is 41[25] 'he (Cyrus) shall come upon princes (RV 'rulers,' RVm 'deputies') as upon mortar.' The LXX has ἄρχοντες. *Ṣĕgānîm* (found only in the plural) is a loan-word from the Assyrian, where it appears as *šaknu* 'prefect' of a conquered city or province. For the other OT uses and the later meaning of *ṣĕgānîm* see art. PRIESTS AND LEVITES, p. 96[b].

10. פַּרְתְּמִים, a Persian loan-word, probably=*fratama*, 'first,' occurs 3 times: Dn 1[3] 'certain of the children of Israel, even of the seed royal and of the nobles' (AV 'princes'; LXX ἐκ τῶν ἐπιλέκτων, Theod. B ἀπὸ τῶν φορθομμείν, A . . . πορθομμείν, Symm. and Pesh. tr. 'Parthians'); Est 1[3] (AV and RV 'nobles,' ‖ שָׂרִים; LXX ἔνδοξοι); 6[9] 'one of the king's most noble princes' (אִישׁ מִשָּׂרֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ הַפַּרְתְּמִים, LXX ἑνὶ τῶν φίλων τοῦ βασιλεως τῶν ἐνδόξων).

11. קָצִין (=Arab. *ḳāḍī*, from *ḳaḍā* 'to decide,' 'to pronounce a sentence') is a term used of both military and civil leaders: Jos 10[24] ('the chiefs of the men of war'), Jg 11[6. 11] (of Jephthah), Pr 6[7] (in a saying about the ant, joined with שֹׁטֵר and מֹשֵׁל), Is 1[10] 3[6. 7] 22[3]. The OT passages where it is tr. 'prince' in AV are: Pr 25[15] 'By long forbearing is a prince (RV 'ruler,' RVm 'judge') persuaded' (LXX ἐν μακροθυμίᾳ εὐοδία βασιλεῦσιν; there appears to be no sufficient reason for Toy's and Frankenberg's emendation of the last two words of the MT יְרֻצֶּה קָצִין to יִשְׁקֹט קֶצֶף or יְשׁ קֹצֶף 'is anger [*or* an angry man] pacified'); Mic 3[1. 9] 'ye princes (RV 'rulers') of the house of Israel' (LXX οἱ κατάλοιποι; in both verses ‖ רָאשִׁים 'heads'); Dn 11[18] 'a prince (RVm 'captain') shall cause the reproach offered by him to cease.' The reference is to the Roman general Lucius Scipio who defeated Antiochus the Great at Magnesia, B.C. 190 (see Bevan, *ad loc.*). There is nothing in Theod. or the LXX text here corresponding to the word קָצִין.

12. 13. רַב, which is especially familiar as the first part of official titles like RAB-MAG, RAB-SARIS, RAB-SHAKEH (see the artt. on these names), is twice tr. 'prince' in AV: Jer 39[13] 41[1] of the princes (RV 'chief officers') of the king of Babylon; LXX in the first passage [46[3]] ἡγεμόνες, in the second the term is dropped. In Dn 4[33 (36)] 5[1. 2. 3. 9. 10. 23] 6[18 (17)] the form רַבְרְבָן occurs. Both AV and RV render uniformly by 'lords' except in 5[2. 3] where AV has 'princes'; Theod. has μεγι-

στâνες in every instance, so LXX in 5^{23} and $6^{18\,(17)}$, om. in the other passages.

14. 15. רוזן (cf. the proper name REZON, 1 K 11^{23}) only Pr 14^{28} 'in the want of people is the destruction of the prince' (LXX *δυνάστης*); elsewhere רוזן, namely Jg 5^{3} 'Give ear, O ye princes' (B *σατράπαι*, A adds *δυναστοί*), Ps 2^{2} (*ἄρχοντες*, AV and RV 'rulers'), Pr 8^{15} (*δυνάσται*) 31^{4}, Hab 1^{10} (*τύραννοι*), Is 40^{23} (*ἄρχοντες*). In all these passages רוזן or רוזן is ‖ מֶלֶךְ 'king,' except in the last, where רוזנים is ‖ שֹׁפְטֵי אֶרֶץ 'judges of the earth.' Cf. Arab. *razīn*, 'grave,' 'steady,' from *razuna*, 'to be heavy.'

16. שָׁלִישׁ is once (Ezk 23^{15}) tr. 'prince.' A better rendering would be 'officer' or 'captain.' The word, which means literally 'third' (cf. the LXX, but not in above passage, *τριστάτης*), is usually explained to have denoted originally the man who, in addition to the driver, stood beside the king on his war-chariot, holding his shield or the like. But the adequacy of this as an explanation of the general usage of the term is questioned by Dillmann (on Ex 14^{7}), Kraetzschmar ('Ezechiel' in Nowack's *Hdkomm.*), and others. Kraetzschmar prefers to make the meaning simply *third in military rank* (comparing the obsolete titles 'first lieutenant,' 'second lieutenant'), or to regard *shālīsh* as a loan-word. The term occurs frequently elsewhere in OT in the same sense (*e.g.* Ex 14^{7} 15^{4}, 2 K 9^{25} 10^{25} 15^{25}, AV and RV always 'captain').

In the NT the terms rendered in AV 'prince' are **1.** *ἀρχηγός*:—Ac 3^{15} 'ye killed the Prince (AVm and RVm 'Author') of life.' 'Author' appears to be the better rendering here (cf. He 2^{10} 'the author [AVm and RVm 'captain'] of their salvation'). The only other instance where *ἀρχηγός* is tr. 'prince' (AV and RV) is Ac 5^{31} 'Him did God exalt with his right hand to be a Prince and a Saviour.' The Gr. term occurs once more in NT, namely in He 12^{2} 'Jesus the author (AVm 'beginner,' RVm 'captain') and finisher (RV 'perfecter') of our faith,' where the meaning is probably 'leader' or '*antesignanus*.' **2.** *ἄρχων*: Mt 9^{34} 12^{24}, Mk 3^{22} of (Beelzebub) 'the prince of the demons'; Mt 20^{25} 'the princes of the Gentiles,' cf. 1 Co $2^{6.\,8}$ 'the princes of this world' (*οἱ ἄρχοντες τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου*); Jn 12^{31} 14^{30} 16^{11} 'the prince of this world' (*ὁ ἄρχων τοῦ κόσμου τούτου*); Eph 2^{2} 'the prince of the power of the air' (*ὁ ἄρχων τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦ ἀέρος*; on this expression see art. SATAN); Rev 1^{5} 'the Prince of the kings of the earth' (*ὁ ἄρχων τῶν βασιλέων τῆς γῆς*, probably a reminiscence of Ps 89 (88) ^{27}). **3.** *ἡγεμών* is tr. 'prince' only in Mt 2^{6} 'thou art not the least among the princes of Judah.' On the surprising variations between St. Matthew's quotation and the original passage Mic 5^{1}, and the possible explanation of these, see art. QUOTATIONS, i. D.

J. A. SELBIE.

PRINCESS.—See PRINCE, No. **2**, *ad fin.*

PRINCIPALITY.—In Jer 13^{18} מְרַאֲשׁוֹת (from רֹאשׁ the head) is tr. 'principalities,' apparently in the sense of privilege, pre-eminence, as in Jer. Taylor, *Worthy Communicant*, i. 83, 'If any mystery, rite, or sacrament be effective of any spiritual blessings, then this is much more, as having the prerogative and illustrious principality above everything else.' This is better than the tr. 'from your head' or 'from your heads' of the previous versions (Vulg. *de capite vestro*, LXX *ἀπὸ κεφαλῆς ὑμῶν*); but the meaning is evidently, as in AVm and RV, 'headtires.'

In 2 Mac 4^{27} 5^{7} the high priesthood is called the 'principality,' *i.e.* principal office or supreme power (*ἀρχή*). Cf. Milton, *Reform*, ii. 'The Bishops of Rome and Alexandria, who beyond their Priestly bounds now long agoe had stept into principality.'

For the 'principalities' (*ἀρχαί*) of Ro 8^{38}, Eph 1^{21} (*ἀρχή*, RV 'rule') 3^{10} 6^{12}, Col $2^{10.\,15}$, Tit 3^{1} (RV 'rulers'), see DOMINION in vol. i. p. 616[b].

J. HASTINGS.

PRINCIPLE.—See ELEMENT in vol. i. p. 682[a].

PRISCA or **PRISCILLA** (Πρίσκα, Πρίσκιλλα). — The wife of AQUILA. The name is Latin, Priscilla being the diminutive form. In the three places in Acts where the word is used ($18^{2.\,18.\,26}$), the form is always Priscilla; in the three places in St. Paul's Epistles (Ro 16^{3}, 1 Co 16^{19}, 2 Ti 4^{19}) it is in the best MSS always Prisca. In Ac $18^{18.\,26}$, Ro 16^{3}, 2 Ti 4^{19} the wife's name appears first, in the other two places the husband's.

There is some variation in the MSS and VSS. In Ac 18^{26} ℵABE vulg. boh. read Πρίσκιλλα καὶ Ἀκύλας; DHLP, etc., gig, syrr, sah. read Ἀκ. καὶ Πρ. In Ro 16^{3} and 2 Ti 4^{19} the evidence for Πρίσκα is preponderating; in 1 Co 16^{19} Πρίσκα is read by ℵBMP vulg. codd., boh. arm.; Πρίσκιλλα by ACDEFGKL and most later MSS, vulg. codd., syrr, Chrys., Thdrt., Dam. and TR; the former reading is undoubtedly right. In 2 Ti 4^{19} there is a curious addition after Ἀκύλαν in 46, 109, and 109 lat. Λεκτραν (*sic*) τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ καὶ Σιμαιαν (*sic*) καὶ Ζηνᾶνα τοὺς υἱοὺς αὐτοῦ.

The variations in the text of Ac 18^{1-27} have been examined very carefully by Harnack, who shows that the longer text (usually called the Western, or by Blass *β*) is clearly formed out of the shorter, and suggests that it has been modified by an interpolator who objected to the too great prominence given to a woman, and has made the position of Priscilla less prominent. With his conclusion we may compare the remarks of Ramsay (*Church in the Roman Empire*, p. 101) on the omission of Damaris in the Western text, Ac 17^{34}.

Prisca is always mentioned with her husband. He is described as a Jew of Pontus, and a tentmaker. St. Paul is associated with them first at Corinth, whither they had retired after the decree expelling the Jews from Rome. After remaining there about eighteen months, they went with St. Paul to Ephesus, and remained there while he went on to Jerusalem. At Ephesus they were concerned in the instruction of Apollos, and seem to have remained throughout St. Paul's residence, their house being used for Christian meetings. Later, probably in consequence of the uproar in the theatre, when there seem to have been considerable riots, they returned to Rome, where again their house was used for Christian worship; and ultimately we again find them at Ephesus. These numerous changes between Rome, Ephesus, and Corinth have caused difficulty to critics, who have for this and other causes suggested that Ro 16 was really addressed to Ephesus. A sufficient explanation is, however, afforded by the nomadic character of the Jewish world in general, of Aquila and Priscilla in particular, and by their occupation as Christian missionaries interested in the spread and support of the Christian Churches. They were evidently persons of prominence in the early Christian community. St. Paul speaks of them with affection, and says that they had endangered their lives for his sake (Ro 16^{4}).

The above is all that we learn from the New Testament, but the traditions of the Roman Church, where the name Prisca was of considerable importance, suggest the possibility of some interesting discoveries being made. The name occurs in two connexions.

(1) There is a church on the Aventine bearing the name of St. Prisca which gives a title to one of the Roman cardinals. This church bore the name of the *Titulus St. Priscae* from the 4th to the 8th cent. (*Liber Pontificalis*, ed. Duchesne, i. 501, 517^{45}); later, under Leo III. (795–816), it is called the *Titulus Aquilae et Priscae* (*ib.* ii. 20). There are legendary *Acts of St. Prisca*, dating from the 10th cent., in which it is stated that the body of St. Prisca was translated from the place on the Ostian Way where she had been buried and transferred to the Church of St. Aquila and Prisca on

the Aventine (*Acta Sanctorum*, Jan. ii. p. 187). An inscription of the 10th cent. (*C. Ins. Christ.* ii. p. 443) also calls it *domus Aquilae seu Priscae*.

(2) In the legendary account of Pudens, Pudenziana, and Praxedis, Priscilla is stated to have been the mother of Pudens (*Acta Sanct.* May, iv. 295).

(3) One of the oldest of the catacombs of Rome is the *Cœmeterium Priscillae*, outside the *Porta Salaria*, and there seems to be some evidence to connect the name Prisca with the Acilian gens, members of which were buried there.

Now it has been noticed that the name Prisca in four out of six places is mentioned before that of her husband. Hort, following out this point, suggests that she was a member of a distinguished Roman family who had married a Jew. This would account both for the prominence given to her, and the connexion of the name with one of the oldest cemeteries. A more plausible suggestion is that both Prisca and Aquila were freedmen of the Acilian or some other gens; that through them Christianity had reached a distinguished Roman family, whose name they had taken, and that this accounted for the prominence of the name Prisca in the early Church. More discovery and investigation are needed, but the point of interest is that the name Prisca in some way or other occupied a prominent position in the Rom. Church.

An interesting suggestion, which has the merit of novelty, has been made by Professor Harnack, that in Priscilla and Aquila we have the authors of the Epistle to the Hebrews. Prisca and Aquila were, we know, teachers of prominence who had turned Apollos to Christianity; they belonged to the intimate circle of St. Paul's friends; they were close friends of Timothy, and personally received St. Paul. They had for some time been connected with a small Christian community in Rome, and the Epistle to the Hebrews was clearly, he argues, written to Rome, and not to the Church as a whole, but to a small circle within the Church. They were with Italian connections, but living outside Italy. In the Epistle there is a curious interchange of 'We' and 'I.' Lastly, the authorship of Priscilla will explain why the writing is now anonymous. The Church of the 2nd cent. objected very strongly to the prominent position of women in the Apostolic age. This had caused the gradual modification of various passages in the Acts, and the desire to separate this work from the name of Priscilla. The whole argument is as ingenious as Professor Harnack always is, but it does not succeed in being quite convincing.

LITERATURE.—De Rossi, *Bull. Arch. Christ.* Ser. i. No. 5 (1867), p. 45 ff., Ser. iv. No. 6 (1888–89), p. 129; Duchesne, *Liber Pontificalis*; Hort, *Rom. and Eph.* pp. 12–14; Plumptre, *Biblical Studies*, p. 417; Sanday-Headlam, *Romans*, pp. xxvii, 418 ff.; Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller*, 268 f.; Harnack, *Sitzungsberichte der K. Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1900, i., and *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde des Urchristentums*, 1900, p. 10.

A. C. HEADLAM.

PRISON.—Joseph was imprisoned in an Egyptian prison (בֵּית הַסֹּהַר, perhaps 'house of enclosure,' *i.e.* walled, or 'fortress,' cf. cognate Syriac סהרתא 'palace,' and Targumic סחר 'to go round,' 'surround'; *ὀχύρωμα, δεσμωτήριον*; *carcer, custodia*, Gn 39^{20-23} $40^{3.5}$ [JE]; also בּוֹר 'pit,' EV 'dungeon'; *λάκκος, ὀχύρωμα*; *lacus, carcer*, Gn 40^{15} 41^{14} [JE]; in 40^{3}, בֵּית שַׂר הַטַּבָּחִים 'house of the captain of the executioners,' *i.e.* the guard). 'Fortress' suggests the use, always common, of fortresses as prisons; 'house of the captain of the guard' suggests that the care of prisoners was one of the duties of that official. Ebers, *Ægypten*, p. 317 ff., identifies this 'fortress' with that at Memphis, mentioned in inscriptions as the 'White Wall'; see, further, art. JOSEPH in vol. ii. p. 768ᵃ, note ‖. In Egypt, in addition to the royal prisons, the great temples had prisons of their own (Erman, *Life, etc.* p. 304). Imprisonment is mentioned as a penalty; and the great gold and other mines of Ethiopia and Sinai, which were worked by convicts and captives under conditions of barbarous cruelty, were really vast prisons (Maspero, *Dawn, etc.* 337). Joseph's brethren are said (Gn $42^{17.19}$) to have been kept in custody, מִשְׁמָר, *φυλακή*.

Samson was imprisoned by the Philistines in a בֵּית הָאֲסוּרִים (Kt. אֲסִירִים) 'house of those who are bound,' *οἶκος τοῦ δεσμωτηρίου, carcer*, Jg $16^{21.25}$. The terms בֵּית כֶּלֶא, ב׳ כֶּלְיָא, ב׳ כְּלוּא 'house of confinement,' *φυλακή*, are used of the places of imprisonment of Micaiah, 1 K 22^{27}; Hoshea (in Assyria), 2 K 17^{4}; Jehoiachin (in Babylon), 2 K 25^{27}; and Jeremiah, Jer $37^{4.18}$ etc.; also in Is $42^{7.22}$. Jeremiah's place of confinement is also called מַטָּרָה 'place of guard,' *φυλακή, carcer*; and בֵּית אָסוּר, 37^{15}=בֵּית הָאֲסוּרִים (see above, Samson). In 2 Ch 16^{10}, Jer 29^{26}, מַהְפֶּכֶת (AV 'prison,' *φυλακή*), etc., should be 'stocks.' Zedekiah was imprisoned at Babylon in a בֵּית פְּקֻדָּה 'house of inspection,' *οἰκία μόλωνος, domo carceris*, Jer 52^{11}. Other terms used are מִסְגֵּר 'enclosure,' *ὀχύρωμα, φυλακή*, etc. *carcer*, Ps 142^{7}, Is 24^{22} 42^{7}; עֹצֶר, rather 'oppression,' Is 53^{8}; מִשְׁמָר='ward, custody,' Gn 42^{19}. 'Prison' is supplied in Is 61^{1}. The case of Samson suggests buildings like the Roman *ergastulum*, in which malefactors and slaves were confined and kept at work. Jeremiah's prison was at one time part of the palace, 32^{2}, cf. 37^{21}, 1 K 22^{27}, Neh 3^{25}, 2 K 25^{27}; at another a private house, Jer 37^{15}. As מַטָּרָה in Jer 32^{2}='guardhouse,' it seems that the care of prisoners was one of the duties of the body-guard, and that the prisoners were confined in rooms attached to their quarters. The 'pit' (בּוֹר, Jer 38^{6-11}, cf. Gn 37^{24}) may have been an empty cistern, or possibly an *oubliette*.

Our available evidence points to places of confinement being parts of palaces, temples, fortresses, etc., rather than special buildings set apart for the purpose. For the crimes punished by confinement, and the conditions and treatment of prisoners, see CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS in vol. i. p. 525, *s.* 'Imprisonment.'

In NT, John the Baptist (Mt 14^{3} etc.), Peter (Ac 5^{19} etc.), Paul and Silas (16^{23} etc.), and others were confined in a *φυλακή* 'prison, place of guarding'; John (Mt 11^{2}), Paul, etc. (Ac 16^{26}) in a *δεσμωτήριον* 'prison,' 'place of bonds.' The apostles (Ac 5^{21-23}) were confined in the *δεσμωτήριον*, also *τήρησις* (5^{18}) 'place of keeping.' In Ac 12^{7} *οἴκημα* 'house,' is tr^{d} 'prison.' According to Jos. (*Ant.* XVIII. v. 2), John was imprisoned at the royal fortress of Machærus. The prison at Jerusalem mentioned in Ac 5 was under the control of the priests, and probably attached to the temple or the high priest's palace. Paul was imprisoned in the fort Antonia (Ac 23^{10}) at Jerusalem, in the Prætorium (or Palace) of Herod at Cæsarea (Ac 23^{35}). At Rome he was allowed to live in his 'own hired house' (Ac 28^{30}), doubtless in charge of a soldier. Before his trial, however, he may have been transferred to prison, perhaps the *carcer* specially so called (named in mediæval times *Mamertinus*), and consisting of a larger oblong upper storey and a smaller circular underground dungeon—the *Tullianum*. This *carcer* may have been Paul's place of confinement in his second imprisonment. Cf. 'Carcer' in Smith's *Dict. of Class. Antiquities*.

On 'the spirits in prison' of 1 P 3^{19} see vol. i. p. 754ᵃ and vol. iii. p. 795. W. H. BENNETT.

PRIVY, PRIVILY.—These words, which came into the Eng. language through the Old Fr. *prive*, have now been displaced (except in some compounds) by 'private,' 'privately,' which were taken direct from the Lat. *privatus*, and which are also found in AV. Cf. Mk 4^{22} Tind. 'There is nothinge so prevy that shall not be opened' (AV 'nothing hid which shall not be manifested'); Jn 7^{10} Tind. 'Then went he also up unto the feast; not openly, but as it were prevely' (AV 'in secret'); Erasmus, *Exposition of the Crede*, 'By the spirite he doth understand and meane privye or secrete grace of faythe'; More, *Utopia*, 43, 'Howe should a man, that in no parte of his apparell is like other men, flye prevelie and unknowen?'

To be privy to a thing (1 K 2^{44}, Ac 5^{2}) is simply to have a knowledge of it. Cf. Calderwood, *History of the Church of Scotland*, 140, 'Argile came to St. Andrews the day following, privie, as appeared, to the purpose'; *Bishops' Bible*, Ps 19^{11} 'Who can knowe his owne errours? Oh clense thou me from those that I am not privie of'; Spenser, *Shep. Cal.* viii. 153—

'Ye carelesse byrds are privie to my cries.'

J. HASTINGS.

PROCHORUS (Πρόχορος). — One of the 'seven' appointed, Ac 6^{5}. Later tradition made him bishop of Nicomedia, and a martyr at Antioch. He was commemorated by the Latins on April 9, by the Greeks on July 28. See Baronius, i. *ad ann.* 44; *Acta Sanctorum*, Ap., i. 818. There is published in *Magna Bibliotheca Patrum*, Colon. Agr. 1618, i. 49–69, a spurious *Historia Prochori, Christi Discipuli, de vita B. Ioannis Apostoli.*

A. C. HEADLAM.

PROCONSUL (Lat. *proconsul*; Gr. *ἀνθύπατος*).—The technical term for the governor of a senatorial province, used Ac $13^{7.\ 8.\ 12}$ of Sergius Paulus in Cyprus; 18^{12} of Gallio at Corinth; 19^{38} of the governors of Asia. Some little difficulty has been felt by the use of the plural in the last case, but it quite normally expresses what is habitual: 'If any man has a definite charge, there are law courts and judges,' as we should say. The proconsuls were of two classes—those who were ex-consuls, viz. the rulers of Asia and Africa, who were therefore correctly (according to republican usage) proconsuls, and those who were only ex-prætors. For fuller details see under PROVINCE.

A. C. HEADLAM.

PROCURATOR.—The technical term to describe the office held by Pontius Pilate and the other governors of Judæa. The word means originally a bailiff or steward; under the empire it was used for the imperial officials, sometimes of equestrian rank, sometimes only freedmen, who were appointed in the provinces to collect the imperial revenue or *fiscus*. In imperial provinces they managed the whole of the revenue; in senatorial provinces, where there were quæstors, only that part which belonged to the emperor. Even in senatorial provinces their authority had a tendency gradually to increase, and they obtained judicial powers in revenue cases; but in addition to that there were certain provinces which were governed directly by a procurator, who possessed all the powers of an ordinary governor. The provinces so governed were usually those in a transitional state—provinces which had not been thoroughly romanized, and were passing from the rule of one of the *reges socii* to the conditions of a province. The following provinces were governed in this way (at any rate at certain periods):—Mauritania, Rhætia, Noricum, Thrace, Cappadocia, the Maritime Alps, the Alps of Savoy, and Judæa. These provinces, governed by procurators, were in some sense subordinate to the governor of the neighbouring province: for instance, Cappadocia was subordinate to Galatia, and Judæa to Syria. With this limitation, the procurator had the full power of the governor. He commanded such troops as were within his province, he held the power of life and death, and full judicial, administrative, and financial authority.

The technical term in connexion with Judæa is given in Tacitus, *Annal.* xv. 44: *Christus Tiberio imperitante per procuratorem Pontium Pilatum supplicio adfectus est.* The proper Greek translation would be *ἐπίτροπος*, but in the NT we find the vaguer term *ἡγεμών*, which might include rulers of other categories (Mt $27^{2.\ 11.\ 14.\ 15.\ 21.\ 27}$ 28^{14}, Lk 3^{1} 20^{20}, Ac $23^{24.\ 26.\ 33}$ $24^{1.\ 10}$ 26^{30}). In Josephus we find both *ἐπίτροπος* and *ἡγεμών*.

A. C. HEADLAM.

PROFANE.—The Eng. word comes from Lat. *profanus* (through Fr. *profane*), which is taken to be *pro* 'before' and *fanum* 'the temple,' hence outside the temple limits,* outside the limits of that which is holy, unholy, secular.†

The incorrect spelling *prophane* became common in the 16th cent., and is the spelling in the 1611 ed. of AV everywhere except Ezk $23^{38.\ 39}$, 1 Mac 3^{51}, 2 Mac 6^{5}, Ac 24^{6}.

The Heb. word so tr^{d} in AV is חָלַל to pollute, with its derivatives חֹל pollution, and חָלֹל (adj.) polluted. Once also (Jer 23^{11}) the verb [חָנֵף], and once (Jer 23^{15}) its deriv. חֹנֶף are tr^{d} '[is] profane' and 'profaneness.' AVm gives 'hypocrisy' in the second passage, Amer. RV prefers 'ungodliness.' In Greek, the verb is *βεβηλόω* and the adj. *βέβηλος*. The subst. *βεβήλωσις* is thrice (Jth $4^{8.\ 12}$, 1 Mac 1^{48}) tr^{d} 'profanation.' The ptcp. *ἀποδιεσταλμένος* is also tr^{d} 'profane' in 2 Mac 6^{5} (RV 'abominable'). In 2 Mac 4^{13} the subst. tr^{d} 'profaneness' is *ἀναγνεία*. Finally in 2 Es we find the vb. *profanare* tr^{d} 'to profane' (10^{22}), and the adv. *irreligiose* tr^{d} 'profanely' (15^{8}). See UNCLEAN, UNCLEANNESS.

J. HASTINGS.

PROFESS, PROFESSION.—The verb to 'profess' and the subst. 'profession' have acquired a narrow 'professional' meaning; in AV they still have the sense of 'speak out,' 'declare openly' (from *profiteri*, ptcp. *professus*). Thus Dt 26^{3} 'I profess this day unto the Lord thy God, that I am come unto the country which the Lord sware unto our fathers for to give us' (הִגַּדְתִּי); Mt 7^{23} 'And then will I profess unto them, I never knew you' (*ὁμολογήσω αὐτοῖς*); 1 Ti 6^{12} 'Thou hast professed a good profession before many witnesses' (*ὡμολόγησας τὴν καλὴν ὁμολογίαν*, RV 'didst confess the good confession'); He 3^{1} 'Consider the Apostle and High Priest of our profession' (*τῆς ὁμολογίας ἡμῶν*, RV 'of our confession,' that is, says Rendall, 'whom our Christian confession of faith acknowledges in this character').

J. HASTINGS.

PROGNOSTICATOR.—In Is 47^{13} the 'monthly prognosticators' (מוֹדִעִים לֶחֳדָשִׁים, AVm 'that give knowledge concerning the months') are mentioned along with the 'astrologers' and the 'star-gazers' as unable to help Babylon in her hour of need. The meaning of לֶחֳדָשִׁים is probably 'at (the) new moons,' the reference being to the forecasts which it was usual to make at that season of what was likely to happen during the coming month. The lucky and unlucky days of each month were duly noted in the Assyrian and Babylonian calendars, and reports were given in monthly by the official astronomers and astrologers (cf. Sayce in *TSBA* iii. p. 229, and see also art. ASTROLOGY in vol. i. p. 194^{a}). The LXX has nothing answering to '*monthly* prognosticators,' the text reading in such a way that the 'astrologers' are called on to stand forth and save their votaries, and the 'star-gazers' are challenged to make known (*ἀναγγειλάτωσαν*, representing somehow מוֹדִעִים) what is going to happen.

J. A. SELBIE.

PROLOGUE.—The Book of Sirach opens with a preface by the author's grandson, which bears in BA the title *πρόλογος* (C *πρ. Σιράχ*, ℵ om.). For its contents see art. SIRACH. The opening verses of the Fourth Gospel are also frequently called the Prologue to that Gospel. See JOHN (GOSPEL OF).

PROMISE.—The word 'promise' is used in Scripture with the same latitude as in language generally, but the present art. takes account only of

* Cf. Ezk 42^{20} 'to make a separation between the sanctuary and the profane place.'

† Cf. Tymme's tr. of Calvin's *Genesis*, on 47^{7} 'When Jacob is saide to blesse the king, Moses thereby meaneth not a common and prophane salutation, but a godlie and holie prayer of the servant of God.'

the technical or semi-technical sense of it which comes into view when we read of 'the promise' without any qualification. God is the author of the promise, and it is spontaneously put forth on His part; this is what is signified by ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι as opposed to ὑπισχνεῖσθαι, the latter signifying *to come under an obligation, as part of a contract.* The promise was originally given to Abraham; and though, in its largest scope, it covers the whole future guaranteed to him by God, it is defined at different times in different ways. Sometimes the thing promised is the possession of a country—Canaan is 'the land of the promise' (He 11^9); sometimes it is the birth of a son or of a numerous posterity, a seed like the stars of heaven or the dust of the earth (Gn 13^{16} 15^5)—Isaac is the first of 'the children of the promise' (Ro 9^8); more generally it is a divinely-secured greatness and felicity so conspicuous that all nations will make it a standard of congratulation (Gn $12^{2f.}$). The OT, though the promises of God may be said to be the contents of His covenant (so that St. Paul speaks of 'the covenants of the promise,' Eph 2^{12}), does not make much use of this category to interpret the experience of Israel. The future of the nation does depend on God, but it is seldom related to His 'promise' in the technical sense with which we are here concerned. There is an approach to the general idea in Jer 29^{11} 'I know the thoughts that I think toward you, saith the Lord, thoughts of peace and not of evil, *to give you a future and a hope.*' This conception of some good unrealized, but to be realized through faith in the sure word of God, is what is meant by the promise. But there is a nearer approach still to the technical sense in Ps 105^{42} 'He remembered *his holy word, and Abraham his servant.*' The whole future of Israel, all the deliverances wrought for it, are here conceived as bound up in something which God said to Abraham; the history of the nation is the revelation of what was involved in the primitive promise, and not only its revelation but its fulfilment. It is a witness to God's faithfulness to His word.

It is at this point that the NT takes up the idea. We see in the *Magnificat* and in the *Benedictus* how pious souls in Israel were preoccupied with it: 'He hath holpen Israel his servant *that he might remember mercy* (*as he spake unto our fathers*) *toward Abraham and his seed for ever*' (Lk $1^{54f.}$, cf. v.^{73} '*the oath which he sware unto Abraham our father,*' etc.). In NT times, however, the significance of the promise was determined *ex eventu*; it had been at last fulfilled in Christ, and it was by looking at Christ that men discovered what it meant. 'For how many soever are the promises of God [the separate blessings into which the one all-embracing ἐπαγγελία can be resolved] in him is the Yea,' that is, the Divine confirmation and fulfilment of them all (2 Co 1^{20}). The substance of NT teaching on this subject can be arranged under these heads: (1) the contents of the promise; (2) the heirs of it; (3) the conditions of its fulfilment.

(1) The *contents* of the promise are always related to Christ, but they are defined in various ways under the influence of various OT ideas. Sometimes the original idea of a 'country of our own' reappears, a land in which we shall not be strangers and pilgrims as on earth, 'a city with foundations,' rather 'the city with the foundations,' a rest like the Sabbath rest of God, into which we may enter after we have traversed the wilderness, an eternal inheritance. This may be said to be the aspect of the promise which pervades the Epistle to the Hebrews. See He $11^{9\text{-}16}$ 4^1 9^{15}. In the preaching of St. Peter, as we find it in the early chapters of Acts, it is the Risen Jesus, made by God 'both Lord and Christ,' in whom the promise has been fulfilled, and its contents may be said to be mainly the two divinely-bestowed possessions of the Christian Church—the forgiveness of sins and the gift of the Holy Ghost. The latter is specially spoken of as 'the promise of the Father' (Lk 24^{49}, Ac 1^4); Jesus has received from the Father 'the promise of the Spirit' (Ac 2^{33}), and it is with this in view that St. Peter says, 'the promise is unto you and your children' (2^{39}). There is no doubt here a reference to the fact that Jesus had promised to send the Spirit to His disciples; but the last passage quoted shows how this special promise of Jesus coalesced in the apostle's mind with the great Messianic promises in which the future of Israel was assured.—When we pass to St. Paul we find at first a general conception of the same character. The promise made to the fathers God has fulfilled in all its import (ἐκπεπλήρωκεν, Ac 13^{33}) by raising up Jesus—the raising up having reference either to the bringing of Jesus on to the stage of history, or to the Resurrection; in either case it is 'according to promise' that God has 'brought to Israel the Saviour Jesus' (Ac 13^{23}). At a much later date, as he stands before Agrippa, St. Paul can represent himself as involved in such troubles 'for the hope of the promise made by God to our fathers' (Ac 26^6, cf. 28^{20} 'for the hope of Israel I am bound with this chain'). The hope of Israel, all that God has promised to do for it, is in these passages regarded as bound up in the Risen and Exalted Jesus. What the content of that hope is, it would require an exposition of all the apostle's theology to show; for Christ and the promise are practically synonymous terms. All that is in Christ is meant by the promise; all the promises of God are summed up in Christ. Special aspects of this are set in relief by St. Paul as by other NT writers. Thus he speaks of Christians as sealed with the Holy Spirit of the promise (Eph 1^{13}), and as receiving the promise of the Spirit through faith (Gal 3^{14}). The gift of the Spirit has something of promise in it; it is the earnest of a heavenly inheritance, an inheritance with the saints in the light (Eph 1^{14}, Col 1^{12}); as the spirit of sonship it is the assurance that we are joint heirs with Christ, and shall yet be conformed to the image of God's exalted Son (Ro $8^{15\text{-}17}$), and have an entrance into that kingdom of God which for St. Paul is always a transcendent and glorious mode of being. In Gal 3 'the promise of the Spirit,' or the Spirit as the essential blessing of the promise, has its peculiar value in this, that it is the principle of a new life and righteousness to which sinful men could never attain on any other terms.—Other references to the promise in the NT are more dubious, though Tit 1^2 Ja 1^{12} 2^5 (the crown of life, the kingdom which God hath promised to them that love Him) are in the line of that conception of the promise which was common to St. Paul with all primitive Christians. On the other hand, a distinctively Johannine thought has availed itself of this mode of expression in 1 Jn 2^{25}.

(2) The second question concerns the *heirs* of the promise: to whom is it given? It was given at first to Abraham, or to Abraham and his seed. Isaac and Jacob were 'heirs with him of the same promise' (He 11^9). It might seem as if 'the seed of Abraham' were an expression not capable of two interpretations, and yet the proper interpretation of it was the great subject of controversy in the primitive Church. Even when the promise was seen to be fulfilled in Jesus, it seemed obvious to say that it was fulfilled to Israel—that Israel alone had a part in it. Even St. Paul can say that Jesus Christ was a minister of the circumcision, on behalf of the truth of God, to confirm the promises of the fathers, *i.e.* belonging to the fathers, because made to them (Ro 15^8). In enumer-

ating the prerogatives of Israel, he says frankly, 'to whom belong the promises' (Ro 9^4). In describing the pre-Christian condition of a Gentile Church he says its members had been 'strangers to the covenants of the promise,' and therefore without hope. No pagan people had that kind of assurance as to its own future which pious Israelites derived from the word of God, and hence the pessimism with which paganism generally contemplated the issues of human existence. It was the work of St. Paul to show that the promise was not subject to physical or historical limitations, and that no physical or historical accident, such as Jewish birth or upbringing, could give one a claim as of right against God for its fulfilment. The chief passages in which he deals with the problem are Gal 3 and Ro 9–11. In the former he discusses rather the conditions on which the promise is inherited, to which we shall refer below, and comes to the conclusion that all who are Christ's by faith are Abraham's seed, the Israel of God, and heirs according to promise. In the latter he is confronted with the fact that the promise—to judge by the results of his own preaching—is not being fulfilled to those to whom it belongs, and is being fulfilled (according to him) to those to whom it does not belong. What strikes one most in this extraordinary passage is the extent to which St. Paul's heart is on the side of those against whom he argues. Thus, after proving in ch. 9 that no man can claim unconditionally that God shall fulfil the promise to him, and in ch. 10 that the Jews, by persistent disobedience, have forfeited all title to be counted God's people and the heirs of His promise, he falls back in ch. 11 on the abstract theological principle that the gifts and calling of God are without repentance. It is as if he said—After all, there is no denying that Israel is God's people. God has given them the promise, and He cannot deny Himself. In spite of all their unbelief they are beloved for the fathers' sakes; God will remember His oath to Abraham, and 'so all Israel shall be saved.' Such faith may well seem bewildering to Gentiles who calmly assume that the promise is their own *ab initio*, and ignore even the historic prerogative of the Jew. But to the last the Jew was to St. Paul the root, the first-fruits; and the Gentiles were only *συμμέτοχα τῆς ἐπαγγελίας* (Eph 3^6), not its original and proper heirs.—In later NT writings the echoes of this conflict die away, and the scope of the promise is universalized as instinctively as Christ is felt to be Lord of all. 'The promise,' in short, is a historically conditioned way of conceiving the grace of God, and once the critical stage had been passed—as it was in St. Paul's lifetime—the discussions as to its range lost interest. Men could question who were the true heirs of the promise, but not under the same forms who were the objects of the redeeming love of God in Christ.

(3) The *conditions* on which the promise are fulfilled are discussed in various connexions. As already remarked, the very idea of *ἐπαγγελία* is spontaneity on the part of the promiser. The promise is of grace. In Ro 4 and Gal 3 St. Paul labours to show that it is subject to no control on the part of law, or of works of law. In Galatians he gives a historical proof of this. The promise was given to Abraham, and to his faith, 430 years before the law was heard of; and this late intrusion of law, whatever it may mean, cannot mean that we must *earn* the fulfilment of the promise; if this were the case it would be an *ἐπαγγελία*—a free spontaneous motion on the part of God—no more. In Ro 4 the proof is rather speculative or experimental than historical. Certain ideas and experiences hang together, and certain others do not. Promise, grace, and faith are parts of one whole; wages, debt, and works are parts of another whole; but these two wholes, and the parts of them, exclude each other. Hence the promise, in all the fulness of its content, explained above, is fulfilled, not to works of law, not to merit, but to faith in Jesus Christ. All that God holds out to us becomes ours as in faith we attach ourselves to Him. Where the blessings of salvation are presented as 'promise,' there is always, of course, the suggestion that they are not yet realized, and hence faith (when this conception is prominent, as in the Epistle to the Hebrews) assumes some of the characteristics of hope and of patience. We read of those who 'through faith and patience' inherit the promises; we have 'need of patience' that after 'having done the will of God' we may receive the promise (He 6^{13} 10^{36}). It is part of the heroism of faith that having God's promise to go upon it can maintain a strong conviction as to the things it hopes for, and give reality to things unseen (He 11^1). It is the mark of an evil time that scoffers ask, in regard to the one great promise of the NT, *ποῦ ἐστιν ἡ ἐπαγγελία τῆς παρουσίας αὐτοῦ*, 2 P 3^4.

J. DENNEY.

PROPER.—Like the Lat. *proprium*, from which it is derived through the Fr. *propre*, 'proper' means *one's own*. Thus Udall, *Erasmus' Paraphrase*, i. 77, 'Onely God chaungeth the myndes and heartes of riche men, that they will cherefully eyther cast awaie that which they doe possesse, or els possesse them as common and not proper'; Tindale, *Expositions*, 124, 'Forsooth I have no goods, nor anything proper, or that is mine own; it is the convent's'; Rhem. NT, note on Mt 9^5 'The faithlesse Jewes thought (as Heretikes now a daies) that to forgeve sinnes was so proper to God, that it could not be communicated unto man'; and especially Adams, *Works*, i. 69, 'Salvation is common, as St Jude speaketh, ver. 3, "When I gave all diligence to write unto you of the common salvation"; but few make it proper to themselves: that God is *my* salvation and *thy* salvation, this is the comfort.' This meaning occurs in AV five times. For 1 Ch 29^3 see PECULIAR. The other instances are Wis 18^{21} 19^6, Ac 1^{19}, 1 Co 7^7. The Gr. is always *ἴδιος*. RV adds Wis 2^{23} and Jude ^{6} where the Gr. is also *ἴδιος*.*

Another meaning, a derivative of the above, is 'of good appearance,' 'handsome,' as in Fuller's *Holy War*, ii., 'What a pitie is it to see a proper Gentleman to have such a crick in his neck that he cannot look backward'; and in *Holy State*, 319, of the 'Embassadour,' he says 'He is of a proper, at least passable person.' This is the sense of 'proper' in He 11^{23} 'By faith Moses, when he was born, was hid three months of his parents, because they saw he was a proper child' (*ἀστεῖον τὸ παιδίον*; RV 'goodly'—see FAIR).

J. HASTINGS.

PROPHECY AND PROPHETS.—Under this heading four subjects fall to be treated: the history of prophecy; the psychology of prophecy; the prophetic teaching; and the verification in history of the prophetic ideas of the future.

A. *THE HISTORY OF PROPHECY.*
- i. THE ORIGIN OF PROPHECY.
- ii. THE NAME PROPHET.
- iii. HISTORICAL STEPS.
  1. The Age of Samuel.
  2. The Early Monarchy.
  3. The Age of the Literary Prophets.
  4. The Decline and Expiry of Prophecy.

B. *THE PROPHETIC MIND.*
- i. THE IDEA OF THE PROPHET.
- ii. INSPIRATION.
- iii. THE FALSE PROPHETS.

* See Deissmann on *ἴδιος* in *Bibelstudien*, p. 120 f. (Eng. tr. p. 123 f.).

C. *The Teaching of the Prophets.*
i. General Teaching.
ii. Predictive Prophecy.
1. Prediction in General.
2. Messianic Prophecy.
D. *Interpretation and Fulfilment of Prophecy.*
i. Prophecy Poetical and Ideal.
ii. Prophecy Moral and Contingent.
iii. Prophecy National and Relative like OT Religion.

A. *The History of Prophecy.*—Hebrew prophecy, though the deepest movement of the human spirit and in many ways the most mysterious, has, like other movements of the spirit, a history. There is the period of its obscure beginnings; the period of its highest purity and loftiest achievements; and the period of its decline and expiry, when its work being accomplished other agencies in the education of mankind took its place. Its expiry can be spoken of only in the sense that it ceased to be a creative power; its results remain an imperishable heritage of the race, and the agencies in Israel that succeeded it, such as scribes and proverbialists or wise men, were only the conduits and channels that distributed the waters of its great stream over the individuals of the nation.

i. Origin of Prophecy.—Something to which the general name of prophecy might be given seems to have existed among all peoples. It originated from beliefs or feelings common to men everywhere, such as (1) that there was a supernatural, a God or gods, on whose will and power the wellbeing and the destiny of men depended; (2) that these supernatural powers had communion with men and gave them intimations of their will and their purposes; and (3) that these intimations were not given to men indiscriminately, but to certain favoured men, who communicated them to others. Having these beliefs, ordinary men or States desirous of living or acting in accordance with the mind of the deity, and particularly when in perplexity in regard to what lay in the future, had recourse to those through whom the deity spoke, and consulted them.

The supernatural powers, it was supposed, gave intimation of their will and disposition towards men in two ways: (1) in an external way, by objective signs or *omens* in the region of nature, as by the flight or cry of birds. These creatures coming from heaven were the bearers of a message from heaven. Other creatures also were the means of significant indications from the deity, for example, in the way they met a man, or the side, the right or the left, from which they crossed before him.* In all countries the sacrificial victim offered to the gods was held to exhibit signs from them, particularly in the convulsive movements of the liver and entrails of the freshly slain creature (Ezk 21). Less commonly omens were observed outside the animal world, *e.g.* in the rustling of the leaves of trees (Dodona; cf. Gn 12^6, Jg 9^{37}, 2 S 5^{24}). In the East the movements and conjunctions of the stars were regarded as prophetic, though in this case the influence on man's destiny may have been supposed to be exerted by the stars themselves, which, however, were often identified with deities. (2) Besides this external or objective revelation, there was an inward revelation given in the mind of man. In this case the deity possessed the man, inspired him, and spoke through him. It is possible, indeed, that the animal omens may have sometimes been regarded as forms assumed by the deity or as possessed by him. And from the curious feelings of antiquity regarding the *rapport* existing between animals and men, the animals may sometimes have been supposed to come to men not as messengers of the deity, but on their own impulse, knowing themselves what they told to men (W. R. Smith, *RS*^{2} 443). But this, if true, belongs to a different circle of ideas. Examples of this second kind of revelation are common in the heathen world, as the Pythia in Greece, the *kâhin* in Arabia, the sibyl, and the like. Even in Greece this inward inspiration was considered something higher than divination by omens, and in ancient times, at least, the Oracle subserved high ethical and national ends. The divine omens were not intelligible to ordinary men, hence they required persons either of special endowment, or of skill acquired from tradition or by practice, to interpret them. Such persons, augurs, soothsayers, diviners, or prognosticators (Is 47), might be called prophets of the deity to men. The Pythia, being wholly overpowered by the deity, uttered her oracles with no consciousness of their meaning. The oracles were often enigmatic, requiring an interpreter. The interpreter was called *prophet* (*προφήτης*, in which the *pro* is not temporal).

The methods of divination practised in Israel will have more affinity with those usual among the Shemitic peoples than with those of the general heathen world.* The feelings prevalent in the East appear from the fact that a message from the deity might be brought to one by a person of another nation (Jg 3^{20}, 2 K $3^{12ff.}$); from the frequent mention of diviners, as among the Philistines (1 S 6^2, Is 2^6), and of localities to which they had given names (Jg 7^1 9^{37}); from the weight laid on omens (Jg 6^{37} 7^5, 2 S 5^{24}), and particularly on dreams (Jg $7^{11ff.}$, 1 S 28^6); and from the use of the oracle by the sacred lot (Jg 8^{27} 17^5 18^5, Ezk 21^{21}). An exhaustive list of the practices appears to be given in Dt $18^{10.11}$. The passage states that the practices were in use among the aboriginal tribes which Israel dispossessed; but as these tribes had been absorbed into Israel and formed one people with it, the practices no doubt continued to maintain themselves in Israel. The difference might be that they were now performed in the name of J", and not in that of the native deities. The terms describing the practices are used by Heb. writers rather indiscriminately, but perhaps three distinct forms can be discovered: (1) the oracle gained by certain methods from a god or idol (קסם), (2) interpretation of omens (נחשׁ), and (3) utterances of one possessed or inspired by the deity. (1) The oracle was common, perhaps, to most of the Shemitic peoples; at least it appears in Arabia and Babylon, as well as in Israel. Mesha of Moab, too, states that Chemosh gave him commandments, but the method of receiving them is not indicated (cf. Ezk 21^{29}). Lots (which were usually headless arrows or rods) were shaken and drawn in the presence of the idol, *e.g.* Hobal at Mecca, and the teraphim (one image) by Nebuchadnezzar (Ezk 21^{21}). The question put by the inquirer usually took the form of an alternative, 'yes' or 'no,' 'this' or 'that,' though several possibilities might be proposed. In the story of Nebuchadnezzar the alternative was 'Rabbath-ammon' or 'Jerusalem,' and the decision came out 'Jerusalem.' In method the sacred lot in Israel, Urim and Tummim, did not differ. This also gave a reply to an alternative proposed. It is possible that LXX of 1 S $14^{41.42}$ suggests the original reading: 'And Saul said, If the guilt be in me or in Jonathan my son, give Urim, O Lord God of Israel; but if thou say it is in my people Israel, give Tummim.' The first time Saul and Jonathan were taken and Israel left; the second time Jonathan was taken and Saul left. The form of the sacred lot is unknown, and in later times its real nature seems to have been forgotten. Nebuchadnezzar drew the lots before the teraphim, certainly an image. In Israel the ephod was used, and hence the ephod is supposed by many to have been an image of J". Ephod and teraphim are named together (Jg 17^5, Hos 3^4), but it remains uncertain whether they were things different though used together, or things of the same class, the two names being cumulative, or the one used as interpretative of the other. In the time of Saul and David the ephod was in common use; later it fell into desuetude. Hosea, however, mentions it as one of the appliances of religion in his day, and certainly not with approbation (3^4). If the root *kaṣam* originally referred to this particular kind of divination, its use ceased to be exact. Saul uses the word of divination by the *'ôb* (1 S 28^8), and the canonical prophets call the false prophets *kôṣĕmîm*, diviners, and their oracles *keṣem*, divination (pl. *kĕṣāmîm*), even when these prophets spoke (as they thought) by inspiration of J" or by dreams. (2) The root *nahash* (used in Piel נִחֵשׁ) appears to be used properly of divination from omens. Joseph divined with a cup, the significant indications being afforded by the play of light in the fluid, or by the bells and movements of the fluid itself, or, as some think, by the behaviour of oil poured into the cup of water (Gn $44^{5.15}$). The word as well as its noun is used of divination by omens, but the different kinds of omen are not discriminated (Lv 19^{26}, Nu 23^{23} 24^1); in an enfeebled sense the word meant to infer from signs or indications generally (Gn 30^{27}, 1 K 20^{33}). (3) Oracles by inspiration or possession by deity were common to the heathen

* Ahlwardt, *Chalef el Aḥmar*, p. 45 ff.

* An excellent account of general heathen manticism is given in K. Köhler, *Der Prophetismus der Hebräer, u. die Mantik der Griechen*, 1860. The work of P. Scholz, *Götzendienst u. Zauberwesen bei den alten Hebräern u. den benachbarten Völkern*, 1877, is less critical.

and to Israel. And here manticism and prophecy come in contact. The two agree in form, and have to be distinguished by other tokens, *e.g.* by the god in whose name the oracle was given, and perhaps by the fact that in the mantic ecstasy the consciousness was overpowered and lost, while in prophecy there was only exaltation of mind and loss of the consciousness of external things.

The other things mentioned in Dt 18[10ff.] are of the nature of magic or sorcery, and were always proscribed in the religion of J″ (Ex 22[18], 1 S 28[3. 9]), though they continued in Israel till very late times. Saul names as legitimate sources of knowledge of the will of the deity, dreams, Urim, and prophets (1 S 28[6]). Unlike divination, which seeks to ascertain the mind of the deity, magic was a means of binding superhuman powers (chiefly demonic or chthonian), either to restrain them from injuring oneself, or to constrain them to injure others, and put them under a spell, or to reveal what to mortal man was unknown. The magical means might be—(1) protective, such as amulets (Gn 35[4], Is 3[3. 19]); or (2) both protective and constraining, such as formulas of incantation (Ps 58[4f.], Dt 18[11], Is 47[9. 12]); and (3) necromancy. The last had several forms: (*a*) consulting the *'ôb*, (*b*) consulting the *yid'ŏni*, and (*c*) consulting the dead. The forms (*a*) and (*b*) are embraced in (*c*), though whether they exhaust (*c*) is somewhat uncertain (Is 8[19] 29[4], Lv 20[27]). Cf. W. R. Smith, *Jour. of Philology*, vol. xiii. 273 ff., xiv. 113 ff.; and Driver on Dt 18[10ff.].

ii. THE NAME PROPHET.—In 1 S 9[9] it is said, 'He that is now called "the prophet" (נביא *nābî'*) was beforetime called "the **seer**" (ראה *rô'eh*).' The passage is an annotation, much later in date than the context, and cannot have been written before the name 'prophet' had been long current and attached to a succession of men. The radical meaning of the word *nābî'* is uncertain. Two terms are used for 'seer,' *rô'eh* and *ḥôzeh* (חוה), though without difference of sense. The annotator's remark might be supposed an inference from the fact that in the ancient record before him Samuel is called 'the seer.' Still that fact is of importance; and the possibility that there was a time when the word 'seer' was in common use may seem supported by the other fact that the word 'vision' (חזון, חזיון, etc.) connected with 'seer' is used all down the literature for 'prophecy,' the term 'prophecy' (*nĕbû'ah*) connected with 'prophet' being a late word (Neh 6[12], 2 Ch 9[29] 15[8]). Much weight may not be due to this consideration, and on the other side may be urged the extraordinary rarity of the word 'seer,' though this again may be explained by supposing that all references to early times in which 'seer' might have been expected to occur belong to writings which are posterior to the time when the word 'prophet' had become the usage.* The author of the annotation 1 S 9[9] is familiar with 'prophets' who were great isolated personages, like Elijah and probably the canonical prophets; and he considers the 'seer' Samuel to have been quite like one of these. This is certainly true of Samuel, though how far true of other seers of his day, if such existed, may be doubtful. The seer was an isolated personage like the great prophets. But, further, the characteristic of the true 'prophet' was that he pursued national religious ends. Samuel did this with more splendid initiative than the greatest of his successors. He created the nation by giving it a king; they only sought to preserve it. But the seers of his day, if there was such a class, may have ministered rather to personal and private interests, as Samuel himself seems to have done on some occasions (1 S 9). In 1 S 3[1] it is said that 'vision' when Samuel was young 'was not widely diffused'; but 'vision' is here used of true prophecy such as the author was familiar with in his own time. History leaves us in complete ignorance in regard to the seers. In fact, the only 'seer' we know of is Samuel, and his history is told us in a very fragmentary way. The historian gives a beautiful picture of his birth and childhood, narrating how he was dedicated by his mother to the Lord, and how J″ spoke to him in Shiloh as He did to the canonical prophets afterwards (1 S 1–3); but the narrative is suddenly broken off, and when we hear of Samuel again he is already an old man, dwelling in Ramah, and known as 'the seer.' We learn from Jer 7[12] that the house at Shiloh was at some time completely overthrown—no doubt at the hands of the Philistines; and Samuel driven from there took up his abode at Ramah. Though called a priest, the rôle of prophet was that accepted by him, as it is that usually assigned to him (1 S 9[15], Jer 15[1], Ps 99[6], Ac 3[24]); and it was in the exercise of his rôle as prophet—statesman in the kingdom of God—that he interfered in so decisive a manner in the national politics. It is true that the religion of J″ did not as a rule create new agencies, but served itself of those already existing, into which it infused its own spirit, which gradually threw off all heathen elements originally belonging to them. There may have been a class of 'seers' in the time of the Judges whose methods may not have been greatly unlike those in use among other Shemitic peoples. But we know nothing of them. Samuel is the only 'seer' known to history.

* For example Gn 20[7] (Abraham), Ex 15[20] (Miriam), Nu 11[26ff.] (Eldad and Medad), Dt 18[15], Jg 4[4] 6[8], 1 S 3[20], cf. 2[27].

The meaning of the root and the form נביא is uncertain. (1) The form is not likely a *pass.* ptcp., but more probably, like קציר *harvester* and many words of similar form, has active sense. The word itself *nabî'* occurs in Arab., but may be a loan-word from Heb., as it is in other dialects (Nöldeke, *Gesch. d. Korans*, p. 1). (2) The sense of the word is obscure. The root has probably no connexion with נבע *to bubble up*, as if *nābî'* were one who bubbles up under inspiration (Ges., Kuenen, *Prophets*, 42, cf. Ps 45[1]). The root *naba'a* in Arab. means to *come forward* or into prominence, and causative (conj. ii) to *bring forward*, specially to do so by speech, *to announce*; and in Eth. *nababa* means *to speak* (Dillm. *AT Theol.* p. 475). The word *nābî'* therefore would mean *he who announces*, or brings a message. The term, however, has not in usage the general sense of announcer or speaker, but always means one who speaks from God, *i.e. a prophet*, and the Hithp. frequently means to speak in an excited manner, to rave (μαίνομαι). This connotation might suggest the question whether the root *nābā'* did not originally express some mental emotion, the reflexive forms (Niph. Hithp.) meaning to exhibit or display this emotion, as is the case with so many reflexives, *e.g.* נאנה *to groan*, התאבל *to exhibit grief*, התאנף *to show anger*. It is usually supposed, however, that the verbal forms are denominatives from *nābî'*. In this case the original verbal root would not be found in Heb., and the word *nābî'* would either be an old noun surviving after the verbal root was lost, or else a new word learned from the Canaanites. The word *nābî'* is said (1 S 9[9]) to have become a substitute for *rô'eh* 'seer,' and unfortunately the literature is all later than the time when *nābî'* with its derivatives had become the usage. The 70 elders of Nu 11 (according to Wellhausen, *Comp.*[2] 102 f., J working on older materials) 'prophesy' quite after the manner of the 'prophets' of the days of Samuel (1 S 10) or of Ahab (1 K 22), *i.e.* their 'prophesying' is a joint exercise. It is possible that 'prophets' of this kind may have appeared in the earliest times, though we do not hear of them. Others (*e.g.* Kuenen, *Proph.* ch. 15) are inclined to think that the name *nābî'* is Canaanite, and borrowed by the Hebrews, who applied it to the bands of enthusiasts of Samuel's day because they seemed to resemble the Canaanite 'prophets.' But the existence of Canaanite 'prophets,' *i.e.* bands of Dervish-like enthusiasts, is purely conjectural. We do not hear of such 'prophets' till 200 years later, and these are not Canaanite, but the priest-prophets of the Tyrian Baal maintained at the cost of Jezebel (1 K 18[19]). Wellhausen (*Hist.* p. 449) remarks: 'Among the Canaanites such Nebiim—for so they are styled—had long been familiar.' It would not be easy to furnish the evidence. Again, the prophetic movement in the days of Samuel was a religious national one, and it is not just probable that the Hebrews would borrow terms from the Canaanites to describe it, particularly as the Canaanites were more than probably in league with the Philistines (1 S 31[10]). The Can. and Heb. languages must have been virtually identical; at the same time the root-word appears to exist in Assyr., *e.g.* in Nebo the interpreter of the gods, and *nabu* to announce (Delitzsch, *Assyr. HWB*), and the term may have entered Canaan from Babylon. The date when the change from 'seer' to 'prophet' took place cannot be ascertained, and the change itself is difficult to explain. Possibly as persons of individuality and power arose among the 'prophets' they took a more independent position like that of 'seer,' though the name 'prophet' continued attached to them. Some personages like Gad bore both names (2 S 24[11]).

The term *rô'eh* is used chiefly of Samuel, 7 times out of 9 (twice of Hanani, 2 Ch 16[7-10]). The word *ḥôzeh* is more common, 2 S 24[11], 2 K 17[13], Am 7[12], and often in the Chronicler, who affects archaic phraseology, *e.g.* 1 Ch 21[9] (Gad), 2 Ch 9[29] 12[15] (Iddo), 2 Ch 19[2] (Jehu), 2 Ch 29[30] (Asaph), 1 Ch 25[5] (Heman), 2 Ch 35[15] (Jeduthun). In the plur. both *rô'îm* and *ḥôzîm* are used as parallel to 'prophets,' Is 29[10] (a gloss), 30[10], Mic 3[7]

2 Ch 33[18. 19]. The seers were so named from having visions, and possibly the priest Amaziah applied the name *hôzeh* to Amos (7[12]) on account of the visions which he narrated (7[1ff.]). On *hôzeh* (Arab. *hâzi*) cf. Hoffmann, *ZAW*, 1883, pp. 90–96; and on *kâhin* (=*hâzi*) Wellhausen, *Reste*[2], p. 130 ff.

iii. HISTORICAL STEPS.—1. *Time of Samuel.*—In the Book of Judges, beyond the reference to Deborah (Jg 4), and a 'prophet' in the days of Midianite oppression (6[7], cf. 1 S 2[27]), nothing is said about prophets. Deborah was a 'prophetess,' and 'judged,' that is, ruled or governed, Israel. Both terms, 'prophetess' and 'judge,' imply that Deborah played a political rôle. She was a mother in Israel, and took the leadership in a national crisis. In the times of Samuel men called 'prophets' appear to have existed in great numbers.

(*a*) Those called 'prophets' in this age formed communities; they were cenobites, though not celibates (2 K 4[1]). They are first mentioned in connexion with Saul at Gibeah of God, Saul's home (1 S 10[5]). When dismissing him Samuel predicted that he would meet a band of prophets coming down from the high place with music, and engaged in 'prophesying' (1 S 10[5. 10]). Another company had its home at Ramah, where Samuel himself dwelt (1 S 19[18]). It has usually been supposed that the term *naioth* means 'dwellings,' and describes such a prophetic settlement (2 K 6[1-7], see NAIOTH). In the times of Elijah and Elisha other localities are mentioned as residences, *e.g.* Bethel (2 K 2[3]), Jericho (2 K 2[5]), and Gilgal (2 K 4[38], cf. 2 K 6[1]). The residenters are called 'prophets' and 'sons of the prophets,' *i.e.* members of the prophetic societies (a single member is *ben-nābî'*, Am 7[14]). Between Samuel and Elijah (1 K 20[35]) no mention is made of the 'sons of the prophets,' though it is probable that the succession was still maintained. Amos, a hundred years after Elijah, appears to be acquainted with prophetic societies (7[14]), and at all times prophets continued to be numerous (1 K 22[6] 18[4]). As at the places named as residences there was a 'high place' or sanctuary, it was probably around these sanctuaries where J" was worshipped that the prophets settled. In early times the distinction between priest and prophet does not seem to have been sharp. The Arab. *kâhin* was both seer and priest. Samuel was both priest and prophet. Jeremiah and Ezekiel both came out of priestly families. The connexion, indeed, of priests and prophets was always close (Is 8[2]). Those prophets whom Jer. denounces as false act in concert with the temple priesthood. Pashhur, who put Jer. in the stocks, was prophet as well as priest (Jer 20[1-6]); and it was the 'priests and prophets' who arraigned Jer. before the princes for blasphemy against the temple (Jer 26).

(*b*) The multiplication of 'prophets' at this epoch indicates a rising spirit of devotion to J", and fervour in His service. Some have supposed that this new fervour and religious elevation were due to the influence of Samuel, and that the origin of the prophetic societies must be traced to him. But all that we have history for is that Samuel was in close relation with the prophetic communities. We see him on some occasions at their head (1 S 19[20]); but that he did not usually reside among the 'prophets' appears from the statement that when David fled to him at Ramah the two together then went and dwelt at Naioth (19[18]). It is evident that the prophets looked up to him and learned from him; but it is also evident that he felt that the impulses which moved them were common also to himself, and he was not ashamed to direct them, and share in their prophesyings (cf. Elisha, 2 K 4[38]). It is probable, therefore, that the rise of the 'prophets' was due to something which swept both Samuel and the people into the same stream of national-religious enthusiasm.

(*c*) This can hardly have been anything else than the crisis that had arisen in the nation's fortunes. The people had been subdued by the Philistines, and were threatened with national extinction. And in Israel of this age national and religious were virtually the same thing. The idea of later prophets, that national autonomy might be lost, while the religion of J" remained, had not yet been reached. It was J" that created Israel, and made it a nation; faith in Him was the bond of its national existence, and the hour of the nation's peril awoke a new religious-national fervour. The nation's fortunes and history was from the beginning the great lesson-book in which men read the nature of J" their God, and His disposition towards them (2 S 21[1ff.] 24[1ff.]). The national disasters were evidence of J"'s anger, and they awoke the national conscience. The 'prophets' were not individual enthusiasts; they were inspired by common sentiments, and animated each other, and, as a society, reacted on the surrounding population. Their 'prophesying' was a kind of public worship at the high place or sanctuary, to which they went up with pipe and song, as continued to be done in after-days (Is 30[29]). And the songs were not songs without words. They had religious contents, as much as those of the singers who afterwards 'prophesied with harps' in the temple (1 Ch 25[2. 3], cf. 2 S 23[1]). However rude, they would be celebrations of 'the righteous acts of J", the righteous acts of his rule in Israel' (Jg 5[11]). They would be such songs as were afterwards collected in 'the Book of the Wars of J"' and in 'the Book of the Upright' (Bk. of Jashar). Some of the poetical fragments still to be found in the historical books may well belong to this age. Whether writing was practised by the 'prophets' may be uncertain (though cf. 1 Ch 29[29]); but if they did not write, they prepared by their 'prophesying' a language for the literary prophets who came after them. In Amos, the oldest literary prophet, we find a religious nomenclature already complete; we find also in him, almost more than in his successors, the prophetic mannerism and *technique*, such as the phrases 'oracle of J"' (נאם יי), 'thus saith J",' and much else. It is not too much to suppose that it was in these 'schools of the prophets' all down the history that this nomenclature and technique were formed.

(*d*) The new prophetism was a national-religious movement, though the emphasis lay on the religious aspect of it. Like their great successors, the prophets hoped that the national restitution would be the shape in which the religious regeneration would verify itself. Nevertheless, the national claimed expression. The monarchy was the creation of prophecy, not merely in the sense that the prophet Samuel, by inspiration of J", gave the people a king. The national direction of prophecy embodied itself in the kingship. The first king of Israel was a prophet as well as the second. When Saul turned to go from Samuel, God gave him another heart, and when he met the prophets the spirit of God came on him and he prophesied. His excitation was not mere contagious sympathy. There was mind under it; it was the thought awakened by Samuel of his high destiny and of the task before him taking fire from contact with the national-religious enthusiasm of the prophets. The exclamation of the populace, Is Saul also among the prophets? has been taken as an expression of wonder that a solid yeoman like Saul should join himself to a company of ranting enthusiasts. This view is wholly improbable. It was not in this way that religious exaltation was looked on in the East. It was just the visible excitation that suggested to the onlooker that the enthusiast was possessed by the deity. Even the insane, just because he had no mastery over

his mind, which seemed moved by another, was held inspired. A multitude of passages show the popular reverence for the prophets, *e.g.* 2 K 4[1ff. 8ff.] (cf. 6[1] 9[1]), particularly 2 K 4[42ff.] which describes how a person 'brought the man of God bread of the first fruits,' as people did to the sanctuary of J" (cf. 1 K 12[21ff.]). Neither can Amos' disclaimer of being a prophet or one of the sons of the prophets mean that 'he felt it an insult to be treated as one of them.'* Amos (7[14]) merely states a historical fact, viz. that he had not been an isolated prophet such as Elijah and others were, nor a member of one of the 'prophetic schools,' but had been suddenly called from behind the flock to 'prophesy' to God's people Israel. The respect with which he mentions prophets elsewhere as God's greatest gift to the people (2[11] 3[7]), is sufficient evidence of his feeling.†

2. *Early Monarchy.* — During the time of the Judges and the early monarchy the means of ascertaining the will of J" was chiefly the sacred lot and ephod. This was employed by Gideon (Jg 8[27]) and Micah (Jg 17. 18), by Saul, and by David and his priests in the early period of his history (1 S 23[6. 9]). At a later time it is little referred to, the king's advisers being the prophets. Side by side with this there existed seers through whom J" spake. The Arab. *kâhin* or seer was also supposed to be possessed by a spirit, which spake through him (Wellhausen, *Reste*[2], 134). The seer was absorbed into the class of 'prophets,' and the name 'prophet' remained common to the isolated individual and the member of the community. And from this time forward the will of J" was chiefly asked at the mouth of the prophet (1 K 14[1ff.]). The early waters of prophetism may have been somewhat turbid, but they gradually ran clear, and became that stream of ethical prophecy to which there is nothing like in the religious history of mankind. J" spake in the mind of man and to his mind; the prophet stood in the council of God. The two ways of ascertaining the will of J" in the age of Samuel are reflected in the two narratives of the election of Saul. Both narratives ascribe the institution of the monarchy to the will of J", but in the one (1 S 9[1]–10[16] 11) his will is declared through prophetic inspiration, in the other (1 S 8. 10[17ff.] 12) through the oracle of the lot. The latter tradition, though further removed from the actual events, is at least true to the historical conditions of the period.

The true causes of the rupture between Samuel and Saul can scarcely be ascertained. The prophetic spirit in Saul never obtained the mastery within him, it was always in conflict with contrary currents in his nature. Latterly the spirit became troubled and obscured, and its place was taken by an evil spirit from God (cf. 1 K 22[21ff.]). David was a man according to God's heart, that is, in all things subject to the will of J" (cf. 1 S 15[22]), and the prophets are found supporting his throne. Special designations are given to some of them suggestive of the offices they performed, *e.g.* mention is made of 'the prophet Gad, David's seer' (2 S 24[11], 1 Ch 21[9], 2 Ch 29[25]). These prophets indirectly influenced the government and acted on the affairs of the kingdom as a whole, although through the king (2 S 24[11] 7[1ff.] 12[1ff.], 1 K 1[22ff.]). So long as the prophets and kings were in accord this may have continued, but when kings arose who were mere national rulers and unprogressive or retrograde in religion,—of course no king of that age was irreligious in the sense of neglecting the traditional religion,—naturally the prophets, at least those among them who were ethically progressive, took another side. It might have been well for the peaceable development of the kingdom of J" if the prophets and rulers had always been in harmony, and it might seem a calamity when a dissidence arose between them; but undoubtedly, though the disagreement was often fruitful of trouble and revolution, it contributed to the independence of the prophetic order. Prophecy resumed the 'national' element in it, which it had divested itself of and delegated to the monarchy, and stood forth against all classes and functions as the immediately inspired guardian of the kingdom of J" in all its interests. Moses was the type of the true prophet (Hos 12[13], Dt 18[15]).

3. *The Canonical Prophets.* — Prophets like Nathan, Elijah, and Elisha, following the example of Samuel, directly interfered in the government of the State. Nathan determined the succession to the throne (1 K 1[22ff.]); Elijah denounced the dynasty of Omri, and Elisha set in motion the revolution that overthrew it (2 K 9). The latter prophet was the very embodiment of the national spirit in the Syrian wars, and took the field in the campaign against Moab (2 K 3[11ff.]). Elijah and he were the national bulwark—'the chariots of Israel and the horsemen thereof' (2 K 2[12]). But after Elisha the prophets withdraw from external national, and party, conflicts. They no more head revolutions. Nevertheless, they remain statesmen as much as their great predecessors. They could not cease to be politicians as long as the kingdom of J" had the form of a State. They oppose, warn, and counsel kings and State parties according to the exigencies of the time. Hosea, indeed, thinks the monarchy impotent for good, if it has not been from the beginning the source of all evil (13[10ff.]). But Isaiah, so long as the State was independent, warned Ahaz against involving his kingdom in the struggles of the nations, in the collision of which his country would be crushed (Is 7); and when the dream of independence had passed away he resisted with equal strenuousness the meditated revolt of Hezekiah and the Egyptian party against the Assyrian power (Is 30[1ff.] 31[1ff.]). The same principles guided Jer. and Ezk. in the Chaldæan age (Jer 21[9] 38[2], Ezk 17). But the only weapon which the prophets now use is the word of God which is in their mouth. Jer., though set over the nations to pluck up and break down, wields only the word of J", which is like a hammer breaking the rocks in pieces (Jer 1[9. 10] 23[29]), and which has a self-fulfilling energy (Is 55[10ff.]). J" hews the people by the prophets, and slays them with the words of His mouth (Hos 6[5]). But in this age new thoughts, difficult to account for, filled the minds of the prophets. Formerly, J", as God and ruler of His people, rejected dynasties, and by the prophets overthrew them (Hos 13[11]); now, it is the conviction of all the prophets, both of the north and south, that J" has rejected the nation, that Israel as an independent State is doomed to perish. Side by side with this thought, or as a consequence of it, another thought appears. The complex notion 'national-religious' seems reflected on and analyzed, and the 'religious' assumes such preponderating weight that the 'national' appears of little value. The ideal kingdom of J" is a religious community faithful to the Lord. Another thing, closely connected with the two just mentioned, is the lofty spiritual and ethical conception of J" God of Israel reached by the prophets of this age, and, what is but the obverse side of it, their severe judgment on the moral condition of the people. This lofty con-

* Wellhausen, *Hist.* 293. Wellhausen's remark that 'the point of the story narrated of Saul (1 S 19[22ff.]) can be nothing but Samuel's and David's enjoyment of the disgrace of the naked king' (p. 268), is merely the cynical sally of a modern humourist.

† This view of Am 7[14] is rightly taken by J. C. Matthes, art. 'The False Prophets,' *Mod. Rev.*, July 1884. See also J. Robertson, *Early Relig. of Israel*, p. 90.

ception of J″ and this pure ideal of what His people must be, cannot be an unmediated and inexplicable leap upward of human religious genius, neither can it be a sudden divine creation. It did not, like Jonah's gourd, grow up in a night. History, unhappily, does not enable us to follow its growth. But it is the perfect efflorescence of a tree whose roots stood in the soil of Israel from the beginning, whose vital energies had always been moving towards flower, and which burst forth at last in the gorgeous blaze of colour which we see. The wealth of ethical and religious teaching found in the prophets of this age has led to a reaction against the former idea that prophecy was specifically prediction, and the view has become prevalent that the true function of the prophet was to be a teacher of ethical and religious truths. This view is also one-sided. The prophets never cease to be 'seers'; their face is always turned to the future. They stand in the council of J″ (Am 3^{7}, Jer 23^{22}), and it is what He is about to do that they declare to men. Their moral and religious teaching is, so to speak, secondary, and due to the occasion. Their conviction is that the destruction of the nation is inevitable, and they dwell on the nature of J″ and on the moral declension of the people to impress their conviction on the nation—'prepare to meet thy God, O Israel' (Am 4^{12}). Or, as their conviction of the inevitableness of the nation's doom does not seem absolute, but is crossed, at least at times, by the possibility or even the hope that it might be averted (Am $5^{14.\ 15}$, Is 1^{18}, Jer 36^{1-3}), they impress on the people the mind and life which is acceptable to J″—that which is good, and what the Lord requires of them (Mic 6^{8})—that they may repent, and that His judgments may be arrested. Or, when the foreboding of near destruction again oppresses them, they look beyond the dark and tempestuous night that is gathering to the day that will dawn behind it (Is $8^{16ff.}$),—for though J″ will destroy the sinful kingdom He will not destroy the house of Jacob (Am 9^{8}),—and they dilate on the righteousness and the peace and the joy of that new age (Is 9^{1-6}, Hos $2^{18ff.}$). The prophets now employ writing, and the short, drastic oracles of former times (1 S 15^{22}, 1 K 11^{31} 21^{19}) give place to discourses of considerable length. By writing they could influence many whom their voice could not reach, and the written word became a permanent possession of the godly kernel of the people, upholding them in the midst of the darkness when God's face was hidden, and being when the calamities were overpast a witness that God had still been with them (Is $8^{16ff.}$, Ezk 2^{5}). The instances of Deuteronomy and the roll of Jeremiah show that a writing produced a far more powerful impression than the spoken word of the prophet.

A strange and interesting phenomenon in the history of prophecy is what is called **'False' Prophecy.** The true prophets, whose word history and God's providence verified, and to which the religious mind of mankind has set its seal, laid emphasis on the 'religious' element in the complex 'national-religious' idea. The unity J″ and the nation had to their minds become disrupted, and J″ now stood opposed to the nation. The 'false' prophets continued to lay the chief emphasis on the 'national' side; hence they might be called nationalistic prophets rather than false, though, of course, their anticipations were often disproved by events. The question whether these prophets were retrograde or only unprogressive, will be answered differently according to the view taken of the development of religion in Israel. There is no reason to suppose that they had personally sunk below the level of their own time. They stand on the same level with the body of the people. The charge of the canonical prophets is that the nation as a whole had declined from the purer moral and religious ideal of early times (Hos 2^{7}, Is 1^{21}). And this charge is certainly true. For, admitting that the people by entrance upon the Canaanite civilization had attained to a broader and fuller human life, and admitting even that the conception of J″, by taking up into it some of the thoughts connected with the native gods, became enlarged and enriched, mixture with the Canaanites produced a deterioration both in the life and religion of Israel. It is this deterioration that seems to the true prophets so fateful in regard to the destinies of the nation. And it is on this question of the national future that conflicts arise between the true prophets and the false. It is in this region, too, that another new phenomenon in the history of prophecy appears in this age—the persecution of the prophets. Former prophets, like Samuel, Elijah, and Elisha, were embodiments of the 'national-religious' spirit, and carried the people with them. The new outlook of the prophets regarding the national destinies enraged the populace. The prophets seemed to them madmen; their predictions that J″ would destroy His people were incredible; they were traitors, and sought not the welfare of the people, but their hurt (Jer 38^{4}). The prophets probably might have preached as they liked about the nature of J″ and the kind of service pleasing to Him, if they had not gone further and drawn inferences as to the destinies of the nation. Jehoiakim showed his indifference to Jeremiah's preaching, or his contempt for it, by throwing his book piecemeal into the fire; it was only when at the end of the roll he found the assertion that Nebuch. would come and destroy the land (Jer 36^{29} $25^{9.\ 10}$), that he ordered the prophet's arrest. On another occasion Jer. was seized and beaten on the suspicion that he was falling away to the Chaldæans, and flung into a dungeon because his gloomy anticipations disheartened the men of war in the city (38^{4}). And it was because of his prophecy of national disaster (1 K 22) that Ahab ordered Micaiah to be confined on bread and water till he came back (he did not come back!). It was not their religious opinions but their political threats that drew persecution on the prophets (Am $7^{10ff.}$). The persecution was the convulsive effort of the 'national-religious' spirit to maintain itself. No doubt many of the people were impatient of the prophets' general teaching, or contemptuous of it: they burlesqued their manner (Is $28^{9.\ 10}$), and ironically invited the interposition of the Lord with which the prophets threatened them (Is $5^{18.\ 19}$); they imposed silence on them (Am 2^{12}, Mic 2^{6}), and told them to have done with the Lord of hosts in their hearing (Is 30^{9-11}); but it was mostly when the prophets entered the political region, or when to the general mind they seemed guilty of sacrilege (Am $7^{12.\ 13}$, Jer 7^{14} $26^{7.\ 8}$), that harsher measures were adopted. No doubt the persecution of the prophets by Ahab at the instigation of Jezebel was on account of their opposition to the introduction of the Baal worship. But even this persecution seems to have been transient, for shortly before his death we observe Ahab on the best of terms with the prophets (1 K 22). If the 400 mentioned here are 'false,' or merely nationalistic, prophets, probably many of them had opposed the Baal cultus if for no higher reason than that J″ was the national God. The persecution by Manasseh, of whom we know so little, would be for similar reasons, because the prophets opposed the Assyrian cults which the king so ardently patronized.

4. *The Expiry of Prophecy.* — Many things contributed to the decline and final failure of prophecy.

(*a*) The prophets bore some resemblance to a progressive political party in a State. So long as abuses exist, and privilege leads to injustice and oppression of the weaker classes, such a party is strong. Its power lies in attack. But when abuses have been removed, and the reforms demanded have been conceded and placed upon the statute book, the function of the party of progress has ceased. Now, the evils against which the prophets contended had, externally at least, been removed by the reform of Josiah. Deuteronomy received the sanction of the king and government, and became the law of the State. This was a triumph of prophetic teaching on morals and religion; but if it was thus a witness to the power of prophecy in the past, it was virtually a deathblow to it for the future. For by embodying the practical issues of the prophetic principles in law, having State authority, it superseded the living prophetic word. No doubt even after Deut. became State law Jer. continued to be a prophet. He perceived that the reform was merely external, and he continued to demand something more inward—not reform but regeneration.

(*b*) Again, the great prophets from Amos to Jeremiah had traversed the whole region of theology and morals. Little could be added to what they had taught concerning J″ and His purposes, concerning man and his destiny. Those who came after them could do little more than combine their principles into new applications and uses. And in point of fact such prophets as Ezekiel and Deutero-Isaiah are almost more theologians than prophets.*

(*c*) Another thing which contributed to the expiry of prophecy was the fall of the State. With the destruction of Jerusalem, the nation, the subject of prophecy, ceased to exist. Its destruction was the seal set to the truth of prophecy, to its teaching on God and the people, and its task was done. If in a sense prophecy had destroyed the nation it had saved religion. For by teaching that it was J″ who brought ruin on the State it showed that the downfall of the nation was not the defeat but the triumph of J″. The gods of the nations, Chemosh, Asshur, and Merodach, perished with the nations of whose spirit they were the embodiments, but Jehovah rose the higher over the ruins of Jerusalem. He was seen to be the God of Righteousness, the moral Ruler of the world—

> Jehovah of Hosts was exalted in judgment,
> And the Holy God sanctified in righteousness (Is 5^{16}).

When Israel perished as a nation, and was scattered over every land, the *idea* of Israel just by being detached from the nation became clearer; the conception of Israel, of its place in the moral history of mankind, took the place of Israel, and the second Isaiah, operating with this conception, —the servant of the Lord,—is still a prophet. No doubt with all his brilliancy much of his book is theological deduction from his lofty conception of J″, but in one respect he is what all the great prophets were, an 'interpreter' of history, and by far the profoundest. He stands at the end of Israel's history, and looking back he reads its meaning, which is that its sufferings as servant of the Lord have atoned for its sins as a mere part of mankind.

(*d*) Although at the Restoration the gorgeous anticipations of the second Isaiah had been disappointed, the idea of what Israel was, its consciousness of itself and its meaning in the religious life of mankind still maintained themselves. The eschatological hope remained indestructible. This hope had sometimes a national element in it, the idea of a political supremacy of Israel over the other nations, but it was mainly the hope of religious supremacy as the people of God (Is 61^6). Israel had become a purely religious idea, its mission was to be the light of the nations—salvation was of the Jews. And this great eminence and triumph God would confer upon it by a sudden interposition, when He would plead its cause and 'justify' it by showing it to be in the right in its time-long plea against the nations—a plea which in other words was the religious history of mankind (Is $50^{4ff.}$). And what remained for Israel was to prepare for God's interposition, and be worthy of it by doing His will. Thus, when Israel was merely a religious community with no national life, prophecy became altogether detached from history and took the form of reflective and theological combinations of former prophecies. Its theme was the eschatological hope, and it occupied itself with searching what, and what manner of time this hope would be realized (Dn 9^2, 1 P 1^{11}). Prophecy becomes Apocalyptic. Apocalyptic continues to share all the great ideas of prophecy: it regards history as the expression of God's moral rule of the world; it regards God as purposing and foreseeing all its great movements; and it supposes Him to reveal His purposes to His servants from the beginning. Hence, instead of looking back over history, Apocalyptic plants itself in front of history, turning history into prophecy, and locating all its great movements in the mind of some ancient seer, Enoch, Moses, Baruch, Daniel, or Ezra. Apocalyptic is thus always pseudepigraphic; but the date of an Apocalypse can generally be guessed from the fact that up to his own time the author is pretty accurate, having history to rely on, while from his own time on to the end he can only forecast or calculate.

In the times when prophecy had virtually ceased there are occasional references to it. The references are of two kinds. Generally they are expressions of sorrow that the people has no more the guidance of the prophet in its perplexities and darkness, and of the hope that a prophet will again arise; but once at least prophecy is spoken of with dislike. In the one case the true prophet is thought of, in the other the misleading false prophecy. See on the one hand Ps 74^9, 1 Mac 4^{46} 9^{27} 14^{41}; cf. La 2^9, Pr 29^{18}: on the other hand Zec 13^{1-6}; cf. La 2^{14} 4^{13}.

The prophets of the OT may be grouped thus—

i. Prophets of the Assyrian Age.
Jonah (referred to 2 K 14^{25}).
Amos, *c.* 760–750.
Hosea, *c.* 750–737.
Isaiah, 740–700.
Micah, *c.* 724 and later.
Zephaniah, *c.* 627.
Nahum, *c.* 610–608.

ii. Prophets of the Chaldæan Period.
Jeremiah, *c.* 626–586.
Habakkuk, *c.* 605–600.
Ezekiel, *c.* 593–573.

iii. Prophets of the Persian Period.
Is 13–14 21^{1-10} 34–35?.
Deutero-Isaiah, *c.* 540.
Haggai and Zechariah, 1–8, *c.* 520.
Malachi, *c.* 460–450.

Probably later, at all events after the Restoration, Joel, Jonah, Obadiah (in present form), Is 24–27, Zec 9–14.

B. *The Prophetic Mind.*—Many questions arise regarding the mind of the prophet which can hardly be answered, but allusion may be made to some of them.

i. The Idea of the Prophet.—A number of things are said of the prophet which might serve as partial definitions. Such definitions are different at different times, the prophet being regarded from various sides. In inquiring into the prophetic mind, it is the prophet's own idea of himself that is of interest; but his idea of himself did not differ from

* Wellhausen remarks (*Reste*^{2}, 137) that with the revelation of the Koran the function of the *kâhin* or seer came to an end, and he disappears.

the people's idea of him, though in his own case the idea was based on his consciousness, in the case of the people on their observation. Both believed that the prophet was one who spoke the word of J". When threatened with death Jer. said to the people, 'For of a truth J" has sent me unto you to speak all these words in your ears' (Jer 26^{15}); and the people's idea of their prophets, if not of Jer., was the same: 'the word shall not perish from the prophet' (Jer 18^{18}).

Certain names applied to the prophet are suggestive of ideas entertained of him. (1) One of the oldest and most common of these designations was **man of God.** The name is used of Samuel (1 S 9^{6}), of Elijah and Elisha, and of others (1 K 12^{22} 13, Jer 35^{4}), and often of Moses. The name implies close relation to God; the prophet is near to God (Am 3^{7}, Jer $23^{22.\ 28}$). The Shunammite made a little chamber for Elisha, because he was 'a holy man of God' (2 K 4). Holiness is nearness to God; whether in this age it already connoted moral purity (Is 6^{5}) may be uncertain; the 'man of God' at any rate suggested this, for the widow of Sarepta said to Elijah, 'What have I to do with thee, thou man of God? art thou come to call my sin to remembrance?' (1 K 17^{18}). The name 'man of God' suggests both the ethical basis of prophecy and the religiousness of the prophet. All the prophets pass moral judgments on their contemporaries, *e.g.* Nathan on David (2 S 12) and Elijah on Ahab, and the pages of the literary prophets contain little else than such judgments. And Jeremiah at last goes so far as to say that the mark of a true prophet is just that he passes such a moral condemnation on his time; this of itself authenticates him (Jer $28^{8.\ 9}$). How deeply the moral entered into the prophet's own idea of prophecy is seen in Is $6^{5ff.}$, cf. Mic 3^{8}. But the notion of religiousness or godliness suggested by the name 'man of God' is even more important. The prophet's 'call' was less appointment to an office as we call it, than to a religious life-task. His prophesying was lifted up into his own personal religious life. The fountain of prophecy was communion with God. This is seen in Jer., in whom prophecy and piety melt into one another. (2) Another common designation of the prophet is **servant of God or of J".** The name is given to prophets in general (2 K 9^{7}), to Elijah (1 K 18^{36}), Isaiah (20^{3}), and others (1 K 14^{18}, 2 K 14^{25}), particularly to Moses. The service is usually public, in the interests of God's kingdom. The name 'servant of J"' is given also to Israel. Israel is the great servant of J"—his ministry is to mankind, that of the individual prophets is to the narrower world of Israel itself. And in like manner both Israel and the prophet are called *messenger of J"*—the one to the nations (Is $42^{18.\ 19}$), and the other to Israel (44^{26}). The term 'messenger' is used mostly in late writings (Hag 1^{13}, Mal 3^{1}), but the consciousness of being 'sent' is common to all the prophets—'Go and tell this people' (Is 6^{9}, Jer 26^{15}). The prophet feels he has a commission to the people as much as Moses felt he had a commission to Pharaoh. (3) Another name given to the prophet is **interpreter.** The name, though rare (Is 43^{27}), is descriptive of the position of the prophet in regard to history and God's providence. God speaks in events, and the prophet interprets Him to men. Prophecy arises out of history, keeps pace with it, and interprets it. God is the author of Israel's history, and His meaning in it, His disposition towards the people as expressed in it, reflects itself in the prophet's mind. And as it reflects itself it awakens in him the sense of the people's evil; and being one with them he becomes the conscience, particularly the evil conscience, of the people. Events are never mere occurrences; God animates them; each great event of history is a theophany, a manifestation of God in His moral operation. The eyes of ordinary men do not perceive this meaning, and when suddenly confronted with some unexpected issue they exclaim, 'Verily thou art a God that hidest thyself, God of Israel, the Saviour' (Is 45^{15}). Further, no event is isolated; each has resulted from something preceding it, and will issue in consequences following it. History is a moral current, and at whatever point in it the prophet stands he feels whence it has come and whither it is flowing. Of course, the prophet is not a mere interpreter of history or institutions.* To suppose so would be to give him the second instead of the first place; the mind of man is greater than institutions or history, and it is in it above all that God will reveal Himself. And even the institutions and history are not mere miraculous Divine creations; men concurred in founding the institutions, and they have their part in making the history. Events furnish the occasion of the prophet's intuitions, but they do not set bounds to them. Indeed we often see the prophet's mind outrunning history, filling the events around him with a profounder meaning than they actually contain. His own mind is full of great issues, great ideals of the future; and eager to see their realization he animates the events occurring in his day with a larger significance than they have, thinking they will issue in the final perfection for which he yearns. If he proves at fault in regard to the *time*, he rightly divines the moral connexion of the events of his day with the perfection of the end. Other names, such as 'seer,' 'watchman' (Jer 6^{27}, Ezk 3^{17}), need not be dwelt upon.

There are several passages, belonging to different dates, which might be taken as definitions of 'prophet.' In Am $3^{7.\ 8}$ it is said, 'The Lord God doeth nothing without revealing his counsel to his servants the prophets.' Jer. (23^{22}) varies this by saying that the prophet stands 'in the council' of J", and knows His purpose (Job 15^{8}). The passage states two things, viz. that J" reveals His mind and purpose to the prophets, and that He does so particularly in reference to the future. When great events are about to happen, involving the destinies of the people, the sensibility of the prophet is quickened and feels their approach, and he stands forth to announce them. Thus Amos and Hosea appear as heralds of the downfall of the kingdom of the North; Micah and Isaiah, when the storm-cloud of Assyrian invasion was rising on the northern horizon, and Jeremiah when the empire of the East was passing to the Chaldæans, and the downfall of Judah was nigh at hand. Among other passages referring to prophecy on its predictive side, Is $41^{4.\ 21ff.}$ (cf. $45^{18.\ 19}$) deserves mention. Here predictive prophecy is claimed for J" and Israel and denied to the idols and their peoples, and the power to predict as well as the fact of having truly predicted is proof that J" is God. J" is the first and the last; He initiates the movements of history, and He brings them to an end. From the beginning He foresees the end. But it is His relation to Israel that causes Him to announce it beforehand. For Israel is His servant, and His purpose can be fulfilled only through the co-operation of men, to whom it must be revealed. The conception of a living God in moral fellowship with men involves in it prophecy having reference to the future. Here again prophecy is lifted up into the sphere of personal religious life.

The passage Dt $18^{9\text{-}22}$, though not excluding prediction, places prophecy on a broader basis. Prophecy is due to two things: (1) to that yearning of the human spirit to know the will of

* This seems the idea of v. Hofmann, *Weissagung u. Erfüllung*.

the deity, and to have communion with him, common to men everywhere. This yearning created many kinds of diviners, who by external means inferred what was the mind of deity. But it is not in this way, but in one higher and worthier, that the true God satisfies the yearning of His people's heart (Nu 23[23]). However profusely signs of Him and of His mind be scattered over nature, there is a more immediate intercourse between Him and men. He speaks to the mind of man directly; there is a communion of spirit with spirit. J″ puts His words in the prophet's mouth, who speaks them in His name (Dt 18[18. 19]). (2) And the reason for employing a prophet as mediator between J″ and the people is that the people shrank from hearing the voice of J″ speaking to them directly. He spoke the ten words in the people's ears at Horeb, but Israel said, 'Let me not hear again the voice of the Lord my God, that I die not' (18[16]). An extraordinarily lofty place is assigned here to the prophet: his words are as much the words of J″ as if J″ spoke them immediately with His own voice (cf. Nu 12[2]). But these words of Moses, 'A prophet shall the Lord your God raise up unto you like unto me,' contain other points illustrating the idea of 'prophet.' The term 'raise up' (cf. Am 2[11]) is used of the judges, and in many ways the prophets were the successors of the judges. The prophet is immediately raised up. The Divine act is reflected in his own consciousness in the crisis named his 'call.' His position is a personal one. He is not a member of a caste inheriting an office. He may be taken from any class: from the priesthood, like Samuel, Jer., and Ezek., and probably others; from the aristocracy of the capital, like Isaiah from the population of the country townships, like Micah and Urijah of Kiriath-jearim (Jer 26); or from those that followed after the flock, like Amos. Women, too, might be prophetesses, as Miriam, Deborah, and Huldah (2 K 22). The singular 'a prophet' may be used collectively of a line of prophets (Hos 12[13]), or more probably as there was usually only one great prophet at one time the reference may be to the individual prophet in each age. In the words 'like unto me' the prophet is put on the same plane with Moses; and so far as the scope of his functions extended this is the best definition. It may be said that we really do not know what Moses was like; and to say that the prophet was 'like Moses,' is to explain the unknown by the more unknown. We know at least what Moses was thought to be like in the age of the Deuteronomist and earlier—he was one faithful *in all God's house* (Nu 12[7]); and the prophet's oversight was equally broad. Prophecy was not an institution among other institutions, like priesthood and monarchy; it founded the monarchy, and it claimed in the name of J″ to correct and instruct priests as well as kings. Tholuck * has defined the prophet as 'the bearer of the idea of the theocracy.' The definition is true in the sense that the prophets do not claim to be originators, they have inherited the principles which they teach; but it touches the prophet only on his intellectual side. The prophet was more than a teacher, and the theocracy was life as well as truth. The prophet was not only the bearer, he was the embodiment of the idea of the theocracy. This idea, which is that of the communion of the living God with mankind, was realized in him and through him in Israel. Though he could be distinguished from Israel he was, in truth, Israel at its highest. The prophets were not persons who stood as mere objective Divine instruments to the people whom they addressed; they were of the people; the life of the people flowing through the general mass only reached its flood-tide in them. Every feeling of the people, every movement of life in it, sent its impulse up to them; every hope and fear was reflected in their hearts. And it was with hearts so filled and minds so quickened and broad that they entered into the communion of God.

One other passage may be referred to which expresses very clearly the main element in the idea of prophet. In Ex 7[1] J″ speaks to Moses, 'See, I have made thee God to Pharaoh, and Aaron thy brother shall be thy prophet' (P). In Ex 4[16] (J) a similar statement occurs, 'He (Aaron) shall be thy spokesman to the people; he shall be to thee for a mouth, and thou shalt be to him God.' Moses 'inspired' Aaron, and Aaron spoke his words to Pharaoh and the people. So all the prophets, *e.g.* Is 30[2] 31[1], regard themselves as the 'mouth' of J″.

ii. INSPIRATION.—When Samuel dismissed Saul he said to him, 'Thou shalt meet a band of prophets; and the spirit of the Lord will come mightily upon thee, and thou shalt prophesy with them, and shalt be turned into another man' (1 S 10[5. 6]). The term 'prophesy' describes the excited demeanour and utterance of the prophets, and the 'spirit' is regarded as the cause of this. Of course, the prophets did not utter mere sounds, but words with meaning; but it is the personal exaltation of the prophet himself, who has become another man, and not specially the contents of his utterance, that is ascribed to the 'spirit.' The man on whom the spirit comes, oftener performs deeds than speaks words. The 'spirit of the Lord' came on Samson, and he rent the lion as he would have rent a kid (Jg 14[6]); it came on Saul, and he slew his oxen and sent the fragments throughout Israel, calling to war with Ammon (1 S 11[6]); similarly it came on Gideon (Jg 6[34]), Jephthah (11[29]), and others, and they went out to war and judged Israel. The spirit of the Lord suddenly carries Elijah away, one knows not whither (1 K 18[12]), and men fear that it may cast him upon some mountain or into some valley (2 K 2[16]); and with 'the hand of the Lord' upon him he kept pace with Ahab's chariots (1 K 18[46]). Probably the conception of God and that of the spirit of God always corresponded to one another. In early times God was conceived more as a natural than a spiritual force; His operation, even when He might operate on the ethical side of man's nature, was physical. Hence 'spirit' connotes suddenness and violence in the Divine operation. When one is seen performing what is beyond man to do, or what is beyond himself in his natural condition, both to himself and to the onlooker he appears not himself, he is another man; he is seized and borne onward by a power external to him—the spirit of the Lord is upon him. One under the spirit is always carried away by an impulse, sudden, and often uncontrollable. Hence the terms descriptive of the spirit's operation suggest suddenness and violence; it 'comes upon' (היה על 1 S 19[20. 23]), 'comes mightily upon' (צלח 1 S 10[6. 10]), 'falls upon' (Ezk 11[5]), 'descends and rests on' (נוח Nu 11[25. 26]), 'puts on' a man as a garment (לבש Jg 6[34], 2 Ch 24[20]), 'fills' him (Mic 3[8]), and the like. Similarly it is said that the 'hand of the Lord' comes upon him (Ezk 1[3], 2 K 3[15]), and overpowers him (Is 8[11]). All these expressions describe the phenomena visible to the onlooker, or experienced by the prophet. But it is the complex manifestation that they describe; they do not analyze it, nor answer the question, Where amidst these phenomena is the point at which the spirit operates?

It is remarkable that in the literary prophets little reference is made to the spirit, and the references made are rather allusive than formal

* *Die Propheten u. ihre Weissagungen*, p. 12.

and direct. Hosea (9^7) calls the prophet 'the man of the spirit'; Isaiah ($30^{1.2}$, cf. Job 26^4) uses 'spirit of J"' as parallel to 'mouth of J"'; and Micah (3^8) declares himself full of power 'by the spirit of J"' to declare unto Jacob his transgression.* But other prophets, including Amos and Jer., do not express the idea. The explanation of this fact is probably this: in this age the violent excitation usual in early prophecy had almost disappeared; it was the violent impulse to speak or act that 'spirit' particularly connoted, and hence references to spirit are rare. Isaiah on one occasion (8^{11}) speaks of the 'hand' of J" being upon him, which may refer to some unusual elevation (though cf. Jer 15^{17}), but the 'power' which Micah was conscious of was probably moral, though whether intermittent or not may be uncertain. Some have supposed that in this age the spirit was regarded as a permanent possession of the prophet, and for that reason not specially alluded to.† In Nu 11^{25} the spirit that was upon Moses is spoken of, part of which rested on the elders, and they prophesied. Their prophesying was momentary and under great excitation; but whether the 'spirit' was considered a permanent possession of Moses or not is not clear (cf. v.^{25} with v.^{29}). And the same uncertainty remains with regard to the 'spirit' that was on Elijah (2 K $2^{9ff.}$). In Is $11^{2ff.}$ the spirit of J" is said to descend and rest upon the Messiah, giving him discernment, counsel, and might in rule, as well as the fear of the Lord; and this spirit would seem a permanent possession, though revealing itself as occasions required. But the failure of the canonical prophets to refer to the spirit is scarcely due to their thinking of it as a permanent power indwelling in them; it is rather due to their not thinking of the spirit specially at all. The cessation of the ecstasy left the prophet his proper self; he was conscious of being an independent individual person, and as such he entered into fellowship with God. He was no more driven or overpowered by an impulse from without, which superseded his proper self; his communion with God was a communion of two moral persons. God, it is true, did not speak to him face to face and externally as He did to Moses, but He spoke no less really to his mind. The nature of the communion is clear from the dialogues in Is 6 and Jer 1. In its full perfection it is seen in Jeremiah, who should be taken as the true type of the prophet.

At a later time references to the spirit again recur, particularly in Ezekiel. How far the trances of Ezekiel were real, being partly due to a natural constitutional temperament, and how far they are mere literary embodiment of an idea, may be disputed. In the latter case the idea they express would be the one running through all his prophecies, the transcendent majesty and power of God, and the nothingness of the 'child of man,' who is a mere instrument in the hand of God. In this late age various ideas of the spirit prevail. A prophet like Joel goes back to the early forms of prophecy, and reproduces the ancient idea of the spirit ($2^{28ff.}$ [Heb. $3^{1ff.}$]). In other passages the spirit appears a permanent possession, being like the gift bestowed on one when consecrated to an office (Is 61^1); while in others still the spirit seems generalized into the Divine enlightenment and guidance given to Israel through its leaders and prophets all down its history (Is 59^{21} 63^{10}, Hag 2^5). But amidst some variety of conception certain ideas of the spirit always remain: the spirit is something external to man, something Divine, something bestowed by God on man.

Taking into account what has been said above of the 'spirit,' it appears that what has been called the *prophetic state* varied at different times. Two periods can be distinguished, though not separated from one another by any sharp line of demarcation: the early prophetic period, and the period of the literary prophets. (1) In the early period mental excitation was common, though the excitation might be of various degrees; self-consciousness was not lost, and memory of what was experienced remained; the NT rule that 'the spirits of the prophets are subject to the prophets' was in most cases verified. The revelation in this period often took the form of dream and vision. The OT couples these two together (Nu 12^6, Jl 2^{28} [Heb. 3^1]). Dream and vision are not identical, but they differ chiefly in degree—the degree to which the senses are dormant, and the consciousness of what is external is lost, and reflective control over the operations of the mind is suspended. The prophets regard their dreams and visions as something objective in the sense that they are caused by God (Am $7^{1ff.}$). But in attempting to analyze the prophetic mind we must remember that dreaming and seeing a vision are forms of *thinking*; the contents of the dream and vision are not objective, as things seen with the bodily eye are objective, they are creations of the mind itself. Perhaps the best idea of the prophetic mind in this period or in this condition might be got by reflecting on the phenomena of the dream. Now, it is in this period that the phraseology current all down the prophetic age originated, and it is the phenomena of this period that it describes — such phraseology as 'see,' 'vision,' 'hear,' 'the word of the Lord,' and such like. In this early time prophets did 'see' and had 'visions'; they did 'hear' the 'word of the Lord,' just as one sees persons and things, and hears words audibly in a dream. The terms truly describe the mental experiences of the prophet, and are not mere figures of speech. But in the time of the canonical prophets visions and dreams virtually ceased, though the prophetic language still remained in use. It is quite possible that in some cases the literary prophets still had visions and 'heard' words, but certainly they use the ancient phraseology in a multitude of instances when they had no such experience. Jer. alludes with aversion to the 'dreams' of the false prophets. It is possible that these dreams were in some cases real, being due to the agitations produced by the political crises of the time. If so, it is another evidence that these prophets still occupied a position which the true prophecy had long abandoned. (2) Perhaps the best idea of the mental state of the prophet in the purest stage of prophecy would be got by considering the condition of the religious mind in earnest devotion or rapt spiritual communion with God. Even the earliest prophets intercede with God (Am 7, cf. Ex 32^{11}); and Oehler has drawn attention to the fact that the communication of a revelation to them is often called 'answering' them—the same expression as is used in regard to prayer (Mic 3^7, Hab $2^{1ff.}$, Jer 23^{35}). The prophets asseverate very strongly that it is the word of God which they speak. But it is doubtful if any psychological conclusions can be drawn from their language. For it is to the *contents* of their prophecies that they refer; and though it might seem strange that they do not allude to any mental operations of their own, the analogy of the devout worshipper suggests an explanation. A person in earnest prayer to God and communion with Him, though his mind will certainly be profoundly exercised, when light

* Some scholars regard the phrase *by the spirit of J"* as an explanatory gloss (Well., Nowack, etc.). The sense of נא is uncertain; it may mean *with, by the aid of*, Gn 41, Job 26^4, or it may be accus. sign: 'full of power, even the spirit of J",' RVm.

† Giesebrecht, *Die Berufsbegabung der alttest. Proph.*

dawns on him, or certitude is reached, or conduct becomes plain, will also feel and say with certainty that it was God who gave him the result he reached. It might be rash to say that the experience of such a devout mind is perfectly analogous to that of the prophetic mind, but the analogy is probably the nearest that can be found.

It may be said, therefore: (1) that the prophet's mind in revelation was not passive, but in a state of activity. Even the 'call' to prophesy was not addressed to a mind empty or unoccupied with the interests of the nation. The 'call' came to the three great prophets through a vision (Is 6, Jer 1, Ezk 1), but it is recognized that the 'vision' contains strictly nothing new; it is a combination of ideas and thought-images already lying in the mind. Isaiah, for example, had often thought of the Holy One of Israel, the King, previous to his vision; he had often considered the sinfulness of the people, which he himself shared; and no doubt he had forecast the inevitable fate of the people when J″ arose to shake terribly the earth. These thoughts probably occupied his mind at the moment of his call, for it came to him as he worshipped J″ in the temple, and beheld His glory (cf. also Jer 1^{4-10}). Neither can the *compulsion* of which the prophets speak be regarded as anything physical. Even when Amos says, 'The Lord God speaks, who can but prophesy?' the constraint is only moral. And similarly when Jer. says, 'Thou didst induce (or entice) me, and I was induced' (20^{7}), he refers to the conflict in his own mind described in 1^{4-10}; and even when he speaks of the word of J″ being as a fire in his bones, compelling him to speak, when, to avoid persecution, he had resolved to be silent, there is nothing more than such moral constraint as was felt by the apostles in the early days of the Church, or by one now with earnest convictions. Again, the allegation, often made, that the prophets did not understand their own oracles, can hardly be substantiated. The passage 1 P $1^{10ff.}$ says that the prophets 'searched what time or what manner of time the spirit of Christ which was in them did point unto'; but first, it speaks of the prophets as a body, and of the spirit common to them all. It does not say that any prophet searched his own prophecies. The apostle probably generalizes the instance referred to in Dn 9^{2}, where Daniel searches the prophecies of Jeremiah. Further, the point to which the search was directed was the *time* or *manner of time*, nothing else. And this point, if indicated at all, was indicated so obscurely that it had to be inferred from the other contents of the prophecy (cf. Mt 24^{36}). (2) The kind of operation of the prophetic mind when reaching or perceiving truth was intuition. In the early times of prophecy the excitation or comparative ecstasy was common. This elevated condition of the intuitive mind was natural to an Oriental people, and in an early age. It was a thing particularly natural when truth was new; when convictions regarding God, and man's duty in moments of great personal responsibility or national trial, were for the first time breaking on the human mind. But, on the other hand, it is equally natural that as prophecy became more regular and acquired the character of a stable institution, such accompaniments of revelation in the mind would gradually disappear. And the same effect would follow from the gradual accumulation of religious truths. These were no longer altogether new. As fundamental verities they had entered into the consciousness of the nation. What was new was only the application of them to the particular crisis in the individual's life or the nation's history, or that further expansion of them needful in order to make them applicable. But this was always new. No truth uttered by a prophet has attained the rank of a maxim of reflection or a deduction from prior truths. The prophet never comes before men inferring. His mind operates in another way. The truth reached is always a novelty to him, so that he feels it to be an immediate communication from God. But it is vain to speculate how the Divine mind coalesces with the human, or to ask at what point the Divine begins to operate. Some have argued that the operation was dynamical, that is, an intensification of the faculties of the mind, enabling it thus to reach higher truth. Others regard the Divine operation as of the nature of suggestion of truth to the mind. What is to be held, at all events, is that revelation was not the communication of abstract or general religious ideas to the intellect of the prophet. His whole religious mind was engaged. He entered into the fellowship of God, his mind occupied with all his own religious interests and all those of the people of God; and his mind thus operating, he reached the practical truth relevant to the occasion.

iii. THE FALSE PROPHETS. — Reference has already been made in the historical sketch to the so-called false prophets, but the phenomenon of false prophecy has points of connexion also with the prophetic mind. A hard-and-fast line of demarcation between true and false prophecy can hardly be drawn. The fact that prophecy was the embodiment of a religious-national spirit accounts for what is called false prophecy. When the spirit that animated the prophet pursued predominantly national ends, he was a false prophet; when the ends pursued were religious and ethical the prophet was true, because in the religion of J″ the national was transient, and the ethical abiding.

In early times men everywhere felt the nearness of the supernatural; the Divine, with its manifestations, was all about them. Those who seemed or who professed themselves to be inspired were accepted as being so (cf. the reception given to Ehud by the king of Moab, Jg $3^{20f.}$). The spirit of the time was not critical; it was reverent, or, as we might now say, credulous. In the first conflict which we read of between true and false prophecy (1 K 22) the 400 prophets of Ahab were false and Micaiah true, but Micaiah did not consider the pretensions to inspiration of his opponent Zedekiah to be false. He was inspired, but it was by a lying spirit from the Lord (1 K $22^{22.\ 23}$). This lying spirit was put by J″ in the mouth of the prophets of Ahab that they might entice him to his destruction. The explanation given by Ezekiel (Ezk 13. 14) is similar: J″ deceives the prophet that He may destroy him and his dupes alike (14^{9}). But J″'s deception of the prophets in order to destroy them and those who consult them is in punishment of previous evil (1 K 22^{8}, Ezk 14^{1-11}, 2 S 24^{1}). A profounder conception of the ethical nature of J″, and a dislike to regard Him as the author of evil (cf. 2 S 24^{1} with 1 Ch 21^{1}), combined perhaps with a more critical judgment of their contemporaries, led others to a different explanation. To Jeremiah the false prophet is not inspired by a lying spirit from J″, he is not inspired at all. He speaks out of his own heart, and has not been sent (Jer $23^{16.\ 21.\ 25.\ 26}$). Micah goes further and analyzes the prophet's motives: he speaks what men wish to hear (2^{11}, cf. Is $30^{10ff.}$), and for interested ends—'When they have something to chew with their teeth they cry, Peace; but whoso putteth not into their mouth, they preach war against him' (3^{5}). And the priest Amaziah (Am 7^{12}) seems to have formed his idea of the prophets as a whole from this class.

There are several kinds of false prophecy of little interest except as casting light on the re-

ligious condition of the people, *e.g.* prophecy by other gods than J″, a thing perhaps not very prevalent in the prophetic age; and prophecy as a professional means of gaining a living. There were persons who assumed the hairy mantle and affected prophetic phraseology, *ne'úm J″*, 'saith J″' (cf. Jer 23[31] *yin'ámû ne'úm*, Ezk 13[6. 7]), apparently for the sake of bread (Mic 3[5]). It was customary to bring presents to the seers and prophets in ancient times when people consulted them (1 S 9[8], 1 K 14[3], 2 K 8[8f.]; cf. Nu 22[7]), and the practice not unnaturally led to deterioration in the prophetic class. But in relation to the question of the 'prophetic mind,' the only 'false' prophecy of interest is that which we see among prophets all professedly and alike prophets of J″. Men who alike regarded prophetic truth as something revealed by J″ in the heart, are found not infrequently to give forth as the word of J″ conflicting judgments. They advised contrary steps in a political emergency, or they predicted diverse issues in regard to some enterprise on which they were consulted. Ahab's 400 said, 'Go up to Ramoth-gilead, for J″ shall deliver it into the hand of the king'; but Micaiah said, 'I saw all Israel scattered upon the mountains' (1 K 22[12. 17]). Jer. predicted that the Chaldæan supremacy would last 70 years, while Hananiah prophesied that in two years' time the exiles would return, with Jehoiachin at their head (Jer 28). To us now, with our ideas of the prophet, and looking back to him as a great isolated and almost miraculous personage, divinely accredited, two things seem surprising, *first*, that any one should suppose himself a true prophet of J″ who was not; and, *second*, that the people failed to discriminate between the true and the false. As to the first point, it is very difficult to discover on what plane of religious attainment those called false prophets stood, and what kind of consciousness they had. Evidently, they had lofty conceptions of J″ in some of His attributes. These were perhaps more His natural attributes, such as His power, than those of His moral being. It is here perhaps that the point of difference lies—J″ was not to them absolutely or greatly a moral being, He was a natural force, and His operation in a way magical: they thought His mere presence in the temple guaranteed its inviolability. They were Jehovists, but J″ was to them greatly a symbol of nationality, and they were fervid nationalists. Such feelings coloured their outlook into the future, making them the optimists that they were, always crying, Peace and Safety! Further, in whatever way the true prophet was assured that he spoke the word of J″, the evidence was internal. He had the witness in himself. It was a consciousness, something positive, but not negative. The person who wanted it had no consciousness of the want. The case is similar to, if not identical with, what is still familiar in religious experience.

As to the second point, the people's failure to discriminate between the true and false prophets, it is evident that they had no criterion by which to decide. There was usually nothing in the mere prophecy or prediction on one side or the other to carry conviction. They had to bring the criterion with them in their own minds, *i.e.* to go back to the principles on which the prophecy was based—He that is of the truth heareth my words. The condition of the people's mind can be observed in Jer 18[18]. Here we see that the people believed in prophecy as the word of J″, and in their prophets; but Jeremiah, who contradicted these prophets, they considered a deceiver and no lover of his country. Their state of mind appears even more clearly from Jer 28. Hananiah predicted that the Exile would be over in two years, while Jeremiah said it would last two generations. Naturally, the people gave their voice for Hananiah, and for the moment Jeremiah was put to silence. There were several things which it has been supposed might have served as external criteria of true prophecy: (1) the prophetic ecstasy; (2) miracle; and (3) fulfilment of the prediction. But all these things when used as tests to discriminate between one prophet and another were liable to fail.

(1) The ecstasy in greater or less degree was a thing natural to an Oriental people; in the early prophetic period it was common; it was, however, no essential element in prophecy. It was no evidence that a prophet was true, neither was it any evidence that he was false, though if evidence at all it was rather evidence that he was false, at least in later times, for in the ethical prophecy of the 8th century it rarely appears. Ewald, indeed, has observed that the ecstasy was liable to be a source of false prophecy, for one subject to such a condition might think himself inspired by J″ when he was not.

(2) Miracle might certainly be an evidence and test of true prophecy, *e.g.* in the conditions proposed by Elijah at Carmel; but such conditions were rarely possible. In the OT miracle means wonder; it is something extraordinary, nothing more. The force of a miracle to us, arising from our notion of Law, would not be felt by a Hebrew, because he had no notion of natural law. Further, the ancient mind was reverent, or superstitious, and felt itself surrounded by superhuman powers. It was not J″ alone or His servants that could work wonders; the magicians in Egypt also did so (Ex 7[11. 22] 8[7]). Again, even when J″ empowered one to give a sign or wonder, the meaning of the wonder might be ambiguous. In Dt 13[1ff.] a prophet is supposed permitted to work a miracle at the same time that he advocates worship of other gods than J″; but the miracle so far from authenticating him as true has quite another purpose: it is to prove the people whether they love J″ with all their heart. To one who knows and loves J″ no miracle will authenticate another god. And to all this has to be added the fact that from Amos downwards miracle plays hardly any part in the history of prophecy (though cf. Is 7[11] 38[7ff.]), while it was just in the last days of the kingdom of Judah that false prophecy was most prevalent.

(3) The test of fulfilment of the prophetic word is proposed in Dt 18[21]. But this criterion was one which was serviceable less to individuals than to the people, whose life was continuous and extended. As a guide to the conduct of individuals at the moment when the prediction was uttered it could be of little service. Occasionally predictions were made which had reference to the near future, as when Micaiah predicted Ahab's defeat at Ramoth-gilead, or when Jeremiah foretold the death of Hananiah within the year. But usually the prophecies bore upon the destinies of the State, and had reference to a somewhat indefinite future. This peculiarity perplexed men's minds, and led to the despair or the disparagement of prophecy. They said, 'The days are prolonged, and every vision faileth'; or if they did not go so far they said of the prophet, 'The vision that he seeth is for many days to come, and he prophesieth of the times that are far off' (Ezk 12[22-28]). While, therefore, in the prolonged life of the people the event might ultimately be seen to justify the prophet (Ezk 2[5]), some more immediate test was necessary for the guidance of the individual. Such a test is proposed by Jeremiah. The test lies in the relation of the prophecy to the moral condition of the people. The prophet who predicts disaster and judgment needs no further authentication: the nature of his prophecy proves him true; the prophet who prophesies Peace, let the event justify him! (Jer 28[8. 9]). The interesting

thing in all this is that so far as religious certitude was concerned the people of Israel were exactly in the same position as ourselves. Neither the supernatural nor anything else will produce conviction apart from moral conditions of the mind. This is perhaps a truism because the conviction required was not mere intellectual belief, but religious faith in a person and in His word.

False prophets are defined to be those by whom J″ did not speak, and true prophets those by whom He spoke. The definition is true on both its sides, and there are instances when nothing more can be said. But usually it is possible to go a step further back. The opposite way of stating the point has also a truth in it: J″ did not speak by certain prophets because they were false. His speaking or not speaking was not a mere occurrence, isolated and in no connexion with the previous mind of the prophets and their religious principles. It is extremely difficult to realize the condition of people's minds at any time in Israel. There were many planes of religious attainment. There were worshippers of other gods than J″; and there were those who combined J″ and other gods in their worship (Zeph 1). There were worshippers of J″ to whom J″ was little more than a symbol of their nationality. There were worshippers of J″ who, in addition to regarding Him as the impersonation of their nationality, ascribed to Him lofty natural attributes, such as power, but who reflected little if at all on the moral aspects of His being. And there were those to whom the moral overshadowed all else, and who regarded J″ as the very impersonation of the moral idea. Scholars will dispute how far moral conceptions of J″ prevailed among the people from the first, and also how much moral teaching was set before them at the beginning. But the great lesson-book in which thoughtful men read was the national history and fortunes. This was written by the finger of God. In the prosperous days after David little advance might be made; men settled on their lees. But by and by God sent unto them 'them that pour off' (Jer 48^{12}). The disasters suffered in the obstinate Syrian wars from Omri onwards awoke the conscience of men, revealing the nature of J″, and directing the eye to the national sores; for at all times national disaster and internal miseries were felt to be due to the displeasure of God (2 S $21^{1ff.}$ 24^{18}, 1 K 17^{1}). Thus, though history casts little light on its growth, there arose a society educated in the things of God, and it was out of this society that the true prophets were called; for the idea that the breadth and wealth of religious and moral conceptions in a prophet like Amos were all supplied to him by revelation after his call, will hardly be maintained. Those who stood on a lower plane were not suited for the purposes of J″, and He did not speak by them. They came forward in His name, but it was mainly national impulses that inspired them.

There are three lines on which Jeremiah opposes the other prophets: the political, the moral, and the personal. (1) The false or national prophets desired that Israel should take its place among the nations as one of them; be a warlike State, ride on horses, build fenced cities, and when in danger seek alliances abroad. Jeremiah and the true prophets instead of all these things recommend quiet confidence and trust in J″ (Is 7^{9} 17^{7}). (2) The national prophets had not a stringent morality. Jeremiah charges some of them with being immoral (Jer 23^{14}). But what characterized them all was a superficial judgment of the moral condition of the nation, which was but the counterpart of their inadequate conception of the moral being of J″. The condition of society did not strike them as at all desperate. Hence they preached Peace, and healed the hurt of the people slightly. On the other hand, the words of Micah, 'I am full of power to declare to Jacob his transgressions' (3^{8}), might be taken as the motto of every true prophet. It is possible, even true, that the demands of the true prophets were ideal, that they could not be realized in an earthly community, that it was the spirit of the future yet to be that was reflecting itself in their hearts—a future that even to us is still to be; and it is not impossible that the people felt this and passed by their words as impossible of realization (Jer 2^{25})—a very lovely song of one that hath a pleasant voice (Ezk 33^{32}). (3) With his tendency to introspection Jeremiah analyzes his own mind; and that naïve feeling of former prophets, that they spoke the word of J″, is to him a distinct element of consciousness. He knows that he stands in the council of J″, and he is certain that the false prophets have not his experience ($23^{28.\ 29}$). He does not hesitate to go further and assert that those prophets whom he opposes are conscious that they have no true fountain of inspiration within them. Their prophetic manner, 'saith J″,' is affectation (23^{31}), and there is nothing personal in the contents of their oracles, which they steal every one from his neighbour (23^{30}). The prophets of this time speak of their 'dreams,' and it is possible that the crisis in the nation's history agitated them and produced mental excitation; but it is evident that they represented a phase of prophecy which had long been overcome. It is strange that, from the days of Micaiah ben Imlah under Ahab down to the fall of the Judæan State, no change seems to have taken place in the position and principles either of the true prophets or of the false.

C. *The Teaching of the Prophets.*—The idea of the 'prophet,' one who speaks from God (B. i.), leaves a very extended sphere of action to the prophet. The prophet is always a man of his own time, and it is always to the people of his own time that he speaks, not to a generation long after, nor to us. And the things of which he speaks will always be things of importance to the people of his own day, whether they be things belonging to their internal life and conduct, or things affecting their external fortunes as a people among other peoples. And as he speaks to the mind and consciousness of the people before him, he speaks always with a view to influence it. On many, perhaps on all occasions, the most powerful means of exerting an influence on the mind of his time may be what he is able to reveal to it of the future, whether the future be full of mercy or of judgment; but whether he speaks of the present or the future the direct and conscious object of the prophet is to influence the people of his own generation. For this purpose the prophet reviews, not only the forces and tendencies operating in his own nation, but all the forces, moral and national, operating in the great world outside (Jer 1^{10}).

Influenced partly by the great apologetic use made of the prophecies in the NT, interpreters were for long accustomed to lay almost exclusive stress upon the predictive element in prophecy, so that prophecy and prediction were considered things identical. The function of the prophet was supposed to be to predict the Messiah and the things of His kingdom; and the use of the prophecies was to prove that Jesus was the Messiah, or more generally to show the supernaturalness of revelation. However legitimate such a use of the prophecies may be, modern interpreters have rightly felt that it failed to take into account a very large part of their contents. The religious and moral teaching of the prophets was overlooked. Hence in modern times a different view has arisen, to the effect that the function of the prophet was

to teach moral and religious truth. But this view is equally one-sided with the other. To us now to whom the apologetic use of prophecy has become less necessary, the moral teaching of the prophets may seem the most important thing in their prophecies. But if any prophetic book be examined, such as Amos or Hos 4–14, or any of the complete prophetic discourses contained in a prophet's book, such as Is 1. 5. 6. 2–4, it will appear that the ethical and religious teaching is always secondary, and that the essential thing in the book or discourse is the prophet's outlook into the future. The burden of the teaching of all the great canonical prophets is: (1) that the downfall of the State is imminent; (2) that it is J″ who is destroying it; and (3) that the nation which shall overthrow it, be it Assyria or Babylon, is the instrument of J″, the rod of His anger, raised up by Him to execute His purpose. And the prophet's religious teaching regarding the nature of J″, and the duty and sin of the people, is subordinate, and meant to sustain his outlook into the future and awaken the mind of the people to the truth of it (cf. above A. iii. 3). This may be said also of such a NT prophet as John the Baptist, and in a sense even of our Lord. The Baptist's theme was, The kingdom of heaven is at hand; and his ethical teaching, Repent! Bring forth fruits meet for repentance! was designed to prepare men for entering into the kingdom. And our Lord's theme was the same, the coming of the kingdom of God; and His moral teaching, such as the Sermon on the Mount, was intended to show the nature of the kingdom and the condition of mind necessary to inherit it. Of course, the outlook of the prophets was not bounded by the downfall of the State. Their outlook embraces also that which lies beyond, for the great events transacting around them, being all moral interpositions of J″, seem to them always to issue in the coming in of the perfect kingdom of God; and this final condition of the people is virtually their chief theme.

i. General Teaching.—In general, the prophets may be characterized as religious idealists, who appealed directly to the spirit in man; who set the truth before men and exhorted them to follow it, not out of constraint, but in freedom of spirit, because it was good, and the will of their God. They never dreamed of legislative compulsion. The law recognized by Amos is the law of righteousness and humanity written on all men's hearts, whether Jew or heathen; the law of Hosea is the law of love to Him who had loved the people and called His son out of Egypt. The prophets really occupied the Christian position; they demanded with St. Paul that men's conduct and life should be the free expression of the spirit within them, a spirit to be formed and guided by the fellowship of God and the thankful remembrance of His redemption wrought for them. Later prophets perceive that man's spirit must be determined by an operation of God, who will write His law on it (Jer 31^{33}), or who will put His own spirit within him as the impulsive principle of his life (Is 32^{15}, Ezk $36^{26ff.}$). Hence ritual has no place in the prophetic teaching, that which is moral alone has any meaning. No doubt the prophets assail abuses in ritual worship as well as in social life, and men more practical than they embody their principles in legislative form, for the prophets, instead of being mere expounders of the Law, are indirectly the authors of the Law; but when this legislation, even though an embodiment of prophetic teaching, is elevated by authority into State or ecclesiastical law, however necessary the step might be, it is a descent from the NT position occupied by the prophets.

The special teaching of the individual prophets is treated under their respective names. Here only two or three general points can be alluded to.

(1) The prophets all teach that J″ alone is God of Israel, and that He is a moral Being, whose acceptable service is a religious and righteous life (Mic 6^{8}), and not mere ritual (Hos 6^{6}, Is $1^{10ff.}$, Jer $7^{21ff.}$, 1 S 15^{22}). Questions have been raised whether in these points the prophets follow a law, such as the Decalogue, or whether the moral Decalogue be not, in fact, a concentration of their teaching. All classes of the people agreed with the prophets that J″ was the particular God of Israel, but a theoretical monotheistic faith cannot have prevailed among the mass of the people. Such a faith, though only informally and indirectly enunciated by them, evidently prevailed among the prophets from Elijah downwards; but how much older the belief may be and how widely it was entertained among the people, the very scanty history scarcely enables us to determine. Perhaps too much stress may be laid on the value, particularly in early times of simple thought, of an abstract monotheism. What was important was the nature of J″, the closeness of relation to Him which conditioned human life, and the worshipper's feeling that He was *his* God; whether other beings to be called gods existed, and were served by the nations, was practically of little moment. Even the polytheism of the heathen sometimes came practically near to monotheism. Worshippers usually devoted themselves to one out of the many gods known in their country; they usually, therefore, thought of him as god alone, and gradually assigned all the distinctive attributes of other deities, *i.e.* virtually of deity, to him. And one can conceive how particularism or monolatry, the idea that J″ was the particular God of Israel and of Israelites, may have had in a rude age an educative and religious influence which an abstract monotheism might not have exerted. To it may be greatly due that extraordinary sense of the presence of J″ in the people's history and the individual's life, that personal intimacy with God, characteristic of OT religion.

So far as the *worship* of J″ is concerned, it is remarkable that Elijah, though contending against Baal worship, is not said to have assailed the calves. The history of Elijah is a fragment, and it may be precarious to draw conclusions from the historian's silence. Even Amos does not refer formally to the calves; he condemns the ritual worship as a whole, and threatens with destruction the seats of calf-worship; and his condemnation of the whole probably applies to the details; at least it is wholly inept to infer that he saw no evil in the calves. Hosea is the first to condemn them expressly, and in Judah Isaiah in like manner often assails images (Is 2^{8} 17^{8}). When the early prophets assail the worship at the *high places*, it is the nature of the worship that they attack, not the multiplicity of altars. But Jer. and Ezek., along with Deut., go further, and condemn the high places themselves; they are Canaanite and heathen (Dt 12^{2}, Jer 2^{7}, Ezk $20^{27ff.}$).* The prophets' attacks on sacrifice are in opposition to the exaggerated worth assigned to ritual by the people. Their position is not, as is often said, that sacrifice without a righteous life is an abomination to J″, but rather this: that sacrifice as a *substitute* for a righteous life is an abomination. It is a question of service of J″: and J″ desires a righteous life so much more than sacrifice, that He may be said not to desire sacrifice at all (Hos 6^{6}).

(2) Though the prophets use the word 'covenant' little down to the time of Deut. and Jer., the idea they express of the relation of J″ and Israel is the same. J″ says in Am 3^{2} 'You only have I known of all the

* In Mic 1^{5} LXX reads 'sin of Judah' for 'high places of Judah.'

families of the earth.' J″'s choice of Israel was a conscious, historical act. With this all the prophets agree. No motive is assigned for the choice, and no purpose to be served by Israel thus chosen is referred to. In Amos for all that appears, the choice of Israel is virtually an act of what is called sovereignty. In Hosea the act is regarded as due to J″'s love (11[1]). This makes the act moral, and explains it, though the love itself is necessarily inexplicable. In Deut. the love is denied to be due to anything in Israel, and seems just explained by itself (Dt 7[8]). In Isaiah the idea of a purpose had in view in the choice begins to appear. J″ is the universal sovereign, and His making of Israel His people was in order that He might be recognized as God and alone exalted (2[11]). In Isaiah sin is insensibility to J″ the King, levity and self-exaltation; and religion is recognition of J″ and His benefits, a constant consciousness of Him and trust in Him. While Jer. shares Isaiah's idea of what true religion is (9[24]), he speaks of Israel being chosen 'that they might be unto me for a people, and for a name, and for a glory.' In other words, Israel was chosen that by its character it might reflect moral fame upon its God, that is, make known J″ to the world of men, if not by active operations, by showing in its own character the nature of its God. The prophet of Is 40 ff. often expresses the same idea (43[21] 44[23]), but he adds to it the conception of an active operation of Israel in making J″ known to the nations (Is 42[1-4] 49[1-6] 60[1ff.]). This is the highest generalization regarding Israel's place in the religious history of mankind, and the purpose of J″ in its election.

(3) The prophets address themselves to the nation; but in appealing to the whole they appeal to each individual, though no doubt specially to those whose conduct is influential in shaping the destiny of the whole. J″ chose a nation because His idea of mankind, of which He will be God, is that of a social organism. It is this organism of which He is God. But though the relation might seem to be with the ideal unity, it operated in disposing all the parts making up the unity rightly to one another. And in this way each individual felt J″ to be his God. It is absurd to argue that the nationalism of OT religion excluded individual religion. But the later prophets feel that a true social organism can be created only out of true individual members, and they begin to construct a whole out of single persons. Many things united to work in this direction. The nation no longer existed, but the individuals remained, and J″ and religion remained. Moreover, personal piety, such as was seen most conspicuously in Jer., but was not confined to him, was a great creative force; the sense of relation to God made powerful men, and the sense of the relation in common united them. Reflexion also did something. Ezekiel saw the practical need of reconstructing a people, and recognized this to be his task. He felt himself in a certain way a Pastor with a care of individual souls. And he saw the need of creating independent individual personalities by disentangling them from the national whole and its doom—'All souls are mine, saith J″; as the soul of the father so also the soul of the son.' But, however individualistic the operations of the prophets of this age were, they never abandon the idea of founding a new social organism. Individualism is but the necessary stage towards this. J″ is God of mankind, not of an inorganic mass of individual men.

ii. Predictive Prophecy.—As the prophets are absorbed in the destinies of the kingdom of God, it will be chiefly *momenta* in its history and development and its final condition that will form the subject of their predictions. They will have little occasion to refer to the future of individuals, or to predict events in their history. There are instances: *e.g.* Samuel predicted some things that would happen to Saul, which the history declares did happen (1 S 9. 10). Jer. predicted the death of Hananiah within the year, which took place (Jer 28). But most of the predictions relate to the history of the State and its destinies. Micaiah predicted the defeat and death of Ahab at Ramoth-gilead (1 K 22). Isaiah predicted the failure of the Northern coalition to subdue Jerusalem (Is 7); he also predicted the overthrow in two or three years of Damascus and Northern Israel before the Assyrians (Is 8. 17). In like manner he predicted the failure of Sennacherib to capture Jerusalem; while, on the other hand, Jer. predicted the failure of the Egyptians to relieve Jerusalem when besieged by Nebuchadnezzar. And in general, apart from details, the main predictions of the prophets regarding Israel and the nations were verified in history (*e.g.* Am 1. 2). The chief predictions of the prophets relate (1) to the imminent downfall of the kingdoms of Israel and Judah; (2) to what lies beyond this, viz. the restoration of the kingdom of God; and (3) to the state of the people in their condition of final felicity. To the last belong the Messianic predictions. It is Israel, the kingdom and people of God, that is properly the subject of prophecy, but other nations are involved in its history; *e.g.* Assyria is the instrument in the hand of J″ in humiliating Israel, and Babylon is the obstacle which has to be removed before its Restoration, and thus these kingdoms and others become also the subject of prophecy.

1. *Prediction in general.*—There are two questions in connexion with prophetic prediction which have given rise to discussion: first, how are the prophetic anticipations as to the future to be explained? and second, what is the explanation of the prophet's feeling that the events which he predicts, *e.g.* the downfall of the State, the coming of the day of the Lord, and the inbringing of the perfect kingdom of God, are imminent? As to the first point, it must be obvious that the prophetic anticipations or certainties cannot be explained as the conclusions of a shrewd political insight into the condition of the people or the nations at the time. Neither can the anticipations of the nation's dissolution be the mere pessimistic forebodings of a declining and exhausted age, for the material and political condition of the North in the time of Amos, and of the South in the early days of Isaiah, was not such as to suggest such gloomy outlook. And least of all can it be pretended that the predictions are only apparent, being, in fact, written *post eventum*. It has been suggested that the human mind, or at any rate some rarely endowed minds, possess a faculty of presentiment or divination, and that it is to this faculty that the prophet's anticipations or certainties in regard to the occurrence of future events are due. Certainly, belief in the possession of such a faculty by peculiarly gifted persons has been prevalent in different ages and among different peoples, but anything like scientific proof of the existence of the faculty has probably never been offered. It would be remarkable if such a large number of persons as the prophets of Israel should all be endowed with this extraordinary faculty. And it would be even more strange if a faculty of this kind, the operation of which appears to be blind and unrational, should be found to manifest itself so generally just in the purest period of prophecy, at the time when prophecy had thrown off all naturalistic and physical characteristics and become purely ethical. Probably, if any one of the data of this supposed faculty of presentiment were analyzed, it would be found to be the result of a

complex process. There would be, first, a peculiar temperament, suggesting events sad or joyous; then certain facts presented to the mind, and then the unconscious operation of the mind on these facts, the whole resulting in the presentiment or vaticination. There may be obscure capacities in the mind not yet explored; and there may be sympathetic *rapports* of human nature with the greater nature around, and of man's mind with the moral mind of the universe, which give results by unconscious processes; and if there be such faculties and relations, then we may assume that they would also enter into prophecy, for there is nothing common or unclean in the nature of man. In point of fact such presentiments as we can observe to be authentic are chiefly products of the conscience or moral reason; and Jer., as has been said, insists that true prophecy in general is based on moral grounds and consists of moral judgments. And certainly all the prophets, in analyzing their intuitions of the future and laying them before the people, usually present them in the form of a moral syllogism. Thus Mic $3^{9ff.}$, after enumerating the misdeeds and oppressions of the heads of the house of Israel says, 'Therefore on your account shall Zion be plowed like a field.' And Is $5^{11ff.}$, having described the luxuriousness and ungodly levity of his day, says, 'Therefore hath hell enlarged her maw.' Everywhere the menacing future is connected with the evil past by *therefore*.* Cf. Am 1. 2.

The other question, How is it that the prophets bring in the consummation and final perfection of the kingdom of God immediately on the back of the great events in the history of the people and the nations taking place in their own day? may not be susceptible of a single answer. (1) An explanation has been sought in what is called the *perspective* of prophecy. Just as one looking on a mountainous region sees a hill which appears to rise up close behind another, but when he approaches nearer he finds the second to have receded a great way from it; so the prophet sees great events close behind one another, though in history and time they are far apart. This is an illustration, but no explanation. The explanation is usually found in the theory of prophetic vision. But in the literary prophets, vision in any strict sense has little place. The prophetic perception, however, was of the nature of intuition, and something of the peculiarity referred to may be due to this. (2) In the period of the canonical prophets it is less events that suggest religious ideas and hopes than ideas already won that explain events. The prophets are not now learning principles, but applying them. Their minds are full of religious beliefs and certainties, such as the certainty of a reign of righteousness upon the earth; and Riehm has suggested that it is their eager expectations and earnest longings that make them feel the consummation to be at hand. (3) Another point may be suggested. It is only in general amidst convulsions that rend society that the prophets come forward. These convulsions and revolutions were the operation of J″, and His operations had all one end in view, the bringing in of His kingdom, and thus to the prophets these great movements seemed the heralds of the full manifestation of J″. For the movements had all moral significance: they were a judgment on His people, which would so change them as to lead into the final salvation (Is $29^{9ff.\ 17ff.}$ $30^{19ff.}$ $31^{5ff.}$), or they were the judgment of the world, removing the obstacle to the coming of His kingdom (Is 40 ff.); and thus the present and the final were organically connected, the chain was formed of moral links. Further, the prophets appear to entertain and operate with general conceptions. Israel is not merely a people, it is the people of God. Babylon is not only a hostile nation, it is the idolatrous world. The conflict between them in the age of Cyrus is a conflict of principles, of Jehovism and idolatry, of truth and falsehood, of good and evil. It is not a conflict having great moral significance, it has absolute significance, and is final: 'Ashamed, confounded, are all of them that are makers of graven images; Israel is saved with an everlasting salvation' (Is 45^{16}).

2. Messianic Prophecy.—The term Messianic is used in a wider and a narrower sense. In the wider sense the term is virtually equivalent to Eschatological, and comprehends all that relates to the consummation and perfection of the kingdom and people of God. In the narrower sense it refers to a personage, the Messiah, who is, not always, but often, a commanding figure in this perfect condition of the kingdom. The conception of a final condition of mankind could hardly have arisen before a general idea of the nature of the human economy had been reached. Insight into the meaning of human history, however, was not attained in Israel by reflection on the life of mankind, but by revelation of the nature of God. God was the real maker of human history. Hence, when so broad a view as that of human life or history as a whole is taken, it is, so to speak, secondary: it is a reflection of the view taken of God, of His Being, and therefore of what the issue will be when He realizes Himself in the history and life of mankind. So soon as the conception of the perfect ethical Being of J″ was reached, there could not but immediately follow the idea also that human history, which was not so much under His providence as His direct operation, would eventuate in a kingdom of righteousness which would embrace all mankind. The way, no doubt, in which this is conceived is that this kingdom of righteousness is first realized in Israel, and that through Israel it extends to all mankind —for the nations come to Israel's light (Is 60). But it is the unity of God that suggests to men's minds the unity of mankind; and the moral being of God that suggests the moral perfection of mankind. And such ideas hardly prevailed before the prophetic age.

The Messianic in the narrower sense is part of the general doctrine of the Eschatology of the kingdom (see ESCHATOLOGY). The 'Messianic' in this sense is hardly a distinct thing or hope. The Messiah is not an independent figure, unlike all other figures or personages, and higher than they; on the contrary, He is always some actual historical figure idealized. The term means 'anointed,' and only two personages received anointing—the king, and possibly the priest; though no doubt the term 'anointed' was used more generally in later times (Ps 105^{15}). The OT is occupied with two subjects—Jehovah and the people, and the relation between them. The Eschatological perfection is the issue of a redemptive movement. Now, the only redeemer of His people is J″—salvation belongeth unto the Lord. The Eschatological perfection is always due to His operation—the perfection consists in His perfect presence among His people, for the idea of salvation is the fellowship of God and men. But, on the other hand,

* The arguments by which Giesebrecht, *Berufsbegabung*, 13 ff., supports the theory of a 'faculty of presentiment' have little cogency. This faculty is supposed to reveal itself particularly on the approach of death (Gn 27. 49). The contemporaries of most great religious personages have attributed to them a prophetic gift. The answer of John Knox to those who credited him with such a gift is worth reading: 'My assurances are not marvels of Merlin, nor yet the dark sentences of profane prophecy. But, *first*, the plain truth of God's word, *second*, the invincible justice of the everlasting God, and *third*, the ordinary course of His punishments and plagues from the beginning, are my assurances and grounds.' *History*, p. 277 (Guthrie's ed.).

the people are not passive. The goal is set before them, and they strive towards it. J″ awakens ideals in their mind, and aspirations after them; and in contrast to such ideals the imperfections of the present are felt, and an effort made to overcome them. But it is characteristic of the redemptive operations of J″ that He influences the people and leads them forward, through great personages whom He raises up among them. Such persons are different in different ages—judges, prophets, kings, and the like. These He enlightens so that they give the people knowledge, or He endows them by His spirit with kingly attributes, so that they govern the people aright (Is $11^{1ff.}$ 28^{6} $32^{1ff.}$), and lead them on to the final perfection. But J″ always remains the Saviour; and if there be any mediatorial personage it is J″ in him, the *Divine* in him, that saves. Naturally, the most exalted and influential personage is the king: he has the people wholly in his hand; the ideal is that he reigns in righteousness and secures peace (Is $32^{1ff.}$). The Messiah is mainly the ideal King. Thus the Eschatological perfection may be supposed reached in two ways: *first*, J″ the only Saviour may come in person to abide among His people for ever. In the earlier prophets His coming is called the day of the Lord—a day of judgment, and eternal salvation behind the judgment. What precise conception the prophets formed of the coming of J″ may not be easy to determine. But it was not merely a coming in wonderful works, or in the word of His prophets, or in a spiritual influence upon the people's minds, it was something objective and personal. In later prophets, such as Ezek. and the post-exile prophets, it was a coming to His temple; and when He comes Jerusalem is called *Jehovah Shammah*, 'the Lord is there' (Ezk 48^{35}, Hag $2^{7ff.}$, Mal 3^{1}). Examples of such representations are Is 40^{1-11} 'The Lord cometh with might, his arm ruling for him; the glory of the Lord shall be revealed, and all flesh shall see it together,' and Ps $102^{15.\ 16.\ 22}$. But, *secondly*, sometimes the manifestation of J″ is not considered immediate and in person: He is manifested in the Davidic king. The Davidic king may then be called *Immanuel*, 'God with us,' and *El Gibbor*, 'God mighty' (Is 7. 9. 11). In NT both these classes of passages are interpreted in a Messianic sense. To NT writers Christ had approved Himself as God manifest in the flesh, and even such passages as were spoken by the OT writer of J″ are regarded as fulfilled in Him and spoken of Him, for no distinction was drawn between these two things (*e.g.* Is 40^{1-11} in Mk 1^{2}, Ps 102 in He $1^{10ff.}$).

(*a*) *The Monarchy.*—J″ is represented at all times as Saviour; and this idea is of special importance, because it lays the foundation for both the work and person of the Messiah, as the word is ordinarily used. During the monarchy the prominent figure in the salvation of the people or in ruling it when saved by J″ is the Davidic king. The true king of Israel is J″: Israel is the kingdom of God; and this is a general eschatological idea, suggesting what the kingdom will be when it is fully realized and J″ truly reigns (Ps 96–99). But it is the Davidic monarchy that is Messianic in the narrower sense. This unites two lines—the Divine and the human. The Davidic king is the representative of J″; truly to represent Him, J″ Himself, the true king, must be in him and manifest Himself through him (Is 9^{1-6} $11^{1ff.}$). But, on the other hand, both David and his rule were suggestive. (1) He was himself a devout worshipper of J″, endowed with the spirit of the knowledge and the fear of the Lord (Is 11^{2}). (2) He subdued the peoples and extended the limits of his kingdom till for that age it might be called an empire, suggesting the universality of the kingdom of God (Ps 2^{8} $72^{8ff.}$, Zec 9^{10}). (3) His rule was just and the end of his reign peaceful, suggesting the idea of a ruler perfectly righteous, and a reign of peace (2 S $23^{3ff.}$, Is 9^{5-7} 2^{4}, Mic 5^{5}, Ps $72^{3.\ 7}$, Zec 9^{10}). (4) Finally, he founded a dynasty, which suggested the idea of the perpetuity of the rule of his house over the kingdom of J″ (Is 9^{7}, Ps 72^{5}). Such points may not have struck men's minds in David's own age, but in later and less happy times, when his reign was idealized, they were noticed, and entered into the conception of the future king and kingdom of J″. The promise given by Nathan to David takes up the first and fourth of these points—the close relation between J″ and those of David's house who shall sit upon the throne, and the perpetuity of the rule of his family (2 S $7^{11ff.}$). This promise is the basis of all subsequent prophecy regarding the Davidic king. Such passages as Ps 2 take up the promise, 'I will be to him a father, and he shall be to me a son,' while the prophecies Is 7–11 are founded on the promise, 'Thy throne shall be established for ever.' It was during the Syro-Ephraimitic war (B.C. 735 f.) that the idea of a special future king of David's house was expressed by Isaiah. The Northern coalition meditated the deposition of the Davidic dynasty, but the prophet's faith in the promises given to David enabled him to foresee that though his house should share the humiliations of the people and be cut down to the ground, yet out of the root of Jesse a new shoot would arise on whom the spirit of the Lord would rest (Is 11). From this time forward there is a special Messianic hope, that is, the hope of an extraordinary king out of the house of David. This hope, though in some periods not referred to, continues to prevail to the end of the people's history. Subsequent prophets repeat, but add little to, Isaiah's ideas, *e.g.* Mic 4. 5 (though the age of the passages is disputed), Jer $23^{5.\ 6}$ 30^{9}, Ezk 17^{22-24} $34^{23ff.}$ 37^{22-28}. Prophets prior to Isaiah, as Am 9^{11}, Hos 3^{5}, do not seem yet to have reached the idea of a special king of David's house; and other prophets before the Exile, Nahum, Zephaniah, and Habakkuk, though some of them refer to the final condition of the people and the world, do not allude to an expected future king.*

(*b*) *The Exile.* — After the destruction of the monarchy and the abasement of the Davidic house the hope of a great ruler out of that house for a time disappears (*e.g.* in Is 40 ff.). The general eschatological hope of the perfection and felicity of the people is even more brilliant than before, but no great personage is referred to as ruler of the saved people. J″ Himself is the Saviour and the everlasting King, who feeds His flock like a shepherd (Is 40^{11}). And the sure mercies of David—the privileges and the mission of the Davidic house — are now transferred to the people (Is $55^{3f.}$). Circumstances turned the thoughts of the prophets in other directions. God's providential treatment of Israel suggested to them new conceptions. They reflected on the meaning of the history of Israel and its sufferings, and on its place in the moral history of mankind. And there arose the great conception of **'the Servant of the Lord.'** The phrase expresses the highest generalization on the meaning of Israel in the religious life of mankind—Israel is the Servant of J″ to the nations, to bring to them the knowledge of God. Scholars do not universally accept this interpretation, but they agree that the ideas expressed by the prophet in regard to the Servant have been more than verified in Christ. Of these ideas the two chief are: *first*, that the Servant is the missionary of J″ to the nations—he bringeth forth right to the nations, that the salvation of J″ may be to the ends of the earth (Is 42^{1-4} 49^{1-6} etc.);

* The Targum interprets Hos 3^{5} of the Messiah.

and *second*, by his sufferings he atones for the sins of the members of the people (Is 53, cf. 40[2]). The Servant is the 'word' and spirit of J" incarnated in the seed of Abraham. This incarnated word will yet redeem all Israel and be the light of the nations. Here again it is the *Divine* that saves; the word of J", the true knowledge of the true God, implanted once for all in the heart of mankind in Israel, which will accomplish that whereto it is sent (Is 55[10]). As Delitzsch remarks, the Servant of the Lord, though strictly not a Messianic figure at all in the narrower sense, contributes more elements, and those of the profoundest kind, to the Christological conception realized in our Lord than all other figures together. The ideal of the Davidic king is that of a ruler just and compassionate, whose rule secures righteousness and peace and the wellbeing of the poor and meek (Is 11[1-9]): whether in Is 9[1-7] he be the saviour or only ruler of a people saved by J" may be disputed. But in connexion with the Servant of the Lord deeper conceptions appear, such as that of atonement for sin through the suffering of the guiltless, and the idea that the highest glory is the reward of him who loses his life for others (Is 53[12]). In former prophets, who foresee both the rejection and the restoration of the people, the restoration is unmediated by any atonement beyond the people's repentance: God forgives their sins of His mercy and restores them. In Deutero-Isaiah the Servant atones for the sins of the people, and their restoration follows. Former prophets, owing to the people's misconceptions of the meaning of ritual, assail the sacrifices; Deut.-Is. combines the sacrificial idea with the sufferings of the Servant, lifting the idea out of the region of animal life into that of human life. These two figures, the Davidic king and the suffering Servant, supply the chief contents of the idea of the Christian Messiah. It is strange how little impression the conceptions of the prophet of the Exile seem to have made upon those who followed him. While his universalism—the idea that Israel is the missionary of J" to mankind that His salvation may be to the end of the earth—entered into the thought of the people and profoundly influenced it, his conception of atonement through the innocent bearing the sins of the guilty hardly if at all reappears. There may be a far-off echo of it perhaps in the Rabbinic idea that the merit of great saints may avail for others. In the OT period the suffering Servant was never identified with the Davidic king. The idea that the royal Messiah suffers *for* the sins of his people does not appear. No doubt Immanuel, who appears amidst the Assyrian desolations, shares the hardships of his generation, living on thick milk and honey like all those left in the land (Is 7); and in Zec 9[9] Zion's king shares the character of the saved people, being meek and lowly and a prince of peace, but nothing is said of suffering in behalf of others.

(*c*) *Post-exile Period.*—At the Restoration the general eschatological hope, as it appears in Haggai and Zechariah, was that so soon as the temple was finished J" would return to it in glory; at His manifestation He would shake all nations, who would turn to Him, and His universal kingdom would come (Hag 2[6], Zec 1[16ff.] 2[10ff.]). Side by side with this hope, however, the more special Messianic hope of a ruler from David's house also appears (cf. Ezk 34[11. 23]). This ruler appears to be Zerubbabel (Hag 2[22f.]). But with the Restoration the priest becomes more prominent. The calamitous history of the nation sank deep into the popular mind, and seemed to be the seal set to the prophetic teaching regarding the people's sin. And from henceforth the sense of sin in the people's mind was deeper; and that view of sacrifice according to which it was a propitiation for sin assumed a larger prominence, and the other idea of it as a gift for God's acceptance sank proportionally. It was really the nation's history that impressed men with the sense of their sinfulness rather than the ceremonial enactments of the ritual law. The developed ritual expressed the new conscience of sin, it did not create it. The royal and the priestly now appear united in the final ruler. In Ps 110 he is a crowned priest. In the passage Zec 6[9-13] it is uncertain whether the Branch (the Davidic ruler) is to be 'a priest upon his throne' or to have a priest associated with him (RVm). But the Davidic king continues to be the Messianic figure of the post-exile period, *e.g.* in Ps 2. 72—both late passages—Zec 9, and particularly in the *Psalms of Solomon* (Ps 17. 18, *c.* 100–50 B.C.). A great part of the Psalter is eschatological in the general sense. The Psalmists' minds are filled with the eschatological ideas of the prophets, now become the faith of the people—the idea of the manifestation of J", the judgment of the world, the redemption of the people of J" and their eternal blessedness, with the participation of the nations in their salvation; but it is only in a few psalms that the personal Messiah is referred to, *e.g.* Ps 2. 72. 110; cf. 89. 132. It is uncertain when the title **Messiah** began to be given to the expected future king. The term can scarcely have been a proper name or special title for the future king in the time of the Exile, for Deutero-Is. uses it of the Persian king, 'Thus saith the Lord to his anointed (מְשִׁיחוֹ messiah), to Cyrus' (Is 45[1]). But the name was used quite currently of the expected king or saviour in the age of Christ, for even the woman of Samaria employs it, 'I know that Messiah cometh' (Jn 4[25]). The title has been supposed by some to be given to the expected king in Dn 9[25], but more probably it is applied there to some high priest. It was perhaps Ps 2 that suggested the special application of the title to the expected king, 'The kings of the earth set themselves against the Lord and his Messiah.' The title 'Son of God' seems taken from the same psalm, both being employed in St. Peter's confession, 'Thou art the Messiah, the Son of the living God.' The psalm is based on Nathan's prophecy, and appears to be a directly Messianic passage, and probably belongs to a late date. The only creative book in post-exile times is Daniel. Chap. 2 is eschatological in the general sense, the stone cut out from the mountains that brake in pieces the image being a symbol of the kingdom of God which shall destroy the world-kingdom in its successive historical forms. It is less certain whether this general point of view be maintained in ch. 7, or whether the personal Messiah be referred to in the phrase 'a son of man.' The former interpretation is the more probable, the expression 'a son (or, child) of man,' *i.e.* a man, being used as a symbol of 'the people of the saints of the Most High' to whom the kingdom is given. The spirit of man shall animate this kingdom, whereas the kingdoms of the world are animated by the spirit of the wild beast. Very soon, however, the phrase 'son of man' was interpreted to mean the Messiah, as appears from the Bk. of Enoch.*

The Messianic is usually held to circle round the three great figures—the prophet, priest, and king. But the basis is broader than this: the Messianic age being the time of the perfection of the people of God, any factor that enters into the life of men as an essential element of it may be idealized and

* There has been considerable controversy lately over the meaning of the phrase 'the son of man' in the Gospels; cf. Wellhausen, *Skizzen*, vi. 188; Schmiedel in *Protest. Monatshefte*, 1898; Lietzmann, *Menschensohn*, 1896; Dalman, *Worte Jesu*, p. 191. See L. A. Muirhead in *Expos. Times*, Nov., Dec. 1899; and art. SON OF MAN.

made prominent. The prophet or prophecy is typical of the general eschatological state of the people of God, for then J″ will pour out His spirit on all flesh (Jl 2^{28}, Jer 31^{34}, Is 54^{13}), and the prayer of Moses, 'Would that all the Lord's people were prophets!' shall be answered. But otherwise the prophet is not directly a Messianic figure (on Dt 18^{14} see above in B. i.); he is the herald of the advent of J″ to Zion (Is 40^{3}) or to His temple (Mal 3^{1}). The Servant of the Lord is in a lofty sense a prophetic figure; but he is not a prophet like other prophets with a message for any particular time or circumstances, nor does he give particular teaching or predict particular events. He is the bearer of the whole revelation of the true God, the 'word' of God incarnate (Is $49^{1ff.}$), and therefore prophet of J″ to the world.* The priest or priesthood is also predictive of the general eschatological condition of the people, for 'they shall be a kingdom of priests and an holy nation' (Ex 19^{6}), the two ideas suggested by priesthood being holiness and privilege to draw near to God (Nu 16^{5}). But even in Zec $3^{8.\ 9}$ the atoning function of the priest appears still only typical of J″'s own act of forgiveness, who will remove the iniquity of the people in one day. The Servant of the Lord makes himself an offering for sin (Is 53^{10}), but he does not appear to be regarded as a priest. Besides these three great figures, however, there is another who contributes to the perfect ideal realized in Christ, viz. the saint or holy one, that is, the individual righteous man. It is particularly the personal character and experience of this figure, his faith in God, his struggles with adversity and death, his hopes of immortality, that come prominently to the light. It is he who says in Ps 16, 'I have set the Lord ever before me: because he is at my right hand, I shall not be moved. For thou wilt not give over my soul to Sheol; nor suffer thine Holy One to see the pit.' It is he also who speaks in Ps 40, 'Sacrifice and offering thou wouldst not. Then said I, Lo, I am come to do thy will, O my God; yea, thy law is within my heart. I have preached righteousness in the great congregation.' In Ps 22^{22} a speaker says, 'I will declare thy name unto my brethren: in the midst of the congregation will I praise thee. For he hath not despised nor abhorred the affliction of the afflicted, nor hid his face from him.' The ideas in this passage differ from those in Is 53. The afflictions of the sufferer are not borne for others. But he suffers innocently and wrongly; and the interposition of J″ to deliver him is so signal, and gives such a revelation of what J″ is, that they that behold it turn unto Him—all the ends of the earth shall remember, and turn unto the Lord (v.^{27}). Such lofty expectations were scarcely likely to be connected with any individual personage, however outstanding; more probably the sufferer in the psalm is the true people of J″ personified, as in Deutero-Isaiah.

In a sense, great part of the OT is Messianic. For it is just the peculiarity of OT that it struck out lofty moral and redemptive ideals, on occasions the most diverse, and in connexion with personages and in circumstances very various. These ideals were ultimately combined together to express the being of Him who was the ideal on all sides. But this Messianic of OT was, so to speak, unconscious. The writers had not the future king in their mind. They were speaking of other persons, or they were uttering presentiments, or what seemed to them religious necessities, or projecting forward brilliant spiritual hopes and anticipations. There was a spirit in them broader than the hope of a future person—a spirit as broad as the kingdom of God in all its needs, in all its endowments, and in all the possible height of its attainment. The history of the people's mind from the Restoration onward is mainly the history of a reflection on these ideals. They tried these ideals by the conditions of the present, and found that they and the present world were incompatible, and they projected them into the future, and thus the ideals became prophetic. Further, they had received the hope of a great deliverer, and he became a centre around whom the ideals, whether of glory or holiness or even of suffering, could be gathered, and they attached them to him. The woman of Samaria, for example, regards the Messiah as one that 'will declare unto us all things.'

KINDS OF MESSIANIC PASSAGES.—The question put in regard to any passage by historical exegesis is, What did the Heb. writer mean? What personage had he in his mind in the passage? There may thus be several classes of Messianic prophecies. (1) Directly Messianic prophecies. In these the prophet or writer had the expected future Messiah actually present to his own mind. Examples are Is 7. 9. 11, Mic 4. 5, Jer $23^{5.6}$ 30^{9}, Ezk $17^{22\text{-}24}$ $34^{23\text{ff.}}$ $37^{22\text{-}28}$, Zec 3^{8} 6^{12} $9^{9\text{ff.}}$, Ps 2. 72. 110, and other passages. Is 7 is denied by many to be Messianic (see IMMANUEL), while Is 9. 11, though generally admitted to be Messianic, are held by some to be later than Isaiah (see ISAIAH). In Is 9. 11 it is not taught that the Messiah is God, but that J″ is fully present in him. The general eschatological idea was that the presence of J″ in person among men would be their salvation; the prophet gives a particular turn to this general idea, representing that J″ shall be present in the Davidic king. The two are not identified, but J″ is fully manifested in the Messiah. The passage goes very far; and though the Christian doctrine of incarnation contains a positive conception in it which OT saints did not reach, theology is obliged to limit that positive by negations which seem rather to neutralize it; and though the phrase 'became' man is used, it is affirmed at the same time that the two natures remained distinct, and that the Divine suffered no change and no confusion or composition with the human. (2) Indirectly Messianic passages. These are passages in which the writer had some OT officer or personage in his mind, but spoke of him according to the idea of his office or function or character; and this ideal is transferred to Christ in the NT, as being actually realized only in Him, or at least in Him first. Examples are what is said of 'man' in Ps 8, of Israel as Servant of the Lord in Is 40 ff., Ps 22, of the 'prophet' in Dt 18, of the saint or holy one in Ps 16. 40, and much else. Such passages are sometimes called typically Messianic, the idea being that OT personages, such as king, prophet, and the like, were types, that is, designed prophetic suggestions, of the Messiah in some of his essential redemptive functions or experiences. The exegesis of Calvin gave vogue to this method of interpretation, and applied it to passages to which it is scarcely applicable, *e.g.* Ps 2. 72. According to this interpretation Ps 2 is supposed spoken of some actual king of Israel; but as its language transcends what was verified in any ordinary king, it had a more proper fulfilment in Christ. Ps 2, however, could hardly have been spoken of an actual king; the universalism of its ideas, *e.g.* 'the kings of the earth' who oppose J″ and His Anointed, the extent of the King's inheritance as the Son of J″, viz. 'the nations' and 'the ends of the earth,' and the final kindling of J″'s anger, all mark it out as an eschatological and directly Messianic passage. The same is true of Ps 72. Very confused language is used by interpreters in regard to these so-called typical prophecies (see *Expositor*, Nov. 1878). NT does not recognize any class of *indirect* Messianic prophecies, for God being the speaker in the OT the person in whom the language was fulfilled must be the person of whom it was spoken. So far as the Heb. writer is concerned, he had in his mind *either* the expected future Messiah, *or* he had some OT person. In the latter case, if his language transcends what could be realized in the OT personage, he spoke ideally, that is, according to the religious idea of the personage or his function or his experience.

D. *INTERPRETATION AND FULFILMENT.*—There are certain peculiarities in the language and thought of the prophets which have to be taken into account in interpreting their writings, and in considering how their predictions or constructions of the future have been or will be fulfilled. These peculiarities so struck early writers on prophecy that they devoted great attention to them, fancying that the prophetic writings were constructed on a particular plan, which had special purposes in view. Hence they speak greatly of what they call the 'structure' of prophecy, and lay down elaborate rules for the way in which prophecies relating to a distant future must have been expressed, in order that when fulfilled they might be recognized to have been genuine supernatural predictions.* The

* By the time of Deutero-Isaiah the idea of the 'word' of God had become generalized; it is the true knowledge of the true God, and this is the *torah* of the Servant to the nations.

* *e.g.* John Davison, *Discourses on Prophecy.*

language also, as well as the form, was thought to differ from that of ordinary literature, symbols being greatly used instead of plain expressions. This artificial way of regarding the prophecies was greatly due to the apologetic or evidential use made of them. But there is nothing in the form of the prophecies so special that it deserves the name of 'structure'; neither is symbol to any great extent employed instead of ordinary language. The prophets were practical teachers, such as we might expect men of their nation and time to be, and their prophetic addresses are cast in the form that would be most easily understood by their hearers. They were usually men of powerful imagination, and hence their language is poetical and to some extent figurative; and they were men living under a particular kind of constitution or dispensation, and in certain conditions of the world, and their ideas naturally are clothed in the forms suggested by their OT constitution, and those conditions of the ancient world in which they lived. This OT constitution and these conditions of the ancient world have passed away, but the religious ideas and truths expressed by the prophets still remain and live. Obviously, to *interpret* the prophets we must read them literally, endeavouring to throw ourselves back into their circumstances and the conditions of the world around them, and into their mind in such conditions: if we fail to do this, and fasten our attention only on their ideas and truths as valid for other times than theirs, we do not interpret but only *apply* their prophecies. Some points bearing on fulfilment may be briefly alluded to.

i. The prophecies are poetical. They are not poetical in so strict a sense as books like Job and the Psalms are: the parallelism is not so exact, and the lines are not so uniform in length. Many parts of the early prophets are no doubt poetical even in form, and some modern commentators make great efforts to bring the present text of the prophecies into strictly poetical measure, assuming that it had this form originally; but their operations appear in many cases to be arbitrary. The approximation to poetical form appears less in later prophets, though the style still remains elevated. Though poetical the prophecies are not allegorical. When Is 2, for example, says that the day of the Lord shall be on all lofty mountains, and on all cedars of Lebanon and oaks of Bashan, these things are to be understood literally, and not allegorized into things human, such as great States, the higher ranks of society, or persons of eminence. Neither are the prophecies written in symbolical language. It has been said, for example, that 'mountain' in prophecy is a symbol for kingdom, and the like.* There is no evidence for this. 'Mountain' is a figure for any great obstacle in the way (Is 40^4 41^{15}, Zec 4^7) of whatever sort it be, but is no stereotyped symbol for kingdom. A beginning of fixed symbolism is made in Daniel, where 'horn' is a symbol for king or kingdom, and the usage is continued in the Apocalypse; but in Zec 1^{18} 'horn' is still merely a figure for any instrument of pushing and overthrow. The prophecies are poetical in the sense that they are imaginative and often ideal. Thus, in predicting the destruction of some great city at present full of life, the prophet will draw a picture of desolation with all its mournful characteristics—'their houses shall be full of doleful creatures; wolves shall cry in their castles, and jackals in the pleasant palaces' (Is 13^{21}); 'the pelican and the porcupine shall lodge in the chapiters thereof' (Zeph 2^{14}, Is $34^{13ff.}$). Such passages merely express the idea of complete desolation; the details are not predictions, but part of the expression of the idea. Similarly, in predicting the capture of Babylon by the Medes the prophet gives an ideal picture of the sack of a city—'their infants shall be dashed in pieces, and their wives ravished' (Is 13^{16}). We know that these things did not actually happen, for Cyrus entered Babylon 'in peace.' In some cases it may be difficult to say whether a passage be of this ideal kind, or be merely of the nature of a threat, *e.g.* Am 7^{17} spoken of Jeroboam, and Jer $22^{18f.}$ of Jehoiakim. A margin of uncertainty will remain in connexion with these ideal prophecies. The details given in the prophecy form a true and natural picture of such a thing as that predicted, and some of them may be realized, and the question may be put, Are these details thus realized to be regarded as a fulfilment of the prediction, or are they merely due to the nature of the case? Under the belief that in such prophecies the details are merely an expression of the idea, and that the idea exhausts the prediction, Dr. Arnold propounded a theory of fulfilment *ex abundanti*. For example, the prophecy Zec 9^9—'Behold, thy King cometh unto thee; lowly, and riding upon an ass,' merely by its details expresses the idea that the Messiah will not be a man of war, but humble and a prince of peace, and would have been fulfilled in Christ's mind and bearing, though none of the external details had been verified; the fact that Christ entered Jerusalem riding on an ass was a fulfilment *ex abundanti*, and due to a special providence of God.* Of course, the special fulfilment in this case may have been intentional on the part of Christ. In that case we must suppose that Christ's consciousness of being the Messiah spoken of was so powerful that it prompted Him to act in the character described. His action was merely His consciousness expressing itself by an irresistible impulse; it was not a matter of calculation intended to impress the multitude.

ii. Another thing which might modify fulfilment was this: the prophecies were designed to influence the conduct of the people; they were moral teaching, of the nature of threats or promises, which might be revoked or fulfilled according to the demeanour of those to whom they were addressed. Thus Jer 26^{12} says, 'The Lord sent me to prophesy against this city all the words which ye have heard. Now therefore amend your ways, and obey the voice of the Lord your God; and the Lord will repent him of the evil which he hath pronounced against you.' Prophecy was to such an extent moral, and meant to influence men's conduct, that threatenings of evil were rarely absolute. Jonah predicted in what seemed an absolute manner the destruction of Nineveh in forty days; but on the repentance of the people the threatened evil was averted. Jer 18 expressly formulates the moral and contingent character of prophecy, saying, in the words of J", 'At what time I shall speak concerning a nation, to pluck up and destroy it; if that nation, against whom I have pronounced, turn from their evil, I will repent of the evil which I sought to do unto them. And at what instant I speak concerning a nation to build and plant it; if it do evil in my sight, I will repent of the good wherewith I said I would benefit them. Now therefore go, speak to the men of Judah, Behold, I frame evil against you: return ye now every one from his evil way.' This moral character of prophecy was well understood in Israel, as appears from the intervention of the elders in behalf of Jeremiah: 'Then rose up certain of the elders, and said, Micah the Morashtite prophesied in the days of Hezekiah, saying, Zion shall be plowed like a field! Did Hezekiah and all Judah put him to death? Did they not

* Fairbairn, *On Prophecy*, p. 496.

* 'Two Sermons on the Interpretation of Prophecy' in *Sermons*, vol. i. p. 373, London, 1845.

fear the Lord, and entreat his favour, and the Lord repented him of the evil which he had pronounced against them?' (Jer 26[17]). The principle was also well understood in the early Church, for Jerome remarks that many of the prophecies were given, 'not that they should, but that they should not, be fulfilled.' They were threatenings of evil designed to influence conduct and avert the very evils threatened. There were, no doubt, prophecies which were absolute. The promises of God were so; those that contained statements of His grace, as that the house of David should for ever bear rule in His kingdom, and many others which depended on His will alone. Even some of these contained an element of contingency in them, to this extent, that the conduct of men might retard although not invalidate their fulfilment; while on the other hand threatenings, though long delayed, might eventually be fulfilled because men persevered in their evil ways or returned to them.

Moreover, another thing is evident: moral threats or promises could be made only to a subject also considered moral. The predictions of the prophets against foreign nations, though often having the form of threats against their capital city or their land, are really not directed against these material things, but against what might be called the national personality, the moral subject which the nation was, with its spirit and influence in the world of the prophet's day. The prophets deal only with moral forces; to them there are no other forces. The world is a moral constitution, and States are moral personalities. Ezekiel conceives them as existing after their disappearance from the world, just as individual persons do after death. It is this national personality that prophecy threatens with destruction; and when Babylon, for example, came under the power of the Persians, the prophecies against it were fulfilled, although not a brick was thrown down from its walls nor a bar broken in one of its brazen gates. These material things, no doubt, embodied and expressed the spirit of Babylon; but they were nothing in themselves, and might equally embody and express the wholly different moral personality of the Persians.* In point of fact, the material details of the prophecies against the nations were in many instances not verified. Is 17[1] says, 'Behold, Damascus is taken away from being a city, and it shall be a ruinous heap'; but Damascus has probably never ceased to be a city. Here again, no doubt, interesting questions have been raised. Micah's prophecy about Jerusalem was eventually fulfilled; Babylon is at this day a desolation. And Bacon suggested the idea of what he called a 'germinant' fulfilment, *i.e.* one going on through time. At any rate, in the first place the prophetic threat must be held to have been directed against the national personality, and to have been fulfilled in the main in its destruction; and secondly, in endeavouring to reach a conclusion in regard to the material details, the instances in which they have not been verified must be considered, as well as those in which they seem to have received verification. Apart from the uncertainty incident to such historical investigations, it is to misapprehend the nature of prophecy to treat these material details as having great evidential value. Prophecy concerns itself with the world as moral. The evidence of prophecy rather lies in the broad general movement of religious thought which it presents, showing that a divine power had laid hold of the whole mind of man, creating in it lofty religious ideals, quickening its aspirations, giving it an onward and forward look towards a religious perfection, stirring up the heart of the creature to cry after Him who created it, and long for His perfect revelation upon the earth (Jn 14[8ff.]).

iii. The above remarks refer mainly to prophecies that have already been fulfilled; but the same principles apply to prophecies still awaiting fulfilment, *i.e.* prophecies regarding the final condition of the people of God. The moral and religious element was the essential part of the prophecy, the form in which the principle was to verify itself was secondary. The form was of the nature of an embodiment, a projection or construction, and the materials of which the fabric is reared are those lying to the hand of the prophet in each successive age. The imagination of the prophet operates largely in these constructions. Still it is chiefly the moral imagination. When, for example, all the evils existing in the prophet's day are banished and every desirable good introduced (Am 9[13], Jl 3[18], Ps 72[16]), this is not due to the desire for sensuous pleasures, it is rather the expression of the writer's general view of the universe. The world was to his view a moral constitution, the physical being nothing but a mode of expressing or a medium for transmitting the moral and spiritual; the miseries of men and all the outward evils of life were the result of moral disorder; and simultaneously with the disappearance of moral evil physical evil would also cease; and with the perfection of the people of God the external world would be transfigured, and be the perfect minister to the needs of mankind. Thus, while the moral and the spiritual in the prophetic constructions of the future are absolute and permanent, the constructions which embody them are perishable and change. Just as some temple of God embodies and expresses spiritual conceptions, but is constructed out of materials at the architect's disposal in his own day, which materials decay, and in a later age have to be replaced by materials of that age, leaving, however, the spiritual ideas still visibly embodied; so the projections of one prophet, constructed out of the state of the world, and of the nations in his day, decay with the changes of the world, and have to be replaced by a later prophet with materials from the world of his day. In Is 7 ff. the prince of peace is born and grows up amidst the desolations of the Assyrian invasion, and sitting on the throne of David establishes a reign of righteousness and peace without end (Is 9[7]); while in Is 40 ff. the everlasting kingdom of God is introduced by the destruction of Babylon, the idolatrous world, and the restoration of Israel, the Servant of the Lord, who shall be the light of the nations (Is 60). The construction of the former is that of a moral politician; the construction of the latter, that of a religious thinker, almost a theologian. Thus prophecy, while maintaining its spiritual principles unchanged from age to age, by substituting one embodiment of these principles for another age after age, seems itself to instruct us how to regard these embodiments or constructions. They are provisional and transient. They sustain the faith and satisfy the religious outlook of their day, but they have no finality. Even the prophets of the NT are probably no more final in their constructions than those of the OT, *e.g.* in the Apocalypse and Ro 11. They rear their fabrics out of the materials of their own day, as the OT prophets did (cf. vol. i. p. 737).

Thus we have to distinguish between Prophecy and Fulfilment. Prophecy is what the prophet in his age and circumstances and dispensation meant; fulfilment is the form in which his great religious conceptions will gain validity in other ages, in different circumstances, and under another dispensation. Certain elements, therefore, of the relative, the circumstantial, and the dispensational must be stripped away, and not expected to go

* See remarks on Ezekiel's prophecy against Tyre, *Ezekiel*, p. 190 (Camb. Bible).

into fulfilment. Every prophet speaks of the perfection of the kingdom of God, looks for it, and constructs an ideal of it. We are still looking for it. The fundamental conceptions in these constructions are always the same,—the presence of God with men, righteousness, peace, and the like, —but the fabrics reared by different prophets differ. They differ because each prophet, seeing the perfect future issue out of the movements and conditions of his own time, constructs his ideal of the new world out of the materials lying around him: the state of his people; the conditions of the heathen world in his day (Mic $5^{4.5}$, Is $60^{6ff.}$); such facts as that Israel was the people of God, that the kingdom of God had the form of a State, and that the seat of Jehovah's rule was Zion. These relative elements are not to be called figurative, they are essential parts of the prophet's conceptions, and are all to be understood literally. Israel was not a symbol to him meaning the people of God or Church, neither was it to him a type of this. Israel *was* the people of God. Neither were Moab, Edom, Babylon, or Egypt symbols of the foe of the people of God nor types of the hostile world. Each of them to the prophet *was* such a foe. But in all cases the names are used literally, though along with their religious connotation. And what the prophet was able to say of the partial and relative of his day may, of course, be applied to the universal and absolute now—to the Church of God on the one hand, and the hostile world on the other. With the coming of Christ the national, relative and imperfect stage of religion, as it was in OT, passed away; religion became universal, absolute, and perfect. The Apostolic principles of interpretation seem something like these: (1) They assume that in Christ and Christianity religion has become final and perfect; the development has reached the end in view. And their arguments from OT are very much the analysis of this general assumption. (2) God is the author of Scripture; the OT is the word of God. (3) The Divine consciousness is one, embracing the end and the beginning alike: in speaking any word God had always the Christian consummation in view. Truth is also one; when a truth is seen in any aspect it is that truth that is seen. (4) Scripture being the word of God, its whole meaning is religious and spiritual. The circumstances amidst which it was spoken, and the person of whom or to whom, are of no importance. It is the spiritual meaning alone of the words that is the word of God. Historical exegesis accepts these principles, and merely adds another. It assumes that the OT writer had in every passage which he wrote a meaning in his own mind, and that he desired to convey this meaning to his contemporaries; and it asks, what did the Hebrew writer mean? What would the people of his day understand from his words?

LITERATURE.—The OT Theologies, particularly Oehler, Schultz, and Dillmann; John Smith, *Select Discourses*, 1821; John Davison, *Discourses on Prophecy*[6], 1856; Knobel, *Der Prophetismus der Hebräer*, 1837; Ewald, *Die Propheten des alten Bundes*, vol. i. 1840 (2nd ed. 1868, trans. 1875); Hofmann, *Weissagung und Erfüllung*, 1841; Hengstenberg, *Christologie des alten Test.*[2] (trans. 1854); Patrick Fairbairn, *Prophecy*, 1856; Baur, *Geschichte der alttest. Weissagung*, 1860; Bertheau, 'Die alttest. Weiss. von Israel's Reichsherrlichkeit' (*Jahrbb. f. deutsche Theologie*, 1859-60); Oehler, articles 'Prophetenthum,' 'Weissagung,' and 'Messias,' in Herzog, *Encycl.* (recast by v. Orelli in Herzog[2]); Tholuck, *Die Propheten und ihre Weissagungen*, 1861; G. F. Oehler, *Das Verhältniss der alttest. Prophetie zur heidnischen Mantik*, 1861; Dillmann, *Die Propheten des alten Bundes nach ihrer politischen Wirksamkeit*, 1868, and article 'Propheten' in Schenkel's *Bibel-Lexicon*; Payne Smith, *Prophecy a Preparation for Christ* (Bamp. Lect.), 1869; Kuenen, *De Profeten en de Profetie onder Israel*, 1875 (trans. 1877); Castelli, *Il Messia secondo gli Ebrei*, 1874; Duhm, *Die Theologie der Propheten*, 1875; Bruston, *Histoire Critique de la Littérature Prophétique*, 1881; Bredenkamp, *Gesetz und Propheten*, 1881; von Orelli, *Die alttest. Weissagung von der Vollendung des Gottesreichs*, 1882 (trans. under title *OT Prophecy of the Consummation of God's Kingdom*, 1885); König, *Der Offenbarungsbegriff des alten Test.* 1882 (cf. criticism in Riehm and Giesebrecht), and *Hauptprobleme der altisr. Religionsgeschichte*, 1882; W. Robertson Smith, *The Prophets of Israel*, 1882; C. A. Briggs, *Messianic Prophecy*, 1886; Stanton, *The Jewish and Christian Messiah*, 1886; Delitzsch, *Messianische Weissagungen*, 1890 (trans. 1891); Darmesteter, *Les Prophètes d'Israël*, 1892; Kirkpatrick, *Doctrine of the Prophets*, 1892; Driver, *Sermons on OT*, 1892; Cornill, *Der israelitische Prophetismus*, 1894 (trans.[3] 1898); Giesebrecht, *Beiträge zur Jesaiakritik*, 1890, and *Die Berufsbegabung der alttest. Propheten*, 1897 (cf. Skinner's notice in *Crit. Review*, ix. 34 ff.); Schwartzkopff, *Die Prophetische Offenbarung*, 1896; Löhr, *Der Missionsgedanke im alten Test.* 1896; F. H. Woods, *The Hope of Israel*, 1896; Wellhausen, *Israelitische und Jüdische Geschichte*[3], 1897; Volz, *Die vorexilische Jahweprophetie u. der Messias*, 1897; Hühn, *Die Mess. Weissagungen*, 1899; Rud. Kittel, *Profetie und Weissagung*, 1899; Riehm, *Messianic Prophecy*[3] (containing exhaustive literature), 1900.

A. B. DAVIDSON.

PROPHETESS (נְבִיאָה, *προφῆτις*).—The conditions that were necessary to qualify for the prophetic office in the OT sense were not such as to exclude women from the latter (see the preceding article, p. 114[a], and cf. Ac 2^{17}). The following prophetesses are mentioned in Scripture: Miriam, Ex 15^{20}, cf. Nu 12^{2} (both JE); Deborah, Jg 4^{4}; Huldah, 2 K 22^{14} (=2 Ch 34^{22}); Noadiah, Neh 6^{14} (but cf. LXX, which has the masc. *τῷ Νοαδίᾳ τῷ προφήτῃ*); Anna, Lk 2^{36}. 'The prophetess' of Is 8^{3} is probably simply 'the prophet's wife.' Prophecy in the NT sense was, of course, also a gift exercised by women (cf. Ac 21^{9}, 1 Co 11^{5}). 'The woman Jezebel which calleth herself a prophetess' (Rev 2^{20}; see vol. ii. p. 656[b]) may have claimed the gift of prophecy in either the OT or the NT sense. See also art. WOMAN.

J. A. SELBIE.

PROPHET IN NT (*προφήτης, -εύειν, -εία*: never *μάντις* or cognate words except Ac 16^{16} *μαντευομένη* of the possessed girl at Philippi).—The *προφήτης* in classical Greek is one who speaks for another—the interpreter either of the ecstatic *μάντις* or of the god himself, so that he is near akin to the *ἐξηγητής*, though with more definite reference to a person than to things. Of *loci classici* may be mentioned Æsch. *Eum.* 19: *Διὸς προφήτης ἐστὶ Λοξίας πατρός* (so Plato, *Rep.* 427 C: *πάτριος πρ.*), and Plato, *Tim.* 71 E f., where he contrasts the *προφήτης* with the *μάντις*. The same sense of 'interpreter' is found in Philo (*e.g. Quis rer. div.* 52, *De spec. legibus*, 8), though he ascribes to him the ecstasy assigned by Plato to the *μάντις*. This blending of the two, which practically merges the *προφήτης* in the *μάντις*, was a current belief even among Christians (Justin, Athenagoras) in spite of 1 Co 14, esp. v.[32], till it was partly discredited by Montanist fanaticism; and in our own time it may be traced in every theory of inspiration which fails to realize the full co-operation of the prophet's understanding.

In NT, too, the word *προφήτης* keeps its general sense of an interpreter of God's message. But the prediction which most impressed the vulgar (so roundly even Clem. Alex. *Strom.* vi. 12: *ἡ προφητεία πρόγνωσίς ἐστιν*—in truth it is nearer *ἐπίγνωσις*) was a very small part of the message. Agabus predicted the famine and St. Paul's imprisonment (Ac 11^{28} 21^{10}), the Apoc. is called a *προφητεία*, and the OT prophets are naturally cited more or less from the side of prediction. But the prophet's proper work is rather (1 Co $4^{3.24.25}$) edification and consolation, revealing the secrets of the inner life and incidentally converting unbelievers, though, strictly speaking, prophecy is the sign (1 Co 14^{22}) for believers. And because the prophet edifies the Church, not only himself, prophecy is a better gift (1 Co $14^{5.39}$) than that of tongues, and more earnestly to be coveted, though still but a transitory gift (1 Co 13^{8}), not abiding like faith, hope, and love. On the *method* (scarcely the only method) of edification we get a hint in Ac 13^{2}, where prophets are ministering (*λειτουργούντες τῷ* K. —compare Timothy's appointment, 1 Ti 1^{18} 4^{14}) when

they receive the command to separate Barnabas and Saul. This seems to imply some such position as we find in the *Didaché* (10), where the prophet (if there be one) is the proper person to conduct the public worship, and the only person free to give thanks in what words he thinks fit.

The prophets ranked next to the apostles (1 Co 12^{28}, Eph 4^{11}), and are even coupled with them (Eph 2^{20} 3^5 *ἀπ. κ. προφ.* in this order will be NT prophets) as receivers of revelation and layers of foundations. Prophecy was not an office, but a special gift, coming not from men, but straight from Christ (*καὶ αὐτὸς ἔδωκεν*, Eph 4^{11}), and it might come to women too (Ac 21^9, 1 Co 11^5). The prophet spoke *ἐν πνεύματι* (Eph 3^5, Apoc. *e.g.* 1^{10}: contrast *ἐν ἐκστάσει* of the trances, Ac 10^{10} 22^{17}), because the divine Spirit worked in him, 1 P 1^{11}, 1 Co 12^{11}; and he was also *πνευματικός* (1 Co 14^{37}, where *πνευματικός* at least includes *προφήτης*), because his human spirit was in full activity, and so steadily (*ὑποτάσσεται*, 1 Co 14^{32}) controlled the gifts of the Spirit that he was quite able to speak (Ro 12^6) only in proportion to the faith that was in him.

Neglect of this self-restraint is visible at Corinth (1 Co $14^{29\text{-}31}$, prophets *need* not all speak together), and may help to account for the early warning in 1 Th 5^{20}. Later on 1 Jn 4^1 speaks of *ψευδοπροφῆται*, and the woman Jezebel (Rev 2^{20}) implies false prophets in Asia. So also the *Didaché* (11) is very stringent in its cautions about prophets.

Of prophets expressly so called in NT, there are Agabus, the groups at Antioch, Judas and Silas, and the four daughters of Philip. We need not go further; but the last prophets we read of (Anon. *ap.* Eus. *HE* v. 17) are Quadratus and Ammia in Philadelphia, perhaps in Hadrian's time. See, further, Selwyn, *The Christian Prophets*, 1900.

H. M. GWATKIN.

PROPITIATION.—This word occurs in AV only three times: Ro 3^{25} as the tr. of *ἱλαστήριον* (*ὃν προέθετο ὁ θεὸς ἱλαστήριον*,—most probably [see Sanday-Headlam] an adj. masc., 'whom God set forth to be propitiatory' [RVm]), and 1 Jn 2^2 4^{10} as the tr. of *ἱλασμός* (*αὐτὸς ἱλασμός ἐστι περὶ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν*; *ἀπέστειλε τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ ἱλασμὸν περὶ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν*); to which RV adds a fourth, He 2^{17} (a merciful and faithful high priest . . . *εἰς τὸ ἱλάσκεσθαι τὰς ἁμαρτίας τοῦ λαοῦ*, 'to make propitiation [AV 'reconciliation'] for the sins of the people'). It will be the object of the present article, firstly, to explain the meaning of the Greek words used, in the light of their usage in the LXX; and, secondly, to examine the ideas associated with the Heb. words which they represent commonly in the LXX.

1. Ἱλαστήριον is in OT the regular rendering of כַּפֹּרֶת (in EV 'mercy-seat'), Ex $25^{16\ (17)}$ (here *ἱλαστήριον ἐπίθεμα*), vv.$^{17\text{-}21\ (18\text{-}22)}$ 31^7 etc.: *ἱλασμός* stands for (*a*) כִּפֻּרִים (EV 'atonement'), Lv 25^9 *ἡ ἡμέρα τοῦ ἱ.* (*τοῦ ἐξιλ.* Lv $23^{27.\ 28}$), Nu 5^8 *ὁ κριὸς τοῦ ἱ.*; (*b*) חַטָּאת 'sin-offering,' Ezk 44^{27} (so 45^{19} *ἐξιλασμός*); (*c*) סְלִיחָה 'forgiveness,' Ps 130^4, Dn 9^9 (Theod.); so *ἐξιλ.* Sir 5^5 (Heb. סליחה); (*d*) אַשְׁמָה 'guilt,' Am 8^{14} (falsely): *ἱλάσκομαι* stands seven times for כָּפַר 'to forgive,' as 2 K 5^{18}, Ps 25^{11} (for which *ἵλεως εἶναι* is more common), and three times for כִּפֶּר, Ps 65^3 78^{38} 79^9, which, however, is far more frequently represented by the (intensive) compound *ἐξιλάσκομαι* (variously construed: see §§ 5, 7–10; and Westcott, *Epp. of St. John*, pp. 83–85). The use of the term in He 2^{17} in connexion with the high-priest shows that *ἱλ.* must there be regarded as the equivalent of כִּפֶּר, not of כָּפַר (which is never said of the high-priest, or indeed of any human subject).* Ἱλάσκομαι is common in classical Greek, where, however, it is construed regularly with an accus. of the deity (or person) propitiated (as *Il.* i. 100, 444, 472, *μολπῇ θεὸν ἱλάσκοντο*; Hdt. v. 47, *θυσίῃσι αὐτὸν ἱλάσκονται*, viii. 112, *Θεμιστοκλέα χρήμασι ἱλασάμενοι*): in the LXX, on the contrary, this usage is not found except Gn 32^{20}, Zec 7^2 (*ἐξιλ. τὸ πρόσωπον*), and Pr 16^{14} (*ἐξιλ. αὐτόν*, fig. of wrath), the word (*ἐξιλ.*), when used of a human subject (§§ 10, 11), being commonly construed absolutely, with *περί* of the person on whose behalf the propitiatory act is performed. The difference marks a difference between the heathen and the Biblical point of view: though the idea of propitiating God may be indirectly involved in the phrases used in the OT, it is very much less prominent than in the heathen writers; the propitiatory sacrifice, or rite, has indeed generally for its aim the restoration of God's favour, and the 'forgiveness' of the worshipper (Lv 4^{20} etc., § 12*b*), but there is not the same thought of directly appeasing one who is angry, with a personal feeling, against the offender, which is implied when the deity is the direct object of the verb (cf. Cremer, *Wörterb.*; Westcott, p. 85; Kalisch, *Lev.* i. 316–318). In other words, the difference corresponds with the fact that the higher Biblical conception of God is more spiritual and less anthropomorphic than that of heathen writers.

2. The facts that have been quoted make it evident that the Greek terms rendered 'propitiation' correspond to the Heb. כִּפֶּר and derivatives. These words hold an important place in the theological terminology of the OT; and though they are generally rendered in EV by '(make) atonement' (or 'reconcile,' 'make reconciliation,' in Lv 6^{30} 8^{15} 16^{20}, Ezk $45^{15.\ 17.\ 20}$ AV; Dn 9^{24} AV and RV), the idea expressed by the Heb. is certainly rather that of 'propitiation' than of 'atonement' (*i.e.* 'at-one-ment,' setting at one, reconciliation [see Shaks. *Rich. III.* I. iii. 36]); and hence they will be properly considered under the present heading.

It is much to be regretted that the link connecting OT and NT, supplied by (ἐξ)ιλάσκομαι, should have been neglected in EV; and that words which clearly correspond should have been rendered 'propitiation' in the NT, but 'atonement' in the OT. 'Atonement' is now an unsuitable rendering of *kipper*, for two reasons. (1) Since AV of 1611 was made, the word has changed its meaning; and whereas it formerly (see Murray) expressed the idea of *reconciliation*, it now suggests chiefly the idea of *making amends* or *reparation*. Hence in the one passage in AV of NT in which 'atonement' occurs (Ro 5^{11}, for *καταλλαγή*), the Revisers have done rightly in substituting for it 'reconciliation' (which, with 'reconcile,' is used elsewhere, in AV itself, for compounds of *ἀλλάσσω*, Mt 5^{24}, Ro $5^{10.\ 10.\ 11}$ 11^{15}, 1 Co 7^{11}, 2 Co $5^{18.\ 18.\ 19}$, Col $1^{20.\ 21}$, Eph 2^{16}). But (2) even in its older sense of 'reconciliation,' it does not properly represent *kipper*; for *kipper* does not mean to 'reconcile,' nor is it ever represented in LXX by compounds of *ἀλλάσσω*.

3. The root-meaning of כָּפַר is probably *to cover over*; for the Arab. *kafara*, though not very common, has this meaning in various applications (Lane, *Arab. Lex.* p. 2620).

In Syr. *kephar*, and esp. the Pael *kappar*, means *to wipe* or *wipe away*, as Pr 30^{20} to *wipe* the mouth, to *wipe away* tears, the stain of sin, etc., hence fig. *to disperse, destroy* (delere), as darkness Ephr. i. 9, a race or nation, etc. (P. Smith, *Thes. Syr.* col. 1797–9); and W. R. Smith (*OTJC*[1] 438 f., more briefly, [2] 380, 381) adopts this as the primary meaning of the Heb. *kipper*,—explaining Gn 32^{21} (see § 5) as meaning properly to '*wipe clean* the face,' blackened by displeasure, as the Arabs say 'whiten the face.' The Heb. *kipper*, however, as a theological term, in any case implies a metaphor,—and it does not greatly signify, in explaining it, whether we start from the idea of *covering over* or from that of *wiping out*: in either case, the idea which the metaphor is intended to convey is that of *rendering null* and *inoperative*. There are analogies in the OT for each explanation; sin is spoken of, viz. as *covered* (כָּסָה,—an ordinary, untechnical word for 'cover'), Ps 32^1 ('covered in respect of sin'), 85^2, Neh 3^{37} (Heb. 4^5) [*borrowed* from Jer 18^{23}, with *kipper* (§ 9) changed to *kissāh*]; and as *wiped* (or *blotted*) *out* (מָחָה), Is 43^{25} 44^{22}, Jer 18^{23} (= Neh 3^{37} [4^5]), Ps $51^{1.\ 9b}$ 109^{14}. (It is difficult not to think that the Arab. and Syr. senses of the root spring ultimately from a common origin,—*e.g.* from the idea of *wiping over*: in both languages, it is remarkable that the word acquires the further derived idea of *disown, deny, be a disbeliever*; hence 'Kafir,' properly an *infidel*).—The Arab. ii. conj. (*kaffara*) occurs often in the Ḳoran of God's *effacing*, or

* The *construction*, however, with an acc. of the sin, is, as Ritschl rightly remarks (p. 212), not that of the legal (§ 10), but of the non-legal (§ 9; Ps 65^3) LXX usage.

forgiving, sin; and *kaffārat* (Ḳor. 5[49. 91. 96]) means the *expiation* of a crime, broken vow, etc. (Lane, 2620, 2622; Lagarde, *Bildung der Nom.* 231 ff.); but these words may be borrowed from Judaism (Hirschfeld, *Beiträge z. Erklär. d. Ḳor.* p. 90). The Assyr. *kuppuru*, also a ritual term ('sühnen'), seems to mean properly *to wipe off*: see Haupt, *JBL*, 1900, pp. 61, 80, and esp. Zimmern, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Bab. Relig.* pp. 92, 123, etc.

4. The Heb. *kipper* is, however, never used in a purely literal sense (like כָּפָה), but always * in a figurative or *moral* application, viz. with the collateral idea—which in course of time became the preponderant if not the exclusive idea—of either *conciliating* an offended person, or *screening* an offence or an offender.

Cf. Oehler, *OT Theol.* § 127: '*Kipper*, and the cognate substantives, represent the propitiation (Sühne) as a *covering*; the guilt is covered, or, as it were, withdrawn from the sight of the person propitiated, so that the guilty person can now approach him without danger.' Riehm, in his exposition of the term, uses commonly the expression 'protecting covering' (schützende Bedeckung),—an expression which no doubt reads more into the word than it actually denotes—for, as Schmoller (p. 282 f.) observes, *kipper* is *con*tegere and *ob*tegere, but not *pro*tegere, being never used, for instance, in the ordinary sense of 'protecting,'—but which is still a useful and suggestive paraphrase (cf. *ib.* 235 n., 279, where it is allowed that 'protection,' though not denoted directly by *kipper*, is nevertheless an indirect *consequence* of it). Schmoller, in his exposition, starts with the idea of *covering over* (obruere), in the sense of causing to disappear, making unobserved, inoperative, etc. These explanations, though they start with the idea of 'covering,' differ little in the end from that which would be reached by starting with the idea of 'wiping out'; but it is a question whether some modern writers do not press the idea of 'cover' unduly, and understand it in a too literal sense (cf. §§ 15, 17).

5. *Kipper* is used in *three* applications, which it is necessary to distinguish. (1*a*) A *human* subject is the agent, and the object was originally, it seems, the face of the offended person, though, in actual usage, it is mostly the offended person (or personified agency) himself; the means is a gift, an entreaty, conciliatory behaviour, etc. The most primary example of this application appears to occur in Gn 32[20 (21)] (J), where Jacob says of Esau, 'I will *cover* his face with a present,' *i.e. conciliate* him (Ⓖ ἐξιλάσομαι), the figure being that of a person whose eyes are blinded by a gift so as not to notice something (cf. for the figure, Gn 20[16] כְּסוּת עֵינַיִם; Ex 23[8] פִּקֵּחִים יְעַוֵּר כִּי שֹׁחַד; Job 9[24] פְּנֵי שֹׁפְטֶיהָ יְכַסֶּה). Hence, 'face' being omitted, *kipper* acquires the general sense of *to conciliate, propitiate, appease*: Ex 32[30] 'peradventure I shall *make propitiation* (אֲכַפְּרָה) for your sin' (viz. by intercession, v.[31 f.]; Ⓖ ἐξιλάσωμαι περί), fig. Pr 16[14] (of a king's wrath, threatening death) 'but a wise man will *propitiate* it' (viz. by conciliatory behaviour; Ⓖ ἐξιλάσεται), Is 47[11] (of calamity) 'thou shalt not be able to *propitiate* it' (‖ שְׁחָרָהּ 'to charm it away'; but Grätz, Buhl, Cheyne, שַׁחֲרָהּ 'to bribe it away,' cf. Pr 6[35] Heb.), viz. either by a bribe (Is 13[17]) or by religious ceremonies.

6. Here may be best explained the subst. *kōpher*, prop. *a covering* (viz. of an offence), hence a *propitiatory gift*, but restricted by usage to a gift offered to propitiate or satisfy the avenger-of-blood, and so the *satisfaction offered for a life, i.e.* a *ransom*, —the *wehrgeld*, 'protection-money,' rigorously prohibited by Hebrew law in the case of murder, but admitted in certain other cases, and evidently a well-known institution: Ex 21[30] (JE); 1 S 12[3] (a bribe to screen a murderer; so Am 5[12]); Ex 30[12] P (a half-shekel, to be paid by every one, at the time of a census, as the כֹּפֶר נַפְשׁוֹ, or 'ransom of his soul (life),' to avert a plague,—such as might be apprehended [cf. 2 S 24] under the circumstances: cf. § 11*h*); Nu 35[31. 32] P (not to be accepted from a murderer); Pr 6[35] (offered in vain for the life of an adulterer; ‖ 'bribe'); 13[8] ('the ransom of a man's soul (life) is his riches'); 21[18] ('the wicked is a ransom for the righteous' [see 11[8]]); Is 43[3] (Egypt said poetically to be the 'ransom,' which J″ gives to Cyrus in lieu of Israel: ‖ 'Seba instead of thee'); Ps 49[7] ('no man can redeem [יִפְדֶּה] a brother from death, or give God a *kōpher* for him'); fig. of the discipline of suffering (conceived as delivering from death), Job 33[24] (‖ 'redeem him [read פְּדֵהוּ] from going down into the pit'), 36[18] [all].

7. This use of *kōpher* illustrates 2 S 21[3]. Here David says to the representatives of the murdered Gibeonites, 'Wherewith shall I *make propitiation* (אֲכַפֵּר; Ⓖ ἐξιλάσωμαι)?' a money *kōpher* is refused (v.[4]), and the *kōpher*, which (though the word is not actually used) is demanded, and given to J″ (v.[6b]; cf. v.[1] 24[1]), consists of the lives of Saul's seven sons: comp. also Nu 35[33] (P), where it is said that blood unjustly shed 'profanes' and 'defiles' a land, and that a 'covering,' or propitiation, cannot then be made for the land (לָאָרֶץ לֹא יְכֻפַּר; Ⓖ οὐκ ἐξιλασθήσεται ἡ γῆ ἀπὸ τοῦ αἵματος), except by the blood of the murderer.

8. There is an analogous group of cases, (1*b*) in which the verb is in the *passive* voice, the subject being the iniquity, and the means a purifying rite, a sacrifice, or repentance, the effect of which is that the offence is conceived as hidden, cancelled, or made inoperative: Dt 21[8b] ('and the blood shall be "covered" (*i.e. annulled*)* for them,' viz. by the symbolical execution of the murderer, vv.[6. 7]; Ⓖ ἐξιλασθήσεται αὐτοῖς), 1 S 3[14] ('the iniquity of Eli's house shall not be "covered"† (Ⓖ ἐξιλασθήσεται) by sacrifice or *minḥāh* for ever'), Is 6[7] ('thy sin shall be "covered"†,' viz. by the coal from the altar touching the prophet's lips; Ⓖ περικαθαριεῖ: ‖ 'thine iniquity shall depart'), 22[14] ('Surely this iniquity shall not be "covered"† for you, until ye die': Ⓖ ἀφεθήσεται), 27[9]† (through the abandonment of idolatry; Ⓖ ἀφαιρεθήσεται), Pr 16[6]† (through amendment of life; Ⓖ ἀποκαθαίρονται: cf. 28[13b], Ezk 18[21. 22]). ‡

9. (2) In the *second* class of cases in which *kipper* is used, the subject is *God*, the object is either the offender or the offence, the question of means does not here arise, but the *motive*, in so far as it is indicated, is the free grace of God,—represented, however, sometimes as called into activity by a purifying or expiatory rite: the idea of the verb then is that God 'covers,' *i.e. treats as covered, overlooks, pardons, condones*, the offender or the offence. So (*a*) the object being the *offender*, Dt 21[8a] (J″, after the symbolical expiatory rite, vv.[6. 7], is entreated to 'cover' [AV 'be merciful to,' RV 'forgive'; Ⓖ ἵλεως γενοῦ] the people, guilty [implicitly] of an untraced murder), 32[43] (rather differently: 'will "cover" his land,' *i.e.* cancel or remove the stain of bloodshed attaching to it, by the slaughter of those who have shed it; Ⓖ ἐκκαθαριεῖ; AV 'be merciful unto,' RV 'make expiation for': ‖ 'avenge the blood of his servants, and requite vengeance to his adversaries'), Ezk 16[63] ('when I "cover" thee (*i.e.* act propitiously towards thee; Ⓖ ἐν τῷ ἐξιλάσασθαί μέ σοι), with regard to all that thou hast done'), 2 Ch 30[18] (EV 'pardon'; Ⓖ ἐξιλάσθω ὑπέρ); and (*b*) the object being the *offence*, Jer 18[23] (EV 'forgive'; Ⓖ ἀθῳόω), Ps 65[3] § (Ⓖ ἱλάσῃ τὰς ἀσεβείας), 78[38] ('annulleth iniquity and destroyeth not'; Ⓖ ἱλάσεται ταῖς ἁμ.), 79[9] §

* Except indeed Is 28[18], where—unless, with some moderns, וְחֻפַּר or וְחֻפַּר [from פָּרַר; cf. 24[5]] is to be read—it is used of *annulling* a treaty (Ⓖ ἀφίλῃ; EV 'be disannulled')—a sense which may be derived either from the idea of *covering over, obliterating* (Ges.), or from that of *wiping* or *blotting out* (cf. Pesh. נתכפר 'be wiped out').

* EV 'forgiven,' which no doubt expresses fairly the general sense, but obliterates the distinctive character of the Heb. word used (cf. § 15, towards the end).

† EV 'purged,' substituting an idea not at all contained in the Heb. RVm 'Or, *expiated*.'

‡ Comp. for the thought Sir 3[3. 30] (Heb. צדקה תכפר חטאת) 35[3] (Swete 32 (35) 5).

§ EV 'purge away': see the last note but one.

(𝔊 ἱλάσθητι ταῖς ἁμ.), Dn 9[24] (RVm 'purge away'; Theod. ἀπαλεῖψαι τὰς ἀδικίας [= LXX] καὶ τοῦ ἐξιλάσασθαι ἀδικίας), — the object in all these cases being either 'iniquity' or 'transgression,' and there being no reference to any propitiatory rite. Cf. (though with a reference to sacrifice) Sir 34[19] (Swete 31 (34)[23]).

10. (3) The *third* class of cases in which *kipper* is used belongs to the distinctively *legal* terminology (almost entirely Ezk and P: 𝔊 nearly always ἐξιλάσκομαι περί: EV mostly 'to make atonement'; see § 2). Here the subject is the *priest*,* the means usually a sacrifice, though occasionally it is (see § 11 *h–m*) some other act or offering, regarded as vindicating the holiness of the community in which Jehovah dwells, and hence as reinstating it in His favour: the object is *never the sin*, but (as commonly understood) the person (or thing) on whose behalf the propitiation is made, the verb—which is construed mostly with עַל or בְּעַד, and only rarely, in some of the cases in which the object is something material (the altar or the sanctuary), with a direct accusative (Lv 16[20. 33a], Ezk 43[20. 26] 45[20] [𝔊 ἐξιλ. with accus.])—being interpreted as signifying properly to *cover up* (cf. סָכָה עַל, and סָנַךְ בְּעַד), or *screen, by a* כֹּפֶר, or *covering* (propitiatory) *gift* (so Riehm, 30–32; Dillm.; Schmoller, though undecidedly, p. 284).

Wellh. (*Compos.*[2] 336), observing the analogy, as regards the subject and the means, with the cases grouped under (1), supposes that the object was originally 'Jehovah's face' (cf. Gn 32[20], cited § 5; and the phrase חִלָּה אֶת־פְּנֵי ', lit. 'make sweet the face of J"', EV 'beseech,' or 'entreat the favour of,' Ex 32[11], 1 S 13[12], 1 K 13[6] etc.), but that in process of time the object came to be omitted, and the verb was construed absolutely, *to perform a propitiatory rite (kippurim)*: construed with an accus., it would then mean (analogously with עָפַר, etc., Ges.-Kautzsch, § 52*h*) *to affect with a propitiatory rite*. So far as the ideas associated with the word are concerned, it is indifferent which of these explanations of the construction is adopted.

11. We must next consider of what different sacrifices, or other rites, *kappēr*, in this third class of cases, is predicated. It is predicated, viz.,

(*a*) of the *burnt*-offering, Lv 1[4] 14[20] 16[24]; cf. Ezk 45[15. 17].

(*b*) of the *guilt*-offering (אָשָׁם), Lv 5[16. 18] 6[7] 7[7] 14[18] (see vv.[12. 14]), vv. [21. 29] (see vv.[21. 25]) 19[22], Nu 5[8].

(*c*) of the *sin*-offering, Ex 29[36. 37] 30[10], Lv 4[20. 26. 31. 35] 5[6. 13] 6[30] 8[15. 34] 10[17] 14[19] 16 (14–15 times [on v.[10] see Kalisch, Dillm., and above, i. 199*n.*]) 23[28], Nu 15[28] 28[22. 30] 29[5], Ezk 43[20. 26] 45[20], 2 Ch 29[24], Neh 10[33].

(*d*) of the *sin*-offering and the *burnt*-offering together, Lv 5[10] 9[7] 12[6f. 8] 14[31] 15[15. 30], Nu 6[11] 8[12] (cf. v.[21b]) 15[24f.].

(*e*) of blood in general (as containing the 'soul,' or life), Lv 17[11] H ('I have given it to you upon the altar to *make propitiation* for your souls; for the blood, it *maketh propitiation* by means of the soul [life]'): cf. 6[30] 8[15] 16[27]; also 14[53], where the blood of the slain bird (with other ceremonies) 'makes propitiation' for the leprous house.

(*f*) of the 'ram of installation (מִלֻּאִים),' and the bread, offered at the consecration of the high-priest, Ex 29[33] (see vv.[19-25. 32]).

(*g*) of the *meal-* and *peace*-offering, only in Ezk 45[15. 17] (possibly, also, though not probably, of the meal-offering in Lv 14[20. 31]: see § 13).

Kappēr is attributed, further, to

(*h*) the half-shekel, to be paid by every one at a census, as the *kappēr* of his 'soul' (life), Ex 30[15. 16] (probably [cf. Riehm, 24 f.; Dillm.] as an acknowledgment of membership in the theocracy, upon an occasion when the sins and imperfections of individuals would come prominently under Jehovah's notice); cf. § 6.

(*i*) the appointment of the Levites as authorized representatives of the Israelites to perform menial duties about the sanctuary, Nu 8[19] (lay Israelites, approaching the holy vessels, etc., would do so at risk of their lives [cf. 18[22] 1[51. 53]]: the Levites, doing it on their behalf, prevent Jehovah's wrath from manifesting itself in a plague [cf. the same expression in Ex 30[12]], and are therefore said to 'make propitiation' on their behalf).

(*j*) the incense by which Aaron appeased Jehovah's anger, and arrested the plague, Nu 16[46f.] (Heb. 17[11f.]).

(*k*) the punishment of a conspicuous offender, Nu 25[13] (the occasion on which Phinehas, interposing with the sword, 'turned away' Jehovah's 'wrath' from the Israelites, and arrested the plague: see v.[11]).

(*l*) the offering of the spoil taken from the Midianites, Nu 31[50] ('to make propitiation for our souls before J"'; probably, as in Ex 30[15. 16], in view of the numbering of the men of war, v.[49] [where the phrase is the same as in Ex 30[12]; cf. also v.[54b] with Ex 30[16b]]).

(*m*) the blood of a murderer, making expiation for blood unjustly shed, Nu 35[33].

All these passages belong to P.

12. The following additional facts with regard to the usage of *kipper* deserve also to be noted.

(*a*) It is construed with מִן 'from' of the offence (or uncleanness),—RV 'as concerning,' 'because of,' 'for,' but more probably (so Riehm, 50 f.; Schmoller, 254 f., 284; cf. Dillm. on Lv 4[26]) to be understood in the sense of '(clearing) from' ('shall make propitiation for him *from* his sin'), Lv 4[26] 5[6. 10] 14[19] ('from his uncleanness'), 15[15. 30] 16[16. 16. 34], Nu 6[11]; and with עַל 'on account of,' Lv 4[35] 5[13. 18] 6[7] 19[22] (RV 'as touching,' 'concerning,' 'for').

(*b*) It is followed by 'and it shall be forgiven him (them),' in the case of the sin-offering, Lv 4[20. 26. 31. 35] 5[10. 13], Nu 15[25. 28] (cf. v.[26]); and in the case of the guilt-offering, Lv 5[16. 18] 6[7] 19[22]. (These are the only passages in the Law, except Nu 30[5. 8. 12], in which סָלַח 'to forgive,' occurs).

(*c*) It is closely associated (but only where predicated of the *sin*-offering) with 'to be clean' (טָהֵר), or 'to cleanse' (טִהֵר), Lv 12[7. 8] 14[20. 52. 53] 16[19. 30], Nu 8[21], Ezk 43[26], cf. 2 Ch 30[18];

with 'to sanctify,' Ex 29[33. 36. 37], Lv 8[15] 16[19], Nu 6[11];

and with 'to free from sin' (חִטֵּא), Ex 29[36] (EV, very inadequately, 'cleanse'), Lv 8[15] (EV 'purified'!), 14[49. 52] [see v.[53]] of the leprous house (EV 'cleanse'), Nu 8[21] (RV 'purified from sin'), Ezk 43[20. 22] ('cleanse,'—of the altar, as Ex 29[36]) 45[20] (see v.[18]),—in all the cases with חַטָּא, of a material object, which the Hebrews regarded as capable of being infected with sin (Schmoller, 222, 261).

(*d*) Cf. *kippurim*, 'propitiation' (EV 'atonement'), used (*α*) of a sin-offering, Ex 29[36] 30[10], Nu 29[11]; (*β*) of a guilt-offering, Nu 5[8]; (*γ*) in the expression 'day of propitiation (atonement),' Lv 23[27. 28] 25[9]; (*δ*) 'propitiation-money,' of the half-shekel paid at a census, Ex 30[16]. It is probable also (whatever the ultimate origin of the term may have been) that the idea of propitiation was felt to attach to *kappōreth* (EV 'mercy-seat'); cf. what is said on this subject in *Leviticus* (in Haupt's *SBOT*), p. 80 f.

(*e*) The object of *kipper* is usually an individual or the community; but sometimes it is a *material* object,—in particular the altar of burnt-offering, (at the time of its consecration) Ex 29[36. 37], Lv 8[15], Ezk 43[20. 26], (on the annual Day of Atonement) Lv 16[18. 20. 33]; the sanctuary (on the same occasion), Ex 30[10b] [in v.[10a] the prep. has probably a *local* force], Lv 16[16. 20. 33], Ezk 45[20]; a house infected with leprosy, Lv 14[53]; cf. of the goat sent to Azazel, Lv 16[10] (see Dillm.).

* Or sometimes (Lv 1[4] 17[11], Ex 30[15. 16], Nu 31[50] 35[33]) the *offering*; but the difference is immaterial.

13. It does not fall within the scope of the present article to investigate the character or *rationale* of SACRIFICE, except in so far as this is expressed by the term *kappēr*. Confining ourselves therefore to this, we may draw from the data collected in §§ 10–12 the following conclusions with regard to the significance of this term in its legal or ceremonial applications (which are to be carefully distinguished from the *extra*-legal usages, analyzed in §§ 5, 7–9). In the legal terminology it is especially associated with the *sin*-offering, of which it designates the most distinctive and characteristic operation; it is also frequently, though not so characteristically, predicated of the *guilt*-offering (the *āshām*), that differentiated type of sin-offering prescribed for cases in which injury has been done to the rights of another person. To the *burnt*-offering, offered alone, it is attributed only in Lv 1^4 14^{20} 16^{24} (cf. Ezk $45^{15.\ 17}$; also Job 1^7 42^8), on the ground, it seems, that, though not a proper propitiatory sacrifice, it was a mark of the worshipper's devotion, and, being offered 'for his favour (acceptance) before J"' (Lv 1^3 לִרְצֹנוֹ), and accepted (וְנִרְצָה לוֹ) accordingly, moved Him to regard him graciously, and to overlook his moral insufficiency; elsewhere it is not attributed to it expressly,* but only (§ 11 *d*) when it is closely associated with the sin-offering, for the purpose (as seems to be frequently the case) of enhancing the significance of the latter; and, indeed, Lv 14^{20} 16^{24} (cf. vv.$^{3.\ 5}$) might almost be regarded as falling under this category. Ezekiel ($45^{15.\ 17}$) attributes it to the *peace*- and *meal*-offering; in H, also, it is attributed to the peace- (and burnt-) offerings, in virtue of what is said about the 'blood' in Lv 17^{11} (cf. v.^{8}); in the system of P it is not attributed directly to either of these, for the meal-offering in Lv $14^{20.\ 21}$ holds such a secondary place that it cannot be treated with any confidence as participating in the *kappārā*. The *kappārā* is specially the function of the *blood* (see Lv 17^{11} [H]; and cf., in the ritual of the sin-offering, Ex 30^{10}, Lv 4. $6^{30\ (23)}$ 8^{15} $16^{15f.\ 18f.\ 27}$, Ezk 43^{20} $45^{19f.}$), on account, as is expressly said in Lv 17^{11}, of its being the seat of the 'soul' or life, the most precious, and also the purest and most immaterial gift that can be offered to God; the only exception (among sacrifices) being one that proves the rule, viz. (Lv 5^{13}) the vegetable offering allowed as a substitute for the usual sin-offering, when the latter was beyond the means of the offerer. Hence the later Rabb. *dictum* (*Yōmā* 5*a*) אֵין כַּפָּרָה אֶלָּא בְּדָם 'there is no *kappārā* except with blood' (cf. He 9^{22}),—which, however, is not true universally (see the cases, § 11 *h–m*, esp. Ex $30^{15f.}$), but only in so far as sacrifice is concerned.

14. The *effect* of the *kappārā* is a purification, sometimes from sin, sometimes (Lv 12. 14. 15, Nu 6) from merely ceremonial defilement, sin being regarded as a stain, and the defilement, whether ritual or moral—for in P the two are not clearly distinguished (see LAW, vol. iii. p. 72^a; and cf. Schmoller, 280)—being conceived as either made invisible and inoperative, or else as actually obliterated; it is regarded as withdrawn from Jehovah's eyes (cf. Ps 51^{9a}; and contrast 90^8); it no longer comes between Him and man: He neither sees nor imputes it. The aim of the priestly legislation is to maintain the ideal holiness of the theocratic community (LAW, *ib.* p. 70 f.); and the *kappārā* is the primary means by which this is effected. Sometimes cleansing (moral or ceremonial) is expressly mentioned as the effect of the rite (see § 12 *c*; and note esp. Lv 16^{30} 'on this day shall propitiation be made for you *to cleanse you*; from all your sins *ye shall be clean* before J"'). As prescribed for the priests (Ex 29^{33}, Lv 9^7) and Levites (Nu 8^{21}), before admission to their sacred duties, it is a readily intelligible rite of preliminary lustration (Riehm, 76 f.; Schmoller, 234 f., 245). Enjoined for a *material* object, the altar or the sanctuary, its aim is to secure or maintain its holiness: the altar, prior to its consecration, is regarded as affected by the natural impurity of human workmanship, which has to be removed; the sanctuary, frequented as it was by a sinful and unclean people, is contaminated by their sins, and accordingly requires a periodical purification (Riehm, 54–57; Schmoller, 221 f., 242, 262); the leprous house (Lv 14^{53}) is conceived as tainted by sin (§ 12 *c*); the 'scape-goat,' offered by the sinful people, requires to be purified before it can discharge the solemn functions assigned to it (Riehm, 55; Dillm.; etc.). On the part of God the effect of the *kappārā* is more particularly specified,—at least in the sin- and guilt-offering,—as *forgiveness*,—conditional, as we may suppose would be understood by the more spiritual Israelites, on the penitence of the offerer, though this is not stated in the laws as distinctly and regularly as might be expected (cf. Lv 5^5 16^{21}, Nu 5^7; Schultz, *OT Theol.* ii. 99 f.): it should, however, in this connexion be remembered that *kappēr* was in general possible only for *unintentional* (or *venial*) sins* (above, vol. i. 201^b note; Schultz, i. 382 f., 388 f., 394 f., ii. 87–89: cf. Ezk 45^{20}, where 'erreth' = sins inadvertently). Sins committed wilfully, 'with a high hand' (Nu $15^{30f.}$), *i.e.* in a spirit of presumptuous defiance, challenging God's anger, lie outside the sphere within which the *kappārā* ordinarily operates; hence, as predicated of the *regular* Levitical sacrifices, it is never described as *appeasing* God (cf. § 2 *end*), nor is it ever implied that the offerer of such a sacrifice is outside God's dispensation of grace, or the object of His *wrath*; the cases § 11 *j k* are exceptional; at most (§ 11 *h i l*) it may be said to be a means of *averting* it (Riehm, 30, 37, 85; *AT Theol.* 132; cf. Schultz, i. 394).

15. From what has been said, it will be seen that *kipper* is a difficult word to represent satisfactorily in English. 'Cover'—or 'wipe out,' if that view of the original sense of the word be adopted—is too colourless: 'make atonement' (at-one-ment, reconciliation) may express a *consequence* of *kipper*, but it is not what the word itself denotes. It has always—or almost always—a religious, and mostly a ritual colouring: it is to *cover* (metaphorically) by a gift, offering, or rite, or (if God be the subject) to *treat as covered*: the ideas associated with the word are thus to *make* (or *treat*) *as harmless, non-existent*, or *inoperative*, to *annul* (so far as God's notice or regard is concerned), to *withdraw from God's sight*, with the attached ideas of *reinstating in His favour, freeing from sin*, and *restoring to holiness*,—especially (but not exclusively), when the subject is a human agent, by the species of sacrifice called the 'sin-offering.' It is a stronger, more significant synonym of חָטָא to 'un-sin,' and טָהַר to 'purify' or 'cleanse.' There appears to be no one English word which combines, or suggests, ideas such as these. Even to 'make propitiation' accentuates somewhat unduly a particular side, or aspect, of what is involved in *kipper* (cf. § 1 *end*); though the fact that the ideas just indicated were associated with the word *in conjunction with a rite*, would point rather naturally in the direction of such a meaning, which the nearly habitual rendering of the LXX, (ἐξ)ιλάσκομαι, shows was felt to attach to the word in the 3rd cent. B.C. Nevertheless, esp. in view of the LXX, and NT ἱλασμός, this is on the whole the best rendering of *kipper* in its ritual sense, the cases grouped under §§ 8, 9 being represented, for consistency, by *deal propitiously*

* The extra-legal passage, 1 S 3^{14} (§ 8), is not evidence of the ideas associated with *kipper* in the ceremonial system of P.

* See, however, Lv 6^{2-7} 19^{20-22}, Nu 5^{6-8}.

with, or *be propitious to*. Whether, in actual usage, there was any consciousness of the primary sense, to 'cover,' is extremely doubtful: in all probability, *kipper* was felt to express only the derived ideas which have been indicated (cf. Schmoller, 283 f.).

16. To return briefly, before concluding, to the use of the term in the NT. The death of Christ is represented in the NT under *three* main aspects: as a λύτρον, *ransoming* from the power of sin and spiritual death (see REDEEMER); as a καταλλαγή, setting 'at one,' or *reconciling*, God and man, and bringing to an end the alienation between them; and as a *propitiation*, breaking down the barrier which sin interposes between God and man, and enabling God to enter again into fellowship with him. 'Propitiation' is in the OT attached especially to the sin-offering, and to the sacrifice of the blood (or life); and Christ, by the giving up of His sinless life, annuls the power of sin to separate between God and the believer, by a sacrifice analogous to those offered by the Jewish priests, but infinitely more efficacious (see, further, ATONEMENT, MEDIATION, RECONCILIATION).

17. It remains only to notice briefly the different view of *kappēr* which is developed by Ritschl, *Rechtfertigung u. Versöhnung*[2], ii. 70–80 (on *kōpher*), 184–210. *Kappēr*, Ritschl argues (p. 198 f.), is attributed to *all* offerings, but forgiveness (implying the presence of sin) only to the sin- and guilt-offering: it is thus a false generalization to suppose that its purpose is the removal of sin; and this conclusion is confirmed by the fact that there are many cases of purely *physical* uncleanness for which, nevertheless, a sin-offering involving it is prescribed. In fact, *kappēr* has essentially (p. 203) *no relation to sin*; the 'covering' of persons, spoken of in the priestly law, does not mean the covering of their guilt, but their *protection*, in order, viz., that—in accordance with the principle that 'no man can see me and live' (Ex 33[20]; cf. Gn 32[30], Ex 19[21] 20[19], Dt 5[24], Jg 6[22. 23] 13[22], Is 6[5])—they may be able to appear before God without risk of their lives; the necessity of such 'protection' depends, however, not upon man's sinfulness, but upon his 'creatureliness'; he needs it, not as *sinful*, but only as *created*, and *finite*. Sin is not the ground of the *kappārā*, but merely (in the sin- and guilt-offering) its occasion. It follows that, upon Ritschl's view, *kipper* ought not to be translated 'make propitiation' (or 'atonement') at all: accordingly, he condemns (p. 199 f.) the rendering 'sühnen' as introducing 'only confusion,' and considers (p. 186) that the LXX, in rendering (ἐξ)ιλάσκομαι, substituted for the Heb. a Greek word which was not really its equivalent.

This theory is controverted at length by both Riehm (esp. pp. 37 f., 46–8, 51 f., 57–9, 72–81, 83–6, but also elsewhere) and Schmoller (pp. 266–9, 274–81); cf. also Schmidt, *PRE*[2] xvi. 365 f.; and in spite of the ability with which Ritschl writes, it is impossible not to think that it is a one-sided one, depending in some parts upon a combination of elements which are not combined together in the OT, and in others emphasizing features and principles which do not really, in the legislation as a whole, possess the prominence and significance which are attached to them. The crucial question undoubtedly is, What does the *kappārā* 'cover'? Ritschl's view that, as it is predicated of the burnt- and peace-offering, in which there is no question of sin, it must cover man's creatureliness, which cannot subsist in God's presence without such 'protection,' introduces an idea which is nowhere brought into connexion with sacrifice. To approach God (with sacrifice) is by no means identical with 'seeing' Him (in the sense implied in the passages quoted), nor is it ever represented as endangering life: the principle of Ex 33[20] etc. is never referred to in the legislation of P; and the cases in which life is represented as endangered are connected not with the omission of a sacrifice, but with some irreverence or irregularity in the discharge of sacred offices, or with some other specific act of disrespect towards God (Ex 28[35. 43] 30[20. 21], Lv 8[35] 10[1f. 6. 7. 9] 15[31] 16[2. 13] 22[9], Nu 4[15. 19. 20] 17[10] 18[3. 22. 32]; cf. 1[53] 8[19] 18[5]). In preference therefore to having recourse to an explanation both artificial in itself and also so little support in the usage of the ritual legislation, it seems better to suppose that though the burnt-, peace-, and meal-offerings were not offered *expressly*, like the sin- and guilt-offerings, for the forgiveness of sin, they nevertheless (in so far as *kipper* is predicated of them) were regarded as 'covering,' or neutralizing, the offerer's unworthiness to appear before God, and so, though in a much less degree than the sin- or the guilt-offering, as effecting *kappārā* in the sense ordinarily attached to the word, viz. 'propitiation.'* The great rarity with which *kappēr* is attributed to any but the sin- and guilt-offerings, and the fact that, where its effects are specified, they are always either the forgiveness of sin or the removal of uncleanness, are additional arguments in support of the ordinary view. It is also to be observed that Ritschl's theory implies that *kappēr* expresses the idea of 'protection' far more directly and distinctly than can be deemed probable: 'protection,' as said above (§ 4), may be a secondary and indirect consequence of *kappēr*, but it is not at all the primary and immediate sense of it (not even in Dt 32[43]; Ritschl, p. 72 f.). The fact that *kipper* is used with reference to the removal of physical uncleanness proves, not that it stands in no relation to sin (for חַטָּא, to 'free from sin,' is used in exactly the same connexions, § 12 *c*), but that the Hebrews understood the term 'sin' in a wider sense than we do, and included in it material, as well as moral, defilements.

LITERATURE.—The two very full discussions that have been referred to, Riehm, *Der Begriff der Sühne im AT*, 1877 (reprinted from *SK*, 1877, pp. 7–92: see also his *AT Theol.* 130–147), and Schmoller, *SK*, 1891, Heft 2, pp. 205–288; Schultz, *OT Theol.* i. 397–400, and *Amer. Journ. of Theol.* iv. (1900), 285–91, 301–4, 309–13; Dillm. on Lv 4[20]; Wellh. *Compos.*[2] 335 f.; Smend, *AT Rel.-gesch.* 321; Nowack, *Arch.* ii. 220; A. B. Davidson, '"Atone" in Extra-ritual Literature,' *Expos.*, Aug. 1899, p. 92 ff. Schultz's view of the ritual sense of *kipper* approximates to that of Ritschl, though he rejects the idea that an ethical motive is never involved in it: he would render the term by 'consecrate' (*weihen*); man is by nature weak, and consequently (physically and morally) unworthy to draw nigh unto God: the priest, by the 'covering' rite, draws a veil over the creaturely unworthiness of the offerer,—and also, if the case requires it, over his sin; the 'consecration' (*Weihung*), thus provided for him, is, as it were, a 'wedding-garment,' enabling him to draw near to the high and holy God without danger.

S. R. DRIVER.

PROSELYTE (προσήλυτος, from προσέρχεσθαι: lit. 'advena,' *i.e.* visitor, new comer).†

i. *The term 'proselyte.'*—προσήλυτος is the usual LXX rendering of גֵּר [see GER],‡ *i.e.*, originally,

* The use of the term רֵיחַ נִיחוֹחַ 'savour of tranquillizing *or* contentment,' of the burnt-, as of the meal- and peace-offerings (Lv 1[9. 17] 2[3. 16] 3[5] *al.*), also implies *something* of the nature of a propitiation (cf. Gn 8[20f.]).

† The etymology is suggested in such expressions as ἐὰν δέ τις προσέλθῃ πρὸς ὑμᾶς προσήλυτος Ex 12[48] (Lv 19[33], Nu 9[14]); ὁ προσελθὼν προσήλυτος ἐν ὑμῖν Ex 12[49]; though more often in such phrases as הַגֵּר [אֲשֶׁר גָּנוּר] בְּתוֹכָם other participles are used, viz. προσκείμενος (Lv 16[29] 17[8. 10. 12. 13], Nu 15[15. 16. 26. 29] 19[10], Jos 20[9]), προσγενόμενος (Lv 18[26], cf. Nu 15[14]), γεγενημένος (Lv 20[2]), προσπορευόμενος (Lv 19[34]); once only προσηλυτεύοντες (Ezk 14[7] [Aq. Ps 5[5] 120[6]]), while Ezk 47[22] gives τοῖς προσηλύτοις τοῖς παροικοῦσιν ἐν μέσῳ ὑμῶν. This last is like the rendering of 'the *gēr* who is in thy gates' in Ex 20[10], Dt 5[14] ὁ προσήλυτος ὁ παροικῶν ἐν σοί.

‡ גֵּר is eleven times translated πάροικος (Gn 15[13] 23[4], Ex 2[22] 18[3], Dt 14[21] 23[7. (8)], 2 K 1[13], 1 Ch 29[15], Ps 38 (39)[12], 118 (119)[19], Jer 14[8]; cf. Ps 104 (105)[12] (גּוּר)); twice γειώρας (Ex 12[19], Is 14[1]); once ξένος (Job 31[32]). Job 19[15] has γείτονες for גָּרִים. προσήλυτος

one who takes up his residence in a foreign land, and so puts himself under the protection of a foreign people, as a client; particularly a foreigner thus residing in Palestine.* The classical equivalent is ἔπηλυς or ἐπηλύτης (*advena*); but the technical name of such a foreign resident was μέτοικος (*incola*), to which LXX πάροικος [μέτοικος occurs Jer 20^{3} only] corresponds. In NT (Mt 23^{15}, Ac 2^{10} 6^{5} 13^{43}) προσήλυτος is commonly understood to mean a foreign convert to the Jewish religion, a *proselyte* in our sense of the word.† It seems to have lost all connexion with residence in Palestine, for the proselytes referred to in Ac 2^{10} 13^{43} live in foreign lands.

When did the word lose the local (political) and gain this final technical (religious) sense? Its meaning in the LXX is somewhat disputed. Geiger (*Urschrift*, p. 353 ff.) maintains that it is there strictly equivalent to *gēr* in its original sense, while W. C. Allen (*Expositor*, 1894, x. 267–275) argues that the LXX uses the word consistently in the final sense of *proselyte*. This wide divergence of view is possible because the Hebrew word *gēr* itself becomes almost equivalent to proselyte in P.‡ The ideal of Judaism is that there shall be no uncircumcised alien in the Holy Land. But it cannot be proved that προσήλυτος connects itself consistently with these OT approaches of *gēr* to its final (Mishnic) sense. It is true that πάροικος stands for *gēr* in several passages where the sense 'proselyte' would be especially inappropriate, as where Israel, or an Israelite, is called a *gēr* in a foreign land (Gn 15^{13}, Dt 23^{7}, Gn 23^{4}, Ex 2^{22} 18^{3}), or in God's land (Ps 39^{12} 119^{19}, 1 Ch 29^{15}), where God is Himself a *gēr* (Jer 14^{8}), or where the law for the *gēr* differs from that for the home-born (Dt 14^{21} *contra* Lv 17^{15}). But on the other hand no very obvious reason for the rendering exists in 2 S 1^{13}; and—what is more important—Israelites are elsewhere called προσήλυτοι in Egypt (Ex 22^{21} 23^{9}, Lv 19^{34}, Dt 10^{19}), or in God's land (Lv 25^{23}); the word is closely parallel to πάροικος (Lv $25^{23.\ 35}$); circumcision is specially required of a προσήλυτος before he can eat the Passover (Ex 12^{48}); and in two passages where a proselyte proper is meant, the Aramaic word γειώρας is used (Ex 12^{19}, Is 14^{1}).§

It is certain that the LXX προσήλυτος, even if he is often a circumcised convert, remains always a foreign resident in Palestine. Of an application of the word to a convert to Judaism who still resides in a foreign land there is no trace.‖ This distinguishes the LXX use from that of the NT. In an interesting mistranslation of Is 54^{15} LXX reads, 'Behold, proselytes will come to thee through me, and will sojourn with thee, and will flee to thee for refuge.'¶ The religious sense blends with the local, but does not displace it. It is therefore impossible to make the word simply equivalent to 'convert.' The tendency of the LXX to translate *gēr* by προσήλυτος is stronger than its sense of this later technical meaning. No difference of usage appears between early and late parts of the LXX. The word occurs in the Apocryphal books only in To 1^{8} ℵ (from Dt 14^{29} 26^{12}). The absence of a common technical use of the word seems to be indicated by the fact that it is not used of unmistakable proselytes, from Ruth to Achior (Jth 14^{10}), or in the frequent expressions of hope for the conversion of the heathen.

Philo* understands the LXX προσήλυτος in the sense of 'convert.' Those who have changed to the better order Moses calls προσήλυτοι, because they have come to a new and God-pleasing constitution (ἀπὸ τοῦ προσεληλυθέναι καινῇ καὶ φιλοθέῳ πολιτείᾳ, *de Monarch.* i. 7). But he prefers the word ἔπηλυς (ἐπηλύτης, ἐπήλυτος), often, as in this passage, substituting it for the other in the course of his discussion (so also in *de Vict. Off.* 10, *Quæs. in* Ex 22^{20}, *de Cher.* 31. 33. 34), more often still using it throughout (*de Septenario* 14, *de Creat. Prin.* 6, *de Caritate* 12, *de Pœnit.* 2, *de Execrat.* 6). Bertholet (p. 288) is surely mistaken in saying that ἔπηλυς has a wider meaning than προσήλυτος, for the distinction in *Quæst. in* Ex 22^{20} between ἐπήλυδες *of place* (χώρας), and those *of laws and customs* (νομίμων καὶ ἐθῶν), is made solely in order to explain the two uses of the word προσήλυτος in Ex $22^{20\ (21)}$, and the argument would be wholly without force if the two words were not synonymous. Philo allows the possibility of the local meaning of προσήλυτος (ἔπηλυς) in order to explain its application, figuratively, to Israel in Egypt. The literal word in this connexion was μέτοικος or ξένος (*de Vita Mos.* i. 7, *de Carit.* 13. 14). Compare his interpretation of Lv 25^{23} (*de Cher.* 31–34): the wise man is but an ἔπηλυς and πάροικος in the world; God is the only *citizen*, and on the contrary the foolish man is altogether a fugitive.

Philo's preference for the word ἔπηλυς prevents us from supposing that the word προσήλυτος was current in his circle, though it hardly warrants the opinion that ἔπηλυς was the current technical name of the Greek converts to Judaism of whom he speaks. It was probably simply the more natural word by which to convey the sense of the LXX to his readers. In Philo, then, the religious interprets and practically displaces the local use of the word, but a common technical use of it, such as the NT seems to presuppose, he does not reveal.

Josephus often refers to actual proselytes,† but without using the name; and he not infrequently alludes to OT passages in which the *gēr* is commended to charity,‡ but cites them only as providing for the poor, or for the foreigner (ξένος, ἀλλόφυλος, ἀλλοτριόχωρος). Are we to infer that Philo knew, as Josephus did not, a class of Greek converts to Judaism to whom the humane injunctions of the law applied, who had lost their natural friends and helpers for the sake of religion, and were especially needy and deserving of friendly consideration on the part of Jews?

ii. *Words and phrases descriptive of proselytes.*—Instead of a fixed technical word for foreign converts to the Jewish religion, the Old Testament and Jewish literature give various descriptive phrases, some of which may well be gathered together here, since they contain in themselves an interpretation of Jewish proselytism. The proselyte is a *gēr* who is circumcised (Ex 12^{48}), or who joins himself to the house of Jacob (Is 14^{1}); he is one who enters into the assembly of Jahweh (Dt 23^{8} 'in the third generation,' cf. v.^{3}); he is

never translates any other root, but is found without Hebrew equivalent in Lv 17^{3}, Dt 10^{18a} 12^{18}; Is 54^{15} gives an interesting mistranslation. Ἐπήλυτος occurs only in Job 20^{26}.

* ὁ προσήλυτος is distinguished on the one side from the native Israelite (ὁ αὐτόχθων, ὁ ἐγχώριος, οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰσραήλ), and on the other from the foreigner (ὁ ἀλλότριος, ὁ ἀλλογενής). The distinction from ὁ πάροικος is less clear, and does not perfectly correspond to that between *gēr* and *tôshāb*.

† So Theodoret: προσηλύτους δὲ ἐκάλουν τοὺς ἐκ τῶν ἐθνῶν προσιόντας καὶ τὴν νομικὴν πολιτείαν ἀσπαζομένους; and Suidas: οἱ ἐξ ἐθνῶν προσεληλυθότες καὶ κατὰ νόμον ποθήσαντες πολιτεύεσθαι.

‡ See, *e.g.*, Lv 17–19 (H), Nu 15 (P). The principle is, one law for home-born and *gērîm*, Ex 12^{49}, Nu 9^{14} $15^{15.\ 16.\ 29.\ 30}$.

§ So Schürer, *GJV*^{3} iii. 125 f.; Bertholet, *Die Stellung der Israeliten u. d. Juden zu den Fremden*, 1896, p. 259 ff. The word γειώρας is used by Justin (*Dial. c. Tryph.* c. 122 [γηώρας]) and Julius Afri. (*ad Aristidem*) of proselytes; but Philo read it in Ex 2^{22} (LXX πάροικος) of Moses in Midian (*de Confus. Ling.* 17), hence it also cannot have been a recognized technical title. Does Josephus mistake it for the name of a town? (ὁ [τοῦ] Γιώρα Σίμωνι, *BJ* II. xix. 2, etc.).

‖ ἐν τῇ γῇ ὑμῶν Lv 19^{33}, Nu 9^{14} 15^{14}, ἐν ὑμῖν Ex 12^{49} etc.

¶ ἰδοὺ προσήλυτοι προσελεύσονταί σοι, etc.

* See Bertholet, *l.c.* pp. 285–289.

† *e.g.* Helena, Izates, and Monobazus (*Ant.* XX. ii.–iv.); Fulvia (*Ant.* XVIII. iii. 5); cf. *c. Ap.* ii. 11, 29, 37, *Ant.* XIII. ix. 1, xi. 3; *BJ* II. xx. 2, VII. iii. 3, etc.

‡ *e.g. Ant.* III. xii. 3 (Lv 25^{6}), IV. viii. 21 (Dt 24^{21}, Lv $19^{9.\ 10}$), viii. 22 (Dt $14^{28.\ 29}$ 26^{12}), viii. 38 (Dt $24^{14.\ 15}$).

a foreigner [נֵכָר, ὁ ἀλλογενής] who has 'joined himself to J"* to minister to him, and to love the name of J", to be his servant—every one who so keeps the Sabbath as not to profane it, and who lays hold on my covenant' (Is $56^{3.6}$); he is a *nokhri* (ξένος) who 'comes to take refuge under the wings of J"' (Ru $2^{11.12}$, cf. ^{10}; see also Apoc. Bar 41^4). Only in Est 8^{17} are converts spoken of as those who 'become Jews' [מִתְיַהֲדִים, LXX περιετέμνοντο καὶ ἰουδάϊζον]. Achior (Jth 14^{10}) believed in God, was circumcised, and added to the house of Israel (προσετέθη πρός, as Is 14^1). See also the forms of expression in such passages as Is 2^{2-4}, Jer 3^{17} 4^2 12^{16} (cf. Is 45^{23} 65^{16}),† Zeph 3^9, Is 44^5, 1 K 8^{41-43}, Ru 1^{16}, Zec 8^{20-23} 9^7 14^{16-19}, Is 19^{18-25}, To $14^{6.7}$. A convert could be described as one who turned to J", swore by the name of J", prayed to Him, sought and kept His law, especially the Sabbath and the prohibition of eating blood. Circumcision could not be omitted by one who would join himself to Israel. Almost without exception (but see Zeph 2^{11}, Is 19^{18-25}) the supposition is that converts will live in Israel's land.‡ They are circumcised *gērîm*.

Philo regards proselytes as those who leave polytheism and adopt the worship of one God. He describes them as changing to the better order, as migrating to piety, journeying to a good colony, deserting to God or to the truth, wandering to truth and to the honouring of the One who is worthy of honour, as fugitives to God, and suppliants, as those who change to the constitution (πολιτεία) of the Jews. The mind of a proselyte (Ex 23^9) is alienation (ἀλλοτρίωσις) from polytheism and familiarity (οἰκείωσις) with the worship of the One and Father of all.§ Having come to the worship of the true God they come to possess all virtues, wisdom, temperance, modesty, etc. (*de Pœnit.* 2), they will have a secure place in heaven, and meanwhile are to be especially cared for, since they have cut themselves off from their natural relationships, and since the God-pleasing conduct (θεοφιλὲς ἦθος) should be a greater ground of friendship than anything else (*de Carit.* 12; *de Pœnit.* 1).

Josephus describes the proselyte as one who changes his life to the customs (ἔθη) of the Jews (*Ant.* XX. ii. 1); who is carried over to their laws (νόμους), or is taught to worship God as the Jews do (τὸν θεὸν σέβειν ὡς Ἰουδαίοις πάτριον ἦν, XX. ii. 3); who has come to the Jewish laws (νομίμοις προσεληλυθὼς τοῖς Ἰουδαϊκοῖς, XVIII. iii. 5), or simply becomes a Jew (εἶναι Ἰουδαῖος, XX. ii. 4); one whom the Jews have brought over to their religious observances, and made in a sense part of themselves (*BJ* VII. iii. 3). All but a few of the women of Damascus had been brought under the Jewish religious worship (θρησκεία)—*BJ* II. xx. 2. The Idumæans and Ituræans were circumcised, and lived according to the laws of the Jews (XIII. ix. 1, xi. 2; cf. XIII. xv. 4, XV. vii. 9; *c. Ap.* ii. 11, 29). Religion is with Josephus, not indeed simply a matter of race, but essentially one of ancestral custom and fixed habit of life, and a change of religion is a change of custom.

Apoc. Bar speaks of those 'who have forsaken vanity and fled for refuge beneath thy wings,' in contrast to those who have 'withdrawn from thy covenant and cast from them the yoke of thy law' ($41^{3.4}$);‖ and refers to them again as 'those who before knew not, but afterwards knew life and mingled with the seed of the people which had separated itself' (42^5).

Much uncertainty must be acknowledged regarding the use of the phrase the '*devout*' or '*God-fearers*' (יִרְאֵי יי, οἱ φοβούμενοι τὸν θεὸν [κύριον], οἱ σεβόμενοι τ. θ.) as the technical name either for proselytes in general or for a certain class of proselytes. In Judaism (after Dt $6^{2.13.24}$ $10^{12.20}$, Lv $19^{14.32}$ 25^{17} etc.) it became so far a standing phrase for Israelites, or the *true* Israelites, themselves, that it would seem inappropriate as a distinctive designation of converts, or half converts, from heathenism (see Ps 15^4 $22^{23.25}$ $25^{12.14}$ 31^{19} 60^4 etc., Mal 3^{16} 4^2, Sir 2^{7-17} $6^{16.17}$ 34^{13-15} etc., Ps.-Sol 2^{37} 3^{16} 4^{26} etc.).* It is indeed commonly held that in Ps $115^{11.13}$ 118^4 135^{20} proselytes are distinguished by this title from the Israelitish laity and priesthood.† But this is not certain. The phrase may be a comprehensive and summary one, as it probably is in Ps 22^{23} (so in Three ^{69}, cf. $^{61-63}$, ^{10} [LXX Dn $3^{90.83-85.33}$], Rev 19^5 (11^{18}?), where it is equivalent to 'servants of the Lord'). 2 K $17^{32.33}$ does indeed suggest that heathen might fear J" and at the same time serve their own gods; but this is perhaps an ironical description of the Samaritan religion.

It is Acts which seems most clearly to imply a technical use of the phrase. Σεβόμενοι or φοβούμενοι, with or without τὸν θεόν, is commonly regarded as designating such non-Jews as held to the Jewish synagogue worship and observed the most elementary Jewish laws of food and purity and Sabbath observance, without entering by circumcision into the Jewish community. Such a class, distinct from Jews on the one side and from casual travellers to Jerusalem on the other, Josephus once mentions as contributing to the wealth of the temple (*Ant.* XIV. vii. 2, σεβόμενοι τὸν θεόν).‡ Yet the references to them here and in Acts are indefinite enough, so that Bertholet (pp. 328–334) can argue that they are nothing but circumcised proselytes, while on the other hand O. Holtzmann (*NT Zeitgesch.* p. 185) declares that προσήλυτος is the technical name of (uncircumcised) φοβούμενοι. They are distinguished from Israelites (Ac 13^{16}), children of Abraham's race (13^{26}), the Jews (13^{43} 17^{17}), and these two classes together composed the synagogue audiences at Antioch of Pisidia and at Athens. The 'God-fearers' seem to be identified with proselytes in 13^{43}, for οἱ σεβόμενοι προσήλυτοι can hardly be different from οἱ φοβούμενοι τὸν θεόν of vv.$^{16.26}$. Schürer himself recognized the identification in Riehm's *Handwörterbuch*^{2} (1894), art. 'Proselyten,' but denies it again in the 3rd ed. of his *GJV* (1898) iii. p. 124 ff., where he argues against Bertholet that proselytes proper are included in the first category, that of Jews or Israelites. This might indeed be used in common speech to include all the circumcised, whether of Jewish birth or not, but the phrase 'children of the race of Abraham' (v.^{26}) seems more explicit. But, on the contrary, 'the devout Greeks' of Thessalonica (17^4) were hardly a different class from the 'Greeks' whom St. Paul found in the synagogues at Iconium (14^1) and Corinth (18^4). St. Paul carries out his threat to leave the Jews and go to the Gentiles by going to the house of Titius Justus, one of the σεβόμενοι (18^7), who could therefore hardly have been circumcised. As to Lydia (16^{14}) and 'the devout women' of Antioch (13^{50}), we cannot determine the degree of their connexion with Judaism; but Cornelius is unmistakably an uncircumcised foreigner (ἀλλόφυλος, 10^{28}), with whom a Jew could have no free intercourse (11^3). Bertholet is obliged to say that

* See Zec 2^{11}, Est 9^{27}.

† Cf. Dt 6^{13} 10^{20}.

‡ Naaman is hardly an exception, since he can worship J" in a foreign land only by taking some of J"'s land with him (2 K $5^{17.18}$).

§ See references above.

‖ So Philo contrasts proselytes with apostates (οἱ τῶν ἱερῶν νόμων ἀποστάντες, *de Pœnit.* 2).

* See references in Cremer's *Wörterbuch*, *s.* φοβέω.

† Bertholet (p. 181 f.), Baethgen (*Die Psalmen*) on Ps 115^{11}; Wellhausen (*PB*). This interpretation goes back to Theodoret, Ibn Ezra, Rashi.

‡ These are 'the Greeks who honour our customs' (*Ant.* III. viii. 9); those who have a 'zeal for our religion' (*c. Ap.* ii. 29).

the phrase *φοβούμενος τὸν θεόν* (10[2. 22]) is not used of him in its technical sense. It is true that its use here, in connexion with other descriptive words, and especially in v.[35] ('he that fears him and works righteousness'), does not suggest the technical name of a definite class of men. But surely Cornelius would have been found in the synagogue on the Sabbath (see 10[2. 22]), and he is not to be distinguished from the class of foreigners informally connected with Judaism, with whom the other passages acquaint us. Another such is the centurion who loved the Jewish nation and built them a synagogue (Lk 7[2-9]); and another, the eunuch who came to Jerusalem to worship (Ac 8[27ff.]), but who could not, if he would, enter into the assembly of the Lord (Dt 23[1]); others are mentioned in Jn 12[20].

Bertholet is probably right in insisting that there was only one sort of convert, the circumcised foreigner, who undertook to fulfil the whole law (Gal 5[3]). He recognizes, too (pp. 298–300, 334), the undoubted fact that Cornelius was a representative of a large class of Greeks who were attracted by certain beliefs of Judaism, and adopted certain of its customs, were recognized by Jews as religious and virtuous men, but did not cross the strict line which still separated Jew from Gentile. But it seems probable that he is mistaken in combating the common view that such Greeks were called 'God-fearers.' It is true that, in the absence of evidence of the common use of the word 'proselyte' itself, we might be tempted to find in *ὁ φοβούμενος* an earlier technical name for the proselyte proper, as Cremer seems to do* on the basis of 2 Ch 5[6] LXX. But for this the evidence is too slight.

The number of foreigners who had come in some measure under the Jewish religion was, according to Josephus (*Ant.* XIV. vii. 2; *c. Ap.* ii. 29) and Philo (*Vita Mos.* ii. 4), very large.† Schürer's careful collection and investigation of the evidence of inscriptions‡ proves that there were Greek religious societies in the first centuries after Christ, of so-called 'worshippers of the Most High God,' who got their name and their monotheistic faith from the Jews, and yet held to many elements of Greek religion. They were a result, in Schürer's opinion, of Jewish propaganda, but remained part Jewish, part Greek, in very varying proportions. One who belonged to such a society could well have *σεβόμενος*, or *metuens*, inscribed on his tomb.§

The 'God-fearers,' then, are not proselytes in any proper sense, in spite of Ac 13[43], which, if not due to an early textual error, is an indication of a somewhat free, untechnical use of *προσήλυτοι* itself, such as the LXX would suggest. If the latter be allowed here, the question might arise whether all the 'proselytes' in 2[10] were certainly circumcised. The question is made the harder by the uncertainty whether the phrase applies only to the Romans (Zahn) or to all those named in vv.[9. 10] (Holtzmann, etc.), and whether they were then permanent residents in Jerusalem (v.[5]), or pilgrims to the feast.

The phrase *Proselytes of the Gate* has nothing whatever to do with the *σεβόμενοι τὸν θεόν*. It is simply a late Rabbinical title (after Ex 20[10], Dt 5[14] etc.) for sojourners in Israel's land (the original *gērîm*). Earlier, in the Mishna, such a person is *gēr tôshāb* (cf. Lv 25[47b]).‖ In distinction from these, the proselyte was called by late Rabbis the '*Proselyte of Righteousness*,' while in the Mishna he is simply the '*gēr*.'*

Although there were among the heathen many who were attracted by the monotheism and morality of Judaism, and attended the synagogue services, yet these were not in our sense proselytes. A heathen could become a Jew only by circumcision, hence there was but one order of proselytes proper. Lardner had already made the correct observation: 'There was but one sort of proselytes among the Jews (the circumcised), and Cornelius was not a proselyte but a Gentile.'† But that the word *προσήλυτος* was applied exclusively to these in NT times is not certain.

iii. *The Duties and Rights of Proselytes, i.e.* of circumcised foreigners, were ideally the same as those of circumcised Jews (Ex 12[49]). Philo gives abundant evidence that a Greek became a proselyte only by a violent and absolute break with his past life and associations.‡ So Tacitus (*Hist.* v. 5) says that proselytes learn to despise the gods, cast off the fatherland, and hold parents, children, brothers, in contempt. The story of Izates is not in conflict with this.§ His first Jewish adviser dissuaded him from circumcision, telling him that he could worship the deity (*τὸ θεῖον σέβειν*) without it. But this only meant that it was better for him to remain a heathen and not to become a Jew. The second adviser encouraged him to become a proselyte.

If circumcision was the decisive step in the case of all male converts, there seems no longer room for serious question that a bath of purification must have followed, even though early mention of such *proselyte baptism* is not found.‖ The law (Lv 11–15, Nu 19) prescribed such baths in all cases of impurity, and one who came with the deep impurity of a heathen life behind him could not have entered the Jewish community without such cleansing. As long as the temple stood, an offering made a third (in case of women a second) rite in connexion with the proselyte's reception.

According to Dt 23[2 (1)ff.] full entrance into the assembly of the Lord was denied entirely to eunuchs (but see Is 56[3-5]), bastards,¶ Ammonites, and Moabites; while admittance was granted to children of the third generation in the case of the Edomite and the Egyptian. It is not clear how far this principle may have been applied in later times, or just what restrictions it implied.** Certainly, the Passover could be observed after circumcision (Ex 12[48]).

Various practical limitations of the rights of proselytes (in respect to marriage, etc.) which later Rabbis discuss, probably belong to the intensified racial feeling which followed the rise of Christianity and the fall of Jerusalem. The proselyte seems to have been feared rather than sought or welcomed by the Judaism of the Talmud.††

The proselyte would, of course, have needed *instruction*, both before and after his admission to

* *Wörterbuch*, *s.* *προσήλυτος*, *φοβέω*.

† See confirmatory evidence in Bertholet, p. 298 ff., and Schürer.

‡ *Die Juden im bosporanischen Reiche und die Genossenschaften der σεβόμενοι θεὸν ὕψιστον ebendaselbst*, 1897.

§ Against Bertholet, p. 332.

‖ The *gēr* and *tôshāb* are distinguished in Ex 12[45. 48], Lv 25[47a], Nu 35[15] etc., but are closely associated (cf. Gn 23[4], Lv 25[23. 35], 1 Ch 29[15], Ps 39[13], and Lv 25[6. 45]).

* To Schürer belongs the credit of having corrected current misconceptions on this matter.

† *Works*, vol. vi. pp. 522–533, cf. xi. pp. 306–324. Lardner also saw that the distinction of 'proselytes of the gate' and 'of righteousness,' and the construction of the Noachic commands for the former, were recent.

‡ *De Vict. Offerent.* 10, *de Creat. Prin.* 6, *de Carit.* 12, etc. See other references above.

§ *Ant.* xx. ii. 2–4.

‖ Baptism of converts is not mentioned by Philo or Josephus, but the Mishna presupposes it. See also Arrian, and *Sib. Or.* iv. 164; Schürer, *HJP* II. ii. 319–324 (cf. BAPTISM, III. *a*).

¶ On the meaning of the Heb. *mamzēr* in Dt 23[3 (2)], see Driver, *ad loc.*, and Nestle in *Expos. Times*, Feb. 1900, p. 235.

** See Philo, *de Carit.* 13 end (cf. Ezk 47[22] 'which shall beget children among you').

†† See Bertholet, pp. 339–349; Schürer, *HJP* II. ii. 334 ff.; Weber, *Die Jüdische Theologie* (Index, *s.* 'Proselyten').

the Jewish community. One might be tempted to find evidence of early catechetical instruction in such passages as Ps 15. $24^{3ff.}$ 34^{13-15},* Is 33^{14-16} etc. In Harnack's opinion we have in Διδ. 1^{1-3a} 2^{2}–5^{2} and fragments in chs. 8 and 13, a book of instruction for Jewish proselytes called 'The Two Ways.'

With the disappearance of a definite second order of 'Proselytes of the Gate,' the question of special rules for them falls away for the biblical period. The so-called 'seven commands of the children of Noah,' which the Talmud holds to be valid for the *gēr tôshāb*,† are a product of legal theorizing, and could never have been enforced by the Jewish authorities of NT times on the Greeks and Romans who lived in Palestine.

As the σεβόμενοι τὸν θεόν were Gentiles, the Jewish authorities would hardly attempt to give detailed rules for their life. They would rather accept whatever measure of homage Greeks paid to their religion as contributing to its glory, and would, according to their generosity of disposition, recognize and admire moral rectitude and even religious reverence among the heathen. For such recognition of ethnic religion and morality the OT prepared the way.‡

The apostolic decree of Ac $15^{28.\ 29}$, cf. vv.$^{19.\ 20}$ 21^{25}, no doubt prohibits some of the heathen practices which were most offensive to Jews,§ but cannot be identified with any known or probable Jewish rules for the σεβόμενοι. It was only Christians who had to face the problem of providing a *modus vivendi* between Jews and Gentiles. That Jews did not eat with even the best of the σεβόμενοι the story of Cornelius is striking proof. The Jewish customs which the σεβόμενοι seem chiefly to have observed were the Sabbath, the kindling of lights (before Sabbath, so as not to violate Ex 35^{3}), the fasts, certain food laws, contributions to the temple,‖ charity to the poor, and other moral virtues.¶

iv. *The History of Jewish Proselytism* cannot even be sketched within the limits of this article.** Although the prophets furnished the universal faith which must underlie missionary effort; and though Judaism cherished the hope that J" would be recognized by all nations, yet it is only among the Jews of the Greek Dispersion that anything like a propaganda can be found. According to the ruling view, which Pharisaism represented, the conversion of the heathen was to be accomplished by God rather than by man. It belonged to eschatology. The Book of Jonah uncovers and rebukes the deep-seated reluctance of Judaism to go to the heathen with a message for their salvation. In the Dispersion outward and inward conditions favoured a more open and generous attitude. Jews could not but be influenced by the breadth of Greek thought, and Greeks were drawn by the mere spectacle of a people who held a monotheistic faith and led a moral life. The Hellenistic-Jewish literature was no doubt in part aimed at heathen readers, and meant to persuade them of the falsity of polytheism and idolatry, and the truth of the sacred books, the laws, and the doctrines of Judaism.†† The synagogues were open to foreigners, and were the most effective agency in the propagation of Judaism (cf. Ac 15^{21} fulfilling v.^{17}). Whether the temple at Leontopolis had a similar effect it is hard to say (cf. Is $19^{19ff.}$?).

It is extremely difficult to measure the results of such efforts. The number of those who were more or less influenced by Judaism was no doubt very great. The number of circumcised proselytes may have been relatively small, but, on the other hand, it may have helped to fill out the great multitude of Jews who were to be found in Egypt, Syria, Asia Minor, Greece, and Italy.

In Palestinian Judaism it is hard to find evidence in the time of Christ of that zeal of which Mt 23^{15} speaks. There is evidence of large accessions to the Jewish community during the latter part of the Persian and the beginning of the Greek periods,* a result perhaps of the impulses of which Is 40 ff., Ruth, Jonah, and such Psalms as 22. 47. 65–67. 83 are expressions, which the work of Ezra and Nehemiah only temporarily repressed. The use of Aramaic, the language of neighbouring peoples, is a fact worthy of consideration in this connexion. A reaction and a closing of doors came with the reign of Antiochus IV. and the rise of the Pharisaic party.

The Maccabæan princes revived the old method of proselytizing by force. So John Hyrcanus, having conquered Idumæa, permitted the inhabitants to remain in the land if they would be circumcised and adopt the laws and customs of the Jews.† The similar forcible conversion of the Ituræans by Aristobulus‡ is regarded by Schürer § as referring to Galilee. At the beginning of the Maccabæan wars this had still been a heathen country, with a few scattered communities of Jews in it, who could be transferred bodily to Judæa (1 Mac 5^{9-54}). The earliest references to these Jewish converts in Galilee are found in 2 Ch $30^{10.\ 11}$ (cf. 13^{2}, 2 Ch 15^{9}).‖ 'It is hardly to be doubted that the proper Judaizing of Galilee is essentially the work of Aristobulus I.' (B.C. 105–104). The strong Jewish community in Rome is plausibly traced to Numenius and his embassy (1 Mac 14^{24} $15^{16ff.}$).¶

But of a proselytizing work by Pharisees their literature gives us little information. The story of Helena and Izates remains isolated. Saul may be cited as a Pharisee who was zealous for the extension of his religion, but his effort was not to make converts from heathenism, but to prevent Christians from converting Jews. St. Paul's Jewish-Christian adversaries were proselytizers (Gal 1^{6-10} 3^{1} 5^{2-12} etc.), and perhaps reveal the quality in Pharisaism which Mt 23^{15} condemns.

The Pharisaic ideal remained one of separation. Such propaganda as they attempted seems to have aimed at the realization of the hope that no uncircumcised alien should render Israel and its land and temple unclean.** It does not reflect the surprising generosity of Dt $23^{7.\ 8}$, Is 19^{18-25}, Zec 9^{7} toward Israel's traditional foes.†† The expectation of a future missionary era (Enoch 91^{14} ?) is rare. Proselytism was a sort of conquest or subjugation, for the benefit of the conquerors, not of the conquered,‡‡

* Note גר, and see Bertholet, p. 193.

† *Aboda Zara* 64*b*; Schürer, *HJP* II. ii. p. 318 f. These were (1) judgments (obedience to them); and prohibition of (2) blasphemy, (3) idolatry, (4) unchastity, (5) murder, (6) stealing, (7) eating blood.

‡ *e.g.* Melchizedek, Job, Ps 88. 89, cf. 1 K 5^{11} (4^{31}), Mal 1^{11}, Ps 65^{2}, Bk. of Jonah. So also the account of creation (Gn $1^{26ff.}$, Is 42^{5}, cf. St. Paul's use of it in Ac $17^{24ff.}$), and such hopes as Zec $9^{1.\ 10}$ 14^{9}, Jl $2^{28.\ 32}$, Is $25^{7.\ 8}$, Ps $47^{8.\ 9}$ $22^{27.\ 28}$.

§ See Lv 17^{10}–18^{30}, Ezk $33^{25.\ 26}$, Zec 9^{7} etc.

‖ Cf. Gal 2^{10}, Ac 24^{17}, Ro $15^{25ff.}$, 1 Co 16^{1-3} etc.

¶ Philo, *Vita Mos.* ii. 4; Jos. *Ant.* XIV. vii. 2, *c. Ap.* ii. 39.

** See Bertholet, *l.c.*; Löhr, *Der Missionsgedanke im Alten Test.* 1896; Siegfried, 'Prophetische Missionsgedanken und jüdische Missionsbestrebungen,' in *Jahrb. Prot. Theol.* 1890.

†† See Schürer, *HJP* II. iii. 248 ff.

* See Wellhausen, *Isr. und jüd. Geschichte*, p. 160 (3rd ed. p. 199 ff.).

† *Ant.* XIII. ix. 1, cf. XV. vii. 9.

‡ *Ant.* XIII. xi. 3, xv. 4.

§ *HJP* I. i. 293 *f.*, Index, p. 91; *GJV*^{3} ii. 5–7; followed by Wellhausen, Bertholet, etc.

‖ The Book of Judith also indicates isolated Jewish towns amid heathen surroundings.

¶ Schürer, *HJP* I. i. p. 266 ff.; Bertholet, p. 227 ff.

** See Ezk 44^{9}, Is 52^{1} 35^{8}, Nah 1^{15}, Zec 14^{21}, Jl 3^{17}, Ps.-Sol 17^{30}, cf. Rev 21^{27} 22^{15}.

†† It is very difficult to determine the historical conditions that produced these exceptional utterances.

‡‡ The Jews were always ready to say to those whose help they needed, 'Come with us, and we will do you good.' See Nu 10^{29-32} (JE).

and it is fair to say that the Jewish proselyte did not form a link between the Jews and the Gentiles, but emphasized and widened the difference. Nor did the proselyte prepare the way for Christianity. He may well have been the worst of St. Paul's enemies, while the σεβόμενος, who did not count as a Jew at all, was the first of his converts. Josephus gives an interesting illustration of the truth that it was the narrow Jews who insisted on proselytism, while his own more liberal temper was satisfied that every one should worship God according to his preference.* Only a few could recognize that the worship of one God and the practice of righteousness (Ac 10^{35}) were more important than the observance of legal rites, beginning with circumcision, which were essentially tribal in character. In the common Jewish judgment these Greeks were dogs who ate the crumbs that fell from their masters' table, and only a prophet could see in them a greater faith than Israel's. But in reality the best influence of Judaism is to be found in that large class of heathen to whom it taught the worship of one God and the pursuit of virtue, and not in the class of actual converts.

LITERATURE.—Bertholet, *Die Stellung der Israeliten und der Juden zu den Fremden* (1896); Schürer, *HJP* II. ii. pp. 291–327, cf. p. 219 ff., iii. 270–320 (cf. *GJV*^{3} § 31); Allen, 'On the Meaning of προσήλυτος in the Septuagint' (*Expositor*, 1894, pp. 264–275); A. B. Davidson, 'They that Fear the Lord,' in *Expos. Times*, iii. (1892), 491 ff.; J. Strauss, 'Table-Fellowship of Jew and Gentile,' in *Expos. Times*, iv. (1893), 307 ff. On later Rabbinical views see Bacher, *Die Agada der Tannaiten*, *Die Agada der palästinensischen Amoräer* (Index, *s.* 'Proselyten'); Weber, *Die Jüdische Theologie* (Index, *s.* 'Proselyten'); Hamburger, *Real-Ency.* (art. 'Proselyt'). F. C. PORTER.

PROVE.—There are several Heb. and Gr. verbs translated 'prove' in AV, but they fall into two classes, according as the Eng. word means (1) to test, put to the proof; or (2) to bring forward proof, demonstrate. The first is the more primitive meaning, as well in the Lat. *probare* and the Fr. *prover* as in the Eng. 'prove.' It has now gone out of use, but in AV it is rather more frequent than the second meaning. A familiar example is Mal 3^{10} 'Prove me now herewith, saith the Lord of Hosts, if I will not open you the windows of heaven, and pour you out a blessing.' Cf. Udall, *Erasmus' Paraphrase*, i. 67, 'Jesus thought good to prove how much his scholars had profited by hearing so muche communicacion, and by seeing so many miracles . . . therefore he demandeth of them, saying, Whom doe men talke that the sone of man is?' and p. 103, 'Pilate perceyvyng that though he proved all wayes and meanes yet he prevayled nothyng . . . he assoyled Jesus before that he condemned hym.' This, as Skeat remarks, is the meaning of 'prove' in the proverb, 'The exception proves the rule'=Lat. *exceptio probat regulam*; the idea that an exception *demonstrates* a rule is, as he says, plainly absurd. See also Driver, *Parallel Psalter*, 452 f.

J. HASTINGS.

PROVERB.—i. *The connotation of the term 'Proverb.'* The proverb is a familiar phenomenon, but when the question is put, What is its place in the system of devices that enter into the employment of language, a correct reply will hardly be found in the literature dealing with the use of proverbs. An attempt will be made in the present article to furnish a satisfactory answer. We assign the proverb to the category of *synecdochical* expressions, regarding it as a species of the *totum pro parte*. The proverb is a general proposition, which throws its light upon a number of single instances. This is confirmed by the biblical usage in two ways—(*a*) It happens more than once in the OT that one and the same sentence is in one passage put into the mouth of the general subject 'they' (Germ. *man*, Fr. *on*), and in another is called a 'proverb.' In 1 S 19^{24b} we read, 'Wherefore they say, Is Saul also among the prophets?' whereas in the parallel passage (10^{12b}) we find, 'Therefore it became a *māshāl*, Is Saul also among the prophets'? Again, in Jer 31^{29} we read, 'In those days they shall say no more, The fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge,' but in Ezk 18^{2} we find in place of this, 'What mean ye, that ye use this *māshāl* in the land of Israel, The fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge?' (*b*) But even the meaning of *māshāl* appears to the present writer to show that the sayings to which this designation is applied were general propositions. For in art. PARABLE (IN OT) we consider we have proved that the original sense of *māshāl* was 'likeness' or 'identity,' and as the usual form of an identification is the combination of subject and predicate, *māshāl* became an expression for a judgment in general. What, then, is the Hebrew *māshāl* but a general proposition? In this way we may explain the use of *māshāl* also for an authoritative utterance in Nu $23^{7.\ 18}$ $24^{3.\ 15.\ 20f.\ 23}$, Job 27^{1} 29^{1}. From this point *māshāl* could readily attain to the meaning 'proverb,' which it possesses also, *e.g.*, in the recently-discovered Heb. text of Sir 47^{17a}, where we read משל, Syr. ܡܬܠܐ, Gr. παροιμίαι, Vetus (=Vulgate) Latina *proverbia*.

ii. *The general proposition and the proverb in the narrower sense in their mutual relations.*—These two belong to the same category, and the border-line between them cannot always be sharply drawn; but the essential difference between a general proposition and a proverb is this, that the proverb has entered more upon the stage of *unconscious* existence. Prominent representatives of the two groups are the following: (*a*) *General sentences* such as 'Thou shalt not muzzle the ox when he treadeth out the corn' (Dt 25^{4}). This sentence is, so to speak, on the way to go over to the camp of the proverbs (cf. 1 Co 9^{9}, 1 Ti 5^{18}), but it has not yet reached this goal. Other general sentences of the same kind occur in 1 S 15^{22} ('To obey is better than sacrifice'), 1 K 20^{11b}, Jer 13^{23} 23^{28b}, Ps 62^{10a}, 2 Ch $25^{8b}\beta$, cf. Lk 1^{37}.—(*b*) But such sayings as the following have more certainly attained to the stage of current use, and are therefore *proverbs* in the more special sense: 'as Nimrod a mighty hunter [*i.e.* warrior or conqueror] before the LORD,' Gn 10^{9b}, cf. 22^{14b}, Jg 8^{21a}, 1 S 10^{12} (‖ 19^{24}) 24^{14}, 2 S 5^{8b} 20^{18}, Is $32^{6a\alpha}$, Jer 31^{29}, Ezk 12^{22} 16^{44b} 18^{2}, Job 2^{4b}, Lk 4^{23}, Jn 4^{37} (ὁ λόγος, κ.τ.λ.), 2 P 2^{22} (παροιμία).—The genetic relation of the two groups is this, that the general sentences form a *wider circle*, from which the proverbs stand out as an *élite*, and *the two concentric circles* form a constant parallel.—There is even a passage in the OT where the characteristic of currency which belongs to the proverb proper has clear expression given to it. We refer to 1 S 24^{13}, where the sentence 'Out of the wicked cometh forth wickedness' is called מְשֹׁל מִקַּדְמֹנִי, *i.e.* 'the proverb of the ancients' (cf., on the collective sense of the singular, König, *Syntax*, § 256e). What can this mean but that this judgment has been long passed, and preserved during the centuries? It is the same when in 2 S 20^{18} we read, 'They were wont in *old* time to speak, saying, They shall surely ask counsel at Abel.' On the other hand, the OT contains a remark from which we see that general sentences might be regarded as the product of reflexion. In the passage (Ec 12^{9-12}) where the Preacher says that he sought out many parables (מְשָׁלִים, lit. 'sentences'), he adds, 'Much study is a weariness of the flesh.' So in the Heb.

* *Vita*, 23, 31, and cf. *Ant.* IV. viii. 10, x. xi. 7, XVI. vi. 8, *c. Ap.* ii. 33, 40; Philo, *de Monarch.* i. 7 (cf. Jer 2^{11} 18^{13-15}, Mic 4^{5}).

text of Sir 13[26b] we read 'Study and meditation is wearisome thought,' where in the Greek version this 'study' is specialized as *εὕρεσις παραβολῶν*, 'invention of parables.'

iii. *The form of the proverb.* — The following varieties of form are to be noted—(*a*) Some of these sentences are *affirmative*, and serve to commend the individual to whom the general judgment is applied. This is illustrated by the very first proverb we encounter in the Bible, namely, 'as Nimrod a mighty conqueror in the estimation of Jahweh' (Gn 10[9b]). Another *māshāl* may have a *negative* character, and pass a taunting criticism on the persons to whom such a negative *māshāl* refers. This is the case with the sentence, 'Wherefore they that speak in proverbs say, Come unto Heshbon,' etc. (Nu 21[27]), or with the question, 'Is Saul also among the prophets?' (1 S 10[12] ‖ 19[24]). A taunting oracle of this kind is also to be spoken over the king of Babylon, when that city at last reaps the reward of her tyranny (Is 14[4] 'Thou shalt take up this parable against the king of Babylon, and say, How hath the oppressor ceased, the golden city ceased!'). The same phenomenon occurs in Hab 2[6], and a similar negative *māshāl* is spoken about disobedient Israel in Mic 2[4]. Hence a formidable threat, occurring not rarely in the OT, is that some one shall be made the subject of a *māshāl*. Thus Israel, if it persists in its impiety, is to be a 'proverb' (Dt 28[37]). The other examples are: 1 K 9[7], Jer 24[9], Ezk 14[8] (לְמָשָׁל֔וֹם), Ps 44[15] 69[12], Job 17[6] (לְמָשָׁל), 2 Ch 7[20].

(*b*) Another *formal* difference amongst proverbs shows itself in their varying *lengths*. A judgment is naturally expressed, of course, in a single simple sentence, and so we find it not only in that 'proverb of the ancients' in 1 S 24[14], but in the great majority of the proverbs contained in the historical and prophetical books of the Bible. Jer 31[29] and Ezk 12[22] 18[2] are exceptions, for in these the sentences are made up of two simple statements: for instance in the *māshāl* 'The days are prolonged, and every vision faileth' (Ezk 12[22]). From this formal point of view we naturally obtain a rule of considerable importance for determining the *date* of the proverbs contained in the 'book of *mĕshālîm*' (Pr 1[1. 6] 26[7. 9]). That the Book of Proverbs does not form a unity is evident even from the titles which we meet with in 10[1] 22[17] 24[23] 25[1] 30[1] 31[1]. For whoever prefixed to the 10th chapter the title 'the Proverbs of Solomon,' did not suppose that proverbs of Solomon were contained also in chs. 1–9. Now, the section 10[1]–22[16] possesses this formal characteristic, that the sentences contained in it are, with the exception of 19[7] (cf. 21[25f.]), expressed in *isolated distichs*, and although in these sentences causal (16[12. 26] 19[19] 21[25] 22[9]) or final (15[24] 16[30]) clauses make their appearance, yet they form a part of the particular distich. But in the section 22[17]–24[34] groups of four, five, six, or more *stichoi* are more frequent. On the other hand, in chs. 25–29 the sentence is again frequently expressed by isolated distichs (25[11. 12. 14ff. 23ff.], esp. chs. 28 and 29), or by tristichs (25[8. 13]), although tetrastichs also occur (perhaps in 25[2f. 4f.], certainly in [6f. 9f. 21f.]) The last two chapters of the book contain as a rule larger groups of lines, and exhibit also such devices as the alphabetical poem (31[10-31]). But the isolation of the sentences is almost entirely wanting in chs. 1–9. There the teacher of wisdom develops his ideas almost always in connected expositions (cf. 1[8f. 10-19] 2[1-9. 10f.] etc.). From these considerations alone the conclusion may be drawn with much probability that in the section 10[1]–22[16] we have the oldest collection of sayings (so recently also Wildeboer in his essay, *De Tijdsbepaling van het boek der Spreuken*, 1899, p. 7). See, further, the following article. This rule that the extent of the clauses in which a sentiment is expressed, increased in general as time went on, is favoured also when we compare the groups of sayings of Ben Sira (1[1-20. 21-26. 27-30] 2[1-18] etc.). The Book of Qoheleth, which, in the opinion of the present writer (cf. *Einleitung*, pp. 433–435), was written still later, is likewise composed for the most part of continuous expositions. Post-biblical Jewish works also exhibit proverbs only of that kind which are inwoven in a continuous text, as pearls are wont to be set in gold. Such is the case in the tractate *Pirkê Aboth* (lit. 'chapters of the fathers'), which is perhaps the oldest portion of the Mishna.

iv. *The material of the Biblical proverbs.*—This may be best illustrated by indicating the *spheres* from which the particular sayings are drawn. These are mainly five—

(*a*) From the *Mineral* Kingdom we have the following: 'The waters wear the stones' (Job 14[19]), the Hebrew pendant to 'gutta cavat saxum'; 'A word fitly spoken (is like) apples of gold in pictures of silver' (Pr 25[11]); 'Iron sharpeneth iron' (27[17]); 'In the fire is the gold tried' (Sir 2[5]); 'Gold has ruined many' (8[2c]); 'Whoso toucheth pitch it shall cleave to his hand' (13[1a], Heb. text translated by C. Taylor); 'What fellowship shall earthen pot have with kettle, when, if this smite that, it is dashed in pieces?' (13[2c]); 'What is heavier than lead,' etc.? (22[14]); 'Sand and salt and a mass of iron is easier to bear than a man without understanding' (v.[15]).

(*b*) From the *Vegetable* Kingdom we note first of all the proud question by which Jeremiah distinguishes himself from his rivals: 'What is the chaff to the wheat?' (23[28b]). To the same category partially belongs also the saying about the eating of sour grapes (Jer 31[29], Ezk 18[2]), as well as the following sentences: 'Better is a dinner of herbs where love is, than a stalled ox and hatred therewith' (Pr 15[17] ‖ 17[1]); 'Wine is a mocker' (Pr 20[1]); 'Drowsiness shall clothe (a man) with rags' (23[21b]); cf. 'Seek not to be a mighty man at wine' (Sir 34[25]); 'Like a new wine, so is a new friend' (9[10c]); and 'Wine and women will make men of understanding to fall away' (19[2a]).

(*c*) From the *Animal* Kingdom are derived the following general sayings and proverbs: first comes the caution, 'Thou shalt not muzzle the ox when he treadeth out the corn' (Dt 25[4]); next, the earnest question, 'Can the leopard change his spots?' (Jer 13[23]); to which may be added the general sayings, 'Go to the ant, thou sluggard; consider her ways, and be wise' (Pr 6[6]); 'Where no oxen are, the crib is clean' (14[4], cf. Sir 26[7]); 'A whip for the horse, a bridle for the ass, and a rod for the fool's back' (26[3]); 'Skin for skin' (Job 2[4]); 'Doth the wild ass bray when he hath grass?' (6[5]); 'Small among flying creatures is the bee, and her fruit is the chief of sweetmeats' (Sir 11[3]); 'Who will pity (?) a charmer that is stung?' (12[13a] translated from the Heb. by C. Taylor); 'All flesh loveth its kind' (13[15a] כל הבשר יאהב מינו; cf. the Arabic, 'One camel kneels again in the place of another,' *ap.* Schultens, *Gram. Arab.* p. 297; *ἦλιξ ἥλικα τέρπει*; 'Pares cum paribus facillime congregantur'; 'Qui se ressemblent s'assemblent'; 'Birds of a feather flock together'); 'What fellowship shall wolf have with lamb?' (Sir 13[17a] מה יחובר זאב אל כבש); 'Flee from sin as from a serpent,' etc. (21[2a]); 'The true proverb, The dog is turned to his own vomit again, and, The sow that was washed to her wallowing in the mire' (2 P 2[22]).

(*d*) Other sayings in the Bible which border on the realm of proverbs, or belong to it, are borrowed from the *human* sphere; and if it is desired to divide this large group into its particular species, these may be given as follows:—(α) Many proverbs

are derived from the life of the *individual*. To this category belong the frequently cited 'As Nimrod,' etc. (Gn 10^{9b}); 'Is Saul also among the prophets?' (1 S 10^{12} ‖ 19^{24}); 'As is the mother, so is her daughter' (Ezk 16^{44b}); 'Treasures of wickedness profit nothing' (Pr 10^{2a}; cf. the Arab. *maṯal*^{un}, 'Poverty is better than unlawful riches and unrighteous gain,' *ap.* Schultens, *Gram. Arab.* p. 284; 'Ill-gotten goods do not prosper'; 'Bien mal acquis ne profite pas'); 'The memory of the just is blessed,' etc. (Pr 10^{7} $13^{11.\ 20a}$); 'Righteousness exalteth a nation' (14^{34}); 'A soft answer turneth away wrath' (15^{1}); 'In all *labour* there is profit' (14^{23a}), cf. the following negative parallels: 'The *sluggard* will not plough by reason of the cold,' etc. (20^{4a} 22^{13} 24^{33} 26^{13-16}); 'A sluggard may be compared to a dirty stone' (Sir 22^{1}; cf. the Arabic saying, 'Sloth and much sleep lead away from God, and bring poverty,' *ap.* Schultens, *Gram. Arab.* p. 281 f.); 'It is better to dwell in a corner of the housetop than with a brawling *woman* in a wide house' (Pr 21^{9}; similar sayings about women are found in v.^{19} 25^{24} 27^{15}, cf. the extravagant hyperbole in 'I would rather dwell with a lion and a dragon than in a house with an angry woman' (Sir 25^{16})); 'A *friend* will not be known (יודע) in prosperity,' etc. (Sir 12^{8}, translated by C. Taylor); 'Whoso diggeth a *pit* shall fall therein' (Pr 26^{27}, and similarly Ec 10^{8}, Sir 27^{26}; cf. 'He who digs a pit for another, may soon fall himself therein,' or 'celui qui creuse la fosse y tombera'); 'Give to a brother, and let thy soul fare delicately' (Sir 14^{16a}, Heb. text נ' לאח וג); 'A slip on a pavement is better than a slip with the tongue' (Sir 20^{18a}); 'A *lie* is a foul blot in a man' (v.^{24a}; cf. the Arabic, 'The tongue of the dumb is better than the tongue which speaks lies,' *ap.* Schultens, *Gram. Arab.* p. 284); 'He who multiplies words occasions sin' (*Pirḳê Aboth*, i. 17); 'A rough (or boorish) man fears not sin' (אין בור יירא חטא, *ib.* ii. 5); 'Whoso makes much flesh makes many worms' (*ib.* ii. 7; cf. Is 14^{11b} 66^{24b}, Job 7^{5a} 17^{14b} 21^{26b} 24^{20a} 25^{6a}).—(β) Other proverbs draw a lesson from the life of *nations* or other wider circles of the human race: 'They shall surely ask counsel at *Abel*' (2 S 20^{18}); 'Can the *Ethiopian* change his skin?' (Jer 13^{23}); 'As the man is, so is his strength' (Jg 8^{21a}); 1 S 24^{14}; 'The vile person will speak villainy' (Is 32^{6a}); Jer 31^{29}= Ezk 18^{2}.—(γ) In that observation of human life which led to the constructing of proverbs, regard has also been had to the life of the *warrior*, as in 'As Nimrod,' etc. (Gn 10^{9b}), and in 'Let not him that girdeth on (his harness) boast himself as he that putteth it off' (1 K 20^{11b}); the conduct of the *trader* is noted in 'skin for skin' (Job 2^{4}, cf. the case of Shylock); the sphere of the *physician* is in view in 'Physician, heal thyself' (Lk 4^{23}); and the hard lot of the *husbandman* suggests the lesson, 'One soweth and another reapeth' (Jn 4^{37}).

(δ) From the religious or *supra-human* sphere the following sayings are derived: 'In the mount of the LORD it is seen' [*i.e.* Divine Providence is exercised; see, further, art. JEHOVAH-JIREH] (Gn 22^{14b}); 'The blind and the lame must not come into the house' (*i.e.* the temple, 2 S 5^{8b}); 'The days are prolonged, and every vision faileth' (Ezk 12^{22}); 'God hath power to help' (2 Ch 25^{8}; cf. 'With God nothing is impossible,' Lk 1^{37}). This noting of the *spheres* from which the biblical proverbs are derived, prepares us for recognizing the *origin* of these—

v. *The source of the proverbs of the Bible.*—This was twofold—one source formal, and one material. Their formal source lay in the ability of the human mind to *compare* the objects of its observation, and, from comparison of the various phenomena, to draw *conclusions*. The material source was the sum of experiences gathered by men in the different spheres of their environment. Both sources were in the last resort opened up by God himself. For the human capacity for separating off points of difference and combining similarities, was a feature in the Divine image which was bestowed on man at his creation (Gn $1^{26f.}$ 2^{7}), and which survived the Fall (Gn $5^{1.\ 3}$ 9^{6}, 1 Co 11^{7}, Ja 3^{9}); cf. 'The spirit of man is the candle of the LORD' (Pr 20^{27a}), and '(God) gave man understanding' (Sir 38^{6} ויתן לאנוש בינה). And is not the same God the final author of the experiences which form the material substratum of the biblical proverbs? Hence the aged appear as Jahweh's representatives in the congregation (Lv 19^{32} 'Thou shalt rise up before the hoary head, etc., and fear thy God'). They are celebrated also elsewhere as possessors of wisdom, cf. Pr 1^{8} 6^{20}, Job 12^{12} ('with the ancient is wisdom') $15^{9f.}$, although in the opinion of Elihu this rule is not without exceptions ($32^{7f.}$). So also Ben Sira: 'Miss not the discourse of the aged, for they also learned of their fathers' (Sir 8^{9a}); and the Preacher drew his sayings (משלים Ec 12^{9}) from the experiences of his long life (1^{13} 7^{26}); cf. the exhortation, 'Let our lord consult only his *old* men' (Tel el-Amarna Letters, ed. Winckler, No. xli. 11), and the Arabic, 'Length of experience is increase of knowledge' (*ap.* Schultens, *Gram. Arab.* p. 281). Hence we need not wonder that in the Bible itself proverbs are viewed as legitimate elements in its contents. Like the information of the husbandman spoken of in Is 28^{26}, they have their original source in the Divine arrangement of the world and disposition of history.

vi. *Proverbs outside Scripture.*—From the same standpoint as above it is explicable how the proverbs of the Bible agree essentially with those which we find in the *post-biblical* Jewish writings and in the literary treasures of *other nations*. Further materials for comparison beyond what have been already cited from both these classes of writings will be found in the Literature.

LITERATURE.—J. Buxtorf, *Florilegium Hebraicum*, 1648; R. J. Fürstenthal, *Rabbinische Anthologie*, 1835; J. Fürst, *Perlenschnüre aramäischer Gnomen und Lieder*, 1836; L. Dukes, *Rabbinische Blumenlese*, 1844, and *Zur rabbinischen Spruchkunde*, 1851; C. Taylor, *Sayings of the Jewish Fathers*^{2}, Cambridge, 1897, *Appendix*, Camb. 1900; S. Schechter, *Aboth de Rabbi Nathan*, Vindobonæ, 1887; Gabirol's ספר מבחר הפנינים, *A Choice of Pearls*, originally, compiled from the Arabic, translated into Hebrew, with a faithful Eng. tr. by B. H. Asher, London, 1859; Freytag, *Arabum proverbia*, 1838–43; the Ethiopic *Book of the Philosophers*, portions of which are given in Dillmann's *Chrestomathia Æthiopica*, p. 40ff.; G. Gerber, *Die Sprache als Kunst*, Bd. ii. (1885) p. 405 ff.; W. Budge, *Oriental Wit*, etc., London, 1899, p. 31 ff.

ED. KÖNIG.

PROVERBS, BOOK OF.—

Introduction.
i. Analysis of the book.
ii. Unity and Authorship.
iii. Dates of the various components of the book.
iv. Relation of the Massoretic text to the Versions.
Literature.

The Book of Proverbs (מִשְׁלֵי שְׁלֹמֹה; LXX title Παροιμίαι, subscr. B Παροιμίαι, A II. Σολομῶντος, ℵ II. Σαλ.) belongs, with Job and Qoheleth, to the Wisdom literature. In harmony with the character of the Hebrew *Ḥokhmah* (wisdom), which is inspired by religious motives, this book as a whole has a decidedly religious character, although we find also that many maxims have found their way into it which bear upon ordinary prudence of conduct, and are the result of purely human experience. See, further, art. WISDOM.

i. ANALYSIS OF THE BOOK.—The Book of Proverbs falls into a number of parts which are clearly distinct, and which are partially marked off by special titles—

(1) Chs. 1–9, which form the introduction to the

book which now follows. In 1^1 Solomon is named as the author of the proverbs, but v.^{6} appears also to announce the intention of publishing 'words and riddles of the wise.' The author of these chapters exhorts the reader, whom he addresses as 'my son,' to give himself with all earnestness to the pursuit of wisdom, and to flee folly, which is thought of predominatingly as consisting in sensual indulgences. In ch. 8 Wisdom is introduced speaking in person, while in ch. 9 'Madam Folly' is opposed to 'Madam Wisdom,' and the two are represented as issuing rival invitations to men. It is not possible to regard these chapters as a collection of various exhortations intended as words of introduction to books of proverbs (Bertheau), nor have we any right to assume that they contain serious interpolations (Hitzig). On the contrary, the unity of diction and of the whole mode of presentation, as well as the equally evident unity in the train of ideas throughout these chapters, point to a single author.

(2) Ch. 10^1–22^{16}, the 'proverbs of Solomon' (מִשְׁלֵי שְׁלֹמֹה 10^{1a}; LXX om.), forming the real kernel of the book. Each verse, consisting usually of seven, sometimes eight, rarely nine to eleven, words, forms a saying complete in itself and independent. In chs. 10–15 the *antithetic* parallelism predominates, in chs. 16–22^{16} the *synthetic*, along with which we find also the *synonymous*, in which the second member limits or expands or continues the first.

(3) Ch. 22^{17}–24^{22}. These 'words of the wise' (22^{17-21}) contain maxims and warnings which only exceptionally are comprised in a single verse; usually they extend to two, sometimes three, once even seven, verses. They are again addressed, like $1^{7ff.}$, to 'my son,' a form of address which is found in (2) only in the corrupt passage 19^{27}. The rigid poetical rhythm of (2) is not prominent in this section, here and there it is wanting entirely.

(4) Ch. 24^{23-34}. This appears to be an appendix to (3). It is headed, 'These are also words of the wise,' and may perhaps be reduced to seven sayings and exhortations, comprised for the most part in one verse, although the second consists of two, and the seventh of five, verses.

(5) Chs. 25–29, with the heading, 'These also are proverbs of Solomon, which the men of Hezekiah, king of Judah, collected,' 25^1. Here again, as a rule, each verse makes up a proverb (so always in chs. 28. 29), although at times two, in 27^{23-27} even five, verses have to go together. Some of the sayings are duplicates of proverbs contained in 10^1–22^{16}. The parallelism is not regular as in (2), but these sayings are distinguished by the pithiness of their contents and the rich imagery of their language. The religious character recedes far into the background; notably in chs. 25–27, they are for the most part sayings bearing purely upon a prudent direction of the conduct of life.

(6) Ch. 30, entitled 'Words of Agur,' made up, as to form and contents, of enigmatical sayings, and a few numerical proverbs such as meet us elsewhere only in 6^{6-19}. The title in 30^1 is manifestly corrupt (cf. Frankenberg or Wildeboer *ad loc.*, and art. AGUR).

(7) Ch. 31^{1-9}, exhortations to 'Lemuel, king of Massa' (see LEMUEL and MASSA), spoken by his mother. These may really be reduced to a single saying consisting of eight verses, in which the mother cautions her son against wine and women, and exhorts him to rule righteously (cf. Mühlau, *De Proverb. quæ dicuntur Aguri et Lemuelis origine atque indole*, Lipsiæ, 1869, and Kuenen, *Onderzoek*^{2}, § 95, note 10). The book closes with—

(8) Ch. 31^{10-31}, an alphabetical poem, standing by itself, without any connexion with what precedes, devoted to a panegyric on the virtuous housewife.

ii. UNITY AND AUTHORSHIP. — It is beyond question that in the present book we have to do not with a collection of proverbs which took their rise in the mouth of the people, but with artificially constructed poetry. Delitzsch has pointed to the saying contained in 1 S 24^{14} [Eng. ^{13}], 'Out of the wicked cometh forth wickedness,' as a specimen of the folk-proverb. The latter wants the rhythmical form, and is generally marked by pregnant brevity; cf. also 1 S 10^{12}, 1 K 20^{11}, Jer 31^{29}, Ezk 18^2, Lk 4^{23}, Jn 4^{37} (see the preceding article). But for such sayings we seek in vain in the Book of Proverbs. This is generally recognized to be the case, as is shown by the inquiry as to the authorship of our book and its sayings. From the titles in 10^1 25^1 22^{17} 24^{23a} 30^1 31^1 (cf. 1^6) it results with certainty that the traditional view, which credits Solomon with the authorship of our book and its individual parts, must be rejected. It must, further, be admitted that no principle can be distinguished upon which the proverbs are arranged. Sometimes, indeed, sayings of similar purport are brought together, which collectively make up a series of admonitions; or sayings in which the same word recurs are found in juxtaposition; but these are only isolated occurrences. Finally, it is a significant circumstance that the same proverbs are repeated in identical or almost identical terms in different parts of the book: compare 21^9 with 25^{24}, 18^8 with 26^{22}, 20^{16} with 27^{13}, 22^3 with 27^{12}, 19^{24} with 26^{15}, $17^{3a}=27^{21a}$, $19^{1a}=28^{6a}$, $15^{18a}=29^{22a}$, $22^{28a}=23^{10a}$, $24^{33.\ 34}=6^{10.\ 11}$, $22^{23a}=23^{11b}$, 24^6 compared with 20^{18b} and 11^{14b}; nay, even within the same division such repetitions make their appearance, *e.g.* $14^{12}=16^{15}$, $10^{2b}=11^{4b}$, $10^{15a}=18^{11a}$, $11^{21a}=16^{15b}$, $15^{33b}=18^{12b}$, and oft.; cf. Delitzsch, *Comm.* p. 21 ff.; Nowack (in the *Kgf. Hdbch.*), p. xxiv; Cornill, *Einleitung*^{2}, p. 225; Driver, *LOT*^{6}, p. 397. The phenomena just noticed necessitate the assumption that the different parts of our book belong to different authors, and consequently exclude the authorship of Solomon.

But although the book in its present form does not proceed from Solomon, may not particular portions of it be assigned directly or indirectly to him? One title (10^1) plainly credits him with the authorship of 10^1–22^{16}, while another (25^1 'proverbs of Solomon, which the men of Hezekiah, king of Judah, collected') ascribes chs. 25–29 at least indirectly to him. But these titles simply give expression to the tradition that prevailed at a particular period, while the fact that the men of Hezekiah are spoken of in the third person would appear to indicate that this note does not proceed from themselves, nay, the way in which Hezekiah is spoken of not as 'king,' but as 'king of Judah,' suggests that the note was written down at a time when there was no longer a king of Judah (cf. Baudissin, *Die. alttest. Spruchdichtung*, p. 11). We need not then regard it as impossible that we have to do with a literary fiction which attributed proverbs to Solomon, perhaps in order to enhance their value, just as the books of Qoheleth and Wisdom are also ascribed to him. Such a tradition is all the more intelligible, because not only was Solomon regarded as the beau ideal of wisdom, but in 1 K 4^{32} it is expressly stated that he spoke three thousand proverbs. This passage, in fact, has been sought to be used in support of the Solomonic authorship of our book, but (*a*) the Book of Proverbs contains only nine hundred and thirty-five verses, (*b*) 1 K 4^{32} says only that Solomon *spoke* three thousand proverbs, (*c*) this passage does not lead us to suppose that the contents of these proverbs belonged to the religious and moral sphere, rather would they appear from v.^{33} to have dealt with subjects of quite a different kind. Consequently the author

of 1 K 4^{32} cannot have meant his remarks to apply to our book, although it is quite conceivable that the tradition that Solomon was the author of the Book of Proverbs, or of particular portions of it, goes back for its basis to this passage.

Against the Solomonic authorship of the portions designated above (2) and (5), the contents of the proverbs contained in them are rightly urged: in $14^{28.\ 35}$ $16^{10.\ 14f.}$ $20^{2.\ 8.\ 26.\ 28}$ 21^{2} 22^{11} $25^{2f.\ 5f.}$ $29^{4.\ 14}$ it is not a king that speaks of himself, but another that speaks of the king, and the experiences underlying these proverbs are scarcely conceivable in the days of Solomon, rather do they point to later times; in 14^{1} 18^{22} $19^{13f.}$ $21^{9.\ 19}$—proverbs dealing with married and domestic life—monogamy is uniformly presupposed, and unquestionably the thought of a harem is far from the mind of the author; proverbs like those contained in 11^{28} $15^{16.\ 25}$ 16^{8} are unlikely in the mouth of the splendour-loving Solomon, etc.

Under these circumstances we must disregard the titles, and seek from internal evidence alone to date the composition of our book and of its parts.

iii. Dates of the various Components of the Book.—Which of the above divisions of the Book of Proverbs are we to make our starting-point? Hitzig and Hooykaas have taken 1^{7}–9 to be the oldest portion, holding that when 10^{1}–22^{16} were collected, 1^{7}–9 already existed. But simple comparison of the parallel passages in the two divisions does not justify such a conclusion; see Comm. on 18^{22} and 8^{35}; 14^{1} and 9^{1}; 19^{12b} and 3^{12}; 9 and 10^{1}; 12^{2} and 3^{21} 5^{2} 8^{12}; 12^{8} 16^{22} 19^{11} and 3^{4} 13^{15}; and cf. Kuenen, *l.c.* § 96, note 10. On the other hand, a comparison of the form of the proverbs and the conception of wisdom in these two divisions leads to the conclusion that the first division must be the more recent. The strict form of the *māshāl*, with its didactic tendency, as this appears throughout the second division, is suppressed in the first, and in its place a fuller presentation of the *parenesis* prevails. To regard a periodic structure such as we find here as older than the simple form of the distich in the second division is all the less possible, seeing that this first division also lets it be clearly seen that meanwhile wisdom has become a subject in the schools, where 'the wise' gathered their pupils around them as their 'sons,' a feature which is wanting in the second division. If one takes into account, finally, that in chs. 1–9 wisdom is thought of as an independent personality, who was with God even prior to the creation of the world, as the first of His works, who stood by His side as superintendent at the creation, and who now plays her rôle on earth among the children of men, whereas in the second division wisdom is partly prudent conduct and partly the fear of God by which one ensures for himself the blessing of God, namely long life, prosperity, etc., there can be no doubt that the second division (10^{1}–22^{16}) and the fifth (chs. 25–29), which are both attributed to Solomon, are older than the first (chs. 1–9).

The relation of the second and the fifth part *to one another* is not easy to determine. In chs. 25 ff. we find not only distichs, but also brief oracular discourses in which several verses are combined to express an idea (cf. 25^{23-28} and 27^{23-27}), while, further, in these chapters the rhythm is several times wanting or at least imperfect (cf. 25^{8} $26^{18f.}$). On these grounds it has generally been held that the fifth part is more recent than the second, in which we encounter nothing but distichs of uniformly pure rhythm. Hooykaas believes it possible to reach the same result by a comparison between the verses common to the two divisions, but an unprejudiced examination by no means establishes this conclusion, nay, Reuss (*La Bible*, vi. 149) actually calls 'the collection of the men of Hezekiah *the best part of the book*.' Viewed more exactly, the case stands thus: sometimes it is the second, sometimes the fifth, division that has preserved the original form of a proverb (cf. Kuenen, *l.c.* § 96, note 5). Very significant is the circumstance that in chs. 25–27 wisdom appears throughout as practical prudence of conduct, without any special religious tinge. This suggests that the fifth division, although as a collection more recent than the second, yet contains in part older proverbs than the latter (cf. Frankenberg, *Sprüche*, p. 8).

The third and fourth divisions are by general consent regarded as more recent than the second and fifth: instances of oracular discourses extending to five (24^{30-34}), nay, even to seven (23^{29-35}), verses, are found here again, while the rhythm is unmistakably less pure and complete than in these other divisions. As in the first division, so also here we find the form of address 'my son' (cf. $23^{15.\ 19.\ 26}$ and oft.); here as well as there the parenetic tone prevails, and, whereas in the second and fifth divisions wisdom is a human quality, it appears here as the sum of God's requirements from man, it is even personified as in the first division, and hence can say, 'My son, give me thine heart, and let thine eyes delight in my ways' (23^{26}). Finally, in verses like 23^{18} $24^{14.\ 20}$ the thought of a retribution in the world beyond appears to emerge: 'The wicked hath no future, and the candle of the transgressor is put out,' a conception which is still strange to $10^{16f.}$ and $25^{16f.}$.

The appendixes chs. 30. 31 consist of three independent pieces, which undoubtedly belong to a somewhat late period, and are in fact probably the latest in the whole book. We are led to this conclusion by the very form of the proverbs they contain: in 30–31^{9} there is a manifest effort to express ideas in single short sententious poems marked by the extreme of art, and often enigmatically expressed. The contents, too, point to a late date: in $30^{1ff.}$ we find a deeper consciousness of the inadequacy of man's knowledge of God and of divine things than meets us anywhere else except in Qoheleth and partially in Job; moreover, the notion that appears in $30^{5f.}$ of a fixed written revelation, from which nothing is to be taken and to which nothing is to be added, equally points us to a late period, subsequent at all events to Deuteronomy.

The alphabetical poem (31^{10-31}) shows by this very device, which is peculiar to it, that we have to do with a relatively late literary product. To determine more specifically its date from its contents is unfortunately not possible.

The determination of the period to which *10^{1}–22^{16}* and *chs. 25–29* belong, is peculiarly difficult owing to the circumstance that historical allusions are practically wanting in them. Ewald (*Gesch. d. Volk. Isr.* iii. 598 ff.) has, indeed, discovered in $28^{2f.}$ $29^{2.\ 4.\ 11.\ 12.\ 16}$ allusions pointing us to the last years of the Northern kingdom, but there is no *necessity* to suppose these proverbs to have originated then; at the most it may be conceded simply that they would be intelligible if emanating from this period (cf. the Books of Amos and Hosea). The date of the rise of these collections is not, however, to be determined on the ground of particular sayings which, like the above, held good at various periods of time, but from the whole character of the collections. This has escaped the notice of those who, like Baudissin, have adduced in particular the sayings about the king in order to prove that these chapters originated during the times of Israel's independence. It has to be admitted that analogous sayings are found also in Sirach; but these are distinguished, we are told,

from those we are dealing with, in so far as they contain warnings of the danger of intercourse with the great rather than point to the benefit arising from such (cf. Pr $16^{12f. 15}$). In confirmation of this date for the main stock of our book, we are pointed, further, to the mention in pre-exilic time (cf. Is 3^3, Jer 18^{18}, Dt 16^{19}) of 'the wise' along with priests and prophets (so Ewald, Oehler, Hooykaas, Delitzsch, and others). These 'wise,' it is held, were evidently divided into two classes—the one with a more secular tone, indifferent or even hostile to religion; the other with a religious character, concerned more with individual than with national principles and aims. From the sphere of the latter, chs. $10^{1ff.}$ and $25^{1ff.}$ are supposed to have emanated, whereas it is to the first class that the unfavourable judgment passed by the prophets upon 'the wise' applies (cf. Is 5^{21} 29^{14}, Jer 4^{22} 8^9 $9^{22f.}$ and oft.). But neither have we any evidence that these 'wise' exercised a literary activity, nor is it probable that the above distinction existed. Kuenen (*l.c.* § 97, note 14) has pointed out that the prophets, by way of opposition to the anti-theocratic 'wise,' never mention this other class of religiously disposed 'wise' who are supposed to have been so nearly akin to themselves in their aims, nor characterize them as allies in their conflict with godlessness and immorality. But even if this presupposition, which is intended to show the *possibility* of a pre-exilic composition, were correct, as we have shown it is not, yet this *possibility* would not be converted into a *reality* simply by pointing to these sayings about the king or to any particular sayings, because it is by no means inconceivable that sayings belonging to the pre-exilic period should have been taken over into collections originating at a much later date. Consequently the question about the date of $10^{1ff.}$ and $25^{1ff.}$ can be determined only by taking into account the whole character of these collections. It is a characteristic circumstance that these proverbs agree in their religious and ethical requirements with those of the prophets, and yet on the other hand differ from the latter in some not unessential points: we find the same estimate of sacrifice in Pr 15^8 $21^{3.\ 27}$ as in Am $5^{18ff.}$, Hos 6^6, Ezk $1^{11ff.}$; the same praise of humility and warning against pride in Pr 11^2 14^{29} $15^{1.\ 4.\ 18.\ 25.\ 33}$ $16^{5.\ 18f.}$ 17^{19} 18^{12} 19^{11} 21^4 22^4 as compared with Is 2^{11}, Am 6^8, Hos 7^{11}, Mic 6^8 and oft.; the same denunciation of those who oppress the poor, and the same commending of care for the latter in Pr 14^{31} 17^5 18^{23} $19^{1.\ 7}$ $22^{2.\ 7}$ $28^{3.\ 6.\ 27}$ 29^{13} as compared with Am $4^{1ff.}$, Hos $5^{10f.}$, Mic 2^8 etc. Like the prophets, these proverbs see in the fear of God the foundation of all piety and morality, and in numerous passages they exhort men to this fear. But whereas the prophets deal essentially with the national life and apply to it their demands for righteousness, etc., the proverbs treat of matters belonging to the sphere of individual and domestic life. A serious displacement has even taken place in so far as the unique relation between Jahweh and Israel, which the prophets never lost sight of, has here disappeared, and the individual conception of religion has taken the place of the national: not Israel and the peoples, but the upright and the ungodly, the proud and the humble, the understanding and the foolish, are the contrasted categories with which the proverbs have to do. Whereas the prophets are Jahweh's advocates in His conflict with the gods of the heathen, and have to plead His cause to Israel when it turns from Him to the service of these, in the proverbs monotheism holds undisputed sway, and the consequences that result from it are not defended, but assumed as self-evident, and only the practical points of view insisted upon: He is the Creator of poor and rich (14^{31} 22^2 29^{13}); the Omniscient ($15^{3.\ 11}$ 16^2 17^3 21^2 $24^{11f.}$); He directs all things, the actions of men ($16^{1.\ 9.\ 33}$ 19^{21} 20^{24} $21^{1.\ 30f.}$ 29^{26}) as well as their fortunes, etc. In view of this displacement of the subject of religion, it is quite comprehensible why in these proverbs there is likewise no mention of the Messianic deliverance which the prophets expected for the nation; rather is the central position occupied by the belief in individual retribution, as this had been growing up since the days of Jeremiah and Ezekiel (cf. Pr $10^{3.\ 24.\ 29f.}$ $11^{3-8.\ 31}$ $12^{2f.\ 13.\ 21}$ 13^6 15^{29} etc.). As in some of the Psalms, the godly are cautioned against the envy awakened by the prosperity of the wicked, and have their attention directed to the righteousness of Jahweh which will manifest itself in the future.

Views such as we have briefly sketched are not conceivable as contemporaneous with the preaching of the prophets—it is not without justification that Kuenen (*l.c.* § 97, note 15) calls the ethico-religious train of ideas represented by the composers of these proverbs an anachronism if referred to the period of the prophets—but only in the post-exilic period, a period in which Law and Prophecy are raised above all doubt, and hence not the slightest attempt is made to prove their truth, while at the same time there is an evident attempt to apply the results of the prophetic teaching to real life. In this the composers of the proverbs are quite in agreement with the tendency that prevailed in the post-exilic time.

As an objection to fixing the date then, the character of this period as one of narrow legal piety has, indeed, often been urged; but this view scarcely needs nowadays to be seriously refuted: books like Ruth and Jonah, whose post-exilic composition hardly any one now doubts, and a large portion of our Psalms show that it is quite incorrect to characterize the post-exilic period in such a way. What is true of the time of the Maccabæan wars we have no right to transfer to the whole preceding period back to the Exile; in this earlier period very different currents flowed side by side. But we lack the necessary data for fixing more definitely the period when $10^{1ff.}$ and $25^{1ff.}$ were composed, whether towards the end of the Persian or at the beginning of the Greek period.

Later in any case than these portions, as we have said already, is first of all the introduction (*chs. 1–9*), in which Wisdom and Religion are actually identified, and the former is personified. In the latter circumstance it has been sought to discover the influence of the Greek doctrine of ideas, but this notion is rightly rejected by Kuenen, Baudissin, and others; the contrast of the personified Folly shows that we have to do manifestly with a purely poetical personification. But Baudissin (*l.c.* p. 20) rightly adds: 'The mythologizing freedom with which Wisdom is portrayed as playing a rôle in the presence of God or upon earth, is not according to the ancient Hebrew manner, but recalls the Haggadic creations of the Rabbinic literature.' That we have actually before us a period more advanced than in $10^{1ff.}$ and $25^{1ff.}$ follows from the conception that here meets us of the guests of 'Madam Folly' as in the depths of Sheol (9^{18}). The latter, which was originally simply the abode of departed souls, has become synonymous with hell. In view of the close affinity in spirit and tendency between these chapters and Sirach, no very long period can have intervened between the composition of the two. We shall not be far wrong if we fix upon *c.* 250 B.C. as the date of the origin of these chapters, and therewith of our book as a whole. To bring the date further down (cf. Geiger, *Urschrift und Uebersetzungen*, p. 61 ff.) is impossible, inasmuch as no reason is then evident why Sirach itself was not admitted into

the Canon. It cannot, indeed, be made out with certainty how far the book edited by the author of the introduction extended. While Delitzsch regards 24[23]–29 as the first considerable addition, to which afterwards chs. 30. 31 were appended (cf. Driver, *LOT*, ch. viii.), others, like Cornill, ascribe the publication of the whole book, or, like Wildeboer, almost the whole with the exception of ch. 31 or 31[10ff.], to the author of chs. 1–9 (cf. the Comm. on 1[6]).

iv. Relation of the Massoretic Text to the Versions.—The MT shows marked deviations from the LXX, the Syr. Version, the Targum, and the Vulgate, although the deviations of the last three almost all go back to the LXX.

The Targum is entirely dependent upon the Peshiṭta, nay, it has practically arisen from it, hence the strong Syriac colouring of its language. Its author has at the same time plainly striven to approximate his rendering to the MT (cf. S. Maybaum in Merx' *Archiv*, ii. 66 ff., and Nöldeke, *ib.* 246 ff.).

The Peshiṭta exhibits such close agreement with the LXX, that one can hardly avoid supposing that the author in making his translation had the help of the LXX (cf. H. Pinkuss in *ZATW*, 1894, pp. 65 ff., 161 ff.).

The case of the Vulgate is similar to that of the Peshiṭta: Jerome evidently called in the LXX to aid the accomplishment of his task of translation.

As to the LXX itself, apart from particular readings, this Version is distinguished from the MT by (1) a number of additions and omissions, and (2) a difference in the order of the proverbs from 24[22] onwards. Whether the *plus* of the LXX always goes back to a Heb. original, or whether we have to do with later additions, is often hard to decide. In cases where such LXX additions are wanting in the Vulgate, it is natural to suppose that they are late—a conclusion which need not surprise us in view of the long-continued bloom of the proverb literature. Regarding the reason for the different order followed in the LXX, it is impossible to get beyond conjectures (cf. P. de Lagarde, *Anmerkungen zur griechischen Uebersetzung der Proverbien*, Leipzig, 1863).

Literature.—The *Einleitungen* of Cornill[2] (p. 222 ff.), Ed. König (p. 406 ff.), Strack (p. 130 ff.); Wildeboer, *Litt. d. AT*, 362 ff.; Kuenen, *Onderzoek*[2], 59 ff.; Driver, *LOT* ch. viii.; Cheyne, *Job and Solomon*, 1887, p. 117 ff., *Founders of OT Criticism*, 1893, p. 337 ff.; Hooykaas, *Gesch. van de beoefening der Weisheid onder de Hebreën*, 1862; A. J. Baumgarten, *Étude critique sur l'état du texte du livre des proverbes*, 1890; R. Smend, *Alttest. Religionsgeschichte*[2], 483 ff.; W. T. Davison, *The Wisdom Literature of the OT*, 1894; A. B. Davidson, art. 'Proverbs' in *Encyc. Brit.*[9], cf. *Expos.* May 1880, p. 321 ff.; C. G. Montefiore, 'Note upon the Date and Religious Value of the Proverbs' in *JQR*, July 1890, p. 430 ff.; Baudissin, *Die alttest. Spruchdichtung*, 1893; W. Frankenberg, 'Ueber Abfassungs-Ort und -Zeit sowie Art u. Inhalt von Prov. 1–9' in *ZATW*, 1895, p. 104 ff.).

Commentaries.—A. Schultens, 1748; Hitzig, 1858; Ewald, 1867; A. Kamphausen (in Bunsen's *Bibelwerk*), 1868; Delitzsch, 1873; Nowack (in *Kgf. Hdbch.*), 1883 (a recasting of the 1st ed. by Bertheau); Dyserinck, 1884; Strack (in Strack-Zöckler's *Kgf. Comm.*), 1888, 2nd ed. 1899; Wildeboer (in Marti's *Kurzer Hdcomm.*), 1897; Frankenberg (in Nowack's *Hdkomm.*), 1898; Toy (in the *Internat. Crit. Comm.*), 1899. W. Nowack.

PROVIDENCE is twice used of the foresight and care of God, Wis 14[3] 17[2], and once of the forethought of man, Ac 24[2]. The Gr. is πρόνοια and the Vulg. *providentia*. Providence is used as a title of God in late classical writers, but never in Scripture. On the other hand, it is probably the modern use of the word as a Divine title that has caused its disuse in reference to man's forethought. Cf. the note to Lk 12[22] in Rhem. NT, 'He forbiddeth not competent providence but to much carefulnes.' The Rhem. translators chide Beza for calling 'God's prescience or foreknowledge (in the Greeke πρόγνωσις) *God's providence*' (note on Ac 3[23]). See following art., and art. God.

J. Hastings.

PROVIDENCE.—According to the OT the *creation* is continued in the *preservation* of the world by God, who gives or withdraws life according to His will (Gn 2[17] 6[3]). He gives offspring (Ps 127[3]) even against hope (Gn 15[5] 18[10] 25[21], 1 S 1[27]). He forms man's spirit within him (Zec 12[1]). Man's life is at every moment dependent on God (Is 31[3], Job 34[14], Ps 139[16], 104[29]), and man in his weakness apart from God is likened to the grass (Ps 90[5], Is 40[6]). God saves life (Ps 18[17], Gn 8[1. 21]), or He destroys it (Gn 7[23] 19[29], Ex 12[29]). He gives food to man and beast, and rules all the forces of nature (Jer 3[3], Ps 145[16], Job 38[38-41], Jl 1[20], Ps 136[7-9] 29). This preservation of nature and man is the background of God's Providence in the kingdom of God, for nature serves His purposes, reveals His power and wisdom (Ps 8. 19), and shows His glory and goodness (Ps 104. 147[17-19]). The thunder is His voice (Am 1[2]), locusts are His army (Jl 2[25]), He makes Canaan a fertile land (Ps 65[10]). Although the regularity of natural phenomena is recognized (Ps 104[9], Jer 33[20. 25]), yet there is no order of nature apart from God's will. Therefore miracles are taken for granted, for God does whatever He wills (Is 55[11]), and nothing is too wonderful for God (Gn 18[14], Dt 8[3]). The relation of God's Providence to man's free will is a subject of greater difficulty. While man's freedom and responsibility are emphasized (Gn 17[2], Ps 1, Is 1[16], Jer 21[8]); his prayers are recognized as having power with God (Gn 18[23] 24[12] 25[21], Ex 8[8] 9[28] 10[17]); and a blessing is regarded as having force in spite even of change of mind (Gn 27[27-33], Ex 12[32]); yet all power is with God, for God is the potter and man is the clay (Jer 18[6]); and God sends man evil and good alike (Am 3[6], La 3[38], Is 45[7]). The lot of the nation, and of individuals in it, is determined according to a law of recompense, and all human action is directed by God to further His own ends, especially for the benefit of His people (Gn 50[20], Ex 3[21]). Although a man's heart may devise his way, yet it is God that directs his steps (Pr 16[9]); and so God can scorn the plans of the mighty (Ps 2[4]). God's action in and by man is through His Spirit, which blinds as well as enlightens, hardens in sin as well as renews in righteousness. This belief in Providence was one of the leading marks of Heb. piety: rebuking pride (Hag 2[8], Ps 44[4. 7] 127[1]); forbidding fear and despondency (Ps 33[10. 11. 16] 60[12] 77[11] 94[12] 118[6] 144[3]), and bringing courage and hope to suffering saints (Ps 121[4] 127[2] 91[7] 66[9]). While the fulfilment of His purpose of salvation for His people is God's immediate work, yet the action of God in the history of other nations is also acknowledged (Am 9[7], Dt 2[22], Is 46[11] 48[15]). There are problems of God's Providence that excite doubt and compel inquiry. The fact of heredity is affirmed (Dt 5[9], Ex 20[5. 6], Jer 32[18]), and its difficulties are discussed (Jer 31[29], Ezk 18[1]). God is regarded as Himself hardening men in sin, and the question is raised, How can He righteously condemn them (Is 6[9], Pr 16[4]); the answer is given that the hardening is a penalty of sin (Ezk 12[2], Ps 18[26], La 3[39]). The suffering of the righteous contradicts the assumption of a moral order on earth, which invariably rewards the righteous and punishes the wicked (Jer 12[1], Job 21[7], Ps 22. 73, Hab 1). This problem is fully discussed in the Book of Job. Suffering may be regarded as a discipline (Dt 8[2], Hos 2[14], Jer 35[13], Is 27[8]). In later books the difficulty is somewhat relieved by the hope of individual resurrection, but the best answer to the question is given in the idea of vicarious suffering (Is 53). Doubt regarding God's ways in Providence is regarded as brutalizing (Ps 73[22]); and in Ecclesiastes we have the nearest approach to scepticism in OT.

The NT takes for granted the teaching of the OT on Providence. Jesus teaches a beneficent

Providence to all men, good and bad (Mt 5^{45}); and encourages His disciples to trust in and pray to God as Father (Mt 6^{9}). As God cares for the flowers of the field and the birds of the air, so will He care for them (Mt 6^{25-33}). Nothing can befall them without God's knowledge (Mt $10^{29, 30}$). The prayer of faith will be answered (Mt 7^{7-11}=Lk 11^{9-13}, Mk $11^{23, 24}$=Lk 17^{6}). Even for daily bread prayer is to be made (Mt 6^{11}). This is not a new doctrine of God's Providence, only a more immediate application of it to individual believers than is found in OT, which is mainly concerned with the chosen nation. Jesus' miracles are also to be regarded as *signs* of God's Providence. St. Paul in Romans sketches the course of God's dealings with the individual believer from the beginning in foreknowledge to the end in glorification (Ro $8^{29, 30}$, cf. Eph 1^{4-14}); and affirms as the law of Providence that 'all things work together for good to them that love God' (Ro 8^{28}). On the wider stage of human history he traces the fulfilment of a Divine purpose in the inclusion of Jew and Gentile alike in sin, that righteousness might be of faith only (Ro 1–3); and in the temporary rejection of the Jew resulting in the call of the Gentile first of all, and followed finally by the restoration of the Jew also (9–11). In the Ep. to the Hebrews an independent interpretation of God's Providence is given, in which the sufficiency and supremacy of Christ in relation to OT ritual especially is proved. Finally, in the Apoc. the course of contemporary history, presented in symbolic forms, is for the comfort and hope of persecuted believers interpreted as God's immediate action for the establishment of the kingdom of Christ. See, further, artt. ESSENES, PHARISEES, STOICS.

LITERATURE.—Oehler or Schultz, *OT Theology*; Weiss or Beyschlag, *NT Theology*; Wendt, *Teaching of Jesus*; Sabatier, *Apostle Paul*; Pfleiderer, *Paulinism*; Comm. on Romans, Hebrews, Apocalypse, Job, Ecclesiastes, *ad locc. cit. supra.*

A. E. GARVIE.

PROVINCE (Lat. *provincia*, Gr. *ἐπαρχία*).—The technical term used to describe the administrative divisions of the Roman empire; so Ac 23^{34} 'And when the governor had read the letter, he asked of what province he was'; Ac 25^{1} 'Now when Festus was come into the province.' The original meaning of the word was the sphere within which a magistrate (whether consul or prætor) exercised his *imperium* or sovereign power; so it could be used of the division between the two prætors of the different classes of legal business; so again we get such phrases as the following: *Consulibus Italia provincia decernitur*, where Italy is described as the sphere within which the consuls are to exercise their jurisdiction. It was only in B.C. 227, with the acquisition of Sardinia and Sicily, that the word *provincia* acquired its later sense, and the definition of a province came to be a division of the Roman empire with definite boundaries, under a standing chief magistrate, paying tribute in taxes to the supreme power. Under the Republic these provinces had been governed by proconsuls or prætors under the supervision of the senate; on the establishment of the empire the proconsular *imperium* over all provinces was vested in the emperor, and by an agreement which he made with the senate the provinces were divided into two classes. The older, more peaceable provinces, where there was no need of any large military force, called the *provinciæ inermes*, were left in the hands of the senate; the frontier provinces, where military operations were necessary, were governed directly by the emperor through his lieutenants.

The governors of the senatorial provinces were appointed by lot from those who had held the office of *prætor* or *consul*, or as they were technically called the *consulares* and *prætorii*, or in some cases from those who had not yet attained that rank. Two provinces, Asia and Africa, were 'consular,' *i.e.* held by ex-consuls, the remainder were 'prætorian,' but all senatorial governors alike bore the name of PROCONSUL. The governors appointed by the senate were in theory the most distinguished and honourable; they were allowed 10 or 12 fasces; they had higher rank and larger salary; but their appointment was only for a year, they had no military command, and practically possessed only the appearance of power.

The governor of an imperial province is called by historians incorrectly *proprætor*; his proper title was *legatus Augusti*, lieutenant of the emperor, or more fully *legatus Augusti pro prætore*, *πρεσβευτὴς καὶ ἀντιστράτηγος τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ*. They were of two classes—those of consular rank or *consulares* (*ὑπατικοί*), and *prætorii*, those who possessed only prætorian rank. The latter were appointed to provinces where there was only one legion, the former to the larger and more important commands.

The arrangements concerning the provinces were liable to be changed according to the needs of the empire. If rebellion or invasion threatened any senatorial province, or if its finances fell into disorder, it would be transferred to the emperor, at any rate temporarily, and the emperor would very likely compensate the senate by giving them some other province in return. Instances of change will be given below.

The following are Roman provinces mentioned in the NT:—

Senatorial—	
Macedonia, enrolled B.C. 146	(Imperial from Tiberius to Claudius).
Achaia, B.C. 146	(Imperial B.C. 15–A.D. 14).
Asia, B.C. 133.	
Bithynia (with part of Pontus), B.C. 74	Senatorial to A.D. 111.
Cyprus, B.C. 27	(Imperial B.C. 27–22, then Senatorial).
Crete and Cyrenaica, B.C. 74.	
Imperial—	
Syria, B.C. 64	Of the First Class.
Galatia, B.C. 25	Of the Second Class.
Pamphylia and Lycia, B.C. 25	
Egypt, B.C. 30.	
Judæa	Under Procurators.
Cappadocia, A.D. 17	

The position of Egypt demands a slight reference. Its great wealth, and the importance of its corn trade, made Augustus give it special treatment. The country was the emperor's private property (*patrimonium Cæsaris*), and was governed by a *præfectus* of equestrian rank. No senator was allowed to enter the province.

Certain small provinces (Judæa and Cappadocia, for example) were governed by imperial PROCURATORS. They were generally districts which had been only recently added to the empire, and were not thoroughly romanized. Judæa was so treated during the intervals when it was not governed by native kings; ultimately it was definitely incorporated in the province of Syria.

One further form of *provincia* may be mentioned. In cases of great and serious emergency a special command might be given to some distinguished officer, embracing more than one province, or perhaps superior to the governors of several provinces: such was the position of Corbulo in the East, of Germanicus and possibly Quirinius in Syria.

If we pass to the internal government of the provinces, we notice first the concentration of power in the hands of the governor. He was the principal military, judicial, and administrative authority. Except in the case of Africa, he commanded all the troops, whether legions or auxiliary: he went from place to place to hold courts, the province being divided into *conventus* for that purpose (cf. Ac 19^{38}). The finances, however, were not directly in his hands. The proconsuls in senatorial provinces

were assisted by a quæstor, while a *procurator* appointed by the emperor collected all taxes belonging to the *fiscus* or emperor's purse; in imperial provinces all the finance was in the hands of the *procurator*. The provinces were variously divided: in Macedonia, for example, there were four divisions apparently called locally μερίδες (Ac 16[12]), but the unit of administration within the province was, at any rate in all the settled Greek districts such as Asia and Achaia, the city. A city implied not only the actual town, but also all the land which belonged to it and was its territory. The cities were of two main classes—Roman cities or 'colonies,' the inhabitants of which had either full civic or Latin rights. These in the East were garrisons of the Romans, often inhabited by veteran soldiers. Such were Corinth, Philippi (Ac 16[12]), Lystra, Antioch in Pisidia. The second class of cities were non-Roman; they were either *civitates fœderatæ et immunes* or *civitates stipendiariæ*. The former were cities like Athens, which were supposed to be independent allies. No proconsul might enter Athens with his *fasces*, or any symbol of his power. The Greek cities seem generally to have preserved their old constitution. Outside the limits of the cities were the imperial estates, administered by imperial freedmen and slaves; and in less advanced districts, peoples whose organization was tribal, administered from some common religious centre or market, round which they were grouped. For religious and social purposes, for the worship of the emperor and the celebration of games, there existed representative bodies, the council of the province (τὸ Κοινὸν τῆς Ἀσίας, etc.), with their principal officer the high priest, the Asiarch, Galatarch, etc. (Ac 19[31]). These bodies had considerable social but little or no political influence.

The general condition of the provinces, at any rate during the 1st cent. of the empire, was good. Order was preserved. The taxation was definite and fixed. The governors were paid, and redress was comparatively easy if they were guilty of exactions. The country was prosperous, even if the taxation was heavy; and it was not until a later period that attacks from without and decrease of prosperity within broke down the economic prosperity of the empire.

LITERATURE.—W. T. Arnold, *The Roman System of Provincial Administration*; Mommsen and Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung und Staatsverfassung*; Furneaux, *Annals of Tacitus*; Schürer, *GJV* [2] i. 378, 379 [*HJP* i. i. 327 ff., ii. 45 f.].

A. C. HEADLAM.

PROVOKE, PROVOCATION.—To provoke (*provocare*), lit. to 'call forth,' is in AV to excite any emotion or activity, good or bad. Hence we find 2 Co 9[2] 'Your zeal hath provoked very many,' and Col 3[21] 'Fathers, provoke not your children' (both ἐρεθίζω). For the orig. meaning of 'stir up,' cf. Jer 43[3] Cov. 'Baruch the soune of Nerias provoketh the agaynst us.' Cf. also Erasmus, *Crede*, p. 15, 'It is a great spoore to prycke and provoke a man to profyght and go foreward in ony scyence or crafte: the love of the teacher'; and p. 99—'Saynte Paule provokyng the Galathians from vengeance to humanite and gentylnesse.' *Provocation* is always used in AV in a bad sense. In Ps 95[8] the Heb. is MERIBAH, which see.

J. HASTINGS.

PSALMS, BOOK OF.—The most important book, and in modern Heb. Bibles the first in order, of the third section of the OT Canon—that known as *Kĕthubhim* or *Hagiographa*. It has been thought that in the time of our Lord the Bk. of Psalms furnished a name for the *Kĕthubhim* as a whole (see Lk 24[44] and cf. Jos. *c. Ap.* i. 8, who speaks of 'the remaining four books' as containing 'hymns to God and precepts for human life'). It is not probable, however, that at this stage in the history of the Canon the title 'psalms' would be so used. The order of the books in the Hagiographa, moreover, has varied greatly. The earliest Rabbinic list (*Baba Bathra* 14*b*) gives the order as Ruth, Psalms, Job, Proverbs, etc., Ruth apparently being placed before Psalms because it contained an account of David's ancestry. Jerome (*Prol. Gal.*) gives the order as Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Canticles, etc.; but this is not in accordance with prevailing Heb. tradition. In many MSS, especially the Spanish, the Books of Chronicles come first, then Psalms, Job, Proverbs, etc. The usual order is that of the German MSS followed in the printed edd. of the Heb. Bible—Psalms, Proverbs, Job (the poetical books, sometimes known by the technical name אמת, 'Truth,' formed by the initial letters of the three books Job, Proverbs, Psalms), followed by the five *Megilloth* or rolls, the narrative books coming last (see Ryle, *Canon of OT*, p. 229 ff.). The present article will deal with the Name and Number of the psalms, the Formation of the Collection, the Date and Authorship, the Titles and the Poetical Construction of the psalms, the Moral and Religious Ideas prevailing in the Psalter, the Text and Versions, and finally with the Literature of the subject.

i. NAME AND NUMBER.—No name for the psalms collectively is found in the book itself or in the text of the OT. The nearest approach to such a designation is found in the name given to a portion of the Psalter in the subscription to Ps 72 (v.[20])—'The prayers (תְּפִלּוֹת) of David, son of Jesse, are ended.' The word 'prayer' must here be understood in its broadest sense as any turning of the heart towards God in supplication or in praise. See also 1 S 2[1] and Hab 3[1]. Ps 17. 86. 90. 102 and 142 are also called 'prayers' in their several inscriptions. The title for the book used by the Jews is סֵפֶר תְּהִלִּים (shortened תְּלִים, apocop. תְּלִי, Aram. תְּלִין), *i.e.* Book of Praises, a name which was current in the time of Origen and Hippolytus, though the genuineness of the passage in which the latter discusses the general introduction to Psalms has been questioned. In that passage the name stands transliterated into Greek as Σέφρα Θελείμ, and in Eus. *HE* vi. 25 Origen's title of the book is preserved as βίβλος ψαλμῶν Σφαρθελλείμ. Jerome confirms this by describing (in the preface to his *Psalt. juxta Heb.*) the Heb. title as *Sephar Tallim*. Eusebius elsewhere transliterates Σέφηρ Θιλλήν. The word which thus appropriately gave a name to the whole book is found once only in the Heb. text as a title, Ps 145 being called תְּהִלָּה a Song of Praise. The regular plural of this word is *tĕhillôth*, Ps 22[3], this feminine form being distinguished from the masc. *tĕhillîm*, in that the former points more distinctly to the subject-matter, the latter to the form of the composition. Cf. Baethgen, who distinguishes (Pref. to Comm. p. iii) between *ein Buch der Gesänge* and *ein Gesangbuch*.

The usual name for a separate psalm is מִזְמוֹר *mizmôr*, found in the titles of 57 psalms, from the third—probably the first in the earliest collection—onwards. The word by its derivation indicates that which is to be sung to a musical accompaniment, and in practice it is used only of a religious song. The more general word שִׁיר *shîr*, used for secular songs in Is 23[16] and Am 8[10], is found in combination with *mizmôr* 13 times in the titles; 5 times the order is *shîr mizmôr*, and 8 times this order is reversed. Once (Ps 46) the word *shîr* is used alone, and once it occurs in the form *shîrāh* (Ps 18). The word corresponding to *mizmôr* in Greek is ψαλμός, properly a song to the accompaniment of stringed instruments; and the usual title of the book in the LXX is βίβλος ψαλμῶν. But in Cod. Alex. we find ψαλτήριον, which is properly the name of a stringed instrument,

adopted as a title of the book; hence Eng. 'Psalter.' The usual Greek title is quoted in St. Luke's writings, Lk 20^{42}, Ac 1^{20}. The Syriac name *Kĕthâbâ de-mazmûrê* preserves a name which is not found in the OT as a plural, and which did not prevail as a collective title in subsequent Jewish usage.

The number of the psalms is 150, both according to the MT and the LXX. But the same total is preserved with a different arrangement in detail. Only the first eight psalms and the last three are marked by the same number in the two versions, the Greek combining Ps 9 and 10 in one, also Ps 114 and 115, whilst it divides Ps 116 and Ps 147 each into two parts severally numbered. This may be more clearly shown by the following table :—

	Heb.	LXX
Psalms	1–8	1–8
	9. 10	9
	11–113	10–112
	114. 115	113
	116	114. 115
	117–146	116–145
	147	146. 147
	148–150	148–150

The arrangement of the Greek is followed in the Vulg. and in some of the older Eng. VSS. In the LXX is found an additional psalm (151) with the following title: 'This psalm was written by David with his own hand, though it is outside the number, *composed* when he fought in single combat with Goliad.' It runs as follows :—

'I was small among my brethren,
And youngest in my father's house,
I used to feed my father's sheep.
My hands made a harp,
My fingers fashioned a psaltery.
And who will declare unto my Lord?
He is Lord, He it is who heareth.
He it was who sent his angel
And took me from my father's sheep,
And anointed me with the oil of his anointing
My brethren were goodly and tall,
But the Lord took no pleasure in them.
I went forth to meet the Philistine,
And he cursed me by his idols.
But I drew the sword from beside him;
I beheaded him and removed reproach from the children of Israel.'

The psalm has no pretensions to genuineness, some of its phrases being obviously adaptations of the language of 1 S, but something is to be learned by comparing and contrasting it with the canonical psalms. Certain apocryphal psalms, drawn from Syrian sources, are given by Wright (*PSBA*, June 1887), including the above with four other psalms. One of these, in which a poet speaking in the first person is supposed to represent the feelings of the nation when Cyrus gave permission to the exiles to return from Babylon, is quoted at length by Baethgen (*Introd.* p. xl).

The different methods of numbering, indicated above, point to a various arrangement of material which there is good reason for thinking has been much more extensive. Ps 1 and 2 are found together in some copies. In Ac 13^{33} the Western reading preserved in D, 8, and some Lat. MSS known to Origen, describes what we call the second as the first psalm, whilst Justin (*Apol.* i. 40) quotes the whole of both psalms together as one prophetic utterance. As will be seen below, the distinction between Ps 9 and 10 and between 42 and 43 should never have been made; the latter two psalms are found together in several Heb. MSS. These facts, together with others to be mentioned, prepare us for the phenomenon of composite psalms.

ii. Formation of the Collection. — The Psalter, as we now have it, is divided into five books, including respectively Ps 1–41, 42–72, 73–89, 90–106, 107–150. These divisions are marked in RV, and have been recognized by the Jews from at least the 2nd cent. of our era; it is not to be understood, however, that they represent the original lines of demarcation in the formation of the Psalter. The close of each 'book' is marked by a doxology, appended 'after the pious fashion, not uncommon in Eastern literature, of closing the composition or transcription of a volume with a brief prayer or word' (W. R. Smith, who adduces parallels from the Diwan of the Hodalite poets, to show how the limits of an older collection of poems may be marked by the retention of a doxological phrase). This explanation unquestionably applies to the three doxologies, 41^{13}, $72^{18.\ 19}$ and 89^{53}; these are clearly separable from the psalms at the end of which they are respectively found. It is not clear that 106^{48}, at the end of Book iv., has precisely the same history; whilst the fifth book has no closing doxology, Ps 150, which is itself a full ascription of praise, being understood to obviate the necessity for such an addition. The fivefold division is recognized in the *Midrash Tehillin* on Ps 1^{1}, which undoubtedly embodies a tradition much earlier than the commentary itself. Jerome, also, in his *Prolg. Galeat.* distinguishes between the *quinque incisiones* and the *unum volumen* of the psalms. The passage from Hippolytus which refers to this subject cannot be urged as certainly genuine. The presence in the LXX version of the doxology at the end of the fourth book, with its liturgical addition, 'And let all the people say Amen,' unquestionably points to a fivefold division as more or less clearly marked in at least the 2nd cent. B.C., but it is not probable that this division was made by the final redactor of the Psalter himself setting in their respective places four doxologies to mark the limits of the various collections. On the contrary, evidence is forthcoming to show that the Psalter gradually grew into its present shape, and several of the stages by which the final result was reached can be distinctly traced. The chief evidence for this gradual compilation of the Psalter is as follows :—

a. The existence of duplicate editions of the same psalm. Compare Ps 14 with 53, $40^{13\text{-}17}$ with 70, 108 with $57^{7\text{-}11}$ and $60^{5\text{-}12}$. The collections in which these duplicates severally occur must at one time have existed separately.

b. The use of the names of God in the various books is such that it cannot be considered accidental or without significance. The facts in brief are these. In Book i. the name J″ occurs 272 times, Elohim, used absolutely, only 15; in Book ii. the case is reversed, Elohim being found 164 times, J″ only 30 times. The figures in Book iii. are more complex, and it is found necessary to divide it into two parts, so that in Ps 73–83 J″ occurs 13 times, Elohim 36, while in 84–89 J″ is found 31 times, Elohim only 7 times. In Books iv. and v. J″ is used almost alone (339 times); the only exceptions being in Ps 108 (found also in earlier collections) and Ps 144, which there are other reasons for holding to be composite. That this prevailing use of one or other name is due (at least in part) not to the author but to editorial modification, is made probable by the fact that we have a Jahwistic and an Elohistic recension of the same psalm (cf. 14 and 53, also 40^{13} and 70); whilst the repetition of the phrase 'God, thy God' in 43^{4} 45^{7} and 50^{7} appears to have arisen from the much more appropriate 'J″, thy God.' The phraseology of some psalms appears to have been drawn directly from certain passages in the Law, with an alteration only in the Divine name used. Cf. Ps 50^{7} with Ex 20^{2}, Ps 71^{19} with Ex 15^{11} etc.

c. Another argument is drawn from the titles and the way in which the psalms are assigned in

groups to various authors, those in Books i.–iii. having for the most part some kind of designation, whilst those in Books iv. and v. are generally anonymous.

d. The editorial note in Ps 72^{20} 'The prayers of David, the son of Jesse, are ended,' seems to prove conclusively that the compiler of the collection in question knew of no other Davidic psalms, whereas several that are found in later books are ascribed to David.

e. The rarity in Books iv. and v. of the musical notes and directions so common in the earlier books points to a difference in the history of their compilation.

f. Another argument has been drawn from the general character of the subject-matter in the various collections. It is thus expressed by Kirkpatrick: 'Speaking broadly and generally, the psalms of the First Division (Bk. i.) are *personal*, those of the Second (Bks. ii. and iii.) *national*, those of the Third (Bks. iv. and v.) *liturgical*. There are numerous exceptions; but it is in the First Division that personal prayers and thanksgivings are chiefly to be found; in the Second, prayers in special times of national calamity (44. 60. 74. 79. 80. 83. 89), and thanksgiving in times of national deliverance (46–48. 75. 76. 65–68); in the Third, psalms of praise and thanksgiving for general use in temple services' (95–100. 105–107. 111–118. 120–136. 146–150), *Introd.* pp. xlii, xliii.

Is it possible, then, more minutely to trace the stages by which the various sections of the Psalter assumed their present shape? It is noteworthy that in Bk. i. all the psalms are assigned to David, with the following exceptions: Ps 1 is introductory, and was probably prefixed to the collection as a suitable preface. The absence of a title to Ps 2 seems to point to a separate history, and perhaps accounts for its having been joined in many copies to Ps 1. Ps 10, which is anonymous, belongs to Ps 9, as is seen by the acrostic arrangement. Ps 33 is assigned to David in the LXX, but it was originally anonymous, and appears to be of distinctly later date than the rest.

In Bks. ii. and iii. all the psalms bear titles except Ps 43 (which, as the refrain shows, is part of 42) and 71. They fall, not quite symmetrically, into groups. Eight psalms together (42–49) are assigned to 'the sons of Korah,' and a supplement of a few Korahitic psalms is found in 84. 85. 87. One psalm 'of Asaph' (50) stands alone, followed later by a group of eleven Asaphic psalms 73–83. Ten psalms of David are found together (51–70, all Davidic except 66 and 67); Ps 86, which is also ascribed to David, may be shown to be a mosaic of sentences adopted from other psalms. One psalm (72) is assigned to Solomon, one to Heman, and one to Ethan.

In Bks. iv. and v., on the other hand, the rule is that the psalms are anonymous, the only exceptions being that the 90th psalm is ascribed to Moses, the 127th to Solomon, whilst a few additional ones, 17 in all, bear the name of David.

The history to which these facts appear to point may be sketched somewhat as follows. The earliest collection consisted of Ps 3–41 or the bulk of the Psalms now so numbered, bearing generally the name of David. The significance of that designation will be considered later; enough now to say that it does not necessarily imply that David himself was the author of every psalm—and to these were added Ps 1 and 2 and probably some others. The next in order were Levitical collections 'Korahite' or 'Asaphite,' and these were combined in due course by an 'Elohistic' editor, who added a few 'Davidic' and other psalms. A conjecture of Ewald is supported by many moderns, that Ps 51–72 originally stood after Ps 41, forming one collection of 'Davidic' psalms, with the editorial note 72^{20} found naturally at its close. The Levitical psalms would then follow in their order—Korahite 42–49, Asaphite 50. 73–83, Korahitic supplement 84–89. W. R. Smith marks the following stages in the process of forming the Psalter as it now exists:—

a. The formation of the first Davidic collection, with its closing doxology, Ps 1–41.
b. The second collection with doxology and subscription, Ps 51–72.
c. The twofold Levitical collection (Ps 42–49. 50 and 73–83).
d. Elohistic redaction and combination of *b* and *c*.
e. Addition to *d* of non-Elohistic supplement and doxology, Ps 84–89. (See *OTJC*^{2} 201).

Without adopting this precise arrangement, which has, however, much to recommend it, it may be assumed that by some such process—probably one not so accurate and precise as modern critics theoretically construct—the psalms in the first three books were gathered and arranged. Ps 90–150 are viewed by most modern scholars as one division or collection, but certain lines of stratification may easily be perceived in it. One exquisite little group of psalms is found in 120–134, the 'Songs of Ascents,' which in all probability at one time existed as a separate 'hymn-book.' Another break is found in the doxology appended to Ps 106, whatever may have been its precise history. Then Ps 92–100 possess a character of their own, and groups of *Hodu* and *Hallelujah* psalms may be discerned, though it is not likely that these ever existed as separate collections.

No precise rules can be given for the order in which the psalms are found. A certain broad outline of chronological order is perhaps discernible; sometimes psalms are grouped together which refer to the same subject-matter, *e.g.* the psalms of the Theophany of which Ps 98 forms a centre. The same musical designation appears to have caused the grouping of the *Maschil* psalms 42–45. 52–55, whilst those inscribed *Michtam* are found together in 56–60. Sometimes the occurrence of a word or phrase seems to link one psalm with another, and some writers, of whom Wordsworth, Forbes, and occasionally Delitzsch, may be named as examples, attach much significance to this. But it is undesirable to build any elaborate theories upon the arrangement of lyrics the present collocation of which must have had a long history. Experience shows how gradual and irregular has been the arrangement of many modern hymn-books, in days when much greater symmetry and more formal arrangement might be looked for than in the Psalter.

The dates of these several collections can be determined only in the most general way, and even so with a considerable measure of uncertainty. It is perhaps possible to fix a *terminus a quo* and *ad quem*, a superior and inferior limit, to mark the period within which the whole work must have been carried out. And first, for the superior limit.

The earliest collection is that of 'Davidic' psalms, numbered 1–41. If Ps 1 and 2 were included in the collection when it was first made, also 25 and 33, it is tolerably certain that this was not done till after—probably not long after—the return from Captivity. Ps 1 is almost certainly post-exilic. The language of 14^{7} 'Oh that the salvation of Israel were come out of Zion,' does not necessarily imply the Bab. Captivity, and the verse may be a liturgical addition. Ps 25^{22}, which forms an addition to an acrostic arrangement, breathes a similar prayer, and shows that the psalm in its present condition cannot be very early. The subject of Ps 16 does not necessitate a post-exilic date, but if a doctrine of immortality be implied in it, such a date is most probable. Some other psalms in this collection—notably 31 and 39—point

at least to the period of the later monarchy. The history of Temple-music, moreover, so far as that is ascertainable from the documents before us, hardly seems to admit of the production of such a finished collection of Temple-songs before the Exile. The Chronicler must be understood as describing in 1 Ch 15 and 16 the institutions of his own time, of which David only laid the early foundations. That a guild of Temple-singers existed before the captivity of Judah is probable enough, but the collection as a whole—compare the titles to Ps 24 and 28 in the LXX—implies a stage of advancement in Temple psalmody which can hardly have been reached till after the Return. This does not imply, of course, that no previous collection of sacred songs had ever been made. It is possible, though hardly probable, that in the time of Solomon some steps had been taken in this direction. But we are dealing with the Psalter as it has come down to us, and we should name the period shortly after the Exile as the earliest possible and the most probable date for the formation of the first collection of psalms. The next may very well have taken place in the time of Nehemiah, and the work appears to have been very gradually accomplished during the succeeding centuries by stages which we cannot exactly trace, but some idea of which has been furnished above.

What, then, is *the inferior limit of date* in the carrying out of this work? Here a number of arguments have to be examined, the investigation of which is in itself instructive, and the material thus furnished is sufficient to warrant tolerably definite conclusions.

α. The bearing of 1 Ch 16 upon the date of the Psalter. The date of the Chronicler may be roughly taken as about B.C. 300. In ch. 16, in the course of an account of the bringing up of the ark to the city of David, the writer puts a psalm into the mouth of David as appropriate to such an occasion. The psalm is not directly attributed to David as the tr. of v.[7] in AV would imply. The phraseology only emphasizes the fact that David took especial care concerning the giving of thanks: 'On that day did David make it his chief work to give thanks unto the Lord by the hands of Asaph and his brethren.' A psalm follows, however, which consists of 105[1-15] 96 and certain verses ([1. 47. 48]) from Ps 106. Apparently, therefore, the Chronicler had these psalms—possibly a collection containing these psalms—before him when he wrote. V.[36] seems distinctly to imply that the writer adapted the doxology to his purpose, changing the imperfects into perfects, 'And all the people said Amen, and praised the Lord.' If this were the case, the conclusion is clear, that Ps 106 was written, perhaps Bk. iv. formed, somewhere in the 4th cent. B.C. Closer examination shows, however, that this is not quite so certain. Cheyne contends (*Origin of Ps.* p. 457) that vv.[34-36a] were only liturgical formulæ, not composed solely for use in Ps 106, but freely attached to many psalms. It may be replied that the connexion between 1 Ch 16[36] and Ps 106[48] as a whole appears too close to be accidental, and we can hardly conceive that the psalmist adapted the phraseology of the Chronicler, though Ryle seems to favour this view (*Canon of OT*, p. 129). It is possible, as Cheyne suggests, that additions were made to the various books after the collections had been provisionally closed, and this possibility must not be summarily excluded. It is possible, again, and for some reasons probable, that vv.[8-36] did not form part of the original text of 1 Ch 16. V.[7] joins very naturally to v.[37], whilst the words of the psalm do not fit in very appropriately with the phraseology of the seventh verse, when its meaning is rightly understood. This suggestion, originally made by Reuss, is favoured by Baethgen, and the possibility of its acceptance prevents the argument from being conclusive. Given both texts as they stand, it seems difficult to resist the conclusion that Ps 106, with its doxology complete, was before the Chronicler as he wrote.

β. The evidence afforded by the LXX is much more trustworthy, and rests upon a broader basis. It is true that we cannot be quite certain when the tr. of the Hagiographa was completed. That the whole work was begun and the tr. of the Pent. executed about B.C. 250 seems tolerably clear; but Cheyne and some others are disposed to bring down the inferior limit for the completion of the tr. of the Hagiographa very late. All Cheyne will admit is that it was finished 'at any rate before the Christian era.' The evidence of the prologue of Sirach, however, will hardly admit of a later date for the tr. of the Psalter than B.C. 150. The author of this preface, writing about B.C. 130, thrice mentions 'the law, the prophets, and the other books' (or an equivalent expression), and he speaks of his grandfather, Jesus son of Sirach, as having been familiar with these as sacred writings. This indicates a third class of sacred Scriptures, the canon of which was not necessarily complete in the time of Siracides, say B.C. 180. But that the Psalter was included among these can hardly be questioned, even though it were not in its present form. References in 1 and 2 Mac, as we shall see, confirm this supposition. But granted that the evidence is not conclusive, and bringing down the date for the tr. of the Psalter even so low as B.C. 100, it is clear that a considerable interval must be allowed for the accomplishment of the various processes passed through between the completion of the latest collection in Heb. and its rendering into Greek. Sanday (Bampt. Lect. on *Inspiration*, Lect. V. Note A, p. 271) marks as many as nine such processes. The number is probably excessive; but if the history of the formation of the Psalter has been at all correctly indicated, several stages must separate the composition of, say, one of the psalms in the Elohistic collection and its inclusion in the LXX. The smaller group of Korahite or Asaphic psalms would be collected, then would come the larger Elohistic collection, the addition of title, the embodiment of the smaller collection in the full Psalter of 150 psalms, the numeration, the formation of titles as found in the Greek,—these are some of the steps which must have been successively taken. Probably not much time needs to be allowed for some of them, some may even have been contemporaneous, but reflection shows that an interval of, at least, one or two decades must be allowed between the completion of the Heb. Psalter and its tr. into Greek.

γ. A further argument may be drawn from 1 Mac 7[16], which quotes Ps 79—usually accounted one of the latest in date—with the formula usual in citing Scripture—*κατὰ τοὺς λόγους οὓς ἔγραψεν.* For a psalm thus to be recognized and quoted as Scripture, implies the lapse of a considerable interval since its composition. Not much reliance for our purpose can be placed on the statement of 2 Mac 2[13], which records how Nehemiah, 'founding a library, gathered together the books about the kings and prophets, and the books of David (*τὰ τοῦ Δαυείδ*) and letters of kings about sacred gifts.'

δ. Indirectly, the so-called 'Psalms of Solomon' (which see) furnish evidence from another point of view. These psalms possess a distinct character of their own. If they may be placed, as most modern scholars are inclined to place them, about the middle of the 1st cent. B.C., a considerable interval must be allowed as elapsing between their composition and that of the latest canonical books. Even a

superficial reader must be struck by the contrast between these 'psalms of the Pharisees' and those of the canonical psalter. Kirkpatrick speaks of them as 'separated by an impassable gulf.' This is strong language; but on the two great subjects of the future life and the Messianic hope the contrast is so striking, that if argument from growth and development of thought is worth anything at all, this is a case in which great reliance must be placed upon it.

Passing by other arguments of more questionable value, such as that from the musical titles, which were certainly unintelligible to the Gr. translators, and that from the language of the Chronicler concerning the Levitical guilds of singers, we may perhaps come to the following conclusion:—The Psalter is a collection of religious poetry chiefly, though not entirely, intended for use in public worship, and very gradually compiled. The earliest stage of the final process dates from shortly after the Exile, one step succeeding another through the compass of some three centuries, till the collection was virtually closed in the first half of the 2nd cent. B.C. Ryle represents the prevailing view of modern scholars when he says, 'The time of its final promulgation in its present form and of its first recognition as part of the people's Scriptures, may well have been that of the great religious revival that accompanied the success of the Maccabæan revolt, and the downfall of the Hellenizing party among the priests and nobles' (*Canon of OT*, p. 127). The exact form of the conclusion reached is somewhat dependent on the decision of questions concerning the date and authorship of individual psalms, a subject intimately bound up with that just discussed, to which accordingly we now pass.

iii. DATE AND AUTHORSHIP. — Care must be taken not to confuse date of compilation and date of composition, and sometimes a distinction must be made between the date of composition of the original psalm and the date to be assigned to it in its present form. Many of these lyrics were handed down orally, and, in particular, some of those that were connected with public worship may have been long current in a narrower circle before they found a place in a smaller or larger collection of psalms. Further, the phenomena of the Psalter, as we have it, prove conclusively that modifications were freely made in existing compositions, whether to make them suitable for public worship or to adapt them to the new circumstances of a new time.

It is not the object of this article to describe the history of lyric poetry amongst the Hebrews. But no intelligent judgment can be formed as to the probable date of these particular sacred songs, without a brief survey of what is known from other sources concerning the history of this form of literary composition in Israel.

The history of the people begins with an outburst of song. The deliverance from Egypt at the Red Sea was an event which made a deep impression on the ritual, the literature, and the national life of Israel. It was signalized, according to Ex 15, by a song 'which Moses and the children of Israel sang' —a pæan not unworthy of the great occasion. It is found as part of the 'second Elohist's' narrative, doubtless handed down from earlier days, and is fitted into its place by v.[19]. That the whole song in its present form is antique seems hardly likely. Ewald, Dillmann, Delitzsch, and Driver agree that vv.[1-3] give the ruling strain of the ancient hymn, while the language of vv.[13] and [17b] seems to point to later days, when the early deliverance was triumphantly recalled. The 'Song of Moses' in Dt 32 may with some confidence be assigned to the 8th cent. B.C. It is not Mosaic in its point of view; v.[7f.] are enough to show that the settlement in Canaan is an event of the far past. Driver would fix the date about the time of Jeremiah, and some features point in this direction. But it is near enough for the present purpose, if it be assigned generally to the period of the monarchy. The remarkable poem given at length in Jg 5, known as the Song of Deborah, is generally recognized as one of the oldest fragments of Heb. literature. Kuenen describes it as contemporaneous with the events it celebrates, and most critics acknowledge the absence of anachronisms and the strong impression of reality which this ode leaves upon them. The date of Hannah's song in 1 S 2 cannot easily be determined. Judged by modern ideas, it seems little suited for the occasion on which it is said to have been uttered, except so far as it sets forth the Divine exaltation of the lowly, or may be considered to possess a prophetic character. That it was composed after the establishment of the monarchy seems clear from v.[10]. The lament over Saul and Jonathan ascribed to David in 2 S 1 may be taken as genuinely Davidic. It contains nothing inconsistent with the occasion, none of those indications of a later point of view sometimes found lurking in a single clause or allusion, whilst the date of the compilation of the book, so far as can be gathered, would point to an early origin for the elegy. Other indirect evidence as to the handing down of such songs from early times may be drawn from the mention of the 'book of Jashar' and the 'teaching of the song to the children of Judah' in v.[18]. The 'last words' of David, found in 2 S 23, do not stand on quite the same footing, since these later chapters form an appendix to the book which may be much later in date.

Other lyrics which have come down to us embedded in prophetic literature — with which psalmody is closely connected—are the thanksgiving of Is 12, the dirge of Hezekiah in Is 38, the prayer of Habakkuk in Hab 3, and that of Jonah in Jon 2. It is impossible to enter into detailed questions of criticism, yet the objective evidence afforded by the dates of these poems, if they could be fixed, would be important, for these would serve as landmarks to judge of compositions when removed from their setting. Is 12 probably belongs to the period of Hezekiah. The dirge in ch. 38 may well be of the same date. It was apparently added by the compiler of Is 36–39 to the historical narratives drawn from 2 Kings. Cheyne compares the language of the dirge with that of Job, and holds it to be exilic, inserted on the principle that psalms in any sense illustrative of historical incidents might be quoted as if actually connected with them. The prayer of Habakkuk is considered by many critics to be a late addition, but there is no valid reason why it should not belong to the 6th cent. B.C. The general character of Jon 2 seems to mark it out as a cento of phrases drawn from earlier psalms. It has none of the freshness and force to be expected in a composition of the time of Jonah the prophet.

Gathering this hasty survey to a close, it may be said in a word that the highly elaborated poetical composition entitled 'The Lamentations,' though not by Jeremiah, and perhaps not of single authorship, may—allowing for the slightly varying dates of its different parts — be with some confidence placed soon after the Exile, in the course of the 6th cent. B.C. The finished acrostic arrangement, no less than the language and style, points to an advanced stage of poetical composition. See, further, art. POETRY (HEBREW).

If these results are only approximately correct, they furnish valuable data for further investigation. We cannot obtain as much information

concerning the history of music and song in connexion with temple-worship. The notes of the Chronicler, written long after the event, though in many cases drawn from original sources, hardly enable us to determine how far the services which were inaugurated by David had developed in the earlier period of the monarchy. Some of the descriptions seem to give a picture of the full organization known to the Chronicler, of which David established merely the rudiments. Delitzsch laid it down that there were three chief epochs of psalmody in Israel—the time of David, of Jehoshaphat, and of Hezekiah; but in our records it is difficult to distinguish the stages of growth in the music and worship of the sanctuary. It seems clear, however, that the position discernible after the Exile (Ezr 2^{41} and Neh 7^{44}) implies considerable previous development, at least under the later monarchy, though its exact degree is doubtful. On the other hand, the outburst of song in the time of the Maccabees, of which many recent critics have much to say, while probable enough, is hypothetical only. The theory is likely enough *a priori*, and possesses some slight indirect confirmation from history (cf. 2 Mac 2^{14}), but its historical basis is not strong enough to bear any solid superstructure. The evidence of Jer 33^{11} is by no means unimportant where external evidence is so scanty; pointing, as it does, to a measure of liturgical development and the use of formulæ in worship during the Chaldæan period, which may form a fixed point in dealing with the psalms.

Let us next examine **the titles** so far as these bear on authorship. The facts are these. One psalm is attributed to Moses, 73 to David (in the five books respectively, 37. 18. 1. 2. 15), 2 to Solomon, 12 to Asaph, 11 to the sons of Korah, 1 to Heman, and 1 to Ethan. In fourteen cases the historical circumstances of composition are alluded to (cf. Ps 3. 7, etc.). These cease in the later books. Those that have come down to us are sometimes taken from the historical books, and sometimes present difficulties, as in the mention of 'Cush,' Ps 7. The LXX contains some additional titles. The following psalms, anonymous in the Heb., are in it ascribed to David, 33. 43. 67. 91. 93–99. 104; Ps 138 and 139 are inscribed in cod. A *τῷ Δαυεὶδ Ζαχαρίου*, while 146. 147, and 148 have the title *Ἀγγαίου καὶ Ζαχαρίου*. The historical references peculiar to this version are often curious or obscure, *e.g.* Ps 27 *πρὸ τοῦ χρισθῆναι*, Ps 29 *ἐξοδίου σκηνῆς*, Ps 66 *ἀναστάσεως*, whilst Ps 76 and 80 are entitled *πρὸς τὸν Ἀσσύριον* and *ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἀσσυρίου*, and Ps 144 *πρὸς τὸν Γολιάδ*. This version contains also, it may be said in passing, notices of the days on which certain psalms were recited in public, as Ps 92 in the Heb. is spoken of as a Sabbath-psalm. Ps 24 was sung on the first day of the week, 48 on the second, 94 on the fourth, and 93 on the day before the Sabbath.

The anonymous psalms, called 'orphans' in later days, were by the later Jews provided with parents by being attributed to the author named in the nearest previous psalm (see Jerome, *Epist.* 139 *ad Cyprianum*). In all probability it is on this principle that so many psalms in the first book came to be attributed to David, and in later times Moses was credited with all the psalms 91–100, extending, that is, from the 'Mosaic' 90th psalm to the 101st, which bears David's name. The usage by which the whole Psalter came to be attributed to David, so that the popular name 'David' was applied to the whole collection in He 4^{7} is easily intelligible, and has been frequently paralleled since in the names of 'Wesley's' and other popular hymn-books.

The time when these titles were added cannot be exactly determined. Some would be prefixed at the time of the earlier compilations, others when the collections of collections were made. Several of the titles in the LXX show, what one or two psalms in the Heb. exhibit, a combination of inconsistent traditions, both as regards author and occasion. As a whole, the titles represent an early, but far from contemporary tradition, and are for the most part uncritical in character, as may be shown by the following considerations.

1. Some of the psalms assigned to David cannot by any possibility be his. Compare, *e.g.*, the Aramaisms of 103. 122. 139 and 144; but especially those of 139, a psalm which must be amongst the latest in the Psalter. Other explanations have been given of these Aramaisms which cannot be considered satisfactory; but if they are supposed to originate in the Northern Kingdom, Davidic authorship is equally set aside.

2. Some psalms ascribed to David are evidently late because of their obvious borrowings from earlier psalms. These are tame in style, lacking the fresh vigour associated with the Davidic period, though often with a plaintive beauty of their own (cf. Ps 86).

3. The acrostic psalms 25. 34 and 37 cannot be David's. It is conceivable that this artificial style of composition came into use early, but it is not probable. Known examples of it are late, and some other features in the acrostic psalms of the first book—*e.g.* the condition of the State, the exhortations to patience under oppression, as in Ps 37—make so early a date impossible.

4. The mention of the temple in 5^{7} 27^{4} etc. must be considered as an evidence of date. It has been contended (*e.g.* by Delitzsch, *Psalms*, vol. i. pp. 160, 161) that הֵיכָל might be applied to the Davidic tabernacle; but it is only by a certain straining of language that a word for 'palace' could be applied to a tent, even though that tent were the dwelling-place of God. The phrase God's 'holy hill,' moreover, seems to imply that the sanctuary had been established upon Zion for some considerable time (see Driver, *LOT*[6] p. 375). The early use of these expressions might, however, perhaps be allowed, if all other features of the psalms in question favoured a Davidic authorship. But this is not the case. The language which describes a period of oppression and fear (Ps 9^{13} etc.) requires a good deal of adaptation before it will fit David's position, and the same may be said of the descriptions of the kind of foes against which the psalmist had to contend. Traditional interpretation may have accustomed readers to think of David under persecution by Saul, or at the time of Absalom's rebellion, but close examination shows that much of the language is inappropriate in David's mouth. Often there is a superficial resemblance to the circumstances of David's life, combined with real incompatibility. See, *e.g.*, Ps 20 and 21, which refer to the king, but could not have been written by king David in relation to himself; Ps $55^{12.\ 13}$, which might seem to point to Ahithophel, but that so many phrases of the psalm (vv.$^{3.\ 9.\ 10}$, and the phraseology, carefully considered, of $^{12\text{-}14}$) are incompatible with David's position. Many of the psalms ascribed to David are not the language of a monarch at all, but the plaintive complaints of one who is crushed under a government which he has no power to modify, and from which he cannot escape. Isolated expressions such as are found in $51^{18.\ 19}$ may be explained as liturgical additions to an originally Davidic psalm, while 69^{35} might conceivably be understood of David's time; but some violence is required in each case. And putting together (1) the separate phrases which betray a later date, (2) the kind of trials to which the psalmist is exposed, (3) the condition of society exhibited, (4) the maturity of theological thought often manifested,

it will be seen that a strong case is made out against at least a large number of the psalms attributed in the titles 'to David.'

Is it to be said, then, that *David wrote none of the psalms that have come down to us*? Wellhausen's dictum has often been quoted, that 'the question is not whether the Psalter contains post-exilic, but whether it contains any pre-exilic psalms,' and that question is by many answered in the negative. It will be safer to conduct the inquiry upon critical principles cautiously applied.

First, little or no reliance is to be placed on the titles as indicative of authorship. For it is not certain that the לְדָוִד is to be understood of personal authorship (compare the title 'of the sons of Korah,' where the preposition is admittedly not the *Lamed auctoris*). It is probable that a title originally given to one or two psalms in a book was afterwards affixed separately to all in a collection. And the arguments above alleged show that many of the titles must have been affixed in a crude and superficial way. But the same cannot be said of the general reputation of David as a psalmist. This must have rested upon a tolerably substantial basis. It has been said that David was noted only as a musician, not as a poet. The passages 1 S 16^{18}, 2 S 1^{17} 3^{33} 6^{14}, and Am 6^{5} are said not to imply more than this. But the Chronicler makes David to have been the founder of psalmody, see 1 Ch $15^{23.\ 25}$, 2 Ch 7^{29}, and compare Ezr 3^{10}, Neh 12^{36}.

Further, it has already been seen that David was confessedly the author of the elegy of 2 S 1, and the 18th psalm is attributed to him in 2 S 22. It is said that the first of these poems is not of a religious character, but that does not constitute a proof that the writer could not compose a religious poem, and for literary purposes its evidence is valid. David was the writer of verses which, as literature, are parallel with the psalms, whilst early tradition ascribes to him the composition of psalms also. Taking, then, the 18th psalm as a kind of test case, how stands the evidence? (*α*) *External Evidence.* If the 22nd ch. forms an integral part of 2 S, the testimony to Davidic authorship is early and strong. If—as there is reason to suppose—chs. 22 and 23 constitute a later addition to the book, their evidence is greatly weakened. It is not easy to determine whether the text as given in the psalm is earlier or later than that found in the history. Baethgen inclines to hold that the psalm gives the earlier form of text, but that the two have been handed down independently. On the other hand, it is much more probable that the brief historical introduction with which Ps 22 opens was taken from the history than *vice versâ*. (*β*) *Internal Evidence.* The contents of the psalm suit well the early monarchy, and can, in fact, with difficulty be applied to any other period. The vigour and freshness which characterize the style have convinced Ewald and many other critics of the Davidic authorship. The only arguments on the other side have been drawn from v.[27], which might very well have come from David's pen, and vv.[49. 50], which do unquestionably point the other way, though there is nothing in them absolutely incompatible with Davidic authorship. The theory adopted by Cheyne and others who support a much later date is that the writer, with marvellous ability and success, throws himself back into the life of the conquering hero of many centuries before, and the poem was 'conjecturally ascribed to the idealized David not long before the Exile.' This conclusion appears to spring from the assumed premiss that 'from the point of view of the history of art, not less than from that of the history of religion, the supposition that we have Davidic psalms presents insuperable difficulties.' The conjunction of internal and external evidence furnishes a fair, though not conclusive, case in favour of the Davidic authorship of Ps 18, such as would reasonably be accepted in the case of any similar document in classical literature, and it can be overruled only by considerations drawn from a general view of OT religion, such as cannot be discussed here.

It is obvious that a decision on the question of the 18th psalm will carry many others with it. If this psalm be not David's, probably none from his pen has come down to us; if it be, the way is open to examine other psalms for which a similar claim is made, rejecting such as are condemned by internal evidence. The only other psalm of which mention can be made here is the 110th. Older expositors, such as Delitzsch and Ewald, held it to be Davidic, or of the Davidic age, but the tendency of modern criticism is to assign to it a much later date. The terseness, vigour, and occasional obscurity of its phraseology favour an early origin, and its occurrence in the fifth book of the Psalter, which tells in favour of a late date, is not absolutely inconsistent with an earlier. Decision upon the point is bound up with the exposition of v.[1]. If the opening words may be understood in the sense that the Messiah is objectively regarded as the psalmist's Lord, David may be regarded as the speaker. If, as many hold, this is impossible, the theocratic priest-king must be addressed by the psalmist as his lord, and the Messianic reference can only be indirect and typical, and Davidic authorship is excluded. It has been attempted to support the first of these theories by the language of 2 S 23^{2-5} and the prophecy recorded in 2 S 7, but these do not present a close parallel to the kind of Messianic reference proposed. An argument, conclusive to the minds of many, is drawn from our Lord's quotation of this psalm as recorded in the Synoptic Gospels. This quotation shows at least that the current Jewish opinion regarded the psalm as Messianic, but it does not exclude—(1) the supposition that an *argumentum ad hominem* was intended sufficient for the purpose which Christ had in view, or (2) the fact that the argument to be drawn from the psalm holds good, if for 'David' the general word 'psalmist' were substituted. A study of the whole use of OT made by Christ in His teaching shows that the questions of date and authorship with which criticism is chiefly concerned were not before the mind of our Lord as He spoke, nor was it His object to pronounce upon them.

In general, the conclusion reached upon the subject of Davidic psalms seems to be as follows. It cannot certainly be proved that David wrote any psalms; the probability is that he wrote many; it is not likely that all these were lost; some of those extant which are ascribed to him are appropriate in his lips; external evidence ascribes the 18th psalm to David, and if it be his, it is probable that others also should be attributed to him; and in determining the number of these, internal evidence drawn from contents, style, allusions, etc., is the sole criterion. The judgment of critics proceeding upon these lines naturally varies considerably. Baethgen, with some hesitation, admits 3 psalms as Davidic, Schultz 10, Ewald 17, Delitzsch 44, while Driver (*LOT*[8] 380) sums up by saying—'A *non liquet* must be our verdict; it is possible that Ewald's list of Davidic psalms is too large, but it is not clear that none of the psalms contained in it are of David's composition.' The arguments above adduced would lead to the conclusion that from ten to twenty psalms—including 3. 4. 7. 8. 15. 18. 23. 24. 32, and perhaps 101 and 110—*may* have come down to us from David's pen, but that the number can hardly be greater and may be still less. The 90th psalm cannot have been written by Moses, nor the 72nd

and 127th by Solomon. The titles in these cases must be understood as indicative of the subject-matter. The reference of certain psalms to Asaph, Heman, Ethan, and the sons of Korah, is to be understood from the point of view of compilation rather than of authorship. If these psalms were taken from collections associated with the Levitical guilds known by these historical names in the time of the second temple, the titles become easily intelligible. It creates difficulties to press the meaning of the preposition as *Lamed auctoris*, and to suppose (*e.g.*) that the family or guild of 'Korah' were either separately or conjointly authors of psalms. It is quite possible that the free multiplication of the title לְדָוִד is due to the same habit on the part of those who formed the several collections. Compilers would think more of the source from which the psalms were actually derived than of the presumably remote original author, especially in days when personal authorship was not dwelt upon as in a later time.

On the general subject of the age of the Psalms, Cheyne hardly allows one to be pre-exilic; the scattered references to monarchy he applies for the most part to the time of the Maccabæan revival. In this he stands almost alone amongst English critics, though the general tendency of criticism is to assign a continually increasing majority of the psalms to the post-exilic period. Cornill probably represents the prevailing opinion of contemporary scholars when he describes (*Einleitung*, p. 221) the Psalter as representing a reaction of the old Israelitish pious feeling against the stiffening formalism of the time of Ezra and his successors, a proof that the religious genius of Israel in the 3rd and 4th centuries B.C. had not been quenched by the growing influence of what was later known as Pharisaism. The historical allusions which are found in some psalms are not for the most part decisive, and these cease to have any weight if the possibility of later impersonation and idealization is freely conceded. Taking the language of the psalms as it stands, however, the nearest approach to definiteness on the ground of historical allusions would be found in Ps 46 as applied to the overthrow of Sennacherib, Ps 74 and 79 to the period of the Maccabees. Ps 68, which by earlier critics was assigned to the reign of Jehoshaphat, almost certainly belongs to the period of the Second Temple, and Ps 118, which has generally been considered as especially suitable to the return from Captivity, is confidently assigned by Cheyne to the Maccabæan period. Ps 45, which most critics place during the monarchy, is understood by the same writer of Ptolemy Philadelphus. If historical allusions are not decisive, neither will the evidence of parallel passages avail much. If the dates of Job, of Deut., and of certain chapters of Isaiah could be fixed, the dates of a few psalms might be approximately determined; *e.g.* Ps 8 was written before the Book of Job, and Ps 90 after Deuteronomy. The date of Jer. is well known, but a comparison between the language of the psalms and the prophet (cf. Ps 1 with Jer $17^{7.8}$) makes it difficult to say which can claim the priority. A certain group of psalms, *e.g.* 69, may with some confidence be assigned to the period of Jeremiah.

In only a very few cases can linguistic evidence be considered as decisively characteristic of late date; Ps 139 is probably the best example of this. The criterion of style is too subjective and too differently estimated by different critics to be relied upon as evidence of date. Arguments drawn from the stage of theological thought visible in the psalms depend upon the view taken of the history of OT theology, and opinion can hardly be considered ripe enough on this subject for it to be employed with certainty. The psalms themselves form no inconsiderable portion of the evidence by means of which that history is to be traced out, and it is clear that the vicious circle must be avoided which would conclude that a given psalm 'cannot be of early origin because the ideas it contains cannot have been promulgated so early.' The state of religious thought and life manifested in the writings of the prophets Amos and Hosea presupposes a long religious history, the nature of which has not yet been made sufficiently clear to allow of sweeping dogmatic assumptions. And, apart from a belief in the supernatural, the history of religion shows how frequently the *vates*, whether bard or prophet, has been before his time in his religious intuitions and aspirations. Certain *general* conclusions may, however, be given, which will guide us approximately to the time when the psalms as a whole were composed. A few being probably Davidic, a considerable number, especially in the earlier books, are pre-exilic, but the greater proportion of these date after the 8th cent. B.C. The large majority of the psalms may be with confidence assigned to the period during and shortly after the Exile, some few to the 3rd and even the 2nd cent. B.C.

Are any Maccabæan psalms included in the Psalter? This much debated question has received very various answers. There is an *a priori* probability in favour of the existence of such psalms and of their inclusion in the Psalter, if the Canon of OT were not closed too early to admit them. The strong probability is that the Canon was not virtually closed till about B.C. 100, and the Psalter may have been kept open even after the various collections were formed, in the sense that a few later psalms might find their way in after a collection possessed a separate existence. The evidence of Josephus and of 2 Mac may be taken as indirectly confirming the *a priori* probability that the Maccabæan times would furnish a vigorous psalmody. The evidence of the 'Psalms of Solomon' shows that the true spirit of psalm-composition existed even later, though the hopes and ideals of the psalmist had altered. When we examine the extant psalms, however, difficulties arise. Those which appear most likely to have sprung from Maccabæan times, such as 44. 74. 79. 83, are found, not in the later, but in the earlier or middle collections. It is possible, but not easy, to understand how a psalm composed B.C. 150 made its way into Book ii. and was labelled, not in the Heb. only, but in the Greek, as a psalm of Asaph. It is urged by some that the language of these psalms may be appropriately understood of earlier desolations than those of the time of Antiochus. But in Ps 74^{8}, for example, the phrase מוֹעֲדֵי אֵל (though understood by the LXX of feasts) seems distinctly to point to the synagogues of a later period, while 74^{9} connects itself naturally with 1 Mac 4^{46} 9^{27} 14^{41}. The argument drawn from the repeated use of חֲסִידִים, on the other hand, has been too much pressed, as if it must necessarily refer to the time when the *Ḥasidim* became a recognized party, when 'the company of the Hasidæans, mighty men of Israel,' offered themselves 'willingly for the law' (1 Mac 2^{42}). It by no means follows that all mention of 'the pious ones' is to be taken as distinctly Maccabæan.

The history of opinion displays considerable diversity of opinion on this question. Theodore of Mopsuestia, holding the Davidic origin of the psalms generally, taught that David projected himself in the spirit of prophecy into the times of the Maccabees, so that some of the psalms faithfully picture that period. Calvin attributed Ps 44. 74 and 79 to the period in question; Hitzig and Olshausen enlarged this short list to embrace the

greater portion of the Psalter, including all psalms from 73 to 150. Reuss assigned several psalms to a still later period—that of John Hyrcanus, B.C. 135–107. Cheyne indicates some twenty-five psalms as Maccabæan, including 20. 21. 33. 44. 60. 61. 63. 74. 79. 83. 101. 108. 115–118. 135–138. 145–150. His criteria of 'a uniquely strong church feeling,' an 'intensity of monotheistic faith,' and an 'ardour of gratitude for some unexampled stepping forth of the Lord J" into history,' are not susceptible of specific and decisive application to Maccabæan times. The first criterion mentioned by Cheyne—the existence of 'some fairly distinct allusions to Maccabæan circumstances'—would be decisive if its occurrence could be clearly proved. But the allusions are held by such critics as Gesenius, Ewald, Dillmann, and Hupfeld to be anything but distinct. In our judgment the number of Maccabæan psalms cannot be large, but the bare possibility that a few such psalms were included in the Psalter before the Canon was closed should be left open. If any psalms of the 2nd cent. B.C. are found in our present collection, the internal evidence which would assign 44. 74. 79. 83 to this period may be held to outweigh the unquestionable difficulties arising from their place in the second and third books.

iv. TITLES.—It has been found convenient to discuss such of the titles as bear on the question of authorship already; the present section will therefore be devoted to an examination of those words or phrases, mostly musical notes, which require explanation. For the sake of convenience, they are given in alphabetical order, following the EV.

'Aijeleth hash-Shahar, Ps 22 עַל־אַיֶּלֶת הַשַּׁחַר, LXX *ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀντιλήμψεως τῆς ἑωθινῆς, i.e.* 'concerning the morning aid' (אַיָּלוּת); so Targum, which refers to the *Tamid*, the perpetual morning sacrifice; Jerome, *pro cervo matutino* (so Aq.). 'Upon' here signifies 'set to the tune of' (RV), the name of the song being prob. 'Hind of the Dawn.' W. R. Smith compares Arabic usage in thus describing melodies; also Ephraem in the Syriac. Baethgen understands the morning to be viewed as 'the hind in its swiftness.'

'Alâmôth, Ps 46; cf. 1 Ch 15[20] 'psalteries set to Alamoth' (RV), עַל־עֲלָמוֹת, LXX *ἐπὶ τῶν κρυφίων*, 'about the hidden things' (עֲלָמוֹת), so Targum; Jerome, after Aq., *pro juventutibus*. In 1 Ch, LXX transliterates *ἀλαιμώθ*. Ges. and most moderns derive from *'almah*, 'damsel,' and render 'with accompaniment of damsel voices,' or 'in soprano.' Baethgen holds that this interpretation is not suitable to Ps 46. Rashi understands it of a musical instrument, as modern viola or tenor-violin. Cf. 'Double-bass,' corresponding to *Sheminith*, which see. It is a question whether the closing words of Ps 48 *'al-muth*, which will hardly bear the translation 'unto death,' should not be read as *'alâmôth* and taken as part of the title of the following psalm.

'Al-taschith (AV), *'Al-tashheth* (RV), Ps 57. 58. 59. 75, אַל־תַּשְׁחֵת, LXX *μὴ διαφθείρῃς*; Jerome *ut non disperdas*. As in RV, this must be understood to mean 'set to the tune of, Destroy not.' Possibly these words may form the beginning of an old vintage-song, such as we find described in Is 65[8], when the new wine is found in the cluster, 'and one saith, Destroy it not, for a blessing is in it'; but this is mere conjecture (see *OTJC*[2] p. 209).

Ascents.—See *Degrees*.

Chief Musician, for the.—Found in 55 psalms, beginning with Ps 4. See also Hab 3[19]. Heb. לַמְנַצֵּחַ, LXX *εἰς τὸ τέλος* (connect with לָנֶצַח 'for ever'?). Other Gr. VSS, *εἰς τὸ νίκος*, Jerome *Victori*; following apparently the meaning of a kindred Aram. root. The verb נצח is found in 1 Ch 15[21] in reference to music, and is rendered 'to excel' in AV, 'to lead' the singing in RV. In 1 Ch 23[4] it means 'to preside over' the work in question. The meaning of the title, therefore, apparently is that the psalm was to be given to the precentor or leader of the choir, and was intended to be sung in the temple-service.

Dedication, A Song at the d. of the house, Ps 30, Heb. שִׁיר־חֲנֻכַּת הַבַּיִת, LXX *ἐκστάσεως*.—The order of words in this title suggests that in its present form it combines two several traditions; it is at the same time a psalm *lĕ-David* and a song for the dedication of 'the house.' It is possible that the two may be combined; not, however, when the site was chosen for the temple (Hengstenberg), for this was not the dedication of a house; nor (probably) at some re-consecration of the palace after Absalom's rebellion and David's absence. The most probable supposition, if the psalm is to be referred to David's lifetime, is that of Delitzsch, who refers it to the house mentioned in 2 S 5[11], and supposes that about this time the king was recovering from severe sickness. It is known, however (*Sopherim* xviii. 2), that this psalm was used by the Jews from an early date at the feast of *Ḥănukkah*, the 'dedication' mentioned in 1 Mac 4[54] and Jn 10[22], and Baethgen and many moderns consider that this clause of the title was added later as an after-thought. It has been questioned whether this is consistent with the ignorance of its meaning shown by the LXX. The probability is that the clause refers to a liturgical use of the psalm, not to its original composition.

Degrees, Songs of, Ps 120. 122–134 שִׁיר הַמַּעֲלוֹת; in 121 לַמַּעַל; LXX *ᾠδὴ τῶν ἀναβαθμῶν*, Jerome *canticum graduum*, whence AV 'degrees,' RV 'ascents.'—Grammatically, the form of the title in Ps 121 is the more correct, if שִׁיר is to be understood of an individual psalm. W. R. Smith and Cheyne understand it collectively=שִׁירֵי, properly the title of the whole group, the plural 'ascents' indicating that the title of the group has come to be affixed to each psalm separately. The following meanings have been attached to this ambiguous phrase:—

1. The return from Babylon (Ewald). See Ezr 7[9], in which we read of 'the going up from Babylon,' and cf. Ezr 2[1]. The use of the plur. 'goings up' is explained to refer to more than one journey, under Cyrus and Artaxerxes (Ezr 2 and 8); or to the number of caravans, cf. *οἱ ἀναβαίνοντες* of Jn 12[20]. It is hardly likely, however, that the plural would be used of the one event which so signalized itself in the memory of the people, and the subject-matter of at least Ps 122 and 134 is unsuitable to this connexion.

2. The going up to the annual festivals in Jerusalem. The word *ma'ălah* is not elsewhere used of these journeys, but the cognate vb. עלה is (Ps 122[4] *al.*). The psalms are for the most part suitable in subject for such a purpose, either directly (see 122. 132. 133) or indirectly. Herder, Reuss, W. R. Smith ('Pilgrimage songs'), and Baethgen may be mentioned as amongst those who favour this explanation.

3. Fifteen steps led from the women's court to the men's court in the temple, and the Talmud (*Midd.* ii. 5, *Sukkah* 15*b*) says that these corresponded to the songs of degrees; not, however, that the psalms were named after the steps, or that the Levites sang these particular psalms upon the steps. This explanation of the name has, however, been held by some (*e.g.* Armfield, who has written a monograph upon the subject).

4. Delitzsch favours the interpretation which finds an allusion to the peculiar style or structure of the psalms, the repetition of a word or phrase, with a gradual ladder-like ascent as to a climax—'a step-like progressive rhythm of thoughts.' Compare the structure of the 'triolet' in more

recent literature. Against this, however, it may be urged that not all these psalms exhibit this structure (see 132); that it is found in some other psalms (*e.g.* 29); and that nowhere else is this technical use of the word found.

5. *Im höhern Chor* (Luther) to be sung 'in louder tones'; so R. Sa'adya Gaon, and cf. 2 Ch 20[19] *lĕ-māʿlah* (diff. word from מַעְלָה), 'with a loud voice *on high*' (AV), 'an exceeding loud voice' (RV).

6. An explanation, first given by Rashi, has lately been revived by Schiller-Szinessy, which refers the word to the 'liftings-up' or 'goings-up' of the heart in adoration and trust. See 121[1] 123[1] 130[1].

It will be gathered from the above sketch that no certain meaning can be given to the title of this group of lovely psalms. The second explanation is, on the whole, the most probable.

Gittith, Set to the, Ps 8. 81. 84, Heb. עַל־הַגִּתִּית, LXX *ὑπὲρ τῶν ληνῶν*, Jerome *pro* (*in*) *torcularibus* (גִּתּוֹת).—The Targ. explains of a musical instrument which David brought from Gath, or of the form of a wine-press. Generally understood to indicate the name of a tune, possibly set to a vintage-song, a meaning which the LXX and Jerome may possibly have had in view in their renderings. Ewald understands it to mean 'the March of the Gittite guard.'

Higgaion (הִגָּיוֹן). — This word does not occur in any of the titles, but is found in Ps 9[16] and is conveniently considered here. It occurs in connexion with *Selah* (which see), and the double phrase is rendered by LXX *ᾠδὴ διαψάλματος*. It is found in the text of Ps 92[3], where Cheyne renders 'with sounding music upon the harp.' The root הגה from which the word is probably derived means to emit a deep, murmuring sound, and is used of a lion in Is 31[4], of a dove in Is 38[14], and of a mourner in Is 16[7]. Also in a secondary sense of meditation or device in Ps 19[14], La 3[62]. Kimchi explains *Higgaion* from this secondary meaning of the root; but it is in all probability a musical term derived from the primary meaning, possibly indicating a '*forte* burst of joyous music.'

Jonath-'elem-rĕḥoḳim, Ps 56 עַל־יוֹנַת אִלֶּם רְחוֹקִים, LXX *ὑπὲρ τοῦ λαοῦ τοῦ ἀπὸ τῶν ἁγίων μεμακρυμμένου*, a tr. which supposes that Israel is intended by the word יוֹנָה *dove*, and אלם is quite misunderstood. Like so many others of these enigmatical phrases, this is in all probability the name of a melody to which the psalm is to be sung. With the reading אֵלִים the phrase may be interpreted 'the dove of the distant terebinths'; with present pointing, as in RVm, 'the silent dove of them that are afar off.'

Maḥălath, Ps 53; *Maḥălath lĕ'annôth,* Ps 88, Heb. עַל־מַחֲלַת, or with addition of לַעֲנוֹת, LXX *ὑπὲρ Μαελέθ* (*τοῦ ἀποκριθῆναι*) as pr. name, see Gn 28[9], 2 Ch 11[18], Jerome *pro choro, per chorum* (after Aq. Theod. Symm.). Considerable uncertainty attaches to the rendering of this phrase. If it does not indicate the name of a tune (Ibn Ezra), or the sadness of the melody to which the psalm was sung (Delitzsch), the choice lies between understanding *maḥălath* as (1) akin to *maḥălah*, 'sickness' or 'calamity' (Ex 15[26]), so Targ.; or (2) as a musical instrument (Rashi, Ges., Lowe). Neither etymology nor the probabilities of the case can be said to point decidedly in either direction.

Maschil.—Found prefixed to 13 psalms, viz. 32. 42. 44. 45. 52–55. 74. 78. 88. 89. 142. Heb. מַשְׂכִּיל, LXX *συνέσεως, εἰς σύνεσιν*. Cf. 47[7] זמרו משכיל, 'make melody in a skilful strain' (cf. RVm); Targ. 'with good understanding.' Gesenius renders, 'a didactic poem,' which does not fit many of the psalms mentioned above. Delitzsch understands it as indicating a 'contemplative' psalm (השכיל prop. 'consider,' 'attend to,' cf. Ps 101[2] [RVm] 106[7]); Rashi interprets by reference to 2 Ch 30[22], the Levites that 'had good understanding (*or* were well skilled) [apparently in music] for J".' So far as etymology serves us, the title probably indicates a contemplative composition, but in process of time the original meaning probably passed away and it came to mean little more than a poem (cf. *ποίημα*).

Michtam, Ps 16 and 56–60 מִכְתָּם, LXX *στηλογραφία*. — So Gesenius, who says כתב = *scribere*, כתם = *inscribere*; the meaning in Eng. would imply a carefully-fashioned, 'emblazoned' psalm; but this meaning of the root כתם is wholly uncertain. Another suggested derivation connects with כֶּתֶם and would give the rendering 'a golden psalm'; so Luther. The word is also used in Is 38[9] of Hezekiah's dirge, but it is not easy to detect any features which the various compositions to which the word is applied possess in common.

Muth-labben, Ps 9 עַל־מוּת לַבֵּן, LXX *ὑπὲρ τῶν κρυφίων τοῦ υἱοῦ*, Vulg. *pro occultis* (Jer. *pro morte*) *filii*, Targ. 'concerning the death of man (who came forth) between (the armies).' All these tr[ns] show that the phrase was not understood, and the ignorance of the ancients is shared by the moderns. Grammar will not allow of the rendering 'death of the son,' *i.e.* Absalom, even if such a meaning were appropriate. In all probability this is the name of a tune; but whether it should be rendered 'Die for the son' or (with other pointing) 'Death makes white,' it is impossible to say, and cannot really signify.

Nĕginoth.—Found in six psalms—4. 6. 54. 55. 67. 76 בִּנְגִינוֹת, and once in 61 עַל־נְגִינָת, cf. Hab 3[19], LXX *ἐν ψαλμοῖς*, Jerome *in psalmis*. The word means unquestionably 'on stringed instruments'; it is always found after the phrase 'For the chief musician,' and indicates that the psalm is to be sung to an accompaniment of stringed music, cf. 1 Ch 15[21]. *Neginath* is generally understood as the same word with an old feminine ending (Ges.); or, according to Massoretic punctuation, closely joined with *lĕ-David*, it would mean 'in the Davidic style of stringed music.'

Nĕḥiloth, Ps 5 אֶל־הַנְּחִילוֹת, LXX *ὑπὲρ τῆς κληρονομούσης*, as if הַנַּחֲלָה, Jerome *pro hæreditatibus*. Generally understood as=חֲלִילִים, meaning 'to the accompaniment of flutes' or wind-instruments. That flutes were used in worship, is shown by Is 30[29]. Baethgen objects that the usual word for flute might be expected here, and understands Neḥiloth as the name of a tune.

Remembrance, To bring to, Ps 38 and 70 לְהַזְכִּיר, LXX *εἰς ἀνάμνησιν* (adding in 70, *εἰς τὸ σῶσαί με κύριον*), Jerome *in commemorandum, ad recordandum*. Is it to be understood, however, that God is to remember the psalmist, or the psalmist to remember God? Both views have been taken. The Targ., followed by Delitzsch, finds a reference to the *Azkarah* (*ἀνάμνησις*) part of the sacrifice of the Minḥah, when a portion was thrown upon the fire and the smoke was supposed to bring the worshipper into the Divine remembrance. See Lv 24[7. 8], and connect with title in LXX *περὶ σαββάτου*. But the word is found in 1 Ch 16[4], when certain Levites were appointed to minister before the ark, and 'to record' (AV), 'celebrate' (RV), as well as to thank and praise J"; and perhaps this more general meaning of worshipping, in the sense of not forgetting the Divine benefits, is the more probable meaning here.

Shĕminith, Ps 6 and 12 עַל־שְׁמִינִית, LXX *ὑπὲρ τῆς ὀγδόης*, 'upon the octave *or* the eighth,' cf. 1 Ch 15[21]. The phrase either refers to a special kind of stringed instrument with eight strings, or means perhaps 'in the bass,' cf. *'al-'Alâmôth*=soprano. 'In a lower octave,' the reverse of the modern octave (Lowe).

Shiggaion, Ps 7 שִׁגָּיוֹן, LXX *ψαλμός* — *μετὰ ᾠδῆς*, Jerome *pro ignoratione* (after Theod. Symm., and see Ps 19[12] 'errors').—The word is found in the

plural in Hab 3[1]. As derived from שנה 'to wander,' Ewald, Delitzsch, and others give the meaning of a 'dithyrambic song,' one characterized by various feelings or rhythms. Gesenius, with hesitation, renders *cantus suavis*. There appears to be nothing either in etymology, tradition, or the character of the two psalms in question to guide modern readers definitely to the meaning of this word.

Shoshannim, Shushan-'Eduth, Ps 45 and 69 עַל־שֹׁשַׁנִּים, Ps 60 עַל־שׁוֹשַׁן עֵדוּת, Ps 80 עַל־שֹׁשַׁנִּים, LXX ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀλλοιωθησομένων (שֹׁשַׁנִּים from root שנה 'to change'), Jerome *pro liliis testimonii*.—Rashi understands as an instrument of six strings. Probably the name of a tune (Ibn Ezra and moderns) 'set to the melody of Lilies, or Lilies of the Testimony.' 'Pure as a lily is the Testimony,' *i.e.* the Law (Ewald).

Song of Loves, Ps 45 שִׁיר יְדִידוֹת, LXX ᾠδὴ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ.—The allegorical interpretation which is suggested by the Gr. is of very early origin, and is based upon the use of language found in Hosea and elsewhere in OT, and recognized by St. Paul in Eph 5[32]. The Targ. renders 'Thy beauty, O King Messiah.' The feminine plural termination must not be understood literally as of king's daughters (Hengstenberg), nor of a marriage-feast, nor in an erotic sense, for the word is a noble one; but according to the Heb. idiom it corresponds to a neuter abstract, and the phrase would mean 'A song of that which is lovely.' It is to be understood, like Canticles, of a pure and holy earthly love which may be understood to symbolize and prepare the way for a higher affection still.

To Teach, Ps 60 לְלַמֵּד, cf. Dt 31[19], where Moses is commanded to teach a song to the Israelites, and 2 S 1[17. 18], where it is said that David 'bade them teach the children of Judah *the song of* the bow' (the word 'bow' is omitted in B of LXX)—a martial song, to be sung at the practice of arms? These parallels would seem to show that the title *lĕ-lammed* means that this psalm, like many others, was to be taught to Israel.

v. Poetical Construction.—Heb. poetry, it is well known, is not constituted by rhyme. Neither, like Anglo-Saxon and other verse, is it marked by regularly recurring assonance, though occasionally this feature is present. Neither, again, is metre an essential feature of Heb. psalmody. It has been questioned among scholars—though only a small minority are prepared to answer in the affirmative—whether metre, implying lines consisting of a fixed number of syllables, is recognizable at all in OT poetry, as, confessedly, both rhyme and metre are characteristic of Jewish poems of the Middle Ages. But though metre is not discernible in Psalms, it does not follow that rhythm is excluded. The rhythm of thought in the well-known *parallelismus membrorum* is, of course, an essential feature, and rhythm of language matching the thought is readily perceptible, though no rules can be laid down for its determination. There is a rhythm in all the finest prose, not the less impressive for being irregular. In Psalms the rhythm of language more nearly approaches regularity than the rhythm of carefully constructed prose, but it defies analysis and systematization. The prevailing form is the couplet of two corresponding lines, though the triplet and quatrain are used from time to time. On this subject Driver says: 'The poetical instincts of the Hebrews appear to have been satisfied by the adoption of lines of *approximately* the same length, which were combined, as a rule, into groups of two, three, or four lines, constituting *verses*, the verses marking usually more distinct pauses in the progress of thought than the separate lines' (*LOT*[6] p. 362). (For the details of this subject see Driver's chapter just quoted and art. Poetry). It may, however, be briefly said here that the chief attempts to trace out a more regular metrical system in Psalms than the above remarks allow, are those of J. Ley (*Metr. Formen der Heb. Poesie*, 1866, and *Grundzüge des Rhythmus in der Heb. Poesie*, 1875), Gustav Bickell (*Carmina VT metrice*, 1882, and articles in *ZDMG*, 1891–1894), and, more recently, H. Grimme ('Abriss der biblisch-hebräischen Metrik' in *ZDMG*, 1896, pp. 529–584, and 1897, pp. 683–712). Ley seeks to establish a metre which depends upon accents, and relies upon alliteration, assonance, and rhyme as subordinate features. Bickell seeks to prove that the measure of the verse is marked by regular alternation of accented and unaccented syllables; but he accomplishes this only by an excessive modification, not to say mutilation, of the text, and by a violent use of unnatural elisions. Grimme's system is described in art. Poetry, p. 6[b]. C. A. Briggs holds Ley's views in a modified form. He says, 'The accent may be used as a principle of measurement to a very large extent in Heb. poetry, but it is not an absolute law; for whilst many poems and strophes are uniform in this respect, the poet breaks away from it and increases or diminishes the number of accents, as well as words, to correspond with the movements of his thought and motion' (*Bibl. Study*, p. 263).* This does not greatly differ from the mode of statement adopted by Delitzsch, which is accepted in this article. 'Heb. poetry is not metrical, *i.e.* it is not regulated by the laws of quantity and by the number of syllables; strong accents, which give prominence to the logically most important syllables, produce a very great variety of rhythms in the series of syllables that form the *stichoi*; the ictus of the verse is regulated by the logical movement; and the rhythm is the purely accentuating rhythm of the oldest kinds of national poetry' (*Psalms*, vol. i. p. 31, note, Eng. tr.).

There is one stage of poetical construction intermediate between the unit—couplet, triplet, or quatrain—and the completed lyric. It is the strophe or stanza, whichever name be considered most appropriate for a section of the poem, marking a clearly defined movement in the thought, and consisting of a measured number of lines. Moulton, in his *Literary Study of the Bible*, uses the term 'sonnet' to describe this feature of Heb. poetry, but the accepted connotation of the word makes it generally unsuitable, and it would be quite out of place in the psalms. Sometimes the close of the strophe is marked by a refrain, or a nearly exact repetition of verse or phrase at more or less regular intervals. Some of the most clearly marked examples of this are, 'Why art thou cast down, O my soul?' in 42[5. 11] 43[5]; 'The Lord of hosts is with us' in 46[7. 11]; 'Turn us again, O Lord of hosts' in 80[3. 7. 19]; 'O that men would praise the Lord for his goodness' in 107[8. 15. 21. 31]. In the 136th psalm the refrain, 'his mercy endureth for ever' occurs as the latter half of every verse. Less readily recognized examples may be found in 39[5. 11] 'Surely every man is vanity'; 56[4. 10] 'In God will I praise his word'; 57[5. 11] 'Be thou exalted, O God, above the heavens'; 62[1. 5] 'My soul, wait thou only upon God'; 99[5. 9] 'Exalt the Lord our God, for he is holy.' In some of these cases, however, the repetition of a phrase is rather the indication of a style which meets us markedly in the Songs of Ascents, than the occurrence of a refrain such as marks the close of a strophe. Frequently it is clear that a psalm naturally divides itself into sections, where no refrain or poetical device marks the several pauses. The first three psalms would sufficiently illustrate this, particularly the second, in which the arrangement of vv.[1-3. 4-6. 7-9. 10-12] commends itself at once. Driver holds that in many cases these sections

* Slightly modified in *Study of Holy Script.* (1899) p. 369 f.

are 'to be regarded as logical rather than poetical units, and as not properly deserving — even in its modified sense—the name of strophes.' The construction of Heb. poetry, however, is such that it is always more or less difficult to make the distinction between thought and form; and as the length of line depends largely upon the movement of thought, so also with the length of what in prose would be called a section, but in the irregularly but rhythmically constructed poetry of Israel, may be called a strophe or a stanza. See, further, art. POETRY, p. 7 ff.

Several psalms are *acrostic*, or alphabetical, in their arrangement. Sometimes successive verses begin with the letters of the Heb. alphabet in order; sometimes half-verses, or pairs of verses, are thus marked, and in the 119th psalm eight verses are found to each letter. In Ps 9–10 we find two verses to a letter, but the scheme is not complete. In 9^{20} ף takes the place of כ, Ps 10 begins with ל, and the last four pairs of verses close with ק, ר, ש, ת, the intervening verses not being arranged alphabetically, though their number exactly corresponds with the number of letters passed over. In Ps 25 one verse is found to each letter, though ו is missing, and an extra verse is added at the end. In Ps 37 two verses occur to each letter (with slight irregularity), in 111 and 112 half a verse. In 34 and 145 the single-verse arrangement is found, with slight irregularities, which may be accounted for by a corruption of text. It might be supposed that so artificial an arrangement of matter would form a sure sign of late date, of a 'silver age' and fading poetic power, but this hardly appears to be the case. One of the most elaborate and complete instances is found in the 'Lamentations,' which is considerably earlier than many of the psalms. In Latin poetry the acrostic arrangement is found in early times (see Cicero's reference to Ennius, quoted by Delitzsch, i. 204); and Hitzig, who allows only fourteen Davidic psalms, includes 9 and 10 amongst them. The alphabetical psalms do not, as a rule, exhibit much poetic fire or vigour in comparison with psalms which are strictly lyrical in character. But this may be due to the subject and the mode of treatment adopted, for single phrases in the 119th psalm might easily be quoted which are full of imaginative fervour and power. If we cannot say with Delitzsch that the acrostic arrangement is 'full of meaning in itself,' it may be admitted with Driver that it was 'sometimes adopted by poets as an artificial principle of arrangement, when the subject was one of a general character, that did not lend itself readily to logical development.'

It is needless to say, however, that it is not in their form and construction that we find the true poetry of the psalms, though this is of such a character as to aid in securing for them the universality which is one of their chief features. The form of Heb. poetry bears rendering into other languages better than the poetical literature of any other nation. But the poetry of the psalms does not lie in their artistic form. The word 'artistic,' indeed, is out of place here. Artifice hides itself abashed in the presence of deep religious feeling. It is not merely that the predominating tone and spirit of the book is religious; religion has laid its strong uplifting hand upon every string of the psalmist's harp, every touch of the psalmist's fingers. The literary characteristics which charm us in the great poets of the world are indeed present. Lofty imagination marks some of the descriptions—'Who coverest thyself with light as with a garment, who stretchest out the heavens like a curtain.' 'He rode upon a cherub and did fly; yea, he did fly upon the wings of the wind.' Fancy appears in slighter touches, often unnoticed—'In Salem is his leafy covert, and his (rocky) lair in Zion.' The varied metaphors of the psalms have furnished religious life with brightness and picturesque variety for more than two thousand years. The terebinth planted by the streams, the hind panting for the water-brooks, the sun going out like a bridegroom from his chamber, the Divine Shepherd tending His flock alike in the pleasant pasture and the lonely and gloomy ravine,—these familiar images are not more striking than the thousand less noticed pictures, sketched in outline only: the crowned and anointed guest at the banquet of life spread in the very wilderness amongst foes; the harassed and overthrown forces of the enemy scattered over hillside and plain, like the ten thousand flakes 'when it snoweth in Zalmon'; or Death the shepherd herding among his flock in Sheol those who had arrogantly defied his power—yet the psalmist knows of a mightier Shepherd still, who shall 'redeem my soul from the power of Sheol, for he will receive me.' Some of the poetical effect is doubtless peculiar to the Hebrew, the picturesqueness of some of the words, and occasionally the variety of its synonyms, or the play of tenses, alternating one with another, like lights and shadows upon the hillside, or the changing colours upon the burnished neck of the dove. But the simplicity of diction which imparts such sublimity to a phrase—'with thee is the well-spring of life: in thy light we shall see light'; the depth of human feeling which can be felt like a beating pulse on every page—'Fervently do I love thee, J", my strength!'—'Deep calleth unto deep at the noise of thy cataracts; all thy waves and billows are gone over me'; the concrete directness with which the most abstract truths of religion are set forth—'In the hand of J" there is a cup, and the wine foameth; surely the dregs thereof, all the wicked of the earth shall drain them out and drink them';—'He shall cover thee with his pinions, and under his wings shalt thou take refuge'; these words appeal to the heart of the world, and their power is as great for the Englishman as for the Israelite. But the reason for this is not chiefly, though it is partly to be found in these poetical characteristics. The Psalter lives in virtue of its unique religious power and beauty, and on its theology something must now be said.

vi. RELIGIOUS AND ETHICAL IDEAS. — In the following paragraphs the Psalter will be treated as one whole. Owing to the uncertainty which attaches to the dates of the several psalms, it is impossible to trace out, according to the methods of biblical theology, the growth and development of religious ideas in the psalmists' minds, if, indeed, any marked growth took place. If the book is entirely post-exilic, the 'hymn-book of the second temple,' no decided theological development—except, perhaps, on the subject of the future life—would be expected. If, as we have seen reason to believe, the Psalter contains an anthology of sacred lyrics, extending over many centuries, a progress of thought might be looked for. But the method of the psalmist is not dialectic. He moves, not in the atmosphere of theology, but of religion. And whilst creeds change, litanies remain the same. It would be going too far to say that no variety, no advancement, in moral and religious ideas is discernible, but for the purposes of this brief examination it may be neglected. The Psalter is concerned with the deep, elemental ideas of religion—God, man, and the communion of man with God; joy and trouble, hope and fear, good and evil, their present conflict and future destiny; the human soul in all its moods and the Divine power and grace in all its aspects,—and it is proposed to de-

scribe a few characteristics only of the way in which these great themes are treated.

1. The leading feature in the doctrine of God—to speak theologically—which distinguishes the psalms is the clearness with which the Divine Personality is conceived, and the vividness with which it is depicted. 'J" liveth, and blessed be my Rock' is written on the book, within and without. The chief service which the psalms have rendered to the religion of the world is the preservation of the idea of the living God, without any impairing of His absolute and inconceivable glory. The thinker elaborates his abstract conceptions of the Divine till they dissolve into thin air; the boor imagines 'such a one as himself,' and lowers the Godhead into a 'magnified and non-natural' manhood. Isaac Taylor says that 'metaphysic theologies, except so far as they take up the very terms and figures of the Heb. Scriptures, have hitherto shown a properly religious aspect in proportion as they have been unintelligible; when intelligible they become—if not atheistic, yet tending in that direction.' No sacred book of any nation has solved this fundamental problem of all religion, how to preserve at the same time the Infinity and the Personality of God, as has the Psalter.

The psalmist is not afraid of 'anthropomorphisms.' He not only employs forms of speech which seem almost necessary, such as 'his eyes behold, his eyelids try, the children of men,' but he represents God as thinking upon man, so that the Divine thoughts are greater in number than the sand; as seated in the heavens with earth for His footstool, as bowing the heavens to come down, whether for judgment or deliverance; as spreading His broad wings of defence over His own people, scattering dismay and destruction among their enemies, and returning again on high in triumph, when He has 'led into captivity his captives,' bringing with Him the spoils of victory. But no reader of the psalms finds his ideas of Divine majesty lowered, or the Divine glory dimmed and shadowed, by these modes of speech. The Rabbi disdains them, the Alexandrian philosopher explains them away, the hypercritic finds only 'mythology' in them; the wise and devout man knows that nowhere else—except in the words of Jesus of Nazareth—is he brought so directly into the presence of the living God, as inexpressibly lofty and pure as He is near and gracious and tender.

The 'attributes' of God are not described in the psalms, but God in His varied attributes is made known as in the mirror of the worshipper's soul. Righteousness is pre-eminent, but it is blended with mercy, as if the pious heart had never conceived of the two asunder. 'J", thy loving-kindness reacheth unto the heavens, thy faithfulness unto the clouds. Thy righteousness standeth like the mountains of God; thy judgments are a great deep. How precious is thy loving-kindness!' (Ps 36). Loving-kindness is shown, according to the psalmist's view, by God's rendering to every man according to his work (62^{12}); yet it is an equally true explanation of the same חֶסֶד to define it as 'salvation,' or expand it into the clause 'J" hath dealt bountifully with me' ($13^{5.6}$). One of the most striking illustrations of the features upon which we have been dwelling is the attributing to the Most High God of עֲנָוָה 'humility.' The English word is a bold one to employ in this connexion, but it better expresses the psalmist's thought than 'condescension.' It is found but once, in 18^{35} 'thy lowliness hath made me great,' but the same quality is dwelt upon in God's humbling Himself to regard the heavens and the earth, and it is not far removed from that yearning 'pity' with which the Father God pities His children. The word 'sympathy' is not found in the Psalter, but that for which the word stands sheds rays across the gloom of dirge-like psalms (39 and 88), and shines like a radiant sun in the glow of such psalms as 27. 40. 103, and 146. And the marvel is that He who bends so low to lift the downcast, the degraded, and the sinner, is He whose 'kingdom ruleth over all,' and for whom the whole Psalter, as well as the 99th psalm, provides the refrain, *Holy is He.*

2. The manifestation of God in nature—to use a modern phrase—is not, properly speaking, a theme of the psalms. The nature-psalms are well known: the 8th and 19th, the 29th and 93rd, the 65th and 104th have taught mankind many lessons. But the pictures of nature come in by the way. For the psalmist, nature is not so much a revelation, as the frame of a picture which contains one. Occasionally the eye wanders to the frame and dwells upon it, but it is only in passing. The picture itself is concerned with the human soul and its relation to the living God. And if the psalms are a wonder of literature because of the unique picture of God which they present, in contrast with the highest conceptions of which man thus far had shown himself capable, no less remarkable is their portraiture of man. The Heb. psalmist might seem to be a child by the side of the Hindu sage and the Greek philosopher, but neither of these could sound the human heart as he has done. The complexities, the inconsistencies, the paradoxical contradictions which characterize human life are all here. 'What is man that thou art mindful of him, or the son of man that thou visitest him?' The littleness and the greatness of man are there, in a line; discerned, almost unconsciously to himself, by the poet, because his eye was fixed, not on man but on God. The first and last verses of the 8th psalm give the keynote to its music, and that of the whole Psalter, and man falls into his place, so small in himself, so great in his relation to God. 'Nothing is more easy than to take a high view of human nature, *alone*, or a low view, *alone*; there are facts and appearances in abundance to account for and justify either. But the view of the Psalms combines them; man's littleness and insignificance, in relation to the immense universe about him, and to its infinite and everlasting God; man's littleness in his relation to time, to his own short passage between its vast before and after, his feebleness, his misery, his sin: on the other side, man's greatness, as the consummate work of God's hands, thought worthy of His care, His choice, His provident and watchful regard; man's greatness and responsibility, as capable of knowing God and loving Him, of winning His blessing and perishing under His judgment; man's greatness even as a sinner able to sink so low, and yet to rise by repentance out of the deepest degradation and most hopeless ruin' (R. W. Church).

3. There may at first sight appear to be an inconsistency between the language of various psalms on the subject of sin. The deepest contrition is portrayed in the 32nd and 51st; the utmost confidence, sounding perilously like self-righteousness, in the 7th, 18th, and 101st. It may be thought that here is a mark of varying date, Israel's sense of sin deepening as history advanced; or that the contrast is between the language of men of different temperaments, or the same man in different moods. But the inconsistency is only apparent. The assertion of integrity is relative, not absolute. It is that of the *ḥaṣid*, the 'godly' man, who is determined to keep well within the bounds of the covenant which is the charter of national religion, or is conscious of having done so. The same man may bow low in humility before God and confess

his sins; just as the nation—for in the opinion of many the 'church-nation' is the speaker in the 'I' of the psalms—may at one moment plead the sacredness of the bond which binds it to J″, and at another deplore its own unfaithfulness to covenant-vows.

That the ethical view of the psalmist was limited is unquestionable; he was the child of his own age. Ethics was as yet too little personal, and the individual sense of wrong-doing was, for the most part, neither deep nor poignant. The life of the community—for better, for worse—was more important; and it is no easy matter sometimes to distinguish between the passages in which the psalmist speaks in his own name and those in which his personality is merged in the national life. The tendency of modern criticism is to minimize the personal element in the Psalms (see Smend, 'Ueber das Ich der Psalmen' in *ZATW*, 1888, pp. 49–147; and Cheyne, who says in *Origin of Ps.* p. 265: 'In the psalmists, as such, the individual consciousness was all but lost in the corporate—the Psalter is a monument of church-consciousness'; and notes, pp. 276, 277). It is not necessary to recoil to the other extreme in reaction against the excessive individualism of some schools of interpreters. There are psalms in which the personal note is unquestionable (3. 4. 6. 18. 27, etc.). Others, again, are as clearly national (44. 46. 76); whilst in others the references to trouble or to joy may be such that they might apply equally well to personal or to national experience (31. 86. 118); or the psalm written by an individual for himself might be used in worship by the community. Eminent modern critics (W. R. Smith, Driver, Cheyne) are content to understand the 51st psalm 'as a prayer for the restoration and sanctification of Israel in the mouth of a prophet of the Exile.' But such a view not merely runs counter to traditional exegesis, but appears to many, including the present writer, to fail to do justice to the language of such a psalm. Deep sense of sin and contrition on account of it, though not very frequently expressed in the psalms, forms an essential part of the religious life therein depicted. Some of the 'penitential' psalms, so-called, may refer to trouble rather than transgression, but the psalmist's religion cannot be understood if it be resolved into a sense of national humiliation and distress.

4. This is confirmed by the closeness of personal communion with God, which is the characteristic privilege of the devout soul in these poems, and the means by which that fellowship is to be restored, when it has been lost or impaired. The joy is spiritual when the avenue of communion is open; the sorrow is spiritual when that avenue is closed and darkened; the means by which the soul may meet again with its God are spiritual also. The Israelite is a member of a community in which sacrifice is a recognized institution; he does not disparage it, but if he has learned the lessons it has to teach, he knows that alone it is not sufficient. The well-known expressions of the 40th, the 50th, the 51st psalms—'Thou desirest not sacrifice, else would I give it'; 'Would I eat the flesh of bulls or drink the blood of goats?'—do not stand alone. There is no inconsistency between these psalms and 'I will go into thy house with burnt-offerings, I will offer bullocks with goats,' in the 66th. The 51st psalm, as it now stands, contains a recognition of ceremonial sacrifices in vv.[19. 20], and even if these are not by the same author as v.[17], 'the sacrifices of God are a broken spirit,' the same temple-congregation could chant both alike without thought of contradiction. But the spiritual note is the deeper and the more characteristic. The psalmist has learned in the school of the prophet rather than of the priest, his plea is God's mercy, his hope for that sense of personal intercourse which can be enjoyed only when Divine forgiveness has removed the sense of personal sin. The heaviness and pain before confession (32[3. 4] 40[12]) is as deep as his assurance of the readiness of God to forgive is complete and his joy when forgiven rapturous (40[2. 3] 103[8-13]). The 130th is not the only 'Pauline' psalm, and if its language and that of other psalms expresses the contrition of a community, it can only be said that the mourners for sin of all ages, in the most spiritual religion the world has ever known, have found no language more appropriate to express their penitential sorrow and the rapturous joy of forgiveness than is to be found in the psalms.

5. Another characteristic of the 'lower level of morality' which is said to mark the psalms is found in the particularism which belongs to many of them. The national confidence in J″ has a reverse side which is not always admirable. The tone which the psalmists, like the prophets, adopt towards other nations than Israel, varies. Sometimes they are simply marked out for judgment and punishment (Ps 2. 9. 68). Sometimes, though more rarely, they are represented as in some sense gathered in within the pale now occupied by Israel alone (Ps 22. 67. 87). Sometimes bitter resentment is expressed which sounds personal rather than national—the expression of fierce joy over the destruction of hated enemies, rather than the grave anticipation of righteous judgment upon evil. The *Imprecatory* psalms are better understood than they once were. Those who read into them a coarse vindictiveness are now seen to be no less wide of the mark than those who in a mistaken zeal contended that all the utterances of godly men in an inspired Bible must be justifiable by the highest standard. But the solution of a moral difficulty is not found in a timid compromise between extremes. The strong language of Ps 7. 35. 69. 109 and some others is not to be blamed as an exhibition of a personally revengeful spirit. The law condemns this as well as the gospel; and in the psalm which contains the strongest language, the writer disclaims such culpable resentment (109[4. 5]). The psalmist, as a member of a covenant-keeping community, was at liberty to identify himself with the friends of God and to count those who opposed him as God's enemies also (139[21. 22]). Not always does he specify the ground of his anger and prayers for their destruction, as in Ps 83, 'Against thee do they make a covenant . . . O my God, make them like whirling dust, as stubble before the wind'; but it is legitimate, in at least the majority of passages, to read in that thought when unexpressed. The psalmist would be simply unable to take the purely individualistic standpoint of modern times, which makes language such as we find in the 35th psalm for us unnatural and wrong.

It does not therefore follow that the spirit of the imprecatory psalms is justifiable by the standard of the NT. It may indeed be well to consider whether the OT saints, in the vigour and simplicity of their piety, did not cherish a righteous resentment against evil which the more facile and languid moral sense of later generations would have done well to preserve. 'O ye that love J″, hate evil,' is an exhortation that belongs, not to one age, but to all time. But the point in question is the relation, not to evil deeds, but to evil men. And here it must be clearly recognized that the moral level of the old dispensation is necessarily lower than that of the new. The Christian does not stand in relation to the world as the Jew did to the nations around him. The blessings of the New Covenant are not material as were many of the blessings promised under the Old; and the curses which are

pronounced on those who refuse to inherit a blessing differ correspondingly. The prospect of a future life—to take one point only—alters the whole question of retribution and destiny. Without any spirit of Pharisaism or consciousness of superior virtue—which would be grossly out of place—the Christian cannot use the language of the imprecatory psalms as it stands, but interprets it in its spirit by reserving his wrath for the evil in himself and others, and striving to blend with it something of his Saviour's yearning compassion for the evil-doer.

6. The problems of life opened up by the question of evil do not figure largely in the psalms. The suffering of the righteous, the apparent impunity of the wicked, do not often disturb the psalmist's mind. The moods expressed are those of thankfulness for mercies bestowed, sorrow in trouble, present or impending, prayer for deliverance, help, and guidance, not the anxiety of doubt or the half-bitter, half-eager cry of the seeker after truth who would believe, but cannot. The spiritual wrestlings of Job and the incredulous scepticism of Koheleth in his darker hours hardly find any echo in the Psalter. The psalmist's mental exercises are described as mere transient moods, trying enough while they lasted, but not seriously affecting the foundations of his faith. The 73rd and the 77th psalms are the chief examples of this. The 38th, 88th, and other sorrowful psalms describe trouble of outward life and of inward spirit, but not such as arises from intellectual doubt or the undermining of faith in God. It is interesting to notice the way in which relief comes, when the question has once been raised as to whether the ways of Providence are equal and success precisely proportioned to character. In the 77th psalm the righteous man, who appeared to be forgotten and forsaken by God, falls back upon history, and recalls the deliverances wrought out for God's chosen people in the past. He rebukes, therefore, himself for his 'infirmity,' and renews his confidence in the 'right hand of the Most High.' Here there is no examination of the 'problem' at all as such; the theory that God rewards the righteous and punishes the wicked, which is so fiercely assailed in Job, is never questioned here. The writer of the 73rd psalm goes deeper. His perplexity arises rather from the prosperity of the wicked than the suffering of the righteous, but the problem in both cases is the same. His conclusion is emphatically announced at the beginning. 'Surely (אַךְ), God *is* good to Israel and to men of clean heart.' The mode of deliverance is described in vv.[15-17]. In the sanctuary light came. But it came chiefly in the form of an emphatic re-statement of the prevailing theory of Providence. The wicked will be punished, all the more overwhelmingly because of delay in judgment. This psalmist holds with the writer of Ps 92 that only the dull and foolish fail to understand that if the workers of iniquity flourish, it is that they shall be destroyed for ever.

Another kind of solution may seem to be suggested by vv.[23-26]. The psalmist finds his own portion in the presence and favour of God, and this is so strongly expressed that it might seem as if he had attained, by a sublime reach of faith, the doctrine of immortality. A similar conclusion is suggested by Ps 16, in which the same line of thought and religious experience is followed. Ps 17[15] and 49[15] are also held to express in briefer phrase the expectation that the righteous will enjoy life in the presence of God beyond the grave. It is certain that this was not the prevailing view of the writers of the psalms. The whole cast of these devout utterances would have been altered if any such expectation had formed a part of their working creed. The strain of the 6th, 30th, 39th, and 88th psalms is not the language of a passing mood. 'In death there is no remembrance of thee; in Sheol who shall give thee thanks?' The 'dust' cannot praise God; in the 'grave,' in 'darkness,' in 'Abaddon,' in the 'land of forgetfulness,' God cannot be praised, because He cannot be known by 'shades,' men who have passed away from the happy light of life. The evidence of silence is equally strong, though not so readily noticed. A blank is found in the creed of the psalmists, as of the OT writers generally, when life beyond the grave is in question. The exceptions in the psalms above referred to do not invalidate the rule. Translated with severe accuracy and closely restricted to their exact declarations, the passages 73[23] 17[15] and 49[15] do not prove any clear anticipation of a future life. It may be otherwise with 16[9-11], but the more satisfactory way of treating all these passages is to consider them together. Thus handled, they show us the path by which the faithful servant of God was travelling upwards from amidst the twilight of a dispensation in which was no clear revelation of a future life. He could not believe that the pit of corruption or the shadowy half-existence of Sheol was to be the end of all for the friend of God. One who had set J" always before him, and desired none in heaven or earth in comparison with his God, could not be left in darkness and forgetfulness, it must be that he should behold God's face in righteousness and be satisfied with His likeness. One who had God for his portion must have Him for ever. God was *his* God, and the psalmist anticipated the reasoning of the Saviour, 'He is not the God of the dead, but of the living.' Nevertheless, this was but a reach of faith. No revelation had been given, no doctrine could be taught, no complete assurance could be enjoyed. The hope was a bright, reassuring and not deceptive gleam of sunshine. But it was a gleam only. It was enjoyed for a moment and the clouds gathered in again. Not the clouds of denial or despair, but the impenetrable veil of vapour which hid from the saints of the Old Covenant God's will concerning the future. It does not follow that the psalmist's religion is of a low and feeble type because this element in it is for the most part missing. Its vigour is shown in the tenacity of his faith without the 'comfortable assurance' of later days. The Christian, for whom 'the resurrection of the dead and the life of the world to come' is an essential article of creed, may find a fuller meaning in the words of the psalmist than he himself dared to find in them, and wonder the more that he who knew so little believed so much and conquered in so hard a battle upon comparatively slender fare.

7. The hopes of the psalmists, like those of the prophets, were directed, not to a future life of the individual in heaven, but to the future of the community on earth. The subject of Messianic psalms can be adequately treated only in connexion with Messianic prophecy, of which they form a part. See under the articles MESSIAH and PROPHECY. The principles which should determine views of prophecy in general are here concerned, and they are better studied on the more extended field and in the more explicit utterances of the prophetical books. The psalms which have usually been termed (in a somewhat conventional sense) 'Messianic' are 2. 8. 16. 45. 72. 89, and 110. The list may vary slightly, but when it is examined it is inevitable that the questions should arise, Why include precisely these and no others? And what is meant by the term Messianic? For if mention of a personal king ruling on earth is essential, all these psalms cannot claim the title;

and if a larger sense of the term be intended, others have as good a right to be found in the list.

The older exegesis, which made the language of the Psalter generally, and of some psalms in particular, to be the language of Christ Himself, has for some time been discredited. Delitzsch, who may be taken to represent modern 'orthodox' scholarship, finds only one psalm, the 110th, directly Messianic in the sense that it contains prophecy immediately pointing to the person of a coming Anointed One, who was fully to set up God's kingdom on earth. All other references, as in the 2nd, 45th, and 72nd psalms, he understands primarily of Isr. monarchs, so that the words contain prophecy only in an indirect or typical sense. The tendency of criticism is to deny even this smaller measure of Messianic reference. 'All these psalms,' says Cheyne, referring chiefly to 2. 72, and 110, and in a lesser degree to some others, 'are only Messianic in a sense which is psychologically justifiable. They are, as I have shown, neither typically nor in the ordinary sense prophetically Messianic.' The 2nd and 110th psalms may claim the designation in the sense that 'the idealization of historical persons which they present presupposes the belief in an ideal Messianic monarchy, now or at some later time to be granted to Israel' (*Origin of Ps.* pp. 339, 340). That is, type and prophecy are alike excluded from the Psalter. The psalmists disregarded history, preferring to 'idealize'; their David is not the true David, their Moses is not the true Moses; and they had no right to find in the monarchs of their own time a type and pledge of future glory, and no power directly to prophesy concerning it. If this be so, the term 'Messianic' is hardly worth retaining, and its employment is likely to mislead.

Perhaps we may see in these views another instance of extreme reaction against a mistaken exegesis. The time when Ps 45[6] could be quoted as proof direct of the divinity of Christ has gone by. The hopes and prayers of Ps 72 are understood as hopes and prayers in which no direct vision of a King or Messiah was before the mind of the singer. It is even doubted by some of the most truly Christian interpreters whether 'the oracle of J" unto my lord' in Ps 110[1] can mean that the speaker was the theocratic king, and his 'lord' a greater King yet to come. The 'Son' in Ps 2[12], if indeed that word occur at all in the obscure phrase נַשְּׁקוּ־בַר (see art. KISS), is no longer understood as the Son of God incarnate, and the 'Son' who is unquestionably mentioned in v.[7] is not supposed to be Jesus of Nazareth. But it by no means follows that no psalms are either prophetically or typically Messianic. The exegesis which finds in Ps 45 an epithalamium for some monarch unknown, is bound to confess that here is no ordinary wedding-song, and that the writer of it had thoughts which soared not only far above the occasion, but far above those of most of his contemporaries. The beneficent prince of Ps 72 is not a Jehoshaphat or a Jeroboam with a halo round his head, unwarrantably placed there by a court-poet in a dream. In whatever way the details of Ps 110 be understood, the priest-king of no Aaronic type, who was to gather around him an army of youths, clad not in mail but in holy festal apparel, multitudinous and brilliant as the dewdrops born from the womb of the morning, is not a phantom of imagination, suggested by the idealization of Simon the Maccabee. But is it possible at the same time to preserve the limits of sober exegesis and to believe in the prophetic message of the Psalms? The evangelists and apostles held a view of the Psalter, which they so often quoted, that cannot be defended if neither by way of prophecy nor of type is Christ contemplated in the Psalms at all.

A method of solving the difficulty is sometimes described as the theory of 'the double sense,' a phrase which seems to imply that the obvious meaning of the words as read refers to contemporary persons and events, whilst some deep-lying, mystical significance lies behind this, in which reference is made to Christ and the New Covenant. Now words can have but one meaning, though they may have not only a twofold but a manifold application. And it is not by a mystical sleight-of-hand, unintelligible to the plain reader, that a Messianic significance is to be found in the psalms. The first duty of the interpreter is to find the simple meaning of the words as they stand, as they were intended by the psalmist, and would be understood by his contemporaries. But the reason why this is not the end, as it is the beginning of exegesis of the psalms, is that the dispensation under which they were written did not stand alone, it was part of an organism, and the writers knew it. The Old Covenant proclaimed its own insufficiency, and pointed continually onwards. Consequently, when inspired writers handled certain themes, they did so in a way that would have been unintelligible but for this underlying consciousness. And often, when they were not themselves consciously glancing forwards, subsequent events shed a richer light upon their words, and enabled those who came after to make a much more complete and significant application of the words which they had spoken. When the glance of the psalmist fell directly upon the future culmination of the kingdom of God upon earth, his words are prophetically Messianic; when he was chiefly concerned with the present, but as part of an organism not yet completed, his words may be styled indirectly or typically Messianic. If the statement of Schultz be admitted, 'There is positively not one NT idea that cannot be shown to be a healthy and natural product of some OT germ, nor any truly OT idea which did not instinctively press towards its NT fulfilment' (*Old Test. Theol.* vol. i. p. 52, Eng. tr.)—a position which not many will care to dispute—the principles just laid down do but declare that in a growing plant the relation of the parts to the whole is best discerned in the maturity, not in the infancy of the growth. The seed is the prophecy of the plant, stem and buds and flowers, to those who know its nature. And the ἵνα πληρωθῇ of NT means that the earlier stage existed in order that the later might reach its ripe and full-orbed development.

The question whether certain psalms are rather to be considered directly or indirectly Messianic is one for the exegete. It may, however, be admitted that the number of direct prophecies is, at most, very small, and it may well be that the Psalter contains hardly a single instance. For, though psalmists and prophets had much in common, there were important differences between them. The very attitude of the psalmist makes it unlikely that he will look directly into the future. The 2nd and 110th psalms are those which partake most of this character, and the 2nd psalm in almost any case, the 110th if the theocratic king is not the speaker but the person addressed, can be most easily understood as only typically Messianic. But the monarch of Israel was a real type, and could seldom or never be considered as the psalmist considered him, without reference to the substance of which he was but the shadow. Take the idea of 'sonship,' for example. The promise was made in 2 S 7 that the king should be a 'son' of God: which of them came near to realizing this? And the inspired bard of the Old Covenant uses words concerning the filial character and

promised triumphs of the chosen nation with their king at their head, which were never actually accomplished till He who was Son indeed was declared to be such by the resurrection from the dead, when it was said to Him, 'This day have I begotten thee.' This is no mere historical parallel, for the parallel is not obvious, but it is the full development of the plant which the psalmist spoke of in its germ and early growth. And such a psalm is truly Messianic.

But the name must not be confined to psalms in which there is specific mention of a coming personal king. This particular feature of the 'age to come' is not prominent in the Psalter, as it is in the Psalms of Solomon. The Messianic ideas of the OT are many. The kingdom is often spoken of, when there is no mention of the king. The Theophany or manifestation of the glory of J" upon the earth is another form which the hope of Israel wore; and the good time coming is sometimes described as a new and better Covenant which was to take the place of the old. Sometimes this golden age of the future is described in its effect upon nature, the fields and streams and fruits of the earth; sometimes upon the nations, which either willingly or unwillingly, in submissive alliance or as conquered enemies, are to help to swell the triumph of Israel. Though in all this there may be no mention of a personal Redeemer or Ruler, such language is in a real, perhaps the best sense of the word, 'Messianic.' The psalms which tell of the coming of J" to earth in beneficent judgment (96–98) are most truly a part of the Messianic prophecy. Christ Himself showed how unexpected lessons might be learned regarding His Person and work from the passage Ps 118^{22}, and it is needless to adduce the frequent quotations of the 2nd, 16th, and 110th psalms which are found in the sermons and letters of the apostles. Doubtless the psalmists, like the prophets, were able but feebly to understand how their high vaticinations were to be accomplished. Often they had little idea that 'not unto themselves but unto us they did minister,' in their rapt flights of joyful hope. But not the less did they aid in throwing subtle but significant chains of spiritual connexion across from the earlier days to the later, from the Old Covenant to the New; they aided in the growth of that marvellous spiritual organism, the development of that kingdom of God, the full glory of which has not dawned upon the earth even yet: and it is not difficult for the devout Christian, with such thoughts in his mind, to be convinced that he cannot fully understand the Psalter, unless he hears the voice of one who explains 'how that all things must needs be fulfilled which are written in the law of Moses, and the prophets, and the psalms, concerning ME.'

The Psalms have sometimes been classified according to their subject-matter, but any such arrangement is open to obvious objections. The subdivisions necessarily overlap, and many psalms refuse to be classified. Hupfeld in his *Introduction* deals with this subject, and Bleek (6th ed. by Wellhausen, p. 467), also Driver, *LOT*[6] p. 368 f. The analysis might run somewhat as follows: i. Songs of Praise to Jehovah; (*a*) as God of nature, Ps 8. 19^{1-6}. 29. 65. 104; (*b*) in relation to man, as God of Providence, 103. 107. 113. 145. ii. Didactic Psalms, on the moral government of the world, etc., Ps 1. 34. 37. 49. 73. 77; and of a more directly ethical character, 15. 24^{1-6} 32. 40. 50. iii. National Psalms, including (*a*) prayers in disaster, *e.g.* 44. 60. 74. 79. 80, etc., and (*b*) thanksgivings for deliverance, *e.g.* 46. 47. 48. 66. 68. 76, etc. iv. Purely historical Psalms, 78. 81. 105. 106. 114. v. Royal Psalms, 2. 18. 20. 21. 45. 72. 101, etc. vi. The more directly personal Psalms are of very various character: sometimes (*a*) they contain prayers for forgiveness or recovery from sickness, 3. 4. 6. 7. 22; sometimes (*b*) thanksgiving predominates, as in 30. 40. 116; or (*c*) the prevailing strain is one of faith or resignation, *e.g.* 16. 23. 27. 42. 121. 139; or the law is praised, as in 1. 19^{7-14} 119, or the house of God, as in 84. 122. 132. Such a classification, however, can hardly be considered to be of use, except in a very general and superficial way.

vii. TEXT AND VERSIONS.—The Massoretic text of the OT, it is now generally admitted, stands in need of frequent emendation. From the 7th cent. A.D. onwards, the Heb. text has been preserved with scrupulous fidelity, passing at times into extreme punctiliousness. But the early origin of this text is unknown, we possess no MSS earlier than the 10th cent. of our era, and the Massoretes represent for us only one line of textual transmission. The materials, however, for textual criticism are scanty. In the case of the NT, these are so abundant that conjectural emendation has little or no place in sound criticism. In the OT beyond the Massoretic notes, the only help is to be derived from the ancient versions. Hence scholars have been driven to adopt conjectures, more or less probable, in specially difficult passages; and as the science of textual criticism is still young, no sufficiently complete consensus of opinion has been arrived at with respect to the text in these cases.

As regards the Psalms, the chief ancient version to be consulted is, as elsewhere, the LXX. The Psalter is contained in cod. ℵ, B (except Ps 105^{27}–137^{6}), and A (except 49^{19}–79^{10}). The Greek tr. of the Psalms, though not equal to that of the Pent., is at least up to the general average of the LXX. In places it is quite at fault, but not so frequently as in the Prophets, and in some passages its help is valuable. The frequent difficulty of ascertaining the original reading of the Greek itself is one of the chief drawbacks to its critical use. The Targum of the Psalms is of uncertain date, since it embodies some early tradition, but in its present form cannot date earlier than the 7th or 8th cent. A.D. The Pesh. Syriac version (2nd cent.?), though in the main agreeing with the Heb., is often of service by the support which it gives to the LXX. The later Gr. VSS, so far as extant, are not of much critical value. Jerome's version of the Psalms is rendered from the Heb., while that retained in the Vulg., a representative of the Old Lat., was translated from the Greek. Jerome's renderings are sometimes of considerable value, and shed light on the history of the text, when they do not enable us to reconstruct it. The Eng. versions may be briefly mentioned, though their history is generally familiar. The Pr. Bk. version of the Psalms is taken from the Great Bible (first ed. 1539), which was a revision of Matthew's Bible, the Psalms in which was the work of Coverdale. Coverdale's tr. was made from the Zürich Bible and the Vulg., and accordingly in it the traces are to be found of LXX readings which have made their way through the Lat. into the Pr. Bk. version. The AV of 1611, which is far more accurate, did not displace the earlier version to which congregations had become accustomed, and which is undoubtedly better fitted for melodious chanting in public worship. The RV of 1885 represents a much nearer approach to accuracy of rendering, and is invaluable as an adjunct to AV, though it has not yet displaced it. Many of the renderings approved by modern scholarship are to be found not in the text, but in the margin, since a two-thirds majority of the Revisers was necessary to effect an alteration. A very useful work has been recently (1898) published by Driver, entitled the *Parallel Psalter*, in which the Pr. Bk. version is given on one page, with a new version by Dr. Driver himself opposite. The book contains a valuable Introduction and Glossaries. The Camb. Univ. Press published in 1899 *The Book of Psalms, containing the Pr. Bk. version, the AV, and the RV, in parallel columns.* The metrical versions of the Psalms in English alone are exceedingly numerous, but neither Milton, nor Keble, nor less known poets who have attempted metrical renderings, can be said to have attained any great success.

It is beyond the scope of this article to illustrate the need of textual criticism in detail, or its prob-

able effects. But the following are a few examples of familiar passages in which corruption is probable or has been suspected. Ps 2^{12}, where the word בַּר with the meaning 'son' is not Hebrew. None of the ancient VSS adopt this rendering, and Jerome translates '*Adorate pure.*' In Ps 8^{2} the word יְסַדְתָּ can hardly be the correct reading. In 22^{16} the Heb. reads כַּאֲרִי, which means 'like a lion'; the rendering 'pierced' is a tr. of כַּאֲרוּ; so the LXX, Vulg. and Syriac. Symm., as now appears, followed the MT. Sometimes a gloss may have crept into the text, as in 49^{14}, where the clause 'the upright shall have dominion over them in the morning' reads like a later insertion. In Ps 48^{14} עַל־מוּת is untranslatable as it stands. In 55^{19} and 77^{10} there is an abruptness in the existing text which points to a probable error. Ps 68 abounds in difficult passages, some of which may be due to textual corruption. The opening of Ps 87 is so abrupt that it is thought mutilation must have taken place, or that our psalm is only a fragment. The irregularities in some of the acrostics (*e.g.* Ps 37) are probably due not to the author, but to confusion in transcription or transmission. The present form of some of the musical notes in the titles is not improbably due to the ignorance of scribes, who blundered in the transmission of archaic and unfamiliar words.

It is not intended to assume that in all of these cases corruption has certainly occurred, or to adduce them as more than a few salient illustrations of a large and difficult subject. So long as external evidence remains as scanty as at present, the uncertainty which proverbially attends all attempts of 'subjective' criticism, proposing conjectural emendations, must be expected to continue.

viii. The LITERATURE of the subject is portentously large. Even excluding the mass of devotional commentaries and annotations, and limiting attention to exegetical and critical literature only, a detailed history of exposition would run to very great length. The following selection from the works on the Psalms, which the piety and learning of centuries have accumulated, may be of some service. A section of Delitzsch's Introduction is devoted to the subject (vol. i. p. 64, Eng. tr. by Eaton). Amongst the Fathers, the most important commentaries are those of Athanasius, Gregory of Nyssa, Ambrose, Jerome, and esp. Chrysostom and Augustine. Ignorance of Hebrew on the part of nearly all the early Fathers of the Church, and their un-critical and un-historical methods of exegesis, mar the effect of their devout and often spiritually instructive comments. In the Middle Ages, the Jewish exegetes are more important than the Christian. Amongst these may be named Rashi (11th cent.), Ibn Ezra (12th cent.), and David Kimchi (13th cent.); other later Jewish writers were used by the scholars who helped to prepare the way for the Reformation of the 16th cent. At the time of the Reformation, says Delitzsch, the rose-garden of the Psalter also began to diffuse its odour as in the renewed freshness of a May morning.' The Psalms formed the hymn-book of the Reformed Churches, and it is matter of history how largely the cause of the Reformers was advanced by the hymns of Luther and the tr. of Marot (1543) and Beza (1562). Luther's notes on some of the psalms (*Operationes*) exhibit his evangelical insight and spiritual power, but Calvin's *Commentary* (1557) is more complete as well as more sound and masterly, and may still be consulted with great advantage. In more modern times, Rosenmüller's *Scholia* (1798–1804), though only a compilation, rendered excellent service at the time of their publication, and amongst the works of the last half-century the following may be mentioned:—de Wette (1811–56); Hitzig (1863–65); Olshausen in *Kurzgef. Exeg. Handbuch* (1853); Hengstenberg (1847, 1852); Hupfeld (1855–62, 2nd ed. by Riehm, 1867–71, 3rd by Nowack, 1888); Ewald, *Dichter d. AB* (1839, 1866); Delitzsch (5th ed. 1894); Moll in Lange's *Bibelwerk* (1869–71); Reuss (2nd ed. 1899); Grätz, *Krit. Komm.* (1882); Schultz in *Strack's Komm.* (1888, 2nd ed. by Kessler, 1899); Baethgen in Nowack's *Hand-Komm.* (1892); Duhm in Marti's *Kurzer Hand-Commentar* (1899). Ewald, Delitzsch, and Moll have been translated into English. Amongst recent Eng. commentators may be mentioned Perowne (6th ed. 1866); Jennings and Lowe, *The Psalms with Critical Notes* (1884); Cheyne, *The Book of Psalms* (1888), and *The Origin of the Psalter*, Bampton Lectures (1891); De Witt (1891); Maclaren in *Expositor's Bible* (1890–92), and Kirkpatrick in *Cambr. Bible* (1893–95). The sections on the Psalms in the several Introductions to OT should not be neglected. The following may be named as representative: Wellhausen-Bleek (6th ed. 1893), Riehm (ed. Brandt, 1889), Driver (6th ed. 1897), Cornill (3rd and 4th ed. 1896); Strack (5th ed. 1898), König (1893), Wildeboer (*Litt. d. AT*, 1897). Neale and Littledale have collected in 4 vols. (1860–74) Notes from the primitive and mediæval writers; and Spurgeon in his *Treasury of David* has made a similar compilation, chiefly from the Puritans (1870–85). Other books of interest are: Fausset, *Horæ Psalmicæ* (1885); Forbes, *Structural Connexion of Psalms* (1888); Binnie, *The Psalms, their Origin, Teaching, and Use* (1886); Alexander, *Witness of Psalms to Christ*, Bampt. Lect. (3rd ed. 1890); E. G. King, *The Psalms in Three Collections*, pt. i. 1898; Cheyne, *The Christian Use of the Psalms*, 1899. Amongst separate articles besides Smend's in *ZATW*, 1888 (see above, p. 160[a]), or monographs are Baethgen's in *SK*, 1880; Giesebrecht in *ZATW*, 1881; G. Beer has written on *Individual- u. Gemeindepsalmen* (1894); A. Rahlfs, עני *und* עני *in den Psalmen*, 1892; Stade, 'Die messian. Hoffnung im Psalter' in *Ztschr. f. Theol. u. Kirche*, 1892, p. 369 ff.; Coblenz, *Ueber das betende Ich in den Psalmen*, 1897; B. Jacob, 'Beiträge zu einer Einl. in die Psalmen' in *ZATW*, 1896–97; Wellhausen, 'Bemerkungen zu den Psalmen' in *Skizzen u. Vorarbeiten*, vi. (1899) 163–187; W. T. Davison, *The Praises of Israel* (1893), enlarged ed. 1898.

Of critical editions of the Heb. text of the Psalms may be mentioned that in the Baer-Delitzsch series (Leipzig, 1880), and that of Wellhausen in Haupt's *SBOT* (1895; Eng. tr. of this text by Furness in *PB*). The Camb. Univ. Press has published separately, *The Psalms in Greek* from vol. iii. of Swete's *OT in Greek*.

W. T. DAVISON.

PSALMS OF SOLOMON.—This name was given at an uncertain date (certainly before the 5th, perhaps before the 2nd cent.) to a collection of 18 psalms dating from 1st cent. B.C., and extant in a Greek version of a Hebrew original.

i. NAME.—The name of Solomon is not, seemingly, attached to these psalms for any very definite reason. They themselves make no pretence to Solomonic authorship. Unless the real author's name was Solomon, which is *possible*, the most likely explanation is that it seemed a natural and obvious name to attach to a collection of psalms which was circulating anonymously. That the book owes its preservation to the selection of this name may be regarded as certain.

ii. MANUSCRIPTS.—It is preserved in eight MSS, uniformly in company with the other sapiential books (Pr, Ec, Ca, Wis, Sir). These eight MSS are —(1) R (Vatican, Gr. 336); (2) H (Copenhagen, Gr. 6); (3) M (Moscow Synod, Gr. N. 147); (4) P (Paris, Gr. 2991 A); (5) V (Vienna, Gr. Theol. 7); (6. 7) at Mt. Athos; (8) in the *Bibliotheca Casanatensis* at Rome. None of them is older than the 10th cent. It was formerly contained in the Codex Alexandrinus (A, of 5th cent.). There are no ancient versions in other languages.

iii. HISTORY.—There is no single clear Patristic quotation from the book as we have it. The Book of Baruch has a section (4^{36}–5) which is derived in large part from one of these psalms (No. 11), but naturally without acknowledgment. The Gnostic book *Pistis Sophia* and the 4th cent. Latin writer Lactantius both quote certain odes of Solomon, which were very probably an appendix to our book, of Christian origin; but the 18 Greek psalms are nowhere cited. Mention of the book occurs only in lists of apocryphal writings, and in two Byzantine writers of the 12th cent., John Zonaras and Theodore Balsamon. David Hoeschel, librarian at Augsburg, was the first modern who called attention to the book, and it was first printed after his death, in 1626, by the Jesuit de la Cerda in his *Adversaria Sacra*. There have been many editions since. The best text, for the formation of which all the known eight MSS have been used, is that of O. von Gebhardt in *Texte u. Unters.* (1895): text only. The Cambridge University Press has issued a text (1899) based upon Cod. R, with the variants of all the MSS used by Gebhardt. The fullest English edition is that of Ryle and James (1891), containing text, translation, introduction, and notes.

iv. DATE, CHARACTER, etc.—It is agreed by the large majority of modern scholars that these psalms belong to the period of Pompey's invasion of Palestine and siege of Jerusalem (B.C. 63). The second psalm describes his death in unmistakable terms.

It is also commonly agreed that the psalms were written (1) in Palestine, (2) in the Hebrew language, (3) by a Pharisee. The first of these three points is assumed on grounds of general probability, supported by the subjects of the psalms, and the fact that they seem intended for synagogal use. The second depends on a large number of linguistic peculiarities, and is demonstrated by the existence of a number of passages which can be best explained as mistranslations of a Hebrew text. In favour of the third the following reasons may be urged:—There is a strong polemic element in the psalms; many invectives are directed against a party who are called *sinners* (ἁμαρτωλοί) or *transgressors* (παράνομοι), while the party to which the psalmist belongs are the *righteous* (δίκαιοι) or *holy* (ὅσιοι). The party of the sinners is in power, and has usurped David's throne and the priesthood. The holy things are polluted, and secret enormities are prevalent. The party of the sinners is also rich and prosperous, while the *saints* are for the most part poor.

All these points are strikingly appropriate to the Hasmonæan rule in its latter days, and to the Sadducean party. On the other hand, the distinctive Pharisaic doctrines and aspirations are maintained and cherished by the psalmist. The ideal of a theocracy, the hope of a Messiah, the expectation of a retribution, and the views expressed about free will, are all of them just such as the Pharisees are known to have held.

v. Contents of the Psalms.—

Ps 1. Deals shortly with the sin and punishment of Jerusalem.
2. The siege of Jerusalem; the sins which led to it; the death of the besieger; the justice of God.
3. A contrast between the righteous and the sinner.
4. A description and denunciation of the 'men-pleasers' (ἀνθρωπάρεσκοι).
5. God's mercy to the righteous.
6. The fearlessness of the righteous.
7. A prayer for God's chastening.
8. The sins of Israel, and their punishment: a prayer for restoration.
9. God's justice and man's free will.
10. The blessedness of affliction.
11. The restoration of Israel. This psalm coincides largely with Baruch 5, which seems to be derived from it.
12. The deceitful tongue: its deeds and its punishment.
13. The preservation of the righteous and the destruction of the sinner.
14. God's faithfulness to the righteous; the sinner's insecurity.
15. The deliverance of the righteous; the sinner's fall.
16. Confession of sin; praise for deliverance; and prayer for future guidance.
17. The kingship of God; the overthrow of David's throne; the kingdom of the Messiah.
18. God's love to Israel; anticipations of Messiah's rule; praise of God as the Lord of the heavens. This last portion ends abruptly, and seems not connected with the rest of the psalm. It may possibly be a fragment of a 19th psalm.

The most important of these psalms are 2. 4. 8. 11. 17. 18.

vi. Messianic Teaching.—The Messiah of these psalms is figured as a king of the seed of David, who is to appear in God's good time to drive out the Romans (*Gentiles*) and Sadducees (*sinners*), to restore the dispersed tribes and renew the glories of Jerusalem and its temple, and subdue and convert the Gentiles. He will reign in holiness and justice, not by force of arms. He is anointed (χριστός) king and priest, but he is not divine.

The new features in this description are mainly two. (1) Messiah is a person. Excluding Dn 7 as of disputed interpretation, we have this point plainly stated for the first time in the literature of Palestine. The oldest portion of *Sib. Orac.*, which comes from Egypt, has a somewhat similar description of a coming king (iii. 652 ff.). (2) The epithet χριστός is here first applied to him.

We may see in this presentation of Messiah a result of the brilliant victories of the Maccabees, which had reawakened in the popular mind the hope of a Jewish monarchy. But this is only part of the truth.

A designation of Messiah which appears in these psalms, and elsewhere only in La 4^{20} and Lk 2^{11}, is χριστὸς κύριος. A probable view of it is that, as in Lamentations, it is a faulty rendering, and should be χ. κυρίου.

The interest and importance of these psalms is very considerable. They throw much light on the aims and thoughts of the Pharisees of our Lord's time; they mark an important stage in the development of the Messianic idea; and they illustrate in very many points the diction of the NT and of the LXX.

In literary merit they do not stand very high. The longer psalms are the best; the shorter ones are like centos from the Davidic psalter. Still we gain a favourable impression of the author: while he is a strong and unsparing partisan, he is clearly also a pious and humble-minded man.

Literature.—A list of editions and notices will be found in Ryle and James's edition; since the date of that, Gebhardt's as well as the Camb. text have appeared (see above), and also a pamphlet by Frankenberg (*Die Datierung der Ps. Sol.*, Giessen, 1896), and a German version by Prof. Kittel in Kautzsch's *Apokr. u. Pseudepigr. d. AT.*

M. R. James.

PSALTERY.—A stringed instrument of music, described in art. Music in vol. iii. p. 459b. The Gr. ψάλλειν, to harp, gave ψαλτής a harper, and ψαλτήριον a harp (used in the widest sense). The LXX uses ψαλτήριον as the tr. of five Heb. words—(1) נֵבֶל Gn 4^{21} (EV 'harp'), Ps 49^{4} (EV 'harp') 81^{2} 149^{3} (EV 'harp'), Ezk 26^{13} (EV 'harp'); (2) נֵבֶל or נְבֶל Neh 12^{27}, Ps 33^{2} 57^{8} 92^{3} 108^{2} 144^{9} 150^{3}, Is 5^{12} (AV 'viol,' RV 'lute'); (3) נְגִינָה Is 38^{20} (EV 'stringed instruments'); (4) פְּסַנְתֵּרִין or פְּסַנְטֵרִין Dn $3^{5.\ 7.\ 10.\ 15}$; (5) חֵךְ Job 21^{12} (EV 'timbrel'). From ψαλτήριον was formed Lat. *psalterium*, from which (through Old Fr. *psalterie*) came Eng. 'psaltery.' The spelling in Chaucer (following the middle-Eng. pronun.) is *sautrye*, as *Milleres Tale*, 27—

> 'And al above ther lay a gay sautrye,
> On which he made a nightes melodye
> So swetely, that al the chambre rong.'

Wyclif has a variety of spelling: sautree, sautrie, sawtree, sawtrye, and psautrie are all found in the Wyclifite versions. The eccles. Lat. *psalterium* was both a psaltery and a song sung to the psaltery, and then also the book of songs or the Psalter.

J. Hastings.

PSALTIEL.—2 Es 5^{16} (RVm). See Phaltiel.

PSYCHOLOGY.—An initial prejudice on this topic, arising out of an extravagant claim made by some writers on its behalf, has first of all to be removed. To frame a complete and independent philosophy of man from the Bible is impossible. The attempt cannot commend itself to any judicious interpreter. The psychology of the Bible is largely of a popular character, and not a scientific system. Moreover, the Bible implicitly takes for granted much that men have thought out for themselves on this theme. But the relation

of the psychology to the content of revelation is very close. It is essential to the other doctrines of Scripture—its directly religious doctrines—that these be expressed in terms of such underlying thoughts on man's nature and constitution as are implied in the Bible itself. For in terms of some conception of man—some psychology more or less systematic—must all religious and theological statements be couched. But the religious teachings of the Bible have always suffered injustice when they have been forced (as is so commonly the case) to take shapes derived from systems of thought and theories of man other than those of Scripture. How constantly all through the Christian centuries Christian doctrines have been run into the mould of the prevailing philosophies, is proverbial. In the earliest age of Christian speculation Plato and Plotinus shaped almost all Bible interpretation. In the Middle Ages, Aristotle ruled the Scholastic Theology, and his sway extended down to and beyond the Reformation. Leibnitz and Descartes had their age of influence in the 17th and 18th centuries. Kant and Hegel control the forms of thinking of many cultured theologians in our own day. But when we seek to work out a Biblical Theology, when we aim at presenting the result of Scripture exegesis in our statement of revealed doctrine, we are bound to defer to the Scripture way of thinking. We can rid ourselves of the mistake which so long vitiated Theology, only by observing those ideas of Life and of the Soul which the Scripture-writers themselves assume in all their statements. To ascertain the science of human life, if it may be so called, to put together such simple psychology as underlies the writings of Scripture, cannot be an unnecessary task. Theology is not truly biblical, so long as it is controlled by non-biblical philosophy, and such control is inexcusable when it is seen that a view of human nature, available for the purpose, is native to the source from which Theology itself is derived. Two things are assumed here, without further explanation. The one is, that such materials, of this kind, as the Scriptures give, cannot form a complete or independent structure. They cannot be rightly treated except in close connexion with the proper and principal theme of the Bible. They cannot be treated abstractly or separately. They occur in the record of a revelation of Divine dealings with man for his redemption. They must be treated, therefore, in line with the history and development of these dealings. The other is, that they are on the whole uniform, that one fairly consecutive and connected system of ideas on the topic holds through the whole Bible. The proof of this will come out in the exposition. It is an OT system of thought. Even among the older apostles in the NT the same order of thought rules. Only in the case of the Pauline writings is there any marked change or advance, consistent enough, however, in its development of the original ideas.

Rothe has said* that we may appropriately speak of a 'language of the Holy Ghost.' Cremer, who quotes the remark, expounds it thus: 'The spirit of the language assumes a form adequate to the new views which the Spirit of Christ creates and works.'† Without attention to this element of progress it is impossible to read biblical psychology aright. This alone explains the transition from terms in the earlier Scriptures that are rather physical than psychical, to those in the later Scriptures that are more deeply charged with spiritual meaning. A progressive religious revelation is intimately connected with the growth of humanity, casts growing light upon the nature and prospects of man, will therefore be increasingly rich in statements and expressions bearing upon the knowledge of man himself, and especially of his inner being. It is in the latest records of such a revelation that the terms expressive of the facts and phenomena of man's nature should be correspondingly enriched, diversified, and distinguishable in their meaning. It is on this principle that in the sketch which follows so much attention is given to the Pauline anthropology.

i. The Bible account of *man's origin* first claims our attention. What strikes one is the unity and simplicity of the conception. We are warned off, by the primal passage (Gn 2^{7}), from any sharp analysis. 'The LORD God formed man of the dust of the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life; and man became a living soul.' There are two elements or factors specified from which God formed man—'dust from the ground'; 'breath of the Almighty,'—and the result is a unity. The OT has no definite, single word (unless we except נֶפֶשׁ, which occurs 13 times, namely Gn 47^{18}, Jg $14^{8.\ 9}$, 1 S $31^{10.\ 12\ bis}$, Neh 9^{37}, Ps 110^{6}, Ezk $1^{11.\ 23}$, Nah $3^{3\ bis}$, Dn 10^{6}; see art. BODY) for the **'body'** apart from the soul. Indeed the term **'soul'** is sometimes used for the corpse (Lv 21^{11}, Nu 6^{6} $9^{6.\ 7.\ 10}$ 19^{13}). In this primal passage, therefore, the expression 'man became a living soul' has a characteristic simplicity. We must not identify 'soul' here with what it means in modern speech, or even in later biblical language. In primitive Scripture usage it means not the 'immaterial rational principle' of the philosophers, but simply 'life embodied.' So that here the unity of the created product is emphatically expressed. The sufficient interpretation of the passage is that the Divine inspiration awakes the already kneaded clay into a living human being. Cf. Ezekiel's vision (ch. 37), where there is, first, the reconstruction of the animal frame—bone, sinews, flesh, skin; and only after this the 'breath' comes upon them, and they live.

Now, this account of the origin of man is fitted to exclude certain dualistic views of his nature with which the religion of revelation had to contend. 'It directly contradicts the doctrine of the pre-existence of the soul' (Schultz, *OT Theology*, ii. 252, Clark, Edin. 1892). Whether, indeed, the formation of man's frame and the inbreathing of his life be taken as successive or simultaneous moments in the process of his creation, the description is exactly fitted to exclude that priority of the soul which was necessary to the transmigration taught by Oriental religions, or, to the pre-existence theory of the Greek schools. There is here no postponement or degradation of the earthly frame in favour of the soul, as if the soul were the man, and the body were only the prison-house into which he was sent, or the husk in which for a time he was concealed. According to this account, the synthesis of two factors, alike honourable, constitutes the man.

That neither the familiar antithesis, soul and body, nor any other pair of expressions by which we commonly render the dual elements in human nature, should occur in this *locus classicus*, is a fact which helps to fix attention on the real character of the earlier OT descriptions of man. The fact is not explained merely by the absence of analysis. Rather is it characteristic of these Scriptures to assert the solidarity of man's constitution—that he is of one piece, and not composed of separate or independent parts. This assertion is essential to the theology of the Bible—to its discovery of human sin, and of Divine salvation. In a way not perceived by many believers in its doctrines, this idea of the unity of man's nature binds into consistency

* *Zur Dogmatik*, p. 238 (Gotha, 1863).

† Cremer's *Wörterbuch der NT Gräcität*, Vorrede, p. 5 (Gotha, 1886).

the Scripture account of his Creation, the story of his Fall, the character of Redemption, and all the leading features in the working out of his actual recovery, from his Regeneration to his Resurrection.

Later Scriptures suggest a more definite and separate idea of the body. In Job 4^{19} we have בָּתֵּי־חֹמֶר 'houses of clay,' imitated perhaps in 2 Co 5^{1} *ἡ ἐπίγειος . . . οἰκία τοῦ σκήνους*; also in Dn 7^{15} 'grieved in my spirit in the midst of my body' (נְדְנָה sheath), 2 P 1^{14} *τοῦ σκηνώματός μου*. In the OT Apocrypha the pre-existence idea is, once at least, suggested, Wis $7^{19.\ 20}$ 'a good soul fell to my lot, and being good . . . came into a body undefiled.' * The NT uses freely the Greek duality, which has become the modern one, 'soul and body'; and though the OT 'flesh and soul' does not occur in the NT, 'body and spirit' can take its place. Then, in the progress of redemption, it at last appears that the discrepancy between the two is resolved, when the redeemed *πνεῦμα* shall put on *σῶμα πνευματικόν* (1 Co 15^{44}), 'a spiritual body,' which is by no means the same as a 'bodiless spirit' (see BODY).

ii. Let us now pass on to the biblical treatment of *sin and salvation*, and show how these affect the various elements of human nature as more specifically distinguished through them, especially the terms 'flesh,' 'soul,' and 'spirit.'

Flesh.—Besides the more obvious literal meanings of this term already discussed in a separate article, it acquires a psychological importance when we ask whether its general OT sense is morally unfavourable, and what is the origin and force of the peculiar meaning it has in St. Paul, as the principle, or a seat of the principle, of sin in man. From the first application of 'flesh' to fallen man (Gn 6^{3}) there is nothing in the OT which identifies it with the principle of evil. 'Not a single passage can be adduced wherein *bāsār* is used to denote man's sensuous nature as the seat of an opposition against his spirit and of a bias towards sin' (Müller, *Christian Doct. of Sin*, i. 323). It is true that 'flesh' is used for human kind in contrast to higher beings and to God (*e.g.* Gn 6^{3}, Ps 78^{39}), and, so used, brings out his frailty and finitude. It is true also that 'flesh' as a constituent of human nature means the perishable, animal, sensuous, and even sensual element of it (*e.g.* Ec 5^{6}, Is 40^{6}); but which of these ideas is prominent in any passage must be learned from its connexion and context. It is further true that in its meaning of 'natural kinship' there is often an implied contrast with something better—'Israel after the flesh' (1 Co 10^{18}). But the conclusive proof that nothing of moral depreciation is necessarily implied in this use of 'flesh,' is its application to Christ as designating His human in contrast with His Divine nature. 'The word was made flesh' (*ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο*, Jn 1^{14}). 'Who was manifest in the flesh, justified in the spirit' (1 Ti 3^{16}); 'made of the seed of David according to the flesh, declared to be the Son of God with power, according to the spirit' (Ro $1^{3f.}$). But in the Pauline Epistles a specific meaning of the term emerges. In certain well-known passages it denotes the principle which resists the Divine law, as contrasted with the 'mind' consenting to the law that it is good, and which, even in the regenerate, makes war against 'the spirit.' Here we have a very marked ethical significance given to the term 'flesh.' Nor is it the only term of its kind used to denominate the evil principle in man's nature as now under sin. 'The old man,' 'the body of sin,' 'the body of the flesh,' 'the law in the members,' 'our members which are upon earth,' are kindred expressions, more or less closely denoting the same thing, although 'the flesh,' in its counterpoise to 'the mind' and to 'the spirit' respectively, is the leading expression (Ro 7^{23} 8^{6}, Gal 5^{17}).

* Compare *ib.* 9^{15} *φθαρτὸν γὰρ σῶμα βαρύνει ψυχήν.*

How is it, then, that this term 'flesh,' properly denoting the lower, corporeal or physical element in human nature, should come to denote the being of sin in that nature? Is it because this physical element is the main seat, or the original source of evil in man? But, according to St. Paul, it is not in the physical alone that sin has its seat. There are sinful desires of the mind as well as of the flesh (Eph 2^{3}). There is defilement of 'the spirit' (2 Co 7^{1}). There are works called 'of the flesh' which have nothing to do with sensuality, *e.g.* hatreds, variance, emulation, wraths, factions, divisions, heresies (Gal 5^{20}, 1 Co $3^{1.\ 3}$). The apostle calls by the name of 'fleshly wisdom' what was evidently speculative tendency derived from the Greek schools (2 Co 1^{12}). There were heretics at Colossæ whose ruling impulse he calls their 'fleshly mind,' though they were extreme ascetics, attached to some form of Gnosticism (Col $2^{18.\ 21.\ 22.\ 23}$).

It might indeed be maintained that if we assume the physical nature in man to be the source of evil in him, it would be easy to explain how the whole man under that influence should be called 'the flesh' or 'the body of sin.' But this assumption will not tally with the treatment of man's bodily nature in these writings. Any view implying the inherent evil of matter is radically opposed to the whole Bible philosophy. It is as opposed to the Scripture account of its beginning in the race, as it is to our experience of its first outbreak in the individual. In Genesis the first sin is represented as the consequence of a primary rebellion against God. The earliest manifestations of evil in children are selfishness, anger, and self-will. Again, that the corporeal nature is necessarily at strife with the spiritual, is a view which cannot be reconciled with the claims made upon 'the body' in the Christian system. Throughout St. Paul's Epistles, Christians are enjoined 'to yield their members instruments of righteousness unto God' (Ro 6^{13}), to 'present their bodies a living sacrifice' (Ro 12^{1}), to regard their bodies as 'members of Christ,' and as 'the temple of the Holy Ghost' (1 Co $6^{15.\ 19}$); that the body is for the Lord, and the Lord for the body (1 Co 6^{13}). Still more impossible is it to reconcile with such a view the Christian revelation concerning the future of the redeemed, and the consummation of redemption. If sin were the inevitable outcome of man's possession of a body, redemption ought to culminate in his deliverance from the body, instead of in its change and restoration to a higher form (Ph 3^{21}). To say that the matter of the body is, or contains, the principle of sin, and then to say, as St. Paul does (Ro 8^{11}), that the last result of the Redeemer's Spirit indwelling in us shall be to quicken these mortal bodies, would be flat self-contradiction. But the view which connects sin with the material body is neither Hebrew nor Christian. It is essentially alien to the whole spirit of revelation. No doubt, at a very early period in Christian history, chiefly through the influence of the Greek and some of the Latin Fathers, it obtained such hold of Christian thought that it continues to colour popular modes of conception and speech to the present day. One of the most obvious examples is that men imagine they are uttering a scriptural sentiment when they speak of welcoming death as the liberation of the soul from the body. Yet the idea of St. Paul is exactly the reverse, when he declares that even the redeemed, who have the first-fruits of the Spirit, groan within themselves waiting for the adoption, *i.e.* for the redemption of their body (Ro 8^{23}). Two additional reasons why the apostle cannot be held as tracing man's evil to the corporeal element, may be summed up in the words of Julius Müller: 'He denies the presence of evil in Christ who was partaker of our fleshly nature, and he recognizes its

presence in spirits, who are not partakers thereof. Is it not, therefore, in the highest degree probable that, according to him, evil does not necessarily pertain to man's sensuous nature, that *sarx* denotes something different from this?' (*l.c.* i. 321).

Taking, then, the two meanings of the term 'flesh,' we note how impossible it is, in a way of mere ratiocination, to develop the one out of the other. The attempt to get the ethical significance which St. Paul gives to it out of the elementary Hebrew conception of the perishable or earthly part of man, signally fails. It leaves out the clearly biblical account of the change in human nature caused by the Fall. It is quite inadequate to explain how selfishness, wrath, pride, and other non-fleshly sins, bear prominently the name 'works of the flesh.' To assert, for instance, that *sarx* from its primary meaning, 'living material of the body,' came by a natural process of thought and language to mean 'the principle of sin,' is to assume human nature to be subject to sin by its physical constitution — a view wholly untenable, because at variance with the most radical conception of the Bible from its earliest to its latest writings.

Yet there must be some connexion between the two ideas. Otherwise we fall into mere tautology, and obtain the profound conclusion that 'the flesh' is sinful human nature. If 'the flesh' be nothing else than just this condition of human nature which is to be explained, then the whole of St. Paul's subtle and acute deduction would be 'nothing but the most wretched argument in a circle' (Pfleiderer). Now, it is quite certain the apostle means to posit a principle of sin in man, 'the sin that dwelleth in me,' 'the law in my members.' It is further clear that the law or principle of sin is one thing, and that the flesh, or native constitution of man in which it inheres, is another. It is certain that the sacred writer as little develops the principle of sin out of the mere physical flesh, as he identifies the one with the other. It is impossible to deny a very pointed reference to the lower element of human nature in this important key-word of the Pauline theology. But what misleads is the supposition that the lower and higher elements in man were conceived of by St. Paul as they were by the Greeks or are by ourselves; that the antithesis, material and immaterial, is at the basis of the distinction. So long as this idea prevails, it will be impossible to get rid of the suspicion that in 'the flesh' of the Pauline Epistles we have something which connects sin essentially with the material element in man's constitution. Let us get rid of this idea. Substitute for it the proper biblical antithesis, — earthly and heavenly, natural and supernatural, that 'flesh' is what nature evolves (this term being understood, of course, in a theistic sense), 'spirit' what God in His grace bestows,— then we can see how the idea of 'flesh,' even when ethically intensified to the utmost, is appreciably distinct from the notion of evil necessarily resident in matter. The great saying of our Lord in Jn 3^6 is probably the source of apostolic doctrine on the point: 'That which is born of the flesh is flesh.' 'Flesh' has become the proper designation of the race as self-evolved and self-continued. Human nature as now constituted can produce nothing but its like, and that like is now sinful. 'Flesh,' therefore, may be appropriately used for the principle of corrupt nature in the individual, for the obvious reason that it is in the course of the flesh, or, of the ordinary production of human nature, that the evil principle invariably originates. Thus the phrase is some explanation of the condition of man's nature, which it describes. It is no objection to this view, but rather a confirmation of its correctness, that it grounds the Pauline use of *sarx* on the underlying doctrine of hereditary corruption. 'Flesh' is that through which man in his natural state is descended from a sinful race and inherits a sinful nature, and the term is used to denote that nature. On the other hand, 'spirit' is that through which and in which God implants the new Divine life of holiness, and the term therefore is used to denote that life. See FLESH.

Soul and Spirit.—Let us now direct our attention to what is usually considered the *crux* of our topic, and which, from the exaggerated use made of it by some writers, has led others to explode or reject biblical psychology altogether. The question raised is whether the Scripture makes a tenable and consistent distinction between *soul* and *spirit*. This is the real question which underlies that of the so-called trichotomy of the Bible. Does the Bible conceive of human nature as threefold, as made up of body, soul, and spirit? The only relevant question is the one above stated. In what sense and to what extent does the Bible recognize a distinction between *soul* and *spirit*? A large number, probably a majority, of exegetes have been in the habit of concluding that there is no real distinction, that the terms are synonymous, or at least interchangeable, and that nothing can be asserted beyond a shadowy, poetic distinction which enables the sacred writers to employ them in parallelism. But when we face the facts we are forced to a different conclusion. In the Pauline Epistles it is undoubted that a real distinction is asserted. The natural or unconverted man is said to be *soulish*, the renewed man *spiritual* (ψυχικός, πνευματικός, 1 Co $2^{14.15}$; cf. Jude ^{19} ψυχικοί, πνεῦμα μὴ ἔχοντες). Again, St. Paul asserts that the body which all men carry to the grave is *soulish*, but the body of the resurrection is *spiritual* (ψυχικόν, πνευματικόν, 1 Co 15^{44}); that the first man was made a living *soul*, the last Adam a quickening *spirit* (v.^{45}). The distinction of the adjectives is repeated in v.^{46}.

Now, a fact of this sort emerging in such decisive and culminating passages of St. Paul's writings compels us to reconsider the usage. If we adhere rigidly to the conventional idea that there is no real distinction in the terms 'soul' and 'spirit' beyond that of parallelism, we must go on to hold St. Paul to have introduced, in important passages of his writings, an arbitrary and baseless antithesis. For this we are certainly not prepared, and are thrown back upon the conclusion, which has great and growing probability in its favour, that from OT usage there was real distinction latent in the employment by biblical writers of the terms *soul* and *spirit*, which distinction was recognized and emphasized in these leading passages of St. Paul. What the distinction is, it may not be easy to determine with precision. Precision is perhaps not present in the case at all. But there can remain little doubt in the mind of a careful reader of Scripture that a distinction makes itself felt from the first and throughout. Even in the relation of both terms to physical life the distinction is felt. To this both *pneuma* and *psyche*, like *rûaḥ* and *nephesh*, of which they are the Greek equivalents, originally belong. *Nephesh* is the subject or bearer of life, *rûaḥ* is the principle of life; so that in all OT references to the origin of living beings we can distinguish *nephesh* as life constituted in the creature, from *rûaḥ* as life bestowed by the Creator.

No doubt, the 'life' indicated by these terms is that of man and the lower animals alike. A 'living soul' is a living creature in general, or an animated being. It is used in Gn $1^{20.30}$ in a wide sense of creatures that have life, and the same expression is used in Gn 2^7 to denote the result, even in man, of the Divine creative breath. So,

also, *rûaḥ* and its kindred term *nĕshāmāh* are used for the principle of life, in man and brute alike. It is the '*nĕshāmāh* of life' that makes man a living soul (*l.c.*). It is the '*rûaḥ* of life' that animates all creatures threatened by the Flood (6[17]), and all those which entered into the ark (7[15]). It is the *nishmath-rûaḥ* of life those had which perished in the waters (7[22]). These passages prove that no distinction is made between the life-principle in animals generally and in man.

But, what is of more importance, they call attention to a usage which is practically uniform of putting 'spirit' (*rûaḥ* or *nĕshāmāh*) for the animating principle, and 'soul' or 'living soul' (*nephesh ḥayyah*) for the animated result. This primary distinction of the two terms, when applied to physical life, has passed over from the Hebrew of the OT to their Greek equivalents in the NT, and suggests a reason for their respective employment, even when the meaning goes beyond the merely physical. If *psyche* thus means the entire being as a constituted life, we can see why it is used in such a connexion as that of Jn 10[11] 'He giveth his life for the sheep' (*psyche*, not *zōē*, nor *pneuma*). If *pneuma* is the life-principle, we see the propriety of its use in Jn 19[30] 'He gave up the ghost' (*pneuma*). When we pass from this primary application of the two terms to a higher, in which they refer not to physical life alone, but also to the life of the mind, both terms denote almost indifferently the inner nature. For this purpose they are used throughout the OT and generally even in the NT with no sharp distinction, but freely interchanged and combined. As, for instance, when each is used alone, 'Why is thy spirit so sad?' 'Why art thou cast down, my soul?' (1 K 21[5], Ps 42[11]); 'Jesus was troubled in spirit'; 'My soul is exceeding sorrowful' (Jn 13[21], Mt 26[38]); 'To destroy both soul (*psyche*) and body'; 'The body without the spirit (*pneuma*) is dead' (Mt 10[28], Ja 2[26]). Or, again, when the two terms occur together, in the manner of other terms of Hebrew poetry, 'With my soul (*nephesh*) have I desired thee in the night; yea, with my spirit (*rûaḥ*) within me will I seek thee early' (Is 26[9]); 'My soul (*psyche*) doth magnify the Lord, and my spirit (*pneuma*) hath rejoiced in God my Saviour' (Lk 1[46. 47]); 'Stand fast in one spirit (*pneuma*), with one soul (*psyche*) striving for the faith of the gospel' (Ph 1[27] RV). These last quoted passages prove it quite impossible to hold that 'spirit' can mean exclusively or mainly the Godward side of man's inner nature, and 'soul' the rational or earthward. The terms are parallel, or practically equivalent expressions for the inner life as contrasted with the outer or bodily life. The whole usage makes for the ordinary bipartite view of human nature, and not at all for any tripartite theory. No doubt, however, the underlying distinction found in the primary or physical application of the terms gives propriety to their usage all through; and, when firmly grasped, prepares us to understand the expanded meaning which they receive in the later Scriptures.

All through Scripture 'spirit' denotes life as coming from God, 'soul' denotes life as constituted in the man. Consequently, when the individual life is to be made emphatic, 'soul' is used. 'Souls' in Scripture freely denotes persons. My 'soul' is the Ego, the self, and when used like 'heart' for the inner man, and even for the feelings, has reference always to special individuality. On the other hand, 'spirit'—seldom or never used to denote the individual human being in this life—is primarily that imparted power by which the individual lives. It fitly denotes, therefore, when used as a psychological term, the innermost of the inner life, the higher aspect of the self or personality. Thus the two terms are used, over the breadth of Scripture, as parallel expressions for the inner life. The inner nature is 'soul' according to its special individual life; it is 'spirit' according to the life-power whence it derives its special character. The double phrase 'soul and spirit' presents the man in two aspects as his life is viewed from two different points.

So much for the use of the two words in the Scripture at large. But when we come to certain NT writings—mainly though not exclusively Pauline—a still more definite meaning has set in. The adjective 'psychic' or 'soulish' has taken a force not perceptible in its root-word. It has become almost equivalent to 'carnal.' In Ja 3[15] a wisdom is spoken of which is 'earthly, soulish (RV sensual), devilish.' Of certain predicted opponents of the gospel, it is said (Jude[19]) that 'they are soulish (AV and RV sensual; RVm natural *or* animal), not having the Spirit.' St. Paul terms the unregenerate who cannot discern the things of the spirit of God a 'soulish' man (1 Co 2[14]). The body which we wear at present—'the body of our humiliation' (Ph 3[21])—is a 'soulish' body, and shall be sown in the grave as such (1 Co 15[44-46]). The corresponding adjective 'pneumatic' or 'spiritual' has now taken on, in the parallel passages, a religious sense, and denotes what belongs to the *pneuma* in that sense, viz. that which is derived from the spirit of God—the spirit of the regenerate life. It is plain that if we would not accuse these NT writers—especially St. Paul—of introducing groundless distinctions, we are drawn to admit a real difference of the terms from the first, in the general or wider sense already described.*

Spirit.—On a closely similar line of exegetical investigation we explain the Scripture use of this term. It is an entirely original biblical term for the highest aspect of man's life. It is almost inseparable from the idea of man's relation to God, whether in creation or in redemption. All through the OT it is the supreme term for human life. God is spirit, and man has spirit. 'The spirit returns to God who gave it' (Ec 12[7]). In this way the psychology of the Bible is distinguished from all ethnic systems. In this it stands entirely alone, and is thoroughly consistent with itself from first to last. 'Spirit' is not so used by Plato, by Philo, by the earlier Stoics, by Plotinus and the Neo-Platonists, nor indeed anywhere out of the circle of Bible thought. It denotes the direct dependence of man upon God. The peculiarly biblical idea is the attribution to man, as the highest in him, of that which is common to man with God. 'Spirit' is the God-given principle of man's life, physical, mental, and spiritual. Where modern analysis imports a false element into it, is when an attempt is made to represent πνεῦμα as a separable constituent of man's being, as something which can be wanting, dead, or dormant on the one hand, restored or confirmed on the other. Indeed the whole character of the Bible psychology is mistaken in such attempts to distinguish spirit, soul, heart, and the like as separate faculties. They are diverse aspects of one indivisible inner life.

When we come to the Pauline writings, and those associated with them in the NT, we find that a certain improvement or addition to the force of this term has come in; yet one completely in harmony with its original meaning. That in man which is 'spiritual' is, frankly and fully, that which is influenced by the spirit of God—by the new spirit of regeneration. 'Spirit' is more entirely used of the renewed man, though there is still a clear and appreciable distinction maintained

* See this discussed in ch. v. of the present writer's *Bible Doctrine of Man*, Edin. 1895.

between the two. 'The Spirit itself beareth witness with our spirit that we are the children of God' (Ro 8^{16}). Yet so almost complete is the identification, that our translators find it difficult—throughout the Epistles—to determine where the term spirit should be distinguished by a capital letter. The advance consists in the fact that, whereas from the first, man's life is dignified as the direct inbreathing of the Almighty,—*nĕshāmāh* or *rûaḥ* from God,—his new life is now signalized by a term identical with that bestowed on the Third Person of the Holy Trinity. It is one of the central doctrines of Christianity concerning the theanthropic person of the Son, that, as head of the new humanity, He becomes a life-giving πνεῦμα—a quickening spirit. At every point in the unfolding of the Bible anthropology this doctrine of the *pneuma* in man will be found distinctive. It forms a central element in the Divine Image in which he was created, and at the climax of redemption it is the appropriate designation of the man as renewed in Christ. See SPIRIT.

Heart is a term used with much clearness and consistency throughout Scripture, for the inner, the real, the hidden and ruling element in man's nature. Translated into modern language it denotes, in one of its most frequent applications, 'principles of action.' It is always sufficiently distinguished from Being or Personality. From the first it is said that 'every imagination of the thoughts of man's heart is evil' (Gn 6^5), *i.e.* his 'principles of action' are gone wrong, but it is never said that the personality is corrupt or destroyed. Again, it is the great promise of restoration, 'a new heart also will I give you, and a new spirit will I put within you' (Ezk 36^{26}), *i.e.* new principles will be implanted; yet it is not another or a different personality that is given. There is not such a sharp distinction in Bible speech as that which we have introduced into modern language between the *head* and the *heart*. There is no marked separation of the rational and intellectual elements in man's nature from the emotional or volitional. Although there is, to some extent, a distinction of this kind between לֵבָב and נֶפֶשׁ, all inward elements of whatever sort may be included under heart: even such as good judgment and clear perception are, at least in the OT, considered as qualities of heart. In the writings of the older apostles the OT idea of 'heart' is still the ruling one. Indeed, in these NT writings the Greek terms for the intellectual life of man are used for the more general OT terms 'Heart,' 'Soul,' and the like, without any precision whatever. Thus the LXX, on occasion (*e.g.* Dt 6^5, B), uses διάνοια for *lēbhābh*. St. Mark (12^{33}) uses σύνεσις for *nephesh*. St. Luke introduces διάνοια along with καρδία, ψυχή, and ἰσχύς (10^{27}). See HEART.

It is plain, however, that in the writings of St. Paul and those allied to him, these Greek expressions for the intellectual elements in man have acquired more place, although no very marked precision. In especial, St. Paul has a firm conception of MIND (νοῦς) as the highest expression for man's mental or intellectual faculty, as that which in man, under grace, is appealed to by the Divine law (Ro $7^{23.25}$), and as that, on the other hand, which is to be distinguished from the *afflatus* or influence upon him of the supernatural (1 Co $14^{14.15}$). Then there is introduced in these writings a free use of the similar and related terms in which the Greek language was so rich, σύνεσις understanding, λόγος reason, διαλογισμός reasoning, νοήματα thinkings, φρόνημα minding or disposition, but scarcely any one of these used with strictness or accuracy. See MIND.

The one instance in which a Greek term of this character is introduced and adhered to in the NT, is συνείδησις or **conscience.** It is once used by the LXX in the OT (Ec 10^{20}), where it is also introduced by our translators on the margin, but obviously rather with the meaning 'consciousness' than 'conscience.' The force of it in Wis 17^{11} ('a witness within,' RV) is more nearly our own. To trace the advance of the term from its literal meaning of 'self-consciousness' to its full ethical import, would take us outside of biblical matter altogether. Its clear and full recognition in pagan literature is significant. Lightfoot speaks in somewhat strong terms of this word as the 'crowning triumph of ethical nomenclature,' which 'if not struck in the mint of the Stoics, at all events became current coin through their influence.' He cites it as a special instance of 'the extent to which Stoic philosophy had leavened the moral vocabulary of the civilized world at the time of the Christian era.' Now its use in the NT precisely corresponds to this estimate. It does not occur in the Gospels except in Jn 8^9, a passage which the best scholarship does not hold to be genuine. It occurs twice in the addresses of St. Paul recorded in Acts; plentifully in the Epistles of Paul and of Peter and in the Epistle to the Hebrews, and in all these places its force is equivalent to that which it still bears in modern speech. Were we to bring it into line with the older biblical usage, it might be reckoned a function of πνεῦμα so far as it signifies 'self-consciousness'; and of καρδία when regarded as moral approval or disapproval. In confirmation of this it is to be noted that St. John uses καρδία (1 Jn $3^{19\text{-}21}$) in a connexion where St. Paul would have used νοῦς or συνείδησις. The use of conscience, however, is so definite and consistent as to force us to the conclusion that it was introduced into the NT as a full-fledged idea. See CONSCIENCE.

The system of thought thus sketched belongs essentially to the OT. It is what Continental writers call a 'psychology of the Hebrews.' In our outline, this fact is rather concealed by the almost disproportionate attention given to the important modifications made on it by the Apostle Paul. But the system itself is the ruling one, not only throughout the OT but in the writings of the older apostles in the NT. The Greek terms supplied by the Septuagint are taken up in their OT meanings, and from these the writers seldom or never depart. The leading psychological notions are those attached to the simple terms spirit, soul, flesh, heart. These four are the *voces signatæ* of the entire Scripture view of man's nature and constitution. They are all grouped round the idea of life, or of a living being. The first two—soul and spirit—represent in different ways, or, from different points of view, the life itself. The last two—flesh and heart—denote respectively the life-environment and the life-organ,—the former, that in which life inheres; the latter, that through which it acts. So much for their simple and primary meaning. In their secondary meaning they are grouped as follows: spirit, soul, flesh are expressions for man's whole nature viewed from different points. They are not three natures. Man's one nature is really expressed by each of them, so that each alone may designate the human being. Thus man is *flesh* as an embodied perishable creature. 'All flesh is grass, and all the goodliness thereof as the flower of the field' (Is 40^6). Man again is *soul*, as a living being, an individual responsible creature, 'All souls are mine' (Ezk 18^4). Once more, man is *spirit*. More commonly, however, he is said to have or possess 'spirit' as his life-principle. 'Heart' stands outside this triad, because man is never called a 'heart,' or men collectively spoken of as 'hearts.' 'Heart' never denotes the personal subject, but always the organ of the personality.

Again, the four terms may be thus grouped: 'spirit,' 'soul,' 'heart' may be used to denote, each of them, one side of man's double-sided nature, viz. his inner or higher life. Over against any one of these may stand 'flesh'; as representing his nature on its outer or lower side, so that the combination will express in familiar duality the whole of man as 'flesh and spirit,' 'flesh and soul,' or 'flesh and heart.' The two latter combinations are the ruling ones in the OT. Thus 'soul' and 'flesh' occur. 'My soul thirsteth for thee, and my flesh longeth for thee' (Ps 63^{1}). 'My flesh in my teeth, and my life (soul) in my hand' (Job 13^{14}). 'His flesh hath pain, and his soul mourneth' (Job 14^{22}). A land entirely stripped of its trees and of its crops is said be 'consumed soul and body' (Is 10^{18} Heb. 'from the soul and even to the flesh'). Equally characteristic is the conjunction of 'flesh' with 'heart' for the whole human being. Aliens wholly unfit for God's service are described as 'uncircumcised in heart and flesh' (Ezk $44^{7.9}$). The man whose whole being is given to pleasure 'searches in his heart how to cheer his flesh' (Ec 2^{3} RV). 'Remove sorrow from thy heart and put away evil from thy flesh' (Ec 11^{10}). The *summum bonum* of human life is when a 'sound heart is the life of the flesh' (Pr 14^{30}), an expression which reminds one of the classic *mens sana in corpore sano*. This dualism of the OT is clinched in the memorable description of its final form, when 'the dust returns to the earth as it was, and the spirit to God who gave it' (Ec 12^{7}).

The distribution of parts, however, is not invariably or rigidly dualistic. For along with such as those now quoted we have also various trinal phrases, *e.g.* 'My soul longeth . . . for the courts of the Lord; my heart and my flesh crieth out unto the living God' (Ps 84^{2}). 'My heart is glad and my glory rejoiceth, my flesh also dwelleth in safety' (Ps 16^{9}). 'Mine eye is consumed with grief, yea, my soul and my belly' (RV 'body,' Ps 31^{9}). Yet, dual or trinal though the terms may be, the intention is essentially bipartite, viz. to express in man the inner and the outer, the higher and the lower, the animating and the animated all resting upon the primal contrast of what is earth-derived with what is God-inbreathed.

Such is a condensed account of the Bible treatment of psychological terms and ideas, which also goes a long way to fix the biblical teaching about Man. At most of the important points, the Bible view of man's nature coincides with that of human psychology at large. Scripture frankly and fully confirms the view which places man among the animals, but at their head. It makes man differ in no respect as to the origination of his physical frame, but in two most important particulars it distinguishes man altogether from the animals—in the direct and immediate connexion of his origin with God, and in his survival of death (see artt. ESCHATOLOGY and RESURRECTION).

LITERATURE.—M. F. Roos, *Fundamenta Psychologiæ ex S.S. collectæ* (1769); Olshausen, 'De Naturæ humanæ trichotomiâ,' in his *Opuscula Theologica* (Berlin, 1834); Böttcher, *De inferis . . . ex Hebræorum et Græcorum opinionibus* (Dresden, 1845); J. T. Beck, *Umriss der biblischen Seelenlehre* (1843, 1877, Eng. tr., Clark, Edin. 1877); Franz Delitzsch, *System der biblischen Psychologie*[2] (Leipzig, 1861, Eng. tr., Clark, Edin. 1867); H. H. Wendt, *Die Begriffe Fleisch und Geist in bibl. Sprachgebrauch* (Gotha, 1878); Ellicott, 'The Threefold Nature of Man' in *The Destiny of the Creature and other Sermons* (London, Parker, 1863); J. B. Heard, *The Tripartite Nature of Man*[5] (Clark, Edin. 1882); E. White, *Life in Christ*, A Study of the Scripture Doctrine on the Nature of Man (London, E. Stock, 1878); W. P. Dickson, *St. Paul's Use of the Terms Flesh and Spirit* (Glasgow, 1883); Laidlaw, *The Bible Doctrine of Man* (revised ed., Clark, Edin. 1895). The reader may consult also the *Old Testament Theologies* of Oehler and Schultz, and the *New Testament Theologies* of Bernhard Weiss and Beyschlag; cf., further, Gifford, *Romans*, 49-52; Sanday-Headlam, *Romans*, 181; Driver, *Sermons on OT*, 1ff.

J. LAIDLAW.

PTOLEMAIS (Πτολεμαΐς) is the NT name of the old Canaanitish stronghold ACCO (which see). It received this name from Ptolemy II. Philadelphus when, after the conquest of Syria and the death of Alexander the Great, it came into his possession. For several hundred years, throughout its independence during the wars of the Maccabees, and under the dominion of Rome, when it received the privileges of a Roman city, this title supplanted the original name. At Ptolemais, Jonathan Maccabæus was treacherously captured (1 Mac 12^{48}); and the Greeks had built there a splendid temple to Jupiter. It is only once noticed in the NT, in connexion with the missionary journey of St. Paul from Tyre to Cæsarea (Ac 21^{7}). There was a small band of Christian converts in the place, and it is recorded that the Apostle abode with them one day. Ptolemais was favourably situated as regards both sea and land approaches. On the occasion of the Apostle's visit, we are told that he came by sea, having sailed from the harbour of Tyre, and that he proceeded on foot to Cæsarea and from thence to Jerusalem. But there is every likelihood, judging from Ac 11^{30} 12^{25} $15^{2.30}$ 18^{22}, that he must have passed several times through the city, by the ancient land-route along the coast that connected Cæsarea by means of the rocky pass of the Ladder of Tyre with Antioch.

Josephus (*Ant.* XIV. xv. 1) tells us that Herod landed at Ptolemais on his voyage from Italy to Syria. It may be mentioned that there is another Ptolemais, the capital of Pentapolis in Cyrenaica, of which the celebrated Synesius, the pupil of Hypatia of Alexandria, was bishop early in the 5th century. In the extremely interesting series of his letters which are still extant, there is one addressed to all Christian bishops throughout the world, in which he announces that he had excommunicated, at a Diocesan Synod, Andronicus, the governor of the place, on account of his crimes against the Church.

As it was a seaport town, the Jews, who were not a maritime people, took very little interest in the Syrian Ptolemais, and therefore it hardly figures on the pages of Scripture. But in mediæval times it rose into great fame under the name of Acre, which is closely connected with its original name of Acco, and has obscured all the other names imposed or altered at different times by foreigners. Elsewhere in the Holy Land sacred memories almost obliterate secular ones; but here it is the reverse. The civil history of Acre is decidedly Western, as is the prominent headland on which it is situated, which pushes itself farther out from the monotonous coast than any other place in Palestine, except Carmel. On this projecting shoulder of the Holy Land the town occupies so commanding a position that Napoleon called it the Key of Syria. At a distance it presents the appearance of a strongly fortified European town, but its architectural features inside are thoroughly Oriental in character. At the time of the Crusaders it was the Castella Peregrinorum, the principal landing-place of pilgrims to Jerusalem; and it was the last foothold of the Crusaders on the sacred soil. Here was the principal seat of the great knightly orders of St. John of the Temple and the Hospital, who gave it the French name of St. Jean d'Acre. It had a large share in the feudal and ecclesiastical wars of Europe, and in the unhappy political intrigues of the Republics of Venice, Genoa, and Pisa. It has been subjected to numerous sieges, from the days of Baldwin, the founder of the shortlived dynasty of the Latin sovereigns of the Eastern empire, to those of Napoleon, whose destiny was here first marred by defeat. Saladin, Cœur de Lion, and Sir Sydney Smith performed feats of valour in connexion

with this fortress. The last siege took place in 1840, when Sir Charles Napier, fighting for the Turks, took the town from the Egyptians under Ibrahim Pasha.

Acre never recovered the bombardment of the English fleet; and it is now a dull, ruinous town of about 10,000 inhabitants. It is the market-place of the Syrian wheat trade; and the bread manufactured from the rich crops grown on the surrounding plain of Acre is proverbially said to be 'the best in the Holy Land'; thus maintaining still the reputation it had acquired in the days of Israel, when the Patriarch cast the blessing of his son into its local mould, 'out of Asher his bread shall be fat.' The shallow *Nahr N'amân*, the ancient Belus, which falls into its broad bay, recalls the Greek story of the chance invention of glass on its banks; and the patriarchal promise to the lot of Issachar of 'the treasures hid in the sands,' which may have had something to do with the ancient classical tradition. The view from the shattered ramparts is very extensive and beautiful, comprising on the one side the opposite headland of Carmel, reflected in the blue waters of the curved bay, and on the other the dark green plain along the coast up to the white promontory of the Ladder of Tyre; the distant snow-clad Lebanon range fading northwards in the clouds; while the eastern horizon is closed up by the shadowy hills of Galilee.

LITERATURE.—Conder, *Tent-Work in Palestine*, pp. 188–192; Stanley, *SP* pp. 264–266; Bovet, *Egypt, Palestine, and Phœnicia*, pp. 383–385.

HUGH MACMILLAN.

PTOLEMY (Πτολεμαῖος, a metric alternative for the Ion. πτολεμήϊος, 'warlike') **I.**, surnamed Σωτήρ, 'Preserver' (on account of his defence of the Rhodians in B.C. 306; Paus. i. 8. 6; or by the Confed. of the Cyclades, who claim the credit, according to Inscript. 373 in Michel's *Recueil*—see Mahaffy, *Emp. Ptol.* 110 f.), was the son of Lagus and Arsinoë, a reputed concubine of Philip of Macedon. He was born about B.C. 367, and upon the death of Alexander (1 Mac 1^{6-9}) he assumed the satrapy of Egypt. For the intricate details of the wars that preceded his assumption of royalty in B.C. 305, see Mahaffy, *op. cit.* 27–58; Droysen, *Hellenismus*; Niese, *Gesch. der Griech. Staaten*, pt. i.—by each of whom the original authorities are given. He abdicated in B.C. 285 in favour of his second son, and died two years later, with his dynasty firmly established by his wise and vigorous administration upon the throne of Egypt. In the course of his campaigns he several times traversed or occupied Palestine. In B.C. 320 (Cless in Pauly, art. 'Ptolemy'), or more probably eight years later, he took advantage of the Sabbath law to seize Jerusalem on that day (Jos. *Ant.* XII. i.), but so ingratiated himself with the people that many of them accompanied him to Egypt and settled there (Jos. *c. Ap.* i. 22; Müller, *Fragm. Hist. Græc.* ii. 393). They were employed partly as mercenaries; and in Alexandria a kind of citizenship and a special quarter of the city appear to have been assigned them (Jos. *Wars*, II. xviii. 7). Such migrations to Egypt occurred three or four times during this reign; and the favour with which the Egyp. rule was regarded in Palestine was largely due to the kindness with which the settlers were treated, and to the comparative avoidance of interference with their religious practices. It has been assumed (*e.g.* by Cheyne) that Is 19^{18-25} (this passage may allude to the Jewish temple at Heliopolis founded in the time of Ptol. VII.) was written in the time of this king, and he is generally held to be 'the king of the south' referred to in Dn 11^{5}, where the RVm is to be preferred.

R. W. MOSS.

PTOLEMY II. (afterwards known as Φιλάδελφος, 'brother-loving,' from the title adopted by his sister and wife, Arsinoë), the youngest son of Soter, succeeded his father in B.C. 285. He continued his father's policy, and, instead of Hellenizing Egypt, treated the country rather as a private estate to be administered wisely in the interest of its proprietor. On the series of coins which he struck at Tyre the earliest date that occurs is B.C. 266 (Poole, *Coins of Ptol.* xxix.); and consequently his first Syrian war took place at least two or three years earlier. From that time Palestine formed a permanent part of his kingdom, his right to hold it as an inheritance from his father having been unrecognized before. Among the cities which he founded were Philotera to the south of the Lake of Galilee (Polyb. v. 70), Philadelphia on the site of Rabbah (Jerome, *in Ezek.* 25), and Ptolemais on the site of Acco (pseudo-Aristeas in Merx, *Archiv*, i. 274; Droysen, *Hellenismus*, iii. 2. 305). In these foundations his principal object seems to have been to conciliate the people, and to furnish himself with centres of influence. A second Syrian war soon after B.C. 250 was provoked by an attempt on the part of Antiochus II. to annex the country; but of its details nothing is known with certainty, except that Philadelphus lost no part either of his dominions or apparently of his supremacy by sea in the Eastern Mediterranean. He died in B.C. 247. The reign of Philadelphus was a brilliant literary epoch in Alexandria. At his court, as officials of the Museum and Library which his father founded and he fostered, gathered many of the most eminent writers, artists, dilettanti, of the period: and thus was provided a place for the fusion of Jewish and Greek ideas, and a means of introducing the latter into Palestine itself. It is not impossible that the story of the origin of the LXX is so far correct, that the Pent. and perhaps also Joshua were translated during his reign and under royal patronage: see SEPTUAGINT. Dn 11^{6} is to be interpreted of Philadelphus; but the latter part of the verse is so vague and even so difficult of translation that there is ground for suspicion that the text is corrupt. It has been conjectured that Ps 72 was written soon after the accession of Philadelphus as an expression of the anticipations which his reputation warranted, and Ps 45 in honour of his marriage with the daughter of Lysimachus, king of Thrace; but neither conjecture has much support.

R. W. MOSS.

PTOLEMY III. (first styled Εὐεργέτης, 'benefactor,' in a decree of the synod of Canopus in B.C. 238) succeeded his father Philadelphus in B.C. 247. Soon after his accession, to avenge the murder of his sister at Antioch, he engaged in the third Syrian war, during which his conquests led him far into the East, and on his return from which he is alleged to have offered sacrifices in Jerus. (Jos. *c. Ap.* ii. 5). In B.C. 229 the control of the Jewish taxes was entrusted to Josephus, nephew of Onias II., according to an account (Jos. *Ant.* XII. iv. 1–5), for which there is probably some historical basis, and which is an evidence of the mildness and consequent popularity of the Egyp. rule. Of the later history of Euergetes only the scantiest information has been preserved. He appears to have devoted himself principally to the internal development of his kingdom, which was at the height of prosperity in B.C. 222, when he was murdered by his son (Justin, xxix. 1), or more probably died a natural death (Polyb. ii. 71). Dn 11^{7-9} is to be interpreted of Euergetes, the middle verse relating to the act by which he won his title—the restoration of the Egyp. idols carried off by Cambyses nearly three centuries before,

This king must not be confounded with the Euergetes of the Prologue to Sirach. The data of time show that the latter must have been Euergetes II., known also as Physcon, who was admitted by his brother to conjoint sovereignty in B.C. 170, and died in B.C. 117. R. W. Moss.

PTOLEMY IV. (Φιλοπάτωρ, strictly 'fond of his father,' though the title appears to have been given in the belief that he was designated for the throne by his father) succeeded his father Euergetes in B.C. 222. In the fifth year of his reign he was forced into an expedition to recover Palestine from Antiochus the Great, who was completely defeated in a battle near Raphia. Dn $11^{11.\ 12}$ is a summary of the campaign. A treaty of peace was made with Antiochus (Polyb. v. 87), and Ptolemy returned homewards. At Jerus., according to a story in 3 Mac., he attempted to enter the Holy of Holies against the indignant protests of the people, but fell in a fit on its threshold. Renouncing his purpose, he returned to Alexandria, where his rage against the Jews showed itself in an edict commanding them to practise idolatry on pain of degradation from citizenship. So many refused, that in an access of wrath he gave orders for all the Jews in Egypt to be collected at Alexandria to be put to death. The royal design was again thwarted by supernatural occurrences: and a national feast was appointed to commemorate the deliverance. The last statement may be regarded as authentic, and it is not unlikely that the Jews under this king lost some of their privileges, and joined the Egyp. natives in uneasiness and insurrection (Polyb. v. 107, xiv. 12); but very little reliance can be safely placed on 3 Mac. Of the rest of his reign, which terminated in B.C. 205, little is recorded beyond his extreme licentiousness and his Napoleonic love of building.

R. W. Moss.

PTOLEMY V. ('Επιφανής, 'illustrious') had no sooner succeeded his father, Philopator, in B.C. 205, than Antiochus the Great took advantage of the Egyp. king's minority to seize Palestine. Ptolemy's general, Scopas, was sent to recover the country, but was defeated near the sources of the Jordan, and compelled to surrender at Sidon (Jerome, *in Dan.* 11^{15}). Many of the Jews were led by the concessions of Antiochus (Jos. *Ant.* XII. iii. 3) to transfer to him their allegiance, and the country passed finally from under the control of Egypt. When the Romans forbade Antiochus to attack Ptolemy, he conciliated both, but retained his conquests by betrothing his daughter Cleopatra to the Egyp. king (B.C. 198). The marriage was celebrated in B.C. 193, the Syrian princess receiving as her dowry the royal share of the taxes of the conquered provinces, but no right of interference in their government. On the death of Antiochus, Ptolemy decided to invade Syria, but before his preparations were complete was poisoned in B.C. 182, or the early part of the following year. Dn 11^{14-17} is to be interpreted of these relations between Ptolemy and Antiochus; but 11^{14b} must refer to a futile attempt to restore the independence of Israel (Bevan, *in loc.*) rather than to a preference for Antiochus by a party amongst the Jews, for in that case the phrases, so far as they are intelligible, are contrary to fact. R. W. Moss.

PTOLEMY VI. (should be reckoned as VII., as there is evidence of the brief reign of an older brother: for the authorities and the present state of the question, see Mahaffy, *Emp. Ptol.* 329 f.—surnamed Φιλομήτωρ, 'lover of his mother') spent the first seven years of his reign under the regency of his mother, Cyprus being meanwhile under the governorship of Ptolemy Macron (2 Mac 10^{13}), who afterwards transferred his allegiance to Syria. Soon after her death he took the government into his own hands; and amongst the envoys who came for the occasion was Apollonius, who was instructed to discover the feelings of the Egyp. court towards Syria (2 Mac 4^{21}). In B.C. 173 the king married his sister Cleopatra. Two years later he was defeated on the borders of Egypt by Antiochus IV., who overran the country (1 Mac $1^{18f.}$) and got possession of the king. The latter's brother, Euergetes II., was at once raised to the throne by the people of Alexandria, and, when Antiochus retired, reigned conjointly with his brother (B.C. 170). In B.C. 163 Philometor was driven out of Egypt by his brother, but restored soon after by order of the Roman senate, the kingdom being divided and Cyrene assigned to Euergetes. From B.C. 154 there was peace between the brothers. About the same time must be dated the foundation of the temple of Onias, near Heliopolis (Jos. *Ant.* XIII. iii. 1–3), the circumstances of which are an evidence of the king's popularity amongst and favour to the Jews. To the same conclusion point his employment of Jewish generals (Jos. *c. Ap.* ii. 5), his relation to the Jew Aristobulus (2 Mac 1^{10}), who is identified with the Alexandrian philosopher of the same name by Clemens Alex. (*Strom.* v. 14. 97) and Eusebius (*Præp. Evang.* viii. 9), and possibly also the dedication of Ad. Est 11^{1}. When Alexander Balas was trying to establish his authority over Palestine, he sought alliance with Philometor (1 Mac 10^{51-58}), whose daughter Cleopatra was given him in marriage about B.C. 150. With a view to take advantage of the rivalry between Balas and Demetrius (1 Mac 11^{1}), or more probably in anger at the suspected treason of the former (Jos. *Ant.* XIII. iv. 6), Ptolemy again invaded Syria, and attached to himself Demetrius by promises of support and of marriage with Cleopatra; but, after making himself master of Antioch, he retained the crown of Syria for himself. Balas was defeated in battle, and killed in the course of his flight; but Ptolemy was wounded mortally, and only lived to have his enemy's head presented to him, in B.C. 146 (1 Mac 11^{8-18}; Jos. *Ant.* XIII. iv. 8). Dn 11^{25-30} is to be understood of the wars between Philometor and Antiochus IV.

R. W. Moss.

PTOLEMY VII. (more correctly IX., the young son of Cleopatra II. having reigned for a few months, assumed the title of Euergetes II., possibly at his coronation at Memphis, but was better known amongst his Greek subjects by the nickname of Physcon, 'fat-paunch') succeeded to sole rule in B.C. 146 or the following year, and died about thirty years afterwards. Justin and Strabo describe him as tyrannous to his subjects, and as shrinking from no crime; but the papyri (cf. especially Mahaffy in vol. iv. 192 ff. of Petrie's *Hist. of Egypt*) represent him as extending the commercial bounds of Egypt, and as upholding law and order within it. There are indications in two texts from Athribis (cf. also Grenfell's *Papyri*, i. 74 f.) that he protected and was popular amongst his Jewish subjects. If so, the evidence against the theory that 3 Mac. records persecutions during his reign is increased. In the Prologue to Sir. the editor of the Gr. version states that he came to Egypt in the 30th year of Euergetes (B.C. 133, the reckoning being from the commencement of the joint reign of the brothers), and implies that by that time the entire OT had already been translated for the benefit of the Jews in Egypt, probably with special reference to the needs of those resident in the great centre of Leontopolis. The task appears to have been begun in the reign of

Philopator, possibly earlier, and may have been completed shortly before the visit of the writer of the Prologue.

LITERATURE.—Of Ptolemaic literature a good summary to 1895 is given in Wachsmuth's *Einleitung in das Studium der alten Geschichte*, 579 ff., whilst the articles, especially by Gless and by Wilcken, in the new edition of Pauly's *Realencyclopädie*, ed. Wissowa, are invaluable. The principal sources are Justin's *Epitome*; Pausanias, bk. i.; Jerome, *Com. on Dan. xi.*; Plutarch's *Life of Cleomenes*; Josephus, Diodorus, Polybius, and Livy, of which any edition with a good index will furnish a list of the scattered passages referring to the Ptolemies. Careful and ingenious use is made of inscriptions by Mahaffy in his *Empire of the Ptolemies*, and in his sketch of the Ptolemaic Dynasty in the fourth volume of Petrie's *Hist. of Egypt*. Amongst the best connected histories are Droysen's *Geschichte des Hellenismus*, and Strack's *Dynastie der Ptolemäer*. For the inscriptions, in addition to the memoirs of the Egypt Exploration Fund, Wilcken's *Archiv für Papyrus-forschung*, Mahaffy's *Petrie Papyri* in 3 vols. of 'Cunningham Memoirs' of the Royal Irish Academy, Revillout's *Revue Égyptologique* and *Mélanges*, should be consulted. A great wealth of papyri has accumulated in the British Museum and the Louvre, at Leyden, Turin, Rome, and elsewhere, and these are gradually being edited in separate memoirs or in one of the Egyptological periodicals by Grenfell, Hunt, and others; but only a comparatively small proportion relate to the period of the Ptolemies. For further or more general literature reference should be made to the bibliographical note at the close of the article on EGYPT, vol. i. p. 667.

R. W. MOSS.

PUAH.—1. (פּוּעָה; Φουά) Ex 1[15], one of the Hebrew midwives in Egypt. Philo (*Quis rerum divin.* p. 389 f., ed. 1613) identifies this name with **2**, perhaps rightly, and explains, *Φουὰ ἐρυθρὰν ἑρμηνεύεται.* **2.** (פּוּאָה; Φουά) Jg 10[1], of the tribe of Issachar, father of the minor judge Tola. Puah is called 'son of Dodo,' for which LXX and Syr. give the improbable rendering, 'son of his [Abimelech's] uncle.' A recension of LXX, represented by 8 minuscles, renders . . . *υἱὸν Φουὰ υἱὸν Καριὲ* [Καρηὲ] *παραδέλφου αὐτοῦ, κ.τ.λ.*; hence Hollenberg (*ZATW* i. 104 f.) concludes that Puah was the son of קֹרַח (cf. 2 K 25[23], Jer 40[8]), and that the name has fallen out of MT. Moore (*Judges*, p. 273) suggests that *Καριέ* is only a corruption of *Issachar*; the MT is probably right. **3.** In the lists of Issachar, Gn 46[13], Nu 26[23] (פֻּוָה **Puvah**), 1 Ch 7[1] (פּוּאָה), Puah appears as the brother, not the father of Tola. Both are probably names of clans rather than of individuals.

The meaning of Puah is uncertain. The name has been connected with the Arab. فُوه *fûh*, a plant yielding a red dye, 'madder,' the *Rubia tinctorum* of Linn. In Talm. פּוּאָה is used in this sense, *e.g. Shabb.* 89*b*, *Erub.* 26*c*. See Löw (*Aramäische Pflanzennamen*, 251). If this be so, the connexion with Tola, 'the crimson worm,' is interesting. Lagarde (*Mittheil.* iii. 1889, 281) takes *puah* to be a sea-weed = *φῦκος*, and explains that Issachar's son was so called because he used sea-weed in dyeing; Issachar dwelt by the sea (Dt 33[19]). But the *rubia tinct.* is not a sea-weed.

G. A. COOKE.

PUBLICAN (*τελώνης*, from *τέλος*, 'tax'; Lat. *publicanus*).—In the widest sense the word *publicanus* stands for any one who has business connexions with the State. It is usually employed in a narrower and more specific sense for a farmer-general of the revenue—by preference a man of equestrian rank (who was also sometimes designated 'manceps,' *e.g.* Cicero, *Div. in Cæcilium*, 33, and 'redemptor,' *Div.* ii. 47). The name was also given to the agents of the farmer of the revenue, whom he employed in collecting the taxes. In Palestine the taxes went to the imperial treasury (*fiscus*), not to that of the senate (*ærarium*). Under the procurator the Judæan taxes were paid through that official, whose primary function was the superintendence of the revenue. In the territories assigned to the petty kings and tetrarchs, such as that of Herod Antipas, the payment was made to those authorities. Even separate cities were allowed to collect their own taxes. An inscription in Greek and Aramaic at Palmyra, giving the custom tariff of a number of articles in the time of Hadrian, shows that the town had a certain authority in determining the details of its own taxation (Schürer, *HJP* I. ii. 67 ff.).

The publican leased the customs of a particular district for a fixed annual sum, gaining what the revenue yielded in excess of that amount, and being required to make good any deficiency. In earlier times even direct taxes had been farmed (Jos. *Ant.* XII. iv. 1, 3, 4, 5). But this was no longer the case in NT days. The publicans of whom we read in the Gospels were engaged in collecting the custom dues on exports (Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, ii. p. 261 ff.). Pliny mentions that merchants from Arabia paid custom dues at Gaza (*HN* xii. 63–65). In Jericho there was an *ἀρχιτελώνης*, possibly himself the farmer of the customs of that important trade centre. Most of the NT publicans could only have been tax-collectors, subordinate to the official who more strictly bore the name 'publicanus.' Publicans formed themselves into companies (*societates publicanorum*), each member taking a quarter, or a lesser share, of the collecting and its profits or losses, according to the amount of capital invested. In the time of the Cæsars the contract was for five years.

It is evident that such a system as this would be liable to abuse, especially in a neglected and ill-governed province. It is expressly stated in the Palmyra inscription that the authorities should prevent the lessee of the customs from exacting anything beyond what was required by the law. Differences having arisen, a fixed tariff for a number of articles appears on the inscription to prevent misunderstandings and undue exactions. The unpopularity of the publican was partly due to his being a servant of the hated Roman government. This would be the case especially in Judæa under the procurators. The case of Galilee under Herod Antipas was somewhat different; and yet the Herods were dependent on and subservient to Rome. For a Jew to engage in collecting the revenues that went to support the foreign domination, was regarded as peculiarly mean and unpatriotic. If he grew rich it was on the spoils wrung from his brethren by the oppressor. Consequently men who had a due regard for their own good name would shrink from accepting the office. This would lead to its falling into the hands of persons of doubtful reputation. Then the farming of the customs was a direct incentive to dishonesty. In Rabbinical literature the tax-gatherer is commonly treated as a robber. In NT publicans and sinners are commonly coupled as forming but one class. It would not be fair to accept the popular judgment on this matter as an unprejudiced assertion of the truth. Still, our Lord's gracious treatment of the publicans is no indication that He wished to clear their character from calumny, for He was equally gracious to persons of notoriously bad character when He saw signs of amendment. Levi had been a publican, but he left his previous occupation on becoming a disciple of Jesus (Lk 5[27, 28]). Zacchæus declared that he had mended his ways, and was in the practice of making ample recompense for his previous extortions at the time when he met with Jesus (Lk 19[8]). Our Lord's ministry was peculiarly acceptable to publicans (Lk 15[1]). We have no reference to any men of this class in the apostolic period. Acts and the Epistles never name the publicans.

LITERATURE.—Schürer, *HJP* I. ii. 17; Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, ii. 261–270, 289–293; Pauly, *Real-Encyc.*, art.

'Publican'; Leyrer in Herzog's *Real-Encyc.*, art. 'Toll'; Herzfeld, *Handelsgeschichte der Juden*, etc. 159 ff.; Naquet, 'Des impôts indirects chez les Romains,' etc. (Bursian's *Jahresberichte*, xix. 466 ff.); Cagnat, 'Étude historique sur les impôts indirects Romains,' etc. (*ib.* xxvi. 245 ff.); Vigié, *Études sur les impôts indirects Romains*; Edersheim, *Jesus the Messiah*, i. 515 ff.

W. F. ADENEY.

PUBLIUS, or more correctly Poplius (Πόπλιος), the leading man in Malta when St. Paul was cast on the island by shipwreck. He was both rich and hospitable, and his father was among those who were healed by the apostle (Ac 28[7. 8]). He is described as ὁ πρῶτος (rendered 'the chief man' in AV and RV), a title which seems to have been peculiar to Malta, but which has been proved from inscriptions to have had a technical significance there. These inscriptions, however, leave it doubtful whether the title indicates the chief magistrate of the island or one with an honorary rank. He may have been the delegate of the prætor of Sicily, to whose jurisdiction Malta belonged. The name Poplius is the Gr. form of the prænomen Publius, but in this instance it may be the Gr. rendering of the nomen Popilius. Tradition says that he was the first bishop of Malta, and that afterwards he became bishop of Athens.

W. MUIR.

PUDENS (Πούδης, but a few cursives give Σπούδης; *Pudens*).—A Christian at Rome in the time of St. Paul's last imprisonment there, who sends greeting from him to Timothy (2 Ti 4[21]). This is all that is certainly known of him, but conjecture has been rife in attempting to identify him with others of the same name. The name is Roman, often borne by Romans of good family, and common in the early Christian centuries. Thus we find—(1) Aulus Pudens, a soldier, the friend of Martial, and husband of a British lady, Claudia (Mart. *Epigr.* iv. 13; xi. 53). (2) Titus Claudius Pudens, husband of Claudia Quintilla, whose inscription to a lost child has been found between Rome and Ostia (*CIL* vi. 15,066). (3) Pudens, a son of Pudentinus, a Roman who gave the site for a temple which the British king Cogidubnus erected to Neptune (*CIL* vii. 17). (4) Mævius Pudens, employed by Otho to corrupt Galba's friends (Tac. *Hist.* i. 24). (5) Pudens, a Roman knight, killed at the siege of Jerusalem (Jos. *BJ* VI. ii. 10). (6) Pudens, a Roman senator, said by Roman tradition to have been the host of St. Peter at Rome (Baronius, *Ann. Eccl. ad* A.D. 44, *Martyr. Rom. ad* May 19; Lipsius, *Apocryph. Apostel-leg.* ii. 1. 207, 418). (7) Pudens, father of Pudentiana and Praxedes, *c.* A.D. 160.

The Greek *Menæa*, appealing to the authority of Dorotheus, regards Pudens as having been one of the seventy disciples, who afterwards accompanied St. Paul on his missionary journeys, and was beheaded under Nero. His memory is honoured with that of Aristarchus and Trophimus in the Greek Church on April 14. The Roman Church tended to identify him with the host of St. Peter (6), who was apparently confused with (7) (see *Acta Sanctorum* for May 19, where the editor distinguishes between the two). English writers have attempted to identify him with (1) and (3). This is possible, but cannot be regarded as proved (cf. art. CLAUDIA). So many of the name were soldiers, that the conjecture may be hazarded that Pudens was one of the soldiers who had been in charge of St. Paul, perhaps one to whom he had been chained while a prisoner.

W. LOCK.

PUL (פּוּל, Φούλ, Φουά, Φαλώχ, Φαλώς).—The Assyrian Pulu. See TIGLATH-PILESER.

PUL.—Is 66[19]. See PUT, p. 177[a].

PULPIT.—This term occurs only in Neh 8[4] ‖ 1 Es 9[42] in connexion with the reading of the Law, when Ezra is said to have stood 'upon a pulpit of wood' (עַל־כִּיּוֹר־עֵץ, LXX βῆμα ξύλινον). The Heb. word כִּיּוֹר, which is frequent in the sense of 'tower' (cf. AVm and RVm at Neh 8[4]), means any *elevated* structure. Ezra's 'pulpit,' like its Latin original, *pulpitum*, probably corresponded rather to what we should call a 'platform' or 'stage.'

J. A. SELBIE.

PULSE (זֵרוֹעִים זֵרְעֹנִים, *zērō'îm, zēr'ōnîm*, Dn 1[12. 16]).—The words in the original do not refer to any special plant, or even order of plants, but only to *things sown*. The purpose of Daniel and his companions was to be tried on a purely vegetable diet. An Arab. word of similar meaning, but more restricted, is *ḳutnîyyeh* (pl. *ḳaṭânî*), which is defined as 'grains, with the exception of wheat, barley, raisins, and dates,' or as 'those grains which are cooked, as lentils, mâsh (*Vigna Nilotica*), horse beans, beans, and chick peas.' The latter definition would correspond well with the Eng. 'pulse,' which refers to the edible seeds of the order *Leguminosæ*. It is said that they are called by this name in Arab. from the root *ḳaṭan*, 'to dwell,' because they last well, or because they are necessary to those who dwell in houses. Other authorities define *ḳaṭânî* to be *khilf*, *i.e.* all summer vegetables, which would make the exact equivalent of *zērō'îm* and *zēr'ōnîm*.

'Pulse' in 2 S 17[28] is not in the Heb. original. The word 'parched' (קָלִי = *roasted* or *toasted*) occurs twice in this verse, once after *ḳemaḥ* = 'meal,' following wheat and barley, and tr[d] 'parched *corn*' (see WHEAT); and again, after beans and lentils, and tr[d] 'parched *pulse*.' It is customary to roast immature chick peas (Arab. *ḥummus*) in the oven, and eat them. The natives are exceedingly fond of them when prepared in this way. The allusion in the above passage is doubtless to grains roasted in the oven or toasted over the fire. See PARCHED.

G. E. POST.

PUNISHMENTS. — See CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS.

PUNITES (הַפּוּנִי, B ὁ Φουαεί, A Φουαί).—The gentilic name from PUVAH, Nu 26[23]. See PUAH, No. **3.** Siegfried-Stade suggest that the Heb. name should perhaps be pointed פֻּנִי.

PUNON (פּוּנֹן, B Φεινώ, A Φινώ, F Φινών).—A station in the journeyings of the children of Israel, mentioned only in Nu 33[42. 43]. The LXX renders it in the same way as PINON, the name of one of the 'dukes' of Edom (Gn 36[41]). Eusebius (*s.v.* Φινών) and Jerome (*s.v.* 'Faenon') speak of it as formerly a city of the dukes of Edom, and identify it with a place between Petra and Zoar, called Φαινών, where mines were worked (*Onomast.* ed. Lag. pp. 155 and 288).

A. T. CHAPMAN.

PURAH (פָּרָה ? 'branch' = פָּארָה Is 10[33]; ? 'wine-press' = פּוּרָה Is 63[3]; LXX Φαρά).—Gideon's 'servant,' lit. 'young man' (נַעַר, LXX παιδάριον, Vulg. *puer*), *i.e.* armour-bearer, Jg 7[10f.]; cf. 9[54], 1 S 14[1. 6], 2 S 20[11].

G. A. COOKE.

PURCHASE.—To purchase (from Old Fr. *pourchasser*, *i.e. pour* 'for' and *chasser* 'to chase') is to pursue after a thing, hence to acquire. The sense is now narrowed to acquiring by payment. For the wider meaning cf. Melvill, *Diary*, p. 42, 'Mr Andro Melvill . . . with grait difficultie purchassit leave of the kirk and magistrates of Genev . . . and takin jorney cam hamwart'; Knox, *First Blast* (Arber's reprint, p. 7), 'The veritie of God is of that nature, that at one time or at other, it will pourchace to it selfe audience'; *Article* XXV.

'They that receave them unworthyly purchase to them selves damnation.' This wider meaning is also seen in Ac 20[28] 'the church of God which he hath purchased with his own blood' (ἣν περιεποιήσατο); and in 1 Ti 3[13] 'They that have used the office of a deacon well purchase to themselves a good degree' (περιποιοῦνται, RV 'gain'). Cf. Ps 84[3] in metre—

'The swallow also for herself
Hath purchased a nest.'

J. HASTINGS.

PURGE.—Like Lat. *purgare* and Fr. *purger*, the verb to 'purge' was formerly used in the widest sense of to cleanse or purify. Hence Ps 51[7] 'Purge me with hyssop, and I shall be clean,' referring to the ceremony of dipping a bunch of hyssop (see HYSSOP) in blood and sprinkling the leper or defiled person (Lv 14[4], Nu 19[18]); Mt 3[12] 'He will throughly purge (RV 'cleanse') his floor'; Mk 7[19] 'purging all meats' (RV 'making all meats clean,' *i.e.* ceremonially, see Swete's note); Jn 15[2] 'Every branch that beareth fruit, he purgeth it' (RV 'cleanseth it'); He 1[3] 'when he had by himself purged our sins' (RV 'made purification of sins'). Cf. the tr. of 1 Jn 3[3] in Udall, *Erasmus' NT*, 'And every man that hath thys hope in him, purgeth himself, even as he also is pure'; Wyclif's tr. of Ja 4[8] 'ye synners clense the hondis, and ye double in soule purge ye the hertis'; and the Act of Henry VIII. (1543) prohibiting Tindale's Translation, 'The person or persons being detecte or complained on, shal be admitted to purge and trie his or theyr innocency by other witnesse.' J. HASTINGS.

PURIFICATION.—See UNCLEAN.

PURIM (פּוּרִים or יְמֵי הַפֻּרִים).—A Jewish festival of whose origin and institution we have an account in the Book of Esther. There we are informed that the festival had its rise in the resting and rejoicing of the Jews in Persia after their slaughter of their enemies on 13th Adar, in the 12th year of king Ahasuerus (*i.e.* Xerxes, B.C. 473). That was the day which Haman, the grand vizier, had chosen by *lot* (=*pur*, Est 3[7]) for the extermination of the Jews throughout the Pers. empire. Owing to the fact that in Susa the conflict was renewed on 14th Adar, the 'day of feasting and gladness' in that city fell on the 15th. It was therefore enacted, as we learn from what appears to be an interpolation (9[20-32]), by an ordinance of Mordecai, the successor of Haman, confirmed by Esther the queen (who were chiefly instrumental in procuring the deliverance), that there should be an annual celebration of the feast in all time coming, among the Jews and their seed, both on 14th and 15th Adar; 'that they should make them days of feasting and gladness, and of sending portions one to another and gifts to the poor.' No religious services were enjoined, and the observance seems to have been at first merely of a convivial and charitable nature; but ultimately it was accompanied with the reading of the Bk. of Esther in the synagogue, the whole congregation joining enthusiastically in the closing passages relating to Mordecai's triumph, and, at the mention of Haman, hissing, stamping, gesticulating and crying out, 'Let his name be blotted out; let the name of the wicked perish,' while the reader pronounced the names of Haman's ten sons all in one breath to indicate that they expired at the same moment. This reading of 'the Megilla,' preceded and followed by a special benediction, commencing in each case with the words, 'Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, king of the universe,' takes place both on the evening of the 13th of Adar, which is observed as a fast-day (called 'the Fast of Esther,' traceable from the 9th cent.; cf. 9[31] 4[3]), and on the morning of the 14th, which along with the 15th is devoted to celebrations of a festive and social character, as enjoined in Scripture, but without any prohibition of labour. To the influence of the Bk. of Esther the festival seems to have largely owed its popularity (Buxtorf, *Syn. Jud.* 24, and Ginsburg in Kitto's *Cycl.*). Apart from that book, the following are the only allusions to the subject that have been discovered in ancient literature. Referring to the commemoration of the victory over the Syrian general Nicanor on 13th Adar (B.C. 161), 2 Mac (15[36]), which was probably written a little before the beginning of the Christian era, mentions that the anniversary fell on the day before 'Mordecai's day.' 1 Mac (about a century earlier) is silent on the point, although it mentions (7[49]) the institution of 'Nicanor's day.' Josephus, writing about the close of the 1st cent. A.D., gives an account of the feast (*Ant* XI. vi. 13), and mentions that in his day it was observed by the Jews throughout the world on the 14th and 15th Adar, which days they called Φρουραίους. In the *Meg. Taanith* (xii. 31), which existed in the 2nd cent. A.D., these two days are also mentioned as 'the days of Purim,' when 'mourning is forbidden.' By some 'the Feast of the Jews' (Jn 5[1], cf. 4[35] 6[4]) is identified with Purim; but the inference is questionable, as the latter never had any special connexion with Jerus., and was not likely, as actually celebrated, to be very attractive to the Saviour (but see Milligan-Moulton on Jn 5[1]).

With regard to the historical origin of Purim, there has been during the last half-century a growing tendency to reject the narrative in the Bk. of Esther, largely owing to the difficulty of finding any Persian word with which the name Pur can be identified. Various theories have been advanced to show that the festival had quite a different origin.

1. According to Reuss (*Gesch. AT*, § 473), following J. D. Michaelis (*Gesch. AT*), it may have grown out of the Nicanor-festival on 13th Adar, the latter losing its historical significance in the course of an eventful century or two, and thus becoming a preparatory fast to 'Mordecai's day,' whose strong hold upon the popular mind (notwithstanding the misgivings of the Great Synagogue, *Meg.* LXX. 4) was due to the popularity of the Bk. of Esther, with which it was so closely connected. This theory, however, leaves the *Purim* mystery unsolved, and it is negatived by the fact that even so late as in the *Meg. Taanith* (xii. 30) the 13th Adar is spoken of as 'Nicanor's day.'

2. J. Fürst (*Kanon AT*) and E. Meier (*Heb. Wrtb.*) trace Purim directly to a Pers. spring-festival (adopted by the Jews in Susa), and suppose the name to be connected with Pers. *bahar*= spring. Zunz (*ZDMG* xxvii.) takes a similar view, regarding the Bk. of Esther as designed to invest the festival with a Jewish character when it could no longer be got rid of; while Meyboom gives the idea a practical form by supposing Haman to be an emblem of winter overcome by the sun (Esther) and the moon (Mordecai).

3. Hitzig (*Gesch. Isr.*) observes that *Phur* in mod. Arabic= New Year (cf. *pûrva=the first*), and argues for a New Year's festival of Parthian origin which the Bk. of Esther (after B.C. 238) was designed to commend to the Jewish nation generally, its historical elements, such as they are, being derived from the early Arsacid, not the Achæmenid period.

4. A more remarkable theory is that which was originated by von Hammer in 1827 (*Wien. Jahrbuch Lit.*), and elaborated and developed by Lagarde in his 'Purim,' *Ein Beitrag zur Gesch. der Religion* (1887), according to which the feast is a Judaic transformation of the old Zoroastrian Farwardîgân (Festival of the Dead), observed on the last ten days of the year, including five intercalary days. Lagarde (while also ascribing an influence to the μαγίφονια of Herod. iii. 79, and to a *Fest des Unbärtigen*) endeavours to make out a linguistic connexion between the Pers. name just mentioned and the various phases of the Greek name by which Purim is represented in the Septuagint (viz. φουραί, φουρδία, φουρμαία, φουραίοι), finding in these the elements of New-Pers. *Pôrdigân*, which he identifies with the φουρδιγάν, mentioned by the Byz. Menander as a Pers. feast in the 6th cent., and inferring the original Gr. form to have been φουδαιά=Heb. *Purdaïa* (פּוּרְדָיָא), while he explains away the Heb. פּוּר by supposing that the original reading (37) may have been, not פּוּר הוּא, but פַּרְכָּנָה (*pharmanah*)=Pers. *firman* (edict). Renan takes a similar view (Livre iv. *Hist. du P. d'Isr.*), tracing the name to Pers. *Fourdi* (Aram. *Pourdaï*, Heb. *Phourdîm=Phourim*), and supposes the festival to have acquired its halo of Jewish romance in the time of the Maccabees. The etymological argument, however, is very precarious, popular usage in such a case being little influenced by corruptions of text,

and the various Gr. readings being too easily accounted for by the errors of Alexandrian copyists to justify us in using them to correct such a good Heb. text, even if the derivation from *Farwardîgân* were better supported than it is (for objections see Halévy in the *Rev. des Études Juives*, 1887, who derives the LXX forms from the Gr. *φρουρά* = *guard*).

5. Another theory which has been recently advanced with no less confidence is that of Grätz (*Monatsschrift Ges. u. Wiss. d. Jud.* xxxv. 10–12). He traces Purim to Heb. פּוּרָה (*pûrah*) = wine-press, supposing the feast to have been due to the adoption by the Jews in Palestine (in the reign of Ptolemy IV. Philopator, B.C. 222–205, through the Hellenizing influence of Joseph the tribute-collector,—Jos. *Ant.* XII. iv.) of the Gr. festival Πιθοιγία = jar-opening, corresponding to the *Vinalia* of the Romans, alleging in support of his theory the riotous mirth and the making of presents of wine which characterized that Bacchanalian season. The linguistic argument, however, is seen to be more apparent than real when it is noticed that *wine-press* suggests, not *spring* (when the *Anthesteria* were held, of which the *Pithoigia* formed part), but *autumn*, and that the *Anthesteria* lasted for *three* days. Moreover, it is scarcely conceivable that such a Gr. institution could have gained in the course of a generation or two such a strong hold on the affections of the Jews as to resist the anti-Hellenic reaction which set in under the Maccabees within half a century afterwards.

6. Still more recently Zimmern (*ZATW*, 1891) has derived the Feast of Purim from the Bab. *Zagmuku* (otherwise *Akîtu*), an ancient New Year's festival, celebrated with great pomp and mirth in the opening days of Nisan (cf. Est 3⁷). This was remarkable chiefly for an *assembly* (Assyr. *puḫru*, easily passing into the meaning of feast, cf. *χοινή* and *cœna*, *convivium*) of the gods, which was held under the presidency of the Bab. tutelar deity *Marduk*, *Merodach* (cf. *Mordecai*), in a chamber forming part of a larger room (*Ubšugina* = *room of the puḫru*) in his temple *É-Sagila*, for the purpose of settling the fates of the king and the whole nation for the coming year (cf. the *lot* of Est 3⁷ 9²⁴). This celebration represented a similar mythical assembly of the gods, supposed to be held in a mysterious spot in the far East, which, again, had its prototype in a convivial assembly of the gods on the eve of the creation (see art. BABYLONIA, vol. i. 217ᵃ), at which Marduk was appointed to overcome the rival power *Tiâmat*, and carry out the work of creation. In this connexion Marduk is significantly called 'the arranger of the *puḫru* of the gods.' In *Tiâmat* Zimmern thinks we may find the original of *Haman* (as in *Marduk* of *Mordecai*); and in the story of the Bk. of Esther he sees a Jewish transformation of the Bab. legend (Bel and the Dragon), the change of date from Nisan to Adar being due to the desire to keep it a month earlier than the solemn Passover.

Confirmation of this theory in a modified form is offered by Jensen (*WZKM* vi. 47 ff. 209 ff.; see also his communication to Wildeboer, quoted by the latter in his Comm. on 'Esther' in Marti's *Kurzer Hdcomm.* p. 173), who suggests the identification of Haman with an Elamite god Humba-ba = *Hummam* (corresponding to the Bab. Marduk), of Haman's wife *Zeresh* with Hummam's consort *Kiriša*, and of *Vashti* with an Elamite divinity *Wasti*, while at the same time pointing out that *Esther* = Bab. *Istar*, and that *Hadassa* in Bab. = *bride*. He also makes out *Istar* to be a cousin of *Marduk*, as Esther of Mordecai. With this mythology he connects the Bab. New Year's epic which celebrates, in twelve parts, the changing fortunes of Eabani (Marduk), and he finds in the Bk. of Esther a combination of these and other elements of a more popular character relating to the Babylonian conquest of the Elamites, the whole being wrought up by Jewish fancy amid Pers. surroundings.

Wildeboer, while accepting this theory, combines with it the idea of a festival of the dead (All-Souls'-Day), as suggested by Lagarde above, and applied by Schwally (*Leben nach dem Tode*, 42 ff.). Hence the feastings and fastings and sending of gifts—repasts and offerings for the dead being a usual accompaniment of such commemorations in Persia and elsewhere; hence, too, the absence of the name of God from a story intended for such semi-heathenish rites, as its introduction in such a connexion would have given offence to the religious authorities and prevented its admission to the synagogue.

A different version of the same theory is given by Br. Meissner (*ZDMG*, 1896). He traces back the Jewish festival through its Persian medium to the festivities referred to by Berosus under the name of Σάκεια, which he identifies (on doubtful etymological grounds) with the Bab. Zagmuk, as popularly understood and observed. In the celebration of this festival, which was of so merry a character that Istar, the goddess of love, naturally acquired a more prominent place in it than Marduk, it was usual for a slave, arrayed in royal apparel, to rule over the nobles for five days, and something like a reversal of the ordinary social relations took place. Meissner supposes the Jews to have become acquainted with it in Susa, and to have appreciated it so much in their state of subjection as to perpetuate it in a form that was specially fitted to glorify their own nation.

In the *Expositor*, Aug. 1896, Mr. C. H. W. Johns calls attention to the fact, as brought out by Peiser in the *Keilinschriftliche Bibliot.* vol. iv. p. 107, that the Assyr. word *puru* means 'term of office,' 'turn,' and holds Purim to be derived from *Puru*, which is free from the ineffaceable guttural in *puḫru*, as the common designation of the New Year's feast on its *secular* side (in connexion with the accession of officials), as distinguished from its sacred names and associations, with which the Jews could have no sympathy.

According to a conjecture of M. J. de Goeje's, favoured by Kuenen, the story of Esther is derived from the same Persian tradition as the tale of *The Thousand and One Nights*, which has a similar heroine in Scheherazade.

The word *Pur* has sometimes been supposed to belong to the same root as Pers. *pâre* and Lat. *pars*, but Halévy traces it to a lost Aram. word פּוּרָה, from root פרר = to break in pieces, after the analogy of other Semitic tongues, in which the idea of 'lot' is closely related to that of fraction, or partition, with which he connects the distribution of gifts at the feast. Another suggestion is that it may have denoted some object (cf. *urn*, *dice*, *cards*) used in casting lots,—such as Dieulafoy (*Rev. des Ét. Juives*, 1888) claims to have discovered in the excavations of the Memnonium at Susa, in the shape of a quadrangular prism, bearing different numbers on its four faces, which he thinks may have been used for casting lots, the name *pur* (like Sanskrit *pur* 'fulness,' Pers. *pur* 'full,' Lat. *plenus*, Fr. *plein*) having reference to its *solid* form. But Jensen (quoted by Wildeboer as above) derives the word from Assyr. *pûru* or *bûru* = *stone*, used in a metaphorical sense analogous to that of גּוֹרָל and *ψῆφος*.

In subsequent times the Feast of Purim has often been the means of sustaining the faith of Jewish communities when in imminent danger of destruction at the hands of their enemies, of which we are reminded by the Cairene Purim (*Furin al-Mizrayim*) and the Purim-Vincent, designed to commemorate the deliverance of the Jews in Cairo and Frankfort in 1524 and 1616.

It may be added that the distinction between 'Great Purim' and 'Little Purim,' referring to the two celebrations that used to take place in leap-year, in Adar and Ve-Adar respectively, cannot be traced to an earlier period than the 2nd cent. A.D.

LITERATURE.—Besides the authorities cited above, see the literature referred to in art. ESTHER, and, further, Derenbourg, *Hist. de la Pal.* 442 ff.; W. R. Smith, *OTJC*², 184 n.

J. A. M'CLYMONT.

PURITY.—This word, in subst. form, is not found in AV or RV of OT, and occurs only twice in NT, 1 Ti 4¹² 5² (*ἁγνεία*), the RV adding, however, a third instance when it accepts (with ℵ B) *καὶ τῆς ἁγνότητος* at 2 Co 11³. The form 'pureness' occurs once in NT, 2 Co 6⁶ (*ἁγνότης*), and three times in OT, Job 22³⁰, Is 1²⁵, Pr 22¹¹ (Heb. being *bôr* in the two former passages, and *ṭâhôr* in the last, and the LXX reproduction being nearest to exactness in the *ὁσίας χεῖρας* of Proverbs). In all these instances the use of 'purity' is ethical. This ethical use is one of the functions of all the Heb. and Gr. words constituting the family of *purity*, though it would be an error to say that any one of these words is never used ceremonially; even *bârar* (primarily = 'separate') is ceremonial in at least one passage, Is 52¹¹. And, of course, there is the literal use also, as, for instance, to describe gold when free from alloy (Ex 25¹¹ *et al.*, *ṭâhôr*, *καθαρός*; cf. Rev 21²¹). But the Eng. translators have preferred 'purity' and its family for the ethical region (though they have never so used 'purification,' and have not restricted 'purify'), and have preferred 'clean' (though 'cleanness' is almost always ethical) for the double office of ethical and ceremonial. In the Gr. usage there are similar preferences. Ἁγνός, ἁγνεία, ἁγνότης, ἁγνῶς (Ph 1¹⁷ only, RV 'sincerely') are in NT exclusively ethical, though not so exclusively ἁγνίζω, and not at all ἁγνισμός (Ac 21²⁶ only); in LXX ἁγνός is almost always ethical, though never ἁγνίζω, ἁγνεία, or ἁγνισμός (Jer 6⁶ is doubtful; Heb. = 'rest for your souls,' LXX rendering ἁγνισμός, which may be intended to mean national purification from idolatry); ἁγνότης and ἁγνῶς do not occur; while *καθαρός*, *ṭâhôr*, is in LXX mainly ceremonial, and in NT, as is natural, nearly always ethical; indeed, in Tit 1¹⁵ (*πάντα καθαρὰ τοῖς*

καθαροῖς) the idea of ceremonial or Levitical impurity, already ignored in the spiritual Psalms (*e.g.* Ps 119), is overtly surrendered (cf. Mt 15[11-20], Mk 7[15]). Ἁγνός and its immediate correlates are doubtless connected with the more comprehensive family of ἅγιος, but form at the same time a distinct branch confined to one aspect of holiness, *holiness* and *purity* remaining so far distinct throughout OT. Ἅγιος, *ḳādōsh*, 'holy,' as separate, as related to God, who is absolutely separate from all evil, is in OT used fundamentally, not of ethical qualities, but of position—the position of God as *unapproachable* in majesty, power, and goodness; the position of men as *consecrated* to and by God, and therein and thereby summoned to be *separate*, in God-likeness, from all the defilements of heathenism (Lv 19[2] 11[44]); and, finally, the position of material things as related to the service of God or the consecrated position of men. One of the most prominent of the defilements of heathenism was sensuality, and to this the family of ἁγνός stands especially opposed, both in classical Greek (cf. ἁγνή with Artemis in Homer, and the use of ἁγνός in Soph. *Antig.* 880, and Dem., *adv. Neær.* 59, 78) and in sacred Greek (cf. 4 Mac 18[7, 8], and 2 Co 11[2], Tit 2[5]); yet it often takes a wider sweep and covers purity of motive (Ja 4[8], 1 P 1[22]), and of character generally (1 Co 11[3], Ja 3[17], 1 Jn 3[3], and in LXX Ps 11 (12)[6] 18 (19)[9], Pr 20[9]).

In NT ἁγνός and καθαρός may perhaps be distinguished (see Westcott on 1 Jo 3[3]) as predominantly connoting *feeling* and *state* respectively, ἁγνός (cf. ἄζομαι) implying a shrinking from pollution, while καθαρός expresses simply the fact of cleanness. Hence the ἁγνίζει ἑαυτόν in 1 Jn 3[3] and the ἁγνίσατε καρδίας in Ja 4[8] penetrate more deeply towards the root of the matter than the καθαρίσατε χεῖρας of the latter passage, or even than the καθαρίζει ἡμᾶς of 1 Jn 1[7], the καθαρίσῃ ἡμᾶς of 1 Jn 1[9], and the καθαρίσῃ λαόν of Tit 2[14], in proportion as the purification by the man of his external acts, or the purification by the external influence (if we may so speak) of God or Christ, has less to do with internal and personal feeling than the effort of the man upon his inner life. Westcott also distinguishes ἁγνός and καθαρός from ἅγιος, in that the latter is 'holy absolutely in itself or in idea,' while ἁγνός and καθαρός 'admit the thought or the fact of temptation or pollution.' So 'a man is ἅγιος in virtue of his divine destination (He 10[10]) to which he is gradually conformed (He 10[14]),' while he is καθαρός or ἁγνός according (we may add) as we regard his state or the internal discipline by which, on the human side, the state is attained. If these distinctions hold, we shall, with Westcott, interpret the phrase 'even as he is pure' (ἁγνός), 1 Jn 3[3], not of God (of whom ἁγνός could not be predicated), but of Christ in the light of the discipline of His human life.

Another word, which AV translated 'pure' in 2 P 3[1] ('your pure minds'), and which is very closely allied to ἁγνός, is εἰλικρινής (-εια or -ια), a word of uncertain etymology (see Lightfoot on Ph 1[10]), but of no uncertain significance. It is now, in RV, in all five passages where it occurs, rendered by 'sincere' (or its subst.), that is, *unmixed*, a sense which it bears in the only place where it is found in LXX, Wis 7[25], Wisdom being there spoken of as an 'unmingled effluence of the glory of the Almighty.' Trench (*NT Synon.*[8] p. 309) is probably correct in distinguishing εἰλικρινής from καθαρός, as denoting (the former) freedom from the falsehoods of life and (the latter) freedom from its pollutions. Ὅσιος, which is associated with words for 'purity' at He 7[26], has special reference to piety, *i.e.* reverence for the acknowledged sanctities of law and religion. See CLEAN, HOLINESS, and UNCLEAN.

J. MASSIE.

PURPLE (אַרְגָּמָן *'argāmān*; Aram. אַרְגְּוָן *'argĕwān* (Dn 5[7, 16]); Arab. *urjuwān*; πορφύρα, *purpura*).—This dye was extracted from the shell-fish *Murex trunculus*, L., and *M. brandaris*, L., and sometimes from *Purpura hæmastoma*. Large heaps of the shells of these molluscs are found near Tyre, and outside the south gate of Sidon. The dye was known as Tyrian purple. It was extracted from the throat of the animal, each one yielding a single drop. The exact colour is uncertain, as the art of extracting the dye is lost. The fluid is at first white, then, by exposure, becomes green, and finally reddish purple. The purple (πορφυροῦν) robe (ἱμάτιον) of Jn 19[2] (cf. πορφύραν, Mk 15[17]) is called scarlet (χλαμύδα κοκκίνην) in Mt 27[28]. See, further, art. COLOURS in vol. i. p. 457[b].

G. E. POST.

PURSE.—See BAG.

PURTENANCE (an abbrev. of 'appurtenance,' from Lat. *apertinere*, through Old Fr. *apartenir*, *apurtenaunse*) means properly whatever pertains to, and in its single occurrence in AV (Ex 12[9]) is used for the intestines of the Passover lamb (RV 'inwards'). The tr. is from Tindale. Wyclif has 'entrayls.' Cf. *Babees Book*, p. 275, 'Kydde roste with ye heed and the portenaunce on lamb and pygges feet, with vinegre and percely theron.'

J. HASTINGS.

PURVEYOR, *i.e.* 'provider' (Fr. *pourvoyeur*, from Old Fr. *proveoir* or *porveoir* = Lat. *providere*), occurs only in To 1[13] of Tobit, who obtained grace and favour in the eyes of Enemessar and became his *purveyor* (ἀγοραστής). The ἀγοραστής (lit. 'buyer') was the slave who had to buy provisions for the house (Xen. *Mem.* I. v. 2); cf. the Lat. *obsonator* (Plaut. *Mil.* III. i. 73; Sen. *Ep.* 47).

J. A. SELBIE.

PUT (AV Phut, except in 1 Ch 1[8], Nah 3[9]).—Name of an African nation; פּוּט, LXX Φούδ in Gn, Ch (A in Ch Φούτ, Genes. Cotton. Φούθ), in the Prophets Λίβυες (except Nah 3[9], where the rendering φυγή appears,* with a false division of the verse); the marginal additions of Q (Marchalianus) twice explain the name fancifully as στόμα; Vulg. *Phuth*, *Phut* (Ch), in the Prophets *Libyes*, *Libya* (Ezk 30[5]—so AV in Jer and Ezk).

In Gn 10[6], 1 Ch 1[8], Put is the third son of Ham. In the Prophets, warriors from Put are principally associated with the armies of Egypt as auxiliaries. Jer 46[9] 'Cush and Put, that handle the shield, and the Ludim, that handle and bend the bow,' are among 'the mighty men' of Egypt. In Ezk 30[5] we have a similar enumeration of auxiliaries beginning with Cush and Put. In Nah 3[9] Thebes (No-amon) has Ethiopia and Egypt as 'her strength,' Put and Lubim as her 'helpers.' A distinction seems to be made here between the subjects of the Ethiopian-Egyptian empire and the independent tribes, living farther off, who appear to have served the Pharaohs only as mercenaries. In Ezk 27[10] Tyrus is said to have had Persia and Lud and Put in her army. An employment of E. African mercenaries in Tyrus is strange, although it does not present greater difficulties than the connexion with various other remote nations, like Persia (but see below). In Ezk 38[5], however, the circumstance that in the army of the Northern prince Gog from Magog 'Persia, Cush, and Put' appear among the various barbarians from Asia Minor, is very surprising. If we do not wish to accuse the prophet of senselessly accumulating here all obscure names of remote nations known

* This blunder seems to be one of the rare instances where the Egyptian tongue influenced the Alexandrian translators. פוּט does not exist in Hebrew, nor does it mean 'to flee' in the Semitic languages, but Coptic has ϣⲱⲧ 'to run, to flee.' Some MSS read Φούδ also in Ezk 27[10]; see Field, *Hexapla*.

to him, it is most natural to assume a corruption of the text, due to a reader's having enlarged it from other passages (from 27^{10} ?). A blunder of the scholarly Ezekiel, who displays such a wide knowledge of geography, especially in ch. 27, is not very probable. Otherwise, Put would be another country than the one usually designated (see below). The passage must certainly be used with caution. On the other hand, Is 66^{19} seems to come in here: 'Pul and Lud, that draw the bow,' as the most remote nations. The reading Φούδ for Pul in the LXX (א Φούθ) confirms the evident emendation to *Put*.

These biblical passages are insufficient to determine the situation of the country. However, apart from the difficult and doubtful name Lud, we see the Libyans repeatedly distinguished from Put, *e.g.* in Gn 10^{13} (see LEHABIM) and Nah 3^{9} (see LUBIM), also in Ezk 30^{5}, where we must read *Lub* instead of *Cub*, after the LXX. Therefore the guess of the LXX at the Libyans has little probability. We have rather to look to the east of Africa.

The best interpretation of the name, which is now being more and more generally accepted, is the identification with the country *Punt* (or rather *Puent* ?) of the Egyptian inscriptions.* The Persian list of tributary countries in Naksh-i-Rustam (Spiegel, *Pers. Keilinschr.*² 119) enumerates Kush-iya, Putiya, and Masiya (Babylonian translation *Pú̯ta, Kúšu, Maṣṣú*), confirming the view that *Puṭ* (with assimilation of the *n*) was the form of the name used by all Semites, and that it signified a part of N. Eastern Africa. The Egyptians pronounced *ṭ* after *n* regularly with a sound which the Greeks translated by δ (cf. Φούδ with the correct rendering, not of the Hebrew, but of the Egyptian pronunciation), the Semites by ט. So *Púṭ* stands for *Pu(n)t*, quite regularly.

The Egyptian inscriptions mention this country of Punt (later form *Pune*) very frequently after *c.* 3000 B.C. According to the latest investigations, it comprised the whole African coast of the Red Sea from the desert E. of Upper Egypt to the modern Somali country.† Parts of it, evidently only those in the north (between Souakin and Massoua ?), were tributary to the great conquering Pharaohs of the 18th dynasty. Whether the masters of Egypt in prophetic time extended their power so far south is uncertain. But at all times there was intercourse and commerce between Egypt and the southern rich parts of Punt both by land, through the Nubian desert, and by water. We have various inscriptions referring to commercial naval expeditions sent by the Pharaohs, especially in the 12th, 18th, and 20th dynasties, of which that in the time of queen *Ḥa't-sheps(o)ut* has become most famous by the fine pictures illustrating it upon the walls of the temple of Deir el-Bahri in Western Thebes. Already in the 5th dynasty king Assa received a member of the African dwarf-tribes from Punt. The treasures of Punt were: slaves, cattle, gold (from a region called 'Amau), ivory, ebony, ostrich-feathers and -eggs, rare live animals (especially monkeys), greyhounds for hunting, gum, and a number of fragrant substances from various trees or shrubs. The incense needed by the Egyptians for the divine worship and for cosmetics formed the most important product of the country. The parts of Punt producing it were called 'the incense-terraces' (or 'stairs'), apparently situated on the Abyssinian coast (incense in sufficient quantity grows only E. of Bâb el-Mandeb), but it would be wrong to limit Punt to these regions. The inhabitants were rude nomadic shepherds, some of them negroes or mixed with negroes, but mostly of the pure Hamitic race, *i.e.* near relatives of the Egyptians and the other white Africans. Consequently their descendants are the desert tribes called *Troglodytæ* (better *Trogodytæ*) or *Ichthyophagi* by the Greeks, *Bedja* by the Arabs in the north, Saho and Afar (Danakil) on the Abyssinian coast.* They can hardly have formed a large contingent of the Egyptian armies, because the desert regions north of Abyssinia were too thinly populated. Only the archers of the region *Maza* (*Maṣiya* of the Persians, see above), more inland, *i.e.* nearly in the modern province of Taqa, were as popular as policemen and guards as the Nubas are in modern Egypt; this country of the Mazoyu is frequently separated from Punt. But the prophets speaking of Put-Punt evidently did not consider the scanty population of this country. To them it represented all Africa east of Egypt and Ethiopia (*i.e.* the Nubian Nile valley, not modern Ethiopia or Ḥabesh), an endless and mysterious part of the world. The Phœnicians (cf. Ezk 27^{10}) may have extended their commercial connexions to what the Greeks called the 'coasts of the aromata,' after the completion of Necho's canal between the Nile and the Red Sea;† before that time the difficulties must have been too great to allow a direct contact.

Commentators who wished to follow the translation of the LXX, compared the Coptic name ϕαιατ 'Libya (especially the western part of the Delta), Libyan' (thus Knobel and, following him, Dillmann). The hieroglyphic equivalent of *Phaiat* has not yet been found, but the word looks like a (plural ?) denominative from a feminine noun ending in *-et*. This would not at all agree with the *ṭ* (ט) of the Semites, unless an *n* had been assimilated (see above). The Greek translators of the prophets may have thought of this name, nevertheless. See, however, above, the objections from the biblical passages and the confirmation of the reading *Púṭ* from the Persian inscription. Some Egyptologists compare the Egyptian expression for 'foreign warriors,' which they erroneously read *pet*, *pite*, etc. But the Amarna tablets have shown that this expression 'bowmen' was *pedate* (singular 'a troop of bowmen' *pedite(t)*, derived from *pide(t)* 'bow'). Consequently neither the Coptic ϕαιατ nor the Semitic *Puṭ* agrees with these formations. How the comparison of 'a river Phut in Mauretania' (*i.e.* Morocco, which was never even known to the Egyptians !) in Josephus (*Ant.* I. vi. 2)‡ was seriously considered by modern commentators, remains a mystery.§

W. MAX MÜLLER.

* Due to G. Ebers in his *Aegypten und die Bücher Mose's*, p. 64, accepted, *e.g.*, by Stade (*de Isa. vat. Æth.*). On the weak attempt at contradiction by Dillmann, see the present writer's *Asien*, p. 115.

† A great mass of earlier literature on the much discussed situation of this country is antiquated. Formerly scholars tried to identify Punt with Southern Arabia, then (after Maspero) they located it on both sides of the Red Sea. The latest literature will be found in Krall, *Das Land Punt* ('Sitzungsberichte Akad. Vienna,' cxxi. 1890); Naville, *Deir el-Bahari*, iii.; W. M. Müller in *Mittheil. vorderas. Gesells.* iii. 1898, 148 (cf. *Asien und Europa*, ch. 7). Glaser (*Mittheil. vorderas. Gesells.* iv. etc.) unfortunately uses some very antiquated sources.

* If we have a right to compare the tribes more to the south-east, we might speak also of the Gallas. The frequent comparison of the Somalis with the 'Punti' is erroneous. The Somalis lived originally only on the eastern coast of modern Somaliland, *i.e.* at too great a distance. Some writers have tried to find in Punt the original African seat of the 'Phœnicians.' But this idea rests only on the accidental similarity of a Latin pronunciation (Punicus for Phœnicus). No ethnologic connexion between those African savages and the highly cultured Asiatic nation can be found. The position of the Phœnicians in Gn 10 among the Hamites seems to be due to other reasons than those of ethnology.

† See *Mittheil. vorderas. Gesells.* iii. 152, on the completion of the canal.

‡ Called *Phthuth* Ptol. iv. 1, 3; *Fut* Plin. v. 1, and known thus also to Jerome.

§ Winckler (*Forschungen*, i. 513) has raised the question

PUTEOLI (Ποτίολοι, modern Pozzuoli). — The great commercial port of Italy, in what is called now the Bay of Naples, but was at one time called the *Sinus Puteolanus*. It was at this port that St. Paul landed on his journey to Rome (Ac 28[13]). There were already brethren there, and he and St. Luke were entreated to tarry with them seven days. Its name is of doubtful origin, but is attributed either to the putrid smell of the sulphurous springs close by, or to the wells (*putei*) of the place. Cicero, like St. Paul, landed there when he came from Sicily (*pro Planc.* 26). It was the resort of trade from all parts, notably from the East, and the corn supplies for the capital were landed here. Josephus speaks of himself as having landed there after being shipwrecked (*Vit.* 3), and gives its other name of Dicæarchia. There must have been a Jewish population in the place (cf. Jos. *Ant.* XVIII. vi. 4), and this may perhaps account for the presence of Christians there. Some of the ruins of the ancient mole, at which the apostle must have landed, are still in existence.

H. A. REDPATH.

PUTHITES (הַפּוּתִי, B Μειφειθείμ, A Ἡφιθείν). — One of the families of Kiriath-jearim, 1 Ch 2[53]. See GENEALOGY, iv. 38.

PUTIEL (פּוּטִיאֵל, Φουτιήλ). — The father-in-law of Aaron's son Eleazar, Ex 6[25] (P). About Putiel we hear nothing more in the OT, and the meaning of the name is uncertain. Gray (*HPN* 210) classes it amongst the late and artificial names characteristic of the lists of P and the Chronicler. It may be half-Egyptian half-Semitic (='he whom El gave,' see Dillm.-Ryssel, *Exodus, ad loc.*), but even if so, it will not bear all the weight of the argument that Hommel (*AHT* 293, 295) builds upon it in regard to the early history of Israel and the character of the Priests' Code. J. A. SELBIE.

PUVAH.—See PUAH.

PYGARG (דִּישׁן *dīshōn*). — *Dīshōn* occurs only once (Dt 14[5]). It is the fifth name in the Heb. list. In B of the LXX it comes third in order (πύγαργος), *yaḥmûr* and *'aḳḳō* being left out, although AF reproduce these by βούβαλος and τραγέλαφος. Both Eng. VSS have adopted 'pygarg' for *dīshōn*, but AVm has 'dishon *or* bison.' We have no certain knowledge of the animal intended by *dīshōn*, except that it is to be inferred, from its position in the list, that it was an antelope. If, of the four antelopes found in the deserts contiguous to Pal., *Gazella Dorcas*, L., corresponds to *ṣĕbî*, *Antilope leucoryx*, Pall., to *tĕ'ō*, we may adopt *A. Addax*, Licht., for *dīshōn*. This species is over 3½ feet high at the shoulders, and shaped like the reindeer. Its horns are spiral, 2½ feet long. Its colour is white, with the exception of a black mane, and a tawny colour on the shoulders and back. It is uncertain whether the fourth antelope, *Alcephalus bubalis*, Pall., is mentioned in Scripture (see UNICORN).

G. E. POST.

whether the *Puṭu-yaman* mentioned in the fragmentary annals of Nebuchadnezzar does not come in here. This 'Greek-Putu' is mentioned among remote countries in the midst of the sea, which aided Egypt under Amasis against the Babylonians, and this reminds Winckler of Nah 3[9]. But the necessary addition *yaman* (Greek) shows that this country (Winckler supposes Lesbos, suitably to his restoration of the name of the prince, viz. [*Pitta*]*kû*(*s*), or Caria) is to be distinguished from the ordinary Pût of the Bible, the Persians and Babylonians. Perhaps the Put of Ezk 27[10] [ch. 38[5]] might be explained after Winckler, so that we should have two countries called Put—one in Africa, another in the north.

PYRAMID.—Simon the Maccabee is said to have erected a magnificent monument to his parents and his (four) brothers at Modein. This consisted partly of seven pyramids (πυραμίδας), six set up one opposite another, with the seventh (intended apparently for Simon's own monument) probably standing by itself at one of the ends, 1 Mac 13[28] (cf. Jos. *Ant.* XIII. vi. 6). Pyramid-graves are, of course, most familiar to us in Egypt, but they were not uncommon elsewhere. There is probably a reference to such graves in Is 14[18] 'all the kings of the earth, all of them, lie in honour, each one in his own house.' The Bible contains no certain special allusion to the pyramids of Egypt, the reference in Job 3[14], which has been conjectured, being very doubtful (see Dillm. *ad loc.*).

PYRRHUS (Πύρρος: lit. 'fiery-red'). — Amongst the companions of St. Paul who accompanied him on his last journey to Jerusalem from Philippi was Sopater of Berœa, who in the RV is described as 'son of Pyrrhus' (Ac 20[4]). The word Πύρρου is omitted in TR in accordance with the later authorities, but it is read by all the different classes of older documents (ℵABDE vulg. boh. sah. Or.), and must clearly have formed part of the original text. Blass (*ad loc.*) points out that this is the only case in the NT in which a patronymic is added after the Greek fashion, and that perhaps it implies that Sopater was of noble birth.

A. C. HEADLAM.

PYTHON.—The reading πύθωνα in Ac 16[16] is attested by the overwhelming evidence of ℵABC* D*. The inferior reading πύθωνος, found in C[3]D[2] EHLP, is easily explained. The accusative form was not understood. Hence the more intelligible construction with the genitive (cf. Lk 4[33]). The reading πύθωνα is obviously the right one (so Lachm. Tisch. WH, Blass).

The name Πύθων as a Greek term must be connected with that of the district Πυθώ in Phocis, which lay at the foot of Parnassus where the town Delphi was situated. Its geographical association with the Delphic oracle over which Apollo presided gave rise to the adjective Πύθιος as an epithet of Apollo. His priestess was called ἡ Πυθία. Also the name Πύθων, derived from this local connexion, was bestowed on the serpent whom the god was believed to have slain when he took possession of the Delphic oracle. According to Apollodorus (I. iv. 1) this oracle was formerly in possession of the goddess Themis, and the mysterious chasm, from which the intoxicating and inspiring exhalations issued, was guarded by this serpent, whom Apollo destroyed. The connexion of the serpent with wisdom and soothsaying is based on demonology (see MAGIC in vol. iii. pp. 209 (footnote), 210). Cf. Gn 3[1], Mt 10[16].

In the present passage it is clear that what is implied is that the girl was considered to be possessed of a soothsaying demon. In the language of the OT she would probably be called a בַּעֲלַת אוֹב (1 S 28[7]). The word אוֹב, however, is employed by itself to convey this meaning, and is reproduced in the LXX by ἐγγαστρίμυθος (Lv 19[31] 20[6. 27]). The Syriac version on Ac 16[16] renders by ܪܘܚ ܕܥܘܡܐ 'soothsaying spirit' (lit. 'spirit of soothsaying'). See art. SOOTHSAYING; cf. also *Necromancy* under SORCERY.

OWEN C. WHITEHOUSE.

Q

QOHELETH.—See ECCLESIASTES.

QUAIL (שֶׂלַו [*Kerê* שְׂלָו] *sĕlāw*, in Nu 11[31] plur. שְׂלָוִים, which implies a sing. שֶׂלְוָה *salweh*; ὀρτυγομήτρα, *coturnix*; Arab. *selwa*).—A well-known migratory bird, *Coturnix vulgaris*, L. A few individuals remain in Egypt and the Holy Land throughout the year. The migrators arrive in abundance, on their way north towards the beginning of March, and again on their way south in November. Some pass through without stopping, while others remain to breed. Their arrival is heralded by their peculiar call, especially early in the morning and at sunset. They migrate in vast flocks, crossing the Arab. desert, flying for the most part at night. They also cross the Mediterranean, selecting as their places of passage the narrowest portions, as that between Africa and Malta, Sicily, and the Greek islands, etc. They always fly with the wind. Their bodies are so heavy in comparison with the power of their wings that they cannot cross very long reaches of the sea. Many perish, even in the short passage, and those which arrive safe are excessively fatigued. Quails are twice mentioned in connexion with the Wilderness Journeyings (Ex 16[13] [P], Nu 11[31. 32] [JE], cf. Ps 105[40]). Those which supplied the Israelites came in spring, while on their way northwards. Tristram has shown that they would naturally follow up the Red Sea to its bifurcation, and cross at the narrowest part into the Sinaitic peninsula. A sea wind would bring them in immense numbers into the camp which the Israelites occupied at that time. The miracle consisted in their being directed to the right time and place. Quails, when migrating, begin to arrive at night (Ex 16[13]), and are found in large numbers in the morning (Nu 11[31. 32]). Their great exhaustion on their arrival makes it easy to believe all that is said in the narrative as to the numbers which the Israelites captured, and the ease with which they were taken.

The quail belongs to the order *Gallinæ*, family *Phasianidæ*. Its predominant colour is brown, shaded and mottled with rufous and grey, with edgings of black. A buff line extends down over each eye, and another down the centre of the head. Its length is 7½ inches. Its flesh is succulent. It is popularly known in Syria as the *fŭrrî*, an onomatopoetic word, referring to the whirring of its wings as it takes to flight. See, further, Dillm.-Ryssel on Ex 16[13]. G. E. POST.

QUAKE.—To quake (from the same root as 'quick' [=alive], 'quicken,' cf. *Piers Plowman*, 'Quook as hit quyke were') is to shake, usually with fear (so always in AV, where the transit. sense does not occur). Thus He 12[21] 'Moses said, I exceedingly fear and quake' (ἔκφοβός εἰμι καὶ ἔντρομος). George Fox in his *Journal* says, 'Justice Bennet of Derby was the first that called us Quakers, because I bid them tremble at the word of the Lord. This was in the year 1650.' Fox had used the verb 'quake,' which probably struck the Justice's ear as odd because already antiquated in this sense. Yet RV retains it everywhere, and adds Mt 28[4] 'For fear of him the watchers did quake' (for AV 'shake,' Gr. σείω, which is tr[a] 'quake' in AV and RV at 27[51]). Amer. RV introduces 'quake' also at Ps 18[7]. J. HASTINGS.

QUALITY is used in Ad. Est 11 [heading] in the sense of rank: 'The stock and quality of Mardocheus.' Cf. Shaks. *Henry V.* IV. viii. 95—

> 'The rest are princes, barons, lords, knights, squires,
> And gentlemen of blood and quality.'

QUARREL.—Like Lat. *querela*, from which it comes, through Old Fr. *querele*,* 'quarrel' originally meant a complaint or cause of complaint. Thus Hall, *Works*, ii. 155, 'It was thy just quarrell, O Saviour, that whiles one Samaritane returned, nine Israelites were healed, and returned not.' Then it was used for any cause or *case* that had to be pursued or defended, as in Golding's *Calvin's Job*, 559, 'Although Job had a just and reasonable quarrell, yet did he farre overshote himself'; and p. 573, 'Sometymes we will be ashamed to mainteyne a good quarrell, bycause wee see that men do but make a mocke at it.' This is the sense in which the word is used in AV: Lv 26[25] 'I will bring a sword upon you that shall avenge the quarrel of my covenant' (RV 'execute the vengeance'); 2 K 5[7] 'See how he seeketh a quarrel against me' (RVm 'an occasion'); Mk 6[19] 'Herodias had a quarrel against him' (AVm 'an inward grudge,' RV 'set herself against him,' Gr. ἐνεῖχεν αὐτῷ); except in Col 3[13] 'If any man have a quarrel against any,' where the meaning is rather 'complaint,' as AVm and RV; Gr. μομφή.

The verb 'to quarrel' occurs in AV Preface in the transit. sense of oppose, object to. Cf. Melvill, *Diary*, 370, 'At the quhilk word the King interrupts me, and crobbotlie quarrels our meitting, alleaging it was without warrand and seditius.' The modern intrans. meaning of the verb is found in Sir 31[29], and RV introduces it at Pr 20[3].

J. HASTINGS.

QUARRY.—In 1 K 6[7] it is said that the temple was built of stone made ready 'at the quarry' (RV; AV has 'before it was brought thither,' RVm 'when it was brought away'). The MT, whose correctness is not above suspicion, is אֶבֶן שְׁלֵמָה מָסָע; LXX λίθοις ἀκροτόμοις ἀργοῖς; Vulg. *de lapidibus dolatis atque perfectis*. The rendering 'quarry' or 'quarrying' for מָסָע is probably correct (cf. the use of the root נסע in Hiphil in 1 K 5[31] [Eng. 17] and Ec 10[9]), and the meaning is that the huge stones spoken of in 5[31 (17)] were dressed before leaving the quarry (for this practice cf. Benzinger, *Heb. Arch.* 237). For the process of quarrying as carried on by the Egyptians in early times, see Maspero, *Dawn of Civilization*, p. 383 f., and *passim*. It is evident that 1 K 6[7] breaks the connexion, and this verse is probably a later addition (so Benzinger, Kittel, *et al.*). The statement contained in it gave rise to a variety of fanciful legends tending to the glorification of the temple and its builder (see Benzinger, *Comm. ad loc.*).

The only other occurrence of 'quarry' in the EV is in Jg 3[19. 26]. According to v.[19], Ehud turned back from 'the quarries that were by Gilgal,' and after the assassination of Eglon he 'escaped while they tarried, and passed beyond the quarries,' v.[26]. AVm and RVm offer as an alternative rendering 'graven images'; LXX has τὰ γλυπτά; Vulg. in v.[19] 'reversus de Galgalis, *ubi erant idola*,' in v.[26] 'Locum *idolorum*.' The Hebrew is פְּסִילִים, which is used as plural to פֶּסֶל, and is employed of images of gods in wood, stone, or metal, Dt 7[5. 25] 12[3], Is 21[9] 30[22], 2 Ch 34[4]. Moore, who considers that 'quarries' is an unwarranted translation, proposes

* The spelling has been assimilated to the distinct word 'quarrel,' a square-headed crossbow bolt (Low Lat. *quadrellum*).

rendering '*sculptured stones* (probably rude stone images).' They may be the same as the stones which, according to popular tradition, Joshua erected to commemorate the passage of the Jordan (Jos 4^{20}), or, possibly boundary stones, marking the last Moabite outpost (cf. Jg 3^{26}). See, further, Budde ('Richter' in *Kurzer Hdcom. ad loc.*), who thinks the *Pĕsîlîm* probably marked the Jordan ford at Gilgal, and that the ford was known by this name. For Jos 7^{5} (RVm) see SHEBARIM.

In Is 51^{1} מַקֶּבֶת בּוֹר (lit. 'excavation of a pit') is used for *quarry* in a fig. sense: 'Look unto the rock whence ye were hewn, and to the hole of the pit (*εἰς τὸν βόθυνον τοῦ λάκκου*) whence ye were digged.' On a Rabbinical conceit regarding this passage see PETER (FIRST EPISTLE OF) in vol. iii. p. 795[b]. See, further, art. STONE. J. A. SELBIE.

QUARTUS (Κούαρτος).—Mentioned with Erastus, the treasurer of Corinth, as joining in St. Paul's greeting to the Church of Rome, Ro 16^{23}. He is commemorated Nov. 3. Later traditions will be found in *Acta Sanctorum*, Nov., i. p. 585.

A. C. HEADLAM.

QUATERNION (*τετράδιον*) means a group consisting of four persons or things. The Greek word is a *ἅπαξ λεγ.* in NT, being found only in Ac 12^{4} *παραδοὺς τέσσαρσιν τετραδίοις στρατιωτῶν φυλάσσειν αὐτόν*, Vulg. *quatuor quaternionibus.* A Roman watch consisted, Polybius tells us, of four men (vi. 33: *τὸ φυλακεῖόν ἐστιν ἐκ τεττάρων ἀνδρῶν*), and Vegetius (*de Re Militari*, iii. 8) writes: 'De singulis centuriis quaterni equites et quaterni pedites excubitum noctibus faciunt.' The same author goes on to explain that the night was divided into *four* watches of three hours each; cf. Jerome, *Epist.* 140. 8 (ed. Vallarsi). It seems that one member of the quaternion watched (while the other three slept) through each watch. It appears from Jn 19^{23} (cf. *Ev. Petr.* 9) that a *τετράδιον* was on guard during the Crucifixion, and from Mt 27^{65} (*ἔχετε κουστωδίαν*) perhaps that the same quaternion was on duty at the time of the Resurrection; but see GUARD, 4.

Τετράδιον occurs in Philo (*adv. Flaccum*, ii. 533. 25, ed. Mangey) with the same colouring as in NT, *στρατιώτην τινα τῶν ἐν τοῖς τετραδίοις φυλάκων*, and fairly frequently in late authors in the sense of a quire of a book containing four double leaves, *i.e.* sixteen pages. The Latin form *quaternio* is rare, and occurs only once in the Vulgate, if we may trust Dutripon. The Peshiṭta of Ac 12^{4} ('sixteen soldiers') misses the clear reference to Roman military custom. On this subject cf. Marquardt and Mommsen, *Handb. der röm. Alterthümer*, v. 407 (ed. 1876). W. EMERY BARNES.

QUEEN.—**1.** The usual Heb. term for 'queen' in the OT is מַלְכָּה (in Dn 5^{10} Aram. stat. emph. מַלְכְּתָא); LXX *βασίλισσα*; with the verb מלך 'to be queen,' Hiph. 'to make queen,' Est $2^{4.17}$. For מֶלֶךְ see art. QUEEN OF HEAVEN. The other words so translated in AV are—**2.** גְּבִירָה (lit. 'mistress,' cf. Is 24^{2}) 1 K 11^{19} (LXX *μ(ε)λίζων*) 15^{13} (*ἡγουμένη*), 2 K 10^{13} (*δυναστεύουσα*), 2 Ch 15^{16} (LXX om.), Jer 13^{18} (*οἱ δυναστεύοντες*) 29 [Gr. 36][2] (*βασίλισσα*) [RV in the last two passages 'queen-mother']. **3.** שֶׁגַל (שֶׁגַל='ravish'; cf. Dt 28^{30}, Is 13^{16}, Zec 14^{2}) only in Ps 45^{9} (*βασίλισσα*), Neh 2^{6} (*παλλακή*).* The Aram. form of the word is found in Dn $5^{2f.23}$ (Theod. in all *παλλακή*, LXX om.). **4.** שָׂרָה (lit. 'princess,' cf. AVm) Is 49^{23} (*ἄρχουσαι*). In NT *βασίλισσα* is alone found—Mt 12^{42}, Lk 11^{31}, Ac 8^{27}, Rev 18^{7}.

In ordinary cases of synonyms it is well to trace the usage of each word in the original; but as in this case the same Hebrew word is used to convey more than one meaning of our English 'queen,' it will conduce to clearness and also be found more suggestive if the usage of the English word in our Bibles be taken as our guide. This has three meanings: the queen reigning in her own right, the queen as the wife of the reigning king, and the queen as the mother of the reigning king.

i. *The queen reigning in her own right.*—The general tendency of the Semitic as of the other groups of nations in strictly historical times has been for women to take other than the first place in governing, and this tendency is very conspicuous in the history of Israel. Possibly the general close connexion in Semitic States of the king with the god (see KING, i. 2) made it appear unseemly that a woman should rule; and though among the Northern Arabians queens seem to have been frequent, as well as in the Southern Arabian kingdom of Sheba (see McCurdy, *HPM* § 334), there is no trace in Israel of any official recognition of women as being capable of the chief government. It is just possible, indeed, that the word Hammolecheth* (1 Ch 7^{18}), usually understood as the proper name of a Manassite woman, should be translated 'the queen' (so Targ. and many Rabbis, *e.g.* Kimchi and R. Solomon b. Melek, Vulg.), but corroborative evidence is wholly lacking. The position of Deborah as 'judge' (for parallels in Arabian history see W. R. Smith, *Kinship*, pp. 104, 171) was quite abnormal, and presumably due solely to her personal vigour and character. So too Athaliah, who reigned (מֹלֶכֶת) over Judah six years (2 K 11^{3}, 2 Ch 22^{12}), was a mere usurper, and traded on her earlier influence and position. Hence 'queen' in this first sense is used only of the non-Israelitish queen of SHEBA (מַלְכַּת שְׁבָא 1 K 10^{1-13}, 2 Ch 9^{1-12}, Mt 12^{42}, Lk 11^{31}), CANDACE, queen of Ethiopia (Ac 8^{27}), and Babylon personified (Rev 18^{7}).

ii. *The queen as the wife of the reigning king.*—Queen in this sense also is hardly found in Israelitish history. In Egypt (1 K 11^{19}) Pharaoh gives Hadad to wife the sister of Tahpenes the queen (תַּחְפְּנֵיס, but the text is very doubtful). In Persia Vashti (Est 1) and Esther (Est 2 and *passim*) are successively called the queen (מַלְכָּה) of Ahasuerus. And again 'queen' is used in Neh 2^{6} in reference to the royal consort (שֶׁגַל) of Artaxerxes Longimanus. In Dn $5^{2.3.23}$, however, שגל is used of royal wives of lower rank. In Israel, on the contrary, 'queen' in this sense is used only indirectly and in poetry. So מְלָכוֹת (*βασίλισσαι*) in Ca $6^{8.9}$ of wives who enjoyed some higher (perhaps more legal) status than mere concubines (פִּילַגְשִׁים, *παλλακαί*). In Ps 45^{9} שֶׁגַל is used of the one legitimate wife.

iii. *The queen as the mother of the reigning king* (אֵם הַמֶּלֶךְ 1 K 2^{19}, 2 K 24^{15}).—Strange as it is to modern ideas that the queen-mother should be the queen *par excellence*, it is very common in the East (*e.g.* China in our own time), and perhaps almost the necessary result of polygamy (see FAMILY in vol. i. p. 847[a]).† 'Queen' occurs in this sense in the Bible of a non-Israelite only in Dn $5^{10\,bis}$, where the mother (apparently) of Belshazzar is so called (מַלְכְּתָא);‡ but it is used more often of Israelites. In fact the queen-mother appears to have had a regular official status both in the Northern and in the Southern kingdom, which in part accounts for the frequency with which the name of the mother of the king is recorded (see below), and the im-

* Possibly in Jg 5^{30} (end) שֶׁגַל should be read for שָׁלָל (so Ewald, followed by Bertheau, Oettli, Renan, Kautzsch. For other proposed emendations of the text see Moore, *ad loc.*).

* The reading, however, is not certain. The Peshiṭta (which some think to be in Chronicles a Jewish Targum of 3rd cent. A.D.) reads *Maacah.*

† So among the negroes of West Africa the mother has incomparably more influence than the wife. See Miss M. H. Kingsley, *West African Studies*, 1899.

‡ Commentators have compared Amastris, the wife of Xerxes and mother of Artaxerxes I. (Herod. vii. 61), and Parysatis, the wife of Darius and mother of Artaxerxes Mnemon and Cyrus (Xen. *Anab.* I. i. 1).

portance attached to some of her actions. The actual term 'queen' (גְּבִירָה) is used only of Jezebel (2 K 10^{13} prob.), Maacah (1 K 15^{13}=2 Ch 15^{16}), and Nehushta (Jer 13^{18} 29^{2}). The semi-royal state, however, of Bathsheba, Solomon's mother, is shown in 1 K 2^{19}, where Solomon sits on his throne and sets a throne for 'the king's mother,' and she sits on his right hand. The importance, too, of Maacah, Asa's 'mother' (*i.e.* probably grandmother), who had retained her influence from the reign of Abijah, is shown by the mention of her idolatry, and of Asa's destruction of the monstrous figure that she had made (1 K 15^{13}= 2 Ch 15^{16}).

Athaliah has been already mentioned. Nehushta, from Jeremiah's bitter words in Jer 22^{26}, appears to have used her official position to take an active part against Jeremiah and his policy of submitting to the Chaldæans.

From Jer 13^{18} the queen-mother appears to have worn a crown (עֲטָרָה, *στέφανος*) more or less like the king's, but the 'head tire' (RV) is a translation of a doubtful reading. In Jg 5^{30}, Ewald, by a slight textual change, renders 'for the neck of the queen' (see Moore, *in loc.*).

For the names of the mothers of the kings of Judah see GENEALOGY in vol. ii. p. 126[b]. In the case of the kings of Israel the only names found are Zeruah the mother of Jeroboam I. (1 K 11^{26}) and Jezebel the mother of Ahaziah (presumably, cf. 1 K 22^{52}) and Joram (prob. 2 K $3^{2.\ 13}$ 10^{13}).

A. LUKYN WILLIAMS.

QUEEN OF HEAVEN, THE.—מְלֶכֶת הַשָּׁמַיִם *mĕlekheth hash-shāmayim*, or in a few MSS מְלֹאכֶת הַשׁ׳ *mĕle'kheth*, etc.; *τῇ στρατιᾷ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ*, 'the host of heaven,' in Jer 7^{18}, but *τῇ βασιλίσσῃ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ*, 'the queen of heaven,' in Jer 44 [Gr. 51] $^{17.\ 18.\ 19.\ 25}$, except א* in v.^{25} *τῇ Βάαλ*; in v.^{15} two late cursives give as the rendering of the Heb. represented by '(Then all the men which knew that their wives burned incense) unto other gods,' *θεοῖς ἑτέροις τῇ στρατιᾷ τοῦ οὐρ.*; with a few exceptions the other LXX MSS have no equivalent for 'unto other gods'; Aq., Symm., and Theod. in 7^{18}, and Symm. in 44 [51]^{18} *τῇ βασ. τ. οὐρ.*; *reginæ cœli*, but also in Jerome (Kuenen, *Abhandl.* p. 187, Germ. tr.), *militiæ cœli*; Syr. (Lee), 'for the worship (ܨܒܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ) of heaven' in 7^{18} $44^{17.\ 18.\ 25}$, 'for the queen (ܡܠܟܬܐ) of heaven' in 44^{19}; Targ. כּוֹכְבַת שְׁמַיָּא 'star(s) of heaven'; according to Jastrow, *the planet Venus*.

The reading מְלֹאכֶת *mĕle'kheth* is set aside by common consent as a late emendation due to the tradition that מלכת here was to be interpreted as מלאכת. The pointing מְלֶכֶת *mĕlekheth*, is sometimes explained as an intentional variation of *malkath*, 'queen-of,' meant to suggest that a false goddess was not a legitimate queen, just as *ham-Melekh*, 'the king,' when used of a false god, receives the vowels of *bosheth*, 'shame,' and becomes *ham-Molekh*. But more probably the pointing indicates that מְלֶכֶת was identified with מְלֹאכֶת 'work,' the silent Aleph having dropped (as sometimes happens, Ges.-Kautzsch ^{26}, § 23. 3).

Mĕlekheth, thus identified, was taken by the Syriac, also by Kimchi, in the sense of 'service' or 'worship,' in which it is found in 1 Ch 9^{13} etc.; but it is clearly not the worship, but the object of worship. It was no doubt intended by the punctuators to be taken in the sense of 'the host of heaven.' Probably *mĕlekheth* itself was not understood to mean 'host' directly; but the punctuators equated the unusual phrase *mĕlekheth hash-sh.* to the more common phrase *ṣĕbā hash-sh.* (Jer, etc.), being partly influenced by the references in Gn $2^{2.\ 3}$ to Creation as God's *mĕlekheth*. This view was taken by the LXX in Jer 7^{18} (unless the unlikely view be adopted that the LXX here and in 44 [51]^{15} read *ṣĕbā hash-sh.*), and perhaps by the Targ., and was recognized as an alternative by Jerome; cf. above. It has been recently revived by Stade, mainly on the ground that elsewhere Jeremiah speaks of the Jews as worshipping 'other gods' or 'the host (*ṣābā*) of heaven,' and that therefore this phrase should denote a group of objects of worship; cf. also the statement that Manasseh 'built altars for all the host of heaven in the two courts of the house of Jehovah,' 2 K 21^{5}. But most critics, *e.g.* Budde (*Rel. of Isr.* p. 162), Cornill (*SBOT*), Giesebrecht (*Jer.*), Kautzsch (*AT*), Kuenen, hold that the original meaning was 'queen of heaven,' and the proper pointing is *malkath*. The pointing *malkûth*, 'kingdom,' has met with little acceptance. It is pointed out that the phrases 'worship of other gods . . . of the host of heaven' may equal 'idolatry, star worship,' and are in no way evidence against the existence of a popular and widespread cult of a particular goddess.

According to 7^{18} 44 [51]$^{15-30}$ this goddess was offered incense and cakes which 'pourtrayed' her, and had been worshipped by the ancestors of the Jews of Jeremiah's time, and by their kings and princes in the cities of Judah, and in the streets of Jerusalem. The Jewish women were specially devoted to this worship.

This 'queen of heaven' can scarcely be a collective term for the stars, and is usually identified with the moon, or some planet or fixed star; most commonly with the Assyrian *Ishtar*, the planet Venus (also, however, connected with the moon). 'Queen, or princess, of heaven' apparently occurs as a title of Ishtar, and she is styled 'Lady of Heaven,' *bilit sam-i-i*, in the Amarna Tablets (Winckler, p. 48 f.); and our goddess may be the Atar-samain (Athar-Astarte), worshipped in North Arabia. Cf. the divine title *Ba'al Shamayin* in Aramaic inscriptions. See ASHTORETH in vol. i. pp. 168[b], 169[b]. At Athens cakes in the shape of a full-moon (*σελῆναι*) were offered to the moon-goddess Artemis; and in Arabia similar offerings were made to the goddess Al-Uzza, whose star was Venus, and to the sun (Kuenen, 208). St. Isaac of Antioch (d. *c.* 460) tells us that the Syrian women worshipped the planet Venus from the roofs of their houses, as a means of preserving and increasing their beauty. *Ishtar* seems to have been identical with *Ashtoreth*; but probably this worship of the 'queen of heaven' was not the ancient Canaanite cult of Ashtoreth, but a new worship of the goddess with her Assyrian name and rites, due to the political supremacy of Assyria in the reign of Manasseh.

The title *Regina Cœli* has been given to the Virgin Mary; and at Mukden, the Sacred City of China, there is a temple to the 'Queen of Heaven.' Cf. ASHTORETH.

LITERATURE.—See ASHTORETH in vol. i. p. 168[b] note *, p. 169[b] note *; and add Giesebrecht, *Jeremiah*, on 7^{18}; W. H. Bennett, *Jeremiah xxi.–lii.*, ch. xv. This article is largely indebted to Kuenen's Essay.

W. H. BENNETT.

QUESTION.—The modern sense of 'interrogation' is found in the Synoptic Gospels in the phrase 'ask a question,' Mt $22^{35.\ 46}$, Mk 12^{34}, Lk 2^{46} 20^{40}, the Gr. being always the verb *ἐπερωτάω* standing alone. In Lk 2^{46} Tindale has 'bothe hearynge them and posinge them,' but the meaning is not different, since 'pose' is used in its old sense of interrogate, as in Bacon, *Hist. Henry VII.* 119, 'She posed him and sifted him, to try whether he were the very Duke of York or no.' Tindale was followed by all the Eng. VSS till the Rhem. and Auth., when 'pose' had become antiquated in this sense. The sense of interrogation is found also in

2 Es 8[55] 'And therefore ask thou no more questions concerning the multitude of them that perish' (Noli ergo adicere inquirendo). A slightly different meaning is found in 1 Es 6[30] 'Without further question' (ἀναμφισβητήτως); with which may be compared 1 Co 10[25. 27] 'Asking no question for conscience' sake' (μηδὲν ἀνακρίνοντες διὰ τὴν συνείδησιν).

The phrase 'to call in question' is in AV more than to dispute; it means to accuse, to bring into judgment. Thus Ac 19[40] 'We are in danger to be called in question for this day's uproar' (κινδυνεύομεν ἐγκαλεῖσθαι, RV 'we are in danger to be accused'); 23[6] 'Of the hope and resurrection of the dead I am called in question' (ἐγὼ κρίνομαι; so 24[21]). See CALL in vol. i. p. 344[a], and cf. Winthrop, *Hist. of New Eng.* i. 172, 'The governour wrote to some of the assistants about it, and, upon advice with the ministers, it was agreed to call them [the offenders] in question.'

Elsewhere the subst. 'question' is used either in the sense of discussion, dispute, or else the subject of discussion, matter of dispute. Thus (1) *Discussion, dispute* (Gr. always ζήτησις), Jn 3[25] 'Then there arose a question between some of John's disciples and the Jews about purifying'; 2 Ti 2[23] 'Foolish and unlearned questions avoid.' Cf. Ac 28[29] Wyc., 'Jewis wenten out fro him, havynge miche questioun, *or seking* (Purvey, *ethir* musyng) among hem silf.' Also Shaks. *Henry V.* I. i. 5—

'The scrambling and unquiet time
Did push it out of farther question.'

(2) *Subject of debate*, 1 K 10[1] ‖ 2 Ch 9[1] 'She came to prove him with hard questions' (בְּחִידוֹת, lit. 'with riddles,' see RIDDLE); 1 K 10[3] ‖ 2 Ch 9[2] 'And Solomon told her all her questions' (דְּבָרֶיהָ, lit. 'her matters'); cf. Mk 11[29] 'I will also ask of you one question' (ἕνα λόγον, AVm 'one thing,' RVm 'Gr. word'). Elsewhere only ζήτημα and only in Acts, as Ac 23[29] 'Whom I perceived to be accused of questions of their law.' Cf. Shaks. *Hamlet*, III. i. 56—

'To be, or not to be: that is the question.'

The verb 'to question' occurs only in the phrase 'question with one' (once 'question among themselves,' Mk 1[27]), which often meant to dispute, argue with, as Shaks. *Merch. of Venice*, IV. i. 70, 'I pray you, think you question with the Jew'; but in AV it seems never to mean more than 'inquire of.' Thus Lk 23[9] 'Then he questioned with him in many words (ἐπηρώτα δὲ αὐτὸν ἐν λόγοις ἱκανοῖς), but he answered him nothing.'

J. HASTINGS.

QUICK, QUICKEN. — Although the adverb 'quickly' in the sense of *speedily* is of frequent occurrence in AV, neither 'quick' nor 'quicken' is ever found with that meaning.

In Is 11[3] and some passages in the Apocr. the meaning of 'quick' is *acute* or *active*. Thus Is 11[3] 'And shall make him of quick understanding in the fear of the LORD' (וְהַרִיחוֹ, RV 'His delight shall be in the fear of the Lord,' RVm as AV, see esp. Delitzsch, *in loc.*); Wis 7[22] 'Wisdom . . . taught me . . . for in her is an understanding spirit . . . quick' (ὀξύ, Vulg. *acutus*, RV 'keen'); 8[11] 'I shall be found of a quick conceit in judgment' (ὀξὺς ἐν κρίσει, Vulg. *acutus in judicio*). With these passages cf. Knox, *Hist.* 377, 'Many wondred at the silence of John Knox, for in all these quick reasonings hee opened not his mouth'; Melvill, *Diary*, 77, 'Efter ernest prayer, maters war gravlie and cleirlie proponit, overtures made be the wysest, douttes reasonit and discussit be the learnedest and maist quick.' We still retain this sense slightly modified in 'quick-witted,' of which an example may be quoted from Tindale, *Pent.* Prologe to Lv (p. 297), 'Allegoryes make a man qwick witted and prynte wysdome in him and maketh it to abyde, where bare wordes go but in at the one eare and out at the other.' In Sir 31[22] the meaning is rather *active* than acute, 'In all thy works be quick' (γίνου ἐντρεχής).

Elsewhere the meaning is *living*, mostly in direct opposition to *dead*, as Nu 16[30] 'If . . . they go down quick into the pit,' compared with v.[33] 'They . . . went down alive into the pit' (Heb. in both חַיִּים, AV follows Tindale, RV 'alive' in both); Ps 55[15] 'Let them go down quick into hell' (RV 'alive into the pit'); clearly in the phrase 'the quick and the dead,' Ac 10[42], 2 Ti 4[1], 1 P 4[5]. Cf. Jn 7[38] Wyc., 'Flodis of quyke watir schulen flowe of his wombe'; Knox, *Works*, iii. 232, 'Thair upon followit sa cruell persecutioun, under the name of justice, that na small noumber wer burnit quick'; Barlowe, *Dialogue*, 58, 'It is enacted throughoute Suytzerland among the Oecolampadyanes, and in dyvers other places, that whosoever is founde of the Anabaptystes faction, he shall be throwen quycke into the water, and there drowned'; Tindale, *Expositions*, 189, 'As there is no sin in Christ the stock, so can there be none in the quick members, that live and grow in him by faith'; Fuller, *Holy State*, 9, 'He that impoverisheth his children to enrich his widow, destroyes a quick hedge to make a dead one.'

In He 4[12], though the same Gr. word (ζῶν) is used as in the passages quoted above, the meaning is more than merely living, rather *alive*, almost *lively*, 'For the word of God is quick and powerful' (Rhem. 'lively and forcible'). And this is nearest of all to the derivation of the word, its base being the Teut. *kwika*, 'lively,' cognate with Lat. *vivus*. Cf. Milton, *Areopag.* (Hales' ed. p. 7), 'Against defaming it was decreed that none should be traduc'd by name . . . and this course was quick enough, as Cicero writes, to quell both the desperate wits of other Atheists, and the open way of defaming, as the event shew'd.'

To **quicken** is to *give life to*, whether physically or spiritually. In OT it is always the tr. of חָיָה (Piel of חָיָה to live), which also means to preserve life, but when tr[d] 'quicken' in AV always means to bless with spiritual life. In NT the Gr. is either ζωοποιέω or its compound συνζωοποιέω (Eph 2[5], Col 2[13], tr[d] 'quickened together with'). In Jn 5[21] the physical and spiritual meanings are placed side by side, 'For as the Father raiseth up the dead and quickeneth them; even so the Son quickeneth whom he will.'

J. HASTINGS.

QUICKSANDS (Ac 27[17], RV Syrtis).—The Syrtes, Major and Minor, are situated on the N. coast of Africa, in the wide bay between the headlands of Tunis and Barca. They consist of sandbanks occupying the shores of the Gulfs of Sidra on the coast of Tripoli, and that of Gabes on the coast of Tunis or Carthage. They have been considered a source of danger to mariners from very early times, not only from the shifting of the sands themselves, but owing to the cross currents of the adjoining waters. Thus in the *Æneid* of Virgil (iv. 40 f.) we find them referred to—

'Hinc Gætûlæ urbes, genus insuperabile bello:
Et Numidæ infræni cingunt, et inhospita Syrtis.'

In the last voyage of St. Paul on his way to Italy the ship in which he and his companions were sailing was at the mercy of the tempest, and was drifting before the N.E. wind EURAQUILO, after leaving the shelter of the island of Cauda. There was every reason, therefore, to fear that they might be driven on the Syrtis, which was situated to the leeward of their course; but owing (it may

be supposed) to the rotatory movement of the wind they were driven into the sea of Adria (Ac 27[27]).*

E. HULL.

QUINTUS MEMMIUS.—See MEMMIUS (QUINTUS).

QUIRINIUS, CENSUS OF.—The statement of St. Luke (2[1-3]) as to how the birth of Christ came to take place at Bethlehem rather than at Nazareth, has produced an amount of discussion of which the world is rather weary. We should have had less of this, if apologists had not been ready to admit, and opponents eager to maintain, that to prove that the evangelist has here made a misstatement, is to imperil, if not demolish, the authority of his Gospel as an inspired writing. Nothing of the kind is at stake. We have no right to assume that inspiration secures infallible chronology; and St. Luke bases his claim to be heard, not on inspiration, but on the excellence of his information and his own careful inquiry (Lk 1[1-4]). Yet even well-informed and careful writers sometimes make mistakes, and he may have done so here.

There is no serious difficulty about the statement that Augustus ordered that there should be a general census throughout the Roman Empire (2[1]). It is true that there is no direct evidence, independent of Luke, of any such decree; and we know that in some provinces no census was held during the reign of Augustus. Nevertheless there is evidence that periodic enrolments were made in Egypt (*Clas. Rev.* Mar. 1893); and a Roman census in Judæa at the time indicated, in consequence of general orders issued by Augustus, is not improbable (Suet. *Aug.* 28, 101, *Cal.* 16; Tac. *Ann.* i. 11. 5, 6; Plin. *Nat. Hist.* iii. 2. 17). The real difficulty is about the parenthetical remark in v.[2].

There has been much discussion about the text of v.[2], but the right reading is certainly *αὕτη ἀπογραφὴ πρώτη ἐγένετο ἡγεμονεύοντος τῆς Συρίας Κυρηνίου*: 'This took place as a first enrolment, when Quirinius was governor of Syria.'† And this remark is made in order to distinguish this census from the one in A.D. 6, 7, when Q. certainly *was* governor and conducted the census (Ac 5[37], Jos. *Ant.* XVIII. i. 1, ii. 1). But it is hard to see how Q. could be governor when Herod died in B.C. 4. From B.C. 9 to 6 Sentius Saturninus was governor;‡ from B.C. 6 to 4 Quinctilius Varus. After that nothing is clear till A.D. 6, when P. Sulpicius Quirinius succeeds and holds the census of Ac 5[37]. Bergmann, Mommsen, Zumpt, and others have shown that this governorship of Q. was probably not his first, but that he was in office during part of the interval between B.C. 4 and A.D. 6, viz. B.C. 3, 2. But it still remains as incredible as ever it was that Q. was governor *before the death of Herod*; and until that is established we must admit that Luke is at least a year wrong in his chronology. Even Zahn, who denies the *later* governorship of Q., and asserts that only one census was taken, viz. in B.C. 4 to 2 (to which he refers both Lk 2[2] and Ac 5[37]), is obliged to place the census after Herod's death. No help on this point is obtained from the oft-quoted testimony of Justin Martyr, who in three passages places the birth of Christ *ἐπὶ Κυρηνίου*, and in one of them says that the birth at Bethlehem may be learned *ἐκ τῶν ἀπογραφῶν τῶν γενομένων ἐπὶ Κυρηνίου τοῦ ὑμετέρου ἐν Ἰουδαίᾳ πρώτου γενομένου ἐπιτρόπου* (*Apol.* i. 34, 46; *Dial.* 78). But it should be noted that Justin calls Q. *ἐπίτροπος*, *procurator*, not *legatus*, as he was in A.D. 6. The word which Luke uses is indefinite (*ἡγεμονεύω*), and might be employed of any kind of ruler; but in the only other place in which he uses it (3[1]) it is of the *procurator* Pontius Pilate. Until Judæa became a Roman province in A.D. 6 there would be no *procurator* in the strict sense; but Q. may have had some military position in Syria even before the death of Herod, and also have been concerned with the census. And this is perhaps Luke's meaning; he may not be giving a mere date. In any case Christians who were inventing an explanation of the birth at Bethlehem would not be likely to attribute it to Roman and heathen causes. The error, if there be one, has probably foundation in fact; and, moreover, is not the result of confusion with the later census A.D. 6, 7, which Luke himself notices Ac 5[37].

The general result is that if a mistake has not been proved, neither has it been disproved. If the accuracy of Luke in many other details were not so conspicuous, one would say that there probably is some mistake. But the error would not be great, if Q. held some office in Syria B.C. 3, 2, and helped to complete a census which was begun before the death of Herod. And there is no error, if Christ's birth is to be placed B.C. 6 (vol. i. p. 405), and Q. was in command in Syria then, which would be the right time for the first of a series of enrolments, of which that in Ac 5[37] was the second.*

LITERATURE.—See the commentaries of Farrar and Godet; the *Lives of Christ* by Andrews, Didon, Edersheim, Keim, and B. Weiss; the articles 'Cyrenius' in Smith, *DB*[2], and 'Schätzung' in Herzog; the monographs of Zumpt on 'Das Geburtsjahr Christi,' 1869 (*Bibl. Sacra*, 1870), and of Zahn, 'Die Syr. Statthalterschaft und d. Schätzung des Quirinius,' in *Neue Kirchl. Ztsft.* 1893; and above all, Schürer, *HJP* I. ii. 105 ff., and Ramsay, *Was Christ born at Bethlehem?* 1898. See also Haverfield in *Class. Rev.*, July 1900, p. 309.

A. PLUMMER.

QUIT is both an adj. and a verb. **1.** The adj., as Skeat shows, is oldest. It comes from Old Fr. *quite* (mod. *quitte*), which is the Lat. *quietus* in its late sense of *free from obligation*. This is the meaning of the word in AV, where it occurs: Ex 21[19] 'If he rise again, and walk abroad upon his staff, then shall he that smote him be quit' (וְנִקָּה); 21[28], Jos 2[20] (both נָקִי). Cf. Udall's *Erasmus' Paraph.* ii. 279, 'But he that sticketh his brother with the darte of a venemous tongue, although he be quitte by mannes lawes from the crime of manslaughter, yet by the law of the gospel he is giltie of manslaughter'; Jer 25[29] Cov. 'ye shall not go quyte.'

2. The verb came from Old Fr. *quiter* (mod. *quitter*), a derivative of Lat. *quietare*. In AV it is used only reflexively, 'quit yourselves like men' (1 S 4[9 bis], Heb. הֱיוּ לַאֲנָשִׁים), 'quit you like men' (1 Co 16[13], Gr. *ἀνδρίζεσθε*). To 'quit oneself' is to discharge one's obligations; on every man lie the obligations of a man. Cf. Milton, *Samson Agon.* i. 1709—

'Samson hath quit himself
Like Samson.'

J. HASTINGS.

QUIVER represents more than one Heb. word. **1.** Gn 27[3] for תֶּלִי *têlî* [Samar. תלית *têlîth* (?)], a *ἅπαξ λεγ.* meaning literally, if a genuine Heb. word, 'that which is hung,' either a *quiver* (LXX [*φαρέτρα*], pseudo-Jon.) or a *sword* or *knife* (Onk., Pesh., Abulwalid). **2.** Usually for אַשְׁפָּה *'ashpâh*, perhaps a loan-word from Assyr. *iššpatu*, literal meaning unknown.

The quiver was a very conspicuous part of the equipment of the Eastern warrior; on the Assyr.

* If the wind in this case had been anti-cyclonic (which is probable) the direction would have changed from N.E. to E. and from E. to S.E. and from this to S. and S.W., which would have driven the ship into the sea of Adria.

† The name is Quirinius, not Quirinus; see Furneaux on Tac. *Ann.* ii. 30. 4; and *ἡγεμονεύοντος* may='was commanding' an army (but cf. the use of the word in Lk 3[1]).

‡ Tertullian (*adv. Marcion*, iv. 19) says that the census was taken by Saturninus; yet he himself places the birth of Christ B.C. 3 (*adv. Jud.* 8).

* Perhaps the possibility of a slip of the pen, *Κυρηνίου* for *Κουιντιλίου*, like 'Barachiah' for 'Jehoiada' (Mt 23[35]), is just worth mentioning.

reliefs in the British Museum the Assyr. soldier is always an archer, and *Elam* his foe regularly *bears the quiver* (Is 22[6]). The famous mounted archers of the East are perhaps alluded to in Job 39[23] 'the quiver rattleth *upon him*' (RVm), *i.e. upon the horse*, and the terror caused by them is vividly portrayed in Jer 5[16] 'Their quiver is as an open sepulchre'; cf. Jer 6[23] 'They ride upon horses.' The LORD Himself has a quiver in which He hides His chosen instruments (Is 49[2]). When the moment comes for the execution of His judgments, His arrows fly suddenly to the mark (Ps 64[7]). There is a parallel for these metaphors in the speech of al-Hajjāj, the Khalifa Abd al-Melik's governor, to the disaffected inhabitants of Cufa (A.H. 75); 'The Prince of the Believers has spread before him the arrows of his quiver, and has tried every one of them by biting its wood. It is my wood that he has found the hardest and the bitterest, and I am the arrow which he shoots against you' (Stanislas Guyard, 'Mohammedanism,' in *Encycl. Brit.* xvi. 571). Another metaphor in the OT is that a man's home circle (?) is his quiver, and his sons, born while he himself is still young, are his arrows (Ps 127[5]); cf. La 3[13], where, conversely, arrows are called 'sons of the quiver' (RVm).

3. In the Pr. Bk. version Ps 11[2] reads '[They] make ready their arrows *within the quiver*' (עַל יֶתֶר *'al yether*). This translation, though supported by LXX (*εἰς φαρέτραν*) and Vulg., is wrong. AV and RV (so Pesh.) have rightly 'upon the string.'

4. Ancient authority is strong for translating שְׁלָטִים *shēlāṭîm*, 'shields' (EV) as 'quivers' (2 S 8[7] =1 Ch 18[7], 2 K 11[10]=2 Ch 23[9], Ca 4[4], Jer 51[11], Ezk 27[11]). The latter rendering suits Jer 51[11] 'fill *the quivers*,' but it is more probable that in all these passages שְׁלָטִים has the more general meaning, 'arms, equipment' (cf. *Expository Times*, x. (1898) 43 ff.). W. EMERY BARNES.

QUOTATIONS.—In OT there are few definite quotations, but the Bible writers freely introduced matter which they found ready to hand. Several books, such as those of the Hexateuch, Jg, 1 and 2 S, etc., are made up, in fact, of previously existing documents (see HEXATEUCH, etc.). Shorter extracts are also frequent, esp. poems, such as the Song of Lamech (Gn 4[23. 24]), the Blessing of Jacob (Gn 49[2-27]), the Song and the Blessing of Moses (Ex 15[2-18], Dt 33[2-29]), etc.; or portions of songs, as Jos 10[12b-13a]. In a few instances only is the source mentioned, as 'the Bk. of Jashar' (Jos 10[13b], 2 S 1[18], 1 K 8[53] LXX), 'the Bk. of the Wars of J"' (Nu 21[14]). Sometimes they were probably popular songs handed down by oral tradition (Nu 21[17]). Often a writer incorporates the language of an earlier writer, as frequently throughout the Psalms, so much so that certain phrases came to be traditional, such as 'praise ye J",' 'for His mercy endureth for ever.' It is not always certain whether passages common to two writers are copied from one by the other, or are both taken from one common source, as Is 2[2-4]=Mic 4[1-3], which is evidently foreign to the context of Is (note the minatory tone of 2[5-22]), and, if taken by Isaiah from Micah, proves Is 2 to have been written not earlier than Hezekiah's reign (cf. Jer 26[18] with Mic 3[12] contextually connected with Mic 4[1]), and is therefore believed by many to belong to some earlier unknown document. It is also probable that Is 15-16[12] is derived from an earlier source (see 16[13]), and such passages suggest the inquiry whether the insertion of earlier material by biblical writers may not have been much more frequent than is commonly supposed.

i. QUOTATIONS FROM OT IN NT.—These are very frequent and very various in character. Turpie puts them at 275; but this does not include the very great number of passages incorporated into the language of NT writers, esp. in the Apocalypse.

A. Quotations are *usually from LXX*—(*a*) even though differing more or less considerably from MT (1) in pointing, as Ac 15[17] [Am 9[12]] (אָדָם 'man' for אֱדֹם 'Edom'), He 11[21] [Gn 47[31]] (מִטָּה 'staff' for מִטָּה 'bed'); (2) in reading, as Ac 15[17] (יִדְרְשׁוּ 'seek' for יִירְשׁוּ 'possess') (Ac 2[27] [Ps 16[10]] agrees with LXX in following Kerê חָסִידְךָ 'Thy holy one' for Kethibh חֲסִידֶיךָ 'Thy holy ones'); (3) by a probably inaccurate tr. of words, as Ac 2[27] [Ps 16[10]] (*διαφθορά* 'destruction' for שַׁחַת 'pit'), Ro 10[20] [Is 65[1]] (*ἐμφανὴς ἐγενόμην* 'I was made manifest' for נִדְרַשְׁתִּי 'I was sought'); and of phrases, as He 2[6-8] [Ps 8[4-6]] (*ἠλάττωσας αὐτὸν βραχύ τι παρ' ἀγγέλους* 'Thou madest him a little lower than the angels' for וַתְּחַסְּרֵהוּ מְעַט מֵאֱלֹהִים 'Thou hast made him but little lower than God'); (4) by other differences which cannot easily be accounted for, but are probably due to various readings, as Ro 9[27. 28] [Is 10[22. 23]], where, besides other variations, LXX seems to have read יִוָּשַׁע for יָשׁוּב, and דָּבָר for כָּלָיוֹן and כָּלָה, and in He 10[37. 38] [Hab 2[3. 4]], where LXX probably read עלפה (with 531 K) for יָעְפְּלָה, and חָפְצָה for יָשְׁרָה. In He 10[5] [Ps 40[7]] it was suggested by Kennicott that אָזְנִים (Heb. text) is a corruption of אז גוה (LXX). If so, it would seem probable that אז itself was inserted by error from the following line, and that LXX read גוה only; but the Heb. reading with all its difficulty better suits the context, the contrast being between obedience and sacrifice (cf. 1 S 15[22]). (*b*) Sometimes when the argument depends on LXX as distinct from Heb., as in He 1[7] [Ps 104[4]], where Heb. = 'Who maketh for his messengers winds, for his ministers a flaming fire.' Cf. also Ac 2[27], He 2[7] 10[5]. (*c*) Generally even by writers conversant with the Heb. as St. Paul and St. John (see I, *f*, *h*). (*d*) To a large extent even when the quotation points to a knowledge of Heb., showing that the writer, even though he had the Heb. before him, or in his mind, still reproduced in part the familiar language of LXX, as Mt 2[18] [Jer 31 (38)[15]] (*κλαυθμὸς καὶ ὀδυρμός*, LXX *κλαυθμοῦ κ. ὀδυρμοῦ*), 12[18-21] [Is 42[1-4]], where after a quotation, which is an independent tr. of Heb. differing in almost every word from LXX, the last verse agrees exactly with LXX, though the latter follows a different text in all three words (*κ. ἐν* [LXX *ἐπὶ*] *τ. ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ ἔθνη ἐλπιοῦσι* 'and in his name shall the Gentiles hope' for וְלִתּוֹרָתוֹ אִיִּים יְיַחֵלוּ 'and the isles shall wait for his law'). It is also possible that this may be the insertion of an early editor of Mt, or a various reading of Heb. followed also by LXX (see J, *a*; cf. Ro 9[9]).

B. Quotations are occasionally *independent translations from the Heb.*—(*a*) because they were so found in the documents which the writer incorporates, as Lk 1[17] [Mal 3[1] and 4[5. 6]] (*ἑτοιμάσαι*—פַּנֵּה for LXX *ἐπιβλέψεται*; *ἐπιστρέψαι*—הֵשִׁיב for *ἀποκαταστήσει*; *πατέρων*—אֲבוֹת for *πατρός*), 2[23] (see J, *a*); (*b*) for the sake of the argument, as Jn 19[37] [Zec 12[10]] (*εἰς ὃν ἐξεκέντησαν*—אֵת אֲשֶׁר דָּקָרוּ for *ἀνθ' ὧν κατωρχήσαντο* from variant וְרָקְדוּ, Ro 9[17] [Ex 9[16]], where St. Paul prefers the rendering of הֶעֱמַדְתִּיךָ by *ἐξήγειρά σε* 'did I raise thee up' to *διετηρήθης* 'thou wast preserved,' Ro 12[19] [Dt 32[35]] (*ἐμοὶ ἐκδίκησις*—לִי נָקָם for *ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἐκδικήσεως*); (*c*) probably because the writer was better acquainted with the Heb. of the book quoted *memoriter*, as Ro 11[4] etc. (see I, *h*).

C. The only quotations *in Aramaic or Hebrew-Aramaic* are the words on the Cross, Mt 27[46], Mk 15[34] (see I, *a* (1), (2)), unless we include the words *μαρὰν ἀθά* 'our Lord cometh' (1 Co 16[22]), probably a well-known Christian salutation. See MARANATHA.

D. Some few quotations are based upon *an Aramaic interpretation of the Hebrew*, and suggest the inquiry whether they and others also may not possibly be derived from some intermediate source of the nature of a Targum; or whether, on the other hand, the interpretation was merely influenced by current Aram. usage. Had an Englishman of to-day to translate Milton's 'silly sheep' into French, he would very probably give the first word its modern meaning. In 1 Co 15^{54} [Is 25^{8}] לָנֶצַח 'for ever' is translated according to the Aram. meaning of the root *εἰς νῖκος* 'in victory.' In 1 Co 2^{9} [Is $64^{3.4}$] מְחַכֶּה 'that waiteth for' is apparently read as Aram. מחבב 'that loveth' [but see J, *α*]. It is possible that Mt $2^{6.23}$ should be traced to some sort of Targumic influence, or at any rate some current traditional interpretation, with which the evangelist's readers were familiar. In the first the words *οὐδαμῶς ἐλαχίστη* seem an intentional emphatic denial of the original words [Mic 5^{2}]. Bethlehem had by the very fact of Messiah's birth become *by no means* the least. Ἡγεμόσιν is either from a variant (see J, *α*), or at any rate a less literal translation. But the substitution of *γῇ Ἰούδα* for 'land of Ephratah' looks like a slip of memory, and suggests that the whole is a bold paraphrase of the evangelist himself (for parallels see G). Mt 2^{23} is evidently from Is 11^{1} (נֵצֶר 'branch' being from the same root as *Ναζωραῖος* 'Nazarene'), and suggests a traditional interpretation of the passage in this sense.

E. Apart from B, C, and D, variations from LXX are due to (*a*) *slips of memory*, (*b*) *errors of transcription*, (*c*) *literary corrections*, (*d*) *exegetical alterations*. But it is not always easy to determine which, or in case of (*c*) and (*d*) to say how far they were intentional. In quotations from memory, and even in those copied, there is a natural tendency to correct, unconsciously, according to familiar language and familiar ideas. We should probably be right, when quotations are short, in assigning to (*a*) verbal changes, considerable perhaps in number, but unimportant in their bearing, as Jn 1^{23} [Is 40^{3}] (*ἑτοιμάσατε τ. ὁδὸν Κυρίου, εὐθείας ποιεῖτε τ. τρίβους τ. θεοῦ ἡμῶν* becomes the single phrase *εὐθύνατε τ. ὁδὸν Κυρίου*, which gives the full sense more briefly). Probably *Βαβυλῶνος* for *Δαμάσκου* in Ac 7^{43} [Am 5^{27}] is a slip of memory of either St. Stephen or his reporter, the two captivities being confused (cf. the error about the burial-places of the patriarchs in 7^{16}). We have a striking example of (*b*) in He 3^{9} [Ps 95^{9}], where *ἐν δοκιμασίᾳ* is read for *ἐδοκίμασαν* (LXX), the error being facilitated by *ἐν τ. παραπικρασμῷ* above (unless it is an error of a very early copyist). Under (*c*) we should class corrections of Hebraisms and other clumsy constructions, as Lk 3^{5} [Is 40^{4}], where *εὐθεῖαν* (*ὁδόν*) is altered so as to agree with *ὁδούς* added by St. Luke in the next phrase, and *ἡ τραχεῖα* into *αἱ τραχεῖαι*. In He 8^{10} 10^{16} [Jer 31^{33}] *δώσω* is omitted so as to give *διδούς* its proper participial construction (cf. Lk 8^{10}). To this head we might also refer rhetorical expansions, such as the insertion of *λέγει ὁ θεός* or the like in Ac 2^{17} 7^{49}, Ro 12^{19} (in He 10^{30} spurious) 14^{11}, 1 Co 14^{21}, 2 Co 6^{17}. To (*d*) would belong the very frequent changes of person, tense, etc., so as to make the quotation more directly applicable. Thus in 2 Co 6^{18} [2 S $7^{8.14}$] *αὐτῷ* and *αὐτός* become *ὑμῖν* and *ὑμεῖς*, and *υἱόν* is boldly changed into *υἱοὺς κ. θυγατέρας*, so that Nathan's words respecting David's son become a promise of God to Christians (cf. Ac 1^{20}). In Lk 23^{46} [Ps 31^{5}] the future *παραθήσομαι* naturally becomes the present *παρατίθεμαι* in the mouth of our Lord, and in Mk 14^{27} (Mt 26^{31}) [Zec 13^{7}] the imper. *πατάξατε* becomes the ind. 1st pers. fut. because the action is referred by Christ to God Himself. Sometimes words are added to give a special turn to the quotation, as *τὸν ἀγρον* in Mt 27^{10} [Zec 11^{13}] to refer to the field bought with Judas' money (unless this is a variant of Heb.; see J, *α*). In He 10^{37} [Hab 2^{3}] the insertion of *ὁ* converts a Hebraism into a Messianic prophecy. Sometimes words are omitted, and so the quotation gets a more general and dogmatic character, as with *μοῦ* in Ro 1^{17}, Gal 3^{11} [Hab 2^{4}] (in He 10^{38} it is transposed). Apparently it had already become a common doctrinal formula. In Gal 3^{13} [Dt 21^{23}] the omission of *ὑπὸ θεοῦ* makes the statement a general principle, or it may be due to reverence (see Lightfoot, *in loc.*). Still more frequently words were altered. In Gal 4^{30} [Gn 21^{10}] the substitution of *τ. ἐλευθέρας* for *μου Ἰσαάκ* brings out more forcibly the contrast between bondage and freedom. In 1 Co 3^{20} [Ps 94^{11}] the quotation would be far less applicable without the correction of *ἀνθρώπων* into *σοφῶν*. St. Paul, no doubt, felt the verse to imply that, however wise men might be, God saw their folly. In Eph 4^{8} [Ps 68^{18}] *ἔλαβες . . . ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ* is boldly altered into *ἔδωκε . . . τ. ἀνθρώποις*, the latter being probably regarded as an inference from the former, and the statement of v.^{11} clearly depends upon St. Paul's rendering. With this we might compare Lk 21^{20} (contrast Mk 13^{14}), where the manner of fulfilment of Christ's prophecy has been read, but probably unconsciously, into the prophecy itself. Sometimes by abbreviation the words of the original come to be differently applied. Thus in 1 Co 14^{21} [Is $28^{11.12}$] the words represented by *κ. οὐδ' οὕτως εἰσακούσονταί μου* are made to refer to 'other tongues,' etc., instead of to the refusal to listen to the words of kindness spoken by God through the prophet to which the 'other tongues' stand in direct contrast. In Ac 3^{22} the phrase *κατὰ πάντα ὅσα* is applied quite differently from its original in Dt 18^{16}. In 1 P $3^{14.15}$ [Is $8^{12.13}$], by changing *αὐτόν* to *τ. Χριστόν*, the words are applied to those addressed in the Epistle, but the passage is not cited as a quotation. Even supposing that such changes were to a large extent unconscious, there is enough to show that the writers of NT allowed themselves the greatest freedom in their treatment of the language of OT.

F. *Combined Quotations.*—These are far commoner than is often realized, and are of various kinds. Frequently we find several passages strung together consecutively, as Ro 3^{10-18}, where there are six separate quotations so combined; cf. He 1^{5-14} etc. In Mk 11^{17} (Mt 21^{13}, Lk 19^{46}) a direct quotation from Is 56^{7} is followed by an allusion to Jer 7^{11}. So far had they been from fulfilling Isaiah's prophecy, that they were acting in the spirit of Jeremiah's contemporaries. Still more frequently different quotations are mixed together. Thus in Ro 9^{33}, St. Paul, probably quoting from his recollection of the Heb., mixed together the sayings about the stone in Is 8^{14} and in 28^{16}, giving the latter, by so doing, a sense *contrary to the original*; or the mixture may have been intentional. However precious Christ was to those who believed, He would prove to many merely a rock of stumbling. For the somewhat similar combination of Is 28^{16}, Ps 118^{22}, and Is 8^{14} in 1 P $2^{6.7}$ see H, *c*. More often the combination suggests that the quotation is made from memory, as Gal 3^{8} from Gn 12^{3} 18^{18}, Ac 3^{25} from Gn 22^{18} 12^{3}, Jn 19^{36} from Ex 12^{46} and Ps 34^{20}. The seven words of Jn 6^{31} seem derived from three distinct sources (Ps 78^{24}, Ex 16^{15} 16^{4}), and Ac 13^{22} from at least four (Ps 89^{20}, 1 S 17^{58} 13^{14} 2^{35}). Very frequently a mere phrase or even a word is inserted from a similar passage. Thus in Mt 21^{5} in a quotation from Zec 9^{9} the opening words *εἴπατε τ. θυγατρὶ Σιών* are from Is 62^{11}. Curiously enough, in the same quotation St. John ($12^{14.15}$) begins with *μὴ φοβοῦ*, apparently from Is 40^{9} (Heb.). In Lk $4^{18.19}$ [Is

$42^{1.2}$] ἀποστεῖλαι τεθραυσμένους ἐν ἀφέσει is adapted from Is 58^{6} (LXX). In Ac $3^{22.23}$ [Dt $18^{15.16.18.19}$] ψυχὴ . . . ἐξολοθρευθήσεται ἐκ τ. λαοῦ is substituted from Lv 17^{4}, this and similar phrases being common and easily remembered. In Ac $7^{6.7}$ [Gn $15^{13.14}$] ἀλλοτρίᾳ is from Ex 2^{22}. In Ac $7^{33.34}$ [Ex $3^{5.7.8.10}$] στεναγμοῦ is from Ex 2^{24}. In Ro $11^{26.27}$ [Is $59^{20.21}$] ὅταν ἀφέλωμαι τὰς ἁμαρτίας αὐτῶν is slightly altered from Is 27^{9}.

G. *Paraphrastic Quotations* (see also D and E, *d*).—In some cases the language of a passage of OT is merely paraphrased to express some new thought, as in Ro 10^{6-8}, which is based upon Dt 30^{12-14}. Here the original εἰς τ. πέραν τ. θαλάσσης is changed to εἰς τ. ἄβυσσον, to express the contrast between the descent of Christ in the Incarnation, etc., and His Resurrection, and thus to show that the inward revelation spoken of in Deut. was made possible by Christ and through faith in Him. Certain quotations are believed to be merely references to the general tenor of Scripture, as Jn 7^{38}, which some, on the other hand, regard as a paraphrase of such passages as Is 58^{11}. Similarly, Eph 5^{14} may possibly be a paraphrase of Is $60^{1.19.20}$. Some have supposed Ja 4^{5} to be a paraphrase of some such passage as Wis $6^{11.23}$, but most commentators take the words as a rhetorical question by St. James (as RV). On Mt $2^{6.23}$ see D.

H. *Indirect Quotations* (see also D).—It is quite possible that quotations, even though avowedly from Scripture, were taken *directly* from some other source. The possibility of that in 1 Co 2^{9} being from some Aram. document has been already suggested under D. It may here be further noticed that the awkwardness of the construction, unsuited to the context, makes it likely that St. Paul is quoting it as he found it ready to hand, not himself adapting it from the original. It has been thought by some that Eph 5^{14} may be a quotation from some early Christian document, but the words διὸ λέγει make this improbable (see G). It is also remarkable that some quotations are made with the same variants by different writers, or by the same writer twice. (*a*) In some cases the variant may be looked upon as traditional, as the omission of μοῦ [Hab 2^{4}] in Ro 1^{17}, Gal 3^{11}, and probably the order of the commandments in Mk 10^{19} (?), Ro 13^{9}—adultery, murder, theft—for adultery, theft, murder of Ex $20^{13ff.}$ (LXX), or murder, adultery, theft of Dt 5^{17-19} (LXX) and of both (Hebrew). (*b*) In other cases the agreement may be a coincidence. Thus Mt 18^{16}, 2 Co 13^{1} abbreviate Dt 19^{15} (LXX) in nearly the same language. This possibly had become almost a proverb. (*c*) The agreement may point to a variant in Heb., as Ro 9^{33} (10^{11}), or in LXX, as Mk 12^{26}, Ac 7^{32} (see J, *a*, *b*). (*d*) In other cases, again, one writer has presumably copied another. Thus Mt and Lk retain many of the peculiarities of the quotations of Mk. It seems likely also that 1 P $2^{6.7}$ was influenced by Ro 9^{33}. Both agree (1) in the combination of Is 28^{16} and 8^{14}; (2) in the reading ἰδοὺ τίθημι (against LXX), which can hardly be an independent translation of Heb., because, whereas St. Paul's mixed quotation is from Heb. throughout (see F), St. Peter, except when he agrees with St. Paul, follows LXX. The agreement of Ro 12^{19} and He 10^{30} with MT לִי for לִיהוָה of LXX and Sam. Pent., proves that the writer of Hebrews, who shows otherwise no knowledge of Heb., must have copied the quotations either from Romans or from some intermediate source. There are no variants of LXX. Still more remarkable is the quotation of Pr 10^{12} in 1 P 4^{8} as compared with Ja 5^{20}. In 1 P it is evidently a rather curious and independent rendering of Heb. (כל being translated by πλῆθος); the LXX is quite different. In James we have obviously a reference to this very translation. If, as is generally believed, James is earlier than 1 P, both quotations and reference are derived from some other document. (*e*) When a writer quotes a passage twice with the same variant, as in Ro 9^{33} 10^{11}, He 8^{10} 10^{16} (omission of δώσω), the most probable explanation is that he consciously or unconsciously copied his own correction.

I. *Manner of quotation in different books* (*or sources*) *of NT.*—(*a*) *Synoptic Tradition.* (1) In Mk out of 20 quotations (excluding reference in 12^{19}), of which all but one are sayings of our Lord, 16 are either exact, or very slightly altered, quotations of LXX. Of the remaining four 1^{2b} is probably an early interpolation into Synoptic tradition, not being in the corresponding place in either Mt or Lk, and breaking the obvious connexion between 1^{2a} and 1^{3}; Mk $12^{29.30}$ [Dt $6^{4.5}$] is the great שְׁמַע, which from its frequent use in devotion was probably known to Greek Jews in its Heb. form, and was hence independently translated; 14^{27} contains words of Christ which, if quoted as in LXX, would have lost all point; in 15^{34} we have words of Christ in their original Hebrew-Aramaic form. The following translation, though influenced by LXX, aims at greater literalness (εἰς τί for ἵνα τί, repetition of μου, non-addition of the curious πρόσχες μοι). It seems that the writer, while he had received and retained a few sayings of our Lord as actually uttered, generally used LXX as a matter of course. (2) Mt reproduces *all* the Synoptic quotations, except the doubtful Mk 1^{2b}, and very nearly as he finds them, but with a slight tendency (perhaps unconscious) to assimilate to LXX, Heb., or Aram., as perhaps in 19^{18} (order of LXX in Dt, of LXX and Heb. in Ex and Dt), 22^{32} (+εἰμι LXX), 22^{37} (ἐν = Heb. ב for ἐξ; διανοίᾳ, a LXX transl. of לֵבָב for ἰσχύος), 22^{44} (κάθου LXX), 27^{46} (אֵלִי (?) Heb. and Aram. for ; לְמָה (?) Aram. for Heb. לָמָה). The following translation is a little less bold, as also the reference to Dt 25^{5} in 22^{24}. (3) Lk out of 19 Synoptic quotations (excluding Mk 1^{2b}, which Lk has in quite a different connexion) omits 8 and treats the rest with greater freedom, chiefly for literary reasons, as 3^{4-6} (where the continuation of the quotation increases the rhetorical effect. See also E, *c*). For the same purpose he abridges in 8^{10} 10^{27} 20^{17} 18^{20} 19^{46}. In the last he, *so far only*, agrees with Mt. In 10^{27} he apparently combines Mk $12^{29.30}$ and Mt 22^{37}, reading ἐξ . . . καρδίας and ἐν . . . ψυχῇ, etc., and both ἰσχύϊ and διανοίᾳ. 20^{17} is altered so as to agree exactly with LXX. The word κάθου in 20^{43}, though also in Mt, probably comes therefore from the same source. (*b*) *The portions common to Mt and Lk and not to Mk.* Quotations are found only in the account of the Temptation (Mt $4^{4.6.7.10}$, Lk $4^{4.10.11.12.8}$), and are based in both on LXX. The 1st quotation is exact in Lk, in Mt longer, and *part only*, that not common with Lk, varies from LXX; the 2nd is abbreviated in both, but esp. Mt, which omits the whole clause τοῦ διαφυλάξαι σε—ὁδοῖς σου, Lk retaining the first three words. Both split up the quotation into two parts, Mt adding καί before ἐπί, Lk καὶ ὅτι. The third is exact in both. In the fourth *both* substitute προσκυνήσεις for φοβηθήσῃ. The kind of assimilation thus exhibited, in connexion with the difference in the order of the temptations, suggests that in both the quotations were taken, not from LXX, but from some other common source, probably preserved by oral tradition. (*c*) *Original quotations of Mt.* These exhibit considerable variety of character, 3 only (27^{35b} is an interpolation from Jn 19^{24}) being derived from LXX, 21^{16} [Ps 8^{2}] exactly, where Heb. יִּסַּד was inappropriate, or at least ambiguous; 1^{23} [Is 7^{14}] (notice, besides the doubtful παρθένος, ἐν γαστρί, Ἐμμανουήλ so spelt) with several alterations, prob-

ably through fault of memory; 18^{16} (adds *πᾶν* before *ῥῆμα*) much abridged. The rest are from the Heb., as 2^{15} 8^{17}, though often showing the influence of LXX (see A, *d*), as 2^{18} 11^{10} $12^{18\text{-}21}$ 13^{35} 21^{5}; and often very singularly paraphrased, as 2^{6} 2^{23} $27^{9.\ 10}$ (see D; E, *d*). (*d*) *Quotations of a 'Gospel of the Infancy'* (originally Aramaic?). Lk 2^{24} is, curiously enough, an exact quotation from LXX, though from Lv 5^{11}, not Lv 12^{8}, the passage actually referred to, and is probably an insertion by St. Luke into the earlier translation of an original Aram. document; 1^{17} is a paraphrastic reference to Mal $4^{5.\ 6}$ 3^{1}, based on Heb. (see B); 2^{23} depends apparently on a variant of Heb. (see J, *a*). (*e*) *The Original quotations of Lk,* 4^{18} and 23^{46}, are both from LXX; the first a combination of Is $61^{1.\ 2}$ 58^{6}, with a slight change of order and construction, the second with necessary alteration of the text. (*f*) *St. John's Gospel.* Quotations are marked by brevity and freedom, with a tendency to attach more importance to mystical and hidden meanings than to the literal sense of the words; usually from LXX, as $10^{3.\ 4}$ 12^{38}, but occasionally from Heb., as 13^{18} 19^{37} (see B), in both of which differences between LXX and Heb. are very great; but often so unlike either as to make it uncertain which the writer had in his mind, as 12^{40} (*ἰάσομαι* LXX, but see J, *a*). On 7^{38} see G. Combined quotations are frequent (see F), as 6^{31} $12^{14.\ 15}$ 15^{25} [Ps 35^{19} or 69^{4} and 109^{3}] 19^{36}. There are only 4 quotations common to any of the Synoptists, 1^{23} 8^{17} 12^{15} 12^{40} (Mt 27^{35} is spurious); of these the second and third to Mt only. In all there is an independent rendering, and in 12^{15} a different combination. (*g*) *The Acts.* Quotations are all from LXX, often quite exact, as in the long quotations, $2^{25\text{-}28}$ $2^{34.\ 35}$; though differing greatly from Heb., as $7^{42.\ 43}$; sometimes following a different text, as $15^{16.\ 17}$ (see A, *a* (1) (2)); frequently abbreviated, as 1^{20} $3^{22.\ 23}$ 7^{40} 13^{34} 13^{41} $15^{16.\ 17}$; sometimes expanded, as $2^{17\text{-}21}$ (for literary effect), and often combined, as 3^{25} 13^{22} etc. (see F). On $7^{42.\ 43}$ see E, *a*. (*h*) *St. Paul's Epistles.* Quotations are usually from LXX, as Ro $9^{27.\ 28}$, but knowledge is shown of Heb., as Ro 9^{17} (see B, *b*) 10^{15} (*ὡραῖοι*) 11^{4} 12^{19}. In Ro, and to a less extent in 1 Co, the quotations from Pent. and Ps are very largely exact from LXX; those from the prophetical and historical books vary considerably from LXX, are usually free, but often contain elements from Hebrew. It would seem probable that the former are usually *copied* from LXX, the rest *quoted memoriter*. In Ro, out of 31 quotations from Pent. and Ps, only 9 are not practically exact, and of those $10^{6\text{-}8}$ is a mere paraphrase, and Ro 9^{17} 12^{19} are intentionally taken from Heb.; out of 22 quotations from hist. and proph. books only 3 are exact. In 1 Co, out of 9 quotations from Pent. and Ps, 4 are exact; out of 9 from hist. and proph. books, only one. The change of *ἀνθρώπων* to *σοφῶν* in 3^{20} [Ps 94^{11}], though difficult, is probably intentional (see E, *d*). The distinction here pointed out is remarkably illustrated in Ro $3^{10\text{-}18}$, where the single quotation from Is ($59^{7.\ 8}$, Pr 1^{16} is not in LXX) has 2 important variants from LXX, *ὀξεῖς* (LXX *ταχινοί*) and *ἔγνωσαν* (LXX *οἴδασιν*), suggesting a *memoriter* quotation, whereas the 5 quotations from Ps are practically exact from LXX. In Ro 3^{10}, Ec 7^{20} is combined, by probably a slip of memory, with the phrase *οὐδὲ εἷς* from Ps 14^{3} or 53^{3} (Heb. LXX has *οὐκ ἔστιν ἕως ἑνός*). Of the other Hagiographa, Pr $25^{21.\ 22a}$ is quoted from LXX exactly in Ro 12^{20}, Job 5^{13} from Heb. in 1 Co 3^{19}. For the remarkable quotation in 1 Co 2^{9} see H. In the other Epistles the quotations are too few to make any satisfactory generalizations possible. On Eph 4^{8} 5^{14} see E, *d*, and G, H. (*i*) *Epistle to the Hebrews.* With the exception of 10^{30} (see H), quotations are all from LXX, very numerous and generally exact, suggesting that variations are either intentional alterations, as 8^{10} (10^{16}) 10^{38} (see E, *c*, *d*), or errors of transcription, as 3^{9} (see E, *b*). We have, however, most probably memoriter quotations in 9^{20}, where *τοῦτο* for *ἰδού* looks like an unconscious imitation of the words of institution (cf. Mk 14^{24} etc.), and 12^{20}, where *θηρίον* for *κτῆνος* can hardly be regarded as an independent translation of בְּהֵמָה. (*j*) *St. James.* Of six possible quotations, three, 2^{8} 2^{23} 4^{6}, are certainly from LXX, and nearly exact; 2^{11} may possibly be an independent translation of Heb.; 5^{20} is certainly so, but is probably from some intermediate source (see H); 4^{5}, if a quotation at all, is from an unknown source (see G). (*k*) *First Ep. of St. Peter.* Though quotations are taken partly, but seldom very exactly, from LXX, as 2^{9} $3^{10\text{-}12}$ $3^{14.\ 15}$ (see E, *d*), the influence of the Heb. is frequently apparent, as $1^{24.\ 25}$ [Is $40^{6\text{-}8}$] (*αὐτῆς* for *ἀνθρώπου* of LXX), 2^{22} [Is 53^{9}] (*εὑρέθη δόλος* for *δόλον*), 4^{8} (where LXX is quite different, but see H). $2^{6.\ 7}$ is probably connected, directly or indirectly, with Ro 9^{33}, and proves little (see H). (*l*) *Second Ep. of St. Peter.* The only quotation, 2^{22}, is from Heb., nearly every word differing from LXX. (*m*) *The Apocalypse* contains no definite quotations, but is full of the thoughts and ideas and even language of OT. This last seems in general to point to Heb. rather than to LXX, as in 1^{6}, where *βασιλείαν, ἱερεῖς* is evidently a translation of מַמְלָכֶת כֹּהֲנִים Ex 19^{6} (LXX has *βασίλειον ἱεράτευμα*), 1^{7} (*μετά*, with Aram. of Dn 7^{13}, for LXX *ἐπί*; *οἵτινες αὐτὸν ἐξεκέντησαν*, from Zec 12^{10}, for *ἀνθ' ὧν κατωρχήσαντο*, cf. Jn 19^{37}), 1^{15} (suggested by Dn 10^{6}) which has no special LXX word. So 11^{4} (cf. Zec $4^{2.\ 3.\ 14}$) 14^{8} [cf. Is 21^{9}] 14^{8} [cf. Jl 3^{13}]. In 6^{15} we find the phrase *πᾶς δοῦλος καὶ ἐλεύθερος* instead of *συνεχόμενος κ. ἐγκαταλελειμμένος* of 1 K 21^{21} (LXX 20^{21}). On the other hand, there are some signs of direct or indirect LXX influence, as in 2^{7} (*παραδείσῳ*, Gn 2^{8} etc.) 6^{14} (*βιβλίον*, cf. Is 34^{4} LXX) 18^{2} (*δαιμονίων*, cf. Is 13^{21} LXX), etc.

J. *The bearing of NT quotations on textual criticism.*—(*a*) When a quotation agrees with Heb. but has a single word or phrase agreeing with LXX, this may have come, not from LXX itself, but *from a various reading of Heb.*, followed also by LXX. Thus in Jn 12^{40} *ἰάσωμαι* may point to a variant אֶרְפָּא for רָפָא. In Mt 12^{21} the words *κ. ἐν τ. ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ ἔθνη ἐλπιοῦσι*, agreeing exactly with LXX (though so different from Heb.), whereas all the earlier part of the quotation follows a totally different rendering of Heb., may point to בְּשָׁמוֹ גוֹיִם יְיַחֵלוּ; but see A, *d*. Even where a quotation differs more or less from both LXX and Heb. the difference may have arisen from a various reading of the latter. Thus in Mt 2^{6} *ἡγεμόσιν* is often referred to a reading אַלְפֵי for אֶלֶף (see D). Lk 2^{23} points to a reading יִתְקַדֵּשׁ קָדֶשׁ־לִי כָּל־בְּכוֹר for לִי כָל־זָכָר; Ro 9^{33} [Is 28^{16}] (10^{11}) to הַמַּאֲמִין לֹא יָחִישׁ for הַמַּאֲמִין לֹא יָבוֹשׁ. Even if the insertion of לֹו is merely a mental error, it shows that St. Paul had the Hebrew in his mind, and therefore got *καταισχυνθήσεται*, not from LXX *καταισχυνθῇ*, but from יָבוֹשׁ, which LXX also reads. Mt $27^{9.\ 10}$ may have been based on a text reading אֶל בֵּית הַיּוֹצֵר, with 590, 168, 251, K 2, R, for אֶל הַיּוֹצֵר (but see E, *d*), and possibly " כַּרְכַּר for " בֵּית. It is important also to notice that Mt does not support the otherwise probable reading of אוֹצָר 'treasury' for יוֹצֵר 'potter.' 1 Co 2^{9} seems originally due to a difference of text, וּלְחָה אֱלֹהִים for וּ עָשָׂה אֱלֹהִים, שָׁמְעוּ לֹא הָאָזִינוּ for שָׁמְעָה הָאָזֶן, and לְמַחְבֵּא for לְמַחְבֶּה (see D) (on Mt 2^{6} see D, and on Mt 12^{21} see A, *d*). (*b*) When a quotation follows LXX almost exactly, but agrees with Heb. in a word or phrase, it raises the suspicion that it follows *a different reading of LXX*, as in Ac 13^{47} [Is 49^{6}] (*τέθεικα* for *δέδωκα* of LXX, and

omission of *εἰς διαθήκην γένους*, which is apparently an interpolation from Is 49[8]); in Mk 12[26], Ac 7[32] (omission of *εἰμι*; the ultra-Hellenistic speech of St. Stephen is the last place to suspect the influence of Heb. text). The mere fact of a certain number of MSS of LXX agreeing with a quotation is of practically no importance, because they were so frequently altered into agreement with NT quotations. We have the most striking example in Ps 14[3] (13[3] LXX), where the whole cento of quotations in Ro 3[13-18] has found its way into B and some other MSS of LXX, and hence through the Vulg. into the English Prayer-Book Psalter. (*c*) It is just possible that quotations may throw light on questions connected with the text of NT itself, as He 3[9]; see E, *b*.

ii. QUOTATIONS IN NT FROM THE APOCRYPHA AND PSEUDEPIGRAPHICAL JEWISH LITERATURE.—These are not cited as Scripture, and with the exception of Jude [14] [*Bk. of Enoch* i. 9, tr. by R. H. Charles, Oxford] are not directly cited at all; but there are several references, such as in Lk 12[16-20] (cf. Sir 11[18. 19]) 14[7-10] (cf. Sir 13[9. 10]), Jn 6[35] (cf. Sir 24[21]), Ro 12[15] (cf. Sir 7[34]), He 1[3] (Wis 7[26]) 4[12. 13] (cf. Wis 7[22-29]), Ja 1[19] (Sir 5[11]).

iii. QUOTATIONS FROM PAGAN WRITERS.—These are very few, and not always easily recognized. Thus that of Ac 17[28b] is found both in Aratus, *Phænom.* 5, and in the *hymn* of Cleanthes *to Zeus*, 5. The quotation in 1 Co 15[33] is mentioned by Lucian, *Am.* 43, as a saying of Menander from his *Thais*. The quotation of Tit 1[12] is said by early Christian writers to come from a lost work of Epimenides, called *περὶ χρησμῶν*, but is now found in the *hymn* of Callimachus (an Alexandrian poet of 3rd cent. B.C.) *to Zeus*, 8. In 1 Co 12[12-27] we have probably a reference to the fable of Menenius Agrippa. But it is very uncertain whether these quotations, etc., point to a wide knowledge of pagan literature on St. Paul's part, or would not rather from their proverbial character have been generally known by men of very moderate culture (see Farrar's *Life of St. Paul*, vol. i. Exc. iii.).

LITERATURE.—Turpie, *The OT in the New* is, in spite of the one-sided aims of the writer and many inaccuracies, a very useful book when used with proper reference to good critical editions and commentaries, and has been of great service in writing this article. The quotations of OT are taken from *OT in Greek*, edited by H. B. Swete, Cambridge, those of NT usually from the revised text of Greek Test., Oxford. See also L. Cappellus, *Quæst. de loc. parall. Vet. et Nov. Test.* 1650; Surenhusius, סֵפֶר הַמִּשְׁיָר *sive βίβλος καταλλαγῆς*, 1713; Roepe, *de Vet. Test. Loc. in apost. libr. allegatione*, 1827; Tholuck, *Das Alt. Test. i. NT*[3], 1849; Kautzsch, *de Vet. Test. loc. a Paulo allegatis*, 1869; C. Taylor, *The Gospel in the Law*, 1869; Monnet, *Les citations de l'anc. test. d. les ép. de S. Paul*, 1874; Böhl, *AT Citate in NT*, 1878; Toy, *Quotations in the NT*, 1884; Vollmer, *Die AT Citate bei Paulus*, 1895; Johnson, *The Quotations of the New Test. from the Old*, 1896; Dittmar, *Vetus Test. in Novo*, i. 1899; cf. also Jowett, *St. Paul's Epistles*[3], 1894, vol. i. 185 ff.; Swete, *Introd. to Old Test. in Greek*, 1900, p. 381 ff.; and Thackeray, *St. Paul and Contemp. Jewish Thought*, 1900, p. 181 ff.; and for special NT books, Allen, 'The OT Quotations in St. Mark' in *Expos. Times*, Jan. 1901 (xii. 187), and 'The OT Quotations in St. Matthew,' *Expos. Times*, March 1901 (xii. 281); Lightfoot, *Notes on Epistles of St. Paul*, pp. 176 ff., 216 f.; Westcott, *Hebrews*, p. 67 ff.; Mayor, *James*, p. lxix ff. The subject is dealt with in all the Manuals for Bible study.

F. H. WOODS.

R

RAAMA (רַעְמָא only 1 Ch 1[9]) or **RAAMAH** (רַעְמָה).—Son of Cush and father of Sheba (Saba) and Dedan (Gn 10[7], 1 Ch 1[9]), also mentioned by Ezekiel (27[22]) as a trading community by the side of Sheba. The LXX (in Gn A Ῥεγχμά; in 1 Ch BA Ῥεγμά; in Ezk B Ῥαμά, AQ Ῥαγμά) identified the word with *Regma*, mentioned as a *city* by Ptolemy (vi. 7, 14) on the Persian Gulf, which is probably identical with Regma, which Steph. Byz. (ed. Westermann, p. 242) describes as a city or a *gulf* in the Persian Gulf. This latter form of the word (in most MSS practically indistinguishable from the other) may very well be Greek, meaning 'breach.' The above identification is accepted by most authorities, including Glaser (*Skizze*, ii. 325), who adds, however (p. 252), that the name is spelt in inscriptions with a *jim*. It is at present impossible to say whether there is any connexion between the place mentioned by the Greek geographers and the tribe mentioned in Genesis or not. Dillmann thinks Raama may be the Ῥαμμανῖται of Strabo (XVI. iv. 24), in S. Arabia, N.W. of *Chatramotitæ* (= Ḥaḍramaut; see HAZARMAVETH).

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

RAAMIAH (רַעַמְיָה; B Ναμιά, A Ῥεελμά).—One of the twelve chiefs who returned with Zerubbabel, Neh 7[7]. In the parallel passage, Ezr 2[2], the name is **Reelaiah** (רְעֶלָיָה, B Ῥεελειά, A Ῥεελίας), and in 1 Es 5[8] RESAIAS (which see). It is impossible to decide with certainty what was the original reading, although רעליה probably represents it more nearly than רעמיה.

RAAMSES, RAMESES (רַעַמְסֵס Ex 1[11]; רַעְמְסֵס Gn 47[11], Ex 12[37]; LXX Ῥαμεσσή [D om. in Gn 47[11]]).—The city of Raamses was, like Pithom, built by the Israelites for the Pharaoh of the Oppression (Ex 1[11]), who has been shown by Dr. Naville's discovery of the site of Pithom to have been Ramses II. of the 19th dynasty (see PITHOM). It was from Raamses or Rameses that the Israelites started when they fled from Egypt; and as the next stage in their journey was Succoth (Ex 12[37]), Raamses could not have been far from Pithom. It must also have been in the land of Goshen, as is indeed expressly stated in Gn 47[11], where Goshen is called proleptically 'the land of Rameses.' According to LXX of Gn 46[28] 'the land of Rameses' [D om.] included also Heroopolis or Pithom.

Qosem or Goshen was the capital of the 20th nome of Lower Egypt, and is now represented by Saft el-Henna, at the western end of the Wady Tumilât, north of Belbês, and a little to the east of Zagazig. The 8th nome, of which Pithom was the capital, adjoined the 20th to the east. We should therefore probably look for the site of Raamses somewhere between Belbês and Tel el-Maskhûta. The latter was identified with Raamses by Lepsius, and the identification was perpetuated for a time in the name of Ramses given to the place by the French engineers during the construction of the Fresh-water Canal. Dr. Naville's excavations proved, however, that Tel el-Maskhûta is Pithom, and consequently the site of Raamses must be sought elsewhere.

The city is mentioned in the Egyptian texts. We learn from them that it was built, like Pithom, by Ramses II., from whom it derived its name; and a letter of the scribe Panbesa, translated by Brugsch (*History of Egypt*, Eng. tr. ii. pp. 96–98) and Goodwin (*RP*, 1st ser. vi. p. 11 ff.), gives a long and glowing description of it. Its canals are said to be 'rich in fish, its lakes swarm with birds, its meadows are green with vegetables.' The canal

on the banks of which it stood communicated with the sea, and was called Pa-shet-Hor, 'the mere of Horus.' Brugsch at one time wished to identify it with Tanis (Zoan), where there seems to have been a Pi-Ramessu or 'temple of Ramses,' erected by Ramses II., but the discovery of the position of Pithom obliged him to change his mind. An unedited papyrus in the possession of M. Golénischeff, moreover, distinguishes it from Tanis, and places it between Tanis and Zaru (on the eastern frontier) in a list of the towns of the Delta. 'The land of Rameses' seems to have taken its name from the city.

LITERATURE.—Jacques de Rougé, *Géographie ancienne de la Basse-Égypte*, 1891; H. Brugsch, *Dictionnaire géographique de l'ancienne Égypte*, 1879; Dillmann-Ryssel on Ex 1[11]; Driver in Hogarth's *Authority and Archæology*, 1899, p. 55; Ball, *Light from the East*, p. 109 f.

A. H. SAYCE.

RABBAH.—1. (רַבָּה; Jos 13[25] B Ἀράδ, A Ῥαββά; 2 S 11[1] 12[27. 29] Ῥαββάθ; 1 Ch 20[1] Ῥαββάν; Am 1[14] Ῥαββά; Jer 49[30][3] Ῥαββάθ; Ezk 25[5] τὴν πόλιν τοῦ Ἀμμών), or more fully **Rabbath-benē-Ammon**= 'Rabbah of the children of Ammon' (רַבַּת בְּנֵי עַמּוֹן; Dt 3[11] ἡ ἄκρα τῶν υἱῶν Ἀμμών; 2 S 12[26] 17[27], Ezk 21[20] Ῥα(β)βὰθ υἱῶν Ἀμμών, Jer 49[30][2] Ῥαββάθ). The chief and, in fact, the only city of the Ammonites mentioned in the OT. It was situated about 25 miles N.E. of the north end of the Dead Sea, in the fruitful valley which forms the upper course of the Jabbok (*ez-Zerḳa*), now called the *Wâdy 'Ammān* (Buhl, *GAP* 48, 260 f.). Under Ptolemy II. (Philadelphus) the city was rebuilt and called Philadelphia, but the original name seems never to have been completely lost, and is still preserved in the modern *'Ammān*.

Apart from the isolated notice in Dt 3[11], where a passing reference is made to it as the site of the bed or sarcophagus of Og king of Bashan, and the statement in Jos 13[25] that it lay outside the eastern border of the tribe of Gad on the east of Jordan, no allusion is made in the OT to the capital of the Ammonites until the reign of David. According to the narrative of 2 S 10[1]–11[1] 12[26-31] (which appears in a condensed and less accurate form in 8[2f.], see SAMUEL, BOOKS OF) an embassy was sent by David to condole with Hanun king of Ammon on the death of his father Nahash. The envoys, however, were grossly insulted by the Ammonite king and his servants, who, in view of the growing power of the Israelite monarch, were inclined, perhaps not unnaturally, to suspect the motives of his embassy. This treatment of the envoys could have but one result, and the Ammonites therefore at once summoned to their aid those southern tribes of the Aramæans who were their more immediate neighbours on the east of Jordan. Meantime the Israelite army, under the command of Joab, had lost no time in invading the country of the Ammonites. Their intention, doubtless, was to lay siege to Rabbah itself; for though he was aware (2 S 10[7]) of the alliance between the Ammonites and Aramæans, Joab does not appear to have realized either the strength or the position of the Aramæan force that was opposed to him, until he had actually come within striking distance of the Ammonite capital (vv.[8. 9]). The Aramæans, however, as we learn from the Chronicler (1 Ch 19[7]), had penetrated as far south as Medeba, and now threatened to cut off his retreat across the Jordan. Thus hemmed in 'before and behind,' Joab perceived that his only hope of safety lay in assuming the offensive. He therefore divided his army into two, and, having entrusted Abishai with the task of holding the Ammonites in check, himself led 'all the picked men of Israel' in an attack on the more powerful Aramæans. The combined movement was completely successful: the Aramæans fled discomfited, and their example was soon followed by the Ammonites, who took refuge in Rabbah. Joab, however, did not follow up his advantage, but retired with the army to Jerusalem. In the following year David took the field in person against the Aramæans, who had reassembled under Shobach, captain of the host of Hadadezer, at Helam (probably not far from Damascus), and defeated them with great slaughter (vv.[15-19]). The way was now clear for the renewal of the war with the Ammonites, and Joab, with the whole army and the ark (11[11]), was despatched across the Jordan to ravage the land of the Ammonites, and to lay siege to Rabbah (11[1]). If, as the biblical narrative seems to imply, both the sons of Bathsheba were born during this period, the siege of Rabbah must have lasted nearly two years. The aim of the besiegers was doubtless to starve out the city, rather than to take it by storm (11[20. 21]): the actual fighting was probably confined to the occasions on which the beleaguered garrison attempted a sortie. It was by exposing Uriah the Hittite to one of these sallies that Joab was able to effect David's plan for getting rid of the former (vv.[15-17]).

The fate of the city was finally sealed by the capture of the spring of water from which the inhabitants derived their water supply (12[27] reading עַיִן הַמָּיִם 'spring of waters' for עִיר הַמָּיִם 'city of waters,' so Klostermann; but see Cheyne [*Expos. Times*, Sept. 1898, p. 143 f.], who would read here and in the preceding verse עִיר מַלְכֹם 'the city of Milcom'): only in this way can we harmonize Joab's message (v.[27f.]) with the phrase 'the royal city' (עִיר הַמַּמְלָכָה) in v.[26]. By the latter phrase is probably meant the royal castle or citadel, situated at the apex of the lofty triangular plateau, which seems to have formed the site of the ancient Rabbah. 'The two sides are bounded by wâdies which diverge from the apex, where they are divided by a low neck of land, and thence separating, fall into the valley of the Jabbok, which forms the base of the triangle' (Oliphant, *The Land of Gilead*, p. 259 f.). The precipitous character of the wâdis—on the one side there is a drop of 300 ft., on the other of 400 ft.—precluded any access to the streams below, save at the (? artificial) depression which separated the citadel from the rest of the city. Hence the capture of the latter virtually placed the city at the mercy of Joab, and assured him of its speedy downfall.* He thereupon despatched messengers to David, bidding him collect the rest of his forces, and superintend the final assault of the city, 'lest,' he adds, 'I take the city, and my name be called upon it'—in token, namely, of its conquest by him. (See, further, on this passage, vol. i. p. 344[a]). David at once responded to Joab's appeal, and shortly after his arrival the city was taken, together with much spoil, including the crown of Milcom (LXX), the god of the Ammonites. (For a full discussion of the treatment of the inhabitants of Rabbah by David, see Driver, *Notes on Samuel*, pp. 226–229).

From the few scattered notices of Rabbah in the writings of the prophets from the 8th cent. onwards, we gather that the city once more reverted to the possession of the Ammonites. Thus Amos, in his denunciation of Ammon (1[14f.]), prophesies the destruction of the wall and palaces of Rabbah, while similar language is used by Jeremiah (49[2. 3]) shortly before the siege of Jerusalem, and by Ezekiel (25[5]). It is noticeable that the

* The reading of the Hebrew text 'city of waters' is usually explained as referring to the lower town. But (1) the phrase itself is an unlikely one to be applied to a *part* of the city, (2) there is no reference elsewhere to a division of the city, and (3) the explanation seems due to the present condition of the ruins of *'Ammān*, which date, at earliest, from Roman times.

latter regards Rabbah as no less important politically than Jerusalem itself (21[20] [Heb.[25]]).

In the 3rd cent. B.C. Rabbah was still a place of considerable importance. After its capture by Ptolemy Philadelphus (B.C. 285–247) it was called Philadelphia, and the surrounding district Philadelphene or Arabia Philadelphensis (Ritter, *Die Erdkunde*, xv. pt. ii. p. 1154 f.). According to Polybius (v. 71), the city underwent a severe and protracted siege under Antiochus the Great, who succeeded in capturing it only through the agency of a captive. The latter revealed the existence of the subterranean passage by which the garrison of the citadel obtained their water supply: the passage was accordingly blocked up, and the garrison forced to surrender. The same authority makes use of the old name *Rabbatamana* (Ῥαββατάμανα), while Stephen of Byzantium states that it was formerly called *Amana*, and afterwards *Astarte*. Josephus describes it as the most easterly border-town of Peræa (*BJ* III. iii. 3), and Strabo especially notes it as one of the localities inhabited by a mixed population. It formed one of the cities of the Decapolis, and in the middle of the 4th cent. Ammianus Marcellinus classes it with Bostra and Geresa as one of the fortified great cities of Cœle-Syria (Ritter, *l.c.*). Philadelphia, later, became the seat of a Christian bishop, forming one of the nineteen sees of 'Palæstina tertia' (Reland, *Pal.* 228). Of the Arabic geographers, Mukaddasi (A.D. 985) describes 'Ammān as the capital of the Belkā district, lying on the border of the desert. He mentions the castle of Goliath as situated on the hill overhanging the city, and containing the tomb of Uriah, over which is built a mosque. Yâkût (iii. 719), in A.D. 1225, mentions it as the city of the emperor Dakiyânûs (Decius): he further relates the Moslem legend, according to which 'Ammān, the founder of the city, was the son of Lot's brother ('Ammān = 'he who is of the uncle'). Abulfeda (A.D. 1321) also assigns the founding of the city to Lot (Guy le Strange, *Pal. under the Moslems*, p. 391 f.). Coins of the city exist with the head of Marcus Aurelius (A.D. 161–180) and the legend 'Philadelphia of Hercules of Cœle-Syria'; but, save for a few rude stone monuments, nothing remains in the way of architecture 'which can be referred with any certitude to a pre-Roman period' (see *Survey of E. Pal.* pp. 19–64, where a full description is given of the present site; see also Baedeker[3] pp. 170–172; Merrill, *East of Jordan*, p. 398 f.).

2. (Jos 15[60] רַבָּה; B Σωθηβά, A Ἀρεββά; *Arebba*). A city of Judah, apparently near Kiriath-jearim.

J. F. Stenning.

RABBI, RABBONI.—From רַב, primarily 'master' in contrast with slave (*Aboth* i. 3; *Sukka* ii. 9; *et al.*), was formed, by the addition of the pronominal suffix, רַבִּי ('Ραββί, 'Ραββεί WH), 'my master,' the use of which as a title of respect by which teachers were addressed occurs first within the last century before the destruction of Jerusalem. The Mishna contains several instances of this mode of address (*Nedarim* ix. 5; *Rosh hashana* ii. 9; *Berachoth* ii. 5, 7; *et al.*). In a similar way was formed **Rabboni** ('Ραββονί Mk 10[51], 'Ραββουνί Jn 20[16], 'Ραββουνεί WH) from רִבּוֹן or רִבּוֹן (used of God in *Taanith* iii. 8), an Aramaic form of the title used almost exclusively to designate the president of the Sanhedrin, if a descendant of Hillel, from the time of Gamaliel I. (*Aboth* i. 17). In later times the title of Rabbi appears to have been conferred officially upon such as were authorized in Palestine to decide ritual or legal questions (*Baba mezia* 86*a*; *Sanhedrin* 13*b*), the corresponding Babylonian title being Rab or Mar; but there is no evidence of its use in this sense before or in the time of Christ. Its suffix, however, quickly lost its specific force by a process of which parallels are afforded in several languages; and in the NT the word occurs simply as a courteous title of address. Rabboni is even more respectful; and in the two passages where it is used of Christ (Mk 10[51] and Jn 20[16]) the pronominal force may not have entirely disappeared. Neither word occurs in classical use, in the LXX or other Gr. version of the OT, or in the Apocrypha. In the NT the shorter title is applied to Christ in Mt 26[25. 49], Mk 9[5] 11[21] 14[45], Jn 1[38. 49] 3[2] 4[31] 6[25] 9[2] 11[8]; to John Baptist in Jn 3[26]; whilst in Mt 23[7. 8] Christ forbids His disciples to covet or use it. In Jn 1[38] a parenthesis states its equivalence in meaning with διδάσκαλε, which is in turn cited in Jn 20[16] as a synonym of Rabboni. RVm implicitly supports this explanation in Mt 23[8], where, however, the text reads καθηγητής, a word whose primary meaning of 'guide' naturally suggests that of 'teacher.' See, for further details and for literature, Schürer, *HJP* II. i. 315 ff., and cf. Dalman, *Worte Jesu*, 267, 272 ff.

R. W. Moss.

RABBITH (הָרַבִּית with art.; B Δαβειρών, A Ῥαββώθ).—A town of Issachar (Jos 19[20]), probably the modern *Râba*, on the south part of the range of Gilboa. See *SWP* vol. ii. sheet ix.; Mühlau in Riehm's *HWB* 1252; Guérin, *Samarie*, i. 336; Buhl, *GAP* 204.

C. R. Conder.

RABBONI.—See Rabbi.

RAB-MAG (רַב־מָג; B Ῥαβαμάθ, א* Ῥαμάτ, א[c. a.] (?) Βαμάτ, A Ῥαβαμάκ, Q Ῥαβαμάγ [in Jer 39 (46)[13] Q[mg] Ῥοβομόγ]; Vulg. *Rebmag*).—The title (as is now generally admitted) of a Babylonian official, apparently Nergal-sharezer, who was present at the taking of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar in the 11th year of Zedekiah king of Judah, together with all the rest of the princes (Jer 39 [Gr. 46][3]) and all the chief officers (v.[13]) of the king of Babylon. Whether the Nergal-sharezer who is here mentioned, and who apparently bears the title, be the Neriglissar of the Greeks, who came to the throne of Babylon in the year B.C. 560 (16 years later), is uncertain, but not by any means improbable. The explanation of the title Rab-mag is a matter of considerable uncertainty. Gesenius explains מָג as *magian*, 'the name of the priests and wise men among the Medes, Persians, and Babylonians' [the inclusion of the Babylonians was pardonable before the inscriptions were made out]. G. Rawlinson and others have compared the title Rab-mag with the Babylonian *Rubû êmga*, or, more correctly, *Rubû êmgu*; but this, apart from its improbability in consequence of the difference of form, cannot be the original of the term, as it is not a title in the true sense of the word—it simply means 'the deeply-wise prince.' Another etymology for the second element is that of Fried. Delitzsch (cf. also Siegfried-Stade and *Oxf. Heb. Lex.*), who suggests that it is the same as the Assyr. *maḫḫû*, 'soothsayer'; but the objections to this are the differing double consonant, and the absence of the compound *rab-maḫḫû*. The most probable of the proposed originals appears to the present writer and others to be the title *rab-mugi* (see Pinches in S. A. Smith's *Keilschrifttexte Asurbanipals*, Heft ii. 1887, p. 67, note to l. 89; Sayce, *HCM* p. 456; Winckler, *Orient. Litteraturztg.* 1898, p. 40). This word occurs in the text translated by Pinches (K 824, edge, 9) in the accusative (*muga*), and also in the oracles to Esarhaddon (*WAI* 61. l. 26*a*) in the phrase *atta ina libbi mugi*, 'thou (art) in the midst of the princes (?),' the two lines which follow being 'I (the goddess Ištar) in the midst of my flock (?) advance (and) rest.' A nasalized form, *rab mungi*, also occurs.

T. G. Pinches.

RAB-SARIS (רַב־סָרִיס; B Ῥαφείς, A Ῥαβσαρείς, in 2 K 18[17]; BA Ναβουσαρείς, א* Ναβουσεείς, א[1]Q Ναβουσαρίς, Q[mg] Ῥαβσαρίς, in Jer 39 [46][3. 13]; Vulg. *Rabsaris, Rabsares*).—This, like RAB-MAG, is now generally and rightly held to be a title, and not a name (see RV). **1.** An Assyrian officer who went with the Tartan and the Rab-shakeh, whilst Sennacherib was at Lachish, to demand on behalf of his royal master the surrender of Jerusalem, which was at the time besieged by the Assyrian forces (2 K 18[17]). **2.** A Babylonian named Sarsechim [?; see art. NERGAL-SHAREZER], who, with 'all the princes' of Nebuchadnezzar, was present at the taking of Jerusalem by that king in the 11th year of Zedekiah king of Judah (Jer 39[3]). **3.** A Babylonian named Nebushazban, who, after the taking of the city, gave authority, with other of the princes of Babylon who are mentioned, for the release and return of Jeremiah, thus enabling him to be taken home and to dwell with his own people (Jer 39[13]).

The usual biblical explanation of the word is 'chief of the eunuchs,' or, perhaps with greater probability, 'chief eunuch,' an explanation that agrees with the information yielded by the other Semitic languages, Arabic and Aramaic having practically the same word with this meaning, and also verbs derived therefrom. The word סָרִיס, with its plural סָרִיסִים, is of frequent occurrence in the Hebrew, and not only means 'a eunuch,' but also 'courtier' in general, 'chamberlain.' In 2 K 25[19] it indicates an officer who commanded a division of the army, and POTIPHAR, who was certainly a married man, is called the סָרִיס of Pharaoh in Gn 39[1]. The Assyro-Babylonian inscriptions, however, do not furnish us with any word that contains this idea. A רבסרס, Rabsaris, named Nabû-šarra-uṣur, eponym for the year B.C. 683, is named on the tablet 81–2–4. 147 (Berger, *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des Inscr. et Belles Lettres*, 1886, p. 201; *CIS* tom. i. fasc. 1, pp. 43, 44), but this title is not rendered in the Assyrian text which accompanies the Aramaic inscription. Winckler (in *Unters. z. altor. Gesch.* 1889, Exkurs v. p. 138) gave the explanation that this word was simply a transcription of the Assyro-Babylonian *rabû-ša-rêši*, a suggestion that was afterwards confirmed by the discovery of the title in question on the British Museum tablet 82–7–14, 3570, written *rubû-ša-ri-e-šu* (read *-rêšu*); cf. *Academy*, June 25, 1892. This expression means 'chief of the heads' or principal men,* and being apparently not a usual title, we may perhaps conclude that it was not often given, and may have been one of great honour. Of its age nothing can be said,—the earliest date known is B.C. 683,—and how long it had been in use before then cannot even be guessed. As to the etymology, that is very simple. The first component part is the common Assyro-Babylonian word *rabû*, meaning, in compounds, 'chief,' equivalent to the Heb. רַב. The second word is the particle *ša*, meaning 'of,' and the third is *rêšu* 'head' (the Heb. רֹאשׁ), seemingly one of the numerous short words of masculine form which were the same in the plural as in the singular. Whether the Heb. סָרִיס is derived from *ša-rêšu*, without the *rab*, and obtained the meaning of 'eunuch' from the circumstance that many of those who bore the title Rab-saris had authority over the eunuchs, or whether the Hebrews assimilated this Assyro-Babylonian title to a word already well known in their language, and common Semitic property, is unknown; but the former would seem to be the more probable. In any case the word as used in 2 K 18[17] and Jer 39[3. 13] must be held to represent the Assyro-Babylonian *rabû-ša-rêšu*, whatever opinion be held with regard to the other passages where it occurs. It is noteworthy that the sibilants are in both cases ס, for which the Assyro-Babylonian has *š*, affording another proof that the sound transcribed by the latter was often not *sh*, but simply *s*, in later times, in Assyria and Babylonia.

T. G. PINCHES.

* Cf. Dn 1[3], where the 'master of his eunuchs' (רַב־סָרִיסָיו, LXX and Theod. ἀρχισυνοῦχος) seems to have had charge of 'the seed royal and the nobles.'

RAB-SHAKEH (רַבְשָׁקֵה; Ῥαψάκης, Ῥαβσάκης; *Rabsaces*).—The title of the officer sent by Sennacherib with the Tartan and the Rab-saris to demand the surrender of Jerusalem, at that time besieged by the Assyrian forces (2 K 18[17. 19. 26-28. 37] 19[4. 8], Is 36[2. 4. 11-13. 22] 37[4. 8]). He came, with a great army, accompanied by the other dignitaries who are mentioned, from Lachish, and 'called to the king.' In response to the summons, the officials of Hezekiah's court replied, and the Rab-shakeh pronounced to them a long and insolent message to their royal master, increasing the violence of his tone when requested to speak in Aramaic, and not in Hebrew 'in the ears of all the people that are on the wall.' From this it will be seen that this official was one of some attainments, as, besides his native Assyrian, he must have known Hebrew very well; and the remonstrance of the Jewish representatives of the king who were parleying with him implies that he knew Aramaic also, probably because it was the language of a large section of the Assyrian people, and therefore, in a sense, a second mother-tongue to him. The first opinion of scholars concerning the title Rab-shakeh was that it meant 'chief of the cupbearers';* but there must have been considerable doubt as to the correctness of this rendering, as such an official would hardly have been sent on an errand of this kind. When, therefore, the cuneiform inscriptions began to be more thoroughly studied, the suggestion was made that the Rab-shakeh of the passages quoted was the same as the *rab-saki* of the texts. This word is a compound, consisting of *rab*, const. case of *rabû*, 'chief,'=the Heb. רַב, and *saki*, plural of *saku*, from the Akkad. *saga*, 'head,' the whole meaning 'chief of the heads,' or 'captains' (cf. RAB-SARIS). The list of names of officials printed in *WAI* ii. pl. 31, No. 2, mentions the *rab-saki* between the *rab-šumgar* or *rab-segar* ('chief of the supply?') and the *saki* or *rêšē*, 'officers' or 'captains.' In the time of Tiglath-pileser the Šut-saki who was sent to Tyre as *rab-saki* received tribute from Mētenna of that city, from which it may be concluded that the Rab-shakeh or Rab-saki was a military officer of high rank, regarded as possessing some ability as a diplomat. The *Rab-kiṣir*, 'chief of a force,' also often bore this title (tablet K 1359, col. i. 36, ii. 7, 10, iii. 1, iv. 11). See Schrader, *KAT*[2] 319, 320 [*COT* ii. 3, 4]; Sayce, *HCM* 441, 442.

T. G. PINCHES.

* See Gesenius (Tregelles' tr.), *s.v.* Luther's translation is generally, in accordance with this, *Erzschenke*.

RACA occurs Mt 5[22] only, and in its Greek form is variously spelt—ῥακά (WH, with cod. B), ῥαχά (Tisch. with codd. א*D). It is the Aramaic, רֵיקָא, a form of רֵיקָן 'empty' (Heb. רִיק), the first α in the Greek being due to a Galilæan change. The χ in Tischendorf's spelling is, like the first χ in Ἀχελδαμάχ (Ac 1[19], codd. אA), due to the assimilation in the pronunciation of *Koph* to the aspirated *Kaph* (Dalman, *Gramm. des Jüd.-Pal. Aramäisch*, pp. 66, 138, 304). *Raca* appears to be a word of contempt, 'empty,' so 'worthless,' intellectually rather than morally, like the worthless (רִיק), empty-headed fellows whom Abimelech at Shechem hired to be his followers, Jg 9[4]; like the κενός, Ja 2[20], the empty-head, who boasts of a faith which is intellectual only; or like the 'ignorant,' called by the Rabbis רֵיקָא, because, for

example, they could not conceive how God could build the gates of Jerusalem of gems 30 cubits high and 30 cubits broad (Edersheim, *Life and Times of Jesus*, i. 538). Obviously, as rebuked by Christ, it is an advance upon mere angry feeling (ὀργιζόμενος), in proportion as utterance is less self-controlled than silence; and, on the other hand, it does not betray so complete a loss of self-control as the word of climax, the more positive μωρέ, 'fool,' *i.e.* godless, good-despising fool, moral reprobate.*

But the precise force of *Raca*, as compared with that of repressed anger and of 'fool,' cannot be estimated apart from the gradations of court or penalty from which Christ draws His analogical illustrations; and these gradations are too readily taken for granted as historical and intelligible, even by some of the foremost commentators in England and in Germany. It is quite commonly assumed (1) that Christ uses κρίσις for the local or provincial court in a Jewish town or village; (2) that such a court could try cases of murder; (3) that it could punish the murderer, but only with the sword; (4) that the Sanhedrin (συνέδριον) alone could inflict 'the more painful and degrading punishment of stoning'; (5) that γέεννα τοῦ πυρός was the valley of Hinnom, and that in it the corpses of criminals were burned, the most degrading and most abhorred punishment of all. But, as a matter of fact, there is, outside this passage itself, no trustworthy evidence for any of these assumptions (see, for instance, GEHENNA, vol. ii. p. 119[b]). It is true that the Talmud may be quoted for the second assumption (cf. *Sanhedrin* i. 4, as referred to in Schürer, *HJP* II. i. 154); but this evidence is shaken, first, by the extreme improbability of the statement in the light of the fact that no execution was permitted, even to the Sanhedrin, except by consent of the Procurator (cf. Jn 18[31]); and secondly, by the important qualification that the Talmud is often purely academic, speaking of things that ought to be as though they were. The Talmudic passage just cited was not written down till the 2nd cent. A.D., and represents what, in the opinion of the Rabbis, ought to be the procedure, and what would be in an ideal Judah under Rabbinical rule. The same statement is made by Maimonides 1000 years later, when it could not be historically true.† Accordingly, it appears impossible to estimate, with any confidence, the exact relations of 'the judgment,' 'the council,' 'the gehenna of fire,' in our Lord's picture, and therefore, so far, the exact relations of the three stages of anger. Two salient points, however, emerge like headlands out of the mist. (1) Christ hands over all anger, even silent anger, to be tried as a murderous act, to be tried (it should be added) on its merits (cf. ἔνοχος τῇ κρίσει), and not *ipso facto* and at once condemned. (2) Christ is no verbal Pharisee. That it is not the utterance of a word, but the spirit of the utterance, that is reprehended, is plain from the fact that He can use ἀνόητοι, a word, like St. James's κενέ, practically identical with *Raca*, when rebuking the spiritual dulness of two of His immediate followers (Lk 24[25]).

J. MASSIE.

RACAL.—Amongst those to whom David is said (1 S 30[29]) to have sent a share of the spoil after his return to Ziklag, are mentioned 'they that were בְּרָכָל'; but probably the last word ought to be corrected, after the LXX (ἐν Καρμήλῳ), to בְּכַרְמֶל, 'in Carmel' (of Judah, Jos 15[55], 1 S 25[2]). So Wellhausen, Driver, Budde, Löhr, H. P. Smith, *et al.*

RACE.—See GAMES in vol. ii. p. 108.

RACHEL, once (Jer 31[15] AV) **Rahel*** (רָחֵל 'a ewe,' Gn 31[38] *al.*; Ῥαχήλ; *Rachel*).—The younger daughter of Laban, whom Jacob, arriving at Ḥaran (Gn 29[1-8]), meets, as she comes to water her father's sheep (v.[9ff.]), at a well in the open country (v.[2]). Impressed by her beauty, and deeply in love with her (29[17-20]), Jacob agrees to serve Laban for seven years, if he may then have her for his wife; but Laban, at the end of the stipulated time, fraudulently substitutes his elder daughter, Leah, and only consents to give him Rachel as well upon his agreeing to serve him seven years more (29[21-30]). Leah, though less loved by her husband than Rachel, is blessed with four children; this arouses in her younger sister feelings of discontent and envy, and petulantly reproaching Jacob she bids him take her handmaid, Bilhah, as a concubine (cf. 16[2f.]), that she may be 'built up'—*i.e.* (16[2]) obtain a family—from her (30[1-4]). Two sons, Dan and Naphtali, are born accordingly to Bilhah: the explanations given of their names (30[6. 8]) are meant to indicate Rachel's recognition that God had now, at least in a measure, granted her her due, and that she had won, after her long 'wrestlings' with her sister, His favour and blessing. 'The struggle of these two women for their husband gives us a strange picture of manners and morals, but must not be judged by our standard' (Payne Smith): at the same time, so far as the temper and attitude of Rachel are concerned, it is only fair to remember that Leah was not the wife of Jacob's choice, but had been forced by fraud into what was really Rachel's own rightful place in his house. Rachel's anxiety to have a son of her own is, however, evinced before long in her eagerness to obtain some of the youthful Reuben's mandrakes, or love-apples (30[14f.]). At last, the long-delayed hopes are accomplished, and Joseph is born (30[22-24]).

Six years later (31[41]), when Jacob meditates quitting the service of Laban (31[1-3]), both wives endorse cordially his reasons for doing so (31[4ff. 14-16]), and accompany him. Rachel, at once unscrupulous and superstitious, steals her father's teraphim (31[19]), hoping, no doubt, that they would bring her and her husband prosperity; 31[33-35] describes the ready wit by which she conceals the theft from her indignant father. Rachel is next mentioned on the occasion of Jacob's meeting with his brother Esau (33[1-15]), when the superior affection which he still felt for her is shown by the position assigned to her and Joseph (33[1. 2. 7]). Her death, shortly afterwards, at the time of Benjamin's birth, soon after Jacob left Bethel, is recorded in 35[16-20] (cf. 48[7]). She and her sister Leah are alluded to in Ru 4[11] as foundresses of the house of Israel, and types of wedded happiness and prosperity. Like Rebekah (Gn 24), Rachel at first (Gn 29) produces a favourable impression upon the reader: she is attractive, not only in person, but also evidently in manner and address; she stirs Jacob's deepest affections; their long and patient waiting, followed by a cruel disappointment, enlists our sympathies; but the sequel shows that, like her aunt, she is not exempt from the family failings of acquisitiveness and duplicity.

The Isr. tribes are grouped around Leah and Rachel; so it is evident that they both possess a *tribal* as well as a personal significance. For speculations as to what historical facts may, from this point of view, be supposed to be represented by them —*e.g.* the growth of 'Israel' out of elements more or less

* It seems better to take this word as the voc. of μωρός, one of the LXX translations of *nābāl*, 'fool' (cf. the practical atheist of Is 32[6]), than as a transliteration of the ptcp. מֹרֶה 'murmuring,' 'refractory,' Nu 20[10] (LXX ἀπειθεῖς), there being no evidence that the latter was a common Heb. word of opprobrium. (See FOOL).

† On this particular point the present writer is indebted to a private letter from Dr. Neubauer.

* As regularly in the 'Great Bible' (1539–41) and the Geneva Version (1560); Coverdale (1535) and the 'Bishops' Bible' (1568), however, have regularly 'Rachel.'

originally distinct—see Ewald, *Hist.* i. 371-6; Stade, *GVI* i. 145 ff.; Wellh. *Hist.* 432; Guthe, *GVI* (1899), pp. 5 f., 40-42; and cf. BENJAMIN, vol. i. p. 272b, JACOB, vol. ii. p. 533 f.

Rachel's grave.—In Gn 35^{16} it is said that Rachel died when there was yet 'a distance (?) of land' (כִּבְרַת הָאָרֶץ) to go to Ephrath; and in v.[19] (cf. 48[7]) Jacob is said to have buried her 'in the way to Ephrath (that is Beth-lehem),' and (v.[20]) to have 'set up a pillar' (*maṣṣēbāh*)—*i.e.* here, as often in Phœn. (*CIS* I. i. 44, 46, 57, etc.), a sepulchral monument—'upon her grave: that is the pillar of Rachel's grave unto this day.' The locality must consequently have been well known when the narrative (E) was written; and, in fact, it is mentioned as a well-known spot in 1 S 10^2, and also alluded to in Jer 31^{15} (where the prophet poetically imagines Rachel, the mother of Joseph and Benjamin, as weeping over the captivity of the last remnants of her nation, as on their way to exile they passed near her tomb; cf. 40^1).* The spot which, from at least the 4th cent.,† has been shown traditionally as the site of Rachel's grave, is about four miles S. of Jerusalem and one mile N. of Beth-lehem; here there is now the *Ḳubbet Rāḥēl* or 'dome of Rachel,' a stone structure, of comparatively modern date, exactly like an ordinary Moslem 'wely,' or tomb of a holy person, about 23 ft. square, surmounted by a dome, and containing an apparently modern sarcophagus; on the E. an oblong chamber and court have been recently added.‡

A serious difficulty, however, arises in this connexion. In 1 S 10^2 Rachel's tomb is described quite clearly as being on the 'border of Benjamin,' *i.e.*, obviously, the N. border between Benjamin and Ephraim, not far from§ *Bethel* (v.[3]), which was 10 miles N. of Jerusalem; and a site in the same neighbourhood is strongly favoured by Jer 31^{15}, where Rachel is represented as weeping at (or near) *Ramah*, 5 miles N. of Jerusalem.‖ The distance which כברת הארץ was understood to express is uncertain; but it can hardly (cf. 2 K 5^{19}) have been as much as 15 or 16 miles. We seem, therefore, reduced to one of two conclusions: either (Knob., Graf, Stade, *ZAW*, 1883, pp. 5–8; Riehm, *HWB*[2], 1281 f.; Holzinger, *al.*) Ephrath, though elsewhere identified with Beth-lehem (Ru 1^2 4^{11}, Mic 5^2), is here the name of a place near Ramah (in which case the words 'that is Beth-lehem' in 35^{19} 48^7 will be an incorrect gloss); or (Nöld., Del., Dillm.) there were two different traditions as to the site of Rachel's grave—one tradition (1 S 10^2, Jer 31^{15}) placing it near Ramah, the other (Gn 35^{19} 48^7) placing it near Beth-lehem. As Rachel has otherwise no connexion with Judah, while she is connected closely with Joseph and Benjamin, the former alternative is perhaps the more probable (Buhl, *Geogr.* 159, does not decide between them).

S. R. DRIVER.

RADDAI (רַדָּי; B Ζαδδαί, B[ab] Ζαβδαί, A Ῥαδδαί).—The fifth son of Jesse, 1 Ch 2^{14}.

RAG, RAGGED.—The words properly translated 'rag' are (1) קְרָעִים, pieces torn off, from קָרַע to rend, which is tr[d] 'rags' in Pr 23^{21}, but in 1 K $11^{30.31}$, 2 K 2^{12} simply 'pieces,' being preceded by the verb; (2) סְחָבִים, worn-out clothes, from [סָחַב] to wear out, tr[d] 'rotten rags' in Jer $38^{11.12}$, the only place where it occurs; (3) *ῥάκος*, tr[d] 'rag' in Ad. Est 14^{16}. In Is 64^6 'All our righteousnesses are as filthy rags' (כִּבֶגֶד עֲדִים), the word tr[d] 'rags' (בֶּגֶד) is simply 'clothing,' 'a garment' ('from the filthy clothing of the leper to the holy robes of the high priest'—*Oxf. Heb. Lex.*); RV 'as a polluted garment.' The specific allusion here is to a *vestis menstruis polluta*; cf. Is 30^{22}.

The root meaning of the Eng. word 'rag' is neither 'torn' nor 'worn,' but *rough, shaggy* (Swed. *ragg* or *rugg*, rough hair), whence the adj. **ragged** was used as we now use 'rugged' in the sense of jagged, applied to rocks, etc. So in AV Is 2^{21} 'the tops of the ragged rocks'; and Sir 32 heading 'Of a ragged and a smooth way.' Cf. Shaks. *Rich. II.* v. v. 21—

> 'How these vain weak nails
> May tear a passage through the flinty ribs
> Of this hard world, my ragged prison walls.'

And Milton, *L'Allegro*, 9—

> 'There, under ebon shades and low-browed rocks,
> As ragged as thy locks.'

J. HASTINGS.

RAGAU.—See following article.

RAGES (Ῥάγοι [א in To $9^{2.5}$ Ῥάγαι] *τῆς Μηδίας*).—Now *Rai* near Teheran. The city, whose ruins occupy a space about 4500 yards long by 3500 broad, gave its name to Media Ragiana, and commanded the approach to the Caspian Gates. The size and thickness of its walls, and the number of towers with which they are flanked, must have made it one of the strongest fortresses of the Persian empire. According to the Vendidad it was colonized by the advancing Aryans after they had left Hyrcania and before they reached Khorassan, and it was there that they were mingled with two other races and so first came into contact with heretics. An old tradition asserted that Zoroaster was born there (see de Harlez, *Introduction à l'étude de l'Avesta*, Paris, 1882). In the Behistun Inscription Darius calls it Ragâ in Media, and states that the Median pretender Frawartish or Phraortes fled to it after his defeat; he was, however, captured, and after being tortured was sent to Ecbatana to be impaled. At a later date Alexander passed through it in pursuit of Darius Codomannus, eleven days after leaving Ecbatana. It was rebuilt or enlarged by Seleucus I., who gave it the name of Europus (Strabo, XI. xiii. 6), which was supplanted by that of Arsacia after the Parthian conquest. In the age of Isidorus (§ 7) it was still 'the greatest city in Media.' In Strabo and Arrian the name appears as *Ragæ*; Ptolemy (vi. 5) makes it *Ragæa*.

Rages is often mentioned in the Bk. of Tobit. Tobit left there ten talents of silver (1^{14} 4^1), and Tobias, accompanied by the angel Raphael, started for Rages in quest of this deposit, which was finally recovered by the angel (5^5 $6^{9.12}$ 9^2). According to Jth $1^{5.15}$ **Ragau** (Ῥαγαύ, evidently another form of *Rages*) was the scene of the decisive battle in which Nebuchadnezzar 'king of the Assyrians' defeated and slew Arphaxad the Median prince. It is possible that in the story of Arphaxad we have a distorted reminiscence of the overthrow and capture of Frawartish. A. H. SAYCE.

RAGUEL.—**1.** The AV form (LXX Ῥαγουήλ), in Nu 10^{29}, of REUEL. See HOBAB and JETHRO. **2.** The father of Sarah, the wife of Tobias, To $3^{7.17.18}$ 14^{12}. The name, which is the same as the Heb. *Reuel*, occurs as that of an angel in Enoch xx. 4.

RAHAB (רָחָב, Ῥαάβ).—The heroine of the ad-

* Mt $2^{17f.}$ is, of course, an *application*, not an interpretation, of the prophecy.

† See the Itinerary of the Bordeaux Pilgrim, A.D. 333 (in the series of the *Pal. Pilgrims' Text Soc.* i. 26 f.), and the Pilgrimage of Paula (*ib.* p. 6, at the end of the vol.) in Jerome's *Ep. ad Eustochium* (ed. Bened. iv. 2, 674; ed. Vallarsi, i. 692).

‡ See, further, Robinson, *BRP* i. 218, iii. 273; Bäd.[2] 129 f.; *PEF Mem.* iii. 129 f. (with a view).

§ The terms of 1 S 10^{2-5} hardly enable us to fix its site more specifically: see an attempt by Schick, *ZDPV* iv. (1881) p. 248 f. (= *PEFSt*, 1883, p. 111); abandoned *PEFSt*, 1898, p. 19.

‖ It may be worth observing that, though Jos 18^{13} (P) makes the N. border of Benjamin pass close to the S. of Bethel, 1 K 15^{17} seems to imply that the S. border of the N. kingdom was at Ramah; see also Jg 4^5.

venture of the spies sent by Joshua to ascertain the strength of Jericho and the feeling of the people there. The story of her reception of the two young men, and the clever devices by which she hides them, contrives their escape, and baffles the pursuit ordered by the king of Jericho, is told in Jos 2, assigned by critics to JE (vv.[10. 11] D[2]), and exhibiting all the ease and grace of that narrative, all its power of delineating life and character. A few lively touches bring the whole scene vividly before us, and suggest much that is not told in detail. We see the house on the wall, probably near the gate of the city, and convenient for resort, certainly convenient for escape. On the roof are drying stalks of flax, an indication of the inmate's busy toil, possibly of a particular trade. Here she dwells alone, but she has a father and mother, and brothers and sisters residing in the town. She is a harlot, for the word זוֹנָה applied to her (LXX πόρνη; Vulg. *meretrix*) refuses to be softened down to 'innkeeper' (Josephus, Chrys., Chald. VS), but she may have combined with this unhappy calling the more honourable occupation of weaving and dyeing. She had evidently been brought into communication with the outside world, and had heard of events going on beyond the Jordan, which had caused the terror of Israel to fall upon the inhabitants of Canaan. She was convinced that the God of the Hebrews would open a way for His people into Jericho. In this belief she obtained a promise from the spies of protection for herself and family in return for her help. A scarlet line hanging from the window by which they had escaped was to be the sign that the house, with all its inmates for the time, should be spared. The Israelites would be guiltless of the blood of any member of Raḥab's family caught outside the house.

Joshua kept the agreemcnt to the letter (Jos 6[17. 22. 23-25]), and the narrative states 'and she dwelt in the midst of Israel unto this day.'

'A nation's gratitude long preserves the names of those who by opportune information open for a besieging host the path to victory' (Ewald, who cites a parallel instance soon to follow, Jg 1[22-26], and illustrates from profane history, *HI* ii. 247, Eng. tr.). In fact the conduct of Raḥab was recognized with gratitude and kept long in memory by Jew and Christian alike. According to a rabbinical tradition she married Joshua himself, and became the ancestress of seven prophets (Lightfoot, *Horæ Heb. ad Mt* 1[5]). Christian estimates of her worth are even more remarkable. One NT writer places her in the roll of the heroes of faith (He 11[31]), another quotes her as justified by works (Ja 2[25]). Clement of Rome declares she was saved through her faith and her hospitality, and claims for her the gift of prophecy, since the scarlet line foretold redemption by the blood of Christ (*ad Cor.* i. 12). The same allegorical interpretation is assumed by all ancient ecclesiastical writers (see Jacobson, *Pat. Ap.*, who cites Just. Mar. *Tryph.* cxi.; Iren. iv. 20. 12; Origen, Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine, and Theodoret). None of these writers, any more than the NT, think it necessary to change 'harlot' into 'innkeeper' with Josephus and Chrysostom. Irenæus, in his reference to her, recalls how publicans and harlots were admitted into the kingdom of heaven. We know nothing of her after-conduct, but we may well believe that the faith which an apostle could praise was accompanied by a true conversion.

As to Raḥab's lie to the king, and her betrayal of her own countrymen, all that need be said is, that while neither can be approved, both may be extenuated by her situation.

The most interesting question in connexion with this woman arises from the mention of a *Raḥab* ('Ραχάβ) in the genealogy of Mt 1[5] 'And Salmon begat Boaz of Raḥab' (RV), which thus makes her an ancestress of our Lord. The patristic age seems to have taken the identification with Raḥab of Jericho for granted. But in the 11th cent. Theophylact could write, 'There are some who think Rachab to be that Rahab the harlot who received the spies of Joshua the son of Nave.' A Dutch professor, G. Outhov, urged difficulties in the way of identification (in the *Biblioth. Brem. hist. philol. Theol.* ch. iii. p. 438), and was answered by Wolf (*Cur. philol. et crit. in Mt* 1[5]). That the Ῥαάβ of the LXX and of Hebrews and James should be 'Ραχάβ in Matthew appears at first improbable. But the latter has the support of Josephus, who always speaks of Raḥab as ἡ 'Ραχάβη. A second objection would be more serious if it rested on the mention of Raḥab alone, but it is a chronological difficulty not affected by the question of her identity, and may therefore be dismissed here. There is no improbability in the marriage of Raḥab to Salmon son of Nahshon (Nu 7[12], 1 Ch 2[10]) (see Alford on Mt 1[5]). The difficulty arises from the names Boaz, Obed, Jesse being made to bridge the interval between Raḥab and David.

LITERATURE.—In addition to authorities already cited, see Bengel, Lightfoot, and Olshausen on Mt 1[5]; Mill, *Descent and Parentage of the Saviour*; Patrick, Grotius, Hitzig, Keil, Dillmann, and Steuernagel on Jos 2 and 6; Schleusner, *Lex. NT, s.v.* πόρνη.

A. S. AGLEN.

RAHAB (רַהַב).—A mythological and symbolical term meaning 'the raging monster,' 'the impetuous one,' which occurs 6 times in OT (RV).

As a verb, רהב is found twice in Qal: Pr 6[3] 'importune thy friend' (AV 'make sure' [Toy remarks that '*importune* is hardly strong enough; *beset, besiege, assail* better express the impetuosity involved in the Heb. term']; LXX παροξυνε τὸν φίλον σου); Is 3[5] 'the child shall behave himself proudly' (Cheyne, *PB*, 'the boy shall be insolent'; LXX πρόσκοψει τὸ παιδίον); and twice in Hiphil: Ca 6[5] 'thine eyes have overcome me' (RVm 'make me afraid' [so Budde, *setzen mich in Schrecken*]; AVm 'have puffed me up'; Duhm, *regen mich auf* [so Siegfried-Stade, *erregen (geschlechtlich)*]; LXX ἀνεπτέρωσάν με; but it is very doubtful whether these last three renderings are possible; probably 'confuse' or 'perturb' [Syr. ܪܗܒ] is the meaning, see Driver, *LOT*[6] 446 n.); Ps 138[3] 'Thou didst encourage me' (Driver, *Par. Psalter*, 'Thou makest me proud'; LXX πολυωρήσεις με).—The noun רַהַב is used in Ps 90[10] [only] 'their pride' (AV, following Kimchi, interprets the root here falsely in the sense of 'strength' [so in Is 30[7] and Ps 138[3]]; LXX τὸ πλεῖον αὐτῶν [by confusion with וְרָבָם], and the adjective רָהָב (in plur.) in Ps 40(4)[5] [only] 'the proud' (LXX ματαιότητας).

1. The first occurrence of רַהַב we shall examine is Job 9[13] אֱלוֹהַּ לֹא־יָשִׁיב אַפּוֹ תַּחְתָּיו שְׁחֲחוּ עֹזְרֵי רָהַב; LXX B αὐτὸς γὰρ ἀπέστραπται ὀργήν, ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐκάμφθησαν κήτη τὰ ὑπ' οὐρανόν; RV 'God will not withdraw his anger, the helpers of Rahab [m. 'or *arrogancy*, see Is 30[7]'] do [m. 'or *did*'] stoop under him'; AV '(If) God will not withdraw his anger, the proud helpers [m. 'Heb. *helpers of pride* or *strength*'] do stoop under him.' The meaning distinctly appears to be, 'God withdraws not his anger (till it has accomplished its purpose); even the helpers of Rahab bowed [note the perf. שָׁחֲחוּ, referring to some definite occasion] under him; how much less can I (Job) stand before him.' What now is the allusion? There can be little doubt that it is to the mythical conflict in which the Creator was said to have vanquished the supposed primeval dragon of the deep. This myth is most familiar to us in the Babylonian Creation-epos, where there is a very detailed account of the victory of Marduk over Tiâmat (cf. *tĕhôm*, Gn 1[2]) and her eleven 'helpers' (see art. BABYLONIA in vol. i. p. 220[b] f.; Sayce, *HCM* 63 ff.; Ball, *Light from the East*, 2 ff.).

From the use of *Rahab* for the raging sea monster (who appears, in certain forms of the myth current amongst the Jews, to have been thought of not as finally destroyed, but as imprisoned in the sea, and destined to be slain at last by Jahweh's sword, Is 27[1]; cf. the Egyptian myth of the defeat of the serpent Apopi) the transition is easy to the application of the term to the sea itself. So in **2.** Job 26[12], where, however, the same mythological allusion underlies the two parallel clauses, 'He quelleth the sea with his power, and by his understanding he smiteth through Rahab' (בְּכֹחוֹ רָגַע הַיָּם וּתְבוּנָתוֹ מָחַץ רָהַב; LXX B ἰσχύι κατέπαυσεν τὴν θάλασσαν, ἐπιστήμῃ δὲ ἔστρωται τὸ κῆτος); RV 'He stirreth up [m. 'or *stilleth*'] the sea with his power, and by his understanding he smiteth through Rahab'; AV (wrongly)

'He divideth the sea with his power, and by his understanding he smiteth through the proud' [m. 'Heb. *pride*']. Cf. Ps 74[12-15]. **3.** Very similar is Is 51[9] הֲלוֹא אַתְּ־הִיא הַמַּחֲצֶבֶת רַהַב מְחֹלֶלֶת תַּנִּין ; LXX B *οὐ σὺ εἶ ἡ ἐρημοῦσα θάλασσαν, ὕδωρ ἀβύσσου πλῆθος*; RV 'art thou (*sc.* the arm of the LORD) not it that cut Rahab in pieces, that pierced the dragon?'; AV 'art thou not it that hath cut Rahab and wounded the dragon?' The reference here appears to be to the destruction of the Egyptians, under the figure of a monster (see SEA MONSTER), at the Red Sea (cf. v.[10] 'art thou not it which dried up the sea, the waters of the great deep; that made the depths of the sea a way for the redeemed to pass over?'). **4.** One other parallel to this is Ps 89[10(11)] אַתָּה דִכִּאתָ כֶחָלָל רָהַב ; LXX *σὺ ἐταπείνωσας ὡς τραυματίαν ὑπερήφανον*; AV and RV 'Thou hast broken Rahab [m. 'or *Egypt*'] in pieces, as one that is slain.' The meaning of this clause is interpreted by what follows, 'Thou hast scattered thine enemies with the arm of thy strength,' and this again by the preceding verse, 'Thou rulest the pride of the sea; when the waves thereof arise, thou stillest them.' There *may* be a veiled allusion to Egypt here, as in Is 51[9], but such a conclusion is not necessary.

5. In our next example the epithet *Rahab* is applied to Egypt, Is 30[7] וּמִצְרַיִם הֶבֶל וְרִיק יַעֲזֹרוּ לָכֵן קָרָאתִי זֹאת רַהַב הֶם שָׁבֶת ; LXX *Αἰγύπτιοι μάταια καὶ κενὰ ὠφελήσουσιν ὑμᾶς· ἀπάγγειλον αὐτοῖς ὅτι ματαία ἡ παράκλησις ὑμῶν αὕτη*: RV 'for Egypt helpeth in vain and to no purpose; therefore have I called her Rahab that sitteth still' [lit. (Ges. § 141 *c*) 'Rahab, they are a sitting still']. Driver (*Isaiah*[2], 'Men of the Bible' series, p. 59 n.) takes *Rahab* as a poetical title expressing 'the idea of inflation and pride.' So Cheyne (*Prophecies of Isaiah*[2], i. p. 172) speaks of it as expressing the 'boisterousness' or 'arrogance' of the Egyptians as a people; he cites Pliny's description of them as 'ventosa et insolens natio.' Isaiah declares that the name *Rahab* had better be changed to *Shébeth* ('sitting still,' 'inaction'); Egypt is a blustering do-nothing, prompt with high-sounding promises, but utterly incapable of carrying these out. If this passage belongs to Isaiah, and if the MT be correct (but see Cheyne, *SBOT*, 'Isaiah' *ad loc.*, and *Intro. to Is.* p. 253; Budde on Job 9[13]; and Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos*, p. 39), it is probable that no mythological allusion underlies the passage, but that רַהַב simply means 'boastfulness' though with allusion to *Rahab* as a name of Egypt. **6.** Either through the influence of this passage, or more probably owing to a conception of Egypt as akin to the mythological sea monster, because lying ensconced amidst its rivers and canals (cf. Ezk 29[3]), *Rahab* appears as a designation of Egypt in Ps 87[4] אַזְכִּיר רַהַב וּבָבֶל ; LXX *μνησθήσομαι Ῥαὰβ καὶ Βαβυλῶνος*; AV and RV 'I will make mention of Rahab (RVm 'or *Egypt*') and Babylon as those that know me.'

Gunkel (*Schöpf. u. Chaos*, 40) finds an allusion to Rahab also in Ps 40[5 (4)] 'Happy is the man that maketh the LORD his trust, and respecteth not the proud (*rĕhābîm*).'

LITERATURE.—The Comm. on the above cited Scripture passages, esp. Dillmann, Davidson, Budde, and Duhm on *Job*, Dillmann, Delitzsch, and Cheyne on *Isaiah*, and Delitzsch and Duhm on *Psalms*; Cheyne, *Job and Solomon*, p. 75 f., 'Isaiah' in *SBOT*, 102 f., *PB* 156 f., 205 f., and his art. 'Dragon' in *Encyc. Bibl.*; Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos, passim*, esp. p. 30 ff.

J. A. SELBIE.

RAHAM (רֶחָם; B Ῥάμεε, A Ῥάεμ, Luc. Ῥάαμ).—A descendant of Caleb, 1 Ch 2[44].

RAHEL.—See RACHEL.

RAIMENT.—The early subst. 'arrayment' was often in middle Eng. spelt 'araiment,' and the *a* dropping off left 'raiment,' which is found as early as *Piers Plowman*. Raiment, being treated as a mere synonym of 'apparel,'* is used in AV to translate many Heb. and Gr. words, which are often plu. (as *τὰ ἱμάτια*, Mt 17[2] 27[31], Mk 9[3], Lk 7[25] 23[34], Jn 19[24] etc.), the word having a collective force. Occasionally, however, it was used in the singular and in the plural: thus, Ezk 9[2] Cov. 'There was one amongst them, that had on him a lynninge rayment'; Ps 109[17] Pr. Bk. 'He clothed him self with cursyng lyke as with a rayment.' Also Ex 39[41] Tind. 'His sonnes raymentes to ministre in'; Hall, *Works*, i. 818, 'He sends varietie of costly rayments to his Father.' See DRESS.

J. HASTINGS.

RAIN (מָטָר is the usual Heb. term. יוֹרֶה [in Jl 2[23] Ps 84[7] מוֹרֶה] 'the early rain,' falling Oct.–Nov., is opposed to מַלְקוֹשׁ 'the latter rain,' from March to April, Dt 11[14], Jer 5[24], Hos 6[3]. גֶּשֶׁם, a *burst of rain*, is sometimes used, esp. of the heavy winter rains [cf. Driver on Am 4[7]; G. A. Smith, *HGHL* 64]. The NT terms are *ὑετός* and *βροχή* [only Mt 7[25. 27]]. —In the beautiful passage Is 55[10. 11] we have an expression of the blessing accompanying rain in Eastern countries, not so much appreciated in our own humid climes. In Palestine the fruitfulness of the soil, the supply of the springs and rivers, the pasturage for the flocks and herds, indeed life itself, is dependent on the fall of the 'former and the latter' rain. The descent of rain is used as an illustration of the blessings following upon the spread of the kingdom of Christ (Ps 72[6. 7]); while the presence of clouds and wind without rain is likened to a man 'who boasteth himself of his gifts falsely' (Pr 25[14] RV). Rain in harvest time was regarded as phenomenal and portentous (1 S 12[17], Pr 26[1]).

In Palestine nearly the whole of the rainfall of the year occurs in the winter months, or from November to March inclusive; during the remaining months the rain is slight and intermittent. In the rainy season the falls are usually heavy, and are accompanied by thunder and lightning, while the wind comes from the W. or S.W. Northerly and easterly winds are generally dry.† Snow falls on the tableland of western Palestine and of Moab, and to a greater depth in the Lebanon, but is almost unknown along the seaboard of Philistia and the plain of Sharon; on Sunday night, 20th January 1884, snow fell to a depth of 2 ft. and upwards around Jerusalem;‡ this is mentioned only in order to dispel the general belief that snow never falls on the Holy City.

Conder disputes the view that the seasons in Palestine have changed since OT times.§ He says, 'As regards the seasons and the character and distribution of the water-supply, natural or artificial, there is, apparently, no reason to suppose that any change has occurred; and with respect to the annual rainfall (as observed for the last ten years‖) it is only necessary to note that, were the old cisterns cleaned and mended, and the beautiful tanks and aqueducts repaired, the ordinary fall would be quite sufficient for the wants of the inhabitants and for irrigation.'¶ While this is doubtless true, there can be no question that

* As the AV translators varied their language as much as possible, we find three different renderings of the one word *ἐσθής* in Ja 2[2. 3]: 'in goodly apparel' (*ἐν ἐσθῆτι λαμπρᾷ*), 'in vile raiment' (*ἐν ῥυπαρᾷ ἐσθῆτι*), and 'the gay clothing' (*τὴν ἐσθῆτα τὴν λαμπράν*). RV has 'clothing' throughout here.

† The connexion of the rainfall and direction of the wind is not very well known, though undoubtedly the S.W. wind is the most humid.

‡ *Mount Seir, Sinai*, etc. 170 (1885).

§ *Tent-Work in Palestine*, ch. xxiv. 334.

‖ From 1870–1880.

¶ *Ib.* p. 366. On the other hand, Tristram appears to consider that the rainfall has diminished since the time of the Crusaders. *Land of Israel*[2], 319.

during the 'Pluvial period,' which extended from the Pliocene down through the Glacial into the commencement of the present or 'Recent' epoch, the rainfall must have been greater and the climate colder and more humid than at the present day. Snow now falls on the summits of Jebel Mûsa and Jebel Katarina in the Sinaitic peninsula, giving rise to the perennial streams which descend from the former of these mountains.* The following is a table of the rainfall at Jerusalem during 20 years:—

TABLE OF THE RAINFALL AT JERUSALEM FROM 1861 TO 1880.

Year.	Fall in Inches.	Year.	Fall in Inches.
1861	27·30	1871	23·57
1862	21·86	1872	22·26
1863	26·54	1873	22·72
1864	15·51	1874	29·75
1865	18·19	1875	27·01
1866	18·55	1876	14·41
1867	29·42	1877	26·00
1868	29·10	1878	32·21
1869	18·61	1879	18·04
1870	13·39	1880	32·11

The above observations, taken by Chaplin, show how extremely variable is the rainfall in this part of Palestine;† the amount varying between 13·39 inches in 1870 and 32·21 inches in 1878; the average for these 20 years is about 20 inches; and the number of days on which rain fell varied from 36 in 1864 to 68 in 1868. The results are not dissimilar to those of the eastern counties of England north of the Thames. These results may be considered as the mean between those of the Lebanon on the north and of the Sinaitic peninsula on the south, the rainfall being greater in the former region than in the latter. Between these two Jerusalem occupies a nearly central position; and the amount of rain is consequently of an intermediate character. E. HULL.

RAINBOW (קֶשֶׁת, τόξον, ἶρις). — No definition is needed of this familiar phenomenon, which Ezekiel describes (1[28]) as 'the bow that is in the cloud in the day of rain'; and no explanation is called for of the optical laws according to which it is produced. The Scripture references to the rainbow are few, and, with one exception, comparatively unimportant. They allude, as a rule, to its brightness, or to the brilliance of its colours. In Ezekiel's vision (*l.c.*) it is the glory of God that is likened to the appearance of the rainbow. In Sir 43[11. 12] the beauty of the rainbow is given as a reason for praising God who has made it, and whose hands have stretched it out. In Sir 50[7] the high priest Simon, the son of Onias, is compared to the rainbow among other glorious objects. In one of the visions of the Apocalypse (Rev 4[3]) there is 'a rainbow round about the throne, like an emerald to look upon,' and in another (10[1]) there is an angel with 'the rainbow upon his head.'

The most important of the Scripture allusions to the rainbow is that in Gn 9[13ff.], where it is introduced at the close of the story of the Deluge as a token of the covenant in which God promised that He would never again destroy the world by a flood. The passage as it stands is capable of two interpretations. It may convey either (*a*) the unscientific idea that the rainbow was *created* after the Flood, or (*b*) the idea that the rainbow, already created, was then *appointed* to have a new significance as a symbol of mercy. Those who regard the narrative as strictly historical, can of course adopt only the latter of these views. But when we take into account such considerations as those given under FLOOD (which see), it seems best to regard the whole story of the Deluge, including that of the rainbow, as a piece of Semitic folk-lore, which, under the guidance of Divine inspiration, 'assumed a Hebrew complexion, being adapted to the spirit of Hebrew monotheism, and made a vehicle for the higher teaching of the Hebrew religion' (Driver in Hogarth's *Authority and Archæology*, p. 27). In an early Sumerian hymn the rainbow is said by Sayce (*Expos. Times*, vii. 308) to be called 'the arc which draws nigh to man, the bow (*qastu*) of the deluge,' and the Chaldæan account of the Flood tells how—

'Already at the moment of her coming the great goddess (Istar) Lifted up the mighty bow * which Anu had made according to his wish.'

The significance of the rainbow as a token of God's covenant with men may be variously viewed. קֶשֶׁת and τόξον (Sir 43[11] 50[7]) are the regular words for the bow as a weapon of war, and the rainbow may have been regarded as God's bow, formerly used in hostility (as in Ps 7[12], Hab 3[9. 11]), and now laid aside. Or it may have appeared to be a link between heaven and earth; or, more probably, its suggestiveness as an emblem of hope may have arisen simply from the contrast between its beauty and brightness and the forbidding gloom of the rain-clouds. In any case, the story of the rainbow is worthy of its place in Scripture. Though poetic rather than literal, it was a beautiful and fitting vehicle for conveying to men in the childhood of the world the truth that God's mercy glories against judgment, and is the ground of all human hope.

Though the Babylonian Flood legend affords the closest parallel to the biblical story of the Deluge and the rainbow, some interesting correspondences may be gathered from the mythology of other nations. In the *Iliad* we find (*a*) the simple view of 'rainbows that the son of Kronos hath set in the clouds' (xi. 27), and (*b*) the conception of Iris as the personified messenger of the gods (iii. 121). In the Lithuanian account of the Flood the rainbow is sent as a comforter and counsellor to the surviving couple. In the Edda the rainbow (*Asbrû, Bîf-röst*) is conceived of as a heavenly bridge which is to break at the end of the world. Akin to this, but with a biblical colouring, was the German belief of the Middle Ages, that for a number of years before the day of judgment the rainbow will no longer be seen.

'So the rainbow appear
The world hath no fear
Until thereafter forty year.'

The popular tendency to connect Christian and mythological conceptions is seen in the fact that in Zante the rainbow is called 'the girdle, or bow, of the virgin.'

The extravagant theory of Goldziher, that the history of Joseph is a solar myth, is fittingly crowned by the supposition that the 'bow' of Joseph (Gn 49[24]) is the rainbow (*Mythology among the Hebrews*, 169–70).

LITERATURE.—Sayce, 'Archæological Commentary on Genesis,' in *Expos. Times*, vii. 308, 463; Ryle, 'Early Narratives of Genesis,' *ib.* iii. 450; Nicol, *Recent Archæology and the Bible*, 71; Dillmann, *Genesis, in loc.*; Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, Eng. tr. 580, 731–734; Thorpe, *Northern Mythology*, i. 11, 12, 81, 201.

JAMES PATRICK.

RAISIN.—See VINE, and FOOD in vol. ii. p. 32[b].

RAKEM.—See REKEM.

* The elevation of Jebel Mûsa is 7373 feet; that of Jebel Katarina 8551 feet.

† 'On the Fall of Rain at Jerusalem,' by J. Glaisher, *PEFSt*, Jan. 1894, p. 39.

* The word rendered 'bow' by Sayce (*l.c.* 463) is, however, very uncertain, other Assyriologists, as Zimmern (*ap.* Gunkel, *Schöpf. u. Chaos*, 427), Jensen (*Kosmol.* 381; *KIB* vi. 241), rendering 'Geschmeide,' 'Intaglio.' Still, this may possibly *denote* the rainbow (Ball, *Light from the East*, 40 n.).

RAKKATH (רַקַּת; B Ὠμαθαδακέθ, the -δακέθ representing רקת by confusion of ר with ר, and the first part of the compound standing for חמת 'Hammath'; A Ῥεκκάθ).—A 'fenced city' of Naphtali, Jos 19[35]. The later Rabbis placed it at or near Tiberias (see Neubauer, *Géog. du Talm.* 208 f.).

C. R. CONDER.

RAKKON.—See ME-JARKON.

RAM (רָם 'lofty,' 'exalted').—**1.** An ancestor of David, Ru 4[19] (Ἀρράν), Mt 1[3. 4] (Ἀράμ, hence AV ARAM, as in Lk 3[33], where RV, following WH Ἀρνεί, has ARNI). In 1 Ch 2[9] (Ῥάμ)[10] (B Ἀρράν, A Ἀράμ) he is called the *brother*, but in vv.[25] (B Ῥάν, A Ῥάμ)[27] (B Ἀράμ, A Ῥάμ) the *son* of Jerahmeel. See GENEALOGY, IV. 5. **2.** The name of the family (מִשְׁפָּחָה) to which Elihu belonged, Job 32[2] (B Ῥάμ, A Ῥαμά, C Ἀράμ). It is quite uncertain whether *Ram* should be taken as a purely fictitious name, coined by the author of the Elihu speeches, or whether it is that of an unknown Arab (?) tribe. In Gn 22[21] Aram is a nephew of BUZ (cf. 'Elihu the Buzite'), and some (*e.g.* Wetzstein, Knobel, Ewald) have supposed that *Ram* is a contraction for *Aram*, in support of which 2 Ch 22[5] is appealed to, where *Ramites* (הָרָמִים) is supposed to be shortened from *Aramites* (אֲרַמִּים, the reading of 2 K 8[28]); but this seems hardly likely. In the passage just referred to, it is more probable that the initial א has been changed by a scribal error into ה, as has happened in several other instances in the OT. Rashi, by a Rabbinical conceit, makes Ram = Abraham.

J. A. SELBIE.

RAM.—See BATTERING-RAM, and SHEEP.

RAMS' HORNS.—See MUSIC in vol. iii. p. 462[a].

RAMS' SKINS.—See DYEING.

RAMAH (הָרָמָה, always with definite art. except in Neh 11[33] and Jer 31[15]).—This word, with its various modifications and compounds Ram, Ramah, Ramoth, Ramathaim, Arimathæa, is derived from the root רום 'to be lofty.' It appears as a 'high place' four times (Ezk 16[24. 25. 31. 39]). As a proper name it is used of—

1. (B Αραηλ, A Ῥαμα) One of the fenced cities of the tribe of Naphtali (Jos 19[36]). It is not otherwise mentioned in OT. Robinson (iii. 79) has identified it as *Râmeh*, a village on the great route between *'Akka* and Damascus, and about 8 miles W.S.W. of *Safed*. The village lies upon the southern lower cultivated slope of the mountain whose ridge forms a boundary between Upper and Lower Galilee, but still several hundred feet above the plain. It is a large village, surrounded by extensive olive groves, and has no traces of antiquity within or around. It is mentioned by Eusebius (*Onom.* 288, 9) and Jerome (*ib.* 146, 19), Brocardus (c. 6) and Adrichomius (p. 123).

2. (Ῥαμα) One of the cities on the boundary of the tribe of Asher near Tyre (Jos 19[29]). 'And the border turned to Ramah, and to the fenced city of Tyre.' Robinson (iii. 64) considers there is no question (and in this he is followed by Guérin, *Galilée*, ii. 125 f., and *SWP*) that Ramah of Asher is represented by the modern village of *Râmia*. It is situated about 12 miles due east of the Ladder of Tyre, as the crow flies. It stands upon an isolated hill, in the midst of a basin with green fields, surrounded by higher hills. The south-western portion of the basin has no outlet for its waters; which therefore collect in a shallow, marshy lake, which dries up in summer. It is a small stone village with a few figs and olives: there are cisterns and a large *birket* for water-supply. There are many sarcophagi about the hillside, some of unusual size. One of the lids measured 7½ feet long and 2 feet broad. Robinson considered the remains generally 'a striking monument of antiquity.' West of *Râmia* is a lofty hill called *Belât*, on which are extensive ruins, and remains of a temple of which ten columns are still standing. There is no trace of Ramah of Asher in any historical records except the bare mention of the name by Eusebius and Jerome. Cf. Buhl, p. 231 n.

3. (Ῥεμμωθ, Ῥαμα) 2 K 8[29] = 2 Ch 22[6]. In this case *Ramah* is an abbreviation of RAMOTH-GILEAD (which see).

4. (Ῥαμα, in Hos 5[8] τὰ ὑψηλά) A city of Benjamin which is possibly (see below) also identical with No. **6**, the birthplace and home of Samuel, but for convenience of consideration it is taken separately. It is given in the list of 14 cities and their villages allotted to Benjamin (Jos 18[25]), the greater number of which have been identified north of Jerusalem. The first three are Gibeon (*el-Jîb*, 5 miles N.N.W. of Jerusalem and 3 miles west of *er-Râm*), Ramah (*er-Râm*, 2600 feet, 5 miles due north of Jerusalem and near the main road to north), Beeroth (*el-Bîreh*, 10 miles north of Jerusalem near main road to north). Isaiah (10[29]) enumerates the positions that will be successively taken up by the king of Assyria as he approaches Jerusalem after laying up his carriages (*i.e.* baggage) at Michmash: 'They are gone over the pass: they have taken up their lodging at Geba; Ramah trembleth; Gibeah of Saul is fled.' The Levite (Jg 19[13]), passing Jerusalem with his concubine when the day was far spent, passed on to Gibeah (*Tell el-Fûl*, 2 miles south of *er-Râm*), which was short of Ramah. The Palm-tree of Deborah was between Ramah and Bethel in the hill-country of Ephraim (Jg 4[5]). *Beitîn* (Bethel) is 5 miles N. of *er-Râm*.

From these notices it seems to follow that *er-Râm* is the modern equivalent of Ramah. The distance from Jerusalem (5 miles as the crow flies) accords with the account of Eusebius and Jerome (*Onomast.* 287, 1; 146, 9: 6 m. N. of Jerusalem) and of Josephus (*Ant.* VIII. xii. 3).

After the separation of the kingdoms, Baasha king of Israel (1 K 15[17ff.]) went up against Judah and built (fortified) Ramah, 'that he might not suffer any one to go out or come in to Asa king of Judah,' showing that Ramah commanded the high road leading to Jerusalem; but Asa secured the assistance of Benhadad king of Syria, who smote the northern cities of Israel, so that Baasha desisted from building Ramah, and Asa took away the stones and the timber and built with them Geba of Benjamin and Mizpah (2 Ch 16[1-6]). From this it would appear that Ramah was more suitable for defence towards the south than towards the north. After the destruction of Jerusalem, Ramah is mentioned as the place (Jer 40[1]) where the captain of the guard over those who were carried away captive from Jerusalem loosed Jeremiah from his chains. Ramah was very near to Geba and Gibeah: see Is 10[29] cited above, and cf. 'Blow ye the cornet in Gibeah and the trumpet in Ramah' (Hos 5[8]);* 'The children of Ramah and Geba' (Ezr 2[26], Neh 7[30] [LXX Αραμα]).† It was also the traditional site of Rachel's tomb: 'A voice was heard in Ramah . . . Rachel weeping for her children' (Jer 31[15]: cf. above, p. 193[a]). The Ramah of Neh 11[33] is, in all probability, the same place.

Er-Râm is a small village in a conspicuous position on the top of a high white hill, with olives: it has a well to the south; west of the

* But in 1 S 22[6] 'Saul was sitting in Gibeah . . . in Ramah' render 'in Gibeah . . . *on the height*' (Keil, Kirkp., etc., RVm), even, indeed, if we should not read, with LXX (ἐν Βαμα) and H. P. Smith, 'on the *high place*.'—S. R. D.

† In 1 Es 5[20] we find *Kirama* (K(ε)ιραμά) instead of *Ramah*.

village is a good *birket* with a pointed vault; on the hill are cisterns. At *Khân er-Râm*, by the main road, is a quarry; and drafted stones are used up in the village walls (*SWP* iii. 155). The height of the village is about 2600 feet.

C. WARREN.

5. Ramah of the South (רָאמַת נֶגֶב; Βαμεθ (A Ιαμεθ) κατὰ λίβα).—'Height of the south,' a city of Simeon (Jos 19[8]), at its extreme southern limit, apparently another name for BAALATH-BEER, with which it is in apposition in this passage. It appears to be the same as **Ramoth of the South** (1 S 30[27], LXX here also has the singular, Ῥαμα νότου). The verse is not contained in the parallel list (in the description of Judah), Jos 15[26-32] (after v.[32]); and in the transcript in 1 Ch 4[28-33], though (v.[33]) Baal (=Baalath-beer: LXX Βαλαθ) is mentioned, the alternative name 'Ramah of the South' is not given. Nor is it mentioned by Eusebius or Jerome. Its situation is quite uncertain. It has been placed on a low ridge called Ḳubbet el-Baul, about 35 m. S. of Hebron, on the main route from Hebron to Petra; or (Tristram, *Bible Places*, 23) at Kurnub, a little further to the S. (see Rob. ii. 197, 198, 202); but either identification rests upon slight grounds (cf. Dillm. on Jos 15[24]; Buhl, 184).

6. 1 S 1[19] 2[11] 7[17] 8[4] 15[34] 16[13] 19[17f. 22f.] 20[1] 25[1] 28[3]; in 1 S 1[1], also, **Ramathaim,*** 'the double eminence,' or 'the two Ramahs' (הָרָמָתַיִם: LXX in all the passages quoted (+19[22a]), except 19[19. 22b. 23] 20[1], has Αρμαθαιμ, which it also inserts in 1 S 1[3] after 'his city': comp. 1 Mac 11[34] Ῥαμαθεμ [so MSS; AN corruptly Ῥαθαμειν], Pesh. ܪܡܬܝܡ). The birth-place, residence, and burial-place of Samuel (1 S 1[1] 7[17] 28[3]). The question of its site is difficult; and there have been many claimants for it. All that we definitely know about it is that it was on an eminence, as its name 'Ramah' implies, and that it was in the hill-country of Ephraim, not too far either from Shiloh, the sanctuary to which the parents of Samuel went up yearly to sacrifice (1 S 1), or from Bethel, Gilgal, and Mizpah (Neby Samwîl), the places visited by Samuel in his annual circuits as judge (1 S 7[16. 17]). Although this has been doubted, it is also extremely difficult to avoid identifying it with the unnamed city where Saul found Samuel (1 S 9), and which is spoken of as if it were the seer's habitual residence (vv.[6. 18]).

As regards antiquity, Eusebius writes (*Onom.* 225, 11 ff.): 'Αρμαθεμ Σειφα [as LXX]. The city of Elkana and Samuel. It lies near Diospolis [Jerome, *ib.* 96, 18, adds, 'in the district of Timnah' (in regione Thamnitica)]; thence came Joseph, said in the Gospels to be from Arimathea.' And in 1 Mac 11[34] Ramathem is mentioned, together with Aphærema (Ephraim, 5 m. N.E. of Bethel) and Lydda (=Diospolis), as three toparchies which had belonged to Samaria, but were in B.C. 145 transferred to Judæa. These notices would agree with a site *Beit-Rima*, a village on a hill 13 m. E.N.E. of Lydda (Diospolis), and 2 m. N. of Timnah (Tibneh), proposed originally by Furrer in Schenkel's *Bibellexicon* (cf. Schürer, i. 183), and adopted by G. A. Smith, *HGHL* 254, and Buhl, 170. It is true, Eus. says '*near* Diospolis': but the word need not be understood too strictly;* and there are other passages in which the 'district of Timnah' is reckoned by him as belonging to the ὅριον Διοσπόλεως (219, 84=Jerome 92, 4; 239, 93-4=Jerome 107, 12-14: so Timnah itself, 260, 4 =156, 7). Beit-Rima is 12 m. W. of Shiloh, and 12 m. N.W. of Bethel, on the W. edge of the hill-country of Ephraim.†

Another possible site for Ramah would be *Râm-allah*, 3 m. S.W. of Bethel, and 12 m. S.W. of Shiloh, now a large Christian village, standing on a high ridge, with rock-cut tombs, and overlooking the whole country towards the W. as far as the sea (*BRP* i. 453 f.; *PEF Mem.* iii. 13). This was suggested by Ewald (*Hist.* ii. 421), with the remark that its present name, 'the high place of God,' seems still to mark it as a place of ancient sanctity. Râm-allah has not the same support of tradition that Beit-Rima enjoys; but (if Ramah be the city of Samuel of 1 S 9) it seems to agree better with the terms of 1 S 9[4 end. 5]; for Râm-allah, though, if it were Ramathaim, it would be in 'the hill-country of Ephraim' (1 S 1[1]), might also, as seems to be implied of the city in 1 S 9 (vv.[4 end. 5]), be regarded as being in Benjamin (cf. Jg 4[5]). Saul would probably, on his route home to Gibeah, pass naturally near Rachel's sepulchre, on the (N.) 'border' of Benjamin (1 S 10[2]), somewhere near er-Râm (No. 4), and might also 'meet' naturally men 'going up' to Bethel (v.[3]), whether his starting-point were Beit-Rima or Râm-allah.

Of other, less probable identifications, the following may be mentioned:—

(1) Ramleh. The traveller of to-day, as he journeys through the Maritime Plain from Joppa to Jerusalem, is assured by his dragoman, when he reaches Ramleh (12 m. S.E. of Joppa, 2 m. S.W. of Lydda), that this is the Arimathæa of the Gospels. As Robinson (*BRP* ii. 234-41) shows at length, there is no ground for this identification. Ramleh is no ancient city; it was built by Suleimân, after he had destroyed Lydda, in the 8th cent. A.D.; and it is first mentioned (acc. to Robinson, p. 234) in 870 (under the form *Ramula*) by the monk Bernard. The name Ramleh signifies *sand*; and has no etymological connexion whatever with Ramah, *high*. Ramleh is also in the Maritime Plain, not, like Ramathaim, in the 'hill-country' of Ephraim.

(2) Neby Samwîl, the commanding and conspicuous eminence (2935 ft.) above Gibeon, 4½ m. N.W. of Jerusalem. Procopius (*c.* 560) mentions a monastery of 'St. Samuel' in Palestine (though without indicating its site); and in the Crusaders' time a church of 'St. Samuel' was built (A.D. 1157) at Neby Samwîl, which, with Moslem additions (including a minaret), remains, though partly in a ruined state, to the present day; close by, and once probably in the nave of the church, is the cenotaph of the prophet, now a Moslem wely (cf. Robinson, *BRP* i. 459 f.; *SP* 214 f.; *Tent-Work*, 258 f.; *PEF Mem.* iii. 12 f., 149-152, with views). The Ramah of Samuel was identified, at least provisionally, with Neby Samwîl by Mr. (afterwards Sir G.) Grove (in Smith's *DB*). The tradition connecting the place with Samuel is, however, very late; and Neby Samwîl is much more probably Mizpeh (Rob. i. 460; *HGHL* 120; Buhl, 167 f.).

(3) Other identifications that have been proposed are Sôba, on an elevated conical hill, 5 m. W. of Jerusalem (Robinson, ii. 7-10); the Frankenberg, or Jebel Fureidis, the ancient Herodium, 4 m. S.E. of Bethlehem (Ges. *Thes.* 1276[a]); er-Râm, said

* '**Ramathaim-zophim**' (הָרָמָתַיִם צוֹפִים) is grammatically impossible. Of course the expression cannot mean 'the heights of the views' (!), as the reader of *Tent-Work* (p. 257) is gravely informed. LXX for צוֹפִים has Σωφα, showing that the final ם has arisen by dittography from the following word. Read either 'a man of Ramathaim, a Zuphite (צוּפִי; see 1 S 9[5]) of the hill-country of Ephraim' (Wellh., Driver, Löhr); or (though this is not the usual way of designating a person's native place in the OT) 'a man of the Ramathites (מִן־הָרָמָתַיִם: 1 Ch 27[27]), a Zuphite,' etc. (Klost., Budde, H. P. Smith). The dual 'Ramathaim,' though by no means unparalleled (cf. *Kiriathaim, Gederothaim*), is remarkable, in view of the sing. *hā-Rāmāh* in v.[19] and everywhere else.

* Lydda, as Robinson, *BRP* ii. 240, observes, though 11 miles from Joppa, is said in Ac 9[38] to be 'near' to it.

† Elsewhere, however (146, 25 f.; 288, 11 f.), Eus. and Jerome identify Arimathæa with a Ῥεμφις or Remfthis, also ἐν ὁρίοις Διοσπόλεως,—supposed to be the village of Rantieh, 6 m. N of Lydda.

to be a little N. of Beth-lehem, and E. of the so-called 'Rachel's tomb,' but not known to Rob. (ii. 8 *n.*) or marked on the *PEF* map (Bonar, *Land of Promise*, 114); Ramet el-Khalîl, 1 m. N. of Hebron (van de Velde, *Syr. and Pal.* ii. 50); and the two heights ('Ramathaim') of 'Alîa (2960 ft.) and Bireh (2980 ft.), 3 m. W.S.W. of Beth-lehem—the latter ½ m. S. of the former, but without a name on the *PEF* map (Schick, *PEFSt*, 1898, p. 16 f., with map). But it is incredible that any of these places can have been regarded as being in *Ephraim* (1 S 1[1]); and, except the first, they are all connected with the identification of 'Rachel's sepulchre' in 1 S 10[2] with the place now shown as 'Rachel's tomb,' 1 m. N. of Beth-lehem, which (see p. 193[a]) seems impossible. S. R. Driver.

RAMATHAIM, RAMATHAIM-ZOPHIM.—See Ramah, No. **6.**

RAMATHITE (הָרָמָתִי; B ὁ ἐκ Ῥαήλ, A ὁ Ῥαμαθαῖος).—Shimei the Ramathite was over the vineyards of king David, 1 Ch 27[27]. Which of the Ramahs enumerated in art. Ramah is in view here, must remain uncertain.

RAMATH-LEHI.—See Lehi.

RAMATH-MIZPEH (רָמַת הַמִּצְפֶּה; B Ἀραβὼθ κατὰ τὴν Μασσηφά, A Ῥαμὼθ . . . Μασφά).—Mentioned in Jos 13[26] only as one of the limits of the tribe of Gad to the north, Heshbon being the limit to the south. It may be identical with Mizpah (and Mizpeh) of Gilead (see Mizpah, No. **1**).

C. Warren.

RAMESES.—See Raamses.

RAMIAH (רַמְיָה 'Jah is high'; Ῥαμιά).—One of the sons of Parosh who had married a foreign wife, Ezr 10[25], called in 1 Es 9[26] Hiermas.

RAMOTH.—**1.** In Ezr 10[29] AV and RVm read 'and Ramoth' (*i.e.* וְרָמוֹת; B καὶ Μημών, A καὶ Ῥημώθ) for Jeremoth (*i.e.* יְרֵמוֹת) of RV. In 1 Es 9[30] the name is Hieremoth. Jeremoth or Ramoth was one of the sons of Bani who had married a foreign wife.

2. (רָאמוֹת, BA om.) A Gershonite Levitical city in Issachar, 1 Ch 6[58 (73)], apparently = Remeth of Jos 19[21] and Jarmuth of Jos 21[29] (see artt. on these names). **3.** For 'Ramoth of the south' (רָמוֹת נֶגֶב) see Ramah, No. **5.** **4.** For 'Ramoth in Gilead' (Dt 4[43], Jos 20[8] 21[38], 1 Ch 6[65 (80)]) see Ramoth-Gilead. J. A. Selbie.

RAMOTH-GILEAD.—A prominent city east of the Jordan belonging to the tribe of Gad, and first brought to our notice in the assignment of the Cities of Refuge, Dt 4[43], Jos 20[8]. It was also a Levitical city, Jos 21[38]. In four passages, the three just mentioned and 1 Ch 6[80] [Heb.[65]], all referring to this assignment, the form 'Ramoth in Gilead' (רָמוֹת בַּגִּלְעָד [in Dt 4[43], Jos 20[8], 1 Ch 6[65] רָאמוֹת]) is used, but elsewhere it is simply Ramoth-gilead (רָמוֹת גִּל׳). Another early notice of this place belongs to the time of Solomon, and makes it the headquarters of one of the commissariat officers of that king, 1 K 4[13]. See, also, Ramah, No. **3.**

Although it is mentioned as a well-known city, we have no account, in the Bible or elsewhere, of its origin. The greater its importance the more conspicuous it would naturally be; and this we find was the case, in the wars between the Syrian kings of Damascus and the Hebrews. Of these wars we have the fullest account of those occurring between B.C. 900 and B.C. 800, particularly during the reigns of Ahab, Ahaziah, Jehoram, and Jehu, kings of Israel. Although the southern kingdom sometimes acted as an ally, the brunt of these wars fell upon the Northern kingdom, since from its nearer position it was more especially interested in them than the kingdom of Judah. In one of these wars Ahab, king of Israel, was killed, 1 K 22[34-37], and at a later time his son Jehoram (Joram) was wounded, and was carried to Jezreel, 2 K 8[28. 29], in the neighbourhood of which he was shortly afterwards murdered by Jehu, who, by the directions of Elisha, had been anointed king of Israel.

In Hos 6[8] * there is mentioned a city named Gilead, about whose identity there has been difficulty; but the probability is that Ramoth-gilead † is meant, the first word having been dropped, a thing well known in the history of OT double names.

The Babylonian Talmud (*Makkoth* 9*b*) places the Cities of Refuge in pairs, so that those on the east of the Jordan are opposite those on the west of that river. Shechem, being the middle one of the three west of the Jordan, should have Ramoth-gilead nearly opposite it on the east of the Jordan, and this would place its site at Gerasa, the modern *Gerash*. There is no reason for supposing that the Talmud in this case went out of its way to state something that was contrary to fact, especially at a time when the misstatement could so readily have been pointed out.

The main route from Shechem to the country east of the Jordan and on to Damascus is by the Damieh ford and Wâdy Ajlun. A carriage road with a very easy grade could be made along this valley, and this was the route by which the kings of Israel went back and forth with their chariots to fight the Syrians.

The attempt of Ewald and Conder to locate Ramoth-gilead at *Reimun* in the Gilead hills has little in its favour. This place has neither water nor ancient ruins, it is not a point where a prominent city would be built, it is not on or near the road from Shechem to the east, and the military operations carried on at Ramoth-gilead could never have taken place here. Nearly the same can be said of *eṣ-Ṣalt*, another rival for the site of Ramoth-gilead. It has no ruins, and only a spring for water-supply, while Gerash has a large living stream running directly through the town. It ought to be stated that both these places were suggested for the site in question before the east Jordan country had been thoroughly explored. It seems now, however, that the results of modern research should have weight above the casual observations of a former period.

The testimony of Eusebius and Jerome, which frequently is of great service in determining topographical questions, is in this case conflicting, for one places Ramoth-gilead 15 miles west, and the other the same distance east of Philadelphia. (1) Ramoth-gilead, if placed at Gerash, where the writer is fully convinced it should be placed, would be suitable for a City of Refuge, because it would be on the main road of that part of the country. (2) For the same reason, and, moreover, because it was a central and wealthy city, it would be a suitable station for a commissariat officer. (3) Here chariots could be used freely, which is not true of eṣ-Ṣalt. (4) This identification confirms Jewish testimony that Ramoth-gilead was opposite Shechem. (5) It would confirm Jewish tradition that Gerash was identical with Ramoth-gilead. See a full discussion of this question in the writer's *East of the Jordan*, pp. 284–290.

Literature.—Dillmann, *Genesis*, ii. 269; Buhl, *GAP* 262 (both locate Ramoth-gilead in the ruins of *el-Jaʿud*, some 6 miles N. of eṣ-Salt); Neubauer, *Géog. du Talm.* 55, 250 (inclines to identify with eṣ-Salt); Baedeker, *Pal.* 287; G. A. Smith, *HGHL* 586 ff. (would locate near the Yarmuk, farther north than the usual sites); Merrill, *East of the Jordan*, 284 ff.; Tristram, *Land of Israel*, 477, 552; Oliphant, *Land of Gilead*, 212; Conder, *Heth and Moab*[3], 179 ff., *Bible Places*, ed. 1897, 394 f.; G. A. Cooke, *ap.* Driver, *Deut.* 'Addenda,' p. xx.

Selah Merrill.

RANGE.—To 'range' is to 'set in ranks' (the words are cognate: Fr. *rang*, Old Fr. *reng*, a row,

* Possibly also in Jg 10[17].

† Some MSS of Luc. recension have Γάλγαλα (Gilgal). See Nowack, *ad loc.*

of German origin), and a 'range' is a 'rank' or 'row.' When ranges or ranks of men scoured a country they were said to 'range' the country. That is the only use of the verb in AV, viz. in Pr 28[15] 'As a roaring lion and a ranging bear.' Cf. Barnes, *Sonnets*, li.—

> 'Who, like a rangying lyon, with his pawes
> Thy little flocke with daily dread adawes';

Golding, *Calvin's Job*, p. 579, 'It is a pity to see what man is; for he is so fraught with evill, that assoone as he hath a litle libertie given him, by and by he raungeth out on the one side or on the other, and will not hold the right way, but gaddeth astray, ye even or ever he thinke it.'

The subst. signifies: (1) files or rows of soldiers, 2 K 11[8. 15], 2 Ch 23[14] ('Have her forth of the ranges,' Heb. שְׁדֵרוֹת); (2) the extent of one's ranging or roaming, Job 39[8] 'The range of the mountains is his pasture' (יְתוּר); and (3) a grate or stove with rows of openings on the top for carrying on several processes at once, Lv 11[35] 'ranges for pots' (כִּירַיִם, RV 'range,' RVm 'stewpan'). Cf. Spenser, *FQ.* II. ix. 29—

> 'It was a vaut ybuilt for great dispence,
> With many raunges reard along the wall,
> And one great chimney, whose long tonnell thence
> The smoke forth threw.'

J. HASTINGS.

RANSOM is the tr. in OT of the Heb. words כֹּפֶר, from כָּפַר 'to cover,' hence 'to propitiate,' 'to appease' (so AV and RV in Ex 30[12], Job 33[24] 36[18], Ps 49[7], Pr 6[35] 13[8] 21[18], Is 43[3]; and RV alone in Ex 21[30], Nu 35[31. 32], 1 S 12[3], where AV renders respectively 'sum of money,' 'satisfaction,' and 'bribe'); and פִּדְיוֹן, from פָּדָה 'to redeem' (so AV in Ex 21[30], RV 'redemption').* The verbal form פָּדָה is also occasionally rendered by 'ransom' instead of by the more usual '**redeem**' (so AV and RV in Is 35[10], Hos 13[14], and RV in Ps 69[18], Is 51[11], Jer 31[11]), and the same is true in two cases (AV in Is 51[10], Jer 31[11]) of the parallel term גָּאַל.

In NT the word occurs only in Mt 20[28] = Mk 10[45] (where it renders the Gr. λύτρον), and 1 Ti 2[6] (where it takes the place of the rare word ἀντίλυτρον). In both cases it is used of Christ's gift of Himself for the redemption of men. 'The Son of Man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give his life a ransom for many.' 'There is . . . one Mediator between God and men, *himself* man, Christ Jesus, who gave himself a ransom for all.'

For the understanding of these NT passages the OT offers us two possible conceptions, corresponding in general to the different Heb. equivalents of the Gr. λύτρον.† On the one hand, if regarded as taking the place of some word from the stems פדה or גאל, it may refer to the money payments required under the law to secure the release of persons from slavery (*e.g.* Ex 21[8], Lv 25[47-49]; cf. 1 P 1[18. 19], Gal 3[13], and the passages cited under REDEMPTION). On the other hand, if taken as the equivalent of כֹּפֶר (lit. 'covering,' hence 'propitiatory gift'—restricted, however, by usage to a gift offered as a satisfaction for a life; see art. PROPITIATION, § 6), it may denote the ransom paid by an offender either to man (Ex 21[30], Nu 35[30. 32], Pr 6[35]) or to God (Ex 30[12], Ps 49[7]) in order to save the life which he has forfeited by his wrongdoing.‡

* Elsewhere only Ps 49[8] (AV and RV 'the redemption of their soul [life]'); cf. פָּדֶה פִּדְיוֹם Nu 3[49. 51] (*Kethibh*) [all], RV 'redemption-money.'

† This word stands in the LXX for derivatives of פדה in Ex 21[30b], Lv 19[20], Nu 3[46. 48. 49. 51] (cf. v.[12]) 18[15]; of גאל in Lv 25[24. 26. 51. 52] 27[31]; for כֹּפֶר in Ex 21[30a] 30[12], Nu 35[31. 32], Pr 6[35] 13[8]; and for מְחִיר 'price' in Is 45[13].

‡ The distinction between the Heb. terms is not always maintained, for פִּדְיוֹן נֶפֶשׁ is virtually = כֹּפֶר; see Ex 21[30], Ps 49[7. 8], also Job 33[24] if (as is probable) פְּדֵהוּ is an error for כָּפְרוּ.

Those exegetes who regard λύτρον as suggesting פדה or גאל, interpret Mk 10[45] after the analogy of 1 P 1[18. 19], and understand Jesus as teaching that His life is the ransom price by which He redeems His disciples from bondage (so Wendt [*Teaching of Jesus*, ii. p. 226 ff.], who thinks of deliverance from suffering and death; Beyschlag [*NT Theol.* i. p. 153], who thinks of freedom from sin). This view is possible even if we take λύτρον as the tr. of כֹּפֶר (so Briggs [*Mess. Gosp.* p. 111], who cites Is 43[3] 'I have given Egypt as thy ransom,' where the context makes it clear that the thought is of deliverance from captivity. The כֹּפֶר paid by J" to Cyrus releases Israel; cf. the parallel 'Seba *instead of* thee'). In this case we must regard the ransom as paid to the one who holds the prisoners captive. The older interpreters, taking the figure literally, taught that Christ's death was a ransom paid to Satan. Modern exegetes either think of the recipient as an impersonal power, such as death (Wendt), 'sin and evil' (Briggs), or 'that ultimate necessity which has made the whole course of things what it has been' (Sanday, *Romans*, p. 86), or else, relying on the figurative character of the language, refuse to raise the question at all (cf. Westcott, *Hebrews*, p. 296).

The other interpretation, starting with כֹּפֶר as a propitiatory gift offered in satisfaction for a life, makes God the recipient of the ransom. Thus Ritschl, following Ps 49[7] and Mk 8[37], thinks of the life of Jesus as a precious gift, offered to God in order to ransom from death those who were unable to provide a sufficiently valuable כֹּפֶר for themselves (so Weiss, *Bibl. Theol.* p. 101; Runze, *ZWTh*, 1889, p. 148 ff.; Cremer, *Bib.-Theol. Wörterb.* p. 594). In this case the thought is clearly of deliverance from penalty, and the nearest parallel is to be found in Mt 26[28], where Jesus compares His death to a covenant sacrifice, offered for the remission of sins upon the occasion of the establishment of the new covenant between God and the disciples. (Cf. Tit 2[14], He 9[12], 1 P 1[18. 19], where the combination between the ransom and the sacrificial figures is clearly found). The exact meaning will vary according as we associate ἀντί with λύτρον alone (Cremer), or with the whole clause (Ritschl, Weiss). In the first case the comparison will be between the life of Jesus and that of the many whose place it takes; in the latter it will merely express the fact that, in laying down His life, Jesus takes the place of the disciples in doing that which they ought to do for themselves.

Whichever interpretation we take, it is important not to isolate the death of Jesus from the life which precedes it. It is not the death as such which is a ransom, but the death considered as the culmination and completion of a previous career of ministry. This is clearly shown by the preceding context, 'The Son of Man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give his life a ransom for many.' We have here the same combination of suffering and service which meets us in the OT in the Suffering Servant of Is 53. It is clear, therefore, that the gift of which our Lord speaks should not be confined to the death on the cross, but includes also His 'entire Person and service which He gives in ministry' (Briggs, p. 111; so Weiss, Wendt).

It is to be noted that while Mk 10[45] speaks of the life of Christ as given for many, 1 Ti 2[6] gives the ransom a universal significance: 'Christ Jesus . . . who gave himself a ransom for all.'

See, further, under REDEMPTION, SALVATION.

LITERATURE.—Ritschl, *Rechtf. und Vers.* ii. pp. 68–88; Runze, *ZWTh*, 1889, p. 148 ff.; Weiss, *Bibl. Theol.* p. 74 [Eng. tr. p. 101]; Beyschlag, *Neutest. Theol.* i. p. 149 [Eng. tr. i. p. 152]; Wendt, *Lehre Jesu*, ii. p. 509 ff. [Eng. tr. ii. p. 226 ff.]; Cremer, *Bibl.*-

Theol. Wörterb. s. λύτρον; Westcott, *Hebrews*, 229 ff.; Briggs, *Mess. Gosp.* p. 110 ff. For similar ideas among the later Jews, cf. Weber, *Jüdische Theologie*, p. 313 ff.

W. Adams Brown.

RAPE.—See art. Crimes and Punishments in vol. i. p. 522b.

RAPHA, RAPHAH.—**1.** In RVm these names are substituted for 'the giant' in 1 Ch $20^{4.6.8}$ (הָרָפָא) and in 2 S $21^{16.18.20.22}$ (הָרָפָה) respectively. It is there said that certain Philistine champions, slain by David's heroes, were born to the *rāphāh* in Gath. The word is certainly a common noun, and not a proper name. If used individually, 'the giant' is probably the Goliath whom David slew. But more probably the noun is a collective, and denotes the stock of the giants, rather than any one person. The plural of this word, or at least a plural of this stem, is Rephaim (which see).

2. For **Raphah** (AV Rapha), a descendant of Saul, 1 Ch 8^{37}, see Rephaiah, No. **4**.

W. J. Beecher.

RAPHAEL (רָפָאֵל; LXX Ῥαφαήλ, 'El has healed') is not named in the Hebrew Scriptures, and in the LXX only in Tobit. His functions may best be learned from his own words in To $12^{12\text{-}15}$, where, combining the different versions, we read, 'I am Raphael, one of the seven angels who stand and serve before the throne of God's glory, presenting the prayers of saints. I brought the memorial of your prayers and tears before the Holy One. When thou didst bury the slain, I was with thee; and now God hath sent me to heal thee.' On this passage we would observe: (1) The 'seven angels,' of whom Raphael declares himself one, were probably Raphael, Gabriel, Uriel, Michael, Izidkiel, Hanael, and Kepharel. We read in Rev 8^2 of 'the seven angels who stand before God'; and in 1^4 of 'the seven spirits who are before the throne' (but this passage is understood by most expositors to refer to the Holy Spirit, cf. 5^6); and 'which are sent forth into all the earth,' 5^6. (2) These seven are the archangels, the princes of the angelic host. They stand near the throne of glory, and were conceived to be the only angels who are permitted to enter within the radiance. Gabriel describes himself (Lk 1^{19}) as one that 'stands in the presence of God.' (3) The doctrine of Divine aloofness, which was pushed to extreme lengths in late Judaism, has, here in Tobit, reached thus far, that God does not Himself hear prayer. He was thought, as Epicurus also taught, to be engaged in higher pursuits. Prayers which by their importunity or worth reach heaven, are heard by the angels of the Presence, and are carried to the throne by them, and then they are commissioned to execute the answer. There is no clear evidence in Tobit that prayer was presented *to* the angels; though Cod. B in To 3^{16} almost implies this, where we read, 'The prayer of both was heard before the glory *of the great Raphael*.' All the other versions read 'before the glory *of God*.' The Book of Tobit does not assign to Raphael any intercessory mediation. He is simply a messenger, reporting to the Ineffable man's prayers and tears, cf. Ac 10^4, Rev. 8^3. (4) Raphael served holy men as a *guardian angel*. When Tobias was in danger of losing his life for burying Jews who had been massacred in Nineveh, Raphael 'was with him,' protecting him. But the unique feature of the Book of Tobit is that Raphael is said to have assumed a human form, claiming to be a kinsman of Tobit, and travelling as guide with him from Nineveh to Ecbatana. While the wedding festivities of Tobit and Sarah were being celebrated, Raphael went forward to Rages in Media, for the money which Tobias had, years before, deposited with his friend Gabael, and eventually Raphael brought the bridal pair safe home. Before taking his leave Raphael assures Tobias that when he seemed to them to eat and drink, they were under an illusion, To 12^{19}. (5) The chief characteristic of Raphael was as a *healer of men's maladies*. Tobias, the father of Tobit, was afflicted with *leucoma* in the eyes; and Sarah was possessed by the demon Asmodæus, who had, on the first night of marriage, slain seven husbands who had been married to Sarah. By the fumes of the heart and liver of a fish burnt on embers, Raphael instructed Tobit how to expel the demon, and to use the gall of the same fish to cure Tobias' blindness.

In Enoch 10 Raphael and Michael both receive a commission from God to punish the fallen angels, who had married human wives. The reason why Raphael was bidden to cast the angels into cavities, and cover them for ever with rugged stones, was, that he might *heal* the earth, which had been defiled by the enormities of the 'watchers.' Jewish tradition names Raphael as the third of the angels who appeared to Abraham in Gn 18, his duty being to impart to Sarah 'strength to conceive seed,' cf. He 11^{11}, Ro 4^{19}. The Midrash speaks of a *Book of Noah* (see vol. iii. p. 557a), which was one of the earliest treatises on medicine. The origin of this book is said to have been that after the Flood men were afflicted with various diseases, and God sent the angel Raphael to disclose to Noah the use of curative plants and roots (Rönsch, *Buch der Jubiläen*, 385 f.). Thus was Raphael true to his name, 'El has healed.' J. T. Marshall.

RAPHAIM (A Ῥαφαίν, ℵ Ῥαφαείν, B om.).—An ancestor of Judith, Jth 8^1.

RAPHON (Ῥαφών).—A city in Bashan, 'beyond the wādy' (πέραν τοῦ χειμάρρου), near which Timotheus sustained a defeat at the hands of Judas Maccabæus (1 Mac 5^{37}). It is no doubt the *Raphana* of Pliny (*HN* v. 16), but the site has not yet been identified. C. R. Conder.

RAPHU (רָפוּא 'healed'; Ῥαφού).—The father of Palti, the spy selected from the tribe of Benjamin, Nu 13^9.

RASSES (BA Ῥασσείς, ℵ Ῥαασσείς, Lat. *Cod. corb.* and Vulg. *Tharsis* [=Tarsus], Old Lat. *Tyras et Rasis*, Syr. *Thiras* (Gn 10^2) *and Raamses* (Ex 1^{11})).—Among the peoples which Holofernes subdued are mentioned 'the children of Rasses' (Jth 2^{23}). Some think the Vulg. *Tarsus* is original, the Greek a corruption, the Old Lat. and Syr. a union of the two. Fritzsche suggested *Rhosos*, a mountain chain and city south of Amanos, on the Gulf of Issus. Ball adds the possibility of *Rosh* (Ezk $38^{2.3}$ 39^1). Eastern Asia Minor seems to be the general region which the connexion suggests.

F. C. Porter.

RATHUMUS (Ῥάθυμος), 'the story-writer' or 'recorder,' 1 Es $2^{16.17.25.30}$, is the same as 'Rehum the chancellor' of Ezr $4^{8\text{-}9.17.23}$. The LXX of Ezra has merely transliterated the Aramaic title; 1 Es has either taken it as a proper name (καὶ Βεέλτεθμος, ^{16}), or tr^{d} it as a title (ὁ [γράφων] τὰ προσπίπτοντα ^{17}), or combined both these renderings (^{25}). See Beeltethmus, Chancellor.

RAVEN (עֹרֵב *ōrēbh*, κόραξ, *corvus*, Arab. *ghurâb*).—Both the Heb. and Arab. roots mean 'to be black.' The Arab. root also contains the idea of *leaving home*. From these two meanings the raven has come to be a bird of specially evil omen to the Arabs, who attribute to his presence the worst of presages of death and disaster. They are especially superstitious about the *ghurâb el-bên*, which they say is marked with white on his

black coat, or has a red beak and legs. What bird is meant by these descriptions is not quite clear. It is probably fabulous.

The raven is the first bird mentioned by name in the Bible (Gn 8^7). The Heb. implies that the raven went out and stayed, probably feeding on carcasses. The LXX and Vulg. seem to imply that it went out and stayed until the waters were dried up, and then returned. But there would have been no reason for its returning then. The raven was unclean (Lv 11^{15}, Dt 14^{14}). It is in part a carrion bird, and therefore uneatable. Ravens were commanded to feed Elijah, and did so (1 K 17^{4-6}). See article ELIJAH in vol. i. p. 688[b]. God is twice said to provide for young ravens (Job 38^{41}, Ps 147^9). There is nothing especially significant in this. It is implied in the previous and succeeding verses that God provides for other wild animals. The stories that ravens neglect their young are fabulous. The allusion to the carrion-eating propensities of ravens (Pr 30^{17}) is true to nature. They are always found among the birds and animals which assemble around a carcass in Palestine. They, however, capture and eat lizards, hares, mice, etc. Their black colour is compared with that of the hair of the Shulammite's lover (Ca 5^{11}). They are among the ill-omened creatures which symbolize the desolation of Edom (Is 34^{11}). Ravens are not wholly flesh-eaters. On the contrary, they are very fond of chick peas and other grains, by devouring which they do vast damage to the farmers.

The term *ʿōrēbh*, as well as *κόραξ*, is not confined to the raven. It doubtless includes all birds after its kind (Lv 11^{15}). Of these, besides *Corvus corax*, L., the raven, there are in Palestine *C. affinis*, Rüpp., the Fantail Raven; *C. cornix*, L., the Hooded Crow (Arab. *zâgh*); *C. agricola*, Trist., the Syrian Rook; *C. monedula*, L., the Jackdaw (Arab. *ḳâḳ*); *Garrulus atricapillus*, St. H., the Syrian Jay or Garrulous Roller (Arab. *ʿaḳâḳ*); and *Pyrrhocorax alpinus*, Koch, the Alpine Chough. Most of these eat vegetable food as well as animal, including grubs, worms, etc. To all would apply the words of Christ (Lk 12^{24}) in regard to God's provision for them, although they neither sow nor gather into storehouses. G. E. POST.

RAVEN, RAVIN.—To 'raven' is to seize with violence, to prey upon with greed or rapacity, and so 'raven' or 'ravin' is plunder or prey. The word comes from Lat. *rapina* plunder, through Old Fr. *ravine*, whence also Eng. 'ravine' a mountain gorge, and 'rapine' plunder. There is no connexion with the bird, the raven, whose name is of native origin, Anglo-Sax. *hrefn*.

The verb occurs in AV in Gn 49^{27} ('ravin,' intrans.), Ezk $22^{25.\ 27}$ ('ravening,' trans.), the Heb. being טָרַף to *tear as prey*. As a subst. 'ravin' is found in Nah 2^{12} 'The lion . . . filled his holes with prey, and his dens with ravin' (טְרֵפָה); and 'ravening' in Lk 11^{39} 'Your inward part is full of ravening and wickedness' (ἁρπαγή, RV 'extortion'). The adj. is either 'ravening' (Ps 22^{13}, Mt 7^{15}) or 'ravenous' (Is 35^9 46^{11}, Ezk 39^4).

An example of 'ravin' in the sense of 'plundering' is Udall, *Erasmus' Paraph.* i. 17—'Mekenesse obteyneth more of them that geve wyllyngly and of theyr owne accorde, then violence and ravine can purchase or obtayne by hooke and croke'; and in the sense of 'plunder,' 'booty,' Spenser, *FQ* I. xi. 12—

> 'His deepe devouring jawes
> Wide gaped, like the griesly mouth of hell,
> Through which into his darke abysse all ravin fell.'

J. HASTINGS.

RAZIS (Ῥαζείς).—The hero of a narrative in 2 Mac $14^{37ff.}$. Nicanor, having been informed against Razis (who is described as 'an elder of Jerusalem, a lover of his countrymen, and a man of very good report, and one called "father of the Jews" for his goodwill towards them'), sent a band of soldiers to apprehend him. He escaped arrest by committing suicide, the circumstances of which are described in revolting detail in 2 Mac. His conduct is criticised adversely by Augustine (*Ep.* civ. 6) in opposition to the Donatists, who admired it, as the author of 2 Mac. evidently did.

RAZOR (תַּעַר 'knife,' Nu 6^5 8^7, Ps 52^2, Is 7^{20}, Ezk 5^1; מוֹרָה 'razor,' Jg 13^5 16^{17}, 1 S 1^{11}).—It is not likely that originally there was any distinction between razors and knives, the same word תַּעַר being used in many passages for both, but a special word for razor (מוֹרָה, Arab. *mûs*) is used in the stories of Samson and Samuel. In the above passages the LXX uniformly tr. תַּעַר by *ξυρόν*, and מוֹרָה by *σίδηρος* except in Jg 16^{17} where B has *σίδηρος* but A *ξυρόν*. In early times razors were probably made of bronze, as other cutting instruments were. In Wilkinson's *Anc. Egypt.* 1878, vol. ii. p. 333 note, it is said of the barber, 'his instruments and razors varied at different times, being sometimes in shape of a small short hatchet with recurved handle; other instruments knife-shaped were also employed.' Forty years ago a peculiarly shaped razor, with a straight fixed handle, was in use in Syria; now European razors are universally used. W. CARSLAW.

REAIAH (רָאָיָה 'Jah hath seen').—**1.** The eponym of a Calebite family, 1 Ch 4^2 (B Ῥαδά, A Ῥειά), probably to be preferred (so Bertheau and Kittel; Gray [*HPN* 236] is more doubtful) to HAROEH, 1 Ch 2^{52} (הָרֹאֶה 'the seer,' B Αἰώ, A Ἀραά). **2.** The eponym of a Benjamite family, 1 Ch 5^5 (AV Reaia; BA Ῥηχά, Luc. Ῥαιά). **3.** A Nethinim family name, Ezr 2^{47} (B Ῥεήλ, A Ῥαιά)=Neh 7^{50} (B Ῥαεά, A Ῥααιά)=1 Es 5^{31} JAIRUS.

REAPING.—See AGRICULTURE.

REBA (רֶבַע).—One of the five kinglets of Midian who were slain by the Israelites, under Moses, Nu 31^8 (Ῥόβοκ), Jos 13^{21} (B Ῥόβε, A Ῥέβεκ). Like his companions, he is called in Numbers a מֶלֶךְ ('king'), but in Joshua a נָשִׂיא ('prince,' 'chieftain').

REBECCA.—The NT and modern spelling (from the Gr. Ῥεβέκκα) of the name which is spelt in OT REBEKAH. The only occurrence of 'Rebecca' is in Ro 9^{10} (both AV and RV).

REBEKAH, in Ro 9^{10} REBECCA (רִבְקָה, *i.e. Ribhḳāh*; in Arab. *a cord with loops for tying lambs* or *kids*, from *rabaḳa, to tie* or *bind fast*; LXX and NT Ῥεβεκκα, Vulg. *Rebecca*).—Daughter of Bethuel, the son of Naḥor and Milcah, and consequently great-niece of Abraham (Gn $22^{20.\ 23}$); sister of Laban, and subsequently wife of Isaac. The idyllic story of the circumstances through which Rebekah became Isaac's wife is told by J, in his usual picturesque style, and at the same time with stress on the providence which overruled them (vv.$^{7b.\ 12}$ [lit. 'cause it to meet—*i.e.* happen successfully—before me,' so 27^{20}] $^{14.\ 27.\ 48.\ 50.\ 51.\ 56}$), in Gn 24 In accordance with Eastern custom (MARRIAGE, vol. iii. p. 270), the betrothal is arranged without Isaac's own personal intervention: Abraham sends his principal and confidential servant (v.^{2}) —called in E ($15^{2f.}$) Eliezer—to find a wife for his son, not from among the Canaanites around him, but from his own relations in 'the land of his nativity': the servant proceeds accordingly to Aram-naharaim, to the 'city of Naḥor' (*i.e.* Ḥaran: cf. LABAN, vol. iii. p. 13^b); as he reaches

the well outside the city (v.[11]), he prays for a sign by which he may know Isaac's destined bride; and the damsel who fulfils it proves to be Rebekah. Laban and Bethuel, satisfied by the evidence of their uncle's prosperity (vv.[22. 30. 35]; cf. v.[10] [RV], v.[53]), and of Isaac's prospective wealth (v.[36b]), and recognizing in what had happened the hand of Providence (vv.[50. 51 end], —'spoken,' viz. by the facts), agree to the servant's proposal; Rebekah herself consents to return with him (v.[57ff.]), and so she becomes Isaac's wife, consoling him after his mother's death (v.[67]).*

Like Sarah, Rachel, and Hannah, Rebekah was at first barren; and her barrenness ceased only after Isaac's entreaty (25[21]),—according to the chronology of P (25[20. 26]),—20 years after her marriage. On the oracle, received by her (25[23]), shortly before the birth of her twin sons, see JACOB, vol. ii. p. 526. The next incident in Rebekah's life that we read of is on the occasion of Isaac's visit to Gerar (26[6-11]), when, fearing lest her beauty (cf. 24[16]) might attract admirers, and his own life be endangered in consequence, he passed her off as his sister (cf. Gn 20; and ISAAC, vol. ii. p. 484[b]). Jacob was Rebekah's favourite son (25[28]); and Gn 27 (JE) tells of the deed of treachery by which the ambitious and designing mother, 'sacrificing husband, elder son, principle, her own soul, for an idolized person,' secured for him his father's blessing (see more fully, on this narrative, JACOB, vol. ii. p. 527). After this, she prompted Jacob to flee to his uncle Laban, in order to escape Esau's vengeance, vv.[43-45]; in the paragraph from P which follows (27[46]–28[9]), however, the motive upon which she urges his visit to Ḥaran, is that he may obtain a wife, not, like Esau (cf. 26[34. 35] P), from among the natives of Canaan, but from among Laban's daughters (see, further, *ibid.*). An isolated, and very possibly misplaced, notice (35[8]) states that Deborah, Rebekah's nurse, who had accompanied her long before from Ḥaran (24[59]), died after Jacob's return to Canaan, and was buried below Bethel. The death of Rebekah herself is not specially mentioned; but in 49[31] (P) she is said to have been buried in the cave of Machpelah.

S. R. DRIVER.

RECAH.—In a genealogy contained in 1 Ch 4, the sons of Eshton (v.[12]) are described as 'the men of Recah' (אַנְשֵׁי רֵכָה), a place which is not mentioned elsewhere in the OT, and is quite unknown. The LXX has B Ῥηχάβ, A Ῥηφά.

RECEIPT OF CUSTOM (τελώνιον, RV 'place of toll'), Mt 9[9], Mk 2[14], Lk 5[27]. See PUBLICAN, TAXES, TOLL. For 'receipt' in the sense of 'place for receiving,' see Mandeville, *Travels*, 112, 'Men have made a litylle Resceyt, besyde a Pylere of that Chirche, for to resceyve the Offrynges of Pilgrymes'; and Shaks. *Macbeth*, I. vii. 66—

> 'Memory, the warder of the brain,
> Shall be a fume, and the receipt of reason
> A limbeck only.'

RECHAB, RECHABITES (בְּנֵי (בֵּית) הָרֵכָבִים, בֶּן ר׳ רֵכָב, אַנְשֵׁי רֵכָב; LXX Ῥηχάβ [B in 2 S 4[5. 6. 9] Ῥεκχά, in 1 Ch 2[55] Ῥηχά]; and Αρχαβείν in B, Αλχαβείν or Χαραβείν in A, Ραχαβείν in Q; Vulg. *Rechab, Rechabitæ*).—*Rēkhābh* is often explained as meaning 'a rider,' on camels, *i.e.* a name for a nomadic tribe. The names ברכב (of a man), רכבאל (of a god), are found in Aramaic inscriptions (Lidzbarski, *Nordsem. Epigraph.* pp. 246, 369). The biblical *Rēkhabh* may be a contraction for רכבאל.

1. Rechab (in Jos. *Ant.* VII. ii. 1, Θάννος) ben-Rimmon the Beerothite, a captain of one of the 'bands' following Ishbosheth. He and Baanah murdered Ishbosheth, carried the news to David, and were put to death by his orders; 2 S 4[5ff.] J[1] (Budde). Cf. BAANAH, ISHBOSHETH.

2. 3. Rechab in 1 Ch 2[55] 'Hammath, the father of the house of Rechab,' and Rechab in Neh 3[14], 'Malchijah ben-Rechab,' sometimes reckoned as separate individuals, are to be identified with the following—

4. Rechab, Rechabites.—A clan of the Kenites, in later times, probably after the Return from the Captivity, incorporated in the tribe of Judah, *i.e.* in the restored Jewish community in Palestine, 1 Ch 2[3. 55].

The view that the Rechabites were a religious sect, founded by Jehonadab (2 K 10[15-28], Jer 35), is improbable; although Dillmann, Oehler, Schultz, etc., speak of him as 'the founder of the Rechabites.' It is not likely that the founder of the Rechabites would himself be described as '*ben-Rechab*'; moreover, 1 Ch 2[55] speaks of Hammath (AV Hemath) as the 'father of the house of Rechab.'

This clan is traced back (1 Ch 2[55]) to Hammath (חַמַּת = 'hot spring,' LXX B Μεσημά, A Αιμάθ), a descendant of Hur, the son of Caleb, *i.e.* a clan of the Calebite branch of the Kenites. The view of Bertheau (*in loco*), that Rechab was the actual father and Hammath the grandfather of the Jehonadab of 2 K 10, etc., is contrary to all analogy. Jos 19[35] (P) mentions a town *Hammath* in Naphtali. As a settlement of Kenites under Heber and Jael existed somewhere in that district in the time of Deborah (Jg 4[17] 5[24]), and the Rechabites belonged to the Northern Kingdom in the time of Jehu, it is possible that the Rechabites had some connexion with this town before they migrated to Judah. It is clear, however, from Jer 35 that they were a nomad tribe up to the fall of the Southern Kingdom. Moreover, according to Kittel (*SBOT*), 1 Ch 2[55] is part of a late addition to Chronicles.

The Rechabites appear in the OT on three occasions. First, in the person of Jehonadab ben-Rechab (*i.e.* 'the Rechabite'), in 2 K 10[15ff.]. Jehonadab showed his zeal for the exclusive worship of Jehovah by associating himself with Jehu in his fierce persecution of the devotees of Baal. Josephus reproduces the biblical narrative in *Ant.* IX. vi. 6, and mentions Jehonadab, but does not say that he was a Rechabite. The second incident is narrated in Jer 35. Some time after the reign of Jehu, probably about the period of the Fall of Samaria, the Rechabites had migrated to Judah. When Nebuchadrezzar invaded Judah in the reign of Jehoiakim, the Rechabites took refuge in Jerusalem, probably encamping in some open space within the walls. Jeremiah utilized their presence to provide an object-lesson for his fellow-countrymen. Amongst other prohibitions, their clan-laws forbade them to drink wine. The prophet invited the clan under their chief, Jaazaniah ben-Jeremiah ben-Habazziniah, to meet him in a chamber attached to the temple, and offered them wine. They refused on the ground that their 'father' Jonadab ben-Rechab had forbidden them to drink wine, build houses, sow seed, or plant vineyards, and had commanded them to live in tents. They stated that they had always obeyed these commands, and had entered Jerusalem only through sheer necessity. Josephus does not reproduce this incident, nor does he anywhere mention the Rechabites.

The Rechabites therefore regarded Jonadab much as the Israelites regarded Moses. They traced to him their clan-law. It is not likely, however, that he originated the customs which he made permanently binding. In his time the Rechabites, of whom he was doubtless chief, were a nomad clan pasturing their flocks in the less occupied districts of the Northern Kingdom; they and their chief were zealous worshippers of Jehovah. In the natural course of events they would have followed the example of the Israelites, once their

* Which, however, though only according to P, had taken place three to four years previously (17[17] 23[1] 25[20]).

fellow-nomads, and settled down as farmers and townsmen. Probably the process was beginning in the time of Jonadab; but that chief nipped it in the bud, and induced his followers to make their ancient nomadic habits matters of religious obligation. He had no leanings to asceticism, and his ordinances were not intended to make his followers ascetics. He forbade wine, but the term 'wine' is to be understood strictly; there is no prohibition of any other intoxicant. His motives would be twofold. First, the nomad regards agriculture and city life as meaner, less manly, less spiritual than his own. Jonadab wished to keep his clan to the higher life. Moreover, when the Israelites surrendered nomad life to settle on the land and in towns, they corrupted their worship of Jehovah by combining it with the superstitious and immoral rites of the Canaanite baals, to whom, as they thought, they owed their corn and wine and oil, Hos 2^8. Recently, under Ahab and Jezebel, the worship of Baal had greatly developed. The cultivation of corn and of the vine seemed to lead directly to baal-worship; and it would seem to Jonadab that by cutting off his people from any connexion with agriculture he would preserve the purity and simplicity of their ancient worship of Jehovah.

Probably the Rechabites were still in Jerusalem when the city was taken by Nebuchadrezzar, and some of them shared the Captivity and the Return of the Israelites. Under stress of circumstances, they would be obliged to finally surrender their ancestral customs, so that in Neh 3^{14} we find Malchijah the Rechabite engaged under Nehemiah in rebuilding the walls of Jerusalem. Malchijah is styled 'ruler of the district of Beth-haccherem,' *i.e.* of the 'House of the Vineyard.' The very obscure verse 1 Ch 2^{55} describes 'The families of scribes that dwelt at Jabez'—a town in Judah—'the Tirathites, the Shimeathites, the Succathites,' as 'Kenites that came of Hammath, the father of the house of Rechab.' This points to the settlement of some Rechabites in late post-exilic times at Jabez as 'scribes.' The Vulgate regards the words rendered 'Tirathites,' etc., as titles of three classes of scribes, 'canentes atque resonantes, et in tabernaculis commorantes' = 'singers, makers of an echo or of a ringing sound [? chorus], and dwellers in tents,' but the words are proper names (so LXX), and denote three clans of the men of Jabez.

The promise of Jer $35^{18f.}$ that because the Rechabites had kept the laws of Jonadab, 'Jonadab ben-Rechab shall not want a man to stand before me for ever,' might lead some later Rechabites to revert to their ancient clan customs. It would also lead those who lived like other Jews to keep up the memory of their descent from the ancient Rechabites. Jeremiah does not expressly state that the fulfilment of his promise is dependent on the continued observance of the laws of Jonadab. But, on the other hand, this promise and its implied conditions would naturally lead communities or individuals which observed some or other of these laws to adopt the name 'Rechabite,' and to imagine a genealogy connecting them with Rechab. Thus, in modern time, a Total Abstinence Society, whose members live in houses and do not abjure corn or oil, styles itself the 'Rechabites.' Probably this is the explanation of the statement of Hegesippus (*ap.* Eus. *HE* ii. 23), that 'one of the priests of the sons of Rechab, the son of Rechabim, who are mentioned by Jeremiah the prophet,' protested against the murder of James the Just, especially as Epiphanius (*Hær.* lxxviii. 14) substitutes Symeon the brother of James for the Rechabite (so E. H. Perowne in Smith's *DB*). The name had become a term for an ascetic. A similar view explains the fact that travellers—Benjamin of Judæa, 12th cent.; Wolff, 1829; Pierotti, *c.* 1860—have found tribes in Syria and Arabia claiming the name Rechabite and professing to observe the laws of Jonadab. These tribes are probably connected with the ancient Rechabites in just the same way as the Total Abstinence Society mentioned above. Moreover, as words for 'horseman,' 'camel-rider,' in Heb., Aram., and Arab., are derived from the root *rkb*, it is easy to see how tribes might be called 'Rechabites' without any connexion, real or imaginary, with the Old Testament clan.

In Ps 71 (LXX 70) the LXX has the title Τῷ Δανείδ, υἱῶν Ἰωναδάβ (R Ἀμιναδάμ), καὶ τῶν πρώτων αἰχμαλωτισθέντων, 'To David, of the Bnê Jonadab (R Aminadam, *i.e.* Aminadab) and of those first carried away captive.' This title has sometimes been adduced as evidence of the existence and importance of the Rechabites in the 3rd or 2nd cent. But the origin, text, and meaning of the title are too uncertain to warrant any such conclusion. Jonadab may be the cousin of David; or, as the reading of R suggests, a scribe's error for some other name.

The devotion of the Rechabites to Jehovah is illustrated by the zeal of Jonadab and by the fact that all the names of individual Rechabites known to us include the Divine name Jehovah, viz. Habazziniah, Jaazaniah, J(eh)onadab, Jeremiah, and Malchijah. It has generally been supposed that the Kenites were led to adopt the worship of Jehovah through their association with the Israelites; and that the zeal of Jonadab, like that of Jehu, was inspired by the teaching of Elijah and Elisha. But recent scholars, *e.g.* Budde, have pointed out the close association of Jehovah with Sinai, and of Moses with the Kenites (see JETHRO, HOBAB), and have suggested that the Israelites adopted the worship of Jehovah from the Kenites, and that the Kenites, and therefore the Rechabites, were by ancient practice and tradition the most devoted followers of Jehovah in Israel; hence the zeal of Jonadab. It should be noted, however, that the only direct evidence for the connexion of the Rechabites with the Kenites is the very late and obscure passage in Chronicles.

As the Rechabite laws are simply the ordinary customs of nomads,—for primitive nomads the regular use of wine was impossible,—it is easy to find numerous parallels to them. Probably even the prohibition of wine is not strictly and directly religious, but merely a means for preserving the nomadic life. Hence Mohammed's prohibition of wine and similar laws or taboos (cf. *RS* 484 f.) are not real parallels. Of others commonly cited is the statement of Diodorus Siculus (xix. 94, *c.* 8 B.C.), that the Nabatæan Arabs forbade sowing seed, planting fruit-trees, using or building houses, under pain of death. Cf., further, JEHONADAB, JEREMIAH, KENITES, TIRATHITES, SHIMEATHITES, SUCCATHITES.

5. In Jg 1^{19} the LXX has for 'because they had chariots (*rekhebh*) of iron,' 'because *Rechab* commanded them'; an obvious mistake.

LITERATURE.—W. H. Bennett, *Jeremiah xxi.-lii.* p. 44 ff.; Budde, *Rel. of Isr. to the Exile*, p. 19 ff. (for connexion of J' with the Kenites); Dillmann, *OT Theol.* p. 172; Oehler, *OT Theol.*, Eng. tr. ii. 195; E. H. Perowne, art. 'Rechabites' in Smith's *DB* (views of Patristic and other commentators, travellers' tales of 'Rechabites' in Syria and Arabia); Schultz, *OT Theol.*, Eng. tr. i. 91, 163; Smend, *Alttest. Religionsgesch.*[2] 93 f.; *RS* 484 f.

W. H. BENNETT.

RECONCILIATION (καταλλαγή). — The general doctrine of the ATONEMENT has been dealt with under that title (vol. i. p. 197), and the biblical phraseology under PROPITIATION (p. 128). The present art. is concerned with the reconciliation made by Christ between God and men; and the question specially to be investigated is, whether it is subjective only, our reconciliation to God, or

objective also, God's reconciliation to us. The Gr. word occurs four times in NT, Ro 5^{11} 11^{15} and 2 Co $5^{18.19}$, and in all these places it is used objectively to describe the new relation between God and humanity brought about by the work of Christ (see Cremer, *Bibl.-Theol. Lex. s.v.*). This is, perhaps, most clearly seen in Ro 5^{11} *δι' οὗ νῦν τὴν καταλλαγὴν ἐλάβομεν*, 'through whom we have now received the reconciliation.' The reconciliation must have been already an accomplished fact before it could be received, *i.e.* before faith or feeling could have anything to do with it. So in Ro 11^{15} the *κατ. κόσμου* is plainly the favourable attitude of God towards the world through His turning away from Israel. In 2 Co $5^{18.19}$ the *διακονία τῆς καταλλαγῆς* and the *λόγος τῆς καταλλαγῆς* are the means appointed by God to bring men to a knowledge of what He has done for them in Christ. And what is that? What is 'the word of reconciliation'? It is 'that God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto himself.' That this refers to an objective matter of fact, not a subjective state of feeling, is plain from the exhortation based on it: 'Be ye reconciled to God.' Besides, how was God in Christ reconciling the world to Himself? By 'not imputing unto men their trespasses.' But this was only the negative side of it. The positive is reserved to clinch the argument at the close: 'For God made him to be sin for us, who knew no sin, that we might be made the righteousness of God in him' (2 Co 5^{21}). But if this is the meaning of the reconciliation in the two most important of the passages that bear on it,—the doing on God's part of all that needed to be done to make it right for Him to receive us back into favour,—the reconciliation cannot have respect to us alone, nor can the whole purpose of the work of Christ be exhausted in the moral effect it has upon us as a pathetic display of the love of God. Moreover, according to Ro 3^{22}, the primary object of the work of Christ was not to display the *love*, but the *righteousness* of God. That righteousness had been obscured by the forbearance of God in the past, and might still further be obscured in the future by His forgiving men on the ground of their faith in Jesus. They had been tempted, and might again be tempted, to doubt the reality of His wrath against sin, unless it were made clear that in forgiving it to men God had dealt seriously with it in the propitiatory work of Christ.

1. *The Need of Reconciliation on the part of God.*—The subject has already so far been discussed, and passages have been cited both from OT and NT ascribing anger, wrath, indignation, jealousy, and even hate to God (see art. ANGER OF GOD in vol. i. p. 97 ff.). But something may be added to what is there said of the reluctance theologians have long shown to take such passages seriously. In their recoil from the extreme anthropomorphism of fiery writers like Tertullian, they have, from Origen downwards, often rushed to the opposite extreme, and conceived of God not only as a Being 'without parts,' but also 'without passions.' But anthropomorphism has at the heart of it a truth of priceless worth, for man was made in the image of God (Gn 1^{26}), and therefore, spiritually considered, their natures are essentially akin. As we appreciate and apply this truth in Christology, we make it easier to see the possibility of an Incarnation. If the Divine and the human natures were disparate, it is hard to see how there could be a union of God and man; but if they are essentially akin, the difficulty is at least sensibly relieved. But if this help is available for Christology, it is available for Theology also. For then, what Edward White calls 'the Buddhism of the West,' according to which God is conceived as a Being of passionless repose, sublimely raised above all the fluctuations of feeling to which we are subject, gives place to a truer conception of God, more human and therefore more Divine. (See the Excursus on the 'Sensibility of God' in Ed. White's *Life in Christ*, p. 255, and Bushnell's Sermon on 'the Power of God in Self-Sacrifice' in *The New Life*).

We are here concerned, however, not with the Divine sensibility in general, but with that particular form of it implied in the anger or wrath of God. What is meant by that? Our answer to the question will turn in part on the view we take of the way in which God governs the world, and in part on the view we take of our own nature in comparison with God's. If we think that God administers a law above and apart from Himself, as a judge administers the law of his country, we must interpret all that Scripture says of His anger or wrath in some non-natural sense, for these are emotions which, even if he had them, a judge would not betray. The more perfect he is as a judge, the more carefully will he suppress them. His decisions will tell us nothing of his personal feelings, but only of his determination to uphold the law of the land. Now this is just how the great majority of theologians, from Origen and Augustine down to our own day, have dealt with the language of Scripture about the anger of God. They have taken it in a thoroughly non-natural sense, as if it told us nothing of the personal feeling of God, but only of His judicial determination to punish and put down wickedness (see Simon, *Redemption of Man*, pp. 223–229). But this is not how the Scriptures speak, and therefore we may be sure it is not the view they take of God's relation to the world. They give free vent to God's personal feelings regarding the character and conduct of men, from which we may safely infer that they did not regard Him primarily as our Judge, but as our Father, the Father of our spirits, and our Judge in virtue of His Fatherhood; for as every father is head over his own house, so is God Head over all (1 P 1^{17}). In other words, His relations to us are personal, and His government direct. There is no law over and above Him, or between Him and us. The law He upholds is that of His own life, and therefore of ours, for our life is but our finite share in His. Hence His Divine displeasure, when we do anything to disturb it. It is Him and not merely ourselves we grieve, when we fall out of right relations to Him; and against Him we chiefly offend, even when we do wrong to others. 'Against thee, thee only, have I sinned, and done that which is evil in thy sight' (Ps 51^{4}).

The nearest human analogue we have to the moral government of God is that of the family, and the best clue we have to the feeling of God when we deliberately do wrong is the bitter disappointment of a father who has loved and lived for his children, when they have rebelled against him, until the filial bond between them is strained almost to the breaking. And the Divine Father feels it the more, because, though we may cease in spirit to be His children, He cannot cease to be our Father. He cannot consent to stand in any lower relation to us, and can only express His astonishment that we should behave as we have done. 'Hear, O heavens, and give ear, O earth, for the Lord hath spoken: I have nourished and brought up children, and they have rebelled against me' (Is 1^{2}). That is what sin means to God. Is it any wonder that He should hate it, and plead with His rebellious children as He does: 'Oh, do not this abominable thing which I hate' (Jer 44^{4}).

But even pathos like that will be lost on us, unless we further see what the Fatherhood of God involves, namely, that His nature and ours are essentially akin, so that, allowance being made for our moral imperfection, from our own experience we may

safely infer His. If man was made in the image of God, a good man must be a good guide to right thoughts about God. If a good man may be angry, so may God. A good man's anger will never be mere blind rage, nor mere personal resentment, but as moral indignation it may rise to any height; and the better he is, the higher it will rise, in the presence of deliberate wrong-doing. And that being so, it were surely strange to conclude that if he were altogether perfect, his anger would entirely disappear. There would disappear from it only what defiled it before—the smoke, but not the flame; as we see in the one perfect Man of the whole race—the Man, Christ Jesus. Was He never angry? Did not He look round on His enemies 'with anger, being grieved for the hardness of their hearts'? (Mk 3^5). And can we conceive Him denouncing the hypocrites of His day in cold, unimpassioned language? Is not His indictment against them instinct with moral indignation, the fire of which we feel as we read it still? We cannot doubt the reality of His anger. Why, then, should we doubt the reality of God's? Was not God in Christ denouncing the Pharisees, as well as reconciling the world to Himself? And does not the one fact go far to determine how the other should be understood?

2. *The Possibility of Reconciliation on the part of God.*—But many demur to a mutual reconciliation, not only because they doubt the reality of God's anger, and see no *need* of reconciliation on the part of God, but also because they doubt its *possibility*, for reconciliation implies a change of feeling, and there can be no change in God. This, however, is confusion of thought. It is to misunderstand the nature of God's unchangeableness. God is not a mere mechanical force, but a living, moral mind. It is His character that is unchangeable, not His feelings, nor His actions. These *must* change with the changing character and conduct of His creatures, just because He changeth not. In any relevant sense of the word, it is not He that changes, but we. If we obey not, He abideth faithful. He cannot deny Himself, and therefore He must deny us, when we defy Him. In fact this apparent change in God proves His real unchangeableness, just as an apparent unchangeableness would prove a real change. (See Dorner on 'the Divine Immutability' in *System of Christian Doctrine*, i. 244 ff., iv. 80).

1. But both the need and the possibility of reconciliation on the Divine side seem to many forbidden from another point of view. There seems no room for it in the Christian conception of God. God is Love, and love is incapable of anger or hostility. But if God is love, love must be more than a mere emotion. It is a character, and a character is made up of likes and dislikes, attractions and repulsions, according to its affinity for, or aversion to, the character and conduct of those with whom it comes in contact. In other words, God is a person, not a force. He can, and does, discriminate between the righteous and the wicked. 'The eyes of the Lord are upon the righteous . . . the face of the Lord is against them that do evil' (Ps $34^{15.\ 16}$). That does not mean that He does not love even them that do evil, but it does mean that His love is capable of hostility. How, indeed, can God love us *for our good* without showing His hostility to what would do us harm? When a river is dammed back by some obstruction thrown in its way, it chafes against it, and poetically we say it is angry. But it is not mere poetry to say that when the Divine love is held back by our sin, so that it can no longer flow forth to bless us as it would, it chafes against the obstacle, and cannot bear to be balked of its benign purpose concerning us. Love is goodness in earnest to make others good, and when it cannot have its way it is grieved, when it is deliberately thwarted it is angry, and, as Coleridge says—

> 'To be wroth with one you love
> Doth work like madness in the brain.'

It is here that Simon (*Redemption of Man*, p. 216 ff.), who has done so much to define and defend the reality of God's anger, has lost his way. According to him, 'love and wrath are mutually exclusive'; that is, they cannot both be felt *for* one and the same person at one and the same time, though they may both be felt *by* one and the same person towards different persons. 'A father may become angry with one of his children, and, to that extent, cease loving him, without therefore ceasing to love the rest. At the moment of intensest indignation with the one he may turn with tenderness to the rest. Not otherwise with God.' It is true, he adds that a man who is angry because his love has been repelled, 'will also, even whilst angry, carefully search for means of vanquishing the indifference, and converting the contemptuous aversion into loving regard. This is what a *loving being*, a *loving God*, can do, but it is misleading to ascribe it to love' (*ib.* p. 261). But surely, as Scott Lidgett has pointed out (*The Spiritual Principle of the Atonement*, p. 250 f.), it is contrary to the most familiar experience of life to say that love must either be requited or withdrawn. Life is full of unrequited and even outraged love that has never been withdrawn. Witness the way in which a mother will cling to a reprobate son, and for all the wrong he has done her never give him up while she lives. Nor is the love that will not let him go love in general, but distinctively her love for him. How could her love for her other children supply the energy required to seek reconciliation with him from whom, by the supposition, it has been withdrawn? It is a moral impossibility. Simon's mistake is due to his making too much of love as a mere emotion, forgetting that in its deepest and divinest sense it is a character, a moral determination of the whole being towards another. As a character, love may survive the mere enjoyment of its own satisfaction. Satisfaction may give place to dissatisfaction and the severest displeasure. These may be the only emotions proper to it for the time being, but it cannot enjoy these, cannot even endure them, and, in its own interest as well as that of its object, it will seek their removal, and, if possible, out of its own resources provide a propitiation. That is precisely what God has done for us. 'Herein is love, not that we love God, but that God loved us, and sent his Son to be the propitiation for our sins' (1 Jn 4^{10}).

2. But this brings us, in the second place, to what seems to many the greatest difficulty of all. That God should both require and provide propitiation seems to be a contradiction, and from the fact that God did provide it they infer that *He* did not require it—that is, did not need to be propitiated. It was provided by but not for Him. God did not, and could not, propitiate Himself. So W. R. Dale puts it. 'God Himself provided the ransom; He could not pay it to Himself' (*Atonement*, p. 357). To whom, then, or to what, was it paid? To the eternal law of righteousness, says Dale, as if there could be any such law above or apart from God, or as if propitiation had anything to do with impersonal law, or could be made at all outside personal relations. The difficulty is due to the assumption that God both provided *and offered* the propitiation—an assumption very commonly made, and made decisive of the whole matter. Thus W. N. Clarke says: 'If we wish to hold a doctrine that is real, we must choose between the two directions for the action in the work of Christ; we cannot combine them. There may be action that takes effect on God to influence Him, but we may be sure that it originates somewhere else than in God Himself; and there may be action that originates in God, but we may be sure that it takes effect upon some other. God does not influence Himself. If we choose or judge between these two directions, there can be no doubt as to the result. In the work of Christ, was God the actor, or was God acted upon? For we are at war with reality if we attempt to affirm both. We cannot hesitate about our answer. God was the Actor' (*Present-Day Papers*, 1900, vol. iii. p. 238). But God was not the Actor in the *whole* transaction. God provided the propitiation, but He did not offer it to Himself. Christ offered it, *acting not as God's representative, but as ours.* (See Cremer on ἱλάσκεσθαι). God gave humanity in Him the means of making propitiation, but God

did not propitiate Himself. Nor is there any difficulty here but such as meets us everywhere in the spiritual life. It is only the supreme example of a universal spiritual law. Thus, *e.g.*, God both requires and gives repentance—or rather power to repent, for of course He does not repent for us. And so with every other grace, as the very word implies. The grace is *in* us, but it is *of* God. God worketh in us both to will and to do of His good pleasure. He neither wills nor acts for us, but enables us to will and act in the line of His own good pleasure. So in the work of reconciliation. God made it possible to humanity by the gift of Christ, but Christ as the Head and Representative of the race actually accomplished it. The principle underlying it is identical with the principle which underlies our whole religious life, and finds instinctive expression in the language of prayer, wherein we virtually ask God to fulfil His own law in us, to fulfil in us all the good pleasure of His goodness and the work of faith with power. (See, especially, Simon, *Redemption of Man*, ch. ix.). If this is a paradox, it is a paradox inherent in our very existence, as finite creatures, who have yet a certain moral independence over against God; and on its religious side it has never been better expressed than in Augustine's words: '*Da quod jubes, et jube quod vis*' (*Conf.* x. 29).

LITERATURE.—Cremer, *Bibl.-Theol. Lex.*, articles on καταλλάσσω, καταλλαγή, ἱλάσκομαι, ἱλασμός; Trench, *Synonyms* on the same; Thom in *Expos. Times*, iv. 335 f.; Sanday-Headlam, *Romans*, 129 f.; Sartorius, *Divine Love* (Eng. tr.), 128 ff.; Lechler, *Apost. and Post-Apost. Times*, ii. 39 ff., 141 ff.; Bp. Ewing in *Pres.-Day Papers*, iii.; Gracey, *Sin and Salvation*, 238 ff.; T. Binney, *Sermons*, ii. 51 ff.; Simon, *The Redemption of Man*, ch. v., and *Reconciliation by Incarnation* (1898); Scott Lidgett, *The Spiritual Principle of the Atonement*, ch. v.; and on the Eng. word, *Expos. Times*, v. 532 ff.

A. ADAMSON.

RECORD.—To record a thing is to call it to mind (Lat. *recordare, i.e. re* and *cor* the heart, through Old Fr. *recorder*). This primitive meaning, 'call to mind' or 'meditate on' is found, *e.g.*, in Erasmus, *Crede*, 47, 'After that thou shalte have dylygently recorded these thynges, and called them well to remembraunce, then have recourse hether agayne unto me'; Tindale, *Expositions*, 110, 'Therefore care day by day and hour by hour earnestly to keep the covenant of the Lord thy God, and to recorde therein day and night.' A similar meaning, 'bear in mind,' is common in Wyclif. Thus Gn 19[29] 'Whan forsothe God had subvertid the citees of that regioun, he recordide of Abraham' (1388 'he hadde mynde of Abraham'); Pr 31[7] 'Of ther sorewe recorde thei no more' (1388 'Thenke thei no more on her sorewe').

We may call a thing to mind either by speaking about it or by writing it down. The former meaning is now obsolete, but AV has preserved one example: 1 Ch 16[4] 'He appointed certain of the Levites to minister before the ark of the Lord, and to record, and to thank and praise the Lord God of Israel' (Heb. לְהַזְכִּיר, lit. 'to cause to remember,' RV 'to celebrate'; the AV tr[n] is as old as Wyclif; the 1388 version gives 'have mynde of the werkis of the Lord').

The phrase 'call to record' means 'cause to testify,' Dt 30[19] 'I call heaven and earth to record this day against you' (הַעִדֹתִי בָכֶם), 31[28]; and 'take to record' has the same meaning: Is 8[2] '(And) I will take unto me faithful witnesses to record' (וְאָעִידָה לִי); Ac 20[26] 'Wherefore I take you to record this day, that I am pure from the blood of all men' (μαρτύρομαι ὑμῖν, which is incorrectly taken by AV, after Tindale, in the classical sense of 'call one to witness' [which would need ὑμᾶς], but rightly by RV, as by Wyclif, in the sense, known only to very late Greek, of 'testify').

The subst. 'record' is used in AV, usually in the sense of *witness*, whether the person who witnesses (μάρτυς, 2 Co 1[23], Ph 1[8]) or the testimony itself (μαρτυρία, Jn 1[19] 8[13. 14] 19[35], 1 Jn 5[10. 11], 3 Jn [12]). In the same sense is used the phrase 'bear record,' a frequent tr. of μαρτυρέω 'to give testimony.'

J. HASTINGS.

RECORDER, THE (הַמַּזְכִּיר, lit. 'the rembrancer'; LXX ἐπὶ τῶν ὑπομνημάτων, (ὁ) ἀναμιμνήσκων, ὑπομιμνήσκων, (ὁ) ὑπομνηματογράφος).—An officer of high rank in the Israelite kingdom. His functions are nowhere precisely defined, but the importance of his office is shown by the fact that he is mentioned along with the commander-in-chief, the chief secretary, and other leading officials at the courts of David and Solomon (2 S 20[24] 8[16] = 1 Ch 18[15], 1 K 4[3]). In the reign of Hezekiah he appears as the king's representative together with the prefect of the palace and the chief secretary (2 K 18[18. 37] = Is 36[3. 22]), while the holder of the same office under Josiah formed one of the commission appointed to superintend the repairing of the temple (2 Ch 34[8]). The 'recorder' is often supposed to have been a historiographer, but Benzinger (*Arch.* 310), Nowack (i. 308), Kittel (on 1 K 4[3]), *et al.*, argue plausibly that his duty was to *remind* the king of important business by preparing matters for his consideration and laying them before him. Under David and Solomon the office was filled by Jehoshaphat the son of Ahilud; under Hezekiah, by Joah the son of Asaph; and under Josiah, by Joah the son of Joahaz.

J. F. STENNING.

RECOVER.—The verb 'to recover' (Old Fr. *recovrer*, Lat. *recuperare*) is still in use transitively in the sense of regaining something that has been lost, whether persons (Is 11[11], Jer 41[16]), territory (as 2 S 8[3], 2 K 14[28], 1 Mac 10[52]), or other possessions (as Hos 2[9], 1 Mac 2[48]); also of regaining health (Jer 8[22]), strength (2 Ch 13[20], Ps 39[13]), sight (Lk 4[18]). But it is no longer used with the person to be restored to health as direct object, as it is in AV, 2 K 5[3. 6. 7. 11], Is 38[16] 39[1], Jth 14[7]. Cf. Shaks. *Jul. Cæs.* I. i. 28, 'I am indeed, sir, a surgeon to old shoes; when they are in great danger I recover them'; Defoe, *Crusoe*, 520, 'Our men in the Pinnace followed their orders, and took up three men; one of which was just drowning, and it was a good while before we could recover him.'

The intrans. use is also found in AV, to which RV adds Jn 11[12] 'The disciples therefore said unto him, Lord, if he is fallen asleep, he will recover,' for AV 'he shall do well'; RVm 'he shall be saved' (Gr. σωθήσεται, Vulg. *salvus erit*).

J. HASTINGS.

RED.—See COLOURS in vol. i. p. 457[b].

RED DRAGON.—See REVELATION (BOOK OF).

RED HEIFER.—Of the numerous forms of ceremonial uncleanness which occupy so important a place in the priestly legislation, that arising from contact with, and even proximity to, a dead body was regarded as the most grievous, requiring a specially efficacious medium of lustration for its removal. To provide such a medium is the object of the unique enactment of Nu 19—unique in its title (see below), in its provisions, and, one is tempted to add, in the amount of discussion to which it has given rise.

The precise relation to each other of the two sections of this chapter is not easy to determine. According to Wellh. (*Comp. d. Hex.*[3] 176, approved by Kuenen, *Hex.* 96) vv.[14-22] form an appendix to vv.[1-13], giving more precise instruction regarding the application to particular cases of the general Torah embodied in the latter. The more elaborate and peculiar title of the first section, however—viz. חֻקַּת הַתּוֹרָה 'the statute of the law (*Tôrah*),' Nu 19[2] 31[21] only—and other indications rather suggest that this section, vv.[1-13], is the younger of the two,* and be-

* According to the authors of the *Oxford Hexateuch* (1900), vv.[14ff.] are derived from a corpus of priestly *tôrôth* or decisions

longs to the secondary strata of P (Ps). Neither section, it should be noted, presents that historical setting which is characteristic of the legal ordinances of the main stock of P. Such a setting, however, was supplied by later Jewish tradition. The rite of the red heifer, according to Josephus, was instituted by Moses on the death of Miriam (see Nu 20[1], the chapter immediately *following* its institution in the Hebrew text), and the ashes of the first victim were used to purify the people at the expiry of the thirty days of mourning (*Ant.* IV. iv. 6).

i. The preparation of the ashes of the red heifer.
ii. The purpose and manner of their application.
iii. The origin and significance of the rite.
iv. The red heifer as a type of Christ.

i. *The procedure to be followed* in the preparation of the ashes is laid down in outline in vv.[1-10]. Detailed instructions—a few of the more important of which are noted in the sequel—will be found in the special treatise of the Mishna devoted to the subject (see Literature at end of art.). The ashes are to be those of a victim with special qualifications of sex, colour, and condition, the ultimate grounds for which have formed the subject of endless debate among Jewish and Christian scholars. The sacrificial victims were predominantly males, in the case of the sin-offerings for the congregation, a he-goat (Lv 9[3]) or a young bullock (4[23]); here, as in the ancient and allied rite by which the land was purified from the defilement of an untraced murder (Dt 21[1ff.]), a heifer or young cow was prescribed. According to a widely supported view (Bähr, Kurtz, Keil, Edersheim, etc.), the female sex, as the immediate source of new life, was chosen in order to furnish a more suggestive contrast in a rite associated with death. This and similar explanations, however, seem to us to introduce a train of thought much too advanced for ceremonies bearing such evident marks of a great antiquity (see iii. below) as do those of Nu 19 and Dt 21. We ought rather, in these cases, to see in the choice of the female sex the desire to offer the most precious and therefore the most efficacious victim, the females, as the breeders of the herd, being the more valuable in the estimation of a pastoral people—a view reflected in the composition of Jacob's present to Esau (Gn 32[14f.]; cf. Dillm.-Ryssel, *Ex.-Lv.*[3] 429).*

The age, by Rabbinic prescription, might range from two to five years (*Parah* i. 1); the colour must be red (אַדְמָה, cf. Zec 1[8] of horses), or rather reddish brown.† The heifer, further, had to be without spot or blemish of any kind, 'upon which never came yoke' (v.[2]), rightly paraphrased by Josephus as 'a heifer that had never been used to the plough or to husbandry' (*Ant.* IV. iv. 6; cf. Dt 21[3], and the epithets ἄζυγες, *injuges*, applied to sacrificial victims by classical writers). The cost was defrayed from the half-shekel temple tax (*Shekāl.* iv. 2).

Not the high priest, who dared not risk the contagion of uncleanness, but his representative, Eleazar, had to bring the victim forth 'without the camp' (v.[3])—that is, in actual practice, from the temple hill, by the so-called Red Heifer bridge, across the Kidron to the Mount of Olives. A rite so sacrosanct, and therefore entailing ceremonial defilement on the place and persons concerned, had to be performed at a distance from the sanctuary (cf. the barren valley of Dt 21[4]). At a spot secure from possible contamination by graves, the heifer was slain by a second person in the presence of the priest, who, dipping his finger in the warm blood, sprinkled thereof seven times in the direction of the sanctuary, *i.e.* the temple. A pyre having been previously constructed of various fragrant woods,* the complete carcass of the heifer—'her skin, and her flesh, and her blood, with her dung' (v.[5])—was burned thereon. At a certain stage (see *Parah* iii. 10) an interesting part of the ceremony took place. This was the casting, by the directing priest, of 'cedar wood (אֶרֶז), and hyssop, and scarlet' into the midst of the burning mass. According to later authorities, these items consisted of a thin piece of so-called 'cedar'—in reality a piece of the fragrant wood of the *Juniperus Phœnicea* (see CEDAR) or *J. Oxycedrus* (Löw, *Aram. Pflanzennamen*, p. 57)—a cubit in length, a bunch of aromatic hyssop or wild marjoram, and a strip of woollen cloth dyed scarlet, which bound the juniper and hyssop together (*Parah* iii. 10. 11, with commentaries; Maimonides, *de Vacca Rufa*).

When the whole pyre was reduced to ashes, these were collected by a third clean person—the two previous participants having been rendered unclean, in modern phrase 'taboo' (see below, iii.), by contact with the sacrosanct victim, and deposited by him 'without the camp in a clean place' (v.[9]). The ashes (not of the red heifer alone, be it noted, but these mixed with the ashes of the fragrant woods) were now ready to be used as the law prescribed. All the three participants in the ceremony were unclean (or taboo) till sundown, after which time, having bathed their persons and washed their clothes, they were again ceremonially clean (vv.[7. 8. 10])—that is, they were again admitted to the society of their fellows, and to participation in the cultus.

ii. The *purpose* of the ashes prepared as above is expressly declared to be 'for (the preparation of) a **water of separation**' (לְמֵי נִדָּה v.[9]; RVm 'a water of impurity'). The meaning of these words was early misunderstood. The LXX, followed by all the chief ancient versions, connecting נִדָּה *niddāh* with the Aramaic form of the Heb. נוּה 'to sprinkle,' rendered the phrase by ὕδωρ ῥαντισμοῦ 'water of sprinkling,' Jerome's *aqua aspersionis*, Luther's *Sprengwasser*. In reality the verb נָדָה (see Is 66[5]) denoted in the technical language of the priests 'to exclude from the cultus,' in post-biblical Hebrew 'to excommunicate'; hence the substantive *niddāh* denotes 'that which excludes from the cultus,'† viz. ceremonial uncleanness or impurity. *Mē niddāh* (lit. 'water of exclusion') accordingly signifies *water for removing the uncleanness* which is the cause of this exclusion; in other words, as suggested by RVm, 'water [for the removal] of impurity.' The mode of preparation was of the simplest: 'for the unclean they shall take of the ashes of the burning of the sin-offering, and running water shall be put thereto in a vessel' (v.[17] RV). This simple procedure was later elaborated with the most ingenious detail, if we are to believe the statements of the Mishna, to which the student is referred (*Parah* iii. 2–5). A clean person—according to *Parah* xii. 10, an adult male, not a female, though the latter might hold the vessel—took a bunch of hyssop, dipped it in the 'water of impurity,' and sprinkled the house in which a death had taken place, and all the persons and utensils therein, except such of the latter as were provided with lids, or were otherwise closed against the contagion of uncleanness (v.[15]). The same lustration was required in the case of uncleanness con-

—hence the signature Pᵗ—codified independently of the main stock of P (Ps). See *op. cit.* ii. 218 f., and cf. i. 152 f., and art. NUMBERS.

* For other explanations of the comparative sacredness of the cow, see W. R. Smith, *RS*[1] 280, [2] 287, and reff. there.

† The later Jewish authorities by a false exegesis, which took *tĕmīmāh*, 'physically perfect,' as a qualification of the preceding adjective 'perfectly red,' considered the presence of even two hairs of another colour as disqualifying (*Parah* ii. 5; cf. Rashi and other commentators, *in loc.*).

* Four are named in *Parah* iii. 8: אֶרֶז and אֹרֶן (Assyr. *ērinu*, 'cedar'), two species of juniper (probably), בְּרוֹשׁ 'cypress,' and fig.

† Ibn Ezra appears to be the first to grasp the true connexion between the verb and the substantive. See his comm. *in loc.* Rashi kept to the traditional view לִמֵי הַוִּיָּיה 'for water of sprinkling.' The commentaries of both exegetes are found in the ordinary Rabbinic Bibles.

tracted by every one who had occasion to touch a dead body, whether the person had died a natural or a violent death, and by every one who had touched even a bone of the human body or a grave (v.[10]).

By a separate enactment (Nu 31[19-24]; note esp. חֻקַּת הַתּוֹרָה v.[21]), which likewise bears every indication of belonging to the latest stratum of the priestly legislation, the 'water of impurity' had to be employed on the return from a campaign for the cleansing of the soldiers and their captives (31[19]), including their clothes and *impedimenta* (v.[20]). The spoil, also, of precious and useful metals taken from the enemy, after a preliminary purification by being passed through the fire, had to be finally purified by the application of the 'water of impurity' (v.[22f.]).

In the case of unclean persons the sprinkling was performed on the third and seventh days following that on which the uncleanness had been contracted. On the seventh day 'at even' or sundown, after having bathed their persons and washed their clothes, they were once more clean. The ban of exclusion from the cultus was finally removed, and the persons affected resumed their place in the holy community of J".

iii. *Origin and significance of the rite.*—Although the chapter before us may, or rather must, have assumed its present form at a comparatively late period, the essential part of the ceremony of lustration may be confidently affirmed to be of extreme antiquity, for the mystery attaching to the beginning and the end of life, and to the blood as the vehicle of life, has impressed mankind from the earliest days. In all forms of primitive religious thought a dead body is conceived as a source of real, if undefined, danger to all in proximity to it. Itself in the highest degree unclean, in modern phrase taboo, it becomes an active source of uncleanness, and renders taboo everyone and everything about it. These death taboos, as they may be called, were in full force among the ancient Hebrews, as among the other nations of antiquity, and the means used to remove the taboo were to a large extent identical. Primarily, as Robertson Smith has pointed out, 'purification means the application to the person of some medium which removes a taboo, and enables a person to mingle freely in the ordinary life of his fellows' (*RS*[1] 405). The most widely distributed medium is, of course, water, but for aggravated cases of uncleanness this medium was supposed to acquire increased potency through the addition of ashes (see the reff. to ancient writers quoted by Bähr, *Symbolik*, ii. 495, and Knobel in Dillmann's commentary, *in loc.*). Here, then, we have the origin of the essential part of the Hebrew rite.

Closely connected with this circle of ideas is the universal belief of primitive man that sickness and death are caused by harmful and malevolent spirits whose anger he has incurred (cf. DEMON, vol. i. p. 590[a]). An interesting survival of this primitive mode of thought may, we venture to think, be found in the ritual of the red heifer. Much laboured ingenuity has been expended in finding suitable symbolical meanings for each of the 'cedar wood, hyssop, and scarlet' which were added to the burning pyre. According to some, cedar, hastily assumed to be the majestic cedar of Lebanon, is the symbol of pride, as hyssop of humility; according to others, cedar, the incorruptible wood, was chosen 'as typical of eternity of life, hyssop of purification from the power of death, and scarlet thread to show the intensity of life in the red heifer.' The true explanation, it seems to us, is to be found in the primitive conception referred to above. We have here a meaningless survival, of which innumerable parallels will occur to students of comparative religion, from the time when the fragrant woods, such as juniper and cypress and the aromatic plants of the mint family, were supposed to act as a protection against the harmful unseen powers that were the cause of death * and hovered about the dead. The scarlet cloth is to be explained either by the fact that a special healing virtue was assigned in antiquity to the scarlet dye (Delitzsch,† art. 'Sprengwasser' in Riehm's *HWB d. bibl. Alterthums*[2]), or by the universally prevalent idea of red, the colour of the sacred blood, as the taboo colour *par excellence* (Jevons, *Introd. to Hist. of Religion*, 67 ff.; Trumbull, *The Blood Covenant*, 236 f.).‡ The line of thought along which we have sought to explain this confessedly difficult part of the ritual, to the exclusion of the advanced symbolical interpretation hitherto current, finds further justification in the use of a sprinkler, consisting of a bunch of hyssop, tied to a handle of juniper wood by a similar strip of scarlet cloth, in sprinkling a house, as well as a person, that was to be declared free from the plague of leprosy (Lv 14[51ff.]).

While we have thus endeavoured to trace the origin of the ritual of the red heifer to its source in an atmosphere of primitive religious thought common to the Hebrews of the pre-Mosaic age with other races on a similar plane of development, it must not be forgotten that the rite received a higher and fuller interpretation in being admitted into the circle of the priestly legislation of the post-exilic age. Uncleanness and sin, sin and death, are now associated ideas (for the whole subject, see art. UNCLEANNESS). The red heifer has become a sin-offering (vv.[9, 17]) of a unique kind; part of the blood is sprinkled towards the dwelling-place of J", from whose worship those 'unclean from the dead' are temporarily excluded, the rest is burned with the victim to heighten the expiatory efficacy of the ashes. The rite in all its details becomes a powerful object-lesson, teaching the eternal truth that a holy God can be served only by a holy people.

It is no longer possible to ascertain the extent to which the 'water of impurity' was actually used as a medium of lustration by the mass of the Jewish people. Even such sober investigators as Delitzsch and Dillmann have pointed out the difficulties in the way of an extended application of the ritual of Nu 19 in a thickly peopled country. Again, what are we to make of the statement (*Parah* iii. 5) that only seven or nine red heifers were slain in all—the first by Moses, the second by Ezra, and the rest later? The probability is that, like many other of the more stringent requirements of the Levitical code, the observance was confined to the more ardent legalists in Jerusalem. Jewish tradition represents this and other rites regarding uncleanness as ceasing to be observed about fifty years after the destruction of the temple (Hamburger, *Real-encycl. d. Judenthums*, i. 874). The red heifer, it may be remarked finally, has given her name to the second chapter of the Koran, 'the surah of the heifer,' in which, however, Mohammed in his usual fashion has confused the two heifers of Nu 19 and Dt 21 (see *sur.* ii. 63 ff.).

iv. *The red heifer as a type of Christ.*—It was natural that the early Church should see in the expiatory rite of Nu 19 a prefiguring of the atoning work of our Lord. The first to give literary expression to this idea, which has received such detailed elaboration at the hands of successive generations of typologists, is the author of the

* In comparatively recent times in our own country, a juniper tree planted before a house was regarded as a preventive of the plague.

† Delitzsch is apparently the only writer who has sought to assign other than a purely symbolical significance to these three elements. See, besides the above article, his commentary on He 9[13], and cf. Nowack, *Arch.* ii. 289, note 1.

‡ If we could be sure that the red colour of the heifer was as old as the practice of burning for the sake of the ashes, the choice would probably have to be explained by the same association of ideas. The oxen sacrificed by the ancient Egyptians had also to be red, a single black or white hair disqualifying an animal for the sacrifice (Plutarch, *Isis et Osiris*, 31; Herod. ii. 38, cited by Frazer, *Golden Bough*, i. 306, 2nd ed., 1900, ii. 312).

Epistle to the Hebrews in the familiar passage $9^{13f.}$. In the Epistle of Barnabas we find a whole chapter (ch. 8) devoted to this subject, in the course of which the writer shows an intimate acquaintance with contemporary Jewish practice as reflected in the Mishna (see esp. *Parah* iii. 2, 3). 'The calf is Jesus,' the juniper wood is His cross, while the scarlet wool, the hyssop, and other details receive a more or less appropriate interpretation.

LITERATURE.—The comm. on Nu 19, esp. Dillmann; the treatise *Parah* (Lat. tr. with commentaries in Surenhusius' Mishna, vol. vi., English in Barclay's *Talmud*, p. 300 ff.), which forms the basis of Maimonides' treatise הלכות פרה, edited with Lat. tr. and notes by A. C. Zeller, *de Vacca Rufa*, 1711; Spencer, *de legg. Heb. rit.* ii. 15, 'de vitula rufa,' etc.; Bähr, *Symbolik des Mosaischen Cultus*, 1839, i. 493–512; Kurtz in *SK*, 1846, p. 629 ff.; Edersheim, *The Temple*, etc. p. 304 ff.; works on Biblical archæology, esp. Haneberg, Keil (i. 385 ff.), and Nowack (ii. 288 ff.); art. 'Sprengwasser' by Delitzsch in Riehm's *HWB d. bibl. Alterthums*[2], and 'Reinigungen' by König in *PRE*[2]. A. R. S. KENNEDY.

RED HORSE.—See REVELATION (BOOK OF), p. 239.

RED SEA (יַם־סוּף Ex 10^{19} and often; also יָם Ex $14^{2\ bis.\ 9}$, Is $51^{10\ bis}$ 63^{11} etc.; יַם־מִצְרַיִם Is 11^{15}; LXX ἡ ἐρυθρὰ θάλασσα, with the equivalent amongst Latin geographers *Mare Rubrum*, also *Mare Erythræum*).—The origin of the name 'Red Sea' is uncertain, though several reasons for it have been assigned, such as the colour of the corals which cover its floor or line its shores; the tinge of the Edomite and Arabian mountains which border its coasts, and the light of an Eastern sky reflected on its waters. Dean Stanley considers that the name as applied to the Gulfs of Suez and Akabah is comparatively modern, as it was used to designate the waters of the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf before it was applied to the arm which extends northwards of the Strait of Bab-el-Mandeb;* and in the former application it is used by Berosus and Herodotus.† The Hebrew name *Yam Ṣûph* (see art. SUPH) appears to have been used from very early times. The origin of the name is not of much importance, since the name itself is in universal use.

The Red Sea is one of the most remarkable of oceanic gulfs on the globe, owing to the fact that it receives the waters of no river, while the evaporation from its surface is necessarily enormous. It must, therefore, be fed by the influx of water from the Indian Ocean through the Straits of Bab-el-Mandeb; but as such a condition of supply would long ere this have resulted in the conversion of the whole basin into a mass of solid rock-salt, it is inferred that an outward current flows into the Indian Ocean beneath the surface inward current.

The length of the Red Sea from the Straits to the head of the Gulf of Suez is about 1350 miles, and the extreme breadth in lat. 19° N. 205 miles. Towards its northern end it bifurcates into two narrow gulfs—those of Suez and Akabah (Ælanitic Gulf), between which rises the mountainous region of Sinai. The waters are clear and of a deep blue colour; and, as might be expected, are more saline than those of the ocean in the proportion of 4 to 3·5; the relative densities being 1·030 and 1·026 at a temperature of 60° Fahrenheit.

The waters of the Red Sea are crowded with living forms, and their high temperature (where not deep), combined with extreme purity, being favourable to polyp life, coral reefs abound, either lining the shores or rising as islands above the surface. The navigable channel from Suez to the Straits lies nearly in the centre of the basin, and in lat. 21° N., where the greatest depth is found, the bed descends to a depth of 1200 fathoms.

That the bed of the Red Sea is becoming shallower by the gradual rise of the land, admits of the clearest proof. Raised beaches containing shells and corals now living in the water are found at various levels up to many feet above the present surface; as, for example, along the cliffs of Nummulite limestone above Cairo and other parts of Lower Egypt, as well as along the shores of the Gulf of Suez and Akabah. The most remarkable of these beaches is that which is found at a level of 220 ft., and was first recognized by Oscar Fraas. Still more recently, and probably within the human and pre-historic period, the waters of the Red Sea stretched up the Isthmus of Suez into the great Bitter Lake, as the floor of the canal when being cut in 1867 laid open beds of rock-salt and strata, with recent shells and corals.* At the close of the Eocene period the whole surface of Egypt was under the waters of the ocean, and the Red Sea and Mediterranean waters were continuous. The fauna of the Red Sea and of the Mediterranean are now highly dissimilar: that of the former partaking of the character of the Indian Ocean; that of the latter, of the Atlantic. This process of differentiation has been naturally proceeding from the time when the two seas were disconnected by the uprising of the land in Miocene and Pliocene times, and the formation of the Isthmus of Suez.†

The biblical history of the Red Sea is chiefly connected with the Exodus (which see); but we have an interesting reference to it later in the time of Solomon and Hiram, king of Tyre, illustrating the essentially different habits of the Israelites and Phœnicians. These latter, from the time they settled on the coast of Syria, became a maritime nation, extending their trade and founding colonies all round the Mediterranean, while inland their extent of territory was extremely limited. The Israelites, on the other hand, were not a seafaring people; and consequently, when Solomon had extended his rule over Edom, and as far south as the Ælanitic Gulf, and was desirous of having a fleet, to navigate the waters of the Red Sea and to trade with Ophir for gold and other commodities; and when Elath (*Aila* of Strabo) and Ezion-geber were fortified, and the latter made a seaport town, his own subjects being ignorant of nautical affairs, he was obliged to have recourse to the assistance of Hiram, with whom he had preserved friendly relations. This appeal was not made in vain, and Hiram sent his servants, 'shipmen that had knowledge of the sea,' to man the fleet in the trade with Ophir (1 K $9^{26.\ 27}$). After this event the Red Sea drops out of biblical history; Elath was for a time lost to the kingdom of Israel on the revolt of Edom against Joram (2 K 8^{20}), and, though regained by Azariah (14^{22}), it finally passed into the hands of the Syrians (*Kethibh*) or the Edomites (*Ḳerê*) in the reign of Ahaz (16^{6}). Some ruins on an island at the head of the gulf are supposed to mark the site of this once important seaport. E. HULL.

REDEEMER, REDEMPTION.—With two exceptions (AV in Ps 136^{24} [פָּרַק, lit. *to break* or *tear away*,

* Stanley, *Sinai and Palestine*[5], 5 (note).

† Rawlinson, *Ancient Monarchies*, i. 109. Sayce (*HCM* 255 ff.) maintains that *Yam Ṣuph* as used by Heb. writers means only the Gulf of Akabah, and that its application in Ex $15^{4.\ 22}$ to the 'sea,' which the Israelites crossed on leaving Egypt, rests upon a mistake. This view, which the present writer is persuaded is entirely erroneous, was adopted by Sayce in order to support his theory that Mount Sinai lay amongst the Edomite mountains east of the Gulf of Akabah. See, further, art. SINAI.

* The writer considers that this was the condition of the Isthmus at the time of the Exodus. Such a view, borne out by observation, renders the account of this event intelligible, but does not necessitate the inference that the waters of the Red Sea and the Mediterranean were at that time connected.

† For an account of the raised beaches of the Red Sea coast and of Lower Egypt, see Hull, 'On the Physical Geology of Arabia Petræa,' *PEF Mem.* 69 ff. (1886).

a common Aram. word for *rescue, deliver*, in Heb. also La 5[8]], RV 'delivered'; and AV and RV in Neh 5[8] [קָנָה *to buy*, so RVm]), 'redeem' is the tr. in OT of the Heb. פָּדָה and גָּאַל, with their derivatives. פדה (better, for distinction from גאל, rendered 'to ransom') is used of the money payments required under the Law for the redemption of the firstborn (so Nu 3[46-49] 18[15ff.]; cf. Ex 13[13. 15], Lv 27[27]), or for the release of persons from slavery (so Ex 21[8], Lv 25[47-49]); and גאל 'to redeem' (in a legal sense), of the recovery of property which had passed into other hands (so Lv 25[26], Ru 4[4ff.]), or of commutation of a vow (Lv 27[13. 15. 19. 20]) or a tithe (Lv 27[31]).

In the Prophets and the Psalms both גָּאַל and פָּדָה are used figuratively, with the general meaning 'deliver,' of the saving activity of God, as shown in the history of Israel (so Is 29[22] [פדה] 48[20] 52[9], Ps 77[15] [all גאל]) and in the experience of individual Israelites (Ps 34[22] [פדה]). Cremer (*Wörterb.* p. 596) finds, in the use of these words rather than others which might have been chosen, a suggestion of the property relation conceived to exist between J" and Israel. Cf. Ps 74[2] 'Remember thy congregation, which thou hast purchased of old, which thou hast redeemed (גאל) to be the tribe of thine inheritance'; so Dt 9[26], 2 S 7[23], 1 Ch 17[21] (all פדה), Is 52[3] (גאל). [A similar idea appears in the NT *περιποιεῖσθαι* (Ac 20[28]), *περιποίησις* (Eph 1[14], 1 P 2[9]), and *ἀγοράζω* (1 Co 6[20] and often); but these words correspond in the LXX to קָנָה, קְנִיָּה, and קִנְיָן, never to גאל or פדה]. In the great majority of cases, however, the idea of a money payment falls altogether into the background, and the words are used in the purely general sense of 'save,' 'deliver.' To 'ransom' or 'redeem' means to deliver from any calamity or misfortune, however that deliverance may be brought about.

More specifically, redemption is thought of as deliverance from adversity (2 S 4[9], 1 K 1[29], Ps 25[22] [all פדה]), oppression and violence (Ps 72[14] [גאל]), captivity (Zec 10[8-10] [פדה], Ps 107[2. 3] [גאל]), or death (Ps 49[15] [פדה], 103[4], Hos 13[14] [both גאל], Job 5[20] [פדה]). It is specially associated with the deliverance from Egypt (Dt 7[8] 13[5] 24[18], Mic 6[4] [all פדה]), and with the (idealized) deliverance from Babylon (Is 35[9] 62[12] 63[4] [all גאל]). In a single instance only is it used of redemption from sin (Ps 130[8] [פדה]).

The noun 'redeemer' is the tr. in OT of the part. גֹּאֵל (*gô'ēl*, properly *one who asserts a claim* or has the right of 'redemption,' esp. one who vindicates the right of a murdered man, *i.e.* the 'avenger of blood,' hence the next-of-kin, Nu 5[8], Ru 2[20] *al.*, 1 K 16[11]), and is applied in our VSS, in a figurative sense, to God only. It is a favourite term of Deutero-Isaiah, who often speaks of J" as the *Gô'ēl* of Israel (so 41[14] 43[14] 44[6. 24] 47[4] 48[17] 49[7. 26] 54[5. 8] 59[20] 60[16] 63[16]), and magnifies the freeness and the greatness of His deliverance. Cf. Is 52[3] 'Ye were sold for nought, and ye shall be redeemed without money'; Is 54[7. 8] 'For a small moment have I forsaken thee; but with great mercies will I gather thee. In overflowing wrath I hid my face from thee for a moment; but with everlasting kindness will I have mercy upon thee, saith J" thy redeemer.' Outside of Isaiah, the term *gô'ēl* is not applied to God except in Ps 19[14] 78[35], Job 19[25], Pr 23[11], Jer 50[34]. In the last three cases it is used in the special sense of advocate or vindicator. J" is here represented as doing for the oppressed what the human *gô'ēl* would do, if he were living. So in the familiar passage Job 19[25] 'I know that my redeemer liveth,' the true rendering should be, 'I know that my vindicator liveth' (so RVm), *i.e.* the one who will see that I have justice after I am gone. See, further, art. GOEL, and A. B. Davidson's note on Job 19[25].

In NT the words for 'redeem' are *ἀγοράζω* and *λυτροῦμαι*, with their derivatives. The former means lit. 'to buy,' 'to purchase,' by which terms it is uniformly rendered in RV (1 Co 6[20] 7[23], 2 P 2[1], Rev 5[9] 14[3. 4] [all]) and AV in all passages except Rev 5[9] 14[3. 4]. This is akin to the figurative use of קנה 'buy' or 'purchase,' in the OT, of the deliverance of Israel from bondage, Ex 15[16], Is 11[11], Ps 74[2] (cf. 78[54]), though קנה is not represented in the LXX of these passages by *ἀγοράζω*. In the compound form *ἐξαγοράζω*, 'to buy from or out of,' it acquires the technical meaning 'redeem,' and is so used twice by St. Paul (Gal 3[13] 4[5]) of Christ's deliverance of those who were under the curse of the law. 'Christ redeemed us from the curse of the law, having become a curse for us. For it is written, Cursed is every one that hangeth on a tree.' Here Christ's shameful death on the cross is regarded as the ransom price paid for the deliverance of those who were held prisoners under the law and subject to its curse. Cf. Rev 5[9], where the redeemed are said to be purchased unto God (not from God) with the blood of the Lamb.

The more common NT word is, however, *λυτροῦμαι* (from *λύτρον*, 'a ransom'), with its derivatives, *λυτρωτής*, *λύτρωσις*, *ἀπολύτρωσις*. These follow the usage of the OT גָּאַל and פָּדָה, being sometimes used in the technical sense of 'ransom' (*e.g.* 1 P 1[18. 19]), but more frequently in the purely general sense of 'deliver.' Thus *λύτρωσις* is used in Luke of the Messianic deliverance from misfortune and sorrow. So Lk 1[68] 2[38], cf. 24[21]. More particularly of the salvation to be wrought at the Parousia, Lk 21[28] (*ἀπολύτρωσις*, cf. Ro 8[23] the redemption of the body; Eph 1[14] the redemption of God's own possession. In Eph 4[30] the phrase 'day of redemption' is used as a synonym for Parousia). In other passages which follow the thought of Ps 130[8], the reference is clearly to redemption from sin. So in Eph 1[7], Col 1[14], redemption is associated with forgiveness. In Ro 3[24] it is connected with justification. In Tit 2[14] Christ is said to have given Himself for us 'that he might redeem us from all iniquity, and purify unto himself a people for his own possession, zealous of good works.' In this narrower sense redemption is frequently connected with the death of Christ. Thus He 9[15] speaks of 'a death having taken place for the redemption of the transgressions that were under the first covenant.' Cf. Eph 1[7] 'redemption through his blood'; Ro 3[24. 25] 'redemption . . . through faith in his blood,' and esp. 1 P 1[18. 19] 'Knowing that ye were redeemed, not with corruptible things, as with silver or gold, from your vain manner of life handed down from your fathers; but with precious blood, as of a lamb without blemish and without spot, even the blood of Christ.' Here the technical meaning of *λυτροῦμαι* reappears. The blood of Christ is represented as the ransom price (*λύτρον*, cf. Mk 10[45]) by which Christians are redeemed from their former sinful life. Observe that in 1 P 1[18. 19], as in Tit 2[14] and He 9[15], the thought is not primarily of deliverance from punishment, but of deliverance from sin. See, further, under RANSOM.

The term 'redeemer' (*λυτρωτής*) is found in NT only in Ac 7[35], where it is used of Moses (so RVm; AV and RV tr. 'deliverer'). In the LXX *λυτρωτής* stands for גֹּאֵל in Ps 18 (19)[14] 77 (78)[35] [all].

For a fuller discussion of the biblical idea of redemption, see SALVATION, SAVIOUR.

LITERATURE.—Cremer, *Bib.-Theol. Wörterb.*, *s.* *λυτρόω*; Ritschl, *Rechtf. und Vers.* ii. p. 222 ff.; Beyschlag, *Neutest. Theol.* i. p. 386 (Eng. tr. i. p. 395 f.); Stevens, *Pauline Theol.* (1892) p. 227 ff.; Orr, *Christian View of God and the World* (1893), p. 333 ff.; Hort, *1 Peter* (1898), p. 78 ff.; Briggs, *Messiah of Apostles*, p. 47 ff., and *Study of Holy Scripture*, 1899, p. 647 ff.; Abbott, *Ephesians and Colossians*, pp. 11-13; Westcott, *Hebrews*, pp. 295, 296; Sanday-Headlam, *Romans*, p. 86; Driver on Dt 7[8] 19[6] and *Par. Psalt.* 453 f.

W. ADAMS BROWN.

REED.—There is as much uncertainty in regard to the signification of the Heb. words used to designate the various sorts of aquatic and marsh plants, grouped under the above general term, as there is about the English term itself. Two of these, *'āḥū* and *sūph*, have already been discussed under FLAG. There remain the foll. four:—

1. אָגְמוֹן, אֲגָמוֹן *'agmōn*. This word seems to be derived from אֲגַם *'agam*, the same as the Arab. *'ajam*, denoting 'a troubled or muddy pool' (Is 14^{23} אֲגַמִּים), such as reeds and rushes grow in, and thence a *reed* from such a pool (Jer 51^{32}, RVm '*marshes*, Heb. *pools*'). *'Agmōn* is tr^{d} in Job 41^{2} AV 'hook,' RV 'rope'; Job 41^{20} AV 'caldron,' RV 'burning rushes'; Is 58^{5} 'bulrush,' RV 'rush.' The word is used metaphorically for the lowly, and tr^{d} 'rush' (Is 9^{14} 19^{15}). The LXX *κρίκος* = 'ring,' *ἄνθραξ* = 'coal,' *μικρός* = 'small,' *τέλος* = 'end,' give us no clue to the signification of *'agmōn*. Unfortunately, there is nothing in the etymology which is any more helpful. The expression 'bow down his head like a bulrush' (Is 58^{5}) would exclude the true rushes, which are stiff, erect plants. There are several rush-like plants to which it would well apply, as the Twig Rush, *Cladium mariscus*, L.; *Cyperus longus*, L., and a number of the *Scirpi*, all of the order *Cyperaceæ*; the Common Reed, *Phragmites communis*, L., of the *Gramineæ*; the Flowering Rush, *Butomus umbellatus*, L., of the *Alismaceæ*; and the Bur Reed, *Sparganium ramosum*, Huds., of the *Typhaceæ*. The expression 'canst thou put an *'agmōn* (AV 'hook,' RV 'rope') into his nose?' (Job 41^{2}) may be explained as referring to the ring which is passed through the nostrils of bulls to lead them. This is usually of iron. Sometimes it is of tough, twisted withes. It may be that it was sometimes made of rushes. But this also gives no light as to the particular kind. The tr^{n} 'rush' is admissible only if we take it in its widest and most general sense.

2. גֹּמֶא *gōme'*. The Heb. root signifies 'to swallow *or* imbibe.' *Gōme'* occurs in connexion with its marshy place of growth (Job 8^{11}, LXX *πάπυρος*, AV and RV 'rush,' RVm 'papyrus'). The ark in which Moses was placed was made of *gōme'* (Ex 2^{3}). The LXX says only *θίβις* = 'wicker basket,' without mentioning the material of which it was made; AV and RV 'bulrushes,' RVm 'papyrus.' What were the 'vessels of *gōme'*'? (Is 18^{2}, AV 'bulrushes,' RV 'papyrus'). That boats for sea voyages were made of papyrus is improbable. But the passage does not require that. The allusion in the expression 'sea' is doubtless to the Nile, the greater branches of which, as well as the main stream, are called by the Arabs *baḥr* = 'sea.' The Blue Nile is *el-baḥr el-azraḳ*, and the White Nile *el-baḥr el-abiad*, while the united stream is called *baḥr en-Nîl* far more frequently than *nahr* (river) *en-Nîl*. This being understood, the vessels must be considered as boats or skiffs or canoes. The LXX seems to have another text, and gives *ἐπιστολὰς βιβλίνας* = 'letters on parchment.' We have profane testimony as to the use of papyrus, which is here generic for sedges, etc., for boats (Plin. *Nat. Hist.* xiii. 22; Theophrast. *Hist. Pl.* iv. 8), sails, mats, cloths, coverlets, and ropes. *Gōme'* is mentioned in one other passage along with *ḳāneh* (Is 35^{7}, LXX *ἕλος* = 'a swamp,' AV and RV 'rushes'). If we adopt 'rush' as the generic expression to represent *'agmōn*, it would be better to take 'sedge' as an equivalent generic expression for *gōme'*. This will include the papyrus, *Cyperus Papyrus*, L., the *babîr* or *bardî* of the Arabs; *C. alepecuroides*, Rotb., a species growing to the height of a man or taller, in the marshes of Egypt and the Ḥûleh, and used in making mats, etc.; the Club Rush, or Bulrush, *Scirpus maritimus*, L., which grows as large as the last, and is used for similar purposes; *S. mucronatus*, L.; *S. lacustris*, L.; and *S. littoralis*, L.; and the Twig Rush, *Cladium mariscus*, L., which has been mentioned under *'agmōn*. The papyrus is the largest and finest of all. It grows from creeping root stocks, which produce tufts of sterile, linear leaves at the surface of the mud or water. The culms are 10 to 15 ft. high, and 2 to 3 in. thick at the base, which is enclosed in imbricated, brown sheaths. These are leafless, or end in a broad, lanceolate limb. The culm is triquetrous above, and ends in an umbel 8 to 15 in. broad, subtended by an involucre of numerous lanceolate leaves. The spikelets are only a third of an inch long, of a pale fawn colour. This noble sedge is the ornament of the Ḥûleh swamps, and the finest of the *Cyperaceæ* of Bible lands, perhaps of the whole world. It used to be common in Lower Egypt, but has now disappeared.

3. קָנֶה *ḳāneh*. This is undoubtedly the equivalent, neither more nor less general, of the Eng. 'reed.' Both are generic for all tall grasses, and more or less for grass-like plants. The word *ḳăna* in Arabic came to signify a spear, from the long reed which constitutes its handle. Such reeds grow in great profusion in the cane brakes of the Lower Euphrates and Upper Nile. Egypt and the Holy Land are pre-eminently lands of tall grasses and canes. Among the most notable of the *Gramineæ* of the Holy Land are *Arundo Donax*, L., called in Arabic *ḳaṣab fârisî* = the Persian Reed. This noble grass often attains a height of 15 to 20 ft. Its silky panicle, swaying gracefully to and fro in the wind, may well have been the 'reed shaken by the wind' (Mt 11^{7}). Immense brakes of this cane are found on the borders of the streams about the Dead Sea, in the Jordan Valley, Ḥûleh, and along the irrigation canals and rivers throughout the land. Another noble grass is *Saccharum Ægyptiacum*, Willd., called in Arabic *ghazzâr*. It resembles the Pampas Grass of the Argentina in the beauty of its silky panicles, which are often borne on stalks 10 to 15 ft. high. Others are *Panicum turgidum*, Forsk.; *Erianthus Ravennæ*, L., the Woolly Beard Grass; *Ammophila arenaria*, L.; *Phragmites communis*, the true Reed, known in Arabic as *ghâb and bûs*; *Eragrostis cynosuroides*, Rœm. et Schultz, the famous *Ḥalfâ*, from which Wady Halfa in Nubia derives its name. This latter attains a height of 6 to 10 ft., and has a beautiful panicle. It forms dense brakes in marshy regions, from the latitude of Jaffa and *Ghôr eṣ-Ṣâfieh* to Egypt and the Upper Nile.

Ḳāneh is tr^{d} by various words—(1) 'Reed' (*e.g.* 1 K 14^{15}). The allusion to the 'bruised reed' (2 K 18^{21}) shows a keen insight into the facts of nature. The grasses have hollow stems. A slight force is sufficient to crush them in, and then their elasticity and strength are gone. Yet even such, by God's help, may be saved from fracture (Is 42^{3}, Mt 12^{20}). The reed is spoken of as growing in marshes (Job 40^{21}). The 'wild beast of the reeds' (Ps 68^{30} AVm and RV) is probably either the crocodile or (cf. Job 40^{21}) the hippopotamus; in either case it is a symbolical designation of Egypt (cf. Ezk 29^{3}, Ps 74^{14}). See Driver, *Parallel Psalter*, p. 190, n. 7. The stronger kinds of reeds, such as *Arundo Donax*, L., were used for walking staffs (Ezk $29^{6.7}$, Is 36^{6}). This sort was, and still is, used for measuring purposes (Ezk $40^{3.5}$ etc. [cf. Rev 11^{1} $21^{15f.}$]. This one was 6 cubits and 6 palms long. The Gr. *κάλαμος* was also a measure of $6\frac{2}{3}$ cubits). (2) 'Stalk (of grain)' (Gn $41^{5.22}$). (3) 'Bone' (Job 31^{22}), from the fact of this being a tube like the hollow stems of grasses. (4) 'Beam of a balance,' thence the *balance* itself (Is 46^{6}), probably because the cross beams of

balances were sometimes made of reeds. (5) The 'branches of a lampstand,' probably because these were tubular (Ex $25^{31.\ 32}$). Possibly these tubes carried oil, as in the case of the seven pipes (מוֹצָקוֹת) of the lampstand in Zechariah's vision (Zec $4^{2.\ 12f.}$). (6) 'Cane' (Is 43^{24}), RVm 'calamus.' The fuller form is קָנֶה הַטּוֹב *ḳāneh haṭṭōbh*, 'sweet cane' (Jer 6^{20} RVm 'calamus).' (7) 'Calamus' (Ca 4^{14}, Ezk 27^{19}). The fuller form is קָנֶה־בֹשֶׂם *ḳĕnēh-bōsem* = 'sweet calamus' (Ex 30^{23}). Calamus is not indigenous in Syria and Palestine. This is noted in Jer 6^{20}, where it is said that it comes 'from a far country.' Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* xii. 48) says, 'Scented calamus, also, which grows in Arabia, is common both in India and Syria, that which grows in the last country being superior to all the rest. At a distance of 150 stadia from the Mediterranean, between Mount Libanus and another mountain of no note (and not, as some have supposed, Antilibanus), there is a valley of moderate size, situate in the vicinity of a lake, the marshy swamps of which are dried up every summer. At a distance of 30 stadia from this lake grow the sweet-scented calamus and the rush.' This indication of locality would probably refer to the Lake of Ḥems, and the swamps of the Upper Orontes. But no modern botanist has detected *Acorus Calamus* there. Nor have we been able to identify 'scented calamus' with any of the reeds or rushes which grow there. The precision of Jeremiah's language seems to forbid the idea that he spoke of any indigenous plant.

4. עָרוֹת *'ārōth* (Is 19^{7}) is tr^{d} in AV 'paper reeds,' RV more properly 'meadows,' see art. MEADOW in vol. ii. p. 307 note †; LXX χλωρός. There is no authority for identifying this with the papyrus.

G. E. POST.

REED GRASS (Gn $41^{2.\ 18}$). — RV for אָחוּ, AV 'meadow.' The same word is tr^{d} in Job 8^{11} 'flag,' RVm 'reed grass.' See FLAG **1.**

REELAIAH.—See RAAMIAH.

REELIAS (A Ῥεελίας, B Βορόλειος or -είας, AV Reelius), 1 Es 5^{8}, corresponds in position to Bigvai in Ezr 2^{2}, Neh 7^{7}; but the form of the name is nearer to Reelaiah (A Ῥεελίας) in the same verse of Ezra, or Raamiah in that of Nehemiah.

REFINER, REFINING.—**1.** The verb צָרַף in Qal is used in Job 28^{1} of gold, and in 36^{27} of rain (see Dillm. *ad loc.*); in Piel it is used in 1 Ch 28^{18} of gold, in 29^{4} (cf. Ps 12^{6}) of silver; and in Pual of settled wine, Is 25^{6}. **2.** The most usual word for 'refine' is צָרַף. The only occurrence in AV of 'refiner' is Mal $3^{2.\ 3}$ (מְצָרֵף). צָרַף occurs both in a literal, Ps 66^{10}, Jer 6^{29}, Zec 13^{9}, and in a metaphorical sense, Ps 26^{2}, Is 1^{25} 48^{10}, Dn 11^{35} (cf. Driver, *Par. Psalt.* 458 f.). **3.** πυροῦσθαι Rev 1^{15} 3^{18} (RV 'be refined'); cf. 1 P 1^{7}, with Hort's note.

The ancient Egyptians, as described by Wilkinson, purified gold by putting it into earthen crucibles with lead, salt, a little tin, and barley bran, sealing the crucibles with clay, and then exposing them to the heat of a furnace for five days and nights. Refining silver by cupellation is a very old process. The silver mixed with lead is put into a crucible made of bone earth, and placed in a reverberatory furnace. As the oxide of lead forms, it is blown off by bellows, and towards the end of the process the thin covering of oxide becomes iridescent and soon disappears, and the pure bright surface of the silver flashes out. This process of refining silver is referred to in Jer 6^{29}. The reference in Mal 3 is to the purifying influence of affliction on the people of God; their sinful impurities gradually disappear, and at last the Divine image is reflected from the soul, as the face of the refiner from the surface of the purified silver.

W. CARSLAW.

REFRAIN.—The verb 'to refrain' is now used only intransitively, to abstain from. This use is found twice in AV, Ec 3^{5} 'A time to embrace, and a time to refrain from embracing'; and Ac 5^{38} 'Refrain from these men.'* But the primitive meaning of 'refrain' is to curb or restrain (Old Fr. *refrener*, Lat. *refrenare*, from *re* back, and *frenum* a bridle, a curb), and this is the usual meaning of the word in AV. So Udall, *Erasmus Paraph.* i. 97, 'Jesus refreyned them, saying, Why be ye grieved with this woman?'; Ex 32^{14} Tind. 'And the Lorde refrayned him selfe from that evell, which he sayde he wolde do unto his people'; Ja 1^{26} Wyc. 'If ony man gessith hym silf to be relegious and refreyneth not his tunge' (AV 'bridleth not'); Elyot, *Governour*, ii. 215, 'Injurie apparaunt and with powar inforced eyther may be with lyke powar resisted, or with wisedome eschued, or with entreatie refrained.'

J. HASTINGS.

REFUGE, CITIES OF (עָרֵי הַמִּקְלָט, עָרֵי הַמִּ֫קְלָט, or, more fully עִיר מִקְלָט הָרִאשֹׁן; LXX (*al*) πόλεις (τῶν) φυγαδευτηρίων, or the cities are said to be φυγαδευτήρια or εἰς φυγαδευτήριον; a fuller description (Jos $21^{21.\ 36}$) is ἡ πόλις τοῦ φυγαδευτηρίου (ἡ) τοῦ φονεύσαντος; Vulg. *civitates confugii, civitates* (*urbes*) *ad confugiendum, urbes fugitivorum* (*in fugitivorum auxilia* or *præsidia, ad fugitivorum subsidia*).—*Names and location.*—The names and location of these cities are given with great definiteness, and their distribution was such as would best accommodate the entire country. There were three on the west of the Jordan —Hebron in the mountains of Judah, Shechem in Mount Ephraim, Kedesh in Mount Naphtali; and three on the east of the river—Bezer in the plain belonging to Reuben, Ramoth in Gilead belonging to Gad, Golan in Bashan belonging to Manasseh (Jos $20^{7.\ 8}$). See under each of these names. There is every reason to believe that the early Jewish tradition (Neubauer, *Géog. du Talmud*, p. 55), which placed these cities in pairs nearly opposite each other on the east and on the west of the Jordan, is correct, so that Bezer should be found near Dhiban, Ramoth in Gilead at Gerasa,—the modern Jerash with which it has been identified (*East of the Jordan*, pp. 284–290),—and Golan, not yet located with certainty, about due east from Kedesh. For greater convenience there seems to have been a provision (Dt 19^{3}) that the principal roads to these cities should be kept open, and the inference is, although this is not stated, that they were likewise properly marked. The distance to be travelled could hardly have exceeded 30 miles at most, and was easily passed over in a day.

Origin and purpose.—In the state of society then existing, the appointment of such places of refuge was wise and wholly in the line of justice. If a man took the life of another, he himself must be slain by the nearest relative. No other law was known; justice could be satisfied in no other way. It was seen, however, that if this law were carried out hastily in every case, men might suffer death who were really innocent. Hence a trial must be had, and meantime asylums provided where alleged criminals would be safe until their case could be properly adjudged. The plan did not result, as might be supposed, in giving these places a bad character by filling them with murderers. On the contrary, these six cities were of the highest rank in every way: they were all Levitical cities—Shechem and Hebron being royal cities, and Hebron in addition a priestly city. Each city, according to the (ideal?) legislation of

* There is also a doubtful example in Sir 4^{23} 'Refrain not to speak, when there is occasion to do good' (Gr. μὴ κωλύσῃς λόγον, RV 'Refrain not speech'): cf. Job 29^{9} 'Princes refrained talking.'

P, was to have a suburb of a little more than half a mile in extent in every direction, so that the refugees might not be absolutely confined within the city's walls (Nu 35^5).

This privilege of asylum was evidently not designed for wilful murderers. A wilful murderer was to be put to death at once, and these cities were for those who had taken life unintentionally (בִּבְלִי דַעַת Dt 4^{42}, Jos $20^{3.5}$ [D²], בִּשְׁגָגָה Nu $35^{11.15}$, Jos $20^{3.9}$ [all P]). That there was to be a strict trial (Nu $35^{12.24}$) is sufficient proof that some persons who had committed wilful murder availed themselves of this possible chance of escaping with their lives (Nu 35^{12}). The trial took place where the accused had lived or was well known, and not necessarily in the place where he had sought refuge; and this is shown by the fact that, if proved innocent of wilful murder, the authorities were to see him safely back to the city of refuge after the trial was over. The law of murder and of unintentional killing is fully stated in Nu 35^{16-28}. After being taken back to the city of refuge to which he had fled at first, the offender was bound to remain there until the death of the then reigning 'high priest' (an expression which is taken by many to imply that the passage in its present form reflects the usage or the theory of a late age in Israel's history), after which he was free to return to his own home. During that period, however, if accidentally or otherwise he passed beyond the suburb limits of the city of refuge, the avenger of blood might slay him. No payment of money was ever allowed to interfere with the strict fulfilment of this penalty (Nu 35^{32}). Besides these regularly appointed cities of refuge, the temple at Jerusalem, or possibly the altar (see ALTAR) alone, enjoyed a similar prerogative, as is shown by the cases of Adonijah and Joab (1 K 1^{50} 11^{28}; cf. Ex $21^{12ff.}$). As a ground of their action, we must presuppose a well-understood custom or sentiment, which gave to the altar the right of asylum in cases of life and death.*

It is a curious fact that in the later history of the Hebrews very little is said to show how generally homicides availed themselves of the refuge thus afforded. It may have been such a matter of course that nothing was ever said about it. The provision so carefully made by the Hebrews to shield those who had committed no intentional wrong had its counterpart among the Greeks and Romans, and may be looked upon as one of the most humane features of ancient civilization, where, in the general administration of affairs, cruelty and injustice, as we regard them, were frequently conspicuous. See, further, art. GOEL.

S. MERRILL.

REFUSE.—The verb 'to refuse' frequently has in AV its earlier meaning of 'reject,' especially *as unfit for use*, which is still retained in the subst. 'refuse.' Thus Ps 118^{22} 'The stone which the builders refused (RV 'rejected'†), is become the head stone of the corner'; Is 8^6 'Forasmuch as this people refuseth the waters of Shiloah that go softly.' So Knox, *Works*, iii. 210, 'He that refuseth not himself, and takis not up his croce, and followis me, is not worthie of me'; p. 317, 'Peter was permitted once to sincke, and thryse most shamefully to refuse and denye his Maister'; Tindale, *Pent.* Prologe to Exodus, 'an abjecte and a castawaye, a despised and a refused person'; *Expos.* 101, 'None of them, that refuseth not all that he possesseth, can be my disciple'; Mt 24^{40} Tind. 'Then two shalbe in the feldes, the one shalbe receaved, and the other shalbe refused.'

The origin of the word is difficult to trace. Trench (*English Past and Present*, 306) says unreservedly, 'To refuse is *recusare*, while yet it has derived the *f* of its second syllable from *refutare*; it is a medley of the two'; and perhaps he is right.

J. HASTINGS.

REGEM (רֶגֶם; B Ῥάγεμ, A Ῥέγεμ).—The eponym of a Calebite family, 1 Ch 2^{47}.

REGEM-MELECH (רֶגֶם מֶלֶךְ; B Ἀρβεσεὲρ [A Ἀρβεσεσὲρ, $\aleph^{c.a}$ Ἀρβεσὲρ, Q Ἀρβεσεὲ] ὁ *βασιλεύς*).—One of a deputation sent to consult the priests about the propriety of continuing to observe the fast of the fifth month in commemoration of the destruction of the temple by the Chaldæans, Zec 7^2. The text of this passage is dubious, especially as concerns the words *Bethel* (AV 'house of God') and SHAREZER (which see).

REGENERATION.—In the NT this subject is uniformly regarded in its concrete or experimental aspect: hence the abstract idea hardly occurs. Where it does, the term παλινγενεσία (so Tisch. WH, παλιγγ. TR) alone is employed. This word is not found in LXX, but it has a history in Classical and Hellenistic Greek, being used mainly in the figurative sense of complete *renovation* (ἀνακαίνωσις, cf. Ro 12^2, Tit 3^5). It is this idea of restoration to pristine state that meets us in the nearest equivalent to the term found in LXX, ὑπομενῶ ἕως πάλιν γένωμαι, Job 14^{14}. But in pre-Christian usage it is not the individual so much as the world, or a nation, that is generally the subject of the entire change of condition denoted by παλινγενεσία. Thus Basil (*Hom.* iii. *in Hexæm.*) says that the Stoics ἀπείρους φθορὰς κόσμου κ. παλιγγενεσίας εἰσάγειν (cf. Philo, *de Incorr. mundi*, 3. 14. 17; *de Mundo*, 15), what M. Aurel. (xi. 1) calls ἡ περιοδικὴ π. τῶν ὅλων. Similarly, Philo calls Noah and his sons, παλιγγ. ἡγεμόνες κ. δευτέρας ἀρχηγέται περιόδου (*Vit. Moys.* ii. 12; cf. 1 *Clem.* ix. 4). National restoration is a sense found in Jos. (*Ant.* XI. iii. 9, ἡ ἀνάκτησις κ. παλιγγ. τῆς πατρίδος); and this, in the fuller sense of the Messianic renewal of Palestine (and of the whole world, or dependent thereon, ἀποκατάστασις πάντων), seems to reappear in Mt 19^{28}, one of the two NT occurrences of παλινγ. (cf. Dalm. 145). Even in Classical usage, however, the term does sometimes refer to the lot of the individual, denoting restoration to life in a literal or a figurative sense. Plutarch uses it several times in the former sense, *i.e.* in relation to the transmigration of souls (*de Esu carn.* ii. 4. 4, ὅτι χρῶνται κοινοῖς αἱ ψυχαὶ σώμασιν ἐν ταῖς παλιγγενεσίαις); and Agrippa is quoted by Philo (*Leg. ad Gaium*, 41) as addressing the emperor Gaius as follows: τὸν . . . τεθνεῶτα τῷ δέει ζωπυρήσας καθάπερ ἐκ παλιγγενεσίας ἀνήγειρας. In more figurative wise Cicero (*ad Att.* vi. 6) calls his restoration to his lost life of dignity and honour *hanc παλιγγ. nostram*; and Olympiodorus, speaking of memory, says, παλιγγ. τῆς γνώσεώς ἐστιν ἡ ἀνάμνησις. Hence, on the whole, παλιγγ. in non-biblical usage seems to denote a restoration of a lost state of well-being, amounting to re-creation or renovation.

If we could be surer of the Rabbinic use (esp. in relation to proselytes) of such an idea in the

* As to the relation of Dt $4^{41ff.}$ to $19^{1ff.}$, and on the whole subject, see Driver, *Deut.* 233.

† The Gr. of the Sept. is ἀπεδοκίμασαν, the Lat. of the Vulg. *reprobaverunt*; Wyc. translates 'repreveden,' Cov. and Gen. 'refused,' Douay 'rejected,' Bish. 'refused.' The passage is quoted in Mt 21^{42}, Mk 12^{10}, Lk 20^{17} where the Gr. is always ἀπεδοκίμασαν, and the Vulg. *reprobaverunt*; Wyc. has 'repreveden' in Mt and Lk, but 'dispisid' in Mk; Tind. has always 'refused' or 'did refuse,' Rhem. and AV 'rejected.' The passage is also quoted in Ac 4^{11} and 1 P 2^4, but with less verbal exactness. Thus Ac 4^{11} Gr. ἐξουθενηθείς, Vulg. *qui reprobatus est*, Wyc. 'which was reproved,' Tind. 'cast a syde,' Rhem. 'rejected,' Bish. 'set nought,' AV and RV 'set at nought'; 1 P 2^4 Gr. ἀποδεδοκιμασμένον, Vulg. *reprobatum*, Wyc. 'reproved,' Tind. 'disalowed' (so Cov., Cran., Gen., Bish., AV), Rhem. 'reprobated,' RV 'rejected.'

time of Christ, we should probably get further light on the exact connotation of *παλινγ.* and kindred expressions as they emerge in the NT. Among the latter the following are prominent: *ἀνακαίνωσις* (Ro 12^2, and esp. Tit 3^5), with the verb *ἀνακαινοῦσθαι* (Col 3^{10}, 2 Co 4^{16}) and its synonym *ἀνανεοῦσθαι* (Eph 4^{23}); *ἀναγεννᾶν* (1 P $1^{3.23}$) [which does not occur elsewhere in extant Greek literature uninfluenced by the NT itself, though the Philonean tract, *de Incorr. mundi*, 3, has *ἀναγέννησις* as a synonym for the Stoic *παλιγγενεσία* of the world, and Porphyry has *ἀναγεννητικός* (*Ep. ad Aneb.* 24)]; *γεννηθῆναι ἄνωθεν* (Jn $3^{3.7}$, cf. *γεννᾶν γέρων ὤν* or *δεύτερον*, v.^{4}); *καινὴ κτίσις* in the concrete sense (2 Co 5^{17}, Gal 6^{15}, Eph 2^{10} 4^{24}), and its practical equivalents, *καινὸς ἄνθρωπος* (Eph 2^{15} 4^{24}), *νέος ἄνθρ.* (Col 3^{10}); *τέκνα θεοῦ γενέσθαι* (Jn 1^{12}), *γεννηθῆναι ἐκ τ. θεοῦ* (Jn *passim*), *ἐκ τ. πνεύματος*, or *ἐξ ὕδατος κ. πνεύματος* (Jn $3^{5.6.8}$); and, finally, *γεννᾶν* (*τινα*) *διὰ τοῦ εὐαγγ.*, used of the preacher of the Word (1 Co 4^{15}, cf. Gal 4^{19}). A single passage from an early Christian Father may be subjoined, as showing the influence of the NT upon his language, and also the relation of the biblical idea of Regeneration to certain other cognate ideas. Clement of Alex., speaking of the restoration of a sinful woman, writes (*Strom.* ii. *ad fin.* p. 424): *ἡ δὲ μετανοήσασα, οἷον ἀναγεννηθεῖσα κατὰ τὴν ἐπιστροφὴν τοῦ βίου, παλιγγενεσίαν ἔχει ζωῆς, τεθνηκυίας μὲν τῆς πόρνης τῆς παλαίας, εἰς βίον δὲ παρελθούσης αὖθις τῆς κατὰ τὴν μετάνοιαν γεννηθείσης.* It has sometimes been thought that the idea of religious regeneration in this life was one 'in the air' in the 1st cent.; and the phrase *in æternum renatus taurobolio*, in connexion with Mithraic worship, has been cited as evidence. But Hort thinks it, as well as the *παλιγγενεσία* of the Hermetic writings, to be dependent on Christian usage. Nor can the fact that Osiris was addressed as one who 'giveth birth unto men and women a second time,' be cited to the contrary: for this clearly refers to renewed life beyond the grave, not to spiritual regeneration in this life. The origin of this latter notion and phraseology is rather to be sought in the OT and its Rabbinic developments. The phrase 'new creation,' adopted by St. Paul, occurs repeatedly in the Midrashim with various applications (see Dalm. *Worte Jesu*, 146), and a proselyte is compared to a newborn child in the Talmud (Jebamoth 62*a*; see Wünsche, *Erläut. der Evangg.* 506); cf. Hort, *First Ep. of Peter*, p. 33. The present article will deal with the following points:—

'Regeneration' characteristic of the NT.
A. Old Test. Adumbrations.
i. In (*a*) national, (*b*) personal religion.
ii. In the case of Proselytes.
B. New Test. Presentation.
i. In the Synoptics.
ii. In St. James.
iii. In St. Peter (relation to Baptism).
iv. In Epistle to Hebrews.
v. In St. Paul.
vi. In St. John.
C. Connected Summary.
Literature.

The idea of Regeneration belongs to the NT rather than the OT. Indeed, some would confine it, in any proper personal sense, to the former exclusively. But this would be to confuse the implicit and explicit forms of the doctrine and experience, and to break the genuine continuity of biblical religion. This continuity, along with progressive development of form, it must be our care to trace between OT and NT, as well as between the several types of presentation in the NT itself.

A. Old Test. Adumbrations.—i. OT religion being originally a matter of the nation rather than the individual, all the forms under which it was conceived were highly objective. Things to be done or avoided are prominent; and all as tending to avoid rupture of the normal relation or covenant between the people and J″. At first little stress is laid on the state of the inner life, on ethical as contrasted with ritual purity. But when, under the influence of the prophets of the 8th cent. and later, the ethical element in religion came fully to light, the old idea of religion, as a dutiful relation between man and God, became charged with new spiritual meaning, and afforded the deepest and most adequate notion of piety imaginable. For it went below the level of mere deeds, to the attitude of soul of which they were as the fruit.

(*a*) The stages in the process may be traced as follows. As the older notion of salvation or well-being had been largely that of external *national* prosperity, taken as the expression of the favour of J″; so the chief means of its purification and deepening was national adversity. This turned attention, first to the moral conditions of the favour of the Holy One of Israel, and then to the intrinsic blessedness of righteousness itself, apart even from its normal external concomitants of peace and prosperity. At the same time, the break-up of national welfare caused the individual to attain to a new consciousness of his personal relations to J″, and so to a more spiritual piety. These changes, as they affected both Israel and the individual Israelite, reached their crisis in the experiences of the Exile. During and after it the spiritual harvest, the first-fruits of which are to be seen even in the pre-exilic prophets, was gathered in by the sifted Church-nation. Chief among the new ideas acquired were (1) the thought of sin as a besetting power, ever apt to mar the normal relations between J″ and His people; (2) the idea that a profound change of temper or attitude in Israel as a whole was needful; (3) the conviction that an evil so inherent as the stiff-neckedness and uncircumcision of heart discovered in Israel could be met only by Divine and supernatural agency, working upon the very springs of conduct (cf. Dt 10^{16} 30^{1-6}). In fact, the vision of a renovation of feeling and will as needful to Israel, of national regeneration as the pre-requisite and the essential blessing of the longed-for Messianic age, began to possess the better minds following in the wake of Jeremiah and Ezekiel. Yet even in those great prophets the bestowal of the regenerate heart is thought of largely as a special intervention to meet an exceptional need, as it were at a stroke; and its primary reference is collective rather than personal. Ephraim is overheard acknowledging the effect of the Divine discipline as salutary, and adding, 'Turn thou me, and I will turn' (Jer 31^{18}): and then the prophet looks forward to the bright day of national restoration, when the covenant shall become 'a new covenant,' as being divinely inscribed on the heart or inner life of the people ($31^{31ff.}$). Then 'they shall be my people, and I will be their God: and I will give them one heart and one way, that they may fear me for ever' ($32^{38f.}$ 24^{7}). Similarly Ezekiel: 'And I will sprinkle clean water upon you, and ye shall be clean: from all your filthiness and from all your idols will I cleanse you. A new heart also will I give you, and a new spirit will I put within you: and I will take away the stony heart out of your flesh, and I will give you an heart of flesh. And I will put my spirit within you, and cause you to walk in my statutes' (36^{25-27} 11^{19}). Here we get, as never before, the idea of a new responsiveness of heart divinely produced—the essence of regeneration. But the regeneration is still viewed as national rather than individual (cf. the prophecy of the Valley of Dry

Bones, Ezk 37[1-14]), though the effects on the individuals composing the nation are often clearly present to mind (Jer 31[34], Is 54[13] 60[21]). And, above all, it is felt to be still future (contrast Ezk 18[31]), a blessing of the Messianic age.

(*b*) But while this is true of OT religion as a whole, even after the Exile, there are traces of *individual* piety going far beyond it, and virtually anticipating the NT experience of regeneration. Transferring the idea of religion, as a dutiful relation between Israel and its God, from the nation to the individual conscience, this deeper piety gave the holiness loved of J″ a most vital meaning. It saw in 'walking humbly with one's God,' the inmost secret of 'doing justly and loving mercy.' All sprang from the 'contrite and humble spirit' indwelt of the Holy One of Israel (Is 57[15] 66[2]). 'The sacrifices of God are a broken spirit,' a spirit broken by the sense that it was 'truth in the inward parts' that could alone satisfy the Holy One (Ps 51[17. 6]). And along with this begins to appear the sense of a nature radically prone to sin, and so in need of more radical aid from the Searcher of hearts before covenant obedience could become possible (Ps 51[5], Job 14[4] 'Who can bring a clean thing out of an unclean? Not one'). There arises a cry for the 'mercy' and 'loving-kindness' of God, to draw the heart to Himself, and so create the very state of spirit with which He could commune. 'A clean heart,' 'a right' (steadfast) or 'free (willing) spirit'—on which turned 'the joy of thy salvation'—are all traced to the presence of God's 'holy Spirit' at work on the soul (Ps 51[1. 10-12]). Here we have the high-water mark of piety on OT lines, or rather piety under OT forms, but already outgrowing its limits. For with the emergence of the ideas of religion as primarily a state of the heart, of the radical tendency to sin native to frail human nature, and of the grace of God, in renewing and quickening power, as alone adequate to man's need,—with this the old national religion is transcended, and a new covenant becomes indispensable. Here, then, the experience, not to say the doctrine, of regeneration is already virtually present: it lacks only the objective basis furnished by the revelation in Christ, to give it that steady and assured quality which is the prerogative of NT 'faith.'

ii. As Israel's slowness to realize the idea of regeneration was in part due to its overshadowing sense of a specially favoured relation to J″ attaching to Abraham's seed, as such; so we may suppose that the accession to exilic and post-exilic Israel of a growing number of those who had no such natural advantage, must have stimulated reflexion on the subjective conditions of fitness for communion with J″. It may be true that the sense in which *proselytes* were first spoken of as 'born' to or in Messianic Zion (Is 49[21f.] 44[5], Ps 87[5f.]) was mainly that of formal adhesion to the sacred people. Yet the patent greatness of the change of belief and conduct involved in the adhesion, must have tended to develop thought upon the spiritual and ethical senses in which a man might become a 'new' man, as it were by birth out of one world into another. Such reflexion would further be fostered by the rites through which the change of condition was achieved, particularly the ablution or baptism by which proselytes were admitted to Israel. And all this would easily coalesce in devout minds with the promise in Ezk 36[25f.] touching the sprinkling of Israel itself with clean water, and the new heart associated therewith, as marking the piety of the great age that was to come. When, then, John the Baptist appeared, to usher in the fulfilment of Mal 3[1ff.], there must have been a widespread feeling that his baptism meant a radical change of heart even in Israel (cf. Jn 1[25ff.]). Still, the Diviner side of Ezekiel's prophecy, the baptism with the Holy Spirit, waited upon the coming of the Mightier One, Messiah Himself (Mt 3[11], Lk 3[16], Jn 1[33] 3[25]). And it was the deeper experience of the Holy Spirit, in specifically Christian form, that brought regeneration to light as implicit in the contrite heart and spirit, and placed it, the Divine side of the fact of true repentance, in the centre of NT teaching (cf. Jn 3[3. 5]).

B. New Test. Presentation.—i. *The Synoptics.*—In Jesus' own public teaching the idea appears only in implicit forms, chiefly that of a radical repentance or change of heart (*μετάνοια*) towards God and towards sin—the great condition, in the prophets also, of restoration to Divine fellowship. But in that teaching there are also hints that the change is more complete than anything hitherto realized, in keeping with the advance in the revelation conditioning it. Man must choose between two lives, a lower and a higher: to find or save the one, he must be ready to lose the other. And it is implied in the parable of the Prodigal Son that the spiritual life of sonship is in fact 'dead' or null (Lk 15[24]) in every child estranged by sin and selfhood. It is needful that even honest disciples 'turn and become as little children' in order truly to enter the Kingdom, in which it is the crown of blessedness to be genuine children of the heavenly Father (Mt 18[3] 5[45]). The parable of the Sower implies that the specific life of the Kingdom arises in the human heart by the sinking in of the gospel, and its producing, as it were, a new root of personality; and it is intimated, though only in private to chosen disciples, that true 'faith' is dependent on a Divine factor at work behind the human (Mt 16[17]). This latter case suggests that the merely implicit form in which the profound truth of regeneration occurs in Christ's ordinary preaching is due, partly at least, to its popular character, as adjusted to the needs of the poor and simple, in contrast to theologians like Nicodemus.

ii. *St. James.*—The exact sense of the words (1[18]), 'of set purpose he brought us forth by the word of truth, that we should be first-fruits, as it were, of his creatures' (*βουληθεὶς ἀπεκύησεν ἡμᾶς λόγῳ ἀληθείας, εἰς τὸ εἶναι ἡμᾶς ἀπαρχήν τινα τῶν αὐτοῦ κτισμάτων*), has been much debated. St. James is addressing the Israel of God, conceived much in the way in which an ancient prophet thought of the true Israel within Israel. He thinks of all 'Israelites indeed,' though he has in mind chiefly those who already believe in Jesus as Messiah (cf. Jn 1[47] 3[21]); for both alike have in principle one religion, that of 'doers of the word' (the revealed will of God), of such as visit the fatherless and widows, and keep unspotted from the world (1[22-27]). To his eye, then, this people of loving obedience is what Israel's God had meant Israel to be (Is 43[20f.]), 'My people, my chosen, the people which I formed for myself (LXX, *ὃν περιεποιησάμην*), that they might set forth my praise.' So, of those who fear J″ and regard His name it is said (Mal 3[17]), 'And they shall be to me . . . in the day which I make, for a special possession' (*ἔσονταί μοι . . . εἰς περιποίησιν*). This is very much the idea on which St. Peter dwells so lovingly, of 'a people for God's own possession,' quickened into new life through the word of the living God (1 P 1[23] 2[9])—though he has professed Christians alone in view. Like ideas occur also in Eph 1[10-14], but decisively universalized as to the scope of 'God's own possession' (cf. 2 Th 2[13f.], esp. if we read *ἀπαρχήν* instead of *ἀπ' ἀρχῆς*, with BFG [gr]P minn. f. vg. syr. hl., *al.*); while the notion of God's saints being first-fruits, as it were, of His full and final possession of His creatures in general, appears quite explicitly

in Ro 8[19-23]. There creation is represented as awaiting 'the revealing of the sons of God' ('the Regeneration,' in the collective sense of Mt 19[28]), who, as already having 'the first-fruits of the Spirit,' may themselves be styled God's first-fruits (cf. Rev 14[4] 21[5]). Thus spiritual Israel, now in process of rallying to Messiah Jesus, seemed to St. James 'the first-fruits' of God's final reign. As for 'the word of truth' to which this Israel owed its being, it was the revealed will of God active in conscience (='the inbred word,' 1[21], or simply 'the word,' 1[22f.]='God's 'law,' known as spirit and not as letter, 'perfect law, that of liberty,' 'royal law,' 1[25] 2[8-12] 4[11]='the truth,' in an ethico-religious sense, 3[14] 5[19], cf. Jn 8[31f.] 17[17]). It was the sort of 'word' that meets us in the Sermon on the Mount, the final practical issue of OT revelation for the conscience (cf. 'the word of truth' in Ps 119[43]; also v.[160] 'the sum of thy word is truth'). Yet it is not to be confined to the specifically Christian gospel: it denotes, rather, the element common to that and the law as it lived in the unsophisticated consciences of Jews like those who meet us in Lk 1–2.

St. James has in mind, then, not individual regeneration, but rather the collective being of a People devoted to the Divine Will, and of which believers on Jesus Messiah were the typical members—a People which thus could be styled 'first-fruits, as it were, of God's creatures.'* His argument is that God cannot stultify Himself by tempting to evil. He is the author of good, and changeth not. And since it was with full intention that He brought forth† or constituted the godly community gathering to the name of Jesus Messiah, He must not be thought of as the author of seductive temptations. The emphasis still falls, as in pre-Christian references to regeneration, on the collective quickening traceable to the Divine initiative, rather than on the individual —though this latter is implied in the exhortation to 'receive the inborn word (ἔμφυτον λόγον, cf. Wis 12[10] ἔμφυτος ἡ κακία αὐτῶν),‡ which is able to save your souls.' Accordingly, such rudiments of our doctrine as occur in James, represent a stage midway between typical OT and typical NT statements on the subject.

iii. *St. Peter.*—The Petrine doctrine stands between that of St. James on the one hand, and that of St. Paul on the other. The OT associations of collective blessing (cf. his reference to 'seasons of recovery' or 'restoration,' ἀνάψυξις, ἀποκατάστασις, in Ac 3[19. 21. 26]) are still prominent in the language chosen (1 P 2[9]); while yet the idea of 'regeneration,' and that of individuals, by the Divine 'seed' or 'word of God,' is firmly grasped (1[23] cf. [3], cf. parable of the Sower). The disciple seems possessed by his Master's teaching as to the child-spirit and the Divine fatherhood (2[2] 1[17]). The Divine parentage involved in the new life is appealed to as a reason for love of the brethren (1[22f.]): being regarded as a congenital law of their new being—an idea which recurs in 2 P 1[4], where renewed human nature is set forth as 'in a true sense not God-like merely, but derivatively Divine' (Hort, cf. 1 Jn 3[9]).

'The word' by which this comes about is clearly that of the gospel (1 P 1[25]); and, answering to this, the definite act of confession in baptism is thought of as objectively sealing the salvation thus wrought (see BAPTISM in vol. i. p. 244[a]). Water, says he, doth now, in antitype to Noah's preservation, play its part in salvation, as Christian baptism—'not the putting away of the filth of the flesh, but the appeal toward God of a good conscience, through the resurrection of Jesus Christ,' man's surety at God's right hand (1 P 3[21]). The sense of this passage, and particularly the meaning here given to the word ἐπερώτημα, seems fixed by Ro 10[9f.], He 10[22]. 'For with the heart man trustfully believeth unto (the attaining of) Righteousness (*i.e.* Justification=Salvation in God's sight, *implicitè*); but with the mouth man maketh confession unto (the attaining of) Salvation' (*i.e.* formal possession of salvation, *explicitè*). 'Salvation,' in this context (Ro 10[9f.]), refers to objective membership of the Messianic Community or Church, the proper unit or subject of the New Covenant. Into this Body of the Christ, St. Paul says elsewhere (1 Co 12[13]), Christians are through baptism incorporated 'by one Spirit.' 'The Spirit of adoption, whereby we cry, Abba, Father,' seals, often by objective manifestations, the sincerity of the believer's confession. Similarly He 10[22], 'Let us draw near (as favoured worshippers) with a true heart, in *full assurance of faith*, having our *hearts sprinkled* (by blood, 9[13f.]) *from an evil conscience*, and the *body washed with pure water*.' Thus every obscure element in 1 P 3[18. 21] is elucidated. Christ, though 'put to death in (the sphere of) flesh,' was 'quickened in (the sphere of) spirit'—and so became for others 'a quickening spirit' (πνεῦμα ζωοποιοῦν, 1 Co 15[45]). Baptism, then, as the consummation of the believer's appropriation of Christ, means no mere bodily cleansing (like Levitical ablutions), but the appeal of a cleansed conscience (see 1[2] with 3[18]; cf. He 9[13f.]), directed in 'full assurance of faith' to God (cf. Eph 3[12] προσαγωγὴν ἐν πεποιθήσει). It corresponds to the 'living hope' due to Christ's resurrection, spoken of in 1[3] (cf. Col 2[12]). 'The promise of the eternal inheritance' (He 9[15]), for which worshipful appeal is made to God's covenant fidelity in the Mediator, was conceived to be received 'in earnest' in the manifestation of Holy Spirit power (Ac 2[33])—'anointing' or 'sealing' the believer unto the day of perfected redemption (2 Co 1[21f.], Eph 1[13f.] 4[30]). Thus 'baptism,' as a living experience, could be alluded to in Tit 3[5] as a formal 'washing of regeneration and renovation (in virtue) of Holy Spirit,' 'poured forth richly' at the solemn crisis of confession, where 'Salvation,' as an objective state, took full effect (ἔσωσεν ἡμᾶς διὰ λουτροῦ παλιγγενεσίας καὶ ἀνακαινώσεως πν. ἁγίου). Baptism was a rite for the Church or sacred community as such, and for the individual in relation to it and its privileges; 'by the washing of water' were its members, as 'cleansed' 'by means of the word' (cf. Jn 15[3]), formally admitted to the sphere of consecrated life resting on Christ's sacrifice (Eph 5[26], Ro 10[8f.]).

St. Peter seems also, by the time he wrote 1 P, to have caught in his own way St. Paul's deep, mystical thought in Ro 6[4f.], where identity with Christ's 'resurrection' life, on the part of the regenerate, is made to grow out of spiritual union with Him in His death to sin (consummated in His crucifixion, see 1 P 2[24]). For 1 P 4[1. 2. 6] contains the essential idea of spiritual quickening through judgment in the flesh. And this process is extended by him, alone among NT writers, even to certain souls in Hades, namely, those suddenly cut off in the days of Noah—a fate conceived (as it seems) to have given them less than the normal probation of mankind, and that in an age of but dim light (1 P 3[19f.] 4[6]; see, further, art. PETER. FIRST EPISTLE OF, in vol. iii. p. 795).

* Jer 2[3] 'Israel (is) holiness unto the LORD, the first-fruits of his increase'—ἀρχὴ γενημάτων αὐτοῦ, which parallels ἀπαρχήν τινα τῶν αὐτοῦ κτισμάτων: and for the personal sense of κτίσματα, cf. Sir 36[19f.], where ὁ λαός σου is described in the next line as τὰ κτίσματά σου.

† The idea occurs elsewhere, *e.g.* Sir 36[17] (derived from Dt 32[6. 18], Ex 4[22]) 'Ισραὴλ ὃν πρωτογόνῳ ὡμοίωσας. In Ja 1[18] the verb ἀπεκύησεν is used to mark an antithesis to the thought of 1[15], where this metaphor was employed of sin as parent of death.

‡ Cf. Barn. i. 2, οὗτος ἔμφυτον τῆς δωρεᾶς πνευματικῆς χάριν εἰλήφατε, and ix. 9, οἶδεν ὁ τὴν ἔμφυτον δωρεὰν τῆς διαθήκης αὐτοῦ θέμενος ἐν ἡμῖν.

iv. *The Epistle to the Hebrews.*—Though this Epistle contains, as we saw, much bearing on the new consciousness, yet it has no formal doctrine of 'regeneration' as the deepest aspect of the Messianic blessing. True, it uses metaphors of life developing from infancy to maturity (5^{12-14}, with its allusions to 'milk' and 'solid food'); but there is no stress on the image involved. The categories of thought are mainly of an OT character—apart from the writer's own 'Alexandrine' strain (see below, *C, ad fin.*; cf. 'those once illumined,' 'having tasted God's word as good,' 6^4). Hence we get a parallel to Ja 1^{18} in the 'congregation of the firstborn (who are) enrolled in heaven.' Hence also the central place of repentance, as marking the beginning of the new relation to God—'repentance' as the negative side of the change represented on its positive side by 'faith' ($6^{1.6}$). 'Repentance,' however, is taken by this writer in a deep and inward sense, in which it amounts to a 'new heart' wherein the Divine Law is by Divine grace made inherent, according to Jeremiah's great prophecy of the New Covenant ($9^{6ff.}$ 10^{16-18}).

v. *St. Paul.*—The Pauline doctrine of Regeneration contains the essence of its author's unique experience of Jesus the Christ, as effecting at once revolution and renovation in his inner life. The difficulty here is to prevent this central aspect of Paulinism from involving us in an exposition of that system as a whole. We shall try, however, to indicate its place in the organism of St. Paul's soteriology as allusively as possible.

Beyond all question, 'faith' was to him the very soil or subjective condition of that new good which came through the gospel. Faith was such receptivity as enabled God to give 'his ineffable gift' to the soul. As such, it answers to 'the good ground,' the 'honest and good heart,' as the state of soul adapted to 'the word of God,' in Christ's parable. But St. Paul, viewing things in a more subjective way, proceeds to illumine the inner factors and stages of the great process from the standpoint of personal appropriation, as one who was himself the conscious soil in which it had come about. The good of which such 'faith' or vital trust is receptive in Christ, is variously set forth by St. Paul as the righteousness of a rectified relation to God, including forgiveness of sins (see JUSTIFICATION); cleansing or consecration (sanctification in principle: see SANCTIFICATION); participation in the Divine life, as the life of the Christ, or Spirit-life; and hence realized sonship to God, as embracing all else. So arranged, the series passes from the more objective to the more subjective aspects of the one simple yet complex fact, which, rooted at the heart of St. Paul's experience, had made a new man of him. And the most adequate conception of it is that which represents the new relation to God in its most inward, vital, and causal aspect—the birth of a new manhood or personality within the old individual, Saul. It is this which ever emerges in St. Paul's most spontaneous and personal utterances. Such are the great outbursts in Gal 2^{20} and 2 Co 5^{15-17}—passages familiar, yet in virtue of their experimental depth so little 'known' in the biblical sense. 'I have been crucified with Christ; yet I live; (and yet) no longer I, but Christ liveth in me: and that (life) which I now live in the flesh, I live in faith, (the faith) which is in the Son of God.' And again: 'He died for all, that they who live should no longer live unto themselves, but unto him who for their sakes died and rose again. . . . Wherefore if any man is in Christ, (he is) a new creature (*καινὴ κτίσις*): the old things are passed away; behold, they are become new.' In these and like passages St. Paul speaks as a prophet, not as a schoolman. He affirms: he has no thought of what he may seem implicitly to deny. The life in him was above all new; and it was of Divine initiation or grace. But that did not mean that there was no psychological continuity between the old Saul and his faculties, and the new Paul and his: nor did it exclude the responsible co-operation of his own volition throughout. The affirmations are experimental and unembarrassed by reflective considerations of verbal consistency. We may see, moreover, from other passages that what is here in the background was not overlooked by St. Paul, but entered into the body of his thought, coming out in turn as occasion arose. Thus when he speaks of 'a new creature' (Gal 6^{15}, 2 Co 5^{17}), or says, 'the old things are passed away; behold, they are become new,' he simply means that his experience had utterly changed in colour and perspective. No factors had been eliminated: but the resultant was new; and this by the operation of a new factor determining all afresh and in a new synthesis. The new factor was the quickening grace of God in the Christ, the Spirit of Christ, the (Holy) Spirit, or most fully 'the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus.' This, by overcoming 'the law of sin and death,' naturally at work, had produced a new spiritual life in him, and so made him a 'new man' in Christ Jesus. The way by which this had come about is laid bare in Ro 7, a chapter of deep psychological and also autobiographic significance. From it we gather that even in his unregenerate state, while the law of sin operative in 'the flesh'—the sensuous and self-willed side of his nature—actually swayed his will, he was already conscious of another and deeper element in his being, protesting against the flesh and sympathizing with the claims of God's law. This 'inner man' (*ὁ ἔσω ἄνθρωπος*, 7^{22}=*ὁ νοῦς*, $7^{23.25}$=*τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου*, 1 Co 2^{11}; cf. Ro 8^{10}), however, has only a latent or potential existence so long as it is overridden by 'the flesh'—'the law of the mind,' by the law or principle active in the fleshly members (7^{23}). The spirit is as good as dead in the man Saul as a moral personality, being outside the centre of volition as long as 'the flesh' is there enthroned in power; and so it is generally ignored in St. Paul's references to 'the natural man,' who is called summarily 'dead in trespasses and sins,' because morally 'alienated from the life of God' (Eph $2^{1.5}$ 4^{18}). But when the life of God succeeds in quickening this half-inanimate spiritual faculty with a kindred passion for the righteousness of God, then it springs to life (Ro 8^{10}) and gains control of the will: a new personality arises from the new union of the will and the higher element dependent on and akin to the Divine: the man lives anew with a fresh type of moral life—that being dominant which before was subject, and *vice versâ*. With this psychological reversal may be compared the earlier change from the rudimentary 'life' of irresponsible innocence to the 'death' of a divided heart, wherein the lower elements hold sway (Ro 7^{9-11}). Now, however, the man is conscious of the issues at stake and the forces of both kinds at work in and upon him: and the whole deliverance has a vividness and finality proportionate to his prior sense of the death in bondage to sin (7^{24}).

As this experience of renovation came to St. Paul under the forms of the life, death, and resurrection of Jesus the Christ, so regeneration is set forth in terms of the same. The 'new man' or 'new creature' is so 'in Christ'; and Christ is in him. Hence 'the Spirit of God' or 'Holy Spirit,' the quickener of the new life (1 Co 6^{11} 12^3), can also be called 'the Spirit of Christ' (Ro 8^9) or 'the Spirit of his Son' (Gal 4^6). Hence also the specific condition of the 'new man,' in contrast to the 'old' (Col $3^{9f.}$, Eph 4^{22-24}), is that of sonship and installa-

tion into sonship (*υἱοθεσία*, Ro 8[15-29]) after the likeness of Christ's.

Still this regenerate or filial life is not complete at the time when it is given, coincidently with the self-committal of faith. It has a course of growth to go through, analogous to that of natural life. It begins with spiritual immaturity and proceeds to maturity of will and insight. The 'babe' (*νήπιος*) in Christ is one who perceives only the broadest outlines of the Father's ways and will, and may still be confused by the films of his old fleshly blindness; whereas the full-grown or 'perfect' man (*τέλειος*) is one to whom experience has brought enlightenment and discrimination of conscience (Ph 1[9f.] 3[12-16]): he is actually and not only potentially 'spiritual' (*πνευματικός*). And each stage has its own spiritual nutriment, its 'milk' or its 'solid food' (1 Co 3[1-3]).

(vi.) *St. John.*—The term 'regeneration' does not actually occur in St. John's writings, though it does virtually in one passage of his Gospel (3[3. 7]), in the phrase *γεννηθῆναι ἄνωθεν*, which is best rendered 'born anew' (cf. v.[4] *δεύτερον εἰσελθεῖν . . . καὶ γεννηθῆναι*). This shade of thought, while proper to the context, and while probably appropriated by St. John as the root of his own thinking on the matter, is not the one most characteristic of his own doctrine. It is not so much the fact of a new beginning in the Christian life, as the inherent nature of that life as due to its Divine origin, that occupies this apostle's mind. His favourite emphasis is seen in the phrase 'to be begotten of God' (*γεννηθῆναι ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ*). God Himself is the veritable Father of the Christian believer, the kindred fontal source of his new life, with its inherent Divine virtue (*τὸ γεγεννημένον ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ*). This virtue manifests itself in certain vital functions, wonderful and Divine by reason of their distinctness from the average conduct of human nature, as St. John saw it about him, radically determined by the world of sense, that source of seductive pleasures and ambitions. The world, so regarded, stood at the rival pole of being to the Father; so that 'to be of the world' and 'to be of God' were mutually exclusive states or spirits, by which the soul might be possessed and characterized (1 Jn 2[16]).

Such birth from God is conceived by St. John as a single initial fact, carrying in itself abiding issues of a like nature. This is expressed by the use of perfects, like *γεγέννηται*, *ὁ γεγεννημένος* (1 Jn 2[29] 3[9] 4[7] 5[1. 4. 18], cf. Jn 3[6. 8]), as distinct from aorists (*ὁ γεννηθεὶς ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ* describes Christ in immediate contrast to the believer, *ὁ γεγεννημένος ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ*, 1 Jn 5[18]). The rarer cases in which the aorist occurs, are those which simply contemplate regeneration as the decisive fact constitutive of spiritual sonship in the believer (Jn 1[12f.], cf. 3[3. 5. 7]). The main passage in question is Jn 1[12f.]: 'But as many as received him (the Logos), to them gave he prerogative to become children of God (*ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς ἐξουσίαν τέκνα θεοῦ γενέσθαι*), even to them that were believers on his name (*τοῖς πιστεύουσιν εἰς κ.τ.λ.*); who were born, not of blood of human parents, nor of fleshly volition, nor of a human father's volition, but of God' (*οἱ οὐκ ἐξ αἱμάτων οὐδὲ ἐκ θελήματος σαρκὸς οὐδὲ ἐκ θελήματος ἀνδρὸς ἀλλ' ἐκ θεοῦ ἐγεννήθησαν*). This is, in form and in context, an absolutely general statement; so much so, that it seems impossible to refer it primarily to belief in Jesus the Christ at all, but rather to the universal approach of the Logos to the human soul, prior even to the Incarnation (see 1[52] for a similar thought). This is a most important aspect of the Johannine doctrine of regeneration: it not only fits in with the universality of his thought, but also confirms with his authority what is urged below, namely, that 'regeneration' may properly be predicated of the experience of saints under the Old Covenant. Yet the language in which St. John states this very truth of the wider regeneration, effected wherever the Logos is welcomed by the soul, is significantly coloured by his habitual speech in terms of the final manifestation of the Logos in Jesus the Christ ('believers on his name').

As a rule, then, regeneration is, to St. John, actually conditioned by personal trust in Jesus, or, more specifically, in Him as the Christ, the Son of God (1[12f.] 20[31], 1 Jn 5[1]). Further, it is assumed to take formal or consummated effect (as in the case of Jesus' own Messiahship) in the experience of baptism. Just as he says, 'This is he who came under the condition of water (*δι' ὕδατος*) . . . even Jesus Christ' (1 Jn 5[6])—words used in close connexion with the Spirit as Messiah's endowment and witness (vv.[6-8], cf. Jn 3[34]); so baptism is to him the normal condition under which believers come to rank as 'children of God,' in virtue of a manifest sealing by Holy Spirit power. As the Father had 'sealed' the Son (Jn 6[27]) with the Spirit's witness, in response to His obedience of self-consecration at the Baptism (1 Jn 5[5-9]), so, apparently, St. John thought of the Messianic gift of the Spirit, usually manifest at baptisms in the Apostolic Age, as definitively 'sealing' (cf. above, (iv.)) the believer's confession of personal trust and consecration by 'an unction from the Holy One' (*i.e.* Christ, 1 Jn 2[20. 27]).* Such a reading of his Master's mind, as expressed by the reference to water in the words to Nicodemus, may be implied by St. John's return to the topic of baptism a few verses later on (3[22. 25ff.]), and certainly corresponded to the experience of the Apostolic Age—though hardly to that of later times. Naturally, the conjunction has no relation to the baptism of infants, where the essential element of belief on Christ's name is lacking. But, in relation to the conditions contemplated by the apostle, the definite line drawn by baptism between the filial status of Christian believers and what went before, is of great moment for his thought as to regeneration. It does not, indeed, annul his recognition of children of God awaiting the gospel to gather them into Christ's one flock (Jn 11[52] *ἵνα καὶ τὰ τέκνα τοῦ θεοῦ τὰ διεσκορπισμένα συναγάγῃ εἰς ἕν*), and so of a deep dualism of moral state among mankind at large, a predisposition to accept or to reject the Light definitively revealed in Christ, according to the attitude to God implicit in each of two types of conduct (3[18-21]). But all this, taken along with the absolute form in which the tests of kinship to God are set forth in his Epistles ('every one that doeth righteousness,' 'that loveth,' 1 Jn 2[29] 4[7], cf. 3 Jn [11]), suggests that St. John distinguished between a virtual, though latent, and an explicit or conscious sonship. The latter was the specific blessing brought by the gospel of Christ, the *assurance* or *knowledge* of Divine sonship, after which even the best of men had before sought in vain. In this respect the revelation in Christ was crucial. As Light, in an absolute moral sense, He brought all to a crisis or decision (*κρίσις*), forcing all hearts to reveal their inmost affinities—whether for 'the world' and self, or for God and His righteousness and love. Implicit regeneration, where it already exists, thus passes into explicit regeneration.

The more definite and psychologically mature character of the NT experience of Regeneration, as compared with that of the godly under the OT, is hinted in the words, 'I came that they may have Life, and have it in abundance' (10[10], cf. 4[14]).

* As has been well said, 'the disciples are in a true sense *Christ's* in virtue of the life of "the Christ"' (Westcott, *The Epistles of St. John*, xlv).

It connects itself also with the Johannine emphasis on the specifically new presence of the Spirit with the Christian as such. Here two passages in the Gospel are crucial. Commenting on Christ's words, 'He that believeth on me . . . out of his belly shall flow rivers of living water,' St. John adds: 'But this spake he of the Spirit, which they that believed on him were to receive—for (the) Spirit was not yet (given), because Jesus was not yet glorified' (7$^{38f.}$). Then, in the great Farewell Discourse (Jn 14^{16}) he records his Master's promise that He would give the disciples 'another Helper' or Paraclete, to supply what would be lacking of conscious support through the removal of His own bodily presence. This implies something fresh to their experience, and yet Jesus adds: 'Ye (already) have (experimental) knowledge of him, for at your side he abideth and in you he is' (*ὑμεῖς γινώσκετε αὐτό, ὅτι παρ' ὑμῖν μένει καὶ ἐν ὑμῖν ἐστίν*). Here the contrast is a religious rather than a metaphysical or theological * one: it is a matter of the disciples' consciousness rather than of the Spirit's real presence. They had implicit experience of His action, in their very experience of oneness of heart with their Master: in a little while this was to blossom out into recognition of His presence and support as the very ground of their assurance of abiding spiritual union with their glorified Lord and a share in His sonship. This is the thought which St. Paul grasped so firmly and expresses in the words, 'the Spirit himself beareth witness with our spirit that we are children of God' (Ro 8^{16}, cf. $^{26f.}$). But it is also what St. John has in mind in saying that 'not yet was the Spirit,' *i.e.* the Spirit-consciousness of full sonship which marked Christians after Pentecost (7^{39}, cf. Ac 19^{2}).

St. John's doctrine of salvation, then, centres in Regeneration. In it man's true or ideal destiny is realized through the initiative of the heavenly Father or the Spirit, responded to by the moral receptivity of obedience in the human heart or will: potential sonship becomes actual in a Life of communion that is at once human and Divine (10^{35}). Every man has the potency of two diametrically opposed personalities in him, by his natural birth. The one has, as it were, the start of the other, realizing itself along the line of sensuous, egoistic tendency—the line of least resistance morally. It is thus 'of the earth' (3^{31}), 'of the world' (15^{19} 17$^{14.\ 16}$, 1 Jn 2^{16} 4^{5}), 'from below' (8^{23}), the sphere of 'the ruler of this world' (14^{30}). Those, then, in whom it reigns are morally 'children of the devil' (1 Jn 3$^{8.\ 10}$, cf. Jn 8^{44}). The other personality or character, on the contrary, owes its origin and vitality to God and that spiritual order of His which gradually dawns upon our ken with the emergence of reason and conscience. Thus it is, when produced in a man by Divine grace (6^{44})—though not without the co-operation of human volition (3$^{20f.}$ 5^{40} 8^{44})—a life 'from heaven' (3^{27}), 'not of the world' (15^{19} 17$^{14.\ 16}$), 'from above' (like the Son himself, 8^{23}), 'of God' (1 Jn 3^{9} 5$^{4.\ 18}$) or 'of the Father' (1 Jn 2^{16}). To save one of these lives is to lose the other (12^{25}): the life of the one means the death of the other (as in the Synoptics).

C. Connected Summary.—Regeneration is the final form in which biblical religion conceives that profound spiritual change whereby sinful man comes into real and abiding communion with God. Accordingly, one must recognize in regeneration the virtual synonym of various other soteriological terms, such as Repentance, Conversion, Justification, or Forgiveness, and even Consecration or Sanctification in that radical sense which constitutes the believer as such 'a saint.' But as 'regeneration' sets forth the change in question in a specially inward or vital way, it hardly emerges as an explicit doctrine in the OT, and does so but gradually even in the NT. We have seen that in Christ's own ordinary preaching, as given in the Synoptics, regeneration is set forth in purely religious and ethical fashion, in terms of the will rather than in a manner more abstract. This popular aspect of the matter meets us again in early Judæo-Christianity, before highly trained minds like St. Paul and the writer to 'Hebrews' had brought the categories of Rabbinic and Hellenistic psychology to bear on the data of Christian experience. Repentance, not regeneration, stands in the forefront of the early preaching in Acts, as also of that under which 'the Hebrews' had believed (He 6$^{1.\ 6}$); and thereby men were qualified for entrance into the Messianic community in baptism, in which they received the 'seal' of the Spirit's manifested gifts. The more inward and secret operation of the Spirit, implied in penitence and trust, had not as yet received due notice. This side of things, indeed, was largely hidden from those whose outlook and conception of Salvation were still primarily eschatological.

Hence St. Paul's unique experience of the gospel as power of God in the soul, and as an essentially present Salvation, marks an epoch in the NT doctrine of Regeneration. His deeply self-revealing consciousness of sin gave him to see, traced within, the process by which new moral energy was received, and to realize the Divine quickening involved in man's experience of repentance and faith. He saw that human nature embraced two principles, opposed in tendency to each other, and competing for the control of man's settled personal will. In actual human nature the lower or sensuous (*ψυχικόν*) and self-centred principle, called 'the flesh' (*σάρξ*), had the upper hand and determined the quality of man's moral life: and the outcome was 'death' towards God and His righteousness. But in Jesus Christ, who was a 'second' or new type of manhood, of heavenly origin (*ὁ δεύτερος ἄνθρωπος ἐξ οὐρανοῦ*), and 'spiritual' in contrast to the 'sensuous' or 'earthy' type of Adamic manhood (1 Co 15$^{45-47}$), a new basis was laid for humanity. To believers this Saviour became 'a quickening spirit' (*πνεῦμα ζωοποιοῦν*), turning the scale decisively against 'the flesh,' and setting free, as if by a resurrection, the enthralled higher nature (*νοῦς* or *πνεῦμα*), before as good as dead, by filling it with Divine energy or life (*πνεῦμα ἅγιον*) akin to His own, in virtue of which He rose victorious over death. A man so vivified by the Spirit of God, and after the likeness of Christ, was in very deed a new moral being (*καινὴ κτίσις*), a son of God, by Divine re-creative action and adoption. The Spirit replaced the flesh as prime determinant of will and conduct; and therewith 'the old man,' the moral state of the individual by nature, gave way to 'the new man,' the state in which the human will is in harmony with the Divine in principle, and normally so in practice likewise. 'Cleaving to the Lord,' the soul 'is one spirit' with Him (1 Co 6^{17}), animated by one and the same life that is in Christ, the Head of the new humanity, a life that is essentially of God and Divine.

This deeper idea of Salvation seems certainly to have left its trace on St. Peter's later thought, to judge by 1 P. Possibly also it affected the form in which St. John himself interpreted the new Life which had been manifested, first among the original disciples, and then in them. Yet there were elements in St. John's doctrine proper to his own experience, both of his Master's teaching and

* The usual reading *ἔσται*, instead of *ἐστίν* (BD* 1. 22. 69. 251. 254 it ^{pler} syr. cur. pesh. go Tat $^{arab.}$ Lcif), is probably due to failure to see this, and the consequent attempt to harmonize the statement with the future (*δώσει*) above.

of the Light and Life in himself and others. He shared with St. Paul the idea of moral dualism as rooted in a dualism of elements in human nature. On the one hand man was related to 'the world' of sense and of self (the flesh), on the other he was akin to God, as sensitive to His word and so potentially His 'child' in deed and in truth. St. Paul thought most of the new experience in itself, speaking of the regenerate man as a 'new (moral) creature,' or as a 'son' in respect of definite status and privileges in relation to God through faith in Christ and by virtue of the Spirit (2 Co 5^{17}, Gal 3^{26} 4^{1-7}, Ro $8^{14-17.\ 29}$). Thus it is a question of a new status or condition into which a man is brought by a definite act, Adoption (*υἱοθεσία*), by which the transition is made from the opposite states of serfdom, wretchedness, alienation, death (Gal $3^{3.\ 5.\ 7}$, Ro 7^{24} $8^{6f.\ 14}$): so that the full effect of such adoption waits upon man's emancipation from 'the bondage of corruption' in 'the redemption of our body' (Ro 8^{20-23}). St. John, on the other hand, thought rather of the intrinsic nature of the 'eternal life' quickened in believers, of the wonder and glory of its origin in God—the Divine nature germinating as 'seed' in the human soul, and by a new birth begetting a new personality. Thus it is his writings which present the most classic statement of the doctrine of Regeneration, as 'that work of the Holy Spirit in a man by which a new life of holy love, like the life of God, is initiated.'

Aside from this main line of development stand St. James and the writer 'to Hebrews.'

The former thinks of the origin of the higher life in the soul in terms of the Wisdom literature of the OT and of writers like Philo.* 'The word of truth,' 'the inborn word,' or 'the wisdom from above,' is the medium of God's creative action on the soul, by 'the Spirit which he hath caused to dwell in us' ($1^{18.\ 21}$ 3^{17} 4^{5}). To the latter, men are essentially 'spirits,' placed by 'the Father of spirits' in the body, to be disciplined and purified with a view to conscious sonship, and so to the 'glory' of the spiritual and real world of which the visible is but the poor shadow ($12^{9.\ 23}$ 2^{10} 12^{5-8}). Hence the work of grace is set forth as moral enlightenment and purification of the conscience (6^{4} 10^{32} 9^{14} 10^{2}), believers being 'those who have been illumined.' The vital and dynamic aspects are not, indeed, absent (5^{11}–6^{6}); but the renewal effected in the fundamental change of heart which the NT everywhere recognizes in Repentance (6^{6}), is to him a matter of divinely-given insight into the realities of the moral and spiritual world, and a corresponding obedience. The Christian 'tastes the word of God to be good,' and as he feeds upon the oracles of God he gains an ever more refined perception of shades of moral and spiritual truth (6^{4} 5^{14}). This, the writer's own emphasis (as distinct from his readers' type of thought), is Hellenistic and 'Alexandrine,' being largely paralleled in the so-called Epistle of Barnabas, as well as in 1 Clement and a good deal of 2nd cent. Christian literature.

But differently as the NT writers do, in some respects, conceive the great experience whereby the moral centre of gravity in a man's life changes from self to God, they are unanimous on one cardinal point. And that is the constant relation of the 'word of God,' made vital to the conscience and heart, as the means, and of faith as the condition of the change.

LITERATURE.—The special literature of this subject is rather scanty. Considerable sections on it exist in the larger works on biblical theology (*e.g.* Weiss and Holtzmann in particular), as also in systems of Dogmatic (*e.g.* Rothe, Thomasius, Martensen, Dorner). But attempts at a strictly historical and genetic account of the biblical doctrine, on the basis of an adequate literary criticism, are singularly few: J. Köstlin's art. 'Wiedergeburt,' in *PRE*^{2} xvii. 75 ff., seems the best available, but is no longer sufficient. The *Angus Lecture* on 'Regeneration' (1897), so far as it deals with the biblical material, is quite uncritical and conventional. Much matter bearing on our doctrine is to be found in studies of the doctrine of the several NT writers, often under other, but kindred, headings, *e.g.* Adoption, Conversion, Faith, Justification, Repentance, Sonship. As examples may be cited, J. B. Mayor, *Epistle of James*, appended Comment on 'Regeneration,' pp. 186–189; A. B. Bruce, *St. Paul's Conception of Christianity*, chs. x.–xiii., and esp. ch. xvii., 'The Christian Life' (though it unduly minimizes St. Paul's recognition of growth in the new life); Westcott, *Epistles of St. John*, added Note on 'Children of God,' p. 122 ff.

J. V. BARTLET.

* Philo represents God and the Logos as sowing in the womb of the soul the seed of virtues, and so making it pregnant and bear: *e.g. Leg. alleg.* iii. 51, *διαπίπτει γὰρ τότε τῇ ψυχῇ ὁ σπερματικὸς κ. γεννητικὸς τῶν καλῶν λόγος ὁρθός.*

REGISTER.—See GENEALOGY, vol. ii. p. 121.

REHABIAH (רְחַבְיָה and רְחַבְיָהוּ 'Jah is wide').—The eponym of a Levitical family, said to be descended from Eliezer, one of the sons of Moses, 1 Ch 23^{17} 24^{21} (LXX 'Ρααβιά) 26^{25} (B 'Ραβίας, A 'Ρααβίας).

REHOB (רְחֹוב and רְחֹב).—**1.** (B 'Ραάβ [2 S 'Ρωώβ], A 'Ρωώβ) A town at the northern end of the valley of the Jordan, most probably the same as BETH-REHOB (which see), of which the exact site is unknown. In P's narrative of the spies Rehob is mentioned (Nu 13^{21}) as the most northerly limit of their explorations, and is further defined as 'at the entering in of Hamath,' *i.e.* at the entrance of the great depression between the mountains of Lebanon and Hermon, which connects Palestine and Cœle-Syria. P's phrase, therefore, 'from the wilderness of Zin unto Rehob,' is merely a variation of the more usual formula 'from Dan to Beersheba.' With this agrees the notice in Jg $18^{27ff.}$, where the new settlement of the Danites at Laish (or Leshem, Jos 19^{47}) is described as situated 'in the valley that lieth by Beth-rehob.' In the reign of David the valley of Beth-rehob (2 S 10^{6}) or Rehob (v.^{8}) was the seat of a petty Aramæan kingdom (cf. 1 S 14^{47}, LXX Lag.), like the neighbouring Beth-maacah or Abel of Beth-maacah. Robinson (*BRP*^{2} iii. p. 371) identified the town with the ruins of *Hunîn* in the valley of Huleh; but this site is too far south. More probable is the view of Buhl (*GAP* p. 240), who suggests that it corresponded to the later *Paneas* (Bāniās). It is true that many writers have identified this town with the ancient Dan (Reland, *Palæstina*, p. 918 f.; Thomson, *Land and Book*, ii. 547; and recently G. A. Smith, *HGHL* pp. 473, 480 f.); but, in view of the explicit statement of Eusebius (*OS*^{2} 275. 33, 249. 32, cf. Jerome, *ib.* 136. 11) that Dan was four miles distant from Paneas, we should probably identify Dan with the modern Tel el-Ḳāḍī (*ḳaḍi* = 'judge' = *Dan*).

2. (B 'Ραάβ, A 'Ρωώβ) A town belonging to the tribe of Asher, the exact site of which is unknown. It was presumably near to great Zidon (Jos 19^{28}), and was afterwards assigned, together with its suburbs, to the Gershonite Levites (Jos 21^{31}, 1 Ch 6^{75}). It is therefore to be distinguished from—

3. (B 'Ραού, A 'Ρωώβ), which is also mentioned as belonging to Asher, and was apparently near the seacoast (Jos 19^{30}). According to Jg 1^{31} Rehob was one of the cities which were still retained by their Canaanite inhabitants. Very possibly it is the city referred to in the Egyptian lists cited by Müller (*Asien u. Europa*, p. 153).

LITERATURE.—Thomson, *Land and Book*, ii. 547; Robinson, *BRP*^{2} iii. p. 371; *SWP* i. p. 139 ff.; Baedeker^{3}, p. 265 f.; G. A. Smith, *HGHL*, *l.c.*; Buhl, *GAP* pp. 65 f., 112 f., 237–240; Stanley, *Sinai and Palestine*, p. 400; Moore, *Judges*, p. 389 f. and p. 51 f.

4. ('Ραάβ) The father of Hadadezer, king of Zobah (2 S $8^{3.\ 12}$).

5. (א Ῥοόβ, A Ῥοώβ, B om.) One of those who sealed the covenant (Neh 10^{11}).

J. F. Stenning.

REHOBOAM (רחבעם 'the people is enlarged,' or perhaps 'Am is wide,' cf. *Rehabiah* [see Gray, *HPN* 52, note 1, 59 f.]; Ῥοβοάμ, *Roboam*).—The narrative of this reign is contained in 1 K 11^{43}–12^{24} 14^{21-31}, 2 Ch 9^{31}–12. 'Ample in foolishness (רחב אולת) and lacking understanding, Rehoboam by [his coun]sel let loose [the peo]ple' (Sir 47^{23}, Cowley and Neubauer's translation). Such is the judgment of the son of Sirach, as he pauses in his 'praise of famous men' for the inevitable notice of the collapse of Israel as a world power, and the frustration of the proud hopes of Solomon that had found expression in the name he had bestowed on his heir. The Christian historian, who recognizes that the function of the chosen race was to be the custodian of the oracles of God and source, according to the flesh, of the Saviour of the world, can easily perceive that this *præparatio Evangelii* was, humanly speaking, rendered possible only by that checking of the material development of the nation of Israel which resulted from the disruption of Solomon's empire. But to the Jewish patriot the maiming of his country's life must always have seemed an unmixed evil. The apparent immediate cause—Rehoboam's fatuous insolence—was merely the pretext for the revolution that took place on his accession. As is the case in every other turning-point of history, the true cause of the issue must be sought for beneath the surface, in social and religious forces which had been at work long before.

There was, in the first place, the *political* question. It was the normal condition of things that Ephraim should envy Judah, and Judah vex Ephraim. From the time of the earliest settlement in Canaan the North and the South had stood apart. The Bk. of Judges exhibits the northern tribes welded together by common resistance to the various oppressors. Judah never joins them, even when the attack comes from the south. It may have been that co-operation was difficult owing to the line of Canaanitish fortresses, such as Jebus, Gezer, and Ekron, that extended across the country from east to west. It may have been that the spirit of nationality was weaker in Judah and Simeon as a consequence of their greater laxity with regard to intermarriage with and adoption of native families; if indeed we should not rather regard it as a cause of this laxity. Be that as it may, we find the distinction between Israel and Judah noted in the first army raised by Saul (1 S 11^{8}), and immediately after Saul's death an open breach occurred. David laboured hard to break down this antagonism. His transference of the seat of government from the purely Judahite Hebron to Jerusalem was a compromise with the northern tribes. Yet in his reign Israel twice rebelled. David's policy was continued by his successor; Solomon's division of the land for commissariat purposes (1 K $4^{7ff.}$) was evidently an attempt to obliterate the old tribal boundaries. That this attempt was in some degree successful may be inferred from the fact that the boundary between the dominions of Rehoboam and Jeroboam so ran as to include in the southern kingdom a portion of Benjamin, and the greater part of the southern settlement of Dan. A succession of monarchs of the commanding personality of David or Solomon might have completed the unification of the tribes, but Solomon presumed too much on his personal prestige. The odious levy of forced labour, and that, too, for the adornment of an upstart capital, and the ceaseless exactions for the supply of the royal table (LXX 1 K 12^{24p}), had long rankled in the hearts of the proud Ephraimites. Add to this that the character of Solomon's successor, as one 'not fit to be a ruler nor to be a prince' (LXX 1 K 12^{24t}), must have been well known for many years. Everything, indeed, indicates that all preparations had been made for a revolution the moment Solomon should die. The Ephraimite Jeroboam, supported by a prophet's nomination and the favour of his tribe, was biding his time in Egypt, and treated there not as a runaway official, but as an exiled prince (LXX 2 K 12^{24e}). The temper of the northern tribes was further shown in their determination to appoint Rehoboam independently, if at all, and in their selection of Shechem, the chief sanctuary of Ephraim, as the place of assembly, thus ignoring the recent centralization of civil and religious administration at Jerusalem.

This political movement was supported by a *religious* agitation in which two elements, ecclesiastical and prophetical, may be discerned: on the part of the priests of the high places jealousy of the exclusive claims of the new temple at Jerusalem, and on the part of the prophets a nobler zeal for Jehovah, called forth by the lax eclecticism of Solomon in his later years. As we see from the attitude of Nathan, the prophets had not cordially approved of the building of the temple, and they now probably thought that there was more chance of the national worship being preserved in its purity in the north. Rehoboam's subsequent conduct, indeed, quite justified these alarms. He added to his father's innovations by sanctioning the erection of pillars of Baal and the worst abominations of heathenism (1 K $14^{23.\ 24}$), such as did not find a place in the northern kingdom until the reign of Ahab fifty years later. The Chronicler's account of Jeroboam's expulsion of priests and Levites, and of the rallying of the orthodox Israelites round Rehoboam (2 Ch 11^{13-16}), is quite unsupported by Kings, which (12^{17}) merely states that Rehoboam's subjects included some residents of northern extraction. The special animus of the revolting tribes against the temple at Jerusalem possibly underlay their parting taunt, 'Now see to thine own house, David.' Josephus (*Ant.* VIII. viii. 3) understood it thus, 'We only leave to Rehoboam the temple which his father built.' Ahijah and Shemaiah were right. 'It was a thing brought about of the LORD'; the pure monotheism of which Israel was privileged to be the exponent would have been sapped and destroyed by foreign cults, if the later Solomonic policy had received no check. In after times this was forgotten; and the later prophets, thinking solely of the political consequences of the disruption, refer to it as a supreme calamity (Is 7^{17}, Zec 11^{14}).

The most important event in this reign is the invasion of Palestine by Shishak. This was one of the direct consequences of the division of the nation. Sesonchis, as Manetho calls him, the first monarch of the 22nd dynasty, reversed the policy of his predecessor Psusennes, and displayed unfriendliness towards Solomon by sheltering his adversaries Hadad and Jeroboam. Notwithstanding the fact that Shemaiah had forbidden the employment of the huge army (reduced in LXX, B, to 120,000 men) which Rehoboam had mustered by the following year (LXX 1 K 12^{24x}) in order to recover the kingdom he had lost, yet 'there was war between Rehoboam and Jeroboam continually' (1 K 14^{30}). In all probability Jeroboam, harassed by these border forays, called in the aid of his former protector. The fifteen towns which Rehoboam is said to have fortified (2 Ch 11^{6-10}) are, with two exceptions, south of Jerusalem, as though an attack might be expected from that quarter. The invasion took place in Rehoboam's fifth year, and the prophetical historian justly sees in this humiliating calamity the scourge of God for the continued and aggravated national apostasy. The

statement of the Chronicler (2 Ch 11^{17}) that Rehoboam's defection did not occur until his fourth year, and the story of his subsequent repentance (12^{6}), are obviously designed to bear out the theory of the original orthodoxy of the kingdom of Judah (see Abijah's speech, 2 Ch 13^{10}), as well as to heighten the moral and dramatic effect of the story. Jerusalem does not seem to have stood a siege. Resistance was hopeless. Shishak (herein acting treacherously, according to Josephus) utterly denuded the temple and royal palace of their treasures, including the famous golden shields of Solomon's guard, to which the LXX (2 S 8^{7}, 1 K 14^{26}) adds the golden shields taken by David from Hadadezer. Dean Stanley well points out that there is a grave irony in the historian's account (1 K 4^{28}) of how the elaborate ceremony which had been observed with regard to the golden shields was continued in the case of their brazen substitutes. We learn from the Chronicler (2 Ch 12^{3}) both the number of Shishak's host, to which Josephus adds 400,000 infantry, and also the nationalities of which it was composed—Libyans, Sukkiim (=troglodytes, LXX and Vulg.), and Ethiopians. Ewald (*HI* iv. 45) conjectures that Edom also joined in the invasion (see Jl 3^{19}). There may still be seen on the south wall of the temple of Amon at Karnak an inscription—now partially defaced—which deals with this expedition. It gives the list of towns subjugated by Shishak. Some difficulty has been caused by the inclusion in this list not only of places in the south, such as Shocoh, Gaza, Keilah, and perhaps Jerusalem, but also of many towns of Israel as far north as Megiddo. This does not contradict the biblical narrative, which confines itself to the invasion of Judah; but it seems scarcely reconcilable with the hypothesis that Shishak invaded Palestine as Jeroboam's ally. However, Maspero (*Journal of the Transactions of the Victoria Institute of Great Britain*, vol. xxvii. p. 63) points out that 'the king of Israel in imploring the aid of Shishak against his rival had thereby made himself vassal to Egypt. This would suffice to make his towns figure at Karnak among the cities subjected in the course of the campaign.' This is a more likely solution of the difficulty than Rawlinson's supposition (*Speaker's Com. in loc.*), that these were Canaanite or Levitical towns which had taken Rehoboam's side. The names on this list are engraved on cartouches, over which appear the heads of men of various types, representing the inhabitants of each town. Considerable interest was formerly excited by one of these names, which Maspero transliterates *Jaoud-ha-maluk* or *Judham-melek*. This was rendered by Rosellini 'king of Judah' (!), and the inference was a tempting one, that in the annexed figure we had a veritable portrait of Rehoboam himself. But Brugsch (*Geogr. Ins.* I. ii. p. 62), followed by Maspero, interprets it as the name of a village in Dan, Jehud, now el-Yehûdîyeh, near Jaffa. 'The name bears the sign for "country," not for "person."' See, further, *Struggle of the Nations*, 774.

Some minor matters remain to be discussed. From Kings we learn the name of Rehoboam's chief wife only, MAACAH. But the Chronicler gives details about his domestic affairs, noting the name of a second wife, MAHALATH, and perhaps of a third, ABIHAIL, who is mother of Mahalath according to the RV, but another wife of Rehoboam according to AV and RVm. Josephus reduces the number of his concubines to thirty.

The rise in Judah of the power of the queen-mother is probably to be attributed to Rehoboam's uxoriousness. His conduct towards his sons, which is praised by the Chronicler, may have rendered the accession of Abijah easier, but was not wise in the best sense of the term.

According to the MT of 1 K 14^{21} and 2 Ch 12^{13} Rehoboam was 41 years of age at his accession, and reigned 17 years. He would then have been born before Solomon came to the throne. Rawlinson would read, with some MSS, 21 in this passage, on the ground, perhaps, that the insolence of Rehoboam to the Israelites is more like the conduct of a petulant youth than of a man of mature age. More weight must be given to the second Greek account, which in 1 K 12^{24a} says that Rehoboam was 16 years of age at his accession, and that he reigned 12 years. The statement of Abijah (2 Ch 13) that Rehoboam was 'young and tender-hearted' (רַךְ־לֵבָב, *i.e.* 'fainthearted,' see Dt 20^{8}) at the time of the rebellion must not be pressed.

There is one other important chronological difference between the second Greek account and our present Hebrew text. In the latter, Jeroboam, even if he took no personal share in the negotiations with Rehoboam (1 K 12^{20}), certainly left Egypt immediately after Solomon's death; whereas in LXX 1 K $12^{24d\text{-}f}$ the marriage of Jeroboam to Shishak's sister-in-law, and the birth of his son Abijah, occur in Egypt after Rehoboam's accession. But this whole story is in a very confused condition, and is antecedently less probable than that preserved in the common text. See JEROBOAM; and cf. Swete, *Int. to OT in Gr.* 248 f.

N. J. D. WHITE.

REHOBOTH.—**1.** The name given by Isaac to a well of which he was allowed by Abimelech's herdmen to take peaceable possession. This was after two previous wells dug by Isaac's servants had led to strife, and the name of the third was called *Rĕḥōbōth* (רְחֹבוֹת 'wide spaces,' LXX Εὐρυχωρία) because, said Isaac, 'now the LORD hath made room (*hirḥîbh*) for us,' Gn 26^{22} (J). Palmer (*Desert of the Exodus*, 383) describes a very ancient well on the north-east side of the *Wâdy es-Sa'dî* (eight hours south of Beersheba), which he is inclined to identify with the Rehoboth of this passage. The name *Ruhaibeh* still lingers in the neighbourhood, being applied to a wâdy close by. The objections of Robinson (*BRP*^{2} i. 197) to this identification are strangely pointless. It is not improbable (cf. König and Sayce in *Expos. Times*, xi. [1900] pp. 239, 377) that the Rehoboth of Gn 26^{22} is also the *Rubûti* or *Rubûte* of the Tel el-Amarna letters (Winckler, Nos. 183 and 239; Petrie, 256 and 260), although Sayce (in *Early Israel*, 289) and Petrie (*Syria and Egypt from the Tell el-Amarna Letters*, 180) prefer to make *Rubûti*=Rabbah of Jos 15^{60}, and Hommel (*AHT* 234 f.) identifies it with Kiriath-arba (Hebron), which he supposes to have been called *Roba'ôt*, 'the four quarters.'

2. In the list of kings of Edom contained in Gn $36^{31ff.}$ one of the names is Shaul 'from Rehoboth of the River' (מֵרְחֹבוֹת הַנָּהָר) v.^{37}; LXX [A; B is defective here] ἐκ Ῥωβὼθ τῆς παρὰ ποταμόν, and so A in the parallel passage 1 Ch 1^{48}, B om.). The situation of this Rehoboth is quite uncertain. It is not even clear whether it should be sought in Edom or elsewhere. The *Notitia Dignitatum* (c. 29) makes it Edomite, and Eusebius and Jerome (in the *Onomasticon*) locate it in Gebalene, *i.e.* Idumæa; but the analogy of other OT passages where 'the River' (הַנָּהָר) is spoken of absolutely, would lead us to think of the Euphrates, in which event Rehoboth might be *Rahaba* on the western bank of that stream, somewhat to the south of the Chaboras. Winckler (*Gesch.* i. 192) would (doubtfully) place it between Palestine and Egypt, understanding the נָהָר here to be the *Wâdy el-'Arîsh*, the 'River (נַחַל wâdy) of Egypt' of Nu 34^{5} etc.

The name *Rĕḥōbōth*, owing to its meaning, would be likely to be very widely diffused (see Knobel on Gn 36^{37}, and cf. W. Max Müller, *Asien u. Europa*, 134).

J. A. SELBIE.

REHOBOTH-IR (רְחֹבֹת עִיר, AV 'the city Rohoboth,' AVm 'the streets of the city'; LXX A ἡ Ῥωβὼς πόλις, D^{a} Ῥωβὼθ π., E Ῥωβὼθ π.; Vulg. *plateæ civitatis*).—One of the four cities built by Asshur (RV by Nimrod) in Assyria, the others being Nineveh (regarded as the later capital), Resen (Rêš-êni, Sayce), and Calah, now Nimroud (Gn 10^{11}). There has been much discussion as to the identity of this site, and Assyrian literature has not furnished us with any geographical city-name with which it could be identified. Indeed it is hardly likely that we should come across it there, except under a different form, for neither of the component parts of the name is really As-

syrian, *Rĕḥōbōth*, as Delitzsch has shown, being *rêbitu*, 'broad, open spaces,' whilst *'ir* would be represented by the common word *âlu*, 'city.' It has been objected that the Heb. scribe would not have translated *rêbitu*, but would have transcribed it, just as he has transcribed *Resen*, without the guttural; for the Assyrians as a rule pronounced neither the soft guttural ח, nor the ע. This, however, cannot be regarded as conclusive, for the Heb. scribe has, to all appearance, translated, and not transcribed, the Assyrian *âlu* in the word *'ir*, 'city.' It would therefore seem that we must not transcribe, but translate, the Heb. *Rĕḥōbōth-'ir*, and this, in Assyrian, would be *rêbet âli*, 'the broad spaces (squares) of the city,' and regard the expression, with Delitzsch, as referring to the name of Nineveh, which immediately precedes. Delitzsch compares the Heb. expression with the *rêbit Ninua*, 'broad place of Nineveh,' in Esarhaddon l. 23, and the probability is that he is right in his identification. Through this part of the city, probably a suburb, Esarhaddon caused the heads of the kings of Kundi and Sidon to be carried in procession with singing, etc.; and, as he thus specially mentions it, it must have been a sufficiently important place. It is apparently this same place of which Sargon, Esarhaddon's grandfather, speaks in his Cylinder Inscription, l. 44, in connexion with the peopling of Magganubba: 'The city Magganubba, which lay like a pillar at the foot of the mountain Musri, above the springs and the broad place of Nineveh' (*rêbit Ninâ*). This text would therefore seem to make Magganubba the old name of Dûrsargina or Khorsabad, and the *rêbit Ninâ* must have lain between that city and Nineveh, but much nearer to the latter. If the places referred to are named in the order in which they actually occurred, their relative positions would be (1) the mountain Musri, (2) the city Magganubba, (3) the springs, (4) the *rêbit Ninâ*, (5) Ninâ or Nineveh itself.

LITERATURE.—Delitzsch, *Paradies*, p. 261; Schrader, *COT* i. p. 101; Riehm, *Handwörterbuch*; and the *Calwer Bibellexikon*, *s.v.*

T. G. PINCHES.

REHUM (רְחוּם).—**1.** One of the twelve heads of the Jewish community who are said to have returned with Zerubbabel, Ezr 2[2] (B om., A Ἰρεσύμ). In the parallel passage Neh 7[7] the name appears, perhaps by a copyist's error, as NEHUM (LXX Ναούμ); in 1 Es 5[8] it is ROIMUS (LXX Ῥόιμος). **2.** 'The chancellor,' who, along with Shimshai the scribe and others, wrote a letter to king Artaxerxes, which had the effect of stopping for the time the rebuilding of Jerusalem, Ezr 4[8. 9. 17. 23]. In 1 Es 2[16] he is called RATHUMUS. The title for CHANCELLOR (בַּעַל־טְעֵם, lit. 'lord of judgment'), being misunderstood by the LXX, appears in the latter passage as a proper name (Ῥάθυμος καὶ Βεέλτεθμος); see BEELTETHMUS. In Ezr 4[8] B has Ῥαουλ βαδαταμέν, in v.[9] Ῥαουμ βάαλ, and in v.[17] Ῥαουμ βαλγάμ, while A has uniformly Ῥεούμ· βααλτάμ. **3.** A Levite who helped to repair the wall, Neh 3[17] (B Βασούθ, אA Ῥαούμ). **4.** One of those who sealed the covenant, Neh 10[25 (26)] (Ῥαούμ). **5.** (רְחֻם) The eponym of a priestly family which returned with Zerubbabel, Neh 12[3] (BA om., א[c. a (mg)] Ῥεούμ). The name רחם in this last instance is not improbably a textual error for חרם HARIM, cf. v.[15].

J. A. SELBIE.

REI (Heb. רֵעִי, probably = 'the LORD is a friend'; Pesh. ܪܥܝ [*sic*, ܪ and ܕ being confounded]; LXX B Ῥησί, A Ῥησεί; Vulg. *Rei*, *Rhei*).—According to the MT of 1 K 1[8] this is the name of one of the influential supporters of Solomon at the critical moment when Adonijah was preparing to dispute the succession to the throne. It is impossible to be quite certain that the reading is correct, but the balance of evidence is in its favour. Lucian's Σαμαίας καὶ οἱ ἑταῖροι αὐτοῦ οἱ ὄντες δυνατοί rests on a different division of the Hebrew letters, not a different text—רֵעִי וְהַגִּבֹּרִים instead of וְהַגִּבֹּרִים רֵעִי. Jos. *Ant.* VII. xiv. 4, has ὁ Δαουίδου φίλος, thus making Shimei into the 'friend,' the royal official of 2 S 15[37] 16[16], and, with Lucian, getting rid of Rei altogether. But if Josephus is supposed to be following a Heb. original pretty closely, that original would here be רֵעַ הַמֶּלֶךְ or רֵעֵה הַמֶּלֶךְ, and it is not easy to believe that the much longer form of the MT, רֵעִי וְהַגִּבֹּרִים אֲשֶׁר לְדָוִד, has grown out of this. Klostermann's conjectural emendation, שְׁלֹמֹה וְרֵעִי (*Die Bücher Sam. u. Kön.* p. 263), scarcely commends itself (see Benzinger, *ad loc.*), nor is there sufficient support for Winckler's (*Gesch.* ii. 247) identification of Rei with 'Ira, or, as he would spell it, Ya'ir of 2 S 20[26].

As to the pair of names, Shimei and Rei, Ewald (*Gesch.* iii. p. 266, note) thought that they might belong to the two brothers of David, Shammah and Raddai, who are mentioned 1 S 16[9] 17[13], 1 Ch 2[14]. But the double alteration of שַׁמָּה into שִׁמְעִי and רַדַּי into רֵעִי is somewhat unlikely. Perhaps one may add that the LXX Ῥησί seems to have originated in a mistaken reading of ע for ע.

Assuming that Rei must stand in the text, it is fairly certain that the man thus designated was an officer of the royal guard. The important part played by these troops in determining the succession to the throne, as well as the mention of the *gibbôrîm* immediately after Shimei and Rei, points in this direction.

J. TAYLOR.

REINS.—This name for the kidneys is now obsolete, though RV retains it in all its 18* occurrences in AV. It comes from Lat. *renes* the kidneys, through Old Fr. *reins*, while 'kidneys' is of Scand. origin. The word was always used with some freedom. Thus Cov. translates Ezk 29[7] 'Yff they leaned upon the, thou brakest, and hurtdest the reynes of their backes'; and in AV it is once used for the loins (Is 11[5]). This indefiniteness and not any sense of its becoming antiquated must have led the AV translators to use the word only figuratively, to express those feelings or emotions which were understood by the Hebrews to have their seat in the kidneys. Only in the marg. of Lv 22[4] is the literal use found. The lit. sense is common enough in writers of the day and later. Thus Bacon, *Essays*, p. 205, 'Bowling is good for the Stone and Reines'; and Milton, *PL* vi. 346—

> 'For Spirits, that live throughout
> Vital in every part—not, as frail Man,
> In entrails, heart or head, liver or reins—
> Cannot but by annihilating die.'

'When,' says Driver (*Par. Psalter*, 454), 'it is said of God that he trieth (or seeth) the "hearts and reins" (Ps 7[9], Jer 11[26] 17[10] 20[12]), it is implied that He is cognizant of man's emotions and affections, not less than of his thoughts.' See KIDNEYS.

J. HASTINGS.

REKEM (רֶקֶם).—**1.** One of the five kinglets of Midian who were slain by the Israelites, under Moses, Nu 31[8] (BA Ῥόκομ), Jos 13[21] (B Ῥόβοκ, A Ῥόκομ). Like his companions, he is called in Numbers מֶלֶךְ ('king'), but in Joshua נְשִׂיא ('prince,' 'chieftain'). **2.** Eponym of a Calebite family, 1 Ch 2[43] (B Ῥέκομ, A Ῥόκομ)[44] (LXX follows a different reading, B having Ἰεκλάν and A Ἰερκαάν, a repetition of the name in the preceding clause, which appears in Heb. as *Yorḳĕ'ām*: see JORKEAM). **3.** The eponym of a clan of Machir, 1 Ch 7[16] (AV and RV **Rakem**, but this is simply the pausal form, רָקֶם, of the Heb.

* To the 15 in the Concordances add 2 Es 5[34], Wis 1[6], 1 Mac 2[24], which we have found in the Apocrypha. A new Concord. to the Apocr. is much needed. Cruden gives only one of those three. The S.P.C.K. Concord. is a reprint of Cruden.

name; LXX om.). **4.** A city of Benjamin, mentioned with Irpeel and Taralah, Jos 18[27] (B Νακάν, or perhaps om., A Ῥέκεμ). The site has not been identified.

RELIGION.—For the religion of Israel, see GOD, ISRAEL. It is referred to in AV under the name of 'the Jews' religion' (ὁ Ἰουδαϊσμός) in 2 Mac 8[1] 14[38] (nearer the beginning of this verse the same word is tr[d] 'Judaism'), as well as in Gal 1[13. 14], but the thought is rather of the outward forms than the inner spirit. We read also in 2 Mac 6[24] of going to a 'strange religion' (εἰς ἀλλοφυλισμόν). Elsewhere in AV the word is used generally of the outward manifestation of religious life, the Gr. words being ἁγνεία (1 Mac 14[36] marg.), λατρεία (1 Mac 1[43] 2[19. 22]), and θρησκεία (Ja 1[26. 27]). This sense of the *outward expression* attached strongly to the word throughout the time of the English translations of the Bible from Wyclif to AV (though Tind. has 'devocion' in Ja 1[26. 27]). See Trench's remarks in *Study of Words*, p. 9 f., *English Past and Present*, p. 249 f., and *Select Glossary*, p. 183 f.; and cf. Elyot, *Governour*, ii. 191, 'He therfore nat onely increased within the citie Temples, alters, ceremonyes, preestes, and sondry religions, but also . . . he brought all the people of Rome to suche a devocion, or (as I mought saye) a supersticion, that . . . they by the space of xlii yeres (so longe reigned Numa), gave them selfe all as it were to an observaunce of religyon'; and Latimer, *Sermons*, 392, 'For religion, pure religion, I say, standeth not in wearing of a monk's cowl, but in righteousness, justice, and well doing.' J. HASTINGS.

REMALIAH (רְמַלְיָהוּ; Ῥομελίας).—The father of king PEKAH, 2 K 15[25ff.] 16[1. 5], 2 Ch 28[6], Is 7[1ff.] 8[6]. He appears to have been of humble origin, hence the disparaging allusion to Pekah as 'the son of Remaliah' in Is 7[4] (cf. 1 S 10[11] 'the son of Kish'; 20[27. 30] 22[13] 25[10] 2 S 20[1] 'the son of Jesse'; 1 S 22[12] 'thou son of Ahitub').

REMETH (רֶמֶת; B Ῥέμμας, A Ῥαμάθ).—A town of Issachar, near En-gannim, Jos 19[21]; called in 1 Ch 6[58 (73)] RAMOTH, and in Jos 21[29] (possibly by a wrong vocalization) JARMUTH. It appears to be the present village *Râmeh*, on a hill to the south of the plain of Dothan. See *SWP* vol. ii. sheet viii.
C. R. CONDER.

REMISSION.—See FORGIVENESS.

REMPHAN.—See REPHAN.

RENDING OF GARMENTS.—See MOURNING.

REPENT, REPENTANCE (נָחַם, שׁוּב, μετανοεῖν, ἐπιστρέφειν, μεταμέλεσθαι; נֹחַם, μετάνοια, ἐπιστροφή).—The usual meaning of נָחַם (? from an onomatopoetic root signifying to *pant* or *groan*) is to change one's mind or purpose out of pity for those whom one's actions have affected, or because the results of an action have not fulfilled expectation. In this sense repentance is attributed not only to man, but to God (Gn 6[6], Ex 32[14]). With reference to sin, נָחַם is found only in Jer 8[6] and Job 42[6]. The idea of repentance from sin is in other cases expressed by the verb שׁוּב 'to turn.' Though the change in the direction of the will is here in the foreground, a change in inner disposition is always presupposed. The turning from sin is emphatically a matter of conduct, but it is also a matter of the heart (Jl 2[12]), and it has as its elements enlightenment (Jer 31[19]), contrition (Ps 51[3ff.]), longing for God's forgiveness, and trust in God (Hos 14[2]). In their direct appeals to the people, the prophets naturally think of repentance in a purely ethical way as a function of the will: Ezekiel even calls upon them to make themselves a new heart and a new spirit (Ezk 18[31]). But reflexion on the facts of experience quickly leads to the discovery that the will is not the only, or even the main, factor in the case. Behind the will lie the spiritual forces that move it to action, and behind these again, God. Moreover, the new life, which is the positive side of repentance, cannot be called into being by the mere fiat of the will. The spiritual facts and forces, in and through which God is working, thus advance into the foreground, and the prophets are led from the causality of the will to the causality of God, from the ethical to the religious standpoint. God Himself creates the new heart (Ps 51[10], Ezk 36[25ff.]); His law converts the soul (Ps 19[7]); His people turn when He turns them (Jer 31[18]). In despair of a generation bound by the tradition and habit of evil, Jeremiah looks into the future for some new manifestation of Divine power, which shall effect a radical change in the inner disposition of the people (Jer 31[33]).

Beyond a genuine repentance the prophets know of no other condition attaching to God's forgiveness and favour (Dt 30[1ff.], Jer 17[8], Ps 32[5]). And the idea of repentance is set up in its moral purity, everything merely external and statutory being stripped away. In primitive Hebrew religion the offender brought a gift to God to appease Him; he fasted, rent his garments, and by an attitude of mourning and humiliation sought to make his prayer for pardon impressive and effectual. But of all this the prophets and psalmists will hear nothing. God does not desire such things (Hos 5[6] 6[6], Is 1[11ff.], Jer 6[20] 7[4ff.] 14[12], Ps 50[10]). The sacrificial forms with which atonement was associated are ignored as worthless or condemned as noxious (Am 5[25], Mic 6[6ff.], Jer 7[21ff.], Ps 40[6] 51[16]). The sacrifice pleasing to God is that of a broken and contrite heart (Ps 51[17f.]). No attempt is made by the prophets to take the sacrificial system into the service of a purer faith, whether by a process of moral reinterpretation, or by going back on an original but forgotten meaning. In process of time the system was to some extent ethicised; but its atonement (which presupposed repentance in the transgressor) was available only for sins of inadvertence (Nu 15[27. 30]). The place of repentance as condition of forgiveness is not due to any idea of its meritorious character. The idea of merit—which never attaches itself to a genuine moral act, but always to some external form or accompaniment—is foreign to the spirit of the OT. If God forgives, it is because it is His nature and prerogative to do so (Is 43[25]); and that He will not reject the prayer of the penitent is accepted as self-evident to the moral sense.

In the later Judaism the idea of repentance is not indeed lost sight of, but, in Pharasaic circles at least, external acts of penitence, such as fasting, have usurped the place of the inner spirit, and to these acts the idea of merit has attached itself. In the preaching of the Baptist it again emerges in its pristine moral purity, as the one condition of escape from approaching judgment (Mt 3[8f.]).

There are two words in the NT which convey the idea of repentance, μετανοεῖν and ἐπιστρέφειν, though, as we shall see, the idea appears also under other forms of expression. These words derive their moral content not from Greek but from Jewish and Christian thought, nothing analogous to the biblical conception of repentance and conversion being known to the Greeks. If respect be had to their literal meaning, the first presents repentance in its negative aspect, as a change of mind, a turning from sin; the second, in its positive aspect, as a turning to God. Both have, how-

ever, much the same content of meaning. Christ began His ministry with a call to repentance (Mt 4^{17}). The call has as its motive the nearness of the kingdom, participation in which requires as its condition the new disposition (Mt 18^{3}). It is addressed, not as in the OT to the nation, but to the individual; and not merely to those guilty of flagrant sin, but to all (Lk 13^{3}). The inner and radical character of the change required is illustrated by the figure of the tree and its fruits. The first four Beatitudes may be taken as descriptive of elements in a true repentance. Poverty of spirit, sorrow for sin, meekness, hunger and thirst for righteousness, are all characteristics of the soul that is turning from sin to God. In the parable of the Prodigal Son, Jesus draws a picture of the true penitent. Such is assured of the forgiveness and welcome of the Father, whose love, indeed, has anticipated his return, and gone out to seek and save (Lk 15^{4}). That God accepts the penitent follows at once from His own nature, and from the moral appropriateness of a humble and contrite spirit. The Father cannot but rejoice over the recovery of a lost son (Lk 15^{24}); and the spirit of the publican in the temple as plainly carries with it justification as the spirit of the Pharisee condemnation (Lk 18^{14}). Of fasting or other external accompaniments Christ knows nothing.

Although Christ began His ministry with the call to repentance, it cannot be said that it appears in His teaching as the fundamental requirement. Exhibiting the righteousness of the kingdom of God, and revealing the love of the heavenly Father, He requires rather *faith* in His message, leaving the particular form of the response to be determined in correspondence with each man's character and history. Repentance accordingly falls into the background before the wider idea of faith (Lk 7^{50}). In the apostolic speeches in Acts, and in the Apocalypse, repentance most frequently appears in its ethical sense; but side by side with this use we have that which treats it as a result of Divine activity—an experience rather than an act (Ac 3^{19}). In the latter case the idea of repentance passes into that of conversion (*ἐπιστρέφεσθαι*, the *conversio intransitiva* of theologians as distinguished from *conversio transitiva*), the ethical activity of the individual being subordinated to the Divine causality. The problem of the relation of the two sides, which exercised the Church later, giving rise to such conceptions as *virtus indeclinabiliter et insuperabiliter, gratia cooperans*, etc., is not raised in the New Testament.

In the Pauline Epistles repentance is considered more as an experience than as an act, and this experience is described in a manner peculiar to the apostle as a death and resurrection with Christ, or as a putting off of the old man and a putting on of the new. The believer is buried with Christ in baptism, and raised with Him into a new life in the Spirit (Ro $6^{2ff.}$, Col 2^{12}). The result of this new creation is a new walk and conversation; sin is in its principle destroyed. In this profound conception, which also gives its content to the apostle's idea of faith, the place of Christ in the experience of conversion, together with a certain mystical element in that experience, comes to expression.

The word 'repent' does not once occur in the Johannine writings, having dropped even from the Baptist's preaching. The idea is not, however, absent, but appears under the form of the new birth, which takes the place of the Synoptic *μετάνοια* as the condition of entrance into the kingdom (Jn 3^{3}). The causality of the will here wholly disappears, together with those psychological elements characteristic of repentance as a process of turning, and the new life stands out as the result of a transcendent and mysterious act of God's creative power (Jn 3^{8}). The natural and the supernatural, the fleshly and the spiritual, are opposed in a way that excludes all mere renewal, or any *transition* from the old life to the new. The human and ethical side, however, finds expression in the idea of faith, which here, as in the NT in general, implies an active turning from sin to God (Jn $4^{7ff.}$ 9^{38}, 1 Jn 1^{8}).

LITERATURE.—Works on *OT Theology* by Schultz and Smend: on *NT Theology* by Weiss, Beyschlag, and Holtzmann; Sieffert, *Die neuesten theol. Forschungen über Busse und Glaube*; Cremer, *Bib.-theol. Wörterbuch*; Wrede, art. '*μετάνοια* Sinnesänderung?' in *Ztschr. f. NT Wissenschaft*, i. (1900) p. 66 ff.

W. MORGAN.

REPHAEL (רְפָאֵל 'El has healed'; LXX 'Ραφαήλ, cf. RAPHAEL of To 3^{17} $5^{4ff.}$).—The eponym of a family of gatekeepers, 1 Ch 26^{7}. The name belongs to a class of late formations; see Gray, *HPN* 225, 311.

REPHAH (רָפָח; 'Ράφη).—The eponym of an Ephraimite family, 1 Ch 7^{25}.

REPHAIAH (רְפָיָה 'Jah has healed,' cf. *Rephael*).—**1.** A Judahite mentioned in the royal genealogy, 1 Ch 3^{21} (B 'Ραφάλ, A 'Ραφαιά). **2.** One of the chiefs of the 500 Simeonites who went on the expedition to Mt. Seir, 1 Ch 4^{42} ('Ραφαιά). **3.** A descendant of Issachar, 1 Ch 7^{2} (B 'Ραφαρά, A 'Ραφαιά). **4.** A descendant of Saul, 1 Ch 9^{43} ('Ραφαιά), called in 8^{37} RAPHAH (B 'Ραφαί, A 'Ραφαιά). **5.** One of those who helped to repair the wall, Neh 3^{9} ('Ραφαιά).

REPHAIM (רְפָאִים; *γίγαντες*, Ραφαείμ, 'Ραφαείν [Dt $2^{11.\ 20}$, Jos 15^{8}, 2 K 23^{23}]).—The word used in Hebrew to describe the early giant peoples of Palestine. Many regard *rāphāʾ* as a proper name, forming the gentilic adjective *rĕphāʾî*, of which *rĕphāʾîm* is the plural. It is more in accord with the use of the word, however, to regard *rāphāʾ* as a concrete noun, and *rĕphāʾîm* as the direct plural either of this or of the corresponding abstract noun. It is used as the geographical name of a certain valley (see next art.). In Gn 14^{5} the syntax indicates that it is a proper name, definite without the article. The statement is strictly that 'they smote Rephaim,' that is, they smote a region of that name, the region, of course, being so named from the character of its inhabitants. Everywhere else the word is strictly a common noun, definite or indefinite as the case may be, substantially equivalent to our English word 'giants.' For the derivation of this meaning from the stem idea, and for an account of the *rĕphāʾîm*, see GIANT.

The word *rĕphāʾîm* is also used to denote the inhabitants of the world of the dead (Job 26^{5}, Ps 88^{10}, Pr 2^{18} 9^{18} 21^{16}, Is 14^{9} $26^{14.\ 19}$), being here nearly the equivalent of the English word 'ghosts,' in the popular sense of that word. *Rĕphāʾîm* in the sense of ghosts is used only in the plural, and, like *rĕphāʾîm* in the sense of giants, has the ordinary syntax of a common noun, definite or indefinite. The two are from the same stem. Schwally (*Leben nach dem Tode*, 64 f.) supposes a connexion between רְפָאִים 'ghosts' and רְפָאִים 'extinct giants.' W. R. Smith (quoted by Driver, *Deut.* p. 40) suggests that the 'old giants were still thought to haunt the ruins and deserts of East Canaan'; see also Schwally in *ZATW*, 1898, p. 132 ff.

W. J. BEECHER.

REPHAIM, VALE OF (עֵמֶק רְפָאִים; Κοιλὰς 'Ραφαείμ, *κ. τῶν Τιτάνων, κ. τῶν γιγάντων*, Ἔμεκ 'Ραφαείν, *φάραγξ στερεά*).—A locality near Jerusalem. The Hebrew word here used for valley denotes an arable valley. So we may at once dismiss all theories that would make it either a plateau or a steep-sided ravine; though it is quite possible that it may have been a system of arable valleys, rather than a single

valley. Different opinions have been held concerning it, but really the evidence all bears in one direction. The northern extremity of the vale of Rephaim was just over the western ridge of the upper part of the ravine of the son of Hinnom (Jos $15^{8.9}$ 18^{16}). Josephus (*Ant.* VII. xii. 4) says that it was 'the valley which extends to the city of Bethlehem, which is twenty furlongs from Jerusalem.' It is puzzling to know how he measures his twenty furlongs; but that Bethlehem had strategic relations with the vale of Rephaim is confirmed by 2 S 23^{13}, 1 Ch 11^{15}. This is not in contradiction with the statement that David, getting to the rear of the Philistines when they were encamped in the vale of Rephaim, 'smote them from Geba until thou come to Gezer' (2 S 5^{25}, 1 Ch 14^{16}); for the effect of his strategic movement might be to compel them to move from their camp and attack him; or, while encamped to the south-west of Jerusalem, they might have had outposts as far north as Geba or Gibeon.

But the sacred writer evidently thought of the vale of Rephaim as somewhat extensive, for he twice says that the Philistines spread themselves there (2 S $5^{18.22}$, 1 Ch $14^{9.13}$). Hence the locality referred to is probably the system of small valleys which supply the southern affluent of the Nahr Rûbîn, a stream which flows into the Mediterranean some distance south of Joppa. One branch of this affluent starts near Jerusalem and another near Bethlehem, the two uniting about three miles south-west of Jerusalem. The vale of Rephaim may well be these two, with their tributaries. It was natural that invading Philistine armies should march up the valley of the Nahr Rûbîn to attack Jerusalem.

The name doubtless indicates that this region had been occupied especially by *rĕphā'îm*, at some period before Joshua's conquests. Its celebrity is mainly connected with events that occurred soon after David had been made king of all Israel in Jerusalem. In two successive campaigns the Philistines attacked him here, and were defeated (2 S 5^{17-21}, 1 Ch 14^{8-12} and 2 S 5^{22-25}, 1 Ch 14^{13-16}). The first of these two campaigns was of the most desperate character (2 S 23^{13-17}, 1 Ch 11^{15-19}). See G. A. Smith, *HGHL* p. 218. W. J. BEECHER.

REPHAN (LXX BA Ῥαιφάν, Q Ῥεφάν, in Am 5^{26}; WH Ῥομφά, variants Ῥεμφάμ, Ῥεμφάν [AV *Remphan*], Ῥαιφάν, Ῥεφάν, in Ac 7^{43}).—This word replaces the כִּיּוּן of the Heb. text, and there is much difference of opinion as to the reason of this change. Influenced by the fact that the LXX tr. was made at Alexandria in Egypt, some have contended that the translators substituted for the word *Chiun* (apparently pronounced by them, more correctly, *Kewan*), the meaning of which was probably obscure to them, an Egyptian equivalent term, viz. *repa*-[*n-neteru*], a title of the god Set, identified with Saturn; but this, besides being a hardly probable hypothesis itself, is also unlikely on account of the etymological difficulties involved. The general opinion at present is, that *Rephan* is simply a mistake for, or an alteration of, the *Kewan* (*Chiun*) of the Heb. text, *K* having been replaced by *R*, and *ph* (*φ*) substituted for כ with the sound of *v*, sharpened to something resembling *f*. There is no doubt that this is the best of all the explanations proposed, for *Kewan* would seem to be nothing else but the Semitic-Babylonian *Kaawanu*, for an older *Kayawanu*, 'the planet Saturn.' That a Babylonian etymology is to be sought rather than any other, may be regarded as indicated by the fact that SICCUTH in the first part of the verse is apparently from the Akkad. *Sakkut* or *Sak-uš*, the latter being one of the non-Semitic names of Saturn, translated by *Kaawanu* in Babylonian. In addition to this, Saturn was also called *Ṣalam*, *Ṣalme*, as 'the dark star,' a name which recalls the expression צַלְמֵיכֶם, 'your images,' which, in the Heb., immediately follows *Chiun* (=*Kaawanu*=*Rephan*), and would furnish a parallel to the translation of מַלְכְּכֶם ('your king') after Siccuth, by 'Moloch' in the LXX. As has been already shown (see NIMROD, NISROCH, etc.), the Hebrew scribes were accustomed to distort the names of heathen deities, apparently to show their contempt for them, and there is but little doubt that this has been done in the present case. No name resembling Rephan or Remphan as the pronunciation of the ideographs for Saturn has as yet been found in Akkadian or Semitic-Babylonian.

LITERATURE.—Schrader in *SK*, 1874, pp. 324–335, and in Riehm's *HWB*; Delitzsch in the *Calwer Bibellexicon*, under 'Chiun,' and in *Assyr. HWB* 569b (end of art. 'Salmu'); and the Comm. on Amos and Acts. T. G. PINCHES.

REPHIDIM (רְפִידִים and רִפִידִים; LXX Ῥαφιδείν, Eus. Ῥαφιδίμ; Vulg. *Raphidim*).—A station between the wilderness of Sin and the wilderness of Sinai (cf. Ex 17^{1} with 19^{2}). The same order is given in the itinerary of Nu 33; but two additional stations are there given, Dophkah and Alush (vv.$^{12-14}$), between Sin and Rephidim. These are the only passages in which the name occurs, and from them it appears that Rephidim is outside the wilderness of Sinai, and that the people, when encamped there, have not yet reached the mount of God.

The events recorded in connexion with this place are: (1) the people strive (ריב) with Moses and 'tempt' (*i.e.* prove, נסה) the LORD because there is no water to drink (Ex 17^{1-7}); (2) the defeat of Amalek (vv.$^{8-16}$); (3) the visit of Jethro when he counsels Moses about appointing judges (Ex 18). The first two are expressly, the third may be by inference (cf. 19^{2}), assigned to Rephidim.

Now, in the account of the first event, the smitten rock is described as being in Horeb ('I will stand before thee upon the rock in Horeb,' Ex 17^{6}). Also in 18^{5} Jethro comes to Moses 'where he was encamped at the mount of God.' According to internal evidence in both these narratives, the people are already at Horeb the mount of God, and the difficulty of harmonizing these statements with those introduced with reference to the situation of Rephidim is apparent.

The first of these events has been discussed in the art. MERIBAH, where the similarity between it and another event (Nu 20^{1-13}) assigned to a period after leaving Sinai is pointed out. In the account of the third event, the description of the persons appointed, on Jethro's advice, to assist Moses in judging the people, resembles that in Dt 1^{9-17} (note especially the verbal coincidences of Ex 18^{21} with Dt 1^{15}). In Deuteronomy the appointment is said to have been made at the departure from Sinai—at which time the reference to ordinances and laws (Ex 18^{20}) would be appropriate, and it has been suggested that Ex 18 was at one time read in connexion with Nu 10^{29-32} (see Driver on Dt 1, at p. 15 of *Intern. Crit. Comm.*, and Dillmann on Ex 18). These remarks illustrate what has been said in art. EXODUS AND JOURNEY TO CANAAN, vol. i. p. 804b and 805a.

The foe which Israel encounters in Rephidim is Amalek, a tribe which is generally described in Scripture as dwelling on the southern border of Palestine though occasionally found farther north (see AMALEK). Supposing that the Israelites on leaving Egypt went eastwards, they would pass by the territory which is ordinarily assigned to Amalek, whereas if they made the detour to the south, involved in visiting the traditional Sinai, the Amalekites must have wandered much farther

to the south. A question here arises similar to that suggested by the mention of Midian, in connexion with Sinai, and considerably strengthens the argument in the note on the art. MIDIAN. Comparing that note with what is here said, it follows that the acceptance of the traditional site of Sinai involves *two* hypotheses of migration (one for Amalek as well as one for Midian), while the site there suggested for Sinai assigns a uniform geographical position for both. See also art. PARAN.

A. T. CHAPMAN.

REPROBATE. — The word 'reprobate' occurs only once in AV of OT, viz. Jer 6^{30} (RV 'refuse'). It there represents the Heb. נִמְאָס, and is used in connexion with the figure of smelting or refining metal. People who are incurably bad, from whom no discipline, however severe, can smelt out the badness, are compared to base metal which can only be thrown away. The assonance of the Heb. (נִמְאָס . . . כֶּסֶף) is preserved in LXX (*ἀργύριον ἀποδεδοκιμασμένον . . . ὅτι ἀπεδοκίμασεν αὐτοὺς κύριος*), but lost in Vulg. (argentum *reprobum* . . . quia *projecit*). It is from the Vulg. that the rendering 'reprobate' comes, the Greek equivalent of which is found in a similar passage in Is 1^{22}, describing the degeneracy of Israel: *τὸ ἀργύριον ὑμῶν ἀδόκιμον* = 'your silver is not proof,' cannot stand the test (AV 'is become dross,' which exactly reproduces Heb.). In this place Vulg. also gives *argentum tuum versum est in scoriam.* In both cases people are regarded as 'reprobate,' or unable to pass muster in God's judgment, not in virtue of an eternal decree of reprobation, but as having reached a last and hopeless degree of moral debasement. It is the same with the use of *ἀδόκιμος* in NT. This is usually rendered 'reprobate,' and is always passive. The most instructive instance is perhaps Ro 1^{28} 'As they did not think fit on trial made (*οὐκ ἐδοκίμασαν*) to keep God in their knowledge, God gave them up to a reprobate mind' (*εἰς νοῦν ἀδόκιμον*). This means a mind of which God can by no means approve, one which can only be rejected when it comes into judgment. The marg. of AV ('void of judgment') brings out in accordance with the context *why* the *νοῦς* is *ἀδόκιμος*: the mind which God rejects is one whose moral instincts are perverted, and which does not serve the purpose of a moral intelligence any longer; but this is not what the term *ἀδόκιμος* itself expresses. It might be thought that there was here a more active relation of God to the state in question than is found in Isaiah and Jeremiah, but that is doubtful. There is no dooming of men *ab initio* to reprobation; under God's government, and in the carrying out of His sentence on sin, evil works itself out to this hopeless end. The simple passive sense of the word is apparent also in the three instances in 2 Co 13^{5-7}. The test of true Christianity is that Christ is in men; those who can stand this are *δόκιμοι* ('approved'); those who cannot are *ἀδόκιμοι* ('reprobate'). Here the test is to be applied by Christians to themselves; in 1 Co 9^{27} (where AV renders *ἀδόκιμος* 'castaway' and RV 'rejected') the final judgment by God is in view; St. Paul subjects himself to the severest discipline that he may not at the last day be unable to stand trial. It would have been an advantage for some reasons to keep the rendering 'reprobate' here also.

The relations in which one is *ἀδόκιμος*, or the trials which he cannot stand, may be variously conceived. Thus in 2 Ti 3^{8} we have 'reprobate concerning the faith.' The men who are thus characterized are described also as *κατεφθαρμένοι τὸν νοῦν*. This expression unites in itself what we distinguish as ethical and intellectual elements. The men in question are men whose moral sense is perverted, and whose minds are clouded with speculations of their own; when they are brought into relation to 'the faith' (which in the Pastoral Epp. includes something like the Christian creed as well as the Christian religion) they are *ἀδόκιμοι*—cannot stand the trial. Similarly in Tit 1^{16} when certain persons are described as *πρὸς πᾶν ἔργον ἀγαθὸν ἀδόκιμοι* the meaning is: put them to the test of any good *work* (as distinct from fine profession) and they can only be rejected. The same sense results from the only other passage in NT, He 6^{8}. The soil which receives every care from God and man, and yet produces only thorns and briars, is *ἀδόκιμος*. It is rejected as useless for cultivation.

Taken together, these passages support the idea that men may sink into a condition in which even God despairs of them—a condition in which He can do nothing but reprobate or reject them. But they do not support the conception of an eternal decree of reprobation in which the destiny of man is related solely to the will of God. No one who claims to hold this view will ever admit that another can state it without caricature, but it may be given in Calvin's words (*Inst.* III. xxii. 11): 'Si non possumus rationem assignare cur suos misericordia dignetur, nisi quoniam ita illi placet, neque etiam in aliis reprobandis aliud habebimus quam ejus voluntatem.' Apart from the speculative objection that if salvation and reprobation are related in exactly the same way to the will of God there is no difference between them, all the distinctions of the human world being lost in the identity of the Divine, it is obvious that this presents a conception of reprobation remote from that suggested by Scripture. Nor can it be said that the Calvinistic doctrine of reprobation is a necessary inference from the true doctrine of election. The true doctrine of election is experimental. It expresses the truth (which every Christian knows to be true) that it is God who saves, and that when He saves it is not by accident, or to reward human merit, but in virtue of His being what He is—a God who is eternally and unchangeably Redeemer. But while the Christian can say out of his experience that God in His infinite love has come to him, and made sure to him a redeeming mercy that is older than the world, faithful and eternal as God Himself, no one can say out of his experience that God has come to him and made sure to him that in that love he has neither part nor lot. In other words, election has an experimental basis, but reprobation has not. It is true that men are saved because God saves them—true to experience as to Scripture; but it is not true to experience that men are lost because God ignores or rejects them. The form in which the truth is put may be inadequate even in the case of election; but in the case of what is called reprobation there is no verifiable truth at all. For older theological opinion on this subject see Calvin, *Inst.* III. chs. xxi.–xxiii.; Hill, *Lectures in Divinity*, iii. 41 f.; Hodge, *Systematic Theology*, ii. 320 f. See also ELECTION, PREDESTINATION.

J. DENNEY.

REPROOF, REPROVE.—The verb (from Lat. *reprobare* through Old Fr. *reprover*) means—**1.** *To disapprove of, reject*, as in Ps 118^{22} Wyc. (1388) 'The stoon which the bilderis repreueden'; Mk 8^{31} Tind. 'And he beganne to teache them, how that the sonne of man must suffre many thinges, and shuld be reproved of the elders, and of the hye prestes and scribes.' There is no example of this meaning in AV. **2.** *To disprove, refute*, as Shaks. *Venus*, 787—

> 'What have you urged that I cannot reprove?

and *II Henry VI.* III. i. 40—

> 'Reprove my allegation, if you can;
> Or else conclude my words effectual.'

Of this meaning there are probably some examples in AV, as Job 6^{25} 'How forcible are right words!

but what doth your arguing reprove?' Is 37[4] 'It may be the Lord thy God will hear the words of Rabshakeh . . . and will reprove the words which the Lord thy God hath heard,' though in these and other like places *Oxf. Heb. Lex.* takes the meaning to be simply 'rebuke.' 3. *To convict*, as Jer. Taylor, *Great Exemplar*, Pref. p. 14, 'God hath never been deficient, but hath to all men that believe him given sufficient to confirm them; to those few that believed not, sufficient to reprove them.' So in AV, Jn 16[8] 'He will reprove the world of sin' (Wyc. 'repreuve,' Tind. 'rebuke,' Gen. 'reprove,' Gen. marg. 'convince,' AVm 'convince,' RV 'convict'); cf. Jn 8[46] Wyc. 'Who of you schal repreuve me of synne?' (Tind. 'can rebuke,' AV 'convinceth,' RV 'convicteth'); 2 Ti 4[2] 'Reprove, rebuke, exhort with all long-suffering and doctrine.' 4. *To chide, rebuke*, the mod. meaning, as Pr 9[8] 'Reprove not a scorner, lest he hate thee: rebuke a wise man, and he will love thee.'

Reproof is used mostly in the sense of *rebuke*, but there is a possible example of *conviction* in 2 Ti 3[16] ('profitable for doctrine, for reproof [πρὸς ἔλεγμόν], for correction, for instruction in righteousness'); and a probable example of *disproof, refutation* in Ps 38[14] ('Thus I was as a man that heareth not, and in whose mouth are no reproofs'; RVm 'arguments'). J. HASTINGS.

REPTILE.—See NATURAL HISTORY in vol. iii. p. 492[a].

REQUIRE.—Sometimes in AV as in mod. English to 'require' is to *demand*, as 1 S 21[8] 'The king's business required haste': cf. Mk 5[7] Tind. 'I requyre the in the name of God that thou torment me not.' This is especially the case in the freq. phrase of requiring one, or one's blood, at another's hand; cf. Bar 6[35] Cov. 'Though a man make a vow unto them [the idols] and kepe it not, they will not requyre it.' But the sense of *demand* does not lie, as now, in the verb itself, but in the context. To require (from Lat. *requirere* through Old Fr. *requerir*) is first to seek after, and then to request or entreat. It may be used to translate a verb of demanding, as Driver (*Par. Psalter*, 480) suggests that in Ps 40[6] 51[6] it may perhaps correspond to Münster's *postulavi* and *exigis*,* but of all the Heb. and Gr. words it is used to tr. in AV there is none that means more than *seek after* or *ask*. That it means no more than ask or entreat in some places is evident, as Ezr 8[22] 'I was ashamed to require of the king a band of soldiers' (RV 'ask'). Cf. Tindale, *Expos.* 151, 'He giveth abundantly unto them that require it [mercy] with a faithful heart.' Cov. after rendering 'Gedeon sayde unto them, One thinge I desyre of you, every man geve me the earinge that he hath spoyled' (Jg 8[24]), adds, 'And the golden earynges which he requyred' (8[26]). Cf. Berners, *Froissart*, ch. ix. 'Then the queen was greatly abashed, and required him all weeping of his good counsel,' and Chapman, *Odysseys*, xx. 215—

'For she required
His wants, and will'd him all things he desired.'

Knox frequently speaks of requiring a thing *humbly*, as *Hist.* 199, 'We required your Highnesse in most humble manner'; so Calderwood, *Hist.* 145, 'I protest and most humbly require,' and *Psalms in Metre*, Ps 143[1]—

'O hear my prayer, Lord,
And unto my desire
To bow thine ear accord,
I humbly thee require';

and the end of *A Dialog betweene Christ and a Sinner*, by William Hunnis—

'*Sinner*—Through this sweet grace thy mercie, Lord,
We humblie doo require.
Christ—By mercie mine I you forgive,
And grant this your desire.'

J. HASTINGS.

REREWARD.—The 'rereward,' *i.e.* rearguard, was the last of the three main divisions of an army, the 'vanguard' (=*avant-ward*) or 'forefront' being the first. The word comes from Old Fr. *arerewarde, i.e. arere* (mod. *arrière*) 'behind' (from Lat. *ad-retro*) and *warde*, a variety of Old Fr. *garde* (which came from Old High Ger. *warten* to watch over). RV retains the word in all its occurrences (Nu 10[25], Jos 6[9. 13], 1 S 29[2], Is 52[12] 58[8]) but spells it 'rearward.' It is always spelt 'rereward' (sometimes with a hyphen) in AV, and it is always a substantive. Cf. Hakluyt, *Voyages*, ii. 20, 'Because . . . it was bootlesse for them to assaile the forefront of our battell . . . they determined to set upon our rereward.' Berners (*Froissart*, p. 376, Globe ed.) uses 'rearband' in the same sense: 'The Bishop of Durham with the rearband came to Newcastle and supped.' J. HASTINGS.

RESAIAS ('Ρησαίας, AV Reesaias), 1 Es 5[8], corresponds to Reelaiah, Ezr 2[2], or Raamiah, Neh 7[7]. ρεελια has apparently been read as ρεσαια.

RESEN (רֶסֶן; AD Δάσεμ, E Δάσεν; Vulg. *Resen*). —The last of the four cities built by Asshur (RV by Nimrod), between Nineveh and Calah (the modern Nimroud), and further described in Gn 10[12] as 'the great city' (RV). Various conjectures have been made as to the position of this settlement. The Byzantine authors and Ptolemy identified it with Rhesina or Rhesaina on the Khabour, probably the Arab. *Ras el-'Ain*—an impossible identification, this site being 200 miles W. of the two cities between which Resen is said to have lain. A better identification is that of Bochart, which makes Resen to be the Larissa of Xenophon (*Anab.* iii. 4), though whether, as he argues, 'Larissa' be an adaptation of 'Laresen,' *i.e.* 'Resen's (ruins),' is a matter of doubt. It is worthy of note that Xenophon describes Larissa, like Resen in Gn 10[12], as 'a great city.' The identification of the name, however, and that of the site, are two different things. On the one hand, there is the possibility, maintained by some, that Larissa may be Nimroud (Calah), and, on the other, the probability that the ruins described by Xenophon—and the city Resen—may be represented by the remains known as Selamîeh, an ancient site situated about three miles N. of Nimroud, and between that city and the mounds of Nineveh (Kouyunjik). These remains have the advantage of being situated in the tract where, according to Gn 10[12], Resen really lay. As Sayce has pointed out, the name of Resen occurs, under the form Rêš-êni, in a list of 18 cities or small towns from which Sennacherib dug canals communicating with the river Khouser or Khosr, in order to supply them with drinking-water. Whether this be the Resen of Genesis or not is uncertain,—in all probability it was a comparatively unimportant place, and situated too far north. Moreover, such a name as Rêš-êni, 'fountain-head,' must have been far from rare in ancient Assyria, as is Ras el-'ain in countries where Arabic is spoken at the present day. The Greek forms are apparently corrupt, and due to the likeness between ר and ד.

LITERATURE.—Bochart, *Geograph. Sacr.* iv. 23; Delitzsch, *Paradies* 261; Schrader, *COT* i. 83; Sayce in the *Academy* for 1st May 1880. T. G. PINCHES.

* Only once is *exigere* used in Vulg. (Gn 31[39]) to express 'require at the hand of,' elsewhere *quærere* or *requirere* nearly always.

RESH (ר).—The twentieth letter of the Hebrew alphabet, and as such employed in the 119th Psalm to designate the 20th part, each verse of which begins with this letter. It is transliterated in this Dictionary by *r*.

RESHEPH (רֶשֶׁף: BΣάραφ, A'Ράσεφ).—The eponym of an Ephraimite family, 1 Ch 7[25].

RESPECT OF PERSONS.—See ACCEPT, vol. i. p. 21.

REST.—In the Scriptures rest is ascribed to God, and also to man in a variety of aspects; and the underlying conception in each case is the necessary relation of the rest of man to that of God.

1. At the close of His creative activity God rested, it is said, from all His work which He had made (Gn 2[2] שָׁבַת [see SABBATH, *ad init.*], usually rendered in LXX by καταπαύειν, but sometimes by ἀναπαύειν). This implies the twofold thought that creation, with all that the creative process involved, was completed once for all, and that God was satisfied with the work at that stage accomplished. But this assertion of rest on the part of God contains no denial of subsequent action, no theory as to such action, and is consistent with ceaseless activity (Jn 5[17], cf. Th. Aquin. *Summ. Theol.* Qu. 73. 2). The apparent silence or inactivity (שָׁקַט) on the part of God in presence of the impiety of men is the rest of One who is watchful and will strike at the fitting time (Is 18[4]).

2. The rest (נוּחַ, מְנוּחָה) promised by J″ the covenant-God to the people of Israel is the rest of a settled dwelling-place. But the rest of the people in this case is coincident with the rest of God; for with the permanent settlement of the ark by a man of rest (1 Ch 22[9]) God is represented as entering into His rest and the people into theirs, which is also His (2 Ch 6[41], Ps 132[8. 14]). Into this rest some did not enter because of disobedience (Ps 95[11], He 4[6]).

3. In addition to this national rest, a rest of a more spiritual and individual character is spoken of. To Moses the promise of the Divine presence with a settled abode as a goal is the guarantee of rest (Ex 33[14]). Jeremiah offers it (מַרְגּוֹעַ) to his countrymen on condition of their walking in the eternal paths (Jer 6[16]), in harmony with the will of God given of old (cf. Is 28[12], where we find מָרְגֵּעָה ‖ מְנוּחָה). Those who do so are by a kindred word described as the quiet or restful ones (Ps 35[20]). Because obedience to the will of God is the secret of rest, it cannot be possessed by the unrighteous, whose normal condition is a restlessness like that of the waves of the sea (Is 57[20]).

4. To men worn out with worrying toils and struggling under burdens too heavy for them (the immediate reference being probably to the Pharisaic burdens), Christ promised rest (Mt 11[28-30]). It is His own rest that He offers to those who with a meek and lowly heart recognize the will of His Father as the law of the inner life, and take His yoke upon themselves. It is not a rest *from* toil but *in* toil (Jn 5[17]), not the rest of inactivity but of the harmonious working of all faculties and affections—of will, heart, imagination, conscience—because each has found in God the ideal sphere for its satisfaction and development.

5. The teaching of Scripture as to future rest is most explicitly set forth in He 4[1-11] and Rev 14[13]. Taking up the creative rest of God (שָׁבַת) along with the rest referred to in Ps 95[11] (מְנוּחָה) (both words being rendered in LXX καταπαύειν), the author of the Ep. to the Hebrews argues thus: God rested at the creation of the world, and subsequently promised to Israel the rest of a settled abode. That something more than an external rest was, however, implied, is proved by the fact that at a later period He swore that they should not enter into His rest. As that promise still held good and was yet unfulfilled, a Sabbath rest (σαββατισμός) to the people of God remained (He 4[9]), which had been unappropriated or only partially appropriated by the past. Into that rest believers now enter (He 4[3]); but because it is the very rest of God Himself (He 4[10]), its full fruition is yet to come. The rest of the blessed dead is not merely the rest of the grave (Job 3[13. 17]), it is a rest from toils (ἐκ τῶν κόπων, Rev 14[13]), but not from work, a rest only 'from sorrow and trouble and hard service' (Is 14[3]). In all these forms of rest God and man are indissolubly related. The rest of God the Creator is set forth as the condition and type of the rest of man. The rest of J″ is one with that of His people. The rest offered to men by Christ is His own rest, which is also that of His Father. The blessed rest of man is rest in God, with God, nay, the very rest of God. See, also, SABBATH, p 317.

LITERATURE.—Späth in *Schenkel's Bib.-Lex.* vol. v. 118; Cremer, *Bib.-Theol. Lex.*[4] 826–828; Trench, *NT Synonyms*[12], 146, 147; A. B. Davidson, *Hebrews*, 97–101.

JOHN PATRICK.

RESTITUTION.—See CRIMES and next article.

RESTORATION in RV corresponds to 'restitution' in AV, as rendering of the noun *apokatastasis*, which occurs but once in the NT, Ac 3[21] ἀποκατάστασις τῶν πάντων. The times spoken of by the prophets are here described as times of restoration, when Christ shall reign over a kingdom in which none of the consequences of sin will any longer appear. The same word in its verbal form occurs in Mt 17[11] and in the LXX of Mal 4[6] of the moral restoration or spiritual revolution inaugurated or attempted by John the Baptist. This restoration was a foreshadowing of the true *apokatastasis*, which is to be realized in the case of all who will recognize the authority of the Messiah and become members of His kingdom. The word *palingenesia* (παλιγγενεσία) is used by our Lord, Mt 19[28], in precisely the same sense of the restoration of the whole creation. The subject of the new genesis comes under the influence of the transforming power of the Holy Spirit by which he is renewed day by day. See Trench, *Synonyms of the NT*[10], p. 65. The word is also used by Josephus, *Ant.* XI. iii. 9, of the restoration of the country of the Jews under Zerubbabel. It became a favourite term in later Jewish Apocalyptic writings, and was no doubt in common use in the Jewish Apocalypses current in the time of our Lord. That the word should be employed in the Hebrew Gospel of Matthew and not in the writings of the other evangelists is natural enough, so that there is no need of the hypothesis of interpolation, nor yet of the assumption of any particular Jewish-Christian sources. The prophecy of Caiaphas (Jn 11[52]) supposes the offer of the Saviour's salvation to all,—it may be in another state of existence to those who have not had it here,—but not necessarily its acceptance by all. Among the words of Jesus which seem to favour the restorationist view may be mentioned Jn 12[32], where, however, the lifting up, like that of Jn 3[14], effects a *drawing*, which secures salvation only for those who look or believe. It has been maintained, *e.g.* by Pfleiderer (*Paulinism*, i. 274–276), that the idea of a restitution in the sense of a literal restoration of all things is taught by St. Paul in Ro 11[32] and 1 Co 15[22]. But in these passages St. Paul simply insists upon this, that only believers shall share in that perfected kingdom of God in which God is all in all. It might, of course, be argued, if the general scope of Divine revelation would allow of it, that the believers who shall share in those

blessings will at last be found to embrace all mankind. But it cannot be said that these passages contribute any evidence for or against that view. See Weiss, *Biblical Theology of NT*, ii. 73. Such biblical passages were understood by Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Gregory Nazianzen, Gregory of Nyssa, even by Chrysostom (see *Homily* on 1 Co 15^{28}) and other Fathers, by Erigena, most of the mystics and theosophists, as they have been in modern times by Schleiermacher, Erskine of Linlathen, Maurice, Farrar, etc., not as teaching absolutely the final salvation of all men, but as pointing to the ultimate restoration of all as at least a possibility.

In the Pastoral Epistles there are three very interesting passages, 1 Ti 2^4 4^{10}, Tit 2^{10}, in which God's saving will is described as universal. This, however, is the will of God concerning men who are themselves possessors of a will, which may resist and reject as well as accept what the gracious will of God has designed for them. The same explanation must be given of Eph $1^{9.\ 10}$, Col 1^{20}, which represent the gathering into one and reconciling of all as the purpose and good pleasure of God. This Divine plan is realized only in Christ, and applies therefore only to those who are in Christ. What is taken into account here is only God's purpose, and not what is actually realized in the world of human freedom. The whole scope of Scripture shows that the realization of the Divine will regarding man is conditioned by man's voluntary acceptance of the terms proposed. The universal purpose of God is well described by Martensen as 'an ἀποκατάστασις *a parte ante*' which has its development as an ἀποκατάστασις *a parte post*, under condition of man's free will, only when the *possibility* of eternal condemnation has been confessed. He would regard the opposition of biblical passages, on the one hand seemingly universalist, on the other hand seemingly in favour of eternal retribution, as an antinomy like that of freedom and predestination.

It is now generally admitted by the best exegetes of all schools that the doctrine of the restoration of all cannot be supported by NT texts. The ablest and most candid advocates of this theory seek to ground their position on what they regard as necessary conclusions as to the nature and character of God, or on psychological and ethical doctrines of the constitution and destiny of man.

LITERATURE.—Jukes, *The Second Death and the Restitution of all Things*, London (1869), 1888; Martensen, *Christian Dogmatics*, Edin. 1866, pp. 474–484; Farrar, *Eternal Hope*, London, 1878, *Mercy and Judgment*, London, 1881; Pusey, *What is of Faith as to Everlasting Punishment?* London, 1880; Cox, *Salvator Mundi: Is Christ the Saviour of all Men?* London, 1877; Row, *Future Retribution*, London, 1887; Maurice, *Theological Essays*, London, 1854; Fyfe, *The Hereafter*, Edin. 1890; Salmond, *The Christian Doctrine of Immortality*, Edin. 1895, 4th ed. 1901; Beet, *The Last Things*, London, 1897.

J. MACPHERSON.

RESURRECTION. — *Introductory.* — The NT subst. ἀνάστασις from which, through Vulg., we obtain the term 'resurrection,' gives, so far as its strict sense goes, an incomplete account of the Biblical doctrine. The essential idea is restoration of life in its fulness to a person whose existence has not been absolutely cut off, but so mutilated and attenuated as to be unworthy to be described as life. The name 'resurrection' given to this act of God is drawn from the fact which immediately struck the eye in cases where renewal of life took place. The rising up of the body (ἀνέστη, 2 K 13^{21} LXX) is taken as the symbol of the whole fact. But the essential matter is the renewal of life, hence in Rabbinic תְּחִיָּה (revival) is more frequent than תְּקוּמָה (resurrection). See Buxtorf, *s.v.*, who says that some distinguished the former as the proper word to be used of the resurrection of the righteous. Delitzsch in his Hebrew NT frequently renders ἀνάστασις by תְּחִיָּה. Cf. the use of ζωοποιεῖν in Jn 5^{21} and elsewhere. In LXX cf. ζωοποίησις (only in Ezr $9^{8.\ 9}$) used of revival of the nation.

The development of the Biblical doctrine of resurrection starts from a previous belief that death was not the end of existence but was the end of life, a distinction which it is difficult for modern thought to apprehend. This was itself the result of the fusion of two opposing beliefs, as has been ably shown by Charles (*Eschatology*, chs. i.–iii.). On the one side there were survivals of a primitive belief, common to the Hebrews with other nations, according to which the dead were not mere shades, but still active and powerful. On the other side was the teaching of Gn 2^7, that the soul was but the result of the indwelling of the Divine Spirit in the earthly body; leading logically to the conclusion that the withdrawal of the spirit at death must involve the break up of the existence of the individual. But this latter conclusion was not generally adopted, and with certain exceptions (Ec $3^{20.\ 21}$) the soul was believed to persist or subsist after the breath of life had been withdrawn. The question before us, therefore, is not that of the immortality of the soul, which in some form or other is the starting-point, not the subject, of the present inquiry. The advances made by the two peoples, Hebrew and Greek, in the doctrine of a future life show a strong contrast. The Greek advance, represented in Biblical literature by the Bk. of Wisdom only, was due mainly, though not entirely, in the limited circle affected by it, to the consciousness of intellectual vigour and the difficulty of conceiving intellectual activity arrested and annihilated, as in the belief of the Homeric age it undoubtedly was. In the Hebrew advance, it was the development of religious vigour and experience which made men feel that existence in Sheol, as generally understood, could not be their final lot. Again, to the Greek it appeared that the body was in some respects a hindrance to the intellectual life, and that the serenity needed for reflexion was disturbed by bodily passions; hence the resumption of the body presented no attractions. The Hebrew, from his less intellectual point of view, felt nothing of this, and was therefore able to retain his instinctive perception that the body was essential to the life of man, and to require that, if life was to be restored, the body should be restored also. The history of the doctrine of the resurrection in the OT is that of a slow hesitating development. In the NT there is undoubtedly development, but the doctrine is not merely developed within human thought, but revealed to it from without by a fact which assured it—the resurrection of Jesus Christ. In the present article that event will not be dealt with in its historical aspect, nor with regard to its place in Christology and in Christian evidences (see art. JESUS CHRIST), but only in its relation to the doctrine of the resurrection of mankind. The order of treatment will therefore be—(i.) the expectation of resurrection as developed in the OT and Apocrypha; (ii.) the effect on this expectation of (A) the teaching, (B) the resurrection of Jesus; (iii.) the place thenceforward assigned to the doctrine in apostolic teaching.

i. THE EXPECTATION OF RESURRECTION AS DEVELOPED IN THE OT AND APOCRYPHA. — Martha's words, 'I know that he shall rise again in the resurrection in the last day' (Jn 11^{24}), set before us the general belief of the Jews (excluding Sadducees) in the time of Christ.* But how had this belief been arrived at? Its development in OT

* The disciples' inability to understand 'what the rising again from the dead should mean' (Mk 9^{10}) does not controvert the statement above. It arose from their unwillingness to conceive a suffering Messiah, and so to expect His death, which was the necessary preliminary to His rising again.

has been so often and so fully dealt with (*e.g.* Schultz, *OT Theology*, II. ch. xxii.; Salmond, *Chr. Doct. Immortality*, bk. ii.), that only an outline will be necessary.

A. *OLD TESTAMENT.*—1. *Stages of development.*—(*a*) The religious life of the individual Hebrew was subordinate to that of the nation. It is in the sphere of national life that we first find those religious conceptions which ultimately come to be appropriated by the individual, *e.g.* Justification (see Is 45^{25}). This holds good of the expectation of resurrection, and Hos 6^{2} may be taken as a typical passage. Ezk 37 belongs to the same class. One prophecy of national resurrection is of a special and peculiar character, viz. Is 53^{10}. While granting that the Servant of the LORD is primarily Israel idealized, we have here the prolongation of life after death described in so individual a way, that when once the thought is admitted that the Servant is a Person representing the nation, the prophecy becomes a prophecy of individual resurrection. It will be observed that in Hosea and Ezekiel it is a figurative resurrection, namely, the recovery of national life, which is spoken of, and not a literal one, and the whole conception depends on the nation being considered as a person capable of life and death. But it thus becomes clear that the notion of literal resurrection as a possible thing was a very early one, inasmuch as the literal conception of an event must precede its figurative application. The miracles of Elijah and Elisha (1 K 17, 2 K 4), even for those who refuse to accept them as facts, testify to the notion of resurrection being in men's minds. (*b*) The second stage of thought, later in logical if not in chronological order, is a transitional one. In it the notions of individual and national resurrection appear side by side—Is 26^{19}. Compared with 26^{14}, this verse must be understood as a prayer for the resurrection of individuals. See Dillmann, *ad loc.* (*c*) In Dn 12^{2} the resurrection of individuals stands out alone and clear. The passage probably refers to the faithful and the apostates of Maccabæan times (cf. $11^{32ff.}$), and resurrection is predicted for both classes, without, however, any implication of resurrection for Gentiles. The form of expression and its connexion with a time of trouble and deliverance seem to show dependence on Is 26^{16}. The passage likewise introduces for the first time the resurrection of sinful Israelites with a view to retribution.

2. By the side of these stages of thought shown in prophetic utterances we must place the reflexions of psalmists and wise men. They will best be considered under the head of *lines of thought*, in which the doctrine of resurrection was developed. In every case it must be borne in mind that it is not the renewal of an existence which has been cut off, nor merely the restoration of a body which is aspired to, but the deliverance of an existent personality from Sheol, and its re-endowment with life in all its powers and activities. (*a*) *Communion with God.* Of this the psalmists were conscious, yet before them lay Sheol with the entire cessation, according to the popular belief, of any such relation to Him (Ps 6^{5} 30^{9}). Some of them surmount the barrier. Such a communion must partake of the nature of Him who admits it, and therefore be eternal. Two of the psalms which express most strongly the delight of fellowship with God, viz. 16 and 17, are those in which the hope of life after death reaches its least ambiguous expression (16^{10} 17^{15})—least ambiguous, because here and everywhere in similar passages in the Psalms it may possibly be temporary preservation from literal and physical death which is intended, as is certainly the case in Ps 68^{20}. But very widely in the Psalter there exists the feeling that life means more than the continuance of the soul in the body. And this fact should be taken into account in interpreting all Psalm passages in which life and death are referred to. (*b*) *Need of retribution.* Under this head we must consider not only the Psalms but also the Prophets and Job. It makes itself felt in various ways. (1) In connexion with Messianic hopes. The more vivid and glorious these become, the more needful is it that the dead Israelites should not be thought to be debarred from partaking in their fulfilment. The idea of the dispersed who are alive being gathered to partake in the great restoration is abundantly expressed (Is 60 and elsewhere); and it is only a step further to gather them from the underworld for the same purpose. That is indeed the connexion of the prayer and promise in Is 26^{19} and Dn 12^{2}, already cited. The thought comes out much more clearly in Eth. Enoch 51; and when the doctrine of a temporary Messianic reign on earth grows into shape, the resurrection of the righteous to share in it is usually placed at its beginning. Hence arises the expectation of two distinct resurrections, which will be examined below. (2) Besides retribution of blessing for the righteous, retribution for the wicked came also to be felt as a necessity. For the Psalmist it had been enough to pray for vengeance on them in this life, or to think of them as shut up for ever in Sheol (Ps 49^{14}); and for the Prophets it was enough to expect a 'day of the LORD,' in which they would receive their punishment here, and be swept away. But in Dn 12^{2} resurrection for unfaithful Israelites with a view to their punishment appears for the first time, and it is obvious that from this starting-point an expectation of resurrection and judgment for mankind generally would naturally proceed. (*c*) There is another aspect of retribution, which does not look at reward or punishment, but rather at the reversal of mistaken human judgments. There must be a higher tribunal to appeal to, and to reach it man must be brought out of Sheol. Further, the dealings of God Himself require a justification which He cannot fail to give. This is in the main the line of expectation in Job. The sufferer is dying with an unjust condemnation upon him, and with no sign of regard from God. In Sheol he will still be cut off from God. He rises to the thought, and throws out the wish ($14^{13ff.}$), that there may be release from Sheol, and later on is assured that 'his redeemer (*gō'ēl*) lives,' and that he himself will see God (19^{25}). All this implies, first of all, literal death, and then restoration to life after death, *i.e.* resurrection in the proper sense of the word.*

These three tendencies of thought which were at work in the mind of Israel during and after the Exile seem to spring naturally out of the previous OT religion, and not to require any extraneous influence to account for the shape which they took. No doubt, such a passage as *Yasna* lx. 11, 12 is sufficient proof of a clear and lofty doctrine of resurrection in Persian religious thought.† But at the most such belief among their foreign rulers did no more than stimulate the home-born expectation of resurrection in the breast of Israel.

B. *APOCRYPHA.* — The variations which the

* It must be confessed that both the text and the exegesis of this passage are still involved in considerable obscurity. See the *Comm.*, especially those of Dillmann, A. B. Davidson, and Duhm.

† 'In order that our minds may be delighted and our souls the best, let our bodies be glorified as well, and let them, O Muzda, go likewise openly (to Heaven) as the best world of the saints devoted to Ahura, and accompanied by Asha Vahista, who is righteousness the best and most beautiful, and may we see thee and may we approaching come round about thee, and attain to entire companionship with thee.'—*Sacred Bks. of the East*, vol. xxxi. p. 312.

doctrine of resurrection underwent in the inter-Testamental period are various and complicated. Their inconsistencies may be gathered from the brief summary of them in art. ESCHATOLOGY, vol. i. p. 748[b]: for a full account of their phases, Charles, *Eschatology* (Jowett Lecture), chs. v.–viii., should of course be studied. See especially an admirable summary in *Book of Enoch*, ed. Charles, ch. 51, note.

Three of the deutero-canonical books require a few words, viz. Sirach, Wisdom, 2 Maccabees, as representatives of widely divergent views. The earliest of these (Sirach) is on the lines of Ecclesiastes, not rising beyond the old popular conception of Sheol. The immortality of man is distinctly denied in Sir 17[30]. The contrary statement in 19[19] is omitted in BℵAC (followed by RV). It is found, however, in the Complutensian text, and in the very important MS, Ho 248. Apparently, the only immortality expected is (1) that of the nation, and (2) for the individual a good name, 37[26]. The three passages which appear to imply a better hope (46[12] 48[11] 49[10]) are capable of being otherwise interpreted; cf. Schwally, *Das Leben nach dem Tode*, § 40.—In direct opposition to Sirach is Wisdom, see Wis 2[23] 3[1ff.]. But the expectation of immortality in this book is probably drawn from Greek philosophy much more than from Psalms or Prophets. A belief in the pre-existence of souls is held to be involved in it (Wis 8[20]), and resurrection of the body is nowhere contemplated.* —On the other hand, 2 Mac. expresses the assurance of such a resurrection not only as an opinion, but as the motive and support of martyrdom. The persecutor can mutilate the body, but God will restore it intact (2 Mac 7[9] 11[14. 36] 14[46]). And 12[44] shows that the author had a Sadducean denial of resurrection confronting him, such as is implied by the silence of 1 Mac. in regard to everything relating to a future life. Thus we have in these three books severally (1) the ancient view of Sheol as the end of man, (2) the expectation of immortality for the soul alone, (3) belief in the resurrection of the body. It may be added that in 2 Mac. for the first time ἀνάστασις occurs in the Gr. Bible in the sense of 'resurrection' (but cf. Ps 65 title).—2 Es. need not be discussed here, as it is entirely post-Christian. For the pseudepigraphic literature the reader has already been referred to ESCHATOLOGY.

ii. EFFECT OF THE TEACHING AND RESURRECTION OF JESUS ON THE EXPECTATION OF RESURRECTION IN ISRAEL.—In the first place there may be room for doubt as to the precise character of this expectation. May 2 Mac. be taken as the expression of it? Was it regarded as a return to life under previous physical conditions in order to partake in a Messianic kingdom upon the present earth subjugated and renewed? It is to this that a survey of OT prophecy seems to lead, and it is this which seems to be in the minds of the apostles so far as we can judge by their utterances in the Gospels. It has indeed been shown by Charles (*Eschatology*, Jowett Lect. p. 238) that such a view is more properly characteristic of the 2nd cent. B.C. than of the 1st. The portions of Eth. Enoch which belong to the 1st cent. B.C. declare that the Messianic kingdom is of only temporary duration, and that the goal of the risen righteous is not this transitory kingdom, but heaven itself (*op. cit.* p. 201 ff.). Yet the literature of a period is not decisive as to popular belief, and the expectation of the kingdom of God in the Gospels appears to be more in harmony with the earlier eschatology. Even if 'the doctrine of the resurrection current among the cultured Pharisees in the century preceding the Christian era was of a truly spiritual nature,' it had not laid hold of the mass of the people. The character of the resurrection belief to be gathered from the Mishna (for which see Weber, *Jüd. Theol.*[2] pp. 369, 370) is probably better evidence of Jewish popular opinion in the time of Christ than any portion of Eth. Enoch, though it seems too much to say with Weber, that Enoch cannot in any case serve as authority for the exhibition of Jewish theology (*op. cit.* p. xv). Assuming, then, that the popular conception of resurrection was return to life under previous physical conditions in order to participate in a Messianic kingdom, we have to observe how this would be affected by the teaching and resurrection of Jesus.

A. *TEACHING OF JESUS.*—In the Synoptics the resurrection is taken for granted. There the discourses of Jesus seldom if ever communicate doctrine. Doctrine is presupposed. The discourses are practical, and it is in connexion with conduct, and judgment upon conduct, that the resurrection comes before us. However, a new view of life and death is implied in Mt 9[24] 'the damsel is not dead, but sleepeth,' and to enforce this teaching may have been in part the object of the three miracles of raising the dead. There is another more important exception to the absence of direct teaching, the answer to the Sadducees (Mt 22[23-32], Mk 12[18-27], Lk 20[27-38]), which was evidently felt by those who recorded it to be of the highest importance. As an answer to the difficulty raised by the Sadducees, the words of the Lord are in a measure confirmatory of Eth. Enoch 51[4] ('they, *i.e.* the righteous, will all become angels in heaven'). But the Lord goes on to attack the position of His adversaries, and to prove, not indeed that there will be a resurrection, but that the conditions of it exist. The souls of the patriarchs are still truly alive, because acknowledged by God Himself (Ex 3[6]) to be in relation to Him; cf. Lk 1[54. 55. 72]. Their resurrection in the body is indeed a further step, but follows inevitably from the love of God (see Swete on Mk 12[26]). The narrative of Luke extends the thought of this relation of man to God from the souls of the patriarchs to all men, and to this striking utterance St. Paul probably refers in Ro 14[7. 8].—In the Fourth Gospel the treatment of the doctrine of resurrection is different. There it forms part of Christ's doctrinal system, both as to the spiritual revival which is its necessary condition (Jn 5[24. 25]), and as to His own share in effecting it (5[28. 29] 6[39. 40. 44. 54]). In this latter particular we may compare the expectation of Eth. Enoch, which had connected the resurrection with the coming of the Son of Man (Eth. Enoch 51[1] 61[5]). This claim of Christ is concentrated in the words, 'I am the resurrection and the life,' Jn 11[25]. In Martha's words and Christ's reply the old and the new doctrines meet, and the old is taken up and transformed into the new, losing nothing and gaining much. A serious difficulty, however, arises on this teaching. If resurrection is presented (Jn 6[40]) as the necessary ultimate result of believing on the Son of God, the resurrection of unbelievers must, it is evident, stand on some other footing. To deny it altogether would be to fall into the fallacy of arguing from denial of the antecedent to denial of the consequent. But it must clearly be different in character. What is the difference? The question will recur below in considering St. Paul's presentation of the doctrine in Ro 8[11]. A resurrection of the wicked is plainly presupposed in Christ's teaching as to the Judgment, Mt 25[32ff.].

* Teichmann (*Die Paulinischen Vorstellungen von Auferstehung und Gericht*) endeavours to show that in 2 Co 5 St. Paul has abandoned his early Judaic belief in a literal resurrection, under the influence of Hellenic thought, and especially of the Book of Wisdom, cf. 9[15]. See pp. 11–75 for the whole argument, which, though ingeniously worked out, is nevertheless unconvincing.

It is, moreover, distinctly affirmed in Jn 5[28. 29]. The excision of these verses as proposed by some critics (Charles, *Eschatology*, p. 371) is an arbitrary method of getting rid of the difficulty. The solution seems to lie in the doctrine of two resurrections different in nature if not in date, which is implied in Lk 14[14] 20[35], where see Plummer's notes (*Internat. Crit. Comm.* on Luke). The causation, so to speak, of the resurrection of the righteous from the dead (ἡ ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀνάστασις) will be different from that of the rising of the wicked, though in both cases it proceeds from Christ as its author.

B. *Resurrection of Jesus, and its Effect on the Doctrine of Resurrection.*—Of greater moment than any result of verbal teaching was the change in the doctrine produced by the resurrection of Jesus. The Jewish expectation, if it has been rightly estimated above (i. A.), would have been fulfilled by a return to life such as that of Lazarus, with a body subject to all its previous conditions. This and the two preceding raisings from the dead had appeared to confirm the popular view. And the Lord Himself had accommodated His teaching to the same expectation in Mt 18[8], though, as we have seen, He had incidentally rebuked it in Lk 20[35]. But when He had risen, it was clear that the body with which He had risen was in some ways released from previous material conditions. He could pass through a closed sepulchre (implied by Mt 28[2]), and closed doors (Jn 20[26]), and be present at no great interval in different and distant places (cf. Lk 24[15] and 24[34]). It was the same and yet with a certain difference which was enough in some cases to delay or hinder recognition (Mk 16[12], Jn 20[14] 21[4]). As against this alteration in the character of His risen body, it might be urged that He asked for and received food (Lk 24[41ff.], Ac 10[41]). But in these cases the purpose of the moment was to convince the disciples that what they saw was not a phantom; cf. Mt 14[26]. This, with a view to the persons dealt with, could best be done by taking food. If there be resurrection of the body, there is no reason why such a body should not have the power of taking food without depending on it. Once cross the boundary of the present sphere of existence, and we are in a realm where we can no longer say 'this is impossible.' Indeed it was the reality and identity of His risen body which the Lord had to insist on; the difference was evident, and spoke for itself. To sum up, the effects of His resurrection were these—(1) It assured men of what till then had been a hope imperfectly supported by Scripture warrant, and therefore contested by an influential school of thought (the Sadducees). (2) It raised and enlarged that hope; cf. 1 P 1[3]. Whatever influence the lofty predictions of Eth. Enoch (*Similitudes*) may have had among the studious and learned, it is probable that the people generally had interpreted resurrection as a renewal of this present life under its previous conditions. Christ's resurrection showed that it meant entry into an entirely new phase of existence. (3) It brought the doctrine of resurrection from the background of religious thought to the very front. The gospel of Jesus Christ demanded acceptance on the ground of His resurrection. It was that which declared (ὁρίζειν) Him to be the Son of God (Ro 1[4]), and set the final seal of Divine acceptance on His teaching and life; and, as was afterwards realized, on the sacrifice of His death. The gospel which the apostles preached was the gospel of the resurrection (cf. Ac 4[2]), though this combination of words does not actually occur. Confession of Jesus as Lord, and belief in His resurrection, are the only things necessary for salvation, Ro 10[9].

iii. The Place thereafter assigned to the Doctrine of the Resurrection of the Dead in Apostolic Teaching.—To this the preceding remarks naturally lead us on. In two respects the doctrine presented itself to men of the apostolic age differently from the way in which we regard it. (1) To the apostles the expectation of the Second Coming in their own lifetime, arising from such sayings as Mt 24[34], superseded in some measure the expectation of resurrection for themselves and for those whom they addressed, yet the strong Sadducean opposition to the gospel is expressly attributed to the apostles' teaching as to the resurrection (Ac 4[2]). (2) On the other hand, the sense of the new life imparted to them by the words of Christ and the gift of the Spirit, with the example before them in the Person of Christ of how this life could triumph over death, made the resurrection in its aspect of quickening (ζωοποιεῖσθαι) an already present fact. They were already risen with Christ, death was brought to nought (2 Ti 1[10]), and the subject of their preaching was 'this life' (ἡ ζωὴ αὕτη, Ac 5[20]). But for later ages of the Church the literal resurrection has appeared to be the important thought, and the mystical resurrection has lost the freshness which it had when grown men entered by baptism into the new life, from the bondage of Judaism or the superstition and vice of heathenism (Ro 6[4. 5]). But the question as to apostolic teaching is really not a general one, but special, and to be answered almost entirely from the Pauline Epistles. The Catholic Epistles and Hebrews contribute very little. It is when St. Paul turns to the Gentiles that the doctrine of the resurrection assumes a fresh prominence. It is not merely, as in Judæa, that witness must be given that Jesus is risen, to men who expect already resurrection for themselves; but the idea of resurrection is here a new one, and there is no previous belief in which the resurrection of the Lord can find its place. Popular Hellenic thought on the subject was vague, and apparently but little influenced by the doctrine of retribution taught in the mysteries (Salmond, *Chr. Doct. Immortality*, p. 135 note). Philosophic thought was simply concerned with the possible immortality of the soul, and uniformly discarded the prospect of a renewed existence in the body except by way of transmigration, a totally different conception from that of resurrection. In his discourse at Athens, St. Paul carried the Stoics with him throughout, until he came to the words 'in that he raised him from the dead,' Ac 17[31]. Then some mocked, and Paul departed from among them. Hence in both his Epistles to the most distinctly Greek of the Churches which he addresses (Corinth), St. Paul enters fully on the question of resurrection. It was apparently at Corinth, first of all, that the mystical sense of resurrection, described above, usurped the place of the literal sense. It is to St. Paul that we owe the clear presentation of both the literal and the mystical views of resurrection as truly compatible. As examples of the mystical sense, besides Ro 6[4. 5] (already referred to), we have Col 2[12] 3[1], Eph 2[5f.]. The last-named passage carries the mystical union with Christ beyond His resurrection to His ascension. And it is in reference to the mystical resurrection that we are to understand the baptismal hymn, 'Awake thou that sleepest, and arise from the dead, and Christ shall shine upon thee,' Eph 5[14]. It is easy to see how such language, if it stood alone and without its complement, might give occasion to the teaching of Hymenæus and Philetus that the resurrection was past already, 2 Ti 2[18]. It was therefore absolutely necessary for St. Paul to emphasize also the literal sense of the doctrine, which he does in 1 Th 4[16], 2 Co 5, Ph 3[21], but especially in 1 Co 15[12-58]. In the latter passage he first shows that faith in the re-

surrection of the dead is vital to the gospel, because the resurrection of Christ is vital to it, and that cannot be maintained if the resurrection of those who are in Christ is denied. Then he meets the difficulties which Greek thought, more subtle and critical than Jewish, felt so strongly—'How are the dead raised, and with what manner of body do they come?'

In further examination of the Pauline doctrine, three questions will present themselves, which must be dealt with successively—(1) In what respects, if at all, does the teaching of St. Paul on the subject go beyond the teaching of Christ? (2) Is his teaching consistent with itself? (3) Does it include a doctrine of two resurrections?

(1) The principal thought which we owe to 1 Co 15 is that of a spiritual (*πνευματικόν*) as distinguished from a natural (*ψυχικόν*) body, namely, a body which is adapted to be the organ of a personality in which it is no longer the soul (*ψυχή*) but the spirit (*πνεῦμα*), which is supreme. This is in full correspondence with the account given in the Gospels of the risen Christ, but needed to be definitely stated (cf. 1 P 3^{18} RV). The analogies by which the possibility of such a body is indicated (vv.$^{39-41}$) are to be regarded as (*a*) popular illustrations, (*b*) examples of the inexhaustible resources of God, and are not adduced as arguments. The crux of the doctrine is, 'What continuity is there between the natural body resigned at death, and the spiritual body received at the resurrection?' For this, another analogy is brought forward—that of the seed and the wheat plant; and here again we have an illustration which must not be pressed too closely. It does not imply that the writer believed that there really is as it were a seed in the dead body out of which the new body will be developed (cf. Weber, *Jüd. Theol.*^{2} p. 369; Hughes, *Dict. Islam*, art. 'Resurrection'). Nor do St. Paul's words necessarily imply that view of the doctrine which from the Apologists onwards was general in the Catholic Church, namely, that the matter which constituted the former body at the time of death will be collected, and that the former body will thus be reproduced in all its members. The passage lends itself quite as readily to Origen's suggestion of a 'ratio quæ salva est' (Or. *de Principiis*, II. x. 3); see Westcott, *Gospel of Resurrection*, ii. § 7. In considering the difficulties attending the idea of the preservation of identity in the body, it must not be forgotten that difficulties also attend the conception of a continuous identity of the soul.

(2) *Is St. Paul's teaching consistent with itself?*—It is urged by Teichmann (*op. cit.*) that St. Paul's view in 1 Thess. is purely Judaic (*echt Jüdische*). It is true that he says nothing in 1 Thess. of the 'change' which is so prominent in the teaching of 1 Co 15, but this is no proof that it did not then form part of his expectation. 1 Co 15 is described by the same writer as 'a compromise'; and strongly contrasted with 2 Co 5, a contrast which must now be examined. (*a*) In 2 Co 5^2 the resurrection body is described as 'our habitation which is from heaven,' an expression which is not strictly consistent with the resurrection or retention of the former body as in 1 Co 15. But the inconsistency is no more than is allowable in speaking of a really indescribable event. The notion of a previously prepared body brought to the soul to be animated by it surely could not have definitely presented itself to the apostle's mind without being at once discarded. And it is further to be observed that vv.$^{1.2}$ have verbal coincidences with Mk 14^{58}, which, although a partly inaccurate statement of Christ's words, may very well have been known to St. Paul and have influenced his choice of expressions. (*b*) 2 Co 5^1 has been held to imply that St. Paul expected the resurrection body immediately upon his death. But this is not proved by his use of the present tense (*ἔχομεν*), which only expresses the certainty of his hope. Nor is it proved by *ἐὰν καταλυθῇ*, for *ἐάν* need not here, as in some cases, be rendered 'whenever,' but may retain its strictly conditional force, and so express the doubt which St. Paul still felt as to whether his 'earthly house' will really be dissolved by death, or be changed at the Lord's coming without dissolution. Nor, again, does his expectation of being with the Lord as soon as he leaves the body (5^8) imply that his resurrection would then take place (if indeed the term 'resurrection' be applicable to such a view, which is hardly the case), for, in another Epistle in which he expresses the same expectation of being immediately with Christ in case of death (Ph 1^{23}), he makes it perfectly clear that the change of the body of humiliation into the body of glory does not occur until the Second Coming (Ph $3^{20f.}$). It may be replied that the change described in Ph $3^{20f.}$ refers only to those who shall be alive at the Coming, among whom St. Paul has again begun to include himself (cf. Ph 1^{25}). But this can hardly be pressed in face of his definite expectation for himself of resurrection from the dead in Ph 3^{11}. We therefore conclude that he expects to be with the Lord before the Parousia in a disembodied state. Teichmann's arguments are largely based on a detached note on 2 Co 5 in Schmiedel's *Hand-Commentar*, pp. 200–202, and on Schmiedel's exegesis generally. It should be added as a supplementary consideration that the supposed abandonment by St. Paul of belief in an intermediate state would present a serious difficulty in view of the miracles of raising the dead recorded in NT. It is surely inconceivable that a soul already invested with a glorified body should be recalled to exchange it for an earthly one.

(3) *The two resurrections.*—We have already seen under OT that this expectation belongs to the earlier stages of the doctrine. First came the hope of resurrection for righteous Israelites, and it was only by degrees that the expectation was extended to wicked Israelites, and afterwards to the Gentiles. In Lk 14^{14} we have perhaps some sanction given to a distinction between the resurrection of the righteous and that of the wicked, and in Lk 20^{35} they that are accounted worthy to attain that world and the 'resurrection from the dead' are spoken of as (all of them) 'sons of God.' The conclusion to be drawn is, not that Christ taught that only the righteous will be raised, but that their resurrection is to be thought of as separate from that of the wicked. This distinction seems to be confirmed by Jn 5^{29}, and to be followed by St. Paul in Ac 24^{15}. With this clue we can scarcely fail to see the same thought in 1 Th 4^{16}, where the resurrection of the dead in Christ is spoken of quite without reference to any general resurrection, though this must not be inferred from the word 'first.' This word is correlative to 'then' (*ἔπειτα*), which introduces as the second event the 'rapture' of the living. Again, in 1 Co $15^{23.\ 24}$ there seems to be a distinction between the phrases 'they that are Christ's' and 'the end,' which latter expression may cover the general resurrection and the judgment. Lightfoot (on Ph 3^{11}) distinguishes firmly between *ἡ ἐξανάστασις ἡ ἐκ νεκρῶν*, *ἀνάστασις ἐκ νεκρῶν* on the one side, and *ἡ ἀνάστασις τῶν νεκρῶν* on the other; the former two phrases being equivalent to *ἀνάστασις ζωῆς*, and the latter phrase to *ἀνάστασις κρίσεως*, Jn 5^{29}. And indeed it would be hard to explain St. Paul's words, Ph 3^{11} 'if by any means I may attain,' if we suppose that what he desired to attain to was merely that resurrection which is certain for all. The only other explanation of such an aspiration

is that he had given up belief in a resurrection of the wicked. On the whole, it appears that there must be some distinctive character in the resurrection to life, both as to causation and nature, which has not yet been brought out adequately in theology. Thus we are led to return to the difficulty stated above (ii. A) as arising from the teaching of the Lord in Jn 5 and 6. Christ's promise to raise His hearers in the last day is conditioned by belief on the Son (Jn 6^{40}), and their resurrection is represented as an act of grace extended to them by Christ (Jn 5^{21}, $6^{44.\ 54}$), although it is also said that 'all who are in the tombs shall hear his voice and shall come forth' (5^{29}). Now St. Paul's teaching distinctly follows the same line: 'He that raised up Christ Jesus from the dead shall quicken also your mortal bodies through (or because of) his Spirit which dwelleth in you' (Ro 8^{11}), which limits this Divine operation to those in whom the Holy Spirit dwells. 1 Co 15^{44-46} is a fuller statement of the same thought. The body there spoken of is spiritual, *i.e.* a fit organ for the spirit, a description which cannot refer to any but the saved. 1 Co 15^{22} has been quoted on the other side as proving that all (both righteous and wicked) shall be made alive in Christ. But 'all' probably means all who are already in relation to Christ as believers. See Meyer, *Kommentar*[8], ed. Heinrici, on the verse. It must be acknowledged that the line of teaching in the above passages makes strongly at first sight for a resurrection of the righteous only, and, in short, for the doctrine of conditional immortality. But inasmuch as this view can be carried through only by dint of very rough dealing with the text of the NT in several passages, *e.g.* Jn 5^{29}, it may be concluded that while 'life' (Jn 6^{40}) and its equivalent, the indwelling Spirit (Ro 8^{11}), are both the cause and the earnest of resurrection for believers, they are nevertheless not indispensable to such a resurrection as is involved in the presentation of the rest of mankind in an embodied state before their Judge.

(4) From the doctrine of two resurrections, in whatever form it be accepted, arises the question, Will there be an interval between them, and if so what occurs in it? 1 Co 15^{24-26}, arguing from Ps 110^{1}, seems to imply that there is an interval during which Christ subdues all His enemies. A much more definite statement occurs in Rev 20^{4-6}, where the interval is a thousand years—'the rest of the dead lived not till the thousand years should be finished.' In this passage the first resurrection is placed at the beginning of the millennium, and at the end of it follows not a second resurrection but the 'second death.' It is beyond the scope of this article to show that in the first three centuries belief in a millennial reign of Christ on earth was generally accepted in the Church. See esp. Justin, *Dial.* lxxx. 1; Iren. v. 33 ff. The interpretation given by Augustine* to Rev 20^{1} is that the first resurrection is the spiritual awakening which began to work in mankind after the coming of Christ, *i.e.* the resurrection in its mystical aspect; and that the millennium of Rev 20 is the period from that awakening onwards. He supports this explanation of the reign of the saints by the constant use in NT of 'kingdom' as equivalent to the Church militant. This is hardly satisfactory as an exposition of the passage in question. It is rather an exposition of passages in the Prophets and the sayings of Christ which underlie Rev 20; and as such it has real value. The history of the Church has been a history of the subjugation of the world to Christ, slow but progressive. Such a view, however, if adopted in reference to Rev 20, would contradict the identification of 'the first resurrection' with 'the resurrection of the just,' which must, so far as we can see, be taken in other passages to mean a literal resurrection. The interpretation of Rev 20 is beset with difficulties and contradictions, which are well stated by Milligan, *Lectures on Apoc.*, Lect. vi. The suggestion of a considerable interval of time between the resurrection of the just and that of the unjust has therefore no secure basis. The significant contribution of the Apocalypse is the clearness with which the resurrection of the wicked for judgment appears in it, which can hardly be dismissed on the ground that the book is ultra-Judaic. See, further, art. MILLENNIUM.

There remains to be dealt with in a few words what is probably the latest book in the Canon (1 Jn 3^{2}). St. John first disclaims knowledge of the nature and conditions of our future state, and then in three words, ὅμοιοι αὐτῷ ἐσόμεθα ('we shall be like him'), gives the substance of the Christian doctrine of the resurrection of the dead. Our resurrection will be on the pattern, so to speak, of His. Not only does His resurrection answer all doubts as to the possibility of resurrection for us, but it also answers sufficiently the questions in which those doubts express themselves, namely, as to 'how' and 'wherewith.' In one respect the parallel between His resurrection and ours appears to fail. But a little reflexion will show that the difference involved in the reanimation of a body not yet decayed, as was the case in His resurrection, and the clothing of the soul with a body which has to be reconstituted, is of no great weight, inasmuch as the change which passed on the Lord's human body at resurrection must have been of so fundamental a character, that although outward identity was preserved, yet the natural body had given place to something wholly different.

The extenuation of the Christian doctrine of the resurrection of the dead into a natural or conferred immortality of the soul to avoid perplexities arising from the limitation of our knowledge, evacuates the force of St. Paul's teaching as to the ideal sanctity of the human body, *e.g.* 1 Co 6^{14}, and sacrifices the moral value of a sense of its high destiny. Again, it breaks up the Pauline conception of man as body, soul, and spirit, all capable of being preserved entire without blame (1 Th 5^{23}). Even if we hesitate to accept St. Paul's psychology, we must confess that the only self which we know is a self constituted of body as well as soul. St. Paul's expression of Christian hope is not deliverance from the body, but redemption of the body. The redemption of the body is the last stage in the great process of adoption (υἱοθεσία) by which we are made 'sons of God' (Ro 8^{23}).

LITERATURE.—W. R. Alger, *Critical History of the Doctrine of a Future Life*, with Bibliography by Ezra Abbott (the latter also pub. separately); Schultz, *OT Theology* (Eng. tr.), vol. ii. pp. 382-398; Beyschlag, *NT Theology* (Eng. tr.); Schürer, *HJP* § 29, 'Messianic Hope'; Schwally, *Das Leben nach dem Tode*; Teichmann, *Die Paulinischen Vorstellungen von Auferstehung und Gericht*; Cheyne, *Origin of the Psalter*, Lect. viii. part ii.; Commentaries on 1 and 2 Co, especially Meyer's *Kommentar*, ed. Heinrici, Schmiedel's *Hand-Commentar*, and Klöpper's *Second Corinthians*; articles in Herzog, *PRE*[2], by Kübel, and in Hauck, *PRE*[3], by Schaeder; articles on ESCHATOLOGY in present work; Westcott, *The Gospel of the Resurrection*; Sir G. G. Stokes, *Immortality of the Soul* (a short pamphlet). By far the most important modern works are Salmond's *Christian Doctrine of Immortality*; and, on different lines, Charles' *Eschatology, Hebrew, Jewish, and Christian*, with which should be read the same author's *Book of Enoch*. See also Thackeray's *Relation of St. Paul to Contemp. Jewish Thought*, ch. v. (published after the foregoing art. was in type). Fuller accounts of the literature will be found at the end of the three articles on ESCHATOLOGY.

E. R. BERNARD.

REU (רְעוּ); LXX and NT Ῥαγαύ, hence AV in Lk

* 'De hoc ergo regno militiæ, in quo adhuc cum hoste confligitur, et aliquando repugnatur pugnantibus vitiis, aliquando et cedentibus imperatur, donec veniatur ad illum pacatissimum regnum, ubi sine hoste regnabitur; et *de hac prima resurrectione quæ nunc est*, liber iste (*sc.* Apoc.) sic loquitur.'—Aug. *de Civ. Dei*, xx. 9; and see also vi.–x., which are full of interest throughout.

3[35] Ragau).—The son of Peleg, Gn 11[18-21], 1 Ch 1[25], Lk 3[35]. The ethnological signification of the name is uncertain. Von Bohlen has even suggested its identity with *Rhages* in Media; Ewald (*Hist.* i. 268, Eng. tr.) conjectures *Arghana* at the sources of the Tigris; some think of *Rughwa* in the Shammar mountains in Arabia (see Sprenger, *Geog. Arab.* 233, 294), others of the Aramæan *Ru'ua* in S. Babylonia, often mentioned in the Assyrian inscriptions from the time of Tiglath-pileser II. onwards (see Delitzsch, *Paradies*, 238 ff.; Schrader, *KAT*[2] 117 [*COT* i. 102]). Mez (*Gesch. der Stadt Ḥarrân*, 23) makes Reu the name of a god; but see Dillm. *Genesis, ad loc.* J. A. SELBIE.

REUBEN (רְאוּבֵן; LXX Ῥουβήν [E in Gn 30[14] Ῥουβίμ]; but Jos. *Ant.* I. xix. 7, etc. Ῥούβηλος, Syr. [Lee] ܪܘܒܝܠ; *Rûbîl*, and similarly [so Dillmann on Gn 29[32]] in Arab. and Eth. Versions and some Gr. MSS Ῥουβίλ, Ῥουβήλ).—The etymology is quite uncertain; MT spelling makes the name = 'Behold a son.' Gn 29[32], playing upon the form of the word, finds in it a suggestion of 'He hath looked upon my distress' (*rā'āh bə'onyî*), and possibly also of 'He will love me' (*ye'ĕhābhanî*). Josephus (*l.c.*) states that the word meant, 'It had happened to her according to the compassion of God,' *i.e. El*. None of these derivations are probable. Baethgen (*Beiträge*, p. 159) prefers the reading Reuben, and sees in it a strengthened form of the Arabic proper name *Ru'ba*, found in an African inscription as the name (in the form *Rubatis*) of a Palmyrene. If *Reubel* is read, he would explain it as *re'u-bel* or *re'u-b-el*, 'seen by [cared for by] Bel or El,' and not, as some have taken it (with Gad and Asher), as the name of a god. Dillmann (on Gn 29[32]) prefers the reading *Reubel*, and connects it with Arab. *ri'bâl*, 'wolf'; Ball (on Gn 29[32], *SBOT*) suggests a connexion with the Egyptian *ra-uban*, but prefers to derive from Arab. *ra'ûb*, 'a chief who mends matters, a big, portly chief,' from *ra'ba*, 'to mend.' The form רב-אל occurs as a proper name in Aramaic inscriptions (Lidzbarski, p. 367); and it seems possible that, whichever reading is preferred, the root רב 'great' underlies the word (note Reuben's position as firstborn). Cf. Lagarde, *Onom. Sacra*, *s.v.*; Gray, *HPN* pp. 65, 124.

In J, Reuben is the firstborn of Jacob, and the son of Leah, Gn 29[32]; he finds mandrakes for her, 30[14]; and lies with Bilhah, the slave-girl whom Rachel gave to Jacob as a concubine, 35[22]. Perhaps in the original narrative of J this episode was placed after Jacob's death, and was a legitimate incident of Reuben's succession to his father (Addis, but cf. below). In the Blessing of Jacob (possibly incorporated by J in his work), Gn 49[3f.], in the text as it stands, Reuben is the firstborn, and is denounced for the act of incest.

In E, Reuben appears only in the story of Joseph, as making an unsuccessful attempt to save him from his other brothers, 37[22. 29],* and as offering his sons as pledges for the safety of Benjamin.

In P, Reuben is Leah's son and Jacob's firstborn, 35[23], 46[8. 9] = R, etc., 1 Ch 2[1]. Gn 48[5] apparently implies that the birthright was transferred from Reuben and Simeon to Ephraim and Manasseh. This is expressly stated of Reuben in 1 Ch 5[1], and his incest is given as the reason.

Reuben is often regarded as merely the eponymous ancestor of the tribe, and the primitive traditions as tribal history cast in the form of personal narrative. See next article.

W. H. BENNETT.

REUBEN (Tribe), REUBENITES, CHILDREN OF REUBEN, derivatives, etc., of *Reuben, Roubel*, etc.—(Cf., throughout, GAD for the treatment of matters common to the two tribes, which is not, as a rule, repeated here).

i. EARLY HISTORY.—The relation of Reuben to the other tribes is indicated genealogically by the statement that Reuben was the firstborn, the son of Leah, that he committed incest with Bilhah, and that the birthright was transferred to Ephraim and Manasseh; *i.e.* in early times Reuben was the most powerful tribe and enjoyed the hegemony, which passed at a later period to Ephraim and Manasseh. The incest incident is variously interpreted. Either the tribe retained a lax sexual morality abandoned by its fellows; or it in some way assailed the rights of the Bilhah tribes, Dan and Naphtali. If the latter view is taken, the reference must be to events before the Exodus; otherwise it is impossible to determine whether these traditions refer to events before or after the Conquest. In the narrative of the rebellion of the Reubenite chiefs Dathan and Abiram against Moses (Nu 16, JE), we may have a reminiscence of an attempt of Reuben to assert its ancient rights as premier tribe.

As a 'son' of Leah, Reuben is grouped with Simeon, Levi, Judah, Issachar, Zebulun, and Dinah. This arrangement does not agree with any known geographical or political conditions, and may be a reminiscence of the state of affairs before the Exodus.

In P, etc. (Gn 46[9], Ex 6[14], Nu 26[5], 1 Ch 5[3]), the sons or clans of Reuben are Hanoch, Pallu, Hezron, and Carmi; and, at the Exodus, the prince of Reuben is Elizur ben-Shedeur (Nu 1[5] 2[10] 7[30] 10[18]), and the Reubenite spy is Shammua ben-Zaccur (Nu 13[4]). Buchanan Gray (*HPN* p. 197) is inclined to regard Shaddaiur [Shedeur] as one of a set of names which are 'archaic artificial formations,' not improbably created by the author of P, rather than 'names actually current at any period.' He seems to favour a similar view as to Elizur (p. 199). P also tells us that Reuben numbered 46,500 (Nu 1[21] 2[11]) at the first census, and at the second 43,730 (Nu 26[7]). Reuben occupies the first place in Nu 1[5. 20] 26[5], but the fourth place in 2[10] 7[30] 10[18]. In the order of marching in the wilderness, Reuben headed the 'camp of Reuben,' which was on the south side, and also included Gad and Simeon, Nu 2[10].

ii. THE CONQUEST.—Reuben was associated with Gad in the occupation of Eastern Palestine, in co-operation with the other tribes in the Conquest of the West, and in the return across the Jordan, and the various incidents connected with the erection of a great altar (see GAD ii.).

iii. THE TERRITORY OF REUBEN; cf. GAD iii., *Map* and *Table of Cities*.—Besides minor references, we have two main accounts of the territory: (*a*) Nu 32[37. 38] (JE) 'The Reubenites built Heshbon, Elealeh, Kiriathaim, Nebo, Baal-meon (their names being changed), and Sibmah: and gave other names* unto the cities which they builded.' These cities lie in a district about midway between the Jabbok and the Arnon, but nearer to the southern stream. Dibon and Aroer, given to Gad in the preceding paragraph, are to the south of the Reubenite cities; so that the territory of Reuben seems to have been an *enclave* in that of Gad. There is no trace of these cities being called by different names either before or after—*Beth-baal-meon* is only a variant of *Baal-meon*. The writer cannot intend to tell us that the Reubenites gave to their cities the names of foreign gods, Nebo and Baal; so that those given are the ancient names, and the new names are not mentioned here or anywhere else. Perhaps, as Dillmann suggests, the writer meant that the Reubenites did not use such

* In 37[21] *Reuben* has been substituted for *Judah* by an editor.

* 'Gave other names' often omitted by critics as a gloss.

names, but substituted others unconnectedwith the worship of false gods. This list may indicate the geographical relations of Gad and Reuben at some flourishing period of the Israelite monarchy. (*b*) Jos 13, P (using earlier sources?). The northern boundary of Reuben is a line drawn about E.N.E. eastwards from the northern end of the Dead Sea, or due E. from some point on the Jordan a little farther north. The line passed a little north of Heshbon. The W. boundary is the Dead Sea and the Jordan, the S. boundary is the Arnon, the E. boundary is not defined. As far as they have been identified, the cities assigned to Reuben elsewhere in P (Jos 20. 21) and in 1 Ch 6 fall in this district. The statements of P may not rest upon any actual knowledge of historical geography, but state a theory as to the legitimate claims of Reuben. (*c*) In 1 Ch $5^{3.\ 12}$ the Chronicler (so Kittel, *SBOT*) tells us that a Reubenite clan Joel (so apparently) occupied Aroer, as far as Nebo and Baal-meon; but also mentions a Gadite clan Joel. If these statements rest on ancient tradition, we have a trace of the confusion arising from the close association of the two tribes: clans and territories were reckoned sometimes to the one, sometimes to the other.

The district assigned to Reuben is described under MOAB.

iv. HISTORY AFTER THE CONQUEST.—It is difficult to determine how far Reuben had a history separate from that of Gad. In Nu 32 and in the narratives in Joshua, Reuben and Gad are constantly associated, and, as we have seen, were somewhat intermingled in their territorial settlements. This relationship probably arose out of the arrangements made during the period of the Conquest, and were not due to any previous special connexion between the two tribes; Reuben is a 'son' of Leah, Gad of Zilpah, Rachel's slave. P's usual grouping (Nu 2^{10} etc.)—Reuben, Simeon, Gad—in the history of the Exodus is a reflexion of later conditions. Reuben and Gad [Gilead] are mentioned consecutively in the Song of Deborah as having both held aloof from the war against Sisera. The two tribes are also associated in 2 K 10^{33} as 'smitten' by Hazael, and in 1 Ch 5^{26} as carried captive by Tiglath-pileser. On the other hand, they are kept quite separate in the Blessing of Jacob (Gn 49) and the Blessing of Moses (Dt 33); and the latter document shows us that Gad was flourishing when Reuben had been reduced to insignificance. Probably Gad and Reuben were associated at the Conquest, and through the proximity of their territories; but, after the Conquest, the prevailing tendency to lapse from national unity to tribal isolation loosened the ties between the two eastern tribes, till Reuben was overwhelmed by some catastrophe, and its remnants became absorbed in Gad.

Apparently, at and immediately after the Conquest, Reuben was still an important tribe. In the Song of Deborah it is referred to before Gad, and at greater length—

> 'By the watercourses of Reuben
> There were great resolves of heart.
> Why satest thou among the sheepfolds,
> To hear the pipings for the flocks?
> At the watercourses of Reuben
> There were great searchings of heart.
> Gilead abode beyond Jordan' (Jg $5^{15\text{-}17}$).*

Thus, at this time, Reuben was still much occupied with flocks and herds, perhaps altogether a pastoral, semi-nomadic people; and was too little interested in its western kinsfolk to join the muster against Sisera.

In Jg 20. 21 (R^{Px} on JE) the eastern tribes take part in the war against Benjamin. The Blessing of Jacob, a document of the early monarchy (B.C. 1000–850), opens by referring to Reuben; thus, according to MT—

> 'Reuben, thou art my firstborn, my might, and the beginning of my strength;
> The pre-eminence of dignity, and the pre-eminence of power.
> Uncontained as water, thou shalt not have the pre-eminence;
> Because thou wentest up to thy father's bed:
> Then defiledst thou it: he went up to my couch.'

The sense is obscure, and the text doubtful; but the lines seem to suggest that at this time Reuben was still powerful; but in bad odour with the

* Moore (*PB*) emends the text and translates—

> 'Great were the dissensions in the divisions of Reuben.
> Why didst thou remain amid ash-heaps,
> Listening to pipings at sheepfolds?
> Gilead sat still beyond Jordan.'

TABLE OF CITIES ASSIGNED TO REUBEN.

	Assigned to									Remarks.
	Reuben.					Gad.	Moab.			
	Nu $32^{37.\ 38}$.	Jos $13^{15\text{-}23}$.	Jos 20^{8}.	Jos $21^{36.\ 37}$.	1 Ch 5^{8}.		Is 15. 16, etc.	Jer 48.	Stone.	
Aroer		?[a]		=1 Ch $6^{78.\ 79}$	*	Nu 32^{34}		*	*	[a] '*from.*'
Ashdoth-pisgah[b]		*								[b] RV 'slopes of Pisgah.'
Bamoth-baal		*							*[c]	[c] Beth Baal.
Beth-baal-meon	*[d]	*			*[d]		Ezk 25^{9}[d]	*[e]	*	[d] Baal-meon.
Beth-jeshimoth		*					Ezk 25^{9}			[e] Beth-meon.
Beth-peor		*								
Bezer			*	*	*			*[f]	*	[f] Bozrah.
Dibon		*				Nu 32^{34} $33^{45.\ 46}$	*	*	*	
Elealeh	*						*	*		
Heshbon	*	*				Jos 20^{8} 21^{39}	*	*		
Jah(a)z(ah)		*		*			*	*	*[g]	[g] Taken from Israel.
Kedemoth		*		*						
Kiriathaim	*	*						*	*	
Medeba		*					*		*[g]	
Mephaath		*		*				*		
Nebo	*						*	*	*[g]	
Sibmah	*	*					*	*		
Zereth-shahar		*								

other tribes, possibly on account of lax sexual morality (Dillmann), or for political reasons, or because the tribe had in some way violated some Israelite tradition as to religious observances. Jos 22 may be based on some such reminiscences.

Another view is that these lines are an explanation, after the event, of the ruin of the tribe; but, if this were the case, we should expect some more definite and circumstantial reference to the calamity.

In 1 Ch $5^{9f. 18-22}$, according to Kittel (*SBOT*), part of the material added by the Chronicler to his sources, we read that, in the time of Saul, the Reubenites had much cattle, and in conjunction with Gad and Eastern Manasseh possessed themselves of the cattle and conquered the territory of the Hagrites, and 'dwelt in their stead till the Captivity' (see HAGRITES). The same stratum of Chronicles (so Kittel) makes the following statements as to the Reubenites in the reign of David. In 1 Ch $12^{23. 37}$ amongst the Israelites who came to David at Hebron to make him king were 120,000 from the Eastern tribes; and, according to 1 Ch 26^{32}, David appointed 2700 Levites of Hebron as ecclesiastical and civil officials over these tribes; and 1 Ch 27^{16} states that the chief of the Reubenites in his reign was Eliezer ben-Zichri. No doubt the Reubenites often engaged, with varying success, in border warfare with the neighbouring tribes; and tradition may have preserved reminiscences of a victory over the Hagrites. The statistics are probably obtained by the Chronicler's familiar conjectural reconstruction of history.

Kittel, however, considers that the statement of 1 Ch 11^{42}, that among David's mighty men was the Reubenite chief Adina ben-Shiza with thirty followers, is derived from some ancient source no longer extant.

According to an ancient source preserved in 1 K 4^{7-19}, Solomon divided the country into twelve districts, three of which lay east of Jordan. The southernmost is described as 'the land of Gad (so Benzinger with LXX [B]; MT has 'Gilead'), the country of Sihon';* Reuben, in common with the majority of the tribes, is not mentioned. At the disruption Reuben fell to the Northern kingdom, 1 K 11^{31}.

In the Blessing of Moses (Dt 33), a document composed in the Northern kingdom under either Jeroboam I. or II., Reuben is still mentioned first; perhaps, however, only through the influence of the earlier Blessing of Jacob. The verse runs—

> 'Let Reuben live, and not die;
> Yet let his men be few' (RV).†

This verse implies that Reuben had become altogether insignificant. So, too, the Moabite Stone mentions most of the Reubenite cities as occupied or conquered by Moab; it speaks of the Gadites, but does not name Reuben. Hence before the time of Mesha (a younger contemporary of Ahab), Reuben had long lost the country to the east of the Dead Sea, if it ever held it, and was merged in Gad. When or how Reuben lost its power and prosperity we do not know; the change may have been gradual. On the one hand, Reuben was the outpost of Israel towards the S.E. deserts, it was exposed to hostile neighbours on both its southern and eastern frontiers, and constantly bore the brunt of the predatory habits of the Bedawîn; on the other, it was largely isolated from the other tribes geographically, and, according to the 'Blessings,' had alienated their sympathies. Reuben may have suffered through the weakening of the power of Israel in the latter part of the reign of Solomon, and at the time of the disruption.

The Chronicler (1 Ch $5^{6. 22. 26}$) associates the Reubenites with Gad and E. Manasseh, as occupying E. Palestine, till the two and a half tribes were carried captive by Tiglath-pileser, and mentions Beerah ben-Baal of the clan Joel as chief of the Reubenites at that time. No doubt a remnant of Reuben remained amongst the Gadites up to this captivity.

Certain indications suggest that other Reubenite clans took refuge in Judah, and became merged in that tribe. Two of the clans of Reuben as given in P and Chron. bear the same names as two clans of Judah, viz. Hezron and Carmi,* Gn $46^{9. 12}$, 1 Ch 4^{1}; and P also mentions (Jos 15^{6} 18^{17}) the stone of Bohan the Reubenite as a landmark on the boundary between Judah and Benjamin.

Ezk $48^{6. 31}$ makes provision for Reuben in the restored Israel; and Reuben is one of the twelve tribes enumerated in Rev 7^{5}. Besides GAD, cf. MOAB.

W. H. BENNETT.

REUEL (רְעוּאֵל; LXX 'Ραγουήλ). — **1.** A son of Esau by Basemath, Gn $36^{4. 10. 13. 17}$, 1 Ch $1^{35. 37}$. **2.** Ex 2^{18}, Nu 10^{29} (AV in the latter **Raguel**). See HOBAB and JETHRO. **3.** The father of Eliasaph, the prince of Gad, Nu 2^{14}, called (probably by mistaking ר for ד) DEUEL in 1^{14} $7^{42. 47}$ 10^{20}. The LXX has everywhere 'Ραγουήλ. **4.** A Benjamite, 1 Ch 9^{8}.

REUMAH (רְאוּמָה; A [B is wanting here] 'Ρεηρά, *D* 'Ρεημά).—The concubine of Nahor, Abraham's brother, Gn 22^{24}.

REVELATION.—See BIBLE.

REVELATION, BOOK OF.—

- i. Introduction.
  - 1. Title.
  - 2. Canonicity.
  - 3. History of Interpretation.
- ii. The Nature of Apocalyptical Writings.
  - 1. Daniel: (*a*) occasion and message; (*b*) underlying faith; (*c*) source and authority of the message; (*d*) plan of the book.
  - 2. Characteristics of Apocalypses in comparison with Prophecy: (*a*) situation and message; (*b*) dualistic theology; (*c*) element of prediction; (*d*) pseudonymous authorship; (*e*) literary material and form; (*f*) literary composition and history; (*g*) apocalyptical dogmas.
  - 3. Inferences as to Methods of Interpretation.
  - 4. Book of Rev. as an Apocalypse: (*a*) likeness to Jewish Apocalypses; (*b*) unlikeness; (*c*) remaining questions.
- iii. Contents and Composition of Revelation.
  - 1. Contents.
  - 2. Plan: (*a*) introduction; (*b*) plan of chs. 1–3; (*c*) plan of chs. 4–22; (*d*) experiences of the seer, (1) place and movement, (2) heavenly scenes, (3) form of inspiration.
  - 3. Sources: (*a*) Old Testament (chs. 18. $21–22^{5}$ 11^{2-20}); (*b*) Jewish apocalyptical tradition (chs. 4. 11^{1-13} 12. 13. 17).
- iv. Historical Situation.
- v. Teachings of Revelation.
  - 1. Predictions: (*a*) general; (*b*) details, (1) fall of Rome, (2) saving of the faithful, (3) fall of Satan, (4) the thousand years.
  - 2. Religious Ideas (Theology): (*a*) God; (*b*) Christ's person and work; (*c*) the Christian life.
- vi. Relation of Rev. to other NT Books.
  - 1. St. Paul.
  - 2. Synoptic Gospels.
  - 3. Gospel and Epistles of St. John.

Conclusion.

i. INTRODUCTION.—1. *Title.*—The first word of the Book of Revelation gives the current title not only to this book, but to the class of literature to which it belongs. The word 'apocalypse' does not occur again in Rev., and does not here signify a literary product. The title which the book

* 'Og,' etc., is a late gloss. The last clause of v.19 is obviously corrupt both in MT and LXX; Benzinger emends 'A prefect-general was appointed over all the prefects.'

† Improbable renderings are: 'And let *not* his men' (RVm), and 'May he not die, or his men become few' (Dillm.). See, further, on this passage, art. SIMEON (Tribe).

* Unless we read Chelubai in 1 Ch 4^{11}.

suggests is rather 'the words (*or* the book) of the prophecy of John' (1^{3} $22^{7.\ 10.\ 18.\ 19}$). Certainly the title 'Apocalypse of John' (ℵC, etc.) implies a different use of the word 'Apocalypse' from that which the NT attests. The book is introduced not as the Apocalypse of John, but as 'an apocalypse of Jesus Christ.' God is the ultimate author of the revelation. He gave it to Christ, and Christ, through His angel, to His servant John, who therefore testifies to that which is ultimately 'the word of God,' and more immediately 'the testimony of Jesus Christ,' though it can also be called 'whatsoever things he saw' (1^{2}, cf. $^{11.\ 19}$). The phrase 'apocalypse of Jesus Christ' here means, not a revelation of Him (*i.e.* the Parousia, as in 1 Co 1^{7}, 2 Th 1^{7}, 1 P $1^{7.\ 13}$ 4^{13}), nor a revelation concerning Him, but a revelation by Him concerning the future (cf. Gal $1^{12.\ 16}$, where the revelation is by Christ, but also concerning Him —a self-revelation).

2. *Canonicity.*—There is probably no trace of Rev. in the Apostolic Fathers (Zahn, *Gesch. d. NT Kanons*, i. 954 f.). Ign. *ad Eph.* xv. 3 does not necessarily imply Rev 21^{3}; still less does *ad Phil.* vi. 1 require Rev $3^{12ff.}$. Papias is the first to attest, not the apostolicity, but the credibility of Rev., according to Andreas, bishop of Cæsarea (Cappadocia), who in his commentary cites two remarks of Papias on Rev 12^{7}. Their source, however, is unknown, and Euseb. does not directly mention any reference to Rev. by Papias (*HE* III. xxxix.). He does, however, say that Papias based his chiliasm on apostolic statements, which he took literally, instead of figuratively as he should have done. It is true that when Irenæus appeals in favour of the reading 666 (13^{18}) to presbyters who had seen John (*Hær.* v. xxx. 1; Euseb. *HE* v. viii. 5), we naturally think of Polycarp or Papias as his authority. But this is not a matter about which Iren. would naturally remember what, as a boy, he had heard the aged Polycarp say; and if he had been able to appeal to Polycarp, he would have done so by name. It is probably tradition rather than recollection on which he rests.

Justin (*Dial.* lxxxi. 15) is the first to declare that Rev. is by 'John, one of the apostles of Christ' (cf. Euseb. IV. xviii. 8). Melito, bishop of Sardis (170), wrote a lost work on the 'Rev. of John' (Euseb. IV. xxvi. 2). This is important, since Sardis is one of the seven Churches. Theophilus cited Rev. (Euseb. IV. xxiv. 1), and so did Apollonius (Euseb. V. xviii.). Irenæus was a defender of the apostolic authorship of the Gospel, Epistles, and Rev. of John (for Rev. see *Hær.* IV. xx. 11, V. xxxv. 2, 'John the Lord's disciple,' elsewhere simply 'John,' I. xxvi. 3, IV. xiv. 2, etc., or without name). Iren. took his high estimation of the book with him to the West. It was regarded as 'sacred Scripture' by the Churches in Lyons and Vienne in A.D. 177 (Euseb. V. i. 10, 58; Zahn i. 201, 203 f.). Tertullian cites Rev. frequently, and attests its recognition in Africa, as by 'the Apostle John' (*c. Marcion.* iii. 14. 25). Clement of Alex. cites it and other apocalypses also, and puts value upon them. So also does Origen, in spite of his opposition to chiliasm, which he escapes by allegorical interpretation.

For the Roman Church, the eschatology of Hermas is significant for its independence of Revelation. The book stands, however, in the *Muratorian Canon* without suspicion ('John, too, in the Apocalypse, although he writes only to seven Churches, yet addresses all'); and after the elaborate defence of it by Hippolytus against Caius, its canonicity remained established for the Western Church.

But though hardly any other book in the NT is so well attested in the 2nd cent., there were already those who denied its authority, and its place in the Canon of the Eastern Church was long uncertain. The objections appear to have rested on dogmatic grounds, though they required to be maintained by a denial of the apostolic authorship of the book. Marcion, as was inevitable, rejected the book because of its strongly Jewish character (Tert. *c. Marcion.* iv. 5). On the other hand, the Montanists, with their high appreciation of the new Christian prophecy and the strongly eschatological type of their Christianity, held the book in high esteem; and it was in opposition to them that the well-known, long-remaining antipathy of the Eastern Church to Rev. was developed.

Epiphanius (*Hær.* li. 33) tells of a sect which rejected John's Gospel and Rev., and ascribed both to Cerinthus. He calls them *Alogi*, which suggests that the reason for their criticism was the Logos Christology, in which the Gospel, the First Epistle, and Rev. agree. The sect would then be anti-Gnostic, as the choice of Cerinthus for the author would indicate. Epiph. says they supported their view by the fact that there was no Christian Church at Thyatira [Rev 2^{18}], where this sect had its seat. They are further described as being averse to the sensuous and extravagant form of the apocalyptical language, the significance of angels, etc.

Irenæus (III. xi. 9) describes a certain sect which rejected John's Gospel on account of its doctrine of the Paraclete, and not only contended against false prophets, but would exclude prophecy from the Church altogether. Since this ground for the rejection of the Gospel would be even more conclusive against Rev., and since Epiph. himself says that the *Alogi* opposed the Spirit and denied its gifts, Zahn (i. 223–227, 237–262, ii. 967–973) concluded that this was the same sect that Epiph. called Alogi, and that it was an anti-Montanist, rather than an anti-Gnostic, movement. Now Epiph. probably got his information about the Alogi from Hippolytus (*c.* 190–235 A.D. at Rome), who knew a sect which rejected both books because of the support which the Gospel, in its doctrine of the Spirit, and Rev. in its prophetic character, gave to Montanism. Against these Hippolytus wrote in defence of the Gospel and Revelation. He also wrote another book against Caius, a presbyter of Rome, in defence of Revelation. This Caius, in a controversial writing against Proclus the Montanist (Euseb. II. xxv. 6, III. xxviii. xxxi. 4, VI. xx. 3), had evidently rejected Rev., ascribing it, as the Alogi did, to Cerinthus. The citation in Eusebius (III. xxviii. 2) reads: 'Cerinthus, through revelations professing to have been written by a great apostle, brings before us marvels which he falsely claims were shown to him through angels, asserting that after the resurrection there would be an earthly kingdom of Christ, and that men dwelling in Jerusalem will again be subject to desires and pleasures. And being an enemy to the Scriptures of God, he said that a period of a thousand years would be spent in nuptial festivities.' The long dispute as to whether this referred to our Rev. must be regarded as ended by the publication, by J. Gwynn (*Hermathena*, vi. 397–418), of fragments of the reply of Hippolytus to Caius, from which it is evident that Caius, who was not one of the Alogi (not a heretic), argued in detail against the harmony of Rev. with the rest of the NT, using some of the arguments of the Alogi, and in all probability ascribing it, and not some other apocalypse, to Cerinthus (so Zahn, Bousset, Holtzmann, etc., against Gwynn).

Zahn dates the writing of Caius against Proclus about A.D. 210, and the reply of Hippolytus in defence of Rev. about 215. It is evident that Caius did not question the Gospel of John. After this, no Western Church writer seriously questioned Rev. (though see Jerome's position, below).

In the East, Dionysius of Alexandria (A.D. 255), a pupil of Origen, wrote a temperate and scholarly criticism (Euseb. VII. xxv.), in which he argues that Rev. is not by John the apostle. He reviews previous criticisms, evidently among others that of Caius, mentioning the hypothesis that Cerinthus was its author. He does not reject the book out and out, since others valued it, but cannot himself understand it; and proves, by an elaborate comparison as to literary character, language, and composition, that it is not by the author of the Gospel and the First Epistle of John. It is indeed by some holy and inspired man whose name was John. There were many of that name (*e.g.* John Mark), and it is said, he adds, that there are two monuments in Ephesus, each bearing the name of John. The ground of the rejection of its apostolicity by Dionysius was probably in part a sense of its difference from John's Gospel, in part the Hellenist's aversion to sensuous hopes, and to the chiliasm which made room for such hopes.

Eusebius, who gives the argument of Dionysius at some length, evidently sympathized with his view, though his own judgment wavers. He in-

clines to ascribe Rev. to the Presbyter John of whom Papias wrote (Euseb. III. xxxix.: 'It is probably the second [John], if one is not willing to admit that it is the first, that saw the Apocalypse'). His doubt as to the place of the book, whether among the *Homologoumena* (accepted) or among the *Notha* (rejected), is expressed in III. xxv. 4. He emphasizes the rejection of the book by good churchmen, and does not mention the almost certain use of it by Papias, or the elaborate defence of it by Hippolytus. Yet he cites many words in its favour.

After Euseb. the opposition to Rev. was for a time general in the Syro-Palestinian Church. Cyril of Jerusalem (*Catech.* iv. 33–36) does not name it among canonical books; nor does it appear in the Canon 60 of the Synod of Laodicea (*c.* 360?), nor in Canon 85 of *Apost. Const.* viii. (Zahn, ii. 177 ff., 197 ff., 191 ff.); nor is it in the list of Gregory of Nazianzus (*ib.* 216 f.), nor in the so-called *Synopsis* of Chrysostom (*ib.* 230). Neither Chrysostom nor Theodore of Mopsuestia mentions the book, and Theodoret does not accept it. It does not appear in the *Chronography* of Nicephorus, or in the *List of 60 books* (*ib.* 298, 290 f.). The Nestorian and Jacobite Churches did not receive it (Bousset, p. 25).

The question as to the origin and significance of this attitude of the Syro-Palestinian Church leads back to the striking fact that Rev. (with 2 and 3 Jn, 2 P, Jude) did not originally stand in the Syriac NT (Peshiṭta). It has been supposed that it was still wanting in the Philoxenian version, but Gwynn argues that the version he edited belonged to that translation (*The Apocalypse of St. John in Syriac*, 1897). Was the book, then, wanting in the Canon of the Syrian Church from the beginning? An affirmative answer is made doubtful by the apparent references to Rev. in Ephraem. It is not certain, however, that Ephraem used Rev., the question being involved in questions of text and of authenticity (see Bousset, 21–23). Gwynn (pp. c–cv) believes that the book was excluded 'by ignorance rather than of set purpose' from the Peshiṭta Canon, and remained unknown to Syriac-speaking Christians for perhaps four centuries, except to the few who could read it in Greek, among whom he reckons Ephraem. Even after translation into Syriac, the book never became familiarly known in any of the Syrian Churches. Their religious thought and rich liturgical literature remained practically uninfluenced by it. Bousset thinks the dominance of another type of eschatology, the Apocalypse of Antichrist, helped to effect the exclusion of Revelation.

The Greek Church yielded only slowly to the decision of the Western, and admitted the book into its Canon. In Egypt, where the opposition first developed in orthodox circles, it was sooner overcome. Athanasius, and others after him, recognized the book. The first Eastern commentary, that of Andreas, belongs to the 5th cent., and the next, that of Arethas, to the 9th. Each begins with a defence against doubts as to the canonicity of the book.

In the West, after the elaborate defence of Hippolytus, Jerome alone shows the influence of Eastern doubts. The Eastern Church, he says, receives Hebrews; the Western, Revelation. He inclined to accept it (*Ep. ad Dardanum*, 129), but elsewhere (*in Psalm.* 149) he puts it in a middle class between canonical and apocryphal. This suggestion did not bear fruit until Carlstadt (1520), at the beginning of the Reformation, made a threefold division of NT books, corresponding to that of the OT in Hebrew, and put in the third, least authoritative, class (with the OT '*Hagiographa*'), 2 and 3 John, 2 Peter, Jude, James, Hebrews, Revelation. Of these seven, which are 'of third and lowest authority,' Rev. stands last, on the verge of being apocryphal.

Luther at first (Preface in Translation of NT, 1522) expressed a strong aversion to the book, declaring that to him it had every mark of being neither apostolic nor prophetic. Apostles spoke clearly, without figure or vision, of Christ and His deeds; and no prophet in the OT, to say nothing of the NT, deals so entirely with visions and figures. It is comparable only with 4 Ezra (2 Esdras), and he cannot see that it was the work of the Holy Spirit. Moreover, he does not like the commands and threats which the writer makes about his book ($22^{18.19}$), and the promise of blessedness to those who keep what is written in it (1^{3} 22^{7}), when no one knows what that is, to say nothing of keeping it, and there are many nobler books to be kept. Moreover, many Fathers rejected the book; and though Jerome says it is above all praise, and has as many mysteries in it as it has words, yet he cannot prove this. 'Finally, every one thinks of it whatever his spirit imparts. My spirit cannot adapt itself to the book, and a sufficient reason why I do not esteem it highly is that Christ is neither taught nor recognized in it, which is what an apostle ought before all things to do.' Later (1534), Luther finds a possibility of Christian usefulness in it, and gives its message in words well worth quoting: 'Briefly [Rev. teaches that] our holiness is in heaven where Christ is, and not in the world before our eyes, as some paltry ware in the market. Therefore let offence, factions, heresy, and wickedness be and do what they may; if only the Word of God remains pure with us, and we hold it dear and precious, we need not doubt that Christ is near and with us, even if matters go hardest: as we see in this Book that through and above all plagues, beasts, evil angels, Christ is still near and with His saints, and at last overthrows them' (translation of Westcott, *Canon*, 1889, p. 483). He still thought it a hidden, dumb prophecy, unless interpreted, and upon the interpretation no certainty had been reached after many efforts. His own interpretation of the book as anti-Papist may have led him to a more favourable opinion of it. But he remained doubtful about its apostolicity (Preface to Revelation in the edition of 1545), and printed it, with Hebrews, James, Jude, as an appendix to his New Testament, not numbered in the index. The other three doubtful books, 2 and 3 John and 2 Peter, it was not so natural to separate from 1 John and 1 Peter. In this way these four books were printed in Luther's Bible as late as the 17th cent. So also in Tindale's New Testament. 'In general the standpoint of the Reformation is marked by a return to the Canon of Eusebius, and consequently by a lower valuation of Hebrews, 2 Peter, 2 and 3 John, James, Jude, and Revelation' (Holtzmann, *Einleitung*, p. 157).

Zwingli regarded Rev. as 'not a Biblical book'; and even Calvin, with his high view of inspiration, does not comment on 2 and 3 John and Revelation. Only gradually was the effort to maintain such a deutero-canonical class of books in the NT given up, as the dogmatic displaced the freer and more historical attitude toward the Bible.

In general it may be said that Rev. has maintained its place in the Canon, in spite of doubts and assaults, not because of its extravagant claims to inspiration and authority, not because of its visionary form, and not because of its eschatology, but rather in spite of all these, which were marks also of the many apocalypses, Jewish and Christian, that the Church rejected.* Nor can it be said that belief in its apostolic authorship kept the book in the NT, for this was very early denied, and could as easily be set aside, as, for example, that of the *Apocalypse of Peter*, which the Church rejected. The real reason, for the sake of which apostolic authorship was maintained, was the consciousness that, on the whole, the religious faith and feeling of the book predominate over its apocalyptical form, and give to apocalyptical language, which the majority cannot understand or accept in its literal sense, practically the value of figure for the emotional expression of Christian faith and hope. It is really as Christian poetry, rather than as the disclosure of mysteries of the unseen world and of the future, that the book has been valued, and, because valued, preserved and canonized by the Christian Church.

A book, however, which has been canonized because of its general contents, and the spirit behind its form, will inevitably be used by many for its details literally taken. So used, Rev. has often had a harmful influence, setting thought upon useless tasks, and stimulating self-centred and morbid hopes and fears. If one puts over against this the wonderful ministry of comfort and strength in times of trial which the book has rendered, he may find justification both for the doubts and for the final decision of the Church regarding its canonicity.

3. *History of Interpretation.*—The history of the interpretation of Rev. is an interesting chapter in

* Christianity has been in certain sects and at certain times apocalyptical in temper, but not on the whole. Many apocalypses were treasured as sacred by sects and at times, which were left aside by the Church as a whole and in the end.

Church history;* but it is an inseparable part of a much larger chapter which it would be quite impossible to write here. Harnack (*Hist. of Dogma*, i. 129 ff., 167 ff.) describes the two contrasted, though not mutually exclusive, conceptions of Christianity, the eschatological and the spiritual, the relations of which make one of the chief themes in the history of Christian thought. The earlier eschatological view gave way, especially under the influence of Greek thought, to the spiritual conception of salvation. Chiliasm, of which Rev. was the one clear and authoritative source, 'is found wherever the gospel is not yet Hellenized.' It is evident that where Hellenistic views prevailed Rev. must be either rejected or spiritually interpreted.

Among chiliasts, besides Cerinthus, the heretic, are Papias, Justin, Irenæus, Hippolytus, Tertullian—the early defenders of the authority of Revelation. Origen, on the other hand, could receive the book and yet oppose a chiliastic conception of Christianity. The Eastern Church in general, as we have seen, followed the easier method of rejecting or neglecting the book. In the West, Victorinus (*c.* 303) commented on the book in a chiliastic (*i.e.* literal) sense; but a greater influence was exerted by the Commentary of Tyconius (before 380), whose interpretation is spiritualistic. Through him 'the Latin Church finally broke with all chiliastic inclinations and all realistic eschatology' (Bousset, 63). The 'thousand years' denote the present period of the Church between the First and the Second Coming of Christ. He was followed by Augustine (*de civitate Dei*, xx. 7–17) and Jerome.

The possession of world-rulership by the Church took away the ground for chiliastic hopes, and removed both the circumstances and the temper out of which Rev. came. There was, however, a revival of the prophetic spirit in the Middle Ages, in reaction against ecclesiasticism and the secular spirit.

From the protesting order of the Franciscans, who attempted to recover the character and spirit of apostolic Christianity, came a chiliastic interpretation of Rev. about A.D. 1200, by Joachim of Floris. In Commentaries on Jeremiah and Isaiah under his name the end of the world was fixed at 1240 (Rev 11^3 12^6) and then at 1290. The woman (Rev 17) was already interpreted of the Romish Church by these pre-Reformation reformers, and this, together with a like application of the beasts of ch. 13 to Rome and the Pope, inevitably became a standing feature of Protestant commentators from Luther onwards; with exceptions, such as Grotius (1644) and Hammond (1653–1659).

Over against this enticing but flagrant misuse of the book, Catholic scholars in part sought for other historical applications of these figures (Turks, Mohammed, etc.); but in part made a beginning of a more correct method of interpretation by seeking in events of the author's own time, in the Jews and the Roman empire, for the clue to his predictions.

So especially Alcazar (1614), a Spanish Jesuit of Antwerp, who maintained that Rev 1–11 was aimed against Judaism, chs. 12 ff. against Rome. This correct effort to interpret Rev. in the light of the events of its own time was carried forward by Grotius, Hammond, Clericus (1698), Wetstein (1752) and others, at first with too much reference to Judaism and the fall of Jerusalem, but finally with a growing recognition of Rome as the object of the book's denunciations (Semler (1769, etc.), Corrodi (1780), Eichhorn (1791)). The reference to Nero, in the wounded head (ch. 13), which had been found already by Victorinus (303), and again in a Jesuit commentary (Juan Mariana), was introduced into Protestant exegesis by Corrodi. This so-called *contemporary-historical* (by some called '*præterist*') method of interpretation (*i.e.* by reference to historical events of the writer's own time) was most fully carried to completion in the great works of Lücke (*Versuch einer vollständigen Einleitung in die Offenbarung*, 1832, 2nd ed. 1852), Bleek (*Vorlesungen über die Apok.* 1862), and Ewald (Comm. in Latin, 1828, *Die Johann. Schriften*, 1862). So also Volkmar (1862), Düsterdieck (Meyer, 1859–87). †

In general these writers date the book before 70 (Rev 11^{1-13}); regard it as written chiefly against Rome; and find in it a prediction of the return of Nero. The interpretation of the number 666 as *Nero Cæsar* seems to have been made independently by several scholars (Fritzsche, Benary, Hitzig, Reuss, Ewald (?)). With this understanding and dating of Rev., Baur affirmed its apostolicity, and made it a monument of the original Jewish Christianity.

Against this method conservative theologians still attempted either new interpretations of the book as a summary of Church history (the '*Church-historical*' or '*continuously historical*' method, Hengstenberg, Ebrard, etc.), or a reference of its predictions to events still future, the end of the world (the *endgeschichtliche*, '*futurist*' method, Kliefoth, Zahn). A method which is in some sense intermediate between these is one that sees in Rev. not definite events in Church history, but symbolic representations of good and evil principles, their conflict and the coming victory of the good (Auberlen's *reichsgeschichtliche Methode*).

A similar standpoint is occupied by Milligan (*Commentary on the Apocalypse; The Rev. of St. John*, Baird Lectures, 1886; *Discussions on the Apocalypse*, 1893; *The Bk. of Rev.* [Expositor's Bible], 1899. The Apoc. embraces the whole period from the First to the Second Coming of the Lord. It sets before us within this period the action of great principles and not special incidents. We must interpret in a spiritual and universal sense that language of the Apoc. which appears at first sight to be material and local). So also Benson (*The Apocalypse*, 1900) maintains that Rev. unveils Jesus Christ as present in this world, and His enemies, Satan and his agents, who are all principles not persons or historical characters, 'the principles which maintain the self-deceiving half of human nature in its death struggles with a Divine Wisdom which slowly vanquishes it' (p. 176).

It is, of course, true that beneath every book there are certain fundamental beliefs and hopes capable of being generalized and taken out of all historical relations. It is true also, as we shall see, that the allusions, for example, to Nero are not so clear as we should expect of one who set out to describe him in symbol. But the principles which these writers look for are still less clearly symbolized, and it is a fundamental mistake to proceed upon the assumption that such principles are everywhere intended, and also that the teachings of Rev. must agree with all other teachings of the NT and with the judgment of the Christian consciousness. The history of the book in the Canon might well have kept others from the bondage of this assumption, as it kept Luther and the early Reformers. But the assumption is no longer possible for those who approach Biblical study in a historical spirit. For such, the effort to find in the book allusions to events of its author's time is natural, and this method is destined to general acceptance. Of late, however, a growing conviction has arisen that this *contemporary-historical* method is not sufficient by itself to solve all the problems of the book.

The first question to arise concerned the unity of the book. As prophetic books like Isaiah and Zechariah and apocalypses such as Enoch are composite, it was natural to raise the question with reference to Rev., and to remove by literary analysis the unevenness in structure and the want of harmony, both in historical references and in doctrinal views, that had troubled interpreters. Theories of composite origin have been advanced in two general forms: (1) The book is in its present form a unity, but its author made use of various documentary or traditional sources, of Jewish or Christian origin, incorporating them in his work. (2) The present book is the result of one or more revisions of an older Jewish or Christian apocalypse, or more than one.

Weizsäcker, who gave the impulse to this effort at literary criticism, held the former of these two views:* 'We have in

* See Lücke, *Einl. in die Offenbarung*^{2}, 1853; Holtzmann, *Hand-Commentar*, iv. p. 280 ff.; Bousset, *Kommentar*, pp. 51–141.

† To Lücke was especially due the recognition of the fact that Rev. is not an isolated book, but is one of a class, that it belongs in kind to the Jewish apocalypses, and is to be interpreted as they are. The fact that Daniel contains allusions to the Greek empire and to Antiochus Epiphanes was a strong reason for accepting the apparent references in Rev. to Rome and Nero.

* The history of these efforts has been told by Holtzmann, *Jahrb. f. Prot. Theol.* 1891; Barton, *AJTh*, 1898; A. Meyer in *Theol. Rundschau*, 1897; and in fuller detail by Rauch, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes*, 1894, and Bousset, *Komm.* p. 127 ff.

this writing, which is as certainly pseudonymous as are all apocalypses, a compilation, which in its origin is already a compilation; and in its various strata, which certainly reach far back, it testifies in itself alone to an extensive practice of (Christian) prophecy' (*Theol. Lit.-Zeitung*, 1882). The first efforts after detail were, however, made on the basis of the second theory.—Völter, a pupil of Weizsäcker, in a series of works (*Die Entstehung der Apok.* 1882, 1885; *Das Problem der Apok.* 1893), attempted to construct a primitive apocalypse of A.D. 65–66, which the author revised after Nero's death. Three or four other revisers added to the work, to the last of whom the letters are due. Völter argues on the basis of (1) want of formal and material connexion, (2) reference to different historical situations, (3) doctrinal differences, especially as to Christology. Some of his observations are just, but his solution of the difficulties is arbitrary and unconvincing.—Vischer (*Die Offenbarung Johannis, eine jüdische Apokalypse in christlicher Bearbeitung*, 1886) put forth a simpler and more attractive hypothesis, which, appearing with Harnack's hearty approval, won many adherents. He believed Rev 4^{1}–22^{5} to be a Jewish apocalypse set in a Christian framework (1–3. $22^{6\text{-}21}$) with a slight Christian revision ($5^{9\text{-}14}$ $7^{9\text{-}17}$ 12^{11} $13^{9.\,10}$ $14^{1\text{-}5.\,12.\,13}$ 15^{3} 16^{15} 17^{14} $19^{9.\,10.\,13b}$ $20^{4\text{-}6}$ $21^{5b\text{-}8}$ and all references to the Lamb). His starting-point is Biblico-theological, the presence in the book of Jewish by the side of Christian ideas. Harnack (*Nachwort*) admits that this does not in itself involve Jewish authorship, but regards that hypothesis as necessary in this case.

Weyland (*Omwerkings en compilatie-hypothesen toegepast op de Apocalypse van Johannes*, 1888) elaborated Vischer's theory by supposing two Jewish sources. The oldest (ב) contained (omitting slight and obvious Christian words or phrases) 10. $11^{1\text{-}13}$ 12. 13. $14^{6\text{-}11}$ $15^{2\text{-}4}$ 16. (part, esp. 13. 14) $19^{11\text{-}21}$ 20. $21^{1\text{-}8}$, *i.e.* the little book, Jerusalem and the two witnesses, the appearance of the dragon and beasts and their final overthrow, the last judgment and the new world. The later source (א) contained $11^{0.\,12\text{-}17.\,19}$ 4. $5^{1\text{-}7}$ 6. $7^{1\text{-}8.\,9\text{-}17}$ (part) 8. 9. $11^{14\text{-}18}$ $14^{2.\,3}$ 15^{5} $16^{17b.\,20}$ $14^{14\text{-}20}$ 17. 18. $19^{1\text{-}6}$ $21^{9\text{-}27}$ $22^{1\text{-}11}$, *i.e.* the seven seals and trumpets, the fall of Babylon (Rome), and the new Jerusalem. These were united by a Christian redactor who added (besides occasional phrases) $1^{1\text{-}9.\,18.\,20}$ 2. 3. $14^{1\text{-}5}$ $16^{1\text{-}17a}$ $19^{7\text{-}10}$ $22^{7a.\,12.\,13.\,16\text{-}22}$.

Weizsäcker in his *Apostolic Age* rejected these and similar efforts at analysis, and held to his original suggestion that the book is a unity; but its author has made use of various older materials, apocalyptical visions, fragmentary in character, and has introduced these in such a way as often to interrupt his plan. Such pieces are $7^{1\text{-}8.\,9\text{-}17}$ $11^{1\text{-}13}$ $12^{1\text{-}11.\,12\text{-}17}$ 13. 17.

Sabatier (*Rev. de Théol. et de Phil.* 1887, and *Les origines litteraire et la composition de l'apoc. de St. Jean*, 1888) defends a similar view. The Christian writer introduced foreign oracles into his work, viz.: $11^{1\text{-}13}$ 12^{1}–13^{18} $14^{6\text{-}20}$ $16^{13\text{-}16}$ 17^{1}–19^{2} (18^{24}?) 19^{11}–20^{10} 21^{9}–22^{5}.

Very similar is the view of Schoen (*L'origine de l'Apoc.* 1887).

This view of the composition of Rev., which does justice both to its general unity of plan and style and to the breaks in its plan and the contrasts in its thought, and does not attempt the impossible task of reconstructing complete lost books, has gained the adherence of an increasing number of competent critics. It is the view of Jülicher (*Einleitung in d. NT*, 1894). It is also the view of Gunkel and of Bousset, though these two scholars have carried the problem of the interpretation of Rev. on to a new phase.

On the other hand Spitta (*Offenb. Johannis*, 1889), who had reached his main conclusions independently before the appearance of Völter's work, attempts an elaborate analysis in which every verse and word is ascribed to its source.

The basis of our present book is held by Spitta to be a primitive Christian apocalypse, containing the letters and the seals ($1^{4\text{-}6.\,9\text{-}19}$ 2–3. [omitting the conclusion of each letter, 2, 7, etc.] 4–6. 8^{1} $7^{9\text{-}17}$ $19^{9b.\,10}$ $22^{8.\,10\text{-}13.\,16\text{-}18a.\,20b.\,21}$). He believes that this was written by John Mark, about 60 A.D. To this a later Christian added two older Jewish apocalypses; one is from the time of Caligula ($13^{3.\,14}$ refers to an illness from which he recovered; 616 [13^{18}] = Γάϊος Καίσαρ), occasioned by his effort to erect his image in the temple ($13^{5\text{-}8.\,12ff.}$). It contains (*a*) $7^{1\text{-}8}$ $8^{2\text{-}5}$, (*b*) 8^{6}–9^{21}, (*c*) (9^{15}) $10^{1\text{-}7}$, (*d*) $11^{(15)\,19}$ $12^{1\text{-}17}$ 12^{18}–13^{18} $14^{1\text{-}11}$ $16^{13\text{-}20}$, (*e*) 19^{11}–$21^{1.\,5a.\,6a}$. The other Jewish source is put back to the time of Pompey (Israel's first conflict with Rome, and the danger of the temple). It is composed of (*a*) $10^{1b.\,2a.\,8a.\,9b\text{-}11}$, (*b*) $11^{1.\,13.\,15.\,17.\,18}$, (*c*) $14^{14.\,20}$ $15^{2\text{-}4}$, (*d*) 15^{5}–$16^{12.\,17.\,21}$, (*e*) $17^{1\text{-}5.\,6b}$ 18^{1}–19^{8}, (*f*) 21^{9}–$22^{8a.\,15}$. All other parts are from the hand of the reviser.

Spitta's work contains much that is of great value, but scholars generally agree that such minute analysis is impossible, that the book has a greater unity than this theory admits, and that in particular to ascribe the seven seals, trumpets, and bowls to three different hands is to overlook one of the unmistakable characteristics of the final writer. Yet Briggs (*Messiah of Apostles*, 1895, chs. 9–15) goes even further in this direction. His analysis but not his view as to authorship [epistles, seals, bowls, and probably trumpets being attributed by Briggs to one *author*, the Apostle John (pp. 303, 369)] is followed by Barton (*AJTh*, 1898).

It is not to be concluded that the many laborious and ingenious efforts at literary analysis have been without value, even though they have led to no agreeing result. There has been increasing agreement as to certain general points. The book, though probably the work of one writer, is not the original product of one mind or one occasion. It contains sections which appear to be foreign to the rest, and may well be of Jewish origin, though the line between Jewish and Jewish-Christian is one impossible to determine. $7^{1\text{-}8}$ $11^{1\text{-}13}$ 12. 13. 17 quite certainly belong to this category, and there are other sections which may have been taken by the writer in practically finished form from apocalyptical tradition (*e.g.* 18. 20. 21^{9}–22^{5}). This result, however, important as are its bearings on the interpretation of the book, since it relieves us of the necessity of finding one type of religious thought or one historical situation in all parts, by no means solves all or even the more important problems of historical exegesis.

Gunkel (*Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit: Eine religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung über Gen. 1 und Apoc. Joh. 12* (1895)) sharply formulated one of these outstanding problems—that concerning the ultimate origin, the first meaning, and subsequent history of that traditional material from which apocalyptical writers drew. He criticized both the methods in which critical scholars had treated the book—that which looks everywhere for figurative references to historical events of the writer's time, and that which devotes itself to literary analysis as an end. Acknowledging that some of the apocalyptical figures are allegories of current events (Dn 7. 8, Enoch 85 ff., 4 Ezr 11 f., Rev 13. 17), and also that criticism must separate some sections from their setting, he yet urges that tradition largely fixes the form of the figures, and that the apocalyptical writer uses them not with freedom, but with reverence; not creating them as a poetical embodiment of well-known persons and events, but seeking in them for the clue to the mystery of the present and future. The history of tradition is therefore more important than the history of literary composition. Tradition is, in fact, the real author of an apocalypse, and it is this fact that gives the writer his deep conviction of the truth of his predictions. Except where it is expressly indicated, it is not to be assumed that references to historical persons and events are hidden behind the apocalyptical imagery. With reference to most of such images (*e.g.* $9^{1\text{-}11}$ $9^{13\text{-}21}$ $11^{3\text{-}13}$ $16^{13.\,14.\,16}$ $6^{9\text{-}11}$ (cf. 4 Ezr 4^{35}) $11^{1.\,2}$ $6^{1\text{-}8}$ 16. $6^{12\text{-}17}$), Gunkel declares the contemporary-historical method bankrupt. Even in ch. 13, where the first beast is the Roman empire, and in ch. 17, where the woman is the city (Rome), many details are not to be explained historically. Here Gunkel carries his opposition to the ruling method so far as to deny the almost universal opinion of critics that Nero is indicated by the beast and its number (pp. 210 ff., 336 ff.). Of Gunkel's specific argument, which is to illustrate and vindicate his method, viz. that Rev 12 is ultimately an otherwise lost Babylonian myth of the birth of Marduk, the conqueror of the Dragon, more will be said below. Other elements taken from Babylonian mythology Gunkel found, especially in chs. 13 and 17, but also in the seven angels, stars, candlesticks, eyes (p. 294 ff.), the twenty-four

elders (302 ff.), Harmagedon (263 ff.), the number $3\frac{1}{2}$ (266 ff.), the number 666 (374 ff.).

Bousset adopted Gunkel's method in *Der Antichrist in der Ueberlieferung des Judentums, des neuen Testaments und der neuen Kirche* (1895), and attempted to show that an essentially fixed apocalypse of Antichrist, originating in Judaism, can be traced from the New Test. down through the Middle Ages; and that this tradition is essentially independent of Rev., though Rev. at certain points shows dependence upon it. In his *Kritisch-exegetische Kommentar* (Meyer, 1896), Bousset, on the question of composition, follows the method of Weizsäcker, regarding the book as a unity, but seeing in many sections apocalyptical fragments introduced by the writer from existing tradition, in part Jewish in origin. In several of these fragments Bousset finds parts of the Antichrist-tradition (7^{1-8} 11^{1-13} 13^{11-17} 14^{14-20}); others also may well be of Jewish origin ($13^{1-10.18}$ 17 [with which should probably go also 16^{12-21} and 18], 21^{9}–22^{5}), while 12 is of foreign but apparently not of Jewish origin. Bousset's treatment of various matters of detail will be mentioned in the course of this article.

Holtzmann (*Einleitung in d. NT*^{3}, 1892; *Hand-Commentar*^{2}, 1893) recognizes indications of a double historical background (soon after the death of Nero, and in the reign of Domitian), but does not go beyond the recognition of two or more streams in the book, and holds chiefly to the contemporary-historical method of interpretation, though now recognizing also the importance of tradition as a source of the writer's material (*Lehrbuch der neutest. Theol.* i. 463-476).

The relative value of the three methods of interpretation last discussed—the *contemporary-historical*, the *literary-critical*, and the *tradition-historical*—is still a matter of debate (see Wellhausen, *Skizzen u. Vorarbeiten*, vi. 1899, pp. 215–249, and Gunkel, *Zeitschr. f. wissenschl. Theol.* 1899). Each in a measure limits or controls the application of the other, and the right of each, within its bounds, may fairly be said to be established. Yet they do not, taken together, wholly cover the ground. On two general lines, much work remains to be done. One is the psychological study of apocalyptical writing, the other is the historical relations of the Christianity of Rev.,—esp. the relation of its eschatology to that of Jesus and to that of St. Paul, and the relation of its Christology and Soteriology to the Pauline and the primitive apostolic. Gunkel at first put forward his tradition-historical method as also a psychological explanation of the apocalypse. The writer's belief in the truth and inviolable sanctity of his mysterious message could arise only from actual vision (which the nature of the material and the tendency of the modern mind exclude), or from the real antiquity of the material, before which the writer himself stood with awe. But Gunkel himself is now inclined to allow the actuality of visionary experiences (as psychologists recognize them) in connexion with the writing of apocalypses (see the Introduction to his translation of 4 Ezra in Kautzsch's *Pseudepigraphen d. AT*, 1900, and Preface to the 2nd ed. of his *Wirkungen des Heiligen Geistes*, 1900). The most significant effort in this direction, and the occasion of Gunkel's modification of his former position, is Weinel's *Wirkungen des Geistes und der Geister*, 1899.

On the other hand, the question so vital to an understanding of the beginnings of Christianity, whether the Christology and Soteriology of Rev. are Pauline, anti-Pauline, or independent of Paulinism, remains quite unanswered; as does the other still more vital question whether the eschatology of Rev. (given as the dictation of Jesus, 1^{1} 22^{16}) is based on that of the Gospels, and ultimately on the teaching of Jesus, or is the source of the eschatology which the Gospels wrongly ascribe to Him.

The final problem of the interpreter is, of course, to get back as fully as possible into the mind of the writer. Two main paths are now open that lead toward this result in the case of Revelation. (1) The study of apocalyptical literature in general; (2) the study of the contents, plan, sources (so far as known), historical situation, and teachings of the book itself. These two paths will be pursued in the following discussion. Two other paths invite exploration—(1) the psychological study of trance and ecstatic conditions and phenomena in religious history, (2) the origin and relations of the apocalyptical and the spiritual types of Christian thought in the 1st cent. These two paths must be opened by further research, in the latter case most of all in the Gospels, before results can be summarized in an article like the present.

In following the two main paths just indicated, the following presuppositions will be in part assumed as a result of the history of criticism, in part, it is hoped, proved by the discussion—(1) Rev. is an apocalypse among others, and is to be viewed and interpreted as such. (2) Rome is that embodiment of evil against which the book is chiefly directed, whose overthrow it immediately predicts. (3) The book makes use of apocalyptical materials from various (often probably from Jewish) sources, so that the question as to the place of a given section in the writer's plan, its meaning in his use of it, is to be kept distinct from the question of its original meaning and use, and the interpreter at many points has a twofold task. (4) It may not infrequently happen that the writer receives from tradition details which have no meaning at all for him, but which he retains as parts of the picture. The traditional meaning is in such cases the only one for which we need to search; and often we can only say that it belongs to tradition, since the clue to its meaning is lost. (5) In such cases, and in various others, the possibility is open that the writer uses such material for its poetic value, and not because of a reverence which prevents his altering it.

ii. The Nature of Apocalyptical Writings.—The Book of Rev. calls itself a prophecy, and its author classes himself among prophets; but the book is called by us an apocalypse, and we have applied this title to certain other Jewish books, and some Christian adaptations and imitations of them, which we distinguish somewhat sharply from prophecy. Our interpretation and estimation of Rev. is deeply affected by this classification. What, then, is the apocalypse in its distinction from prophecy? We cannot avoid some preliminary discussion of this question (though see, further, Apocrypha i., Apocalyptic Literature, Prophecy), as it bears on the nature of our book and the way in which it should be used. There are still some who class Rev. with the prophetic rather than with the apocalyptical writings of Israel (*e.g.* Zahn), and there are some who class it with apocalypses, but regard the apocalyptic as a higher form of inspiration than the prophetic (see Terry, *Biblical Apocalyptics*, 1898, pp. 11, 12). Since such views strongly affect interpretation, it is essential to understand the historical relation of the two forms of writing and the place of Rev. in relation to them.

The transition from prophecy to apocalypse was effected in the OT itself. It was not a sudden but a gradual transition, nor is the contrast at the end an absolute one. The change is usually traced to Ezekiel for its beginning. Daniel is the oldest book which has complete apocalyptical form; and it remains the classical example and type of this kind of writing. Yet anticipations of certain marks of this literature can be found in earlier prophets, especially in Isaiah (*e.g.* Vision of God, ch. 6; description of Day of J", ch. 2; perhaps the inviolability of Jerusalem), and genuinely prophetic traits are not wanting in Daniel (cf. 9^{1-19}), or even in other apocalypses from Bk. of Enoch to 4 Ezra. The character of the Book of Daniel deserves somewhat close attention because of its fundamental significance and many special points of contact with Revelation.

1. *Book of Daniel.*—(*a*) *Occasion and message.*—The Bk. of Daniel appeared during the religious persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes. Its aim was the encouragement of patient endurance and fidelity amid persecution. It taught this lesson in part by stories (histories) illustrating the safe-keeping by God of those who resist the temptations and endure the violence of the world-power in its hostility to God; in part by predictions of the approaching end of the power now threatening and afflicting the people of God.

Antiochus shall die by a judgment of God (8^{25} $9^{26.\ 27}$ $11^{27.\ 45}$) after about $3\frac{1}{2}$ years (8^{14} 9^{27} $12^{7.\ 11.\ 12}$), and the Greek world-empire shall be overthrown ($2^{34.\ 35.\ 44.\ 45}$ $7^{11.\ 26}$). This is to be accomplished not by human effort, but by God directly ($2^{34.\ 44.\ 45}$ 8^{25} $7^{9ff.\ 22.\ 26}$), or through Gabriel and Michael, who contend with the gods of heathen nations (10^{13}–11^{1} 12^{1}). After this a time of trouble shall follow, testing the Jewish people, including some of the dead, and dividing the good from the wicked ($12^{1-4.\ 10}$). Then shall be established the kingdom of God, which is the world-kingdom of Israel, and is to endure for ever.

(*b*) *Underlying faith.*—The general foundation on which this message rests, the underlying doctrine of the book, is monotheism, the faith that all power is God's; that 'the Most High ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will' ($4^{17.\ 25.\ 32}$ 5^{21}), and that times and seasons are in His hand, fixed by His purpose. This faith requires the inference that God's rule must and at last shall be recognized by all kings and nations, and that He must, in the end, take His kingdom to Himself (2^{44}), and rule it through His own people ($7^{13.\ 14.\ 22.\ 27}$). But the very fact that the realization of God's rule is future reveals the dualistic element which stands over against monotheism in the theology of the book. The contrast between the present and the future, between this age and the age to come, reaches beyond the visible into the invisible world, and is connected with contrast and conflict there, finds there, indeed, its explanation. The seer who would understand the present perverse and intolerable course of history, with heathen nations at the head and Israel at the tail, must not only have the veil lifted that hides the future developments of God's fixed plan, but must see behind the scenes those actions in the angelic world by which man's history may be influenced, in some sense, and for a time, even against God's plan.

(*c*) *Source and authority of the message.*—Whence did the writer gain his certainty of the near approach of the fall of the existing world-empire, and the realization of the kingship of God, and of the beings and actions in the angel-world which explain present evils and are to effect their end? The predictive parts of Daniel (chs. 7–12) could well be described, like Rev 1^{1}, as 'revelations of God through his angel Gabriel to his servant Daniel.' Gabriel's communications are in part in the form of interpretations of dream-visions (chs. 7. 8, cf. 2), but once he interprets an OT prediction after Daniel has studied it and prayed over it (ch. 9), and once Gabriel appears to Daniel after a three weeks' fast, and declares to him directly (not through figure) mysteries of the spirit-world and of the future (chs. 10–12).

The visions are described as real experiences, time and place being given, and the deep emotions of the seer described ($7^{15.\ 28}$ $8^{15-18.\ 27}$ $9^{3.\ 20}$ $10^{7-10.\ 15-19}$). The experiences seem to lie in the region of sleep or on its borderland ($7^{1.\ 2}$ 8^{18} 10^{9}). Their subjective reality seems to be in a measure confirmed by the intense seriousness which characterizes the book, and the writer's evident belief in the value and Divine origin of his message.

But, on the other hand, the book is unquestionably pseudonymous, and the visions contain, in the form of Gabriel's disclosures about the future, much that was to the author really, and of course consciously, history. Is this consistent with the impression that the writer is describing really visionary, ecstatic experiences, or does it compel us to assume that the vision is throughout a literary form? The problem is really a psychological one. How are we to explain the form of the book, that of visions and angelic interpretations, so as to explain both the fact that these consist largely in history disguised as prediction, and the fact of the writer's emotion and conviction as to their contents? It is evident that this form served the writer's practical purpose, for it showed that the present insupportable condition of his people was foreknown and determined by God, and it gave a ground for belief in the truth of predictions of really future events. But the emotion and conviction of the writer seem inconsistent with his use of a purely artistic, not to say artful, form of composition.

We are undoubtedly helped towards a solution of the problem by the fact, whose significance we owe to Gunkel, that the predictions of the apocalypse are not novelties, but rest in part on tradition. The foresight of Daniel comes to the writer, at least in part, through the study of the older prophets. The interpretation of the 70 weeks of Jer $25^{11f.}$ 29^{10} is certainly of central significance in the book (ch. 9). But it is probable also that symbolical figures such as those of chs. 7 and 8 (cf. 2) were not invented *de novo* by the author, but came to him from the past, and were regarded by him as mysterious types and forecasts of human history, in which he could find the future the more surely because he could find in them the past. The pseudonymous form becomes both less offensive to us and more intelligible if we suppose that the writer was actually searching in ancient prophecies, and in apocalyptical traditions to him no less ancient, for previsions of the actual course of post-exilic Jewish history, in order that he might the more firmly believe and the more surely convince others that the present crisis is not a break in the plan of God, but a necessary stage in its unfolding, and that the promised deliverance is near. It is possible also in this case to suppose that the interpretation came in connexion with deep emotional experiences.

(*d*) *Plan of the composition.*—Daniel is characterized by an unmistakable unity of tone and general teaching; but unity in plan and in detail is not obvious, and various efforts to prove composite authorship have been made. In fact the book is made up of ten quite distinct pieces, largely independent of each other (divided according to chapters, except the 10th, which includes chs. 10–12). Distinct apocalypses could easily be made of chs. 2. 7. 8. 9. 10–12. It is, however, the prevailing and probable view that the book, as we have it, comes from one author; that the enemy of God and His people is everywhere Antiochus, and the hope everywhere that of his speedy overthrow and the rulership of Israel over the nations. The book, then, has no chronological sequence throughout; it does, however, describe the present distress and the coming deliverance on the whole with increasing definiteness and detail in the successive figures. Ch. 7 is more explicit than ch. 2, while ch. 8 describes the Greek empire unmistakably, and chs. 10–12 give almost a direct history (though still in vision form) of Antiochus IV. This plan is accounted for as serving well the admonitory aim of the writer, which the stories also evidently serve. His plan is to give a clearer and fuller disclosure of the future as the book proceeds, but to enforce constantly in varied forms the lesson of the reality of God's rule and the safety of patient and enduring trust in Him amid present troubles. There is no anxiety about exact consistency throughout. The

overthrow of the Greek kingdom is at first the deed of God alone, but in the last vision Michael is the deliverer. At first the consummation seems to follow directly upon the fall of Antiochus, but in ch. 12 a period of trial for Israel intervenes before its glory. The stories teach a present deliverance for the faithful, but at the end martyrdom and a deliverance only after death come into view.

2. *Characteristics of Apocalypses in comparison with Prophecy.*—On the basis of this description of Daniel we may attempt a brief discussion of the characteristics of apocalyptical literature in general in comparison with OT prophecy.

(*a*) *Situation and message.*—In the case of the apocalypse the situation is always one in which the righteous are in trouble, because of the rule of a foreign power, and usually also because in the Jewish community itself those who have power and prosperity are the wicked, not the righteous. The message is that deliverance is soon to come, and for this men are to wait in patience and trust. The pre-exilic prophets, on the contrary, spoke in times of national prosperity and confidence of a coming day of J", which would be a day of judgment on Israel at the hand of a foreign power. The message was one of repentance and righteousness that the threatened judgment might be averted, the sentence recalled. The prophets predicted primarily judgment, not deliverance; the prediction was conditional, not fixed; and the practical inference was repentance, not patience. The change of message belonged in part to the change of situation which the Exile itself effected.

(*b*) *The dualistic theology.*—Bousset rightly calls 4 Ezr 7^{50} 'The Most High has made not one world, but two,' the inner principle of the apocalypse. The sharp contrast in which the kingdom of this world, which is the kingdom of Satan, is set over against the kingdom of God, can be partly explained as a result of tendencies within Judaism; but it seems probable that the Persian dualistic religion must be taken into account in order to explain this strange departure from the otherwise strongly marked monotheism of Judaism (see esp. Stave, *Einfluss des Parsismus auf den Judentum*, 1898). In contrast to this dualistic tendency the older prophets were far more consistently, even if less theoretically and consciously, monotheistic, for they believed in the actual rule of the God of righteousness in present world-history as well as in the coming age, in the visible and not only in the invisible realm. They therefore saw evidence of the nearness and reality of God's rule in the presence and growth of the power of good; while the tendency of the apocalypse was to see in the growing power of evil the evidence that God's intervention, His reversal of human history, was at hand.

(*c*) *The element of prediction.*—Unfulfilled prophecy is the foundation upon which the whole structure of the apocalypse was built. This was both the problem and the reliance of Jewish faith and hope. What was spoken must be literally accomplished. Of conditional prediction the apocalypse knows nothing. The prophets' predictions of judgment had been fulfilled by the Exile, but their predictions with reference to the return from exile had never been fulfilled by the actual return; hence it must be that these hopes of the renewed land, the united tribes, the royal power and glory of Israel, were still to be realized. What the prophecies really meant, in view of their apparent contradiction by events, when and how their fulfilment was to come about, it was the task of the apocalyptic scribe to discover. Ezekiel took a decided step towards apocalypse when, on the basis of the words of Zephaniah and Jeremiah concerning the Scythians, he predicted the final assault of Gog and his wild hosts upon Jerusalem and their overthrow, and thus established one of the fixed elements in apocalyptical dogma (Ezk 38^{17} 39^{8}). Haggai and Zechariah still looked for a human explanation of the failure of the hopes, and found it in the delay in rebuilding the temple; Malachi, in imperfect offerings and withheld tithes. But in Daniel the reason is found no longer in the fault of man but in the plan of God. The 70 years are 70 weeks of years, and the unalterable time for the end is only just now drawing near. 4 Ezra reinterprets the fourth beast of Dn 7 to prove that Rome also was included in the predestined course of history before the end could come ($12^{11.\ 12}$). Only in the Bk. of Jonah do we have a protest against the dominant apocalyptic by a surviving prophetic spirit. Here the prediction is of judgment, its aim to produce repentance, and the result the success of the preaching, with the failure of the prediction. Yet even a book written in part to prove that prediction is ethical in aim and conditional in result could be used by Jews as if its predictions were magical and inviolable (To $14^{4.\ 8}$, B). The fault of the prophet Jonah, which the book uncovers and rebukes, was the fault of Judaism and its apocalypses. The Bk. of Jonah is a true utterance of the spirit of prophecy in unavailing protest against the narrowness, the jealousy, and the revenge that inspire much of the apocalyptic writing. Prophecy is fulfilled by every evidence in history of the rule of a righteous and merciful God, whether anticipated or not, whether for the benefit of Jews or of Gentiles. Apocalypse sees the hand of God and the vindication and glory of the seer only in a literal correspondence between predictions and events, and only in the fall of a Nineveh and the glory of Zion and Israel.

(*d*) *Pseudonymous authorship.*—It corresponds perfectly to the contrast just described that prophecy should be a personal and direct form of speech, the apocalypse a pseudepigraphic and mysterious form of writing. The prophet stood before his people and spoke in his own person. The authority of his speech was in no small measure that of his personality. He spoke first and wrote afterwards, but wrote as he spoke, in the first person. When, in the Exile and after it, prophets followed who repeated what others had said, or gave expression to the common faith, and had no peculiar message, their names were unimportant, and many of them wrote anonymously (Is 40–66, Malachi, Zec 9–14, etc.). Daniel is the first example of that pseudonymous prophetic writing which characterizes the whole apocalyptical group. It embodies the Jewish worship of prediction. Yet the moral earnestness and religious elevation of books like Daniel and 4 Ezra make it difficult for us to regard them as fictions, and certain considerations may help us to understand how this form of writing could be used by such men, although we must at best put their work far below the simplicity and openness of genuine prophecy. The fact that the apocalyptical writer was a serious student of ancient prophecies, whose sacredness he reverenced, and whose secrets he believed he could in a measure expound, suggests that he did not regard his thoughts as his own. The fixed and really ancient character of such apocalyptical traditions as those of the dragon of the deep, makes conceivable such a writer's evident faith in his predictions, which would be psychologically incredible if the visions were pure works of the imagination. Furthermore,—and this is an observation of great importance,—no apocalypse gives the impression of entire unity and harmony. Not only the writer's own studies of OT prophets, not only his own interpretations of apocalyptical imagery, but those of others before him are at his command, and furnish

the materials of his book. Not only traditions, but writings form his sources. These materials may already have connected themselves with Enoch, or Moses, or some other great name. So that one may venture to say that the pseudonymity of these books has some basis in actuality. The hiding or sealing of the book until the end (Dn $12^{4.9}$ 8^{26} (10^{14}), Assump. Mos. 1^{16-18}) belongs to the pseudepigraphic form, accounting for the appearance of the book so long after the time of its assumed origin. Yet this may also express the actual fact of the ancient character of the writer's sources. The writers could not have put forth this material altogether in their own names, for it is not as a whole their invention. They are largely compilers and commentators, and have a deep reverence for their sources. Yet this observation, which we owe to Gunkel, must be modified in view of those figures which are unmistakably and even explicitly constructed for the purpose of setting forth in allegorical form the history of the past, especially of the recent past, as foreseen by the supposed ancient author. Dn 7 contains, no doubt, traditional material of the sort just described, but it has been freely re-shaped so as to contain the history of four successive world-empires. If the original form of the tradition contained only one dragon of the deep, how can we be sure that the description of the one like a man was not part of the writer's elaboration of his material, rather than, as Gunkel affirms, part of the tradition itself? And if so, his belief in the forecast it contains preceded his use of the tradition and determined his use of it.

(*e*) *Literary material and form.* — The apocalypse is characterized by the use of striking figures, not only strange and unnatural, but evidently mysterious in character, seen in dreams and visions, interpreted by angels, and yielding secrets of the future course of history. Although prophecy is full of figurative forms of speech, freely fashioned, or poetically and rhetorically applied, yet these figures have neither the strange unearthly character nor the mysterious value of the distinctively apocalyptical symbols. These latter, at least in part, go back to primitive mythological formations. This connexion is quite unmistakable in Zech., where a mass of this material suddenly meets us. The four winds, messengers and agents of God, and the seven planets, His eyes, which run to and fro through the whole earth, are still clearly to be perceived as the underlying foundation of figures which the prophet applies to the historical situation, and to the two men, Joshua and Zerubbabel, on whom he fixes his high hopes (2^{8-11} 6^{1-8} $4^{2-6a.\ 10b-14}$). Yet Zech. uses such material as poetry, while in Daniel it has value as mystery, containing, for one who could interpret it, the secrets of the future. The vision and its interpretation by an angel comes therefore to be of supreme value, and revelation is conceived of in this half-sensible and wholly supernaturalistic way. Ezekiel here also leads the way. His vision of God is more sensible than Isaiah's, and his inspiration more external and supernaturalistic than Jeremiah's (cf. Ezk 1 with Is 6, and Ezk 2. 3 with Jer 1).

(*f*) *Literary composition and history.* — After Daniel, the Jewish apocalypses appear to be in no case proper unities. Most of them have been adapted by revision to use in later and changed conditions, and all of them, including Daniel, appear to be based in their first writing on older materials which they embody, without serious effort to build them into a harmonious structure. The Bk. of Enoch is a compilation of Enoch literature, having indeed a certain rough plan as it now stands, but without real unity. Even chs. 1–36 contain three distinct descriptions of the Messianic consummation (chs. 5. 10. 25), which, in connexion with the description of Sheol (ch. 22), form anything but a continuous and consistent picture. Almost all forms of the Jewish hope are contained in this book: that in which the Messiah occupies the central place, that in which he is subordinate, and that in which he is wholly absent; that in which the scene and character are purely earthly, that in which they are properly heavenly (angelic); that in which the heavenly precedes the earthly and finally descends to earth (37–70), and that in which the heavenly follows after the earthly in chronological succession (91^{12-17}) — the chiliastic scheme. In general the apocalypses are not characterized by a thoroughgoing unity of scheme, nor even by a consistent unity of teaching, and cannot be understood except by the recognition of independent sources, and also, in some cases, editorial revision. Here we have especially to do with the additions of Christian hands, since through them alone these books, after Daniel, have reached us. In some cases this Christian revision has gone but a little way (Enoch, Assump. Mos., Apoc. Bar); while in some cases the Jewish apocalypse is found in a radical Christian revision (Asc. of Isaiah, Test. XII. Patriarchs). The questions as to literary analysis and the presence of a considerable Christian element are still very variously answered, especially in the case of Enoch 37–70 (71) and 4 Ezra.

(*g*) *Apocalyptical dogmas.*—The religious teachings of the prophets, individual and distinct as they are, can be summarized only in some such statement of their moral and religious principles as Mic 6^{8} ('to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God'), in connexion with such a formulation of their preaching of repentance in view of the threatened judgment as Zech. gives (1^{4} $7^{9ff.}$ connecting v.^{9} with v.^{7}). But in the apocalypses not principles so much as details become fixed in dogmas. Daniel's general scheme for the future is unchanged: a coming Day of J", which is near at hand, and comes when evil is at its height; the overthrow of the world-kingdom, the sifting of the Jewish people, and the possession by the righteous of kingship over the nations and lasting blessedness. To this were added, from Ezekiel, a final assault of the outstanding heathen upon Zion, in which they are gloriously and finally vanquished; from various prophecies, the expectation of the return of the ten tribes and the gathering of the dispersed Jews; and details regarding the renewed land and city, such as Deutero-Isaiah, Ezekiel, Haggai, and others suggested.

Within this general scheme some important differences were possible. The Messiah is sometimes conceived of as God's agent in establishing his kingdom on earth (*e.g.* Ps-Sol 17, Enoch 37–70), sometimes as king after the kingdom has been set up by God, *e.g.* Enoch 90, 4 Ezr 7^{28}, Apoc. Bar 29; and sometimes all is done by God alone, and there is no king beside him (*e.g.* Daniel, Enoch 1–36, Assump. Mos. 10).

The place of the individual in this eschatological scheme is differently estimated. Sometimes, and in general one may say in earlier times, nations are the chief actors, and it is the problem of Israel that events are to solve. Increasingly the individual claimed consideration, and the suggestions of Dn $12^{2.3.13}$ were followed and elaborated. An eschatology of the individual was developed in connexion with the national, and gradually threatened to subordinate the national to itself. At first it was enough that the righteous dead should arise to have the part they deserved in the glory of the nation. But at some time the effort to claim for the individual a more than earthly and temporary future, and perhaps also the effort to ascribe to the coming age a more than earthly glory, produced a strain and at last a break in the traditional hope. There came to be two consummations, the earthly, the world-rule of Israel, the Messianic kingdom, which would come to an end and be followed by the heavenly and eternal. Of this break of the one hope into two our earliest record is in the Apocalypse of Ten Weeks in Enoch 93^{1-10} 91^{12-17}. Cf. 4 Ezr $7^{28f.}$, Apoc. Bar 40^{3}, Secrets of Enoch 33, and see MILLENNIUM. In connexion with this scheme, the lot of the soul after death became a subject of apocalyptical research and vision by the side of the lot of Israel and Zion (4 Ezra).

The idea that the visible and human world was to be understood by the invisible and angelic that lay about and beneath and above it, led the apocalyptical writers not only to a developed angelology, in part Persian in origin, but also to researches in the mysteries of nature, especially in reference to the movements of the planets, most of all those of the moon, such as are elaborated in Enoch 72–79. 82. 41^{2-9} 43. 44. 59. 69. But while some apocalypses are concerned with such speculations, others move back in the opposite direction to an almost prophetic earnestness of moral denunciation and exhortation (*e.g.* Enoch 91–104),

(3) *Inferences as to Methods of Interpretation.*—From this brief study of the nature of the apocalypse certain inferences follow as to the method of interpretation.

(*a*) *Not 'futurist.'*—The apocalypse has to do with the present and the immediate, not the remote future. Its predictions are to be understood as referring to actual or imminent historical factors and events.

(*b*) *Contemporary-historical.*—Some of the figures of the apocalypse are invented or freely adapted in order to represent historical persons, nations, and events. These are to be explained in accordance with their origin by the events which they describe. From them we may hope to get the clearest light upon the date of the writing.

(*c*) *Tradition-historical.*—Some of the figures are borrowed from the OT or from older apocalypses or traditions. In such cases the interpreter must distinguish between the original meaning of the figure and the present author's purpose in using it. He may have used it because in the main it lent itself to his application, but he may have preferred not to change it, either from artistic instinct or from reverence. It is a mistake, then, to assume that every detail had a meaning to him, and to insist on finding it. Perhaps some features of the picture were as much a mystery to the writer of our book as they are to us. Sometimes we can guess quite plausibly what the *original* meaning was, although we cannot tell whether the writer of our book gave it a meaning or not.

(*d*) *Literary-critical.*—The unity of an apocalypse cannot be assumed. The ancient material just alluded to may be introduced almost entire from some unknown source. Later readers might weave together distinct oracles, especially if they passed under the same name; and editorial comments or changes are always possible in the effort to adapt an apocalypse to the changed conditions or the changed beliefs of a later time. Literary criticism must, however, be held in check by the fact that a writer often himself used ancient traditional materials only partly harmonious with his own time and teaching, and fitted them but imperfectly into his plan.

(*e*) *Poetical.*—The underlying religious faith and the immediate practical aim of an apocalyptical writer (to encourage faith amid trial, to recall apostates, to guard readers against the influence of foreign thought and life, etc.), must not be lost sight of in the study of the mysteries of the unseen or future world which he would unveil. The question is always to be asked how far the strange accounts of the unseen world and of coming events were of literal, and how far of figurative or poetic value to the writer himself. There was something of the poet in the apocalyptical seer. He was seldom simply a scribe and a literalist. The greater the variety and the less the outward consistency of his visions, the less probably were they regarded by him as literally true. In connexion with this the question must arise as to the psychical experience of the apocalyptical writer, the possibility of some actual visionary experiences among the many which must be regarded as fictitious, a mere literary form. Thus Gunkel believes that such genuine experiences lie behind some of the visions in 4 Ezra (2 Esdras), more in the first three visions (chs. 3^{1}–9^{37}) and less in the last three (11–14).

4. *Rev. as an Apocalypse.*—We may now notice certain points of likeness and of unlikeness which a general comparison of Rev. with the Jewish apocalypse suggests, and certain points of uncertainty which form the main problems in the following discussion.

(*a*) *Likeness of Rev. to Jewish apocalypses.*—The Bk. of Rev. is written to encourage faith and endurance amid trials and persecution. These trials are at least chiefly due to the rule of Rome, though within the Christian communities directly addressed there are false as well as true members. The message of the book is one of repentance only in the case of indifferent or wavering believers ($2^{5.\,16}$ $3^{3.\,14}$ [and Jews, 11^{13}?]). It is not a message of repentance for those whose sin is chiefly denounced ($9^{20.\,21}$ $16^{9.\,11}$ 22^{11}), but of deliverance and reward for those who endure a little longer; and of judgment and destruction for the evil power and its adherents. The situation and message are those of apocalypse, and not those of prophecy.

Apocalyptical, also, is the contrast between the present and the coming age; the conviction that evil must increase, and that its violence is a sign of the nearness of the end; the belief that evil has its source and strength in the world of spirits, and that angelic conflicts and triumphs precede or accompany those among men.

Rev. contains an abundance of that striking and highly wrought imagery which characterizes an apocalypse. These images are in part borrowed from Zech. and Daniel and other OT writers; in part, presumably, from the storehouse of apocalyptical traditions. That they are not used simply as poetical ornament, but have for the writer in part a mysterious value, is at all events a natural first impression. The facts that the book is so largely made up of such imagery, and that it is put in the form of vision, and is interpreted to the seer by angels, make up the most obvious resemblance between this book and the Jewish apocalypses. The literary materials and form are largely apocalyptical. That this resemblance is not merely formal but deep-going, is suggested by the extraordinary claims with which the book is sent out (1^{1-3} $22^{18.\,19}$). In its supernaturalistic conception of inspiration the book is apocalyptical rather than prophetic ($1^{10ff.}$ $4^{1ff.}$ etc.).

In its scheme of the future, the contents of its prediction, the book has an obvious likeness to the Jewish books of this class: the coming of the day of the Lord Christ, when evil is at its height; the overthrow of the world-kingdom, Rome; the sifting of the Christian people; the earthly Messianic age, in which the saints (Christian martyrs) will possess the kingdom and reign with Christ; the final assault and overthrow of the powers of evil, the Gog of Ezekiel's prediction; the general resurrection and judgment, and the new heaven and earth with individual and eternal awards: this is simply the Jewish scheme in its Messianic and chiliastic form, with Jesus as the Messiah, and His servants as the saints and heirs. Over against such likenesses in form and substance no difference can be sufficient to sever the relationship between our book and other apocalypses. Lücke was the first fully to establish the relationship. Zahn (*Einleitung in d. NT*, ii. 1899) is the last—one is tempted to say, will be the last—real scholar to deny it. He may at least teach us to be on our guard against false inferences from this undeniable literary relationship.

(*b*) *Unlikeness of Rev. and Jewish apocalypses.*—Rev. is a *Christian* apocalypse. What and how great unlikenesses does this involve? Two general

considerations would lead us in opposite directions with reference to this question. The Christian religion as the Baptist prepared the way for it, as Christ founded it, and as St. Paul preached it, was undoubtedly in essential respects a return to prophecy, not only from the law, but also from the national and sensuous hopes of Judaism. The Baptist and Jesus announced not the fall of Rome, but the fall of Jerusalem, just as Amos and Hosea announced the approaching fall of Samaria, and Micah and Jeremiah that of Jerusalem; and for the same reason, in the same way, with the same motive, the call to repentance and righteousness. Jesus was a prophet in His belief in this world as God's world, and in good as already the ruling power in it, and also in the directness and personal authority of His words, the immediateness and inwardness of His relation to God, His eye for the supernatural in spiritual and not in magical manifestations. We should certainly hope that the new Christian prophecy would be truly prophetic in character, and not apocalyptical. But, on the other hand, we know that the early Christian Church found itself fully at home in Jewish apocalypses. It was the Jews who threw away their apocalypses, Christians who preserved them almost without change, applying to the second coming of the Messiah what Jews had imagined of His first coming. How early this happened the NT and even the Gospels give evidence. We cannot, therefore, assume that the Christian apocalypse is essentially unlike the Jewish. The Christian element may be an entirely superficial one, the mere identification of the coming Messiah with Jesus, and of the redeemed with the Christian Church.

Looking at the book itself, the most obvious unlikeness to the Jewish apocalypse, after the identifications just named, is the letters to the seven Churches. To be sure, they are introduced by a highly coloured Christophany, based on Zech. and Daniel, and are given in the form of a direct communication of the exalted Christ through the Spirit. Yet they have to do with actual, concrete conditions; they praise and blame, encourage and warn, with close discrimination and intense moral earnestness, so that we feel the prophetic spirit behind the partly apocalyptical form. Their warnings are aimed, not at foreign powers, but at the Christian communities; and the judgment they predict, though not itself conditional, is nevertheless the basis of a teaching of repentance. These are not like the letters of St. Paul, but they are far less like the Epistle of Baruch to the nine and a half tribes (Apoc. Bar 78–87).*

(*c*) *Remaining questions as to the relation of Rev. to the apocalypses.*—Certain points remain at which the question of likeness or unlikeness between Rev. and Jewish apocalypses cannot be answered by a general view, but only, if at all, by closer study.

(1) *Pseudonymity.*—The Jewish apocalypses are all pseudonymous, and contain accounts, in direct or figurative form, of the past course of history, in the form of predictions by the assumed author.

'Who can compare the name John [1[1. 4. 9 22]8] with Enoch or Moses, or even with Daniel, Baruch, and Ezra? The authors of those books dated themselves centuries back, veiled themselves in the sacred names of the remote past, and turned to a credulous public of their time without even pretending any personal relation to it whatever. Here, on the contrary, a man speaks to seven Churches of the province of Asia and gives them his book, who is most accurately acquainted with their present conditions; and he speaks to them under the name, John, which was borne there about A.D. 70–100 by the most conspicuous ecclesiastical personality; and this he does according to tradition about A.D. 95, so in the lifetime of the famous John of Ephesus, or according to any conceivable hypothesis in the lifetime of the personal pupils of this John' (Zahn, *Einleit.* ii. p. 584 f.).

This is Zahn's chief objection to classing Rev. with the apocalypses, to the very essence of which, he says, belongs pseudonymity. 'The representation of the development of world-history under the form of an ante-dated prediction, if it is present at all in Rev., is a wholly subordinate element in it.' With this sentence Zahn makes his position insecure. A certain amount of antedated prediction, or at least of history in the form of vision, can hardly be excluded from the picture of the Roman empire in Rev 13 and 17; but pseudonymity has such visions for its most characteristic product and one of its reasons for being. Even as a subordinate element in the book, comparable to the place of chs. 11. 12 in the Apoc. of Ezra, such visions suggest the possibility of pseudonymous authorship, which in the case of a Christian apocalypse might well choose an apostolic name. Weizsäcker therefore thinks we should start from the fact 'that among all similar writings of Jewish and ancient Christian origin, we know not a single one which bears the name of its own author.' Even Hermas is hardly a unity, and professes a greater than its actual age. This does not make it impossible that John wrote under his own name. 'But a strong presupposition always remains that the general practice of this art-form is followed in this case also' (*Apostolic Age*, ii. p. 174).

The question of pseudonymity, and the connected question whether and how far Rev. contains history in the form of vision, remains open at this preliminary stage of our discussion.

(2) *Composite character.*—So also must the question of *composite character* be regarded as opened, and not closed, by a general comparison of Rev. with the Jewish apocalypses.

Does Rev. share this common characteristic of the apocalypse? The book has often been praised for its architectural construction, but there are various indications of seams or breaks in its structure, and neither in the historical situation which it reflects (before or after 70; soon after Nero or under Domitian) nor in the type of religious thought which it represents (Jewish or Pauline [universalistic] Christianity; primitive Jewish, or developed [Hellenistic] Christology) is unity of impression easily gained. The course of recent investigation abundantly vindicates the proposition that the question of likeness or unlikeness between Rev. and the apocalypses in the matter of unity and sources is at present an open one.

(3) *Nature of vision.*—A third uncertainty concerns the question of the nature of the visions, the narrative of which makes up the book. All apocalypses are composed largely of accounts of visions and their interpretation by angels. The question, how far this is a literary (artistic) form, and how far really ecstatic experiences were connected with their authorship, is one that should not be answered too confidently and sweepingly even with reference to the Jewish apocalypses. Zahn accepts the visions of Rev. as actual experiences literally described, while he regards the visions of other apocalypses as artistic fictions. The difference is to him that between true and false prophecy. Others, the majority, judge the vision to be everywhere, at least in this age, a literary form, and point for evidence especially to the many repetitions or imitations of OT and other traditional materials which they contain, and to the many visions which simply embody history in allegorical form, to account for which real vision is a wholly unnecessary supposition.

* Cf. the possible companion letter to the two and a half tribes in Bar 1[1-3 3]9–4[2]9.

Recent investigation, however, showing the large dependence of the visionary upon memory, does not allow us to say with confidence of the abundance of OT allusions in Rev., 'This is literary art, and not the way in which living vision in the spirit expresses itself' (Weizsäcker).

Three important questions, then, are opened by the general comparison of Rev. with Jewish apocalypses: Is it pseudonymous? Is it a literary unity, or is it composite? Are its visions actual, or a literary form? The questions converge in the effort to recover the author's personality, and the method and purpose or spirit of his work, the self-consciousness of the man. Weizsäcker, to whom the recent course of criticism is directly due, gives his answer to our questions in this summary fashion: 'The Apoc. of John was not written by the apostle. It is also not the record of a revelation or a vision which the author experienced on a day. It is, further, not the work of a homogeneous conception' (*Apostolic Age*, ii. 174).

iii. CONTENTS AND COMPOSITION OF REVELATION.—1. *Contents of the Book.*

The Book of Rev. reads briefly as follows:—An introduction, giving title, author, address, and subject (1^{1-8}), is followed by the appearance of Christ to John at Patmos, and the charge to write to the seven Churches (1^{9-20}), to each of which a letter is dictated by Christ (or His angel-spirit), in which the Church is praised or blamed with reference to past trials and heathen influences, and in view of a greater trial soon to come in connexion with the approaching coming of Christ (2. 3). The seer then sees heaven opened, and, being summoned up thither, he sees and describes the throne of God, and the twenty-four elders, seven spirits, and four living beings, who praise God the creator (4). He sees the sealed book in God's hand, and the Lamb as if slain with seven horns and seven eyes (the spirits of God) appears amid the praises of the highest angels and of all creation, as the one who alone can open the seven seals (5). He opens six seals. The first four introduce four horsemen who seem to be agents of judgment (war, famine, pestilence). The fifth reveals the prayers of martyred souls for vengeance; the sixth an earthquake, which brings destruction to nature and terror to men (6). Before the destructive powers (winds) are loosed, 12,000 from each of Israel's twelve tribes are sealed (7^{1-8}), and John sees a countless multitude of all nations who have passed through the great tribulation, in heavenly blessedness (7^{9-17}). The seventh seal brings silence in heaven (8^{1}). Then 'the seven angels' appear (8^{2}), and, after the prayers of the saints have again been offered before God (8^{3-5}), six of the angels sound their trumpets. The first four bring forth earthquake and volcanic phenomena with destructive effect upon a third of earth, sea, rivers, and heaven (8^{6-12}). The remaining three are to be three woes (8^{13}). The fifth (first woe) brings demonic locust-beings from the abyss, under their king Apollyon, who torment unsealed men five months (9^{1-12}). The sixth brings armies of cavalry from the Euphrates, destroying one-third of men (9^{13-21}). Before this second woe is declared to be past [in 11^{14}], the seer receives a new commission and message, a little book which he eats (10); and it is revealed to him that Jerusalem, except the temple and inner court, will be trodden by the Gentiles 42 months, and that 'the two witnesses' will prophesy during that time, and then be killed, and after 3½ days raised to heaven (11^{1-14}). The seventh trumpet (third woe) sounds, and heavenly voices announce the establishment of the kingdom of God and Christ (11^{15-18}). Storm and earthquake follow the opening of God's heavenly temple (11^{19}). The seer then beholds the unavailing effort of the dragon Satan to destroy the Messiah at His birth; the dragon's fall from heaven, and his persecution of the woman who bore the child, and of her other seed (12^{1-17}). Out of the sea comes a beast with ten horns and seven heads, whom the dragon equips with his own authority. He wars against the saints and is worshipped by all other men (13^{1-10}). This worship is furthered and enforced by another beast out of the earth with miraculous powers, who stamps men with the number of the beast, 666 (13^{11-18}). Over against these evil powers the Lamb is seen with the 144,000 undefiled on Mt. Zion (14^{1-5}). Angels announce the eternal gospel of the worship of God in view of judgment to come, the fall of Babylon, the punishment of the worshippers of the beast, the blessedness of martyrs (14^{6-13}). One like a son of man [Messiah or angel?] reaps the earth with his sickle, and another angel gathers the grapes into the winepress of God's wrath (14^{14-20}). Seven angels, after the heavenly praises of the redeemed are heard, pour out seven bowls containing the seven last plagues, the sixth of which brings remote nations to the last war at Har-Magedon, and the seventh an earthquake which destroys cities, divides Babylon, destroys nature (15. 16). The city is then seen as a woman seated on a scarlet beast, at last wasted and destroyed by the beast and its 10 horns (17^{1-18}). Angels utter prophetic woes over Babylon, announcing its fall because of its persecution of prophets and saints (18). After heavenly rejoicings over the city's fall, and the readiness of the Lamb's bride (19^{1-10}), the Messiah appears as warrior and king, the two beasts are cast into the lake of fire, and their followers destroyed (19^{11-21}). Satan is bound, while Christ and the risen martyrs reign 1000 years. Satan is loosed, and brings remote peoples to a final war against Jerusalem. They are destroyed, and he is cast into the lake of fire (20^{1-10}). The general resurrection and judgment follow (20^{11-15}). The new heaven and earth, the new Jerusalem, and final blessedness in it, are described (21^{1}–22^{5}). The conclusion consists of attestations and admonitions regarding the Divine authorship and sanctity of the book (22^{6-21}).

2. *Plan of the Book.*—(*a*) *Introductory.*—There are two main methods by which plan and order are discovered in the visions of 4^{1}–22^{5}. The *recapitulation* method (from Tyconius and Augustine to recent times) finds no progress in the successive sevens (seals, trumpets, and bowls) which form the main structure of this section, but repetition under varying forms. The seals bring already the last judgment (6^{12-17}) and the final blessedness (7^{9-17}). Among more recent critics, however, the view prevails that the seventh in each series is developed in the new series of seven that follows. The seventh seal contains the remainder of the book, and is unfolded in seven trumpets, of which the seventh includes all that follows to the end (10^{7}), but is unfolded in the seven bowls (Lücke, Bleek, Ewald, etc.). In this scheme ch. 7 appears as an interlude between the sixth and seventh seals, and 10–11^{13} as a similar insertion between the sixth and seventh trumpets. The bowls are not interrupted in the same way, but before and after them are visions which give the same impression of standing outside of the writer's ruling scheme (12–14. 17–19^{10}).

Holtzmann represents the structure of the book in the following scheme (*Comm.* p. 295):—

1^{1-8} Introduction.
1^{9}–3^{22} The seven Letters.
4^{1}–5^{14} Heavenly scene of the visions.
6^{1-17} Six seals.
7^{1-17} The sealed and the blessed.
8^{1-5} The coming forth of the trumpets out of the 7th seal.
8^{6}–9^{21} Six trumpets.
10^{1}–11^{14} Destiny of Jerusalem.
11^{15-19} Seventh trumpet.
12^{1}–14^{5} The great visions of the three chief foes and the Messiah-kingdom.
14^{6-20} Return to the earlier connexion.
15^{1}–16^{1} Transition to the bowls.
16^{2-21} Seven bowls.
17^{1}–19^{10} The great Babylon.
19^{11}–20^{15} Final catastrophes.
21^{1}–22^{5} The new Jerusalem.
22^{6-21} Conclusion.

It is to be noticed that the sections at the right contain most of the material which Weizsäcker and others regard as of earlier origin, and that of which Jewish authorship can be most plausibly affirmed. The supposition that they were inserted by the writer, and that he was not able to bring them into the sevenfold scheme which he chose, is a natural one. Holtzmann, however, says that if this was the case, these sections have at all events been assimilated to the rest in style, and connected with it by various references, so that the lines of separation do not remain sharply defined.

By the side of this we may well place in bare outline the analysis of Zahn (*Einl.* ii. 587 ff.), which, as he believes, demonstrates the unity of the book 'in spite of all lack of literary art.'

Introd. (1^{1-9}). *First Vision*, 1^{10}–3^{22} (Letters). *Second Vision*, 4^{1}–8^{1} (Seals), with two Episodes, (*a*) 7^{1-8}, (*b*) 7^{9-17}, before the seventh. *Third Vision*, 8^{2}–11^{18} (Trumpets), with two Episodes, (*a*) 10^{1-11}, (*b*) 11^{1-14}, before the seventh. *Fourth Vision*, 11^{19}–14^{20}. *Fifth Vision*, 15^{1}–16^{17} (Bowls). *Sixth Vision*, 17^{1}–18^{24} (Judgment on Babylon), 16^{18-21} introduces it, and $19^{1-8.\,9-10}$ concludes it and introduces the *Seventh Vision*, 19^{11}–21^{8} (Judgment and Awards). *Eighth Vision*, 21^{9}–22^{5} (*or* 15) (a description not of the new heaven and earth of 21^{1-8}, but of the world during the 1000 years' reign of Christ, 20^{4-6}). Conclusion, 22^{6} (*or* 16)-21.

(*b*) *Plan of chs.* 1–3.—The construction of these chapters gives the greatest evidence of conscious and careful literary art, and no doubt may fairly predispose the reader to look for art throughout. The introductory verses (1^{1-8}) contain a remarkably complete statement of the source, character, and contents of the entire book, and prepare us to recognize such summary, anticipatory introductions elsewhere. The ultimate author of the revelation is God, who gave it to Christ, who sent an angel to signify it to John. It can therefore be called 'the word of God,' 'the testimony of Jesus,' or 'the things which John saw.' Its contents are 'the things which must happen quickly'; that is, it is a prediction, but of the immediate not the remote future. Its readers are God's servants, who are blessed if they hear and keep what is written. More expressly 'the seven Churches in Asia' are addressed, and in saluting them the author completely sums up his theology. It is in some sense trinitarian (vv.$^{4.5}$), and the kingly exaltation of Christ through resurrection, the saving effect of His death, and the destination He made possible for believers, are described. The central message of the book, the coming of Christ, and that in its judicial aspect, is expressly announced, perhaps by God, who, at all events, as the real author of the revelation, adds in the first person His attestation. It is not, indeed, impossible to divide this introduction into independent parts (1–3. 4–6. 7. 8), and suppose them to have introduced separate apocalypses (cf. Spitta, Briggs). But it can hardly be denied that the whole is admirably adapted to introduce the book.

The vision of Christ (1^{9-20}) brings before us the priestly and kingly One, who lives amid His Churches and possesses or rules them. The letters are introduced by descriptions of Christ which are in most cases borrowed from the vision, and close with promises 'to him that overcometh,' which in most cases anticipate the fuller descriptions of chs. 19–22. The selection of descriptive features from the vision of Christ in several cases fits the special message of the letter; and this is sometimes, but not so often and clearly, the case with the selection of the reward. (1) The description, 2^{1} (from $1^{16a.\ 13a}$), is referred to in 2^{5}. The reward, 2^{7b} (cf. 22^{2}), has no obvious relation to the letter. (2) The description, 2^{8} (from $1^{17b.\ 18a}$), fits both the message, 2^{10b}, and the reward, 2^{11b} (cf. 20^{6}). (3) The description, 2^{12} (from 1^{16b}), is referred to in 2^{16}. The reward, 2^{17b} (only in part, if at all, parallel to 22^{4}, cf. 19^{12}), may possibly stand in contrast to the eating of things sacrificed to idols (2^{14}). (4) The description, 2^{18} (from $1^{14b.\ 15a}$, but 'Son of God' is here only), prepares for 2^{23}. The reward, 2^{26-28} (in part parallel to 20^{4}, cf. 12^{5} 19^{15} 22^{16}), could relate to the letter if Jezebel's teaching included submission to Rome. (5) The description, 3^{1} (from 1^{16}, cf. 2^{1} 1^{4}), has no special relation to the letter. The reward, 3^{5} (cf. 6^{11a} $7^{9b.\ 13}$ 17^{8} $20^{12.\ 15}$ 21^{27}, Mt 10^{32}), is connected with v.^{4} and perhaps v.^{1}. (6) The description, 3^{7} (not from the vision, cf. Is 22^{22} [cf. 1^{18}]), is used in v.^{8}. The reward, 3^{12} (cf. 14^{1b} 22^{4} $21^{2.\ 10}$ $19^{12.\ 16}$), has no obvious connexion with the letter (Bousset compares v.^{12a} with v.^{7b}). (7) The description, 3^{14} (not from the vision, cf. 1^{5}, Col $1^{15ff.}$, Jn 1^{3}), may prepare for the severity of the letter (cf. v.^{19}). The reward, 3^{21} (cf. 20^{4-6} 1^{6} $2^{26f.}$ 5^{10} 22^{3}), connects with v.^{20} (cf. Lk $22^{29.\ 30}$).

That the writer is working as an artist is evident, and a reason may have determined his choice of titles and promises where it is no longer evident. The last title is perhaps the highest, and the last reward also represents a climax. The first reward suggests Eden; the second, the Fall; the third, the Wilderness; the fourth, the Kingdom; but though the intention to represent the fulfilment of successive stages of OT history is wholly conceivable, the evidence for it is not convincing.* No evident reason for the changed position of the sentence, 'He that hath an ear,' etc., in the last four letters, is manifest. Of the historical conditions described in the letters something will be said further on. But, in spite of unmistakable references to local conditions, each letter is a message of the spirit to 'the Churches.' They were not sent separately or meant to be read separately, but have each a representative and all together a complete character, which the number seven itself suggests.

Chs. 1–3 show not only a conscious artistic purpose, but in more details than can here be noted and still more in total effect they show a high order of poetic instinct and skill.

(*c*) *Plan of chs.* 4–22.—The choice of three series of sevens in the representation of the coming woes and judgment shows the same mind that addressed the Churches as seven. To assign these sevens to different sources (Spitta, Briggs), is to miss one of the most evident marks of unity in the book. It is more likely, *e.g.*, that the author made seven seals out of an original four (see below) than that he found his sevens ready made. But what is to be said of the two twofold interludes inserted between the sixth and seventh seals and trumpets ($7^{1-8.\ 9-17}$ 10. 11^{1-13})?

The first two of these visions not only interrupt the plan, but are apparently inharmonious with each other. In one (7^{1-8}) a definite number of Jews are sealed before the coming of evil, in order to be kept from it; in the other (7^{9-17}) a countless number from all nations have already come through trials and death to heavenly blessedness. The first could well be of Jewish origin (based on Ezk $9^{4ff.}$), and describe the literal safe-keeping of Jews in the troubles of the last days. Did our writer believe that Jews would play a distinct rôle in the end? This is possible (cf. St. Paul in Ro 9–11), but it is more probable that he adopts a Jewish apocalyptical fragment applying it to the Christian community, and understanding it not in a literal sense. This would account for the fact that the four winds (7^{1}) are never loosed. We have not a whole but a part ($9^{14f.}$ is related, but different). We have indeed an allusion to the sealing (9^{4}, cf. 14^{1}) as if to prevent our supposing the section a later insertion. But there the sealed can only be all true Christians, as in 14^{1-5} the 144,000 are. If Rev 7^{1-8} applies a Jewish oracle to the Christian community, the deliverance it assumes may well be no more literal than the rest, and its meaning in the author's intention may be wholly like the meaning of 7^{9-17}. Not deliverance from death, but deliverance through death, is, in fact, the promise of the book. These two visions, then, contrasted as they are, and of different origin, may have meant the same thing to the author. They are assurances of escape and salvation, inserted here, after the beginning of evils but before their culmination, to serve the practical purpose of encouragement. The second one seems to describe by anticipation nothing less than the final heavenly blessedness, for no such host had as yet passed through trial (martyrdom?) to heaven, and 6^{9-11} seems to prevent the supposition that those who had already died were in possession of their final glory.

Our inference in regard to ch. 7 is, then, that the writer introduces foreign (in part Jewish) fragments into his book, apparently interrupting his plan, but not without a purpose. He is writing even more to encourage true Christians than to

* Trench (*Epistles to the Seven Churches*, N.Y. 1862, p. 287 f.), who proceeds with a new series, thus: fifth, individual's lot at the Day of Judgment; sixth, in companionship with the redeemed; seventh, in communion with God.

warn apostates, and so will not let assurance and promise wait until its proper place, when judgment has run its course, but will anticipate deliverance, setting light over against dark in his picture, though dark must predominate.

Turning to the second pair of insertions, we notice that ch. 10 seems to describe nothing less than a new beginning of the prophet's activity, a new commission and inspiration. It seems meant to explain the new and strange nature of the oracles that follow. Perhaps $10^{3.4}$ may serve to explain the writer's departure from the plan of developing the seventh of one series of judgments in the form of a new series of seven. Instead of the seven thunders which he heard, he is charged to write the contents of the little book of prophecies over many peoples. Yet this apparent change of plan is not a real break in the order, since it is still affirmed that the seventh angel's trumpet will bring the end (10^{7}).

The second section, 11^{1-13}, is still preliminary, as 11^{14} (cf. 9^{12}) clearly indicates. Its strange character is evident. Yet it may well have been meant to serve the same purpose as 7^{1-17}, and indeed it falls into two similar parts. $11^{1.2}$, like 7^{1-8}, assures Christians, the true worshippers in the true temple of God, that they will escape from the evils of the last days. Undoubtedly in their origin these verses referred to the real temple and to Jewish worshippers. This must have been a Jewish oracle uttered some time before A.D. 70. But our author can have used it only as a figure, precisely like the sealing of the 144,000. Its unprepared and fragmentary character are explicable if it was to the writer symbol, not reality. Not otherwise must we judge 11^{3-13}. In our writer's plan it must mean that those who do not in the outward sense escape the evil, but because of their testimony and work against the power of evil suffer and die, will nevertheless rise in glory and be avenged upon their enemies (not unlike 7^{9-17}). Of course this does not explain the origin of the section. It is full of unexplained allusions, and is clearly part of a larger whole. Its Jewish origin is unmistakable. Bousset regards it as a part of the apocalyptical tradition of Antichrist. It suggests an elaboration of the expectation of the return of Elijah for a work of protest and reform (Mal $4^{5.6}$, Mt 17^{17} 11^{14}), and the similar hope of the return of Moses based on Dt $18^{15.18}$ (Mt 17^{3}). But since our writer introduces it, not as an incident in the direct development of the drama, but in an interlude and for its general message of encouragement in faithful testimony unto death, it is natural to raise the question whether he took the details literally, and expected the two prophets and especially the conversion of the majority of the Jewish people after a partial judgment upon them (v.^{13}). How, indeed, could a Christian, in view of the prediction of Christ, even before A.D. 70, have taken literally either the expectation that the temple would be exempt from desecration by the heathen, or that only a tenth of the city would fall? Still less possible would the literal sense of the oracle be after 70. It is true that a Christian hand has touched the narrative (v.^{8} end), but it is not probable that the resurrection of the two witnesses is shaped after that of Christ (v.^{11}). In its strongly Jewish character, its evident date (before 70), much earlier than the book as a whole, its unprepared insertion, apparently only for its general thought of faithful testimony, martyrdom, and heavenly reward, the section is very instructive regarding the literary manner of the author (see below, iii. 3).

The seventh trumpet must be the third woe (11^{14}), and it must bring the consummation (10^{7}). Its contents cannot therefore be given in 11^{15-18}, but must include the rest of the book. The third woe cannot be less than the last conflict with the powers of evil and their overthrow, which forms the theme of chs. 12–20 (see 12^{12}). In 11^{15-18} we have, therefore, an anticipation in a heavenly chorus of the consummation which is not yet fully come (as in 15^{2-4} 19^{1-7}); a superscription for chs. 12–20.

The general plan of chs. 11^{15}–22^{5} is clear. After an introductory anticipation of the kingdom of God and the wrath and destruction that must precede its coming (11^{15-19}), Satan, the real power of evil, is introduced, and his present peculiar aggressiveness is explained in such a way as to make it a ground of special hope, not of discouragement. He has been cast down from heaven, and knows that his time on earth is short (ch. 12). The chief agents of Satan in his persecution of Christians—Rome, the empire and the religion—are then introduced (ch. 13). Before judgment against the evil powers begins, the author, according to his custom, inserts various anticipatory passages: a vision of the blessedness of the saints with Christ (vv.$^{1-5}$); a review of the entire teaching of the book (vv.$^{6-13}$): its gospel, the sole worship of God in view of judgment to come; its prediction, the fall of Rome, and the eternal punishment of those who yield to Roman life and cultus; the supreme Christian duty, patience, endurance in Christian life and faith, and the promises of heavenly blessedness for martyrs; then a general vision of judgment in two acts, the reaping of grain and the gathering of grapes (vv.$^{14-20}$). The seven bowls are introduced as finishing the wrath of God (15^{1}, cf. 'it is done,' γέγονεν, 16^{17}). They lead up to the destruction of Rome. But for this great event the writer has larger resources of description at his command. The vision of the woman seated on the dragon shows that it is her own evil demon that will turn against the city, and with its ten horns, which are ten kings, destroy her (ch. 17). Her fall will fulfil the language of prophecy against Babylon and Tyre (ch. 18). It will be finally effected—the end having been once more anticipated in heavenly praises (19^{1-10})—at Christ's coming and by Him (19^{11-21}). Then, the beasts having been destroyed, Satan's own judgment must come, a preliminary binding and a final destruction (ch. 20). Then at last the consummation so often anticipated will be an actuality (21–22^{5}).

Although the writer connects ch. 17 and $21^{9ff.}$ with one of the angels of the bowls, yet it must be evident that we are not to judge this section (12–22^{5}) as consisting of the seven bowls (developing the seventh trumpet), and some introductory and concluding sections; for the prelude and postlude would in this case far overbalance the piece itself both in length and in interest and power. On the other hand, the theme of 12–22^{5} being the fall of Rome, the present Satanic power, and with it the deliverance and blessedness of faithful Christians, it is clear that chs. 12. 13 and 17–22^{5} form the solid framework of the structure. Ch. 19 brings the beasts of ch. 13 to judgment; ch. 20 brings the Satan of ch. 12 to an end; 21–22^{5} brings to actuality the anticipation of 11^{15-17}. To set aside the passages put in the right-hand column in Holtzmann's scheme for the sake of carrying out the plan of developing the seventh of each series by a new series of seven, would sacrifice the most important parts of the section, in which order and movement are most evident. We must conclude that the writer, in the second half of his book, renounced that plan as not adequate for his material, as ch. 10 may have been meant to suggest. The seven bowls, in fact, form the least original and impressive part of this section, being de-

pendent on the seven trumpets and inferior to them in effectiveness (see below). The seven bowls do not furnish the plan of this section. But we may fairly ask whether we are to give to the sevens quite such significance in the earlier part of the book as is commonly done. If both the seventh seal and the seventh trumpet include all that follows in the book (as also the seventh bowl is simply more fully described in chs. 17–19), then we should not divide by sevens, since this would cut off the announcement of the seventh from its development. The seventh should open, not end, a new section, and the separation of the seventh from the sixth by passages of vital importance (not mere interludes in character) seems to indicate this intention on the part of the writer. Chs. 7 and 10 seem most evidently to mark transitions.

Some such outline as this may therefore with reserve be suggested—

I. Preliminary judgments (4–9).
  1. Visions of the actors (4–6).—
    a. God (4); *b.* Christ (5); *c.* Destructive powers (6).
  2. Promises of deliverance out of coming evils (7).
  3. The judgments (one-third, without producing repentance, 8. 9).

II. Final judgments (10–22).
  1. The prophet's new commission (10).
  2. Vision of deliverance for true worshippers of God, and esp. for martyrs (11^{1-14}).
  3. Prelude, summarizing the action (11^{15-19}).
  4. Visions of the actors (12. 13 [14^{1-5}?]).—
    a. Satan (12); *b.* Roman empire and emperor-worship (13); [*c.* The Lamb and His followers (14^{1-5})].
  5. Promises and warnings (14 [or 14^{6-20}]).
  6. The judgments (15–20).—
    a. Upon the earth, leading up to the fall of the city, Rome (15. 16. 17^{1}–18^{24} [19^{1-10}?]); *b.* Upon the demon-beasts of the Roman empire and religion and their followers (19^{11-21}); *c.* Upon Satan and all that belongs to him (20).
  7. The new world and city (21^{1-8} 21^{9}–22^{5}(9 ?)).*

Titles or superscriptions quite frequently summarize the contents of following visions:—1^{1-3} sums up the whole book, 8^{2} is a title, and 8^{3-5} an anticipation of the effect of the trumpets ($8^{6ff.}$), and the bowls are similarly introduced ($15^{1.\ 2-4}$). 11^{15-18} is a summary title of chs. 12–22; $18^{2.\ 3}$ summarizes 18^{4-24}; 19^{1-10} summarizes 19^{11}–22^{21}; 21^{1-8} summarizes 21^{9}–22^{5} ($21^{1.\ 2}$=$^{9-21}$, $^{3,\ 4}$=^{22}–$^{22^{5}}$, $^{5-8}$=$^{22^{6-21}}$).

Yet though we find evidence of a general order in the book which the artistic structure of chs. 1–3 prepares us to look for, we must take account of various departures from any strict order, if we would understand the spirit of the writer. Though the interruption of the sevens by chs. 7 and 10–11^{13} is not due to a want of plan, yet here and in various anticipatory voices, visions, and comments (*e.g.* 11^{14-18} 14^{1-5} 15^{2-4} 19^{1-10} 12^{11}) we find evidences of the practical impulse to encourage and admonish, rather than artistic reflexion. In the failure to observe strict chronological sequence the book is indeed only like Daniel and other apocalypses. There is here as in Daniel a progress towards greater concreteness and detail. In 6^{12-17} the final day of God's wrath seems already come. It is described again in 14^{14-20}. The fall of Rome is announced in 14^{8} as if accomplished; more fully described in 16^{17-21}; still predicted in 17^{16}; announced in 18^{2}, predicted still in 18^{4-24}. Again the letters seem to assume that though trials have been endured, martyrdom is almost wholly future (2^{13}); but in 5^{9-11} many souls of martyrs are seen, and $7^{9ff.}$ implies a multitude, as 20^{4-6} also does.

(*d*) *Experiences of the seer.*—We have already met with evidence that the author used some ancient materials for their general thought, and not in a literal sense. Before passing to a more detailed study of his use of material, it is important to ask whether he gives a consistent picture of his own experiences.

* It is evident that 17^{1} and 21^{9} are meant to mark the beginnings of parallel sections, and it is possible that the likewise parallel 19^{10} and 22^{9} are meant to mark their close.

(1) *The position and movements of the seer.*—

He is on earth in $1^{9ff.}$; in 4^{1} he is summoned up into heaven, where he may be conceived as remaining through ch. 9 (cf. 6^{3} $8^{1.\ 2}$ etc.), though earth is not out of his sight ($6^{12ff.}$ 7^{1} etc.). That he is literally in heaven is clearly implied in $5^{4f.}$ $7^{13f.}$. But in 10^{1}, without a break ('and I saw'), he appears to be on earth (so $10^{4.\ 8}$). Earth appears to be the scene of the action in 11^{1-13}, but in 11^{15} voices in heaven are heard, and in v.^{19} the temple in heaven is seen to be open. In 12 the seer seems to be in heaven (?), but in 13 and probably in 14^{1-13} he is on earth. If we read ἐστάθην in 12^{18} (13^{1}), we have a definite reference to the seer's position, comparable to 1^{9}. But the judgment scene 14^{14-20} suggests heaven. Again chs. 15. 16 give a heavenly scene. In 17^{3} an angel carries John away in the spirit into a wilderness to see the woman (Rome), and in 21^{10} to a mountain to see Jerusalem descending out of heaven. $18^{1.\ 4}$ indicate that the seer is on earth. In 19^{1-10} he seems to be in heaven, but in v.^{11} on earth again (for he sees heaven open, as in 4^{1}); so also in 20^{1} 21^{2}, and probably in $21^{10f.}$.

There is so little law in these movements, and so little care to make the connexion clear, that one might infer that our writer leaves such references as they stood in his different sources; but this would mean that the vision was to him a form, not a reality.

(2) *The heavenly scenes.*—

The scenery in heaven is not clearly described. Ch. 4 pictures a throne of God, with 24 elders on thrones around it, seven lamps before it which are the seven spirits of God, before it a glassy sea, and, in the midst of it and around it, four living creatures. Here in the midst of the throne stood the Lamb (ch. 5), whose seven eyes are the seven spirits of God, of which the seven lamps were already a symbol. About the throne and the elders and living beings are myriads of angels (5^{11} 7^{11}). Here also are the multitudes who have come out of great tribulation (7^{9-17}). Of them, however, it is said not only that they are before the throne of God, but that they serve Him in His temple. 8^{12} has prepared us for the conception of a temple in heaven, and in 6^{9} we have suddenly been made aware of 'the altar,' beneath which are the souls of martyrs. Now the trumpets are sounded by 'the seven angels which stand before God,' 8^{2} (cf. 1^{4-6}). These did not appear in the scene just drawn, unless they are the same as 'the seven spirits,' as 1^{4} might indicate. The altar is mentioned again, and, perhaps in distinction from it, 'the golden altar which is before the throne,' the altar of incense (8^{3-5}). From the horns of this 'golden altar which is before God' comes the voice which directs the angel of the sixth trumpet ($9^{13f.}$). The seventh trumpet reveals the original scene (the throne and elders and living beings, 11^{15-18}); but then we read, 'there was opened the temple of God that is in heaven,' and in it the ark of His covenant was seen (11^{19}). After this the 24 elders appear only in 14^{1-5} and 19^{1-8}, two somewhat similar passages, though 15^{2-4} may have the same setting (cf. 4^{6}). One of the four living creatures is mentioned in 15^{7} in connexion with the temple; but more often the temple scenery stands by itself. Out of the temple comes the angel who summons the reaper (14^{15}) and the angel who is to gather the grapes (14^{17}), whom another angel from the altar directs (14^{18}). Out of the temple come the seven angels, having the seven last plagues, and the temple is filled with smoke from the glory of God, so that it could not be entered, although open (15^{5-8}). A great voice from the temple commands them (16^{1}); 'the altar' affirms the justice of the judgment (16^{7}), and the final, 'It is done,' comes 'out of the temple and from the throne,' uniting the two (16^{17}).

It is not easy to unite in one picture the conception of God as sitting on a throne surrounded by His court, and of His dwelling, in heaven as on earth, in the temple's holiest place, from which His voice or messengers issue forth. Since the scenery of the throne is that of the seals, and the temple scenery that of the bowls, it is natural to think of this unharmonized element as due to sources. The author has mixed the scenes somewhat (15^{7} could be an insertion, as the angels came out of the temple already having seven plagues, vv.$^{1.\ 6}$); but he does not harmonize them, or paint a heaven that can be imagined. The new Jerusalem must also have been in heaven (3^{12} 21^{2}), though the seer beholds it only as it descends to earth ($21^{11f.}$). The description of the new heaven and earth resolves itself into the description of a city, and in this there is no temple (21^{22}), but the throne remains the final seat of God ($20^{4.\ 11}$ 21^{5} 22^{1-3}). If the writer had wished to paint a clear, consistent picture, he could easily have done so. The inference that he took his descriptions as they were, and valued them as poetical not literal accounts, is surely a natural one.

(3) *Form of inspiration.*—The same freedom and disregard of formal consistency is evident in the representation of the way in which the seer received his revelations. There is no set way, no fixed medium.

The first verses seem explicit, yet leave us uncertain whether we are to conceive of the writer as receiving Christ's revelation through angel (1^{1}) or by vision ('all the things that he saw,' 1^{2}, cf. 1^{19}). The letters are given by Christ in the first person. Yet they are introduced by a description of Christ in the third person, and the expression 'hear what the spirit saith to the Churches' suggests that the letters are dictated to John by an angel-spirit in the name of Christ. The voice which John hears at first ($1^{10f.}$) must be the voice of Christ Himself (cf. 1^{19}). The same voice summons John into the open heaven (4^{1}). He is there 'in the spirit' (4^{2}, as in 1^{10}). But it does not appear to be Christ Himself who shows him what is to come. Christ appears as an actor in the drama of the future, not as the seer's interpreter. Not till 16^{15} is His voice heard again, and then not till 22^{7} (?). In 17^{1} one of the seven angels of the bowls summons John and carries him away in the spirit into a wilderness to see the judgment upon Rome. This is the sort of angel guidance that 1^{1} would lead us to expect, but which we look for thus far in vain. This angel fulfils his function as interpreter ($17^{7\text{-}18}$); but then we hear another angel announcing Babylon's fall ($18^{1\text{-}3}$); another voice from heaven pronouncing the prophetic denunciation over her ($18^{4\text{-}20}$); and still another angel predicting the fall by deed and word ($18^{21\text{-}24}$). Then are heard various voices from heaven ($19^{1\text{-}8}$); and only then, in $19^{9.\,10}$ ('and he says to me'), does the original angel-guide speak again. He then rejects John's impulse to worship him (cf. Asc. Isaiah 7^{21} $8^{4.\,5}$) with the words, 'I am a fellow-servant of thee and thy brothers who have the testimony of Jesus; worship God: for the testimony of Jesus is the spirit of prophecy' (19^{11}). The last clause is often struck out as a gloss by critics (Bousset, Hilgenfeld, etc.), but this is venturesome. 'The spirit of prophecy' should mean the spirit from God which inspires the prophet; that is, in this case, the angel himself (cf. 22^{6}). So he would say, 'I am only one of you who have the testimony of Jesus; indeed this testimony constitutes my very being.' The angel-spirit of prophecy is simply the personified testimony of Jesus, the word of Jesus Himself. As a messenger this angel is on an equality with John,—because his message is wholly and simply the message of Christ. There follow visions of the first and of the final judgments (19^{11}–20^{15}), and an introductory (summary) vision of the consummation ($21^{1\text{-}8}$), in which are heard the words of God Himself (vv.$^{5\text{-}8}$); and then 'one of the seven angels who had the seven bowls' (not the same one as before?) carried John in the spirit to a mountain to see the new Jerusalem. It is this angel who measured the city and showed John the details of the vision ($21^{15\text{-}17}$ 22^{1}), so that when 22^{6} begins 'and he said to me,' it can be only the angel that speaks (one of the 'spirits of the prophets'); but in v.^{7} his words become Christ's words, 'behold, I come quickly.' No wonder John would again worship him, but again he classes himself with the prophets. As a person he is only a revealer, a voice; but his words are those of Christ. So when he speaks again ($22^{10ff.}$) his words again become Christ's words (vv.$^{12ff.}$). Now it is to be observed that the seven angels of the bowls (ch. 15), two (?) of whom are the imparters of these last prophecies of the book, naturally lead us back to 'the seven angels which stand before God,' to whom the trumpets are given (8^{2}), and these again to the seven lamps burning before the throne, which are the seven spirits of God (4^{5}), from whom (1^{4}), as from God and Christ, John's message comes. When now Christ is described as 'he that hath the seven spirits of God' (3^{1}), and is pictured as the Lamb with seven eyes 'which are the seven spirits of God sent forth into all the earth' (5^{6}), we have certainly significant indications of what the writer meant by calling his book an 'apocalypse of Jesus Christ,' and of his idea of the inspiration of a Christian prophet. Angels, however realistically described, are hardly more than a means of expressing the fact that the writer was somehow conscious of having a message from Christ for the Churches. Any further interpretation of his consciousness must be deferred until we have studied the sources and relationships of his materials.

Any set and consistent form of representing his experiences, however, the author seems purposely to avoid. Apart from $17^{1ff.}$ $21^{9ff.}$ we have no indication of a special interpreting angel, taking the part of Gabriel in the Bk. of Daniel. The speakers in the book are very many. The underlying faith in the kingship of God and of Christ, and its ultimate triumph, are expressed in heavenly choruses, led by the twenty-four elders and the four cherubim, but joined in by multitudes of angels and of glorified men ($4^{8\text{-}11}$ $5^{9\text{-}14}$ $7^{9\text{-}12}$ $11^{15\text{-}18}$ 12^{10} $14^{2.\,3}$ $15^{2\text{-}4}$ $19^{1\text{-}7\,(8)}$. One of the elders instructs John in 5^{5} and $7^{13\text{-}17}$. Often it is simply 'a voice from heaven' that he hears ($10^{4.\,8}$ 14^{13} 18^{4} 21^{3}, cf. 16^{17}), or from the horns of the altar ($9^{13f.}$), or from the altar itself (16^{7}). He records words of God, 1^{8} (?) $21^{5\text{-}8}$ 16^{17} (?); of Christ, $1^{11.\,19.\,20}$ $2.\,3.$ 16^{15} $22^{7.\,12ff.}$; of the spirit, 14^{13} 22^{17}. There are beatitudes uttered by Christ (16^{15} $22^{7.\,14}$), by a voice from heaven (14^{13}), by the angel-guide (19^{9}), by John (1^{3}). Sometimes he seems to interrupt the story of what he had seen with a direct word of his own to the reader (27^{a} etc. $13^{9.\,10}$ 13^{18} 14^{12}, cf. 17^{9}?). Among the other voices that are heard are those of the souls of martyrs (6^{10}): of various angels undefined (7^{2} $14^{6.\,8.\,9.\,15.\,18}$ 19^{17} etc.); of 'the angel of the waters' ($16^{5f.}$); an eagle (8^{13}); the rod ($?11^{1}$). At the beginning and at the end the book is declared to be from Christ Himself, His testimony ($1^{1.\,2}$ 22^{16}). The part which the angels perform might almost be regarded as pictorial, since the writer reduces the significance of these beings, who are the uniform actors and speakers in the Jewish apocalypses, to that of messengers of Christ. He is the primary and final actor in the book (opens the seals, ch. 5 f., and executes the judgment, $19^{11ff.}$), and He is the real speaker.

Here also, as in the case of the place and movements of the seer and the heavenly scenery, a variety of sources might explain the diversity of the representation, but we must also suppose the author to be relatively indifferent to formal consistency. He must, one is forced to think, have taken the external language of apocalypses in a figurative or poetic way. The only other hypothesis would seem to be that of composite origin (as held by Völter, Spitta, etc.); but the effort to bring consistency out of the book by analysis and the reconstruction of sources out of which it was gradually and unskilfully put together, fails to do justice to the unity of style and even of plan which the book has been found to exhibit. Moreover, this effort has been made by many able men, and, according to the prevailing opinion of scholars, has failed.

In order, however, to test the possibility of a free, more or less poetic, use of traditional apocalyptical material, we must examine our author's use of tradition at various points more closely.

3. *Sources.*—(*a*) *Old Testament.*—Although Rev. contains no direct citations from the OT, it is full of OT language from the beginning to the end. An impression of its dependence on OT phraseology may be gained from the text of Westcott and Hort, or from that of Nestle, in which such allusions or reminiscences are printed in a distinct type. In the corresponding list of references in WH's Appendix, pp. 184–188, out of the total number of 404 verses in the book about 265 verses contain OT language, and about 550 references are made to OT passages.* The material is still more fully gathered by Hühn (*Die alttest. Citate und Reminiscenzen im NT*, 1900).

Nothing is more important for the understanding of our author's mental and literary processes than a close study of his use of OT language.

The bearing of such study upon the interpretation of our book can here only be suggested by illustrations. One of the simplest cases is the prophetic denunciation of the fall of Babylon (Rome) in ch. 18. It is composed almost wholly of material taken from the prophetic woes over Babylon (Is 13. 14, Jer 50. 51), Tyre (Is 23, Ezk 26–28), and, in a slight degree, Edom (Is 34). Even the admonition that might seem to have direct reference to the historical situation, 'Come forth, my people, out of her,' etc. (18^{4}), is directly borrowed from prophetic utterances (Jer $51^{6.\,9.\,45}$ 50^{8}, Is 48^{20} 52^{11}), and has there rather than here its historical explanation. Yet the chapter does not make the impression of being a laborious piece of patchwork. It has a unity of its own and a high degree of impressiveness, and seems to be the work of one whose mind is filled with the language of prophecy, and who draws abundantly, and of course consciously, from his storehouse, and yet writes with freedom and from a strong inner impulse of his own, and elaborates with his own conceptions the themes which the prophetic words contain. So he makes out of the old a product in a real sense new, a poetical whole. But what shall we say of his putting this product into the

* The allusions agree in part with the Heb., in part with the LXX. WH mark 33 references as distinctly from Heb. (and Chald.), 15 as from LXX; 5 are marked Heb. and LXX, *viz.* 4 references to Ex 19^{16} (4^{5} 8^{5} 11^{19} 16^{18}) and one to Zec $3^{1f.}$ (12^{9}). Schürer (^{3} iii. 323) cites 9^{20} 10^{5} 13^{7} 20^{4} as citations from Daniel, which follow Theodotion more closely than LXX. See Bludau, 'Die Apokalypse und Theodotions Daniel-Uebersetzung,' in *Theol. Quartalschrift*, 1897, pp. 1–26. Salmon (*Introd. to the NT*, p. 662 f.) argues that the citations in Rev. show a nearer relationship to Theod. than to LXX, referring to 9^{20} 10^{5} 12^{7} 13^{7} 19^{6} $20^{4.\,11}$; on the other side, 1^{14} 19^{16}. Cf. Swete, *Introd.* p. 48 f.

mouth of angels? It is easier to attribute such a literary composition to a poet than to a voice from heaven. Even the action of the angel in 18^{21} rests on the symbolic act of Jeremiah ($51^{63.\ 64}$). And if our writer says that he hears and sees these things, must we not judge the nature of his vision by its contents? A literal voice from heaven this certainly cannot be, and we seem shut up to two possibilities regarding it: either the angels and the voice from heaven belong wholly to the poetry of the piece, its literary form, or they express the writer's own interpretation of the strong impulse, as if from without, under which he wrote.

Another instructive illustration of the author's use of the OT is to be found in his description of the new Jerusalem, 21^{1}–22^{5}. This is largely taken from the anticipations of the prophets of the Exile, Ezekiel and Deutero-Isaiah, with reference to the return and the rebuilding of Jerusalem. Features are added from other sources. Here, as in ch. 18, the impression is not that of mere clipping and piecing, but rather that of the work of a mind full of the Messianic language of the prophets, writing out of a genuine and deep religious and poetic emotion, with a dependence on the OT which is free, not slavish, and yet with very little real inventiveness. Yet this also is shown to the seer by an angel, who seems to be in general the speaker (see 21^{15} ὁ λαλῶν, 22^{6}); and an action of his is described $21^{15\text{-}17}$ which is taken from Ezekiel ($40^{3\text{ff.}}$). In this case, more clearly than in ch. 18, we may suspect a certain limitation of the author's imagination by his sources, which is not inconsistent with a large measure of freedom in the use of them. He has mastered the OT material of this sort, and can use it effectively, but cannot go much beyond it. How otherwise can we explain the emphatically Jewish picture of a future which was certainly to this writer universal in scope; the presence still of thoroughly earthly features in a consummation which must surely, in the writer's view, be heavenly; the appearance still of nations and kings and their wealth after heaven and earth have passed away? He has little but the old familiar national and earthly language at command for the description of that which heaven contains for Christian hope. He can describe the Christian heaven only in Jewish language. But though bound in language he is not bound in thought. He knows no more impressive and expressive language (nor do we); but the language is poetry to him, it is figurative, not literal, chosen for its poetic worth and emotional effect, which belonged to it, indeed, partly because it was old and familiar. It must of course be recognized that the most powerful imagination comes quickly to an end if it attempts to leave the earth in its descriptions of heaven. Religious faith and hope cannot do better than take the language which the greater souls have created, which generations have shaped, which age has hallowed, and use it not for its literal but for its emotional and poetic worth, to symbolize and suggest inexpressible realities.

Jewish literature furnishes other similar collections of OT Messianic imagery (To 13, etc.); and the possibility that some earlier (Jewish) mind had already shaped the material in 21^{9}–22^{5}, and that our author, in $21^{1\text{-}8}$, introduces and summarizes this section, and adds his own concluding sentences ($22^{6\text{-}21}$), is to be considered.

A still more striking illustration of our author's dependence on OT language, yet his freedom in the use of it, both in combination and in application, is his description of Christ in $1^{12\text{-}20}$. Almost all of it is taken from Daniel, but it unites in a most surprising way features from the descriptions of the one like a son of man, and of the Ancient of Days, in Dn 7, with still more from the angel (Gabriel) in Dn 10. The seven golden candlesticks and the seven stars are without parallel in Daniel. Something can be said, however, as to their source and use. The former was of course a familiar OT symbol (Ex 25^{37} 37^{23}) which Zech. (4^{2}) uses in an unearthly sense, explaining that the seven lamps are the seven eyes of J", which run to and fro through the whole earth (4^{10b} following v.^{6a}). He sees by the candlestick two olive-trees (4^{3}), and evidently interprets their two branches as signifying Zerubbabel and Joshua, so that the two trees are the Davidic and the Aaronic houses. These two men, Zech. would say, have the eyes of the Lord upon them in favour and blessing. But this is a free application by the prophet to the historical present and to his practical purpose of a symbol which originally, no doubt, pictured the seven planets and the way in which their light was constantly replenished by the oil from ever-growing trees. It was a mythological symbol (Gunkel, *Schöpfung*, pp. 122–131), which Zech. used as poetry, not interpreting all of the symbol (4^{2b}), and perhaps adding a feature for the sake of the interpretation (4^{12}). Now in Rev 1^{20} the writer chooses to identify the seven lamps with the seven churches among which Christ is and moves. But in 4^{5b} he sees seven lamps burning before the throne of God, which are, he explains, the seven spirits of God, affirmed in 1^{4b} to be before God's throne (cf. 8^{2}); and even in the letters (3^{1}) Christ is described as the one who has the seven spirits of God and the seven stars, so that this interpretation of the lamps was in his mind by the side of the other. When, still further, we read that the Lamb has 'seven eyes, which are the seven spirits of God sent forth into all the earth' (5^{6}), with evident allusion to Zec 4^{10b}, we are able to realize how far from a slavish literalness and formal consistency our author's use of OT figures is. Finally, Zech.'s figure reappears in 11^{4}, where the two witnesses are declared to be 'the two olive-trees and the two candlesticks [what two?] standing before the Lord of the earth,' a free identification for a purpose, similar in kind to that of Zech. himself, this time certainly made not by our author, but by some source.

Our writer cares much for OT prophetic language, and cannot easily add much to it, but he applies it freely to new uses. Note esp. that we have in Rev. no such anxious effort to interpret an OT prediction, assuming the necessity of its literal fulfilment, as Dn 9 contains. The relation of 11^{4} to Zec 4, and of 20^{8} to Ezk 38 f., is wholly different.

Other illustrations could readily be given,—such as the relation of ch. 4 to Is 6 and Ezk 1,—but enough has been presented to justify the following presuppositions with reference to passages in our book which contain imagery not derived from the OT—(1) that such imagery, if it is at all elaborate, is not the author's free invention, but is borrowed from some literary or oral prophetic traditions; (2) that the writer does not feel bound to leave it as it is, but is free to combine and interpret it to suit his own purpose, so that the interpreter must distinguish sharply between the present use of the symbols and their original use. If this distinction is necessary in $21\text{–}22^{5}$ and $1^{9\text{-}20}$, it will be no less necessary in $11^{1\text{-}13}$ 12. 13, etc.

(*b*) *Jewish apocalyptical traditions.*—The line that separates uncanonical from OT material in Rev. is not a sharp one. It would indeed be natural that Jewish apocalyptical traditions should consist largely of expositions and elaborations of OT material. The picture of the throne of God (ch. 4) is unquestionably based upon that of Ezk 1. 10 and Is 6 (cf. also the probably older passages, Ex 24^{10}, 1 K 22^{19}). The four living creatures, cherubim, are taken directly from Ezekiel, and, in spite

of differences, need no other explanation. It is of course not to be assumed that they have no history before and after Ezekiel (cf. the four presences in Enoch 40 and Apoc. Bar 51^{11} 21^{6}, and the four angels in Enoch $87^{2.3}$ 88^{1} 90^{31}). For the seven lamps which are the seven spirits of God we have already found points of connexion in the OT, but we need to adduce such passages as To 12^{15}, Enoch 90^{21}, in order to realize how fixed an element in apocalyptical imaginations these seven spirits (or angels, archangels) were. The use of the ⌜article in Rev 1^{4} 4^{5b} 8^{2} is itself proof of the familiarity of the conception. That foreign speculations, Persian or Babylonian, lie behind it is probable (see Cheyne, *OP* 281 ff., 323 ff., 334 ff.; Gunkel, *Schöpfung*, 294–302, and *Archiv f. Religionswissensch.* 1898, 294–300; Stave, *Parsismus*, 216–219). It is therefore a natural inference that the twenty-four elders, clothed in white, sitting on thrones and crowned, come from tradition, and are not an invention of the author. They represent probably not the Christian Church, twelve tribes and twelve apostles (though 21^{14} may indicate the writer's desire to add the Christian to the Jewish twelve), but the glory and power, especially the reigning or judicial power of God, His heavenly court. They are associated, as are the seven spirits and the four cherubim, with God and His throne, not with the creation (see Gunkel, *Schöpfung*, 302–308). Is 24^{23} gives probable evidence of the antiquity of the conception (cf. Is 63^{9}, LXX). With the general description of God's throne should be compared, *e.g.*, Enoch 14. 71, Secrets of Enoch 29. 22.

We have already found reasons for regarding $11^{1\text{-}13}$ as a Jewish oracle (or two fragments of a Jewish apocalypse), used by our author in a sense wholly different from its original literal meaning. It is a most convincing illustration of our author's union of dependence on traditional forms of expression, and independence of the traditional use and meaning of such forms.

The great sign in heaven which ch. 12 presents can be accounted for only in a very slight degree on the basis of the OT. Yet nowhere is the writer's dependence upon traditional material more certain. Assuming that he did not invent these figures, it is not difficult to understand what he meant to say by the use of them. The chapter contains a picture, in some sense an explanation, of Satan's present power in the world, and his fierce hostility to the Christian Church; and at the same time the assurance that his power is soon to end. Christ escaped his hands, and is with God. Satan has already been cast down from his old place in heaven, and no longer brings accusations against the saints before God; and, though he is now all the more determined in his assaults upon Christ's brethren on earth, his reign is doomed to a speedy end. This application of the figure, however, by no means explains its origin. Many of its details can be fitted to this use only by violence, if at all, and could not have been devised for the purpose. What then was the source, and of what sort was the writer's use of this material?

Gunkel's book must be regarded as little short of epoch-making in its significance for the interpretation of this chapter, even though serious doubt be felt regarding certain of his conclusions. He offers convincing proof of the long and widespread influence in Hebrew literature of the Babylonian myth of creation—the victory of Marduk, the god of light (the sun), over the chaos-beast Tiâmat, the dragon of the deep. He traces the transition from a cosmological to an eschatological use of the conception, on the principle, which explains many features of the Jewish hope, that God will make the last things as the first (Barn. 6^{18}); and the interpretation of the dragon as a historical instead of a natural power. In this way the myth becomes a poetic expression of the expectation that the hostility of the world-ruling nation against Israel will come to a supreme manifestation; that then J″ will intervene directly, or through the angel Michael, and again, as at the beginning, the dragon will be bound or slain (cf. Is $51^{9.10}$ 27^{1}). 'The beast that comes up out of the abyss' (Rev 11^{7}) is this well-known figure in Jewish eschatology. It could be regarded as a symbol, or representative of the hated nation, as in Dn 7 it becomes four beasts, to describe the four successive masters and enemies of the Jewish nation, and as in Rev 13 it is the Roman empire; or it could be more distinctly and personally conceived, as in Rev 12, as the Satan who gives the hostile kingdom its evil power. It could also be conceived of as a *man* in whom evil reaches its height (Antichrist, perhaps Rev 11^{7}).

Gunkel is not contented, however, with this general and probable identification of the dragon of ch. 12. He proceeds to defend two much more dubious positions. *First*, that our chapter rests ultimately upon, and follows closely, a part of the Babylonian myth of which we have no other remaining record—the account of the birth of Marduk, his escape from the dragon who knows him to be his destined destroyer, and the dragon's fierce persecution of his goddess-mother during the period of the boy's growth to maturity, 'the three and a half times,' from the winter solstice to the spring equinox [?]. *Second*, that in contrast to the free poetic use of such material in the earlier prophetic and poetic books of the OT, we find in the apocalypses an increasing tendency to look upon these ancient and mysterious figures with awe, and to believe that they really contained, and could reveal to one who had wisdom, the explanation of present evil and the secrets of its coming end. This reverence for apocalyptical traditions explains, Gunkel contended, what nothing else but literal vision could explain, the confident belief of these writers in their own predictions. He finds, therefore, in such sources as these not only an illustration of the literary method of the seer, but an explanation of his self-consciousness, a psychological account of apocalyptical writings. Both of these positions of Gunkel are insecure, and from the second one he has himself in part withdrawn. The freedom with which we have found our author combining and modifying OT materials renders it hazardous to attempt to reconstruct his sources when they are unknown, and also prevents the assumption that he looked upon such materials with awe and derived from them his revelation.

It is not probable that the material in Rev 12 stands in its original form and order. Gunkel himself recognized that v.^{6} and vv.$^{7\text{-}16}$ offer two variants. Wellhausen (*Skizzen und Vorarbeiten* 6 Heft, p. 215 ff.) regards $^{1\text{-}6}$ and $^{7\text{-}14}$ as doublets, and would distinguish two actions in the original story which are here confused. 1. In heaven, the dragon wars with the angels, or with the sun, moon, and zodiac (vv.$^{3.7.1}$), is conquered and cast down to earth with his angel host (vv.$^{8.9.4a}$). 2. On earth, he makes war with the woman who bears the son (^{4b} is already an earthly scene), the son is snatched up to heaven (^{5}), the woman flees into the wilderness, the dragon pursues her there, but must leave her ($^{6=13\text{-}16}$), and turns against those of her seed who did not escape with her. There must then have followed an account of the overthrow of the dragon by the rescued Messiah after His growth to maturity. Something like this, Wellhausen thinks, was a Jewish apocalypse of the siege of Jerusalem. It described how the remnant (the woman) had escaped out of the city and been rescued through great dangers; how the Romans (dragon) had turned against those who remained in Jerusalem, who are to be destroyed (Rev $11^{1.2}$ is, however, a fragment of the same time which anticipates the rescue of those, the Zealots, who occupied the temple itself during the siege). The fall of the Roman power itself must follow at the hand of the Messiah, who has been born, according to prophecy, in Palestine, but was translated at once to heaven, so that He will come as a heavenly being, according to the more transcendental Messianic hope of late Judaism. So Wellh. offers a *literary-critical* and *contemporary-*

historical explanation of ch. 12 in opposition to Gunkel's *tradition-historical* explanation.

We may regard Wellhausen's analysis as plausible, for the war in heaven and the casting of the dragon down to earth must originally have preceded his persecution of the woman (vv.^{4a} and ^{13} suggest this order). But Gunkel is surely right in denying that the figure is the pure invention of the Jewish writer, whom he as well as Wellh. accepts. Its history goes further back, and its original connexion with a sun-myth is highly probable. It is a striking fact that Greek mythology in its story of the birth of Apollo, and the attempt of the dragon Pytho to kill his mother (Dieterich, *Abraxas*, p. 117 ff.), and also the Egyptian story of the birth of Horus (Bousset, p. 410 f.), contain striking points of likeness to Rev 12, so that Gunkel's resort to a postulated Babylonian story may not be necessary. In all of these sun-myths, however, the flight of the woman is before the birth of the child, and for its rescue from the dragon.

The questions left open by these recent discussions of the chapter are many, and the hypothesis of a Jewish Messianic use of a heathen sun-myth, and then a Christian adaptation of the Jewish form, leaves room for much diversity of opinion in detail; yet it is a wholly credible hypothesis, and the actual history of the tradition here embodied is probably more rather than less complex than the theory.

Heathen may well be the description of the woman (v.^{1}) and of the dragon (vv.$^{3.\ 4a}$), his effort to engulf the woman, her wings, and the wilderness to which she flies ($^{14\text{-}16}$). Jewish (certainly not Christian) may be the idea of the birth and immediate translation of the Messiah to God (v.^{5}),* so also the office of Michael (?), and perhaps a change of order by which the woman's flight is made to follow the birth of the child. The Hebrew language, according to Wellh. and Gunkel, lies behind the Greek of the chapter. Christian is v.^{11}, and, moreover, so plainly out of keeping with the rest, as almost to prove that the Christian writer is using material already shaped (cf. Vischer). The verse contains the message of our writer, and is one of his characteristic anticipatory sayings. Christian may also be the change of order by which Christ's birth and ascension are made to precede the casting of the dragon out of heaven (cf. Jn 12^{31} 14^{30} $16^{11.\ 33}$, 1 Jn 3^{8}, Col 2^{15}). This gives Christ an earlier and higher part in the drama than the Jews ascribed to their Messiah.

In answer to the question as to the writer's use of this uncanonical material, we are bound to conclude that it was as free and poetical as his use of OT conceptions. V.^{11} gives us the clue. The victory of Christian faith over the world through martyrdom is the counterpart on earth, the interpretation for man, of the victory of Michael over the dragon in heaven. The place of Michael here, where we should expect only the direct deed of Christ, shows both the extent of the writer's dependence on tradition and the confidence with which he finds a Christian meaning behind unchanged Jewish forms.

Are we not to see, then, in ch. 12 any reference to historical factors and events? Wellhausen's exact determination of the history here symbolized is far from convincing, and, moreover, it fails to explain many features in the picture. It need not, however, be doubted that the dragon was, at some point in the genesis of the chapter, regarded as a symbol of the Roman empire. His seven crowned heads and ten horns mean world-rulership, and his persecution of the woman's seed is the same persecution with which our whole book deals. So far, indeed, even Gunkel allows the presence of contemporary history in ch. 12.

The case is a more complex one in chs. 13 and 17, but the difference is one of proportion and degree. Traditional elements are here in abundance, and beyond dispute, yet the reference to Rome is more specific and detailed. Gunkel admits the latter element here (as in Dn 7. 8, Enoch 85–90, 4 Ezr 11. 12, Apoc. Bar 53 ff.), but restricts it within narrow limits, and will by no means allow that these figures were freely invented allegories, every feature of which can be explained as a reference to contemporary history. He differs from the ruling critical opinion most radically in his refusal to recognize any allusion to Nero. Two questions must be kept quite distinct in the study of these chapters: (1) the question how much is due to apocalyptical tradition, and how much is re-shaped or invented for the sake of the application of the traditional figures to Rome; and (2) the question whether this application is made by the writer of our book, or was already present in the—possibly Jewish—sources from which he drew.

The seven heads and ten horns appear in each case (12^{3} 13^{1} 17^{3}). The Roman world-empire was meant by all. Yet the differences are so great that one must conclude that more or less independent traditions lie behind the three chapters, even if they are ultimately traced to one root. The seven heads and ten horns sum up the outfit of the four beasts in Dn 7, though they do not need that explanation. We can well suppose the numbers to have been symbolic at first, but the effort to apply them to individual kings, and so to estimate the nearness of the end, was inevitable. There is evidence in the chapters of different efforts of that kind.

In 12^{3} it is the seven heads that are kings, in 13^{1} it is the ten horns, but in 13^{3} the smitten head must mean a king. The latter is commonly interpreted (by Victorinus, and by modern scholars from Eichhorn, Lücke, Bleek, down to Holtzmann and Bousset) of Nero's death, which ended the Julian dynasty, and seemed likely for a time to bring the empire to an end in anarchy. Gunkel thinks the Hebrew original read 'the first head,' hence Julius Cæsar, whose death threatened the empire, but issued in its greater power (cf. Dn 8^{8} on Alexander's death). In $17^{10.\ 11}$ the seven heads are the seven kings of Rome, and the writer feels bound by that number even when he needs to add an eighth. The ten horns, on the other hand, are apparently allied kings.

The evidence of later adaptations or interpretations of given figures is often clear. The seven mountains of 17^{9b} is so clearly such an addition for the sake of the identification of the woman with the city Rome, that one is the more inclined to find in vv.^{15} and ^{18} also allegorical interpretations, and to question whether the woman was originally invented as a figure of Rome. She is now, of course, the city Rome (vv.$^{5.\ 6}$), and may have been created in that sense; but even if so, not, we may be almost certain, by our author.

The second beast in $13^{11ff.}$ is evidently now the prophet or priest (priesthood) of Roman emperor-worship (cf. 16^{13} 19^{20} 20^{10}). But here also older traditions are to be supposed. Bousset regards this as a Jewish figure of Antichrist (*Komm.* Excursus on ch. 13, *Antichrist*, p. 121), and a Jewish apocalyptical writer may very well have interpreted as Antichrist the religion of emperor-worship, and put this by the side of the beast who stood for the empire itself as its helper in evil. None of the many attempts to find a definite person in the second beast (Vespasian, Simon Magus, Paul!, etc.) have made any approach to success. The personal interpretation of the first beast, however, as signifying Nero, has become almost a fixed assumption of critics. Gunkel's attack upon this stronghold of the *contemporary-historical* method has not changed the prevailing opinion (see Bousset, Holtzmann, etc.). It has, however, served to emphasize the fact that if the beast from the abyss is here *by some one* made a symbol of Nero, yet the beast was not first *invented* for this use, and it is not certain by whom, whether by our author or by a source, the identification was made. The opinion,

* Bousset omits the Jewish link in the chain because this feature has no parallel in the Jewish Messianic hope.

indeed, does not go beyond probability. In view of the embodiment of the supernatural power of evil in Antiochus Epiphanes in Daniel, it is not possible to settle the question by a general appeal to 'congruity, analogy, proportion,' and a sarcastic thrust at the famous critics who have 'placed T. Claudius Nero along with Christ, Satan, Death, Hades, the Church, and other powers and principles which constitute the *Dramatis Personæ* of the Apocalypse' (Benson, p. 159). But it must be said that the evidence is of a wholly different sort from that which Daniel furnishes, with its detailed history of Antiochus (chs. 8. 11), and is not such as we should expect if the writer had set out to indicate his belief that Nero would return from the grave, and be the demonic power of evil in the last assault of evil against good. On the origin and history of the belief in Nero's return the fullest investigation is that of Zahn (*Zeitsch. f. kirchl. Wissensch. u. k. Leben*, 1885–86). See also Bousset, *Komm.* p. 475 ff., and Charles, *Ascension of Isaiah*, pp. li–lxxv.

The chief evidence that Rev. refers to this expectation is in ch. 17. The return of one of the seven kings as an eighth, who is nevertheless also the beast himself (v.[11]), suggests this more or less current expectation. In the ten kings of v.[12] it is possible to find the Parthian kings, with whom it was believed that Nero would return against Rome. And the idea that the city Rome would be destroyed by the very beast that represents her empire, in league with outside kings (vv.[16. 17]), is difficult to explain at all apart from the Nero myth, which would perfectly explain it. If Nero be found here it is natural to infer that v.[8] describes in general terms his death, return, and final destruction. Yet this formula ('was, and is not; and is about to come up out of the abyss, and to go into perdition') so fully sums up the general apocalyptical theory of the power of evil (the history of the chaos-dragon, Gunkel), and seems shaped so clearly in contrast to the formula which sums up the nature of God ('who was, and who is, and who is to come'), that the reference to Nero may be, if present at all, secondary. The verse in which our author's hand is most clearly seen (v.[14]) so interrupts this Nero story with an anticipation of 19[19ff.] (for how are the ten kings to be overcome by the Lamb and His followers before they assist the beast in the destruction of Rome?) as to suggest that Nero was not in his mind, but here, as in 12[11], only the Christian conflict with evil. So also the interpretation of the slain and healed head in 13[3] is uncertain, and even the number 666 gives no secure support to this historical reference. The Greek solution of this riddle, ΛΑΤΕΙΝΟΣ, '(THE) LATIN,' which is as old as Irenæus, though not adopted by him, is still held by many; but the Hebrew נרון קסר NERO CÆSAR, — which in a Latin spelling נרן קסר would yield 616, an early variant, — has far the larger number of advocates. Yet קיסר is the proper spelling of *Cæsar*, which would make 676. And when in answer to this objection it is said that an apocalyptical writer would prefer 666 to 676, because of its symmetry, and because it corresponds to the number of the name Jesus (ΙΗΣΟΥΣ=888), it is natural to ask whether 666 might not have been chosen at first outright for its symbolic meaning, to signify the one who persistently falls short of holiness or perfection (seven), as Jesus goes beyond it in the fulness of His character and power (so Milligan, *Baird Lecture*, p. 328; Briggs, *Messiah of the Apostles*, p. 324). So the number 3½, the length of the reign of evil (Dn 7[25] 12[7], Rev 11[2. 3. 11] 12[6. 14] 13[5]) needs no other explanation than the symbolism of the broken seven: the power of evil will be cut off in the midst and come to an untimely end. If, however, the number is to be interpreted by *gematria*, another view claims serious attention. Zahn (*Zeit. f. kirchl. Wissensch. u. k. Leben*, 1885, p. 568 ff.) argued that Irenæus opposed the reading 616 because those who held it did so for the sake of applying it to Caligula (ΓΑΙΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ=616)—an interpretation which Iren. rejected. Holtzmann (Stade's *Geschichte*, ii. 388 ff.), Spitta, and Erbes independently (as Zahn predicted) came to the conclusion that this was, in fact, the original reading and meaning of the number, and that ch. 13 is part of a Jewish oracle of Caligula's time. In fact no ruler since Antiochus Epiphanes so filled the rôle of Antichrist in the Jewish mind as he who attempted to have his image erected in the temple. To him 13[4-6], and to the priesthood of his worship vv.[14. 15], would admirably apply. Moreover, he recovered from what seemed a fatal illness at the beginning of his reign. Bousset does not wholly reject the hypothesis that a Caligula apocalypse underlies this chapter (*Komm.* pp. 433–5). Other interpretations of the number 666 must here be passed by, though Gunkel's 'the chaos of old' may be mentioned. The number does not prove, and can hardly be said to give substantial support to the identification of the beast with Nero.

Beyond the unmistakable general reference to Rome, it is hard to find history in our author's visions; and this reference had certainly been given already to the figure of the beast, and in all probability by Jews. Events during the last half of the century must have led Jewish apocalyptical writers to many more expressions of their hatred of Rome and visions of its overthrow than have survived. Indeed, Pompey is already called the dragon in Ps-Sol 2[29] (see Assump. Mos., 4 Ezra, Apoc. Bar). Our author and the Christian communities for which he writes have reason to share the Jewish hatred of Rome, and enter into the inheritance of various Jewish expressions of it. Our author has, as it were, eaten the book of past prophecies against peoples and nations before he utters his own. The ancient language has, as we have seen, often the value of poetry to him; but it is impossible, though we might wish it, to refer the polemic against Rome only to sources used by our author, or to resolve it into a figure of the war against evil in general.

iv. HISTORICAL SITUATION.—We have already seen that the date of separate oracles in our book cannot be assumed to be the date of the book as a whole. 11[1-13] is from some time before 70, but is not literally used by our author. The figurative application of this oracle to the safe keeping of the true people of God would be more natural after the event of 70 had disproved its literal sense. Ch. 13 *may* have been shaped in Caligula's reign, or soon after Nero's death. 17[10] must have been written under the sixth emperor of Rome, *i.e.* Nero, counting from Julius Cæsar, or his successor, counting from Augustus, but Nero's successor might be regarded as Galba, or as Vespasian. That one more emperor is expected only shows that the number seven is fixed; and that he is to reign a short time could be inferred from the nearness of the end, and does not require the knowledge on the writer's part that the reign of Titus was in fact short. But if v.[10] comes from Vespasian's reign (and so is consistent with 11[1-13]), must not v.[11] have been added by some later hand? The writer, it would seem, already lives under the eighth emperor (Domitian), and adds this verse in order to adjust what was written under Vespasian (v.[10]) to his own time by so adding an eighth as not to overpass the fixed number, seven. On the basis of this verse Harnack (*Chronologie*, p. 245 f.) confidently dates the book under Domitian. Yet it is possible that the writer of v.[10], under Vespasian, expected the return of Nero, one of the seven, as an eighth, who, coming back after death out of the abyss, could be regarded as the very demon spirit of Rome, the

beast itself. But even if, in this way, with Bousset, we date ch. 17 as a whole under Vespasian, this also may be the date only of a source.

Though historical allusions do not fix the date, yet, taken in connexion with other indications of age, the date ascribed to the book by Irenæus (v. xxx. 3), 'near the end of the reign of Domitian,' *i.e.* about A.D. 93–96, is to be preferred to that which was for some time the ruling view of critics, A.D. 66–69 (Lücke, Bleek, etc.). It is not in sections clearly dependent upon apocalyptical tradition, but in those more original, and especially in the letters, that we should confidently expect to find indications of the author's own time. In spite of the ideal and typical significance of the seven Churches, actual conditions unquestionably meet us here. Persecution past and future forms the background of the letters. The writer was (not *is*) in the little island of Patmos 'on account of the word of God and on account of the testimony of Jesus,' *i.e.* probably not in order to receive his revelation (cf. 1^2), but because of his Christian preaching (cf. 6^9), that is, in banishment (see 1^{9a}). But the banishment of a conspicuous Christian seems to disclose a definite movement against Christianity in Asia Minor on the part of Rome such as we do not know of before Domitian. There are persecutions already past (Ephesus, 2^3; Pergamum, 2^{13}, had its martyr; Philadelphia, $3^{8.\ 10a}$; in Smyrna and Philadelphia at the hands or at the instigation of Jews, 2^9 3^9); yet this past persecution could be that under Nero. A renewed and greater trial, of world-wide scope (3^{10}), is soon to come. At present the Roman world tempts rather than compels Christians to adopt a heathen manner of life and heathen worship. (Is this present quiescence in the writer's mind when he says that the beast 'was, and is not; and is about to come up out of the abyss, and go into perdition' (17^8)?) Imprisonment and death are anticipated for the faithful, and for this the letters, indeed the whole book, will prepare them. Its theme is the glory and reward of martyrdom. The heretical teachings which are condemned in Pergamum (the teaching of Balaam) and in Thyatira (that of Jezebel) result in heathen ways of living rather than in doctrinal errors, though they seem to have based their worldliness on some sort of gnosis (2^{24}). It is uncertain whether 'Nicolaitan' was the proper name of this sect (possibly derived from the NICOLAS of Ac 6^5) or only the Gr. name for Balaamites (so Schürer, who appeals to the *νίκη* of Jos. *Ant.* IV. vi. 6). Schürer argues with much force that JEZEBEL was the priestess of the Chaldean Sibyl, Sambethe, who had a sanctuary at Thyatira (*Theol. Abhandl. C. von Weizsäcker gewidmet*, 1892, pp. 37–58). To this hypothesis it has been objected (Bousset, Zahn) that the impression is given that she is directly under the discipline of Christ (vv.$^{21-23}$), that the church is at fault for allowing her (v.^{20}), and that the sphere of her activity is the Christian community (vv.$^{20.\ 24}$), so that a false Christian prophetess rather than a heathen is indicated. The wife of the bishop (Zahn) she surely need not be. Satan's throne in PERGAMUM (2^{13}) may refer to the worship of Asklepios there, whose symbol was the serpent, or to the fact that here emperor-worship was first introduced, with temple and priesthood. The latter would better explain the martyrdom of ANTIPAS (unless he were killed by a mob), and would better fit the figure of the second beast ($13^{11ff.}$) Cæsar-worship was Rome's worst deed, and resistance to it was that overcoming even to death which our book urges by entreaty, threat, and promise (15^2 $16^{5f.\ 10}$ 17^6 $19^{20f.}$ 20^{4-6}).

Although the effort to force emperor-worship upon Jews goes back to Caligula (A.D. 39–40), the total impression is that of a late, not an early time. To the actual destruction of Jerusalem there is no reference. The condition of the churches (forgetfulness, indifference, worldliness) points to a relatively late time. It seems necessary to suppose that St. Paul's position as founder and unquestioned leader of the church in Ephesus is a thing entirely past. That church has had a new founding (Weizsäcker). If 17^8 expresses the belief in the return of Nero from hell, this is a late form of the belief in his return, after the possibility of his being alive had passed.

v. TEACHINGS OF THE BOOK.—1. *Predictions.*—The question what the author of Rev. intended to say about the future (and it was to reveal future things that he wrote, 1^1 4^1 etc.) is complicated by the difficulty of distinguishing between the meaning of his sources and his meaning in the use of them, and the related difficulty of distinguishing between figure and reality in his use of language. That all is literal our discussion thus far makes it impossible to admit. Are we prepared, with the spiritual interpreters of all ages, to say that all is figure (as now Milligan, Benson, etc.)? Or shall we say, 'Rev. is not a poem, an allegory, but the figurative alternates with that which is to be taken very earnestly and literally; the latter much predominates' (Jülicher, *Einl.* 172)? Our review of the writer's use of OT and other materials must rather incline us to put the predominance on the other side.

(*a*) *General.*—The undoubtedly real elements in our writer's prediction are the speedy coming of God (1^8 14^7 21^5) in judgment, with or in the coming of Christ as judge and ruler of the world (1^7 $22^{7.\ 20}$). This coming Christ will divide true from false Christians, and reward each according to his deeds (2^{23} 22^{12}). Through Him also God will judge and destroy the tempting and oppressive power of evil dominant in the world, the Roman empire ($19^{11ff.}$), and Satan himself, whose authority Rome possesses, whose spirit Rome embodies (ch. 20). All who belong to her shall perish with her. Those who hold fast the faith during the present tribulations and the greater ones soon to come, and who endure in patience and faith even to death itself, shall be rewarded with special glory and power, and especially close association with Christ and His royalty (6^{11} 14^{1-5} 20^{4-6}). But the destination to be with Christ and God in blessed and eternal nearness and fellowship is at last for all the faithful alike ($2^{7.\ 11.\ 17.\ 26-28}$ $3^{5.\ 12.\ 21\ (cf.\ 20)}$ 5^{10} $7^{9ff.}$ 14^{13} 21–$22^{5.\ 14}$).

(*b*) *Details.* — Turning to details, we have to attempt to draw the line between figure and reality, especially in reference to the fall of the power of evil, and the events that lead up to it, the saving of the faithful and the heavenly or angelic background of the action.

(1) *The fall of Rome.*—In the first half of the book six seals and six trumpets bring forth the preliminary powers and acts of the Divine judgment over evil. But neither in their special character nor in their sequence do they make the impression of describing literal events.

The first four seals introduce horsemen who are derived, one can hardly doubt, from Zec 1^{8-11} 6^{1-8}, and so ultimately from the four winds, well fitted to serve as destructive messengers of God. They are summoned forth by the four living creatures,* who were originally the four winds driving the storm-cloud, God's chariot (Ezk 1^4 etc.). In 7^1 the four winds are destructive forces, and since in $9^{14.\ 15}$ four angels are loosed which then appear as hosts of cavalry (cf. 20^8), we may infer that the four winds symbolized the nations that are to execute the Divine judgment in some final war (cf. the use of the winds as symbols of Israel's dispersion, Ezk 5^{10} 12^{14} 17^{21}, Zec 2^6 7^{14}).

Of the four seals, however, two introduce warriors (Romans and Parthians?), and two famine and pestilence. A fourfold enumeration of the plagues which God will send upon His people in the last days is found in the Prophets (Jer $15^{2.\ 3}$, Ezk 14^{21}, cf. $5^{12.\ 17}$), and quoted in Rev 6^{8b}.†

* It is less natural to suppose that John is addressed, for he is already there, and needs only to look.

† It is tempting to suppose that this originally ended the description of the four horsemen, and explained that *to each of them* was given a fourth of the earth to destroy (cf. Ezk 5^{12}).

The fifth seal discloses the prayers of the martyrs for vengeance, which are a real agent of judgment in the Hebrew view (see below). The sixth is an earthquake.

Earthquake and volcanic phenomena furnish the imagery of the first four trumpets, and, in part, of the fifth and sixth.

J. T. Bent ('What St. John saw on Patmos,' *Nineteenth Century*, 1888, pp. 813–821) argues that 6^{12-17} 8^{7-12} $16^{2-7.\ 17-21}$ describe actual phenomena seen at the eruptions of the island volcano, Santorin, within sight of Patmos; and that $9^{1ff.\ 17.\ 18}$ are poetic amplifications of the same theme. Much in Bent's article is fanciful, yet the imagery, esp. of Rev 8, fits Santorin well (see Fouqué, *Santorin et ses éruptions*, 1879, esp. pp. 22–31, 38 ff.). Nothing could be more like the pit of the abyss than the crater of this volcano, and nothing better fitted to suggest demonic agency than the smoke darkening sun and air, the sulphurous vapours which killed the fish in the sea, and blinded and even killed men, the masses of molten rock cast up and falling into the sea like a great mountain or the star Wormwood, the reddening of the sea, the rise and disappearance of islands (see also B. K. Emerson, *Bulletin of the Geol. Society of America*, March 1900). But Santorin is 80 miles from Patmos. Only the highest points of the island Thera, and the smoke of the eruptions, could have been seen. Bent refers for details to reports of refugees. Eruptions took place in B.C. 197 and A.D. 46 (Fouqué, pp. 3–9).

Account must be taken of OT parallels. Hühn finds the following parallels with the Egyptian plagues:—(1) Ex 7^{17-21}, cf. Rev 8^{3-11} 16^{3-6}; (2) Ex 7^{27-8^2}, cf. Rev 16^{13}; (6) Ex 9^{8-11}, cf. Rev 16^2; (7) Ex 9^{18-26}, cf. Rev 8^7 11^{19} 16^{21}; (8) Ex 10^{4-15}, cf. Rev 9^{3-11}; (9) Ex 10^{21-23}, cf. Rev 8^{12} $9^{1.\ 2}$ 16^{10}. Prophetic passages like Is 2, Am $8^{8.\ 9}$, Jl $2^{2-10.\ 30.\ 31}$ $3^{15.\ 16}$, Is 13^{10-13} $34^{4.\ 9.\ 10}$ etc., are to be adduced; and poetic descriptions of the coming of God, in which the imagery of storm (Ex $19^{16ff.}$) is connected with that of earthquake and volcano, Jg $5^{4.\ 5}$, Ps 18^{7-15} etc.

Was earthquake more than a symbol in our writer's eschatology? Was it the literal power that was to overthrow Rome, and even destroy the present world (cf. 6^{14} with 21^1)? The fifth trumpet begins with volcanic imagery ($9^{1.\ 2}$) and passes on to locusts, which at the end seem to symbolize warriors (9^{3-11}). The sixth trumpet begins with armies of horsemen, but the powers by which the horses kill men are the volcanic powers of fire and smoke and brimstone (9^{13-21}). The bowls lead more directly to the fall of Rome. Following the same order as to place as the trumpets (1. earth; 2. sea; 3. rivers; 4. sun; 5. under-world (?); 6. Euphrates), with fewer volcanic features in the first five, and a somewhat closer relation to the Egyptian plagues, they lead up in the sixth to an invasion of distant kings, and in the seventh to an earthquake again, in which Rome's fall seems to be involved (16^{19}). Ch. 17 seems clearly to ascribe Rome's fall to an assault of kings. But when, in $19^{11ff.}$ the beasts are overthrown in an attack, with the kings of the earth as allies, upon Christ and His army, we are ready to ask whether both earthquake and invasion were not figure, while this is actuality.

Again, the final attempt of Satan is made by means of armies of distant nations, whom he brings against Zion, but they are destroyed, not by arms, but by fire from heaven (20^{7-10}).

It is to be remembered that both earthquake and the invasion of barbarian hordes were very real dangers, and the most terrible that always threatened the Mediterranean civilizations. A seer could well look for a literal overthrow of Rome from either source, especially as prophetic eschatology had already made free use of both, and that with the same blending of the two that is found here (see, *e.g.*, Zeph 1^{15-18}, Jl 2^{1-11}, Hag $2^{21.\ 22}$, Is $13^{(10.\ 13)}$ $34^{(4.\ 9.\ 10)}$), and could easily enlarge either into a world-embracing catastrophe. Yet either or both would also serve admirably as figure for events and forces supernatural (demonic and angelic) in character. And the more freely our author passes from one to the other, and even blends the two, the more probable is it that he means neither.

(2) *The saving of the faithful.*—Here also details are difficult to adjust in a literal scheme, and the acceptance of a largely poetical form of representation is almost inevitable. Twice the 'souls' of the martyred dead are spoken of (6^9 20^4), and here only in the NT do we read of the 'souls' of the dead. Once they are seen in heaven (?, see Spitta, pp. 89, 296 ff.) beneath the altar, where the blood of a sacrifice would be (Ex 29^{12}, Lv 4 etc.), in which the soul was seated according to Heb. notions (Lv 17^{11}). They are praying for vengeance, and are given a white robe, and bidden to rest a little longer, since their number is not yet full. Does the writer think of the souls of martyrs as literally in this location, or does he thus vividly picture the reality and efficacy of their prayers for vengeance, pictured otherwise in 5^8 and 8^{3-5}? (cf. 4 Ezr 4^{35}). Cf. the cry of the uncovered blood of the slain to God for vengeance (Gn 4^{10}, Ezk $24^{7f.}$, Job 16^{18}); also the effective prayers of the oppressed (Ex $22^{23f.}$, Dt 9^9 24^{15}, Sir $35^{13ff.}$, Ja 5^4); sometimes angels are the bearers of such prayers (Zec 1^{12}, To $12^{12.\ 15}$). See esp. Enoch 9. 15^2 22^5 40^6 $47^{1.\ 2}$ $97^{3.\ 5}$ 99^3 104^3. When they are seen again it is said that they *lived* and reigned with Christ for the 1000 years. As *souls*, then, they were not truly living, but this life is due to a resurrection (20^{4-6}). On the other hand, in 7^{9-17} the martyrs—or perhaps rather all who have kept the faith amid tribulation (v.^{14})—appear in their white robes in heaven, joining with angels in the worship of God, in a glory and blessedness which can be nothing less than final. And yet the description of the consummation in $21-22^{5.\ 14.\ 15}$ has not this setting (the heavenly throne of God, the elders, and living beings and angels), but is simply earthly (after the OT) in its features. In the former passage the saints are with God, in this God descends to be with men ($21^{3.\ 22f.}$). We note also that there are still 'the kings of the earth' who can bring their treasures to the new Jerusalem (21^{24-26}); and though there shall not enter into it anything unclean (21^{27} = Is 52^1 etc.), yet outside of the city gates are the wicked (22^{14}), whose part, however, according to 21^8, is in the lake of fire, the second death.

The earthly features of the new Jerusalem in the new earth are especially strange in a chiliastic eschatology. We should expect the 1000-years' reign of Christ and the martyrs to fulfil the earthly Messianic hopes of prophecy, and the final consummation should be heavenly. Zahn actually holds, accordingly, that 21^9–22^5 (15) is a description not of the final blessedness, but of the condition of the world during the 1000-years' reign. There is, in fact, no escape from this violent conclusion, no way of harmonizing this picture with that of 7^{9-17}, and with the condition of things implied in 19^{19-21} 20^{11-15} 21^1, except by taking it throughout as poetry. It is in form an almost purely Jewish description of what is to our author a Christian and heavenly consummation. It has always been used as poetry by Christians, and, so used, has proved inspiring.

The hope of this writer has often been declared to be narrowly Jewish-Christian, and Vischer and others have felt that the only way in which justice can be done to the evident universality and spirituality of some parts of the book is by separating it into independent parts. Undoubtedly, the Jewish language is due to Jewish writers. *E.g.* 7^{1-8} suggests that Jewish Christians form the nucleus of the new community, and retain a sort of separateness and primacy, while the multitudes from other nations are added to them. So in 11^{1-13} Judaism appears to be only chastened for its sins; but the great majority repent and are saved. And, finally, the new Jerusalem remains Jewish (21^{12}). Its gates are for the tribes of Israel who enter into the city, while believing nations walk by its light, bring gifts to it, but do not dwell within its walls; are healed by the leaves of its trees of life, but do not eat their fruit (21^{24}–22^2).*

But in spite of the writer's high valuation of the name 'Jew' (2^9 3^9), and in spite of a certain parallel for such a doctrine of the eschatological primacy of Jews in the expectations of St. Paul (Ro 11), it appears quite certain to the present writer that Rev. knows no such distinction; that in 7^{1-8} and 11^{1-13} it is no longer Judaism, but Christianity, the true 'Jews' and heirs to Israel's promises, to whom the writer applies undoubtedly Jewish oracles, and that the Jewish language in chs. 21. 22, wholly borrowed, as it is, from the OT, is used as poetry to picture the heavenly blessedness of Christians.

(3) *The fall of Satan.*—In chs. 12–20 the distinction between fact and figure in our writer's predictions is involved especially in the question how he conceived of the angelic and demonic beings whose deeds and fortunes form the background of the action. Here we read of the birth and ascension of Christ; Satan and his angels cast out of heaven by Michael and his hosts; the persecution of Christians by Satan through the beasts who represent Rome's empire and cultus; the fall of Rome introduced by last plagues (15. 16), described in symbol (17), and in prophetic language (18); the overthrow of the two beasts and their followers by Christ; the binding of Satan; the 1000-years' reign of Christ and risen martyrs; the loosing of Satan, who with a great army (Gog and Magog) assails the holy city and is destroyed; the general resurrection and judgment, when Death and Hades, with condemned men, are cast into the lake of fire, where the beasts and Satan are.

In this outlook one thing which must be taken literally is the fall of Rome. Even if Jews in large part shaped the various oracles against the godless city, our writer could not have put chs. 17. 18 into his book if he had not meant to say what is there so unmistakably said, nor can 13. 14^8 16^{19} have any other meaning. But the judgment upon Rome, which forms the concrete historical contents of chs. 12–20, is set in a frame, or double frame, of deeds in the angelic world. Chs. 12 and 20 form the outside setting, or, shall we say, the underlying stratum, the real cause and end of evil. The fall of Satan from heaven, his last assaults upon men (Christians), his imprisonment in the abyss, his release and last onslaught and final overthrow, are the events that ultimately explain the evil of the present, and bring evil to its absolute end. Chs. 13 and 19^{11-21} form the inner framework about the historical reality or the upper stratum, just below the surface of observed facts. The two beasts are not identical with the Roman empire and emperor-worship, but are the representatives of these in the spirit-world; they are not an abstract symbol of Rome, but a concrete (personal) embodiment of Rome. They are demonic beings, pictures of the evil spirit-power of Rome. This is probably the correct view of the beasts in Dn 7 also, since Professor N. Schmidt (*JBL*, 1900, part i.) has made probable the identification of the 'one like a man' with the angel prince of Israel, the Michael, who is described as gaining Israel's victory over the angel representatives of the nations (chs. 10–12). That the beasts are angelic beings is suggested by the demons that come out of their mouths ($16^{13.\ 14}$), and by the difference between their punishment and that of the armies that fight for them ($19^{20.\ 21}$). But though distinct from Rome the beasts are not apart from it. We mistake the Jewish idea of the angelic counterpart if we give it independent significance. The beast's power is Rome's power, and Rome's fall is the fall of the beast. Yet the two are not one, and it is possible that the writer used the figure of ch. 17 to express his belief that Rome was to fall at the hand of its own evil genius, by the fruits of its own sin. It was the woman sitting on the beast, against whom the

* Baur, Holtzmann, etc.

beast itself would at last turn in hatred. The demonic nature of the beast is here quite clear. The actual Satanic power in the writer's experience was Rome, and his hope was for its fall; but though it was the agent and embodiment of Satan's hatred and power against God's people, yet its fall will bring only the binding, not the destruction, of Satan. He has other resources, and will be given an opportunity to make one more effort before the end comes. The arrangement of material compels us to regard the threefold judgment upon Satan, one past (connected with Christ's birth and ascension), two future, a preliminary binding connected with the fall of Rome, and a final destruction, as expressing realities in the author's mind no less than the fall of Rome itself, to which he gives a definite place in this larger drama of the Christian conquest of evil. But reality need not mean materiality. Caution is needed in interpreting the angelology of our book. We have already observed how little actuality, apart from Christ, has the angel who speaks for him (*e.g.* $22^{6ff.}$). In the letters we have messages from Christ to the Churches, but in form they come from the angel who represents Christ, through John, to the angels who represent the Churches. In spite of the difficulty of supposing that John and his writing must mediate between two angels, it remains probable that the angel of the Church is a real angel, conceived not as ruling over the Church, not as its heavenly guardian, but as its heavenly counterpart, personating its actual character, and hence worthy of praise and blame, not different from the Church itself ideally or abstractly conceived. John's writing of the message of the Christ-angel is, of course, for the sake of the actual Church, which is really addressed (note the use of the second person singular). It can be spoken of as a writing to the angel, in accordance with the heavenly setting of the vision, only because the angel is the heavenly presence and personal representation of the actual Church in its actual character. Against the contrary arguments of Zahn and others it remains that 'angel' is used throughout the book in the literal sense, and that no human official could be so completely identified with the Church. The intervention of John's book between two angels does not prove that they were not angels, but reveals the sense in which our writer ascribes reality to them.

In order rightly to estimate the significance of the angelic and demonic framework or background of our writer's predictions we should study its history, for it is no free invention or original insight of his. This eschatology, with its union of earthly (political) and unearthly (angelic) beings and events has far-reaching roots, and one would need a far more complete review than can here be attempted of the angelology, demonology, and eschatology of the OT and of Judaism in order to view it in the right light. In this picture are blended many elements from originally independent sources of which the history can only imperfectly be traced. Gunkel has done a very great service in his study of the history of the Babylonian myth of the creation of the world by the slaying or binding of the chaos beast, the dragon of the deep, by the god of light. He has shown how in the OT certainly (Is $51^{9f.}$ 27^{1}, Dn 7, etc.), and not improbably in Babylonia, this cosmological myth became eschatological, the last things were to be like the first, the dragon was to rise in a new conflict against God and be again overcome before the new creation. He has also shown how this myth, though retaining features of its original sense, the conception of creation as the binding and confining of the ocean (cf. Pr. Man ^{3}, 'who has bound the sea by the word of thy commandment; who hast shut up the deep and sealed it by thy terrible and glorious name,' with Rev 9^{1} 20^{3}), became, especially in its eschatological use, a figure of the world-kingdom that oppressed the people of God. Its future assault would be literally by war, not by tempest (see the union in Dn 7^{1}). It is evident how perfect an expression of this final form of the dragon-myth is contained in the words, 'the beast that thou sawest was, and is not; and is about to come up out of the abyss, and to go into perdition' (Rev 17^{8}). But this leads us over to an idea not Babylonian in origin, that the gods of the nations are angels (demons) (Dt 4^{19} 32^{8} LXX, Sir 17^{14}), and that these angels of the nations are responsible for their sins against Israel. Daniel contains this idea in a developed form. The beasts which in ch. 7 suggest the chaos dragon in his late eschatological and political form, give place in chs. 10–12 to angel princes of the nations whom Israel's prince, Michael, is to overthrow. So also in the late apocalypse, Is 24–27, the Babylonian dragon of the deep (here three monsters probably stand for three nations) is to be slain by God in the last judgment (27^{1}); but before this (or parallel to it) is the punishing of the angelic counterparts of earthly kings, and, very significantly, their imprisonment for a time in the pit before their final punishment ($24^{21.\ 22}$). That the coming day of J" includes a heavenly judgment over these spiritual powers of the world-kingdoms, is seen also in Is $34^{4.\ 5}$, Ps 82. 58 (?). Both in Is 24^{21}, cf. $^{19.\ 20}$, and in $34^{4.\ 5}$ earthquake phenomena are the manifest sign of this judgment upon angel beings. That Persian eschatology influenced Jewish at this point is quite beyond serious question. (See esp. Stave, *Parsismus*, p. 145 ff.). There we find the conception of a struggle between good and evil spirit powers, becoming especially severe at the end when the Satanic leader, Angra Mainyu, assails the abode of Ahura Mazda, the good god. He is overthrown, either by the god himself or by the Parsee Messiah, Soshyos, and is held in imprisonment for a time before he is destroyed. The resurrection and the creation of the new heaven and earth are additional elements in the Parsee eschatology parallel to the Jewish. The idea of the fall of Satan from heaven through an ambitious attempt to be like God is used poetically in application to the fall of Babylon in Is 14^{12-15}, with evident allusion to a myth describing the failure of the morning star to mount the eastern sky. See also Secrets of Enoch $29^{4.\ 5}$, and cf. Enoch $68^{4.\ 5}$.

The Bk. of Daniel introduces a further element, the essential embodiment of the demonic power of evil in a man (Antiochus IV.). This human, not simply national, incarnation of the power of Satan may have had an important history in Jewish thought before it comes to light in the early Christian expectation of Antichrist (2 Th 2^{3-12}, 1 Jn 2^{18}, $\Delta_{\iota}\delta$. 16, etc.; cf. Apoc. Bar $40^{1.\ 2}$). Bousset (*Der Antichrist*, 1895) has made probable the Jewish origin of this conception as an outgrowth or modification of the Babylonian dragon myth, probably originating with Daniel.

Another line of development connects itself with Gn 6^{1-3}, and is found in combination with some of those already traced in Enoch 1–36. 83–90. The points of contact with Rev. here are close enough to deserve a more careful scrutiny.

The Book of Enoch (ch. 6 ff.) contains an account—probably the blending of two accounts—of the fall of angels from heaven, on the basis of Gn 6^{1-3}, and of the binding of their leader (Azazel or Semjaza) by one of the four archangels in darkness beneath rocks or under the hills of the earth, with his associates. At the last judgment they are to be taken thence and cast into the abyss of fire ($10^{4-6.\ 9-13}$). If they had not been bound, man would have perished from the earth (10^{7}). But though the greater powers of evil are chained, lesser powers, the evil spirits, half human, proceeding from their sons, the giants, continue, and to them disease and all sorts of evil are ascribed. In the dream vision of chs. 83–90 the same conception is found. Here we read of the fall of a star from heaven and then of other stars ($86^{1.\ 3}$), and of the violent deeds of their sons. Then one of the four great angels binds in an abyss the first star that fell, and his followers likewise ($88^{1.\ 3}$). This is before the Flood. During the whole period of human history these fallen angels lie bound in the earth; but the evils under which Israel groaned are due to the misdeeds of the 'seventy shepherds.' These are angel representatives of the kingdoms to which the Jews were in subjection from the Exile onwards ($89^{59ff.}$), who transgress their commission as chasteners of Israel. At the last judgment the stars that first fell are brought before God, then the seventy shepherds, and all are cast into the same abyss of fire (90^{21-25}, so 100^{4}). Into a like abyss, but not the same one, apostate Israelites were cast (90^{26}). Then the old house (Jerusalem) was taken away, and the new house was brought and erected by God (97^{27-29}). Certain points of likeness between this apocalypse and Rev. are evident: the two sorts of angelic powers of evil, Satan and his angels accounting for the evil of the world in general, and angels of the nations explaining the particular and present sufferings of the Jews. But the binding of Satan in the abyss is at the beginning of human history, not at the beginning of the Messianic reign. The idea that evil angels are confined under the earth may well have been an inference from the phenomena of earthquake and volcano, cf. *e.g.* Enoch $67^{4ff.}$. The same conception, depending on Enoch, though with variations, is found in later parts of Enoch ($39^{1.\ 2a}$ 54^{1-6} 67–69), in Bk. of Jub., ch. 5, Secrets of Enoch 18^{7} (cf. chs. 7. 18. 29), Jude ^{6}, 2 P 24. In Enoch 18^{11}–21^{10} the fallen and imprisoned angels are seven stars that transgressed the commandment of God by not rising at the appointed time; and though ch. 19 declares them to be the angels of Gn 6^{1-3}, one suspects a different origin, namely, in planets or meteors. The possibility of Greek influence on the eschatology of Enoch is not to be denied (Dieterich, *Nekyia*, 1893).

Comparing the eschatology of Rev 12–22 with these earlier OT and Jewish conceptions, we are struck most of all by the free union of elements of an originally diverse origin. Ch. 12 stands nearest to the Babylonian myth, even though one hesitate to adopt Gunkel's bold reconstruction. The dragon is a water beast (v.^{15}). He is cast out of heaven with his host by Michael, in a war which can have been nothing but an effort to dispossess God. But his fall here follows the birth and ascension of Messiah; and by this change of order which appears to have been due to our John himself, what was a history of the world became a history of Christianity, and the fundamental victory over evil, upon which hope rests, was not that effected by God at creation, but that achieved by Christ through His resurrection. In 9^{1-11} the allusions to the demonic powers, with Apollyon at their head, who are confined in the abyss, seem to rest on a wholly different conception.

The Satan of chs. 12 and 20 is certainly more than a representative of Rome, and these two chapters must be intended to put the present evil power and its coming fall into relation to an ultimate principle of evil, which Rome only for a time embodies. Through the birth and ascension of Christ a victory has been achieved over the power of evil in heaven. After Rome's fall, there still remains a final victory to be achieved over the power of evil in the world. So much we may safely say the writer intends in a literal sense.

(4) *The thousand years.*—This leads to the question of the significance to him of the 1000-years' reign of Christ and the martyrs. It is a part of the last conflict against evil. While Satan is bound in the abyss, Christ and His saints reign over the world, subduing the remaining powers of evil. It is true that in Jewish apocalypses the idea of a temporary earthly reign of Messiah (or of Israel) arose in the effort to conceive of the final consummation in more transcendental, heavenly terms, and yet provide for the literal fulfilment of the national, earthly hopes of Israel. In Enoch 91 Messiah does not appear, but an earthly Messianic age is followed after a final judgment by a consummation of heavenly character. In 4 Ezr 7 Messiah has to do only with the earthly kingdom, not with the heavenly which follows it after 400 years. But in Rev. the 1000 years has no such significance. Our writer does not need it for the literal fulfilment of the

earthly and national features of the prophetic hope, for he uses these freely in a figurative sense of the new heaven and earth (21. 22). He does not need it in order to give Messiah His rights, for the Lamb is still on the throne in the final consummation ($21^{22.\ 23}$ $22^{1.\ 3}$). Holtzmann, indeed, declares that the idea that this 1000-years' reign is a period of peace and rest is the only proper enrichment of Biblical theology in our book, since in St. Paul the interval between the coming of Christ and the consummation is a period of the progressive conquest of evil (1 Co $15^{20\text{-}28}$). But where in Rev. is the suggestion that peace and rest characterize the 1000 years? It is here also a reigning of Christ, and the reward of martyrs is a share in His power. St. Paul expresses the common expectation of the Christian's part in this reign of Christ in 1 Co $6^{2.\ 3}$. There is every reason to suppose that judging and ruling characterize the 1000 years in Revelation. The difference between this first resurrection and the second is not the difference between a preliminary earthly and a final heavenly rest. For the final consummation, as we have seen, is described by our author in thoroughly earthly (Messianic) terms poetically taken. It is the difference between power and blessedness. In other words, the 1000-years' reign here corresponds closely to the Jewish expectation of the time when the sword of justice and vengeance should be in the hands of the righteous (Enoch 91^{12} $90^{19.\ 34}$, cf. $95^{3.\ 7}$ 96^{1} 98^{12} $99^{4.\ 6}$ 99^{16}–100^{3} 38^{5}, Dn 7^{22}).

In Rev $2^{26.\ 27}$ 3^{21} the rule of those who overcome is promised; but is this more literally meant than the other promises ($2^{7.\ 17}$ etc.)? In 1^{6} 5^{10} it seems to be said that Christians are already a kingdom and priests reigning on the earth. The brief episodal treatment of the 1000 years in $20^{4\text{-}6}$ as part of the account of Satan's overthrow, prevents our giving it the significance in the writer's mind that has often been given to it. The possibility cannot be wholly excluded that it stands here because it stood in some account of Satan's overthrow, which our author adopted, as he did so much else, for its general meaning, not for its detail. We shall perhaps be better able to estimate its meaning to him as we turn from his predictions to his religious conceptions. It is certain that the *overcoming* with which John is most concerned is first Christ's overcoming of sin through His death and exaltation, then the Christian overcoming of the evil life and false worship of the world and its hatred and persecutions, by patience and faith even unto death. And this overcoming is so referred to in the midst of the description of Satan's fall from heaven (12^{11}), and of the fall of Rome (17^{14}), that we wonder after all at the end whether this is the reality and those the figure; whether, not of course originally but to our writer,—the one who inserted such verses as these,—this did not express their real meaning. It is certain that he believed chiefly in the triumphant vindication of Christian faith, both in the case of individuals who endured unto death, and of the world which was now in the power of evil. The conviction that death could only bring the faithful soul to its God, and that the future could only see God and Christ manifestly enthroned over the universe, our author held with all the intensity of his being, and expressed in all the variety of form with which the literature of hope furnished him, without too much anxiety about formal consistency. That Christ's conquest of evil involved the fall of Rome, but that the fall of Rome was not the end of evil itself, but the beginning and guarantee of its end, we may also regard as secure.

2. *Religious ideas (theology) of Revelation.*—The biblico-theological study of Rev. should proceed, according to the modern view of this discipline, largely by the comparative method. We are not to assume that the author had a theology of his own; and we are most concerned to know the sources and influence of the Christian ideas of the book, and how they fit into the history of Christian thought. This is far more an average book, that is, an embodiment of average beliefs and hopes, than the letters of St. Paul or the Gospel of St. John. It expresses the faith and the temper of Christianity in the early years of its conflict, its struggle for existence against a hostile world. As its message is one of a speedily coming judgment and deliverance, its underlying theology will concern the persons through whom, and the way in which, salvation is to be effected. God and Christ, redemption past and to come, are its themes. The general conception of the deliverer and the deliverance will be determined by the conception of the evil from which men desire to be delivered. The theology of our author will be fundamentally determined by the question whether he conceives of the evil chiefly as political or as religious. The answer to this question is not altogether easy. Although Rome now embodies the spirit of evil itself, and is endowed with its authority, yet on the one hand it is through its religion that its evil power is exerted (2^{13} $13^{11\text{ff.}}$), and on the other hand it is only a temporary representative of the ultimate evil power, the Devil and Satan, the destroyer (9^{11}), the deceiver of the whole world (12^{9}), the real persecutor of the saints ($12^{12.\ 17}$). Titius is doubtless, on the whole, right in suggesting that the political view of evil and salvation seems to be offered to the writer by some of his sources, but that it is disavowed by him (*Die neutest. Lehre von der Seligkeit*, iv. 35); yet the case is not wholly clear, and the central problem in the interpretation of the Christianity of the book lies just here. The fall of Rome would seem to be a chief act in that Divine judgment which is to bring blessedness to the faithful. But this Jewish 'apocalyptical connexion of politics and religion' is not the teaching of the book as a whole, otherwise Christ's person and work, and the Christian conduct and hope, must have been determined by the goal of political world-rulership. It is not, indeed, decisive that 'the conduct of the faithful is not political, but is characterized exclusively by patience (13^{10} 14^{12})' (Titius); for this is true also in the Bk. of Daniel, the occasion of which, like that of Rev., is not war, but religious persecution. Here literal world-rulership is unquestionably hoped for, and yet the conflict with the beast, as in Rev., 'is carried on, on the one side by executions, and on the other by quiet martyrdom' (cf. Dn $11^{33\text{ff.}}$). Many Jews expected that world-rulership was to come to them through God's direct intervention, upon purely religious conditions on their part. Nor can we say with confidence that the literal world-rulership of the saints was not in our author's mind ($2^{26.\ 27}$ 3^{21} 5^{10} $20^{4\text{-}6}$). When the Roman empire is regarded as the Satanic power, it is not easy to escape the conception of a kingdom of the saints which shall literally displace it. Nevertheless, it remains true that for our author the ultimate evil power is not Rome but Satan, and that the final struggle and victory are in the spiritual realm. It is not the world-rulership of Rome, but its blasphemous claims, that made it the present agent of Satan's power. Both by temptation and by violence it endangered the Christian life and the Christian faith. Any power that opposed the sole worship of the one God, whether Jewish (2^{9} 3^{9}) or Roman (2^{13} 13^{6} etc.), is Satanic.

(*a*) *God.*—The fundamental faith of the book is, then, that God alone is to be worshipped, since He alone is eternal and all-powerful. Monotheism is the basis on which the apocalyptical hope rests, since this is always only the hope that the real kingship of God will soon become manifest and actual. God is He who was, and who is, and who is to come ($1^{4.\ 8}$ 4^{8}, cf. 11^{17}), while the power of evil 'was, and is not; and is about to come up out of the abyss, and to go into perdition' ($17^{8.\ 11}$). The difference between these two definitions saves the Christian faith which this book represents from dualism. The doctrine of God is Christianity's great inheritance from Judaism, and is given here not only in Jewish terms, but in the Jewish spirit. God is the Creator (4^{11} 10^{6} 14^{7}), omnipotent [παντοκράτωρ] (1^{8} 4^{8} 11^{17} 15^{3} $16^{7.\ 14}$ $19^{6.\ 15}$ 21^{22}; elsewhere in NT only 2 Co 6^{18}). Fear, not love, is the temper of worship (14^{7} 15^{4} 19^{5} 11^{18}). God is indeed described as one to be feared, one whose coming self-manifestation will be in wrath and judgment ($6^{16.\ 17}$ 11^{18} $14^{9\text{-}11.\ 19.\ 20}$ $15^{7.\ 8}$ 16^{1} 19^{15}). He is a King who is absolute in power and just in His judgments. This justice is His supreme quality, on which faith and hope rest (6^{10} 15^{3} 16^{7} $19^{1.\ 2}$).

(*b*) *Christ.*—Christ is conceived as one equal to His task, which is threefold. (1) He is to overthrow the Roman empire ($19^{11\text{-}21}$) and its allies (17^{14}), and so is described as warrior and king, wholly in Jewish terms. He is the lion of the tribe of Judah (5^{5}, cf. 22^{16}), with a sword in His

mouth (1[16] 2[12. 16] 19[15], Is 11[4]), the destined ruler of the heathen (2[26f.] 12[5] 19[15], Ps 2[9], cf. Ps-Sol 17[26]). (2) But since the real power of evil is not Rome but Satan, Christ must be conceived not only as the greatest of kings, 'King of kings and Lord of lords' (17[14] 19[16] 1[5]), as God is in the OT (Dn 2[47]), but as one supreme in the world of spirits. So in the first vision of Him (1[9-20]), He appears as an angelic being, like Gabriel in Dn 10, but above him, since He applies to Himself (1[17] 2[8] 22[13]) the name 'the first and the last,' which belongs to God (1[8] 21[6], Is 41[4] 44[6] 48[12]). He is 'the living one' (1[18]), as God also is (4[9. 10] 10[6]); the One who has already, by His resurrection, gained the mastery over those powers of evil which are the last of all to be destroyed, Death and Hades (1[18], cf. 20[14], 1 Co 15[26]). The second vision of Christ (5[1-14]) shows still more clearly His superiority to all angelic powers, even those that stand closest to the throne of God. He only of them all can open the book of the Divine purposes. The seven spirits of God are His eyes (5[6]), or are in His hand (3[1]). This elevation is His,—just as in Ph 2[5-11],—because of His redemptive death (5[9]). The whole creation joins in ascribing to Him praises as to God (5[9-14], cf. 1[5b. 6] 7[10]).

The angel-like and God-like nature of the risen Christ is the best proof that our writer's view went beyond the political. Such a One as this was not needed for the overthrow of Rome. Yet it is a striking fact that the victory over spirit powers of evil is not, as we should expect, expressly ascribed to Christ. The demon-beasts of Rome are taken and cast into the lake of fire, but by whom is not said (19[19. 20]), though it is the sword in Christ's mouth that slays their followers (v.[21]). The dragon recognized in Christ his deadly foe (12[4f.]), but it is Michael who cast him down from heaven (12[7-9]), 'an angel' who chained him in the abyss (20[1-3], cf. 9[1-11]); fire from heaven devoured his hosts, and it is not said who cast him, and after him Death, into the lake of fire (20[10. 14]). So the key of the abyss is in an angel's hand (9[1] 20[1]) in spite of 1[18]. Our writer does not feel the need of formally displacing the angel by Christ in these Jewish figures. Angelology had already influenced the Jewish conception of Messiah in Enoch 37 ff. (see 46[1]) on the basis of Daniel. But in general Michael retained his place as Israel's heavenly representative, defender, priestly intercessor. Bousset suggested (*Der Antichrist*, p. 151) that Jewish speculations about Michael may have influenced early Christian ideas about Christ, and Lueken (*Michael*, Göttingen, 1898) has made the hypothesis probable. In our book, however, Michael is not displaced, but performs one of his chief functions (12[7ff.]); on the other hand, the worship of angels is expressly forbidden (19[10] 22[8. 9]); and Christ is, with God—in spite of 19[10] 'worship God'—the object of the worship of angels and men alike. While angels are classed with men, Christ is classed with God; and various titles and expressions carry us beyond not only the Messianic but also the angelological speculations of Judaism. He is once called 'the Son of God' (2[18], but see also 2[27] 3[5. 21], cf. 1[6] 14[1]); once, 'the beginning of the creation of God' (3[14]), as only the Divine wisdom is called in OT (Pr 8[22]), and as Christ is called only by St. Paul in the NT (Col 1[15]). He is called once also the Word of God (19[13]), and even this Johannine (Hellenistic) title is surpassed by the title of eternity, 'the first and the last' (1[17] 2[8] 22[13]). Yet one hesitates to put stress on the pre-existence which these titles imply, because the resurrection so supremely marks Christ and conditions His exaltation (1[5a. 18] 2[8] 5[9ff.]). A cosmical significance and fitness to deal with the cosmical principle of evil the writer certainly wishes to affirm. He would seem almost to identify Christ and God if, as seems probable, he adds to Jewish sources the expressions 'and of his Christ' (11[15]), 'and of the Lamb' (22[3]), without feeling the need of changing the following words to plurals. Yet close as is the association, closer and more abiding than in 1 Co 15[20-28], subordination remains, and is expressed in simple and unreserved fashion (1[1] 2[7. 27] 3[2. 12. 14. 21]).—(3) But it is neither the world-empire, nor its demon-gods, nor Satan himself that furnished the chief task of Christ. The Christian community was His greatest deed. He created it by His redeeming death (1[6] 5[9. 10]), and is first and last the Lord of the Churches, knowing them as they are (2[2] etc.), ruling them in love, but with severity (2[16. 23] 3[19]), their Lord (11[8] 14[13] 22[20. 21]). For Him the perfected community is destined as a bride (19[7-9] 21[2. 9]). Believers are His servants (1[1] 2[20]), as they are the servants of God (7[3] 10[7] 11[18] etc.). The name which most expresses what Christ is to the Christian is the 'Lamb,' used twenty-nine times in the book. The figure of a lamb as if slain, *i.e.* with throat cut as if about to be sacrificed, the author is able to use in such a way that it gives an impression of power and excites feelings of reverence and awe. Although the Lamb slain is a striking Christian transformation of the Lion of Judah's tribe (5[5. 6]), yet lion-like rather than lamb-like qualities remain dominant. The seven horns and the seven eyes picture kingly power and Divine knowledge. The Christian Messiah is one crucified, indeed, but nevertheless kingly and powerful, a stern warrior and righteous judge (6[16] 14[10] 17[14]). His place is near the throne of God (5[6. 8] 7[9. 17]), and at last upon it (21[22. 23] 22[1-3]). Although the name Jesus is commonly used (1[9] 12[17] 17[6] 19[10] 20[4] 22[16]), yet the reference is to the heavenly, not the earthly life. Neither allusions to the birth of Christ (12[1-5], cf. 5[5] 22[16]), nor to His death (5[9f.], cf. Is 53; 1[7], cf. Zec 12[10], Dn 7[13]), indicate a use of the Gospel accounts. The fact of the death, however, is of vital significance. The crucifixion was the crowning sin of Jerusalem (11[8]), but the slaying—the blood of the Lamb—is that through which He made men a kingdom, priests, unto God (1[6] 5[10]). This effect is explained as a purchase (redemption), 5[9] 14[3. 4] (cf. 1 Co 6[20] 7[23]), with which the reading, λύσαντι ἐκ, in 1[5] ('loosed'), would correspond. But it is also said that the redeemed had 'washed their robes and made them white in the blood of the Lamb' (7[14], cf. 22[14] ℵA, and the less probable reading, λούσαντι ἀπό, in 1[5]).

The figure of the slain Lamb itself pictures the fact of the atoning significance of the death, but does not give us a definite theory regarding it. It is not certain whether the Paschal lamb is in mind (Ex 12[3ff.], 1 Co 5[7]), or Is 53[7] (as probably in Jn 1[29. 36]). The vicariousness of Christ's death is not indicated, and the contact with St. Paul's thought at this point seems formal rather than real.

(*c*) *The Christian life.*—The divergence of the thought of our book from St. Paul becomes still more evident when we note that the white garments which the redeemed wear signify moral purity (3[4. 5]). It is the duty of the Christian Church to array itself in white. The fine linen, bright and pure, is the righteous deeds of the saints (19[8]). Such raiment can be, as it were, bought of Christ (3[18]), or given (6[11] 19[8]); but its possession is evidently regarded more from the moral than from the ritual point of view. There is no such reflexion upon the relation of gift and duty in the Christian life as in St. Paul; but by the side of praise for redemption by Christ's blood, is an almost legalistic conception of salvation by works. In the letters, works are required by Christ (2[2. 5. 19. 23. 26] 3[1. 2. 8. 15], cf. 14[13] 18[6] 20[6. 12. 13] 22[12], Holtzmann). They are *His* works (2[26]), the keeping of His words or commands

(3[8]), as well as God's words (1[2. 9] 12[17] 14[12] 20[4]), of which Jesus is a witness (1[5] 3[14]). To keep God's commands is to keep the testimony of Jesus (1[2. 9] 12[17] 19[10] 20[4]) or His faith (14[12]). Pure morals (2[14. 20] 3[4] 14[4. 5]) and a pure worship (2[14. 20] 13[12ff.] 14[9f.]) are enjoined, over against heathen influence; and, to keep these in such a time, patience, endurance, fidelity were the most needed virtues. 'The patience and the faith of the saints' (13[10]) are closely related virtues. That faith and patience alike mean fidelity is evident (2[13] 14[12] 2[10b] 17[14b]). They were most manifest in martyrdom. As Christ, through the shedding of His blood, proved Himself a 'faithful witness,' and attained as a reward His place of power, so Christians gain the highest glory through a martyr death. Its power as an example is one of the clearest interpretations given by our author to Christ's death (see 7[14] 12[11] 3[21] 20[4-6]). The point of view of reward is that from which salvation is predominantly regarded (2[7] etc., 'to him that overcometh,' 11[18] 22[12] 7[14ff.]).

vi. RELATION OF REV. TO OTHER NT BOOKS.—1. *St. Paul.*—The question in what relation the Christology and Soteriology of Rev. stand to Paulinism is one to which a confident answer is impossible until we know better how to answer the questions both of source and of influence with reference to St. Paul's thought at these points. If St. Paul is the author of the 'higher Christology,' Rev. must be under his influence, and certainly the expression 'the firstborn from the dead' (1[5]) suggests Col 1[18] (cf. 1 Co 15[20]), though Bousset believes that Ps 89[28] (LXX) accounts for it. To the same verse, Col 1[18] (cf. v.[15]), the expression 'the beginning of the creation of God,' points (3[14]). Yet these parallels are far from conclusive. Both St. Paul and Rev. exalt Christ above angels as a reward for His earthly life and death (Ph 2[5ff.], Rev 5[9ff.]).

If St. Paul was the first to connect the forgiveness of sin with the death of Christ, the thought of Rev. is in some sense due to him; but St. Paul's originality at this point is an open question (1 Co 15[3. 11]), and the effect of the death of Christ is here described in a wholly un-Pauline way. Again, the universality of the gospel owed most to the championship of St. Paul, but Weizsäcker is justified in saying that in Rev. Judaism has become universalistic and free from law, not in the Pauline way, but in a way of its own. The thought of Rev 5[9] is that of Eph 2[13], but dependence is not evident.

There are many points of contact between the two writers in eschatology, but none that cannot be explained from the common basis of Jewish and primitive Christian conceptions. It is not probable that we are to infer from Rev 7[1-8] 11[1-13] an expectation like St. Paul's of the final repentance and salvation of the Jewish people (Ro 11[26]); it is, however, possible. St. Paul expects a literal renewal of the world (Ro 8[18-22], cf. Rev 21[1]); also (before this?) an interregnum of Christ (1 Co 15[25]) when He and His (6[2. 3]) will overcome all powers hostile to God (Rev 20[4-6]); the last foe to be destroyed is death (1 Co 15[26], Rev 20[14]). It is a striking fact that while the literalness of these expectations is not to be questioned in St. Paul's case, in Rev. we feel ourselves to be everywhere on the border line between fact and figure. None of these parallels is so striking as the contrast between St. Paul's attitude towards Rome and that of Revelation (Ro 13[1-7], 2 Th 2[7]). Even at this point, however, we cannot think of an intentional polemic against St. Paul. Antichrist has taken on a Roman instead of a Jewish character by the course of events. The effort of Baur and Volkmar to prove the presence of an anti-Pauline polemic in the book cannot be regarded as successful. The Christianity of the John of Rev. is neither national nor legal in a Jewish sense (*e.g.* 5[9] 7[9ff.] 21[24ff.] 2[14. 20] 21[22]). The absoluteness of its freedom from Judaism, *i.e.* of its conviction that Christians are the true Jews, is seen in the fact that it can adopt without change such thoroughly Jewish pictures as 7[1-8] 11[1-13], taking for granted their figurative application to the Christian community. Its conception of faith and of works is neither St. Paul's nor is it aimed against St. Paul's conception.

We may agree with Jülicher that the Christianity of Rev. is neither Pauline nor anti-Pauline; and that, as far as one can speak of the religious conceptions of the book outside of the eschatological circle, they can be understood as a simple development of the primitive form in which the gospel came through Jewish believers to Jews. It must, however, be a late, not an early development.

2. *The Synoptic Gospels.*—The traditional defence of the apostolicity and truth of Rev. by the claim that it is only an elaboration of the eschatological teachings of Jesus, especially in Mt 24 [-25] = Mk 13 = Lk 21 + 17[20-37] + 12[35-48], must now be reconsidered and tested in view of a growing inclination on the part of scholars to regard these chapters as due to an elaboration of the simpler teachings of Jesus regarding the future, under the influence of the eschatological conceptions, inherited from Judaism, of which Rev. is a product and record. The parallels are, of course, unmistakable; but for the historical interpretation of them we must wait for further studies in the Gospels, and in the history of those traditions of the life and teachings of Jesus out of which the Gospels came.

Holtzmann (*Einl.* 422) adduces the following parallels: Mk 13[7. 8] = Rev 6[4-8. 12], Mk 13[10] = Rev 14[6], Mk 13[13] = Rev 2[26], Mk 13[19] = Rev 16[18], esp. Mk 13[24. 25] = Rev 6[12-14] 8[12] 9[1. 2], Mk 13[26] (still more closely Mt 27[30]) = Rev 1[7], Mk 13[27] = Rev 7[1], Mk 13[31] = Rev 6[14] 17[17] 21[1], and apparent contrasts between Rev 11[1] and Mk 13[14], Rev 10[5. 6] 14[15] and Mk 13[32].

Von Soden (*Abhandlungen*, p. 132), on the basis of various parallels (Rev 13[10] Lk 21[24], Rev 6[10] Lk 18[7], Rev 6[16] Lk 23[30], Rev 3[3] 16[15] Lk 12[39] [= Mt 24[43]], Rev 3[20] Lk 12[36] 14[15-24], Rev 1[19] Lk 21[36], Rev 3[3] 14[7. 15] Lk 12[39f. 46], Rev 1[1] 22[6] Lk 18[8], Rev 1[3] 22[10] Lk 21[8], Rev 19[9] Lk 14[15], Rev 22[7] Lk 11[28], Rev 16[15] Lk 12[37]), regards it as probable that the Christian editor of Rev. was familiar with Luke's Gospel. He thinks (p. 158 f.), on the other hand, that Matthew used Rev. in its present form because of the parallel use of words and phrases in many passages (cf. *e.g.* Mt 5[12] Rev 19[7], Mt 8[26] Rev 21[8], Mt 20[16] 22[14] Rev 17[14], Mt 16[19] Rev 1[18] 3[7] 9[1] 20[1], Mt 27[53] Rev 11[2] 21[2] 22[19], Mt 26 Rev 1[17], Mt 19[17] 23[3] 28[20] [to keep, τηρεῖν, commands of Christ] 26[18] Rev 1[3] 22[10], Mt 16[19] 18[18] [λύειν] Rev 1[5], Mt 26[52] Rev 13[10], Mt 24[30] Rev 1[7], Mt 24[12] Rev 2[4. 19] 3[15f.], Mt 2[2] Rev 12[1], Mt 2[11] Rev 21[24], Mt 21[6-18] Rev 12[4. 17]). Such parallels as Holtzmann adduces between Rev. and Mk 13 are referred by von Soden and many others to common or related Jewish apocalyptical sources.

3. *The Gospel and Epistles of St. John.*—The relation between Rev. and the other Johannine writings has been obscured by critical attacks and apologetic defence. Zahn's extravagant statement, that the common use of the name Logos (Jn 1[1. 14], 1 Jn 1[1], Rev 19[13]) outweighs all the irreconcilable contradictions which have been found between the ideas of Rev. and those of the other Johannine writings, is anything but conclusive, although the importance of this point of connexion is to be recognized. Even Zahn admits the difficulty of the problem presented by the *difference of style*, but thinks that both John and Rev. betray a Hebrew author, and that the same man might write differently as a prophet and as a historian and teacher. It is really by appeal to a supernatural agency that Zahn reconciles the books. In the Bk. of Revelation St. John is in ecstasy and receives everything in vision, the form as well as the material (p. 614 f.). So the books are not by the same real author, after all; and how would Zahn estimate the relative value of the work of John and that of the Spirit? In regard to the peculiar style of Rev., with its departures from grammatical rules, certainly in part intentional,

perhaps in the effort to give the effect of the Hebrew prophetic style, see especially Bousset, *Komm.* pp. 183–208.

That Rev. is not by the author of the Gospel and the First Ep. of John appears to the present writer little less than a certainty. There are, indeed, ideas common to these books. We have already noticed the common use of all the Johannine writings by the Montanists because John promises the prophetic spirit, and Rev. is a product of it; and the common rejection of all by the so-called Alogi, though later opponents of Montanism were contented to reject Revelation. There are also Johannine forms of expression in Rev. (see, *e.g.*, 3^{20b}, Jn 17^{23}, Rev $2^{26.\ 27}$ 3^{21}, Jn $15^{9f.}$ 17^{18} 20^{21}). But so there are here Pauline forms of expression. Indeed the thought-world of our author is related to one side of St. Paul's, while John and 1 John are related to another; and while it is not impossible that both Rev. and John presuppose St. Paul, between these books themselves little but contrast can be discovered, both in thought and in expression.

Bousset has sought to prove a linguistic relationship such as to justify the belief that Rev. came from the same circles in Asia Minor from which the Johannine writings came. The John of Asia Minor was, he believes, not the apostle, but the presbyter John; and though neither the Gospel nor the Apocalypse was written by him, Bousset supposes that both rest in some way upon him. That the John of Asia Minor was the apostle remains, however, still the more probable supposition (see the elaborate argument of Zahn, *Forschungen*, vi. 1900, pp. 175–217). But the inference that the John of Rev. must in that case be the apostle, is weakened by the observation that the apocalyptist does not speak with the authority of his own person. The authoritative author of his book is Christ. All that the author claims for himself is that he is a genuine prophet. The common idea 'that he appears as a special authority before his readers rests on fancy' (Jülicher, *Einl.* 176). It is not he but Christ who criticizes and commends the Churches. There remains, of course, the other possibility, that, like other apocalypses, this also is pseudonymous, issued in the apostle's name. But we should in that case confidently look for clear references to the apostle's experiences, whereas the writer regards himself everywhere as a prophet, and seems to look upon the apostles from without (21^{14}; cf. 18^{20}). That the apostle was the author of Rev., and therefore not of John (Baur, etc.), is now urged anew, chiefly on the ground of external testimony, by B. W. Bacon (*Introd. to NT*, 1900); but, though not impossible, it can never be so established as to be a weighty presupposition for the solution of the problem of the Gospel. That the writer of Rev. need not have known Jesus, remains a strong indication that he did not know Him.

In distinction from the Gospel, the Apocalypse can be historically interpreted and estimated without regard to the question of its author, *i.e.* of its final author; but a book of this class cannot be understood at all apart from the stream of apocalyptical tradition out of which it comes, of which it is in large measure a product. Of its authorship nothing more than guesses can be given. With the nature of the book itself and the resulting method of its interpretation it is possible to deal more positively.

Conclusion.—The historical value of this book as a witness to early Christianity, and the temper and expectation with which it faced its long struggle against the world, cannot be over-estimated. The religious value of apocalypses in general lies not in their form or forecast, but in the religious faith that they express. The special religious worth of Rev. lies first of all in its Christianity and then in what results from this; in the fact that though chiefly apocalyptical it is partly prophetic in character, that though largely dependent on tradition it is not wholly without the marks of a creative spirit (Bousset, p. 11). 'The book has its imperishable religious worth because of the energy of faith that finds expression in it, the splendid certainty of its conviction that God's cause remains always the best and is one with the cause of Jesus Christ; but it is unreasonable to treat the detail of its phantasies as an authentic source for a history of the past or the future' (Jülicher, p. 168).

The form of the book is uncongenial to us; but a fair historical judge will not condemn it for its form, which the age supplied, and which served the age. We shall do best justice to the form if we regard it as practically poetical. The line which must be drawn for a true appreciation of our book is not the rough line between literal and figurative speech, but the far more delicate one between pictures consciously fashioned to express spiritual realities, and visions of persons and actions literally taken, but *valued* for the spiritual realities that lie behind them. This is an important distinction, but does not involve a fundamental contrast. Our author is a poet, whether consciously or not, since, whether taken as word-pictures or as actualities his visions were to him, as they are to us, symbols of spiritual realities, of Christian faiths and hopes.—But, apart from form, are the faiths and hopes of the book fully Christian? It is hard not to judge the hatred of Rome and the desire for vengeance as in some measure a departure from Christ. The difference between His announcement of the fall of Jerusalem and this prediction of the fall of Rome is just the deeper-lying difference between prophecy and apocalypse. Christ would not allow the kingdom of God to be put into contrast and competition with the kingdom of Cæsar (Mk 12^{14-17}). St. Paul followed His contradiction of Judaism at this point (Ro 13^{1-7}, so 1 P 2^{13-17}); but the writer of Rev. seems hardly to escape altogether the Jewish confusion of religion with politics. To use the money of the realm, or rather to engage in transactions involving papers which must be attested by the official stamp (χάραγμα) of the emperor (Deissmann, *Neue Bibelstudien*, 1897, pp. 68–75), seemed to him the worship of the beast (13^{17}). With this goes also the absence of love, and with it again the absence of hope for men. The missionary spirit of Christianity is not here. Christians are to hold fast what they have, and the sinful world will be more sinful still until its speedy destruction. To the union of religion with politics belonged, in the Jewish mind, the hope that the saints would in the end rule over the world (20^{4-6}). Whether it is possible to regard this millennial reign as taken by our author from some Jewish source for its underlying idea, or whether we must regard him as adopting the reality with the form, through the influence of his attitude towards Rome, it is in either case impossible not to regret the influence of these verses upon Christian history. To this criticism, however, two things are to be said. One is that as events, especially the Exile, brought about the transition from prophecy to apocalypse in Judaism, so events put Christianity at this crisis in the attitude of self-defence against the threatened extinction of its faith at the hands of Rome. The other consideration is that it was not for its chiliastic hope, but in spite of it, that Rev. held its place in the Christian Canon; and it has not been this that has given the book its power.

It is the Christianity, not the Judaism, of the book that has made and kept for it a place in

Christian Scriptures. It aimed to put Christ at the centre of religious faith and hope. His words are the complete law of God, His testimony is the full contents and inspiration of prophecy. The Churches are under His eye, and responsible only to Him. He also opens the book of God's final purposes for mankind. His birth, death, and resurrection began that victory of good over evil, which His coming and reign will bring to a glorious completion, for His coming is the coming of God. The power and abiding worth of the book is in this splendid faith, against all appearances, in the kingship of Christ and God; in the strong hope which maintained itself amid persecution and unto death; and in the intensity of emotion through which the language, though both our ignorance and our knowledge make it in part less impressive than it was at first, has still the power, and in many passages the unimpaired power, to stir in us an answering hope and faith.

LITERATURE.—The principal books in which a historical understanding of Rev. has been furthered, and several of the important articles and discussions regarding it, have been named in the course of this article. The text may be studied with the help of Weiss (*Die Johan. Apoc.: Textkrit. Untersuchungen*, 1891), Gwynn (*The Apocalypse of St. John*, 1897), and Gregory (*Text-Kritik d. NT*, 1900); the older critical view (contemporary-historical) in the Commentaries of Lücke, Bleek, and Ewald. In America, Stuart's *Commentary* (1845) defended this general method, with some 'church-historical' features. Of recent critics the works of Vischer, Spitta, Gunkel, and Bousset are most deserving of study. The Commentaries of Bousset (Meyer's Series, 1896) and Holtzmann (2nd ed. 1893) are of the greatest value. See also the *Introductions* of Holtzmann, Jülicher, Zahn, and Bacon; also the *Histories of the Apostolic Age* by Weizsäcker (ii. 18 ff. 161-205), McGiffert, and Bartlet; the *NT Theologies* of Weiss, Beyschlag, Stevens, Holtzmann, Titius (*Die neutest. Lehre von der Seligkeit*, iv. 1900), and artt. on Apoc. by Harnack in *Encyc. Brit.*[9] and Bousset in *Encyc. Bibl.* Of other books bearing in an important way upon the understanding of Rev., reference may be made again to Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos* (1895); Bousset, *Der Antichrist* (1895, in English, *The Antichrist Legend*, 1896); Lueken, *Michael* (1898); Weinel, *Wirkungen des Geistes*, etc. (1899). FRANK C. PORTER.

REVENGE, REVENGER.—See AVENGE, and GOEL.

REVEREND.—In earlier English there is no difference in meaning between 'reverend' (from Lat. *reverendus*, pass. ptcp. of *revereri* to fear, revere) and *reverent* (through Old Fr. *reverent*). Only the form 'reverend' occurs in AV: Ps 111[9] 'Holy and reverend is his name' (קָדוֹשׁ וְנוֹרָא שְׁמוֹ; LXX *ἅγιον καὶ φοβερόν*, Vulg. *sanctum et terribile*), and 2 Mac 15[12] 'Reverend in conversation' (*αἰδήμονα τὴν ἀπάντησιν*, Vulg. *verecundum visu*, RV 'reverend in bearing'). RV maintains the mod. distinction between 'reverend'=to be revered, and 'reverent' (as from act. ptcp.)=revering. It retains 'reverend' in Ps 111[9] and 2 Mac 15[12] and adds Ph 4[8] marg. (Gr. *σεμνός*, RV 'honourable'); and it also introduces 'reverent' into Tit 2[3] 'reverent in demeanour' (*ἐν καταστήματι ἱεροπρεπεῖς*, AV 'in behaviour as becometh holiness'). The older versions that use the word always spell it 'reverent' (Bish. in Ps 111[9], Gen. and Dou. in 2 Mac 15[12]).

J. HASTINGS.

REVIVE.—In some of the examples of 'revive' in AV it is evident that the meaning is literally to come back to life from the dead (or transitively to bring back to life). Thus 1 K 17[22] 'The soul of the child came into him again, and he revived'; 2 K 13[21] 'When the man was let down and touched the bones of Elisha, he revived, and stood up on his feet'; Neh 4[2] 'Will they revive the stones out of the heaps of the rubbish which are burned?'; Ro 14[9] 'Christ both died, and rose, and revived.' And, even when this is not the meaning, the word carries greater force than it now bears to us. Thus Ro 7[9] 'When the commandment came, sin revived, and I died.' Cf. Erasmus, *Commune Crede*, 89, 'It is more probable by the deade to understonde those that have departed from theyr bodies afore the daye of judgemente (for as sone as they shall be revived and risen agayne, they shall be judged)'; Lk 15[24] Rhem. 'This my sonne was dead, and is revived'; and Shaks. *I Henry VI.* I. i. 18—

> Henry is dead, and never shall revive.'

J. HASTINGS.

REZEPH (רֶצֶף; B Ῥάφεις, B[ab] Ῥάφες, A τὴν Ῥάφεθ, 2 K 19[12]; BQ[mg] Ῥάφεθ, ℵQ* Ῥάφες, A Ράφεις, Is 37[12]; Vulg. *Roseph* 2 K 19[12], *Reseph* Is 37[12]).—Mentioned in the message of the Rabshakeh of Sennacherib to Hezekiah, when demanding the surrender of Jerusalem, with Gozan and Haran, and the children of Eden which were in Telassar. The district in which this town was situated belonged, for several centuries, to Assyria, and its name occurs, as was to be expected, many times in the Assyrian records, generally under the form *Raṣappa* (also *Raṣapa* and *Raṣapi*). The site is now represented by *Ruṣâfa*, between Palmyra and the Euphrates, and is thought to be the Ῥησάφα of Ptolemy (v. 15). The earliest mention of the place in the Assyrian records is in the Eponym Canon, where we learn that Ninip-kibsi-uṣur was the prefect in B.C. 839. From B.C. 804 to 774, the prefect was Igi-guba-êreš, or Ninip-êreš, who, judging from the length of his term, and the fact that he was twice eponym, must have enjoyed the confidence of his superiors to an unusual degree. Other prefects mentioned as having held the office of eponym were Sin-šallim-anni in 747, and Bêl-êmur-anni in B.C. 737. As all the above-named prefects of Rezeph have Assyrian names, it is very probable that they were, without exception, Assyrians. The tablet K 9921, however, mentions a governor (*bêl piḥati*) named Abda',* who seems to bear a native name, and probably held office at a later date than the eponyms whose names are given by the Assyrian Canon. The district was an important trade-centre in ancient times, as the tablets and lists from Nineveh show.

LITERATURE.—Delitzsch, *Paradies*, p. 297; Schrader in Riehm, *HWB*, *s.v.*, *COT* ii. 11. T. G. PINCHES.

REZIN (רְצִין).—No doubt the name was originally spelled רצון, *i.e.* *Rezon* or *Razon*. The LXX Ῥαασσών (in Kings, but in Isaiah Ῥασείν or Ῥασίν disputes the place) points to the *o* sound; so does the Assyrian *Ra-ṣun-nu* and the Pesh. ܪܨܘܢ.

1. From 2 K 16[5] and Is 7[1-9] we learn that Rezin, king of Damascus, and PEKAH, king of Israel, planned an attack on Judah. This was in the year B.C. 734. Damascus and Israel were vassal States, subject to the suzerainty of Assyria. In III Raw. 9, No. 3, Tiglath-pileser (see Winckler, *Keilinsch. Textb.* p. 17) enumerates the articles paid him in tribute by *Ra-ṣun-nu* of Damascus and Menaḥem of Samaria. The two tributaries were now anxious to throw off the yoke. Naturally they sought to enlist the aid of their neighbour Judah, which, for all that appears, was at this time nominally independent of the great king. Meeting with a refusal, the confederates moved forwards against Ahaz. We have no reliable information as to the earlier events of the campaign. The assertion in 2 K 16[6] that Rezin 'recovered Elath to Syria, and drove the Jews from Elath; and the Syrians came to Elath and dwelt there unto this day,' is obviously an error. The Syrians had nothing to do with that district, which came rather within the sphere of Edom. The original אדום (Edom) of the text has been corrupted into ארם (Aram), ארומים (Edomites) into ארומים (Aramæans, Syrians), and when once this was done the inser-

* Probably there should be a vowel at the end (*'Abda'u*, or, perhaps, *Abda'i*). Cf. עַבְדָּא and its variant עַבְדִּיָה.

tion of the king's name, Rezin, easily followed. It should be noted that according to 2 Ch 26[17] the Edomites were actively hostile to Ahaz. All, then, that we really know of the beginning of the campaign is that the two kings, of whom Rezin was the more active and powerful, advanced with their troops against Jerusalem and besieged it. Isaiah endeavoured to allay the intense alarm which this caused amongst the citizens, but his efforts did not meet with much success. Ahaz, at all events, put more confidence in foreign intervention than in the prophet's assurance of Divine protection. He 'took the silver and the gold that was found in the house of the LORD, and in the treasures of the king's house, and sent it for a present,' *i.e.* as tribute, to Tiglath-pileser, entreating his immediate help. The Assyrian was only too delighted with the pretext for interference. His approach was the signal for the murder of Pekah by his own subjects (2 K 15[30]), who then accepted the great king's nominee, HOSHEA, as their sovereign: 'I took the land of Bit-Chumria [Beth-Omri] . . . the whole of its people. I carried away their possessions to Assyria. Pekah their king did they dethrone, and I set Hoshea to rule over them' (III Raw. 10, No. 2, in Winckler). Turning against Damascus, he encountered a more determined resistance. 2 K 16[9] states that he 'took it, and carried the people of it captive to Kir, and slew Rezin.' But the Assyrian monarch himself informs us that the siege lasted more than a year. It ended in B.C. 732. Schrader (*COT* i. 257) says that Rawlinson found the slaying of Rezin mentioned on a block, which was unfortunately left behind in Asia and has since disappeared.

Winckler (*Alttest. Untersuch.* pp. 74, 75) identifies 'the son of Ṭabeel' (Is 7[6]) with Rezin. He explains **Ṭabeel** (*Ṭâb-El*) as meaning 'El is wise,' and argues from the equivalent name *Eliada* (1 K 11[23]) and from the *Ṭab-rimmon* of 1 K 15[18] that such a name as *Ṭâb-El* was not uncommon amongst the kings of this dynasty. And since 'the son of Remaliah' in Is 7[6] means Pekah, he holds that 'the son of Ṭâb-El' in Is 7[7] means Rezin. Damascus, too, being the predominant partner, the chief profit of the expedition would fall to its king. The series of Damascene kings, therefore, according to him is as follows:—

Circa 950 B.C. . . .	Rezon.
From about 885–844 . .	Bir-'idri, the Ben-hadad of the Bible.
From 844 to about 804 (?)	Hazael.
804 (?)–744 (?) . . .	Mari'—in the Bible, Ben-hadad.
743 (?)–?	Tâb-El.
?–732	Rezin.

But the identification on which this depends is precarious. Obviously the periphrasis, 'the son of Remaliah,' is intended to be contemptuous. It recalls the fact that Pekah was a usurper, entirely unconnected with the royal family. Probably, then, 'the son of Ṭâb-El' is also a scornful title, hurled at one who was a mere puppet in the hands of the two kings. If Ṭâb-El had been a king of Damascus, it would have been no derogation to Rezin's dignity to be entitled his son.

2. In Ezr 2[48]=Neh 7[50] 'the children of Rezin' (בְּנֵי רְצִין) are mentioned amongst the Nethinim. The LXX has *υἱοὶ* 'Ρασών: the *υἱοὶ* Δαισάν of 1 Es 5[31] is evidently a mere scribe's error, resulting from the common confusion of ר and ד. Guthe, in Kautzsch's *Apokr.*, unhesitatingly restores the 'Rezin' in this passage. J. TAYLOR.

REZON (רְזוֹן 'prince'), son of Eliada, was one of the generals of that Hadadezer, king of Zobah, whom David overthrew (2 S 8[3ff.]). Falling into disfavour with his master, as David had done with Saul, he fled from him. A band of freebooters attached themselves to his standard; and, beginning in this feeble fashion, he eventually became strong enough to seize Damascus, where he founded a dynasty. During his own lifetime he proved a thorn in the side of Solomon (1 K 11[25]), and the kings who traced their descent from him were amongst the most persistent and troublesome of Israel's adversaries.

The question has been raised whether *Rezon* is the correct name. LXX A, it is true, supports that form with 'Ραξών; but B has 'Εσρώμ 1 K 11[14(23)]), which apparently corresponds to חֶצְרוֹן, to which also the Pesh. ܚܨܪܘܢ may point. Moreover, the חֶזְיוֹן of 1 K 15[18] seems to occupy much the same position in the genealogy as the רְזוֹן of 1 K 11[23]. Hence the conjecture that חֶזְרוֹן (*Hezron*) should be substituted for the רְזוֹן (*Rezon*) and the חֶזְיוֹן (*Hezion*) of these two passages respectively. On the other hand, it must be remembered that the Greek for חֶזְרוֹן would most likely have been 'Εζρώμ rather than 'Εσ.; cf. 'Αξελν for חֶזְיוֹן and 'Ρασειν for רְצִין. The three kings, Hezron (our *Rezon*), Tab-rimmon, and Ben-hadad, must also have enjoyed very long reigns if they occupied the entire interval from David to Asa. In the absence, therefore, of absolutely conclusive evidence, we are not at liberty to alter the form of the name or to assume the identity of Rezon and Hezion.

The integrity of the text and the reliableness of the statements in 1 K 11[23-25], the only passage where this prince is named, are also disputed. Internal evidence, coupled with the fact that LXX (B, Luc.) omit the words, proves that 'when David slew them of Zobah' is no part of the original text. Kittel (*Hist. of the Hebrews*, ii. 53) points out that even in the MT it looks as though vv.[23-25a] had been interpolated between v.[22] and v.[25b], and that in the LXX (B, Luc.) the whole episode is connected with v.[14]. But the connexion with v.[14] is as unsuitable as that with v.[22]. In either case it interrupts the Hadad narrative, and gives the impression of a gloss. This, however, is not to say that it is unhistorical. J. TAYLOR.

RHEGIUM ('Ρήγιον), the modern Reggio, was an important and ancient Greek colony near the south-western extremity of Italy, and close to the narrowest point of the straits separating that country from Sicily, opposite Messana (Messina) and about 6 to 7 miles distant from it. It was a much more important place in the ancient system of coasting navigation than it is in modern times. The whirlpool of Charybdis near Messana, and the rock of Scylla some miles from Rhegium round the promontory north of the town, were reckoned much more dangerous then; and ships had often to lie at Rhegium waiting for a suitable wind, and avoiding the currents which in certain circumstances run very strong in the straits. Hence the Dioscuri, the patrons and protectors of sailors, were much worshipped at Rhegium, and are represented on its coins: the mariners of the ships that put in at Rhegium would often make or discharge their vows to the 'Twin Gods' in the town.

Rhegium occupied not merely an important but also a dangerous and exposed situation. A great city in the 6th and 5th cents. B.C., it was totally destroyed, and its inhabitants sold as slaves, by Dionysius of Syracuse in 387. Again in 280–270 it was destroyed. Campanian troops, received as a garrison into the city, murdered the male population and made themselves masters of the place, till they were captured and exterminated by a Roman army, and the town was given back to the scanty remnant of its former population. Henceforth it was in alliance with Rome as a *civitas*

fœderata. After this it is mentioned only incidentally amid the Roman wars. It narrowly escaped the forfeiture of its territory to the soldiers of the triumvirs after the battle of Philippi, being spared by Augustus probably from a desire to keep at this important harbour a population accustomed to navigation and friendly to himself; and in the Sicilian War (B.C. 38–36) it rendered good service both to his fleet and his army, and was rewarded with the title of Julium Rhegium and an increase of population (with other accompanying advantages). Strabo mentions it as a flourishing town about A.D. 20. It presented a curious mixture of Greek and Roman population and life, shown in its mixed Greek and Latin inscriptions. It was the terminus of one of the great Roman roads, a branch of the Appian Way, diverging from it at Capua, built probably by the prætor Popilius in B.C. 134 and called Via Popilia. The actual point of crossing to Sicily was at the *Columna* or *Statua*, 6 miles or more north of Rhegium.

The ship in which St. Paul sailed from Malta to Puteoli, the 'Dioscuri'* (a name of good omen), lay for a day in the harbour of Rhegium, waiting till a south wind arose, which carried it to Puteoli on the morrow after it sailed (δευτεραῖοι). Probably some of the sailors on the 'Dioscuri' took the opportunity of thanking the Twin Gods in the city for their successful voyage at that early season of the year, and praying for equal luck to their destination. The manœuvre by which the ship reached Rhegium seems quite clear; and yet has caused much trouble and variety of opinion. The ship must have had a favourable wind from Malta, otherwise it would not have attempted the crossing over the open sea so early in the year. This wind carried it to Syracuse, but there it had to lie for three days, which proves that the wind had shifted and was then against it. It then sailed to Rhegium; and, as it had to wait in Rhegium till a south wind set in, the wind with which it reached Rhegium cannot have been south. The expression περιελθόντες, which Luke uses, shows that the wind was so far unfavourable that the ship could not run a straight course (εὐθυδρομεῖν, Ac 16^{11} 21^{1}), but had to tack, running out north-eastwards towards Italy and then back to the Sicilian coast. This is the explanation of a practical yachtsman, James Smith, in his *Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul*. The explanation of περιελθόντες as 'sailing round the Sicilian coast' seems certainly wrong. The reading περιελόντες in ℵ* B seems to be a corruption, accepted through failure to understand the true text; it can hardly be rendered 'weighing anchor' (which is the suggested rendering), for in Ac 27^{40} it has an accusative following it in that sense, as Blass points out; moreover, it is of great consequence in Ac 27^{40} to give that information (see Smith, *op. cit.*, on the passage), but here it is unnecessary. W. M. Ramsay.

RHEIMS VERSION.—See Versions.

RHESA (Ῥησά).—A son of Zerubbabel, Lk 3^{27}.

RHODA (Ῥόδη).—The name means 'Rose.' When St. Peter was miraculously released from prison he went to the house of Mary the mother of Mark. A damsel (παιδίσκη) of the name of Rhoda came to the door, but opened not the gate for gladness, and ran in and told how Peter stood before the gate. She was accused of being mad, but persisted in her statement (Ac $12^{13\text{-}15}$). Nothing further is known of her. The name is fairly common both in literature and inscriptions, and was often given to slave girls. A. C. Headlam.

* Luke saw or heard the ship (a Roman imperial vessel) called by its Latin name *parasemo Geminis* or *Castoribus* (compare the inscription *CIL* iii. No. 3, *navis parasemo Isopharia*, *i.e.* whose sign was the Pharian Isis) in the Greek translation παρασήμῳ Διοσκούροις (where the dative represents the Latin ablat. absol., as in *consule Cicerone*, ὑπάτῳ Κικέρωνι); and the formula remains in his text to puzzle those commentators who study only literary Greek and neglect technical language.

RHODES (Ῥόδος) ranks among the most brilliant of the many brilliant cities of ancient Greece. The city was founded in B.C. 408, at the extreme north-eastern point of the island of Rhodes, when the three ancient cities, Lindus, Camirus, and Ialysus, were concentrated in the new foundation. It enjoyed an admirable situation and a splendid climate. The commercial aptitude of the population knew how to use its advantages by wise laws and just dealings with their competitors and allies in the trade of the eastern Mediterranean. Rhodes was at its highest pitch of power in the 2nd cent. B.C., having been made mistress of great part of Caria and Lycia in the settlement of 189, after the defeat and expulsion from Asia Minor of Antiochus and the Seleucid power. The city was, however, too powerful to suit the Roman policy. In B.C. 166 the Carian and Lycian cities were declared independent by Rome; and another blow was struck at Rhodian commercial supremacy by making Delos a free port in the same year. The result of these disasters is to be observed in the diminution and alteration of Rhodian coinage about that time. But Rhodes continued to maintain its commerce. It was relieved of Delian competition by the great massacre of the Romans in Delos by Mithridates in B.C. 87; and by continuing loyal to Rome in that critical time, when almost every other Greek city joined Mithridates, it recovered favour and was permitted to regain part of its Carian possessions. In the Roman civil wars Rhodes from B.C. 47 to 43 supported the cause of Cæsar, and suffered severely in consequence. C. Cassius captured the city in 43, and exacted 4500 talents from its people; and another Cassius in 42 burned all the Rhodian ships except thirty, which he manned with crews of his own and took away. Rhodes henceforth was a city devoid of real power; and it sank practically into a common provincial town of the Roman empire, though it ranked as a free city under the early emperors (except for a short time under Claudius, who took away its freedom and afterwards restored it again). Yet Strabo mentions (p. 652) that it was the most splendid city known to him in respect of harbours, streets, walls, and other equipment. Such was its condition in the time of St. Paul. Shortly afterwards Vespasian made it a part of the province Lycia.

Rhodes is mentioned in the NT only as a point where St. Paul touched on his voyage from Troas to Cæsarea, Ac 21^{1}. The route along the coast between the ports of the province Asia on the one side and those of Syria or Egypt on the other, was probably the most frequented seaway in the whole of the Mediterranean. The voyage was marked by a number of stopping-points,—Cos, Patara, etc.,—where the ordinary ships engaged in the trade called as a matter of course; and these are mentioned in Ac 20 and 21, with the exception of Myra (which is given in the Western Text only). Rhodes was one of them; and the ship on which St. Paul and the whole body of delegates were sailing touched there between Cos and Patara. This is all in the customary form. Hundreds of ships did the same every year. An excellent illustration is supplied by the voyage of Herod, about B.C. 14, from Palestine by Rhodes, Cos, Chios, and Mitylene, to Byzantium and Sinope (see Jos. *Ant.* XVI. ii. 2).

Rhodes was also, beyond all doubt, one of the ports of call on the voyage from Alexandria to

Puteoli or to Ostia. It is, indeed, not mentioned in the voyages of that class described under MYRA, but none of those narratives gives a list of harbours, and we may assume with confidence that in each case Rhodes was a port where the ship called (unless in exceptional circumstances). That is proved by the voyage of Vespasian from Alexandria to Rome in A.D. 70, which was by way of the Lycian coast and Rhodes, as is seen by comparing Dion Cassius, lxvi. 8, with Zonaras, xi. 17, and Jos. *BJ* VII. ii. 1. The voyage of Herod the Great in B.C. 40 from Alexandria to Rome by Pamphylia and Rhodes is also a good illustration.* Herod evidently passed east and north of Cyprus, like the ship in Ac 27^{1-4}; but it was the stormy season, and the over-sea voyage, common in the summer season, could not then be risked: see MYRA, where these two voyages may be added to the examples quoted.

Rhodes is also mentioned in 1 Mac 15^{23} among the States to which the Romans sent letters on behalf of the Jews about B.C. 138 (see PHASELIS, LYCIA, DELOS, etc.). Only self-governing free States were thus addressed; and Rhodes, as almost the greatest maritime State of the eastern Mediterranean, was of course included. The ships carrying Jews from the west and from the Ægean coasts and cities to and from Jerusalem, for the Passover, would all, as we have seen, call in ordinary course at Rhodes. Such ships are implied in Ac 18^{18-22} 20^{3}. It may be taken as practically certain that in a great commercial centre like Rhodes there would be Jews resident; but hardly any memorial of them has been preserved.

In Ezk 27^{15} the Septuagint reads 'Sons of the Rhodians were thy merchants'; where AV and RV have 'The men of Dedan were thy merchants' (traffickers, RV). There can be little doubt that the Septuagint text in this passage is a change made by translators in the 3rd cent. B.C., who had no knowledge of the desert carrier tribe Dedan, but were familiar with the Rhodians as the greatest merchants of their time in the Levant (see DEDAN). In Gn 10^{4} and in 1 Ch 1^{7}, also, the Septuagint text has 'Rhodians' (Ῥόδιοι) as the fourth of the sons of Javan; but RV, following the Hebrew text, has Dodanim in the former place and Rodanim in the latter (AV Dodanim in both places). Among the sons of Javan, Rhodes, which was inhabited by Greeks (though by Dorians, not Ionians; see DODANIM), would be quite suitable; and the Septuagint text is accepted by most moderns in those two places.

The island of Rhodes is about 43 miles long from N.E. to S.W. by 20 miles where the breadth is greatest; its nearest point is about 12 miles from the mainland. The famous *colossus* was a statue of the sun-god, 105 feet in height, which stood at the harbour entrance. It was erected to commemorate the success of the Rhodians in withstanding the siege by Demetrius Poliorcetes in B.C. 280; but it fell during an earthquake in 224, and the fragments remained lying, shown as a curiosity till A.D. 672, when the Arab general who conquered Rhodes is said to have sold them to a Jew of Emesa. The island was soon afterwards reconquered by the Byzantine arms, and remained in Christian hands for many centuries. The most interesting and glorious period of Rhodian history in many respects began in 1310, when the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem took the city from the Byzantine empire, and founded a State, including several of the neighbouring small islands and some towns on the mainland, especially Halicarnassus and Smyrna (the latter being taken in 1345, and held till 1403). The Knights of Rhodes were engaged in ceaseless warfare with the Turks. The city, which was very strongly fortified by the Knights, was besieged unsuccessfully in 1440, 1444, and 1480; but at last, in 1522, the Knights surrendered on honourable terms to Sultan Suleiman, and retired to Crete, then to Sicily, and finally to Malta. The modern town of Rhodes is full of memorials of the time of the Knights, and contains hardly any apparent traces of its older history. Its harbours have been allowed to become choked with sand, and its trade is quite insignificant.

W. M. RAMSAY.

* Jos. *Ant.* XIV. xiv. 2 f.; *BJ* I. xiv. 3.

RHODOCUS (Ῥόδοκος).—A Jew who betrayed the secrets of his countrymen to Antiochus Eupator. He was detected and imprisoned, 2 Mac 13^{21}.

RIBAI (רִיבַי; LXX in 2 S Ῥειβά, in 1 Ch B Ῥεβιέ, A Ῥηβαΐ, א Ῥαβειαΐ).—The father of Ittai (1 Ch Ithai) the Benjamite, one of David's thirty heroes (2 S 23^{29} = 1 Ch 11^{31}).

RIBLAH.—1. (רִבְלָה, once, Jer 52^{10}, רִבְלָתָה; LXX 2 K 25^{21} Ῥεβλαθά, elsewhere Δεβλαθά, and other corrupt forms).—The name of a place in the 'land of Ḥamath,' now *Ribleh*, in the Beḳā'a, or broad vale between the two ranges of Lebanon and Hermon, on the right bank of the Orontes, about 100 miles N.N.E. of Dan, 65 miles N. of Damascus, and 50 miles S.S.W. of HAMATH (which see). It was at Riblah that Pharaoh-necoh, three months after his defeat of Josiah at Megiddo (B.C. 608), in some way obtained the presence of his successor, Jehoaḥaz, and threw him into chains that he might no longer reign in Jerusalem (2 K 23^{33}). Riblah is also mentioned as the place which, at the close of the siege of Jerusalem (B.C. 586), was Nebuchadnezzar's headquarters, and to which Zedekiah, and other prisoners taken out of the captured city, were brought for punishment (2 K $25^{6ff.}$ = Jer $39^{5.6}$ = Jer $52^{9f.}$; 2 K $25^{20.21}$ = Jer $52^{26.27}$). Riblah is now nothing more than a 'miserable' village of 40–50 houses (Rob. *BRP* iii. 543); but Robinson (*ib.* p. 545) points out how, from its situation, on the banks of a mountain stream, and in the middle of a vast and fertile plain, and also on the great road leading from Egypt and Palestine to Babylon, it was a suitable resting-place, whether for the army of Necoh, who had designs on Babylon, or for Nebuch., while watching the operations that were taking place in Judah. See, further, on the modern Ribleh, Sachau, *Reise in Syrien* (1883), 55–57. 'Riblah' is likewise read by most modern scholars (Ges., Ew., Smend, Cornill, etc.), with 4 MSS, in Ezk 6^{14} for 'Diblath' (מִדִּבְרָה רִבְלָתָה): 'I will make the land desolate from the wilderness (on the S. of Judah) to Riblah (in the far North),' the expression being regarded as a designation of the whole extent of Palestine, to its ideal limits, and Riblah being perhaps mentioned instead of the usual 'entering in of Ḥamath' (Nu 34^{8}, 2 K 14^{25}, Am 6^{14}, Ezk 47^{20} *al.*), on account of its having become prominent at the time (B.C. 592—see Ezk 1^{2}). If the 'approach to Ḥamath' is rightly placed at the *N.* end of the broad vale between Lebanon and Anti-Libanus, where, as the traveller from the S. approaches Riblah, he finds himself entering a new district, and sees the country towards Ḥamath open out before him (see esp. van de Velde, *Narrative*, 1854, ii. 470; and cf. Rob. *BRP* iii. 568; Moore, *Judges*, 80, 82; also Jos 13^{5},* Jg 3^{3}), this reading will be quite natural. Other scholars, however, doubt whether the Isr. territory can ever have been regarded as extending as far as the N.

* Which implies that the 'approach to Ḥamath' was at some distance from a place at the foot of Mount Hermon. The opinion (Rob. iii. 569; HAMATH, vol. ii. p. 290[a]) that the expression denoted the approach to Ḥamath, not from the S., but from the *West*, is hardly probable (cf. Keil on Nu 34^{8}).

end of Lebanon, and think the 'approach to Ḥamath' must be supposed to have denoted, somewhat vaguely, a more S. part of the vale of Cœle-Syria (Keil and Dillm. on Nu 34[8]; Buhl, *Geogr.* 66, 110; notice Reḥōb in Nu 13[21]): in this case Riblah is certainly a more N. point than would be expected; on the other hand, if the reading be not adopted, Diblath (RV 'Diblah') must be the name of a place otherwise unknown, which is hardly likely in such a connexion.

2. Nu 34[11] (הָרִבְלָה, with the art.: LXX *ἀπὸ Σεπφαμαρ* Βηλα for מִשְּׁפָם הָרִבְלָה). One of the places mentioned on the (in parts) obscurely-defined ideal borders of the promised land, Nu 34[1-15]. It is described as being on the E. border, somewhere between Ḥaẓar-'ēnān—which (Ezk 47[17] 48[1]) was on the 'border' of the territory of Damascus, and was to be (Nu 34[9. 10]) at the N.E. corner of Israel's territory—and the Sea of Chinnereth (*i.e.* the Sea of Galilee). There is difficulty in determining the site; for the places mentioned on the N. border of Israel, in both Nu 34[7-9] and Ezk 47[15-17], are very uncertain; and while some scholars (Robinson, Knob., Conder) think that this border may be drawn (approximately) across the *N.* extremity of Lebanon (Ḥaẓar-'ēnān being then situated at one of the sources of the Orontes—either [Keil] the spring of Lebweh, 22 m. S.W. of Riblah **1** [Rob. iii. 532], or [Conder, *Heth and Moab*[3], 8, 11 f.] 'Ain el-'Asy, 11 m. S.W. of Riblah **1**), others (Buhl, 66 f.; cf. RIBLAH **1**) consider this to be too far N., and think that it should be drawn across the *S.* extremity of Lebanon (Ḥaẓar-'ēnān being then either Bâniâs itself, or el-Ḥaḍr, 9 m. E. of it).* The Riblah of Nu 34[11] is, however, some place between Ḥaẓar-'ēnān and the Sea of Galilee; so that upon none of these suppositions can it be identical with Riblah **1** (which is to the N. even of 'Ain el-'Asy). No Riblah in a suitable situation seems at present to be known. The suggestion (Wetzst.; see Dillm.) to read (after LXX) 'to Harbel' (הָרְבֵּלָה) for 'to Riblah,' and to identify Harbel with Harmel (or Hörmül), a place about 8 miles S.W. of Riblah (see Sachau's map, or the one in Bäd., Route 31), does not really lessen the difficulty of the verse.

S. R. DRIVER.

RICHES.—See WEALTH.

RID.—The original meaning of 'rid' is to *rescue* (Anglo-Sax. *hreddan*, cf. Dutch *redden* and Germ. *retten*), and this is its meaning in five of its six AV occurrences (Gn 37[22], Ex 6[6], Lv 26[6], Ps 82[4] 144[7. 11]). Cf. Gn 37[22] Tind. 'When Reuben herde that, he went aboute to ryd him out of their handes and sayde, let us not kyll him'; Tind. *Expos.* 77, 'Because we be ever in such peril and cumbrance that we cannot rid ourselves out, we must daily and hourly cry to God for aid and succour'; Jer 15[21] Cov. 'And I will ryd the out of the hondes of the wicked, and delyver the out of the honde of Tirauntes.' In the remaining passage the meaning is *clear out, drive out*, Lv 26[6] 'I will rid evil beasts out of the land' (RV 'cause evil beasts to cease out of the land'), which is the modern meaning. The process by which the word thus practically reversed its meaning (from *rescue* to *destroy*) may be illustrated from Spenser, *FQ* I. i. 36—

'Unto their lodgings then his guestes he riddes,'

where the meaning is neutral, *removes*. Cf. also Lv 14[36] Cov. 'The preast shall commaunde them to ryd all thinge out of the housse,' and Udall, *Erasmus' Paraph.* i. 52, 'With these men the Pharisees consulted by what meanes they might ridde Jesus out of the waye.' J. HASTINGS.

* Dillm. and Keil adopt intermediate views. Dillm. (p. 213) would not draw it N. of the present road from Bêrût to Damascus; Keil takes it as far N. as Lebweh.

RIDDLE (חִידָה, from root חוד [*Oxf. Heb. Lex.* compares Arab. حَادَ 'decline, turn aside, avoid,' hence perhaps *riddle* as *indirect*, obscure]; verb denom. חִידָה 'to propose an enigma'; חוד חִידָה 'to put forth a riddle,' Ezk 17[2]: LXX *αἰνιγμα, πρόβλημα*; Vulg. *enigma, problema, propositio*) is closely related in the OT to the PROVERB (מָשָׁל), which for the most part is represented in the LXX by *παραβολή*—PARABLE. It has been suggested, indeed (Oort in Cheyne's *Job and Solomon*, p. 127), that some of the proverbs were originally current among the people as riddles, such as 'What is worse than meeting a bear? Meeting a fool in his folly' (Pr 17[12]); 'What is sweet at first, and then like gravel in the mouth? Bread of falsehood' (Pr 20[17]). Like the proverb or the parable or the allegory, the riddle served a more serious and didactic purpose than we usually associate with the word. The didactic usage is found throughout the whole of the OT. It is seen in Nu 12[8], where Jehovah chides Aaron and Miriam for their opposition to Moses, and says to the honour of the great Lawgiver, 'Mouth to mouth speak I to him, plainly and not in *riddles*' (בְּחִידוֹת). In Ps 49[4] the Psalmist says, 'I will incline mine ear to a parable (לְמָשָׁל): I will propound my riddle (חִידָתִי) upon the harp,' and the subject of the psalm—the transitoriness of godless prosperity and the blessedness of a hope in God—justifies his application of the words. In Ps 78[2] the same didactic purpose is manifest. The Psalmist proposes to set forth the early history of Israel in parable and riddle for the instruction of his own age and time: 'I will open my mouth in a parable (בְּמָשָׁל): I will utter riddles (חִידוֹת) from the olden time.' This parabolic use of the history of Israel by the Psalmist is taken by the evangelist (Mt 13[34. 35]) as justifying the employment of parables by Jesus to set forth the kingdom of heaven: 'All these things spake Jesus in parables to the multitudes, that the word might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophet saying, "I will open my mouth in parables: I will declare things hidden from the foundation of the world,"' which last words are a variation from the LXX 'riddles from the beginning' (*προβλήματα ἀπ' ἀρχῆς*). This didactic purpose attributed to the riddle is well illustrated in Pr 1[6] by its association with words of like purport: 'To understand a parable (מָשָׁל), and an obscure saying (מְלִיצָה), the sayings (דִּבְרֵי) of the wise and their riddles (חִידֹתָם).' In the Wisdom books of the Apocrypha it is perhaps natural to find examples of the didactic usage. In Wis 8[8] it is said in praise of Wisdom: 'She understandeth subtleties of speeches and interpretations of riddles' (*στροφὰς λόγων καὶ λύσεις αἰνιγμάτων*); in Sir 39[2. 3] it is said of the man who meditates in the law of the Most High, 'He will keep the discourse of the men of renown, and will enter in amid the subtleties of parables (*ἐν στροφαῖς παραβολῶν*). He will seek out the hidden meaning of proverbs (*ἀπόκρυφα παροιμιῶν*), and be conversant in the riddles of parables' (*ἐν αἰνίγμασι παραβολῶν*), these last words being inverted in 47[15], where Solomon is apostrophized as filling the earth with 'parables of *riddles*' (*ἐν παραβολαῖς αἰνιγμάτων*). The association of the *riddle* with the *parable* is found in Ezk 17[2], where the prophet is commanded 'to put forth a riddle (חוד חִידָה), and utter a parable' (מָשָׁל מָשָׁל, LXX *παραβολήν*),—the saying being called a riddle because it requires interpretation, and a parable because of the comparison it contains of the kings of Babylon and Egypt to two great eagles, and of their treatment of Israel to the cropping of the cedar of Lebanon. There are still two occurrences of the word 'riddle' in the Prophets, where it is not so easy to say whether the didactic or the more special usage is exemplified.

In Dn 8[23] the king of fierce countenance that is to arise, by whom Antiochus Epiphanes is meant, is credited with the gift of 'understanding riddles' (מֵבִין חִידוֹת); and in Hab 2[6] the prophet, speaking of the proud and ambitious man who seeks to make nations and peoples his own, asks, 'Shall not all these take up a parable (מָשָׁל), and an obscure saying (מְלִיצָה), riddles (חִידוֹת), against him?'

The riddle in the more special sense of a puzzle to sharpen the wits, or a paradoxical question to stimulate interest, is found in the OT, and bulks largely in the Talmud and later Jewish literature. With riddles the Jews have been wont from an early period in their history to display their intellectual ingenuity, or test the wisdom of the learned, or entertain festive occasions and hours of leisure. Deutsch (*Literary Remains*, p. 47), speaking of the Haggadah of the Talmud, refers to the *Pilgrim's Progress*, and says that Bunyan in his account of his own book unknowingly describes the Haggadah as accurately as can be—

> 'Would'st thou divert thyself from melancholy?
> Would'st thou be pleasant, yet be far from folly?
> Would'st thou read *riddles* and their explanation?
> Or else be drowned in contemplation?
> . . . . . O then come hither
> And lay this book, thy head and heart together.'

The riddle is not, however, confined to Jewish literature. The riddle of the Sphinx is familiar from classical antiquity. It was a riddle that Tarquin the Proud acted when by striking off with a staff the heads of the tallest poppies in his garden he gave Sextus the hint to put out of the way the chief citizens of captured Gabii. The riddle as an amusement at feasts and on convivial occasions among the Greeks and Romans is mentioned in the pages of Athenæus and Aulus Gellius. (See Bochart, *Hierozoïcon*, iii. 384).

It was at his wedding feast that Samson proposed the terms of his famous riddle (Jg 14). He gave his Philistine friends seven days to find it out, promising if they should be successful thirty fine linen wrappers and thirty gala dresses (v.[12]; Moore's *Commentary*, p. 335), and requiring from them the same if they should be unsuccessful. They accepted the terms, and Samson propounded his riddle—'Out of the eater came something to eat, and out of the strong came something sweet?' How far a riddle was fair, the solution of which required a knowledge of incidents so special as Samson's encounter with the lion and its sequel, need not be discussed. Their deceit and the treachery of his wife put the Philistines in possession of the secret. 'What,' they asked, 'is sweeter than honey, and what is stronger than a lion?' At once he saw he had been duped, and in a satirical vein he exclaimed, employing still the language of riddles: 'If ye had not ploughed with my heifer, ye had not found out my riddle.'

Solomon with his high repute for wisdom in other things is credited also with skill in the solution of riddles. The Queen of Sheba on her visit to Jerusalem proved him with riddles (1 K 10[1] = 2 Ch 9[1]). And Solomon 'told her all her questions, there was not anything hid from the king which he told her not' (1 K 10[3] = 2 Ch 9[2]). Josephus tells a similar tale of Hiram king of Tyre. Solomon and Hiram were on the most friendly terms. 'What cemented the friendship between them,' says Jos. (*Ant.* VIII. v. 3), 'was the passion both had for wisdom; for they sent riddles (προβλήματα) to one another, with a desire to have them solved; and in these Solomon was superior to Hiram, as he was wiser in all other respects.' In another passage of his writings the Jewish historian (*c. Apion.* i. 18. 17), records the testimony of Dius the historian of the Phœnicians, who says that Solomon when he was king at Jerusalem sent riddles (*αἰνίγματα*) for Hiram to guess, and desired that he would send others back for him to find out, the condition being that he who failed should pay a fine to him who was successful. And as Hiram was unsuccessful, he had a large amount to pay. At length he found a man of Tyre, Abdemon by name, who was able to guess the riddles proposed by Solomon, and himself propounded others which Solomon could not solve, thus recovering for his sovereign the money he had lost. None of these riddles have survived, and therefore we have no means of estimating their character as hard questions.

There are to be found, however, in the Proverbs bearing the name of Solomon, sayings that appear to be of the nature of riddles. The riddle of the insatiable things is one of these (Pr 30[15. 16]). 'The horse-leech (but see art. HORSE-LEECH) hath two daughters, crying, Give, give. There are three things that are never satisfied, yea, four things say not, It is enough.' What are these? And the answer is, 'The grave, and the barren womb, the earth that is not filled with water, and the fire that saith not, It is enough.' This is followed by the riddles of the four mysterious things (Pr 30[18-20]), of the four intolerable things (Pr 30[21-23]), of the four little wise things (30[24-28]), and of the four stately things (30[29-31]). Riddle and interpretation alike exhibit precise observation of nature, and convey at the same time moral instruction.

To the riddles of the OT fall, perhaps, to be added the words of the mysterious writing on the wall on the night of Belshazzar's feast (Dn 5[25-28]), MENE, MENE, TEKEL, UPHARSIN (which see). The inscription is to be read according to recent authorities, 'A mina, a mina, a shekel and half minas.' Vv.[26-28], says Bevan (*The Book of Daniel*, p. 106), are plays upon the words of the inscription; in v.[28] the play is a double one. *Mina*—God hath *numbered* thy kingdom and finished it. *Shekel*—thou hast been *weighed* in the balance and hast been found wanting. *Half mina*—thy kingdom hath been *divided* and given to the Medes and *Persians*.

The parable is one of the unique features of the teaching of Christ (*παραβολή* in the Synoptists; *παροιμία* in St. John), but the riddle, except in so far as the evangelist Matthew justifies instruction by parables with a reference to Ps 78[2], is not expressly mentioned. Only once in the NT is the riddle expressly named, and in that instance (1 Co 13[12]) the mention of it is obscured in EV. The meaning is—'Now we see through a glass, in a riddle' (*ἐν αἰνίγματι*), in contrast to the direct vision of spiritual realities, 'face to face.' In the Revelation of St. John there is a riddle which remains an enigma in spite of all attempts to solve it: 'He that hath understanding let him count the number of the beast; for it is the number of a man, and his number is six hundred and sixty and six.' Following the method known among the Jews as *Gematria*, by which a number is obtained from the numerical values of the letters of a name, it has been found that the Hebrew transliteration of *Neron Cesar* yields a total of 666. Although adopted by many modern interpreters, this solution of the riddle has not attained general acceptance any more than others which have been proposed from a much earlier time (see Bengel, *Gnomon*, p. 1095 ff.; Milligan, Baird Lectures on *The Revelation of St. John*, p. 321 ff., and art. REVELATION [BOOK OF] above, p. 258). In the Talmud and Rabbinical literature there is no lack of riddles. In fact the Jews exhibit a *curiosa felicitas* in this department which is unique. 'A large number of famous sayings,' says Abrahams

(*Jewish Life in the Middle Ages*, pp. 386, 387), 'are put in the form of riddles. Who is mighty? Who is a fool? Who is happy? A whole class of popular phrases in the Talmud and Midrash are nothing more nor less than folk-riddles, the chief exponents being women and children; but distinguished Rabbis also utilized this language of wisdom. Ethical works of the Middle Ages abound in philosophical riddles. Riddles found their way into the prayer-book for the Passover Eve. It goes without saying, therefore, that many Hebrew riddles of the Middle Ages were serious intellectual exercises.' To keep up attention and to stimulate interest while the intricate subtleties of the law are being expounded, such an assertion as this would be announced—'There was a woman in Egypt who brought forth at one birth "six hundred thousand men."' The interpretation follows: the woman was Jochebed, the mother of Moses, who was himself equal to the whole armed host of Israel who came out of Egypt. Talmudic lore records a story of Rabbi Jehuda, sage and saint, akin to that related of Tarquin the Proud. The emperor Antoninus Pius sent him a message to say the imperial exchequer was empty: how could it be replenished? The Rabbi took the messenger into the garden and tore up the big radishes and planted young ones in their place. He did the same with the turnips and the lettuces. The emperor understood the hint; he dismissed the old officials and put new in their place. Many of the riddles that thus delighted the Jewish fancy seem trivial enough. For example: 'The fish is roasted with his brother, is placed in his father, is eaten with his son, and thereafter is helped down with his father,' where his 'brother' is the salt which comes like himself from the sea, his 'father' is the water from which he is taken, and his 'son' the sauce in which he is served! Riddles whose solution depends upon the numerical values of the Hebrew letters are common. 'Take 30 from 30 and the remainder is 60.' The explanation is that 30=שְׁלֹשִׁים: remove ל, whose numerical value is 30, and the remainder is שִׁשִּׁים =60. The letters of the Hebrew alphabet have also a lingual meaning, and a good example of a riddle whose solution depends upon such a meaning is the following: 'There was a she-mule in my house: I opened the door and she became a heifer.' To be solved thus: From the Hebrew for 'she-mule' פִּרְדָּה take away the letter ד (Daleth=door) and there remains פָּרָה 'heifer.'

Plays upon words scarcely come under the scope of this article. They are found most abundantly in the Prophets and in the rhetorical passages of Job, but they occur also with considerable frequency in the Proverbs, and they are to be met with, though rarely, in the Psalms. In those plays upon proper names which are found in the etymological explanations of the name of the lawgiver of Israel (Ex 2^{10}; cf. Jos. *c. Apion.* i. 31), of the name of Samuel (1 S 1^{20}), and many more, the Talmud is said to be especially rich. (Upon 'Paronomasia in the OT,' see Casanowicz, *JBL* (1891), pp. 105–167).

LITERATURE.—For the usage of the Hebrew word חִידָה see *Oxf. Heb. Lex. s.v.*; Delitzsch, *Zur Geschichte der Jüdischen Poesie*; Cheyne, *Job and Solomon*; Toy, *Proverbs*. On Biblical and Talmudic riddles—Hamburger's *RE*; Löw, *Die Lebensalter*; Abrahams, *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages*; Wünsche, *Die Rathselweissheit bei den Hebräern*. T. NICOL.

RIDICULOUS.—Only Sir 34^{18} 'He that sacrificeth of a thing wrongfully gotten, his offering is ridiculous.' The meaning is active, *derisive, mocking* (Gr. *προσφορὰ μεμωκημένη*, RV 'his offering is made in mockery'). Cf. Shaks. *Love's Labour's Lost*, iii. 78, 'The heaving of my lungs provokes me to ridiculous smiling.'

RIGHTEOUSNESS IN OT.—The idea of Righteousness is one of the most complex and difficult of the ruling ideas of the OT. The subject may be introduced by one or two statements of a general nature. (1) Righteousness in the OT is strictly a personal attribute. There are a few instances where the word is used of things, but these are undoubtedly secondary (see below, p. 274[a]). So also are the cases where it is applied to a social aggregate like the people of Israel; these arise either through personification of the community, or through the virtues of representative individuals being conceived as leavening the mass. (2) The personal relations indicated by the term are of three kinds: forensic, ethical, and religious. Righteousness, *e.g.*, may denote (*a*) a forensic right, as when Judah says of Tamar, 'she *has been in the right* against me' (Gn 38^{26}); or (*b*) a moral state, as Gn 6^{9} 'Noah was a *righteous*, blameless man in his generation'; or (*c*) a direct relation between man and God, as in Gn 15^{6} 'Abraham believed J", and he counted it to him for *righteousness*.' But under each of these heads the notion breaks up into a great variety of distinct applications, while the figurative extensions of (*a*) into the spheres of (*b*) and (*c*) create subtle distinctions which at times defy classification. (3) It may be remarked that the history of the idea in the OT exhibits a development in almost exactly the opposite direction to that observed in the case of Holiness. Holiness (which see) is primarily a religious term, which gradually acquires ethical content under the influence of the revelation of God as a Being of perfect moral purity. Righteousness, on the contrary, belongs in the first instance to the region of moral ideas, and becomes a technical term of religion by a process whose outlines can be traced in the OT.—It will be convenient in the present art. to treat the subject under three main divisions, corresponding broadly to three stages in this development; viz. (i.) The meanings of Righteousness in ordinary popular speech; (ii.) the conception of Righteousness in the pre-exilic prophets (Amos to Jeremiah); and (iii.) the theological developments of the idea, chiefly in exilic and post-exilic writings.

The Hebrew words expressing the idea of Righteousness are the following derivatives of the root צדק:—

1. The adj. צַדִּיק; LXX *δίκαιος*, etc.; EV 'righteous,' more rarely 'just,' etc.

2. The abstract nouns צְדָקָה and צֶדֶק, which appear to be practically interchangeable; LXX *δικαιοσύνη*, etc.; EV 'righteousness,' more rarely 'justice,' etc.

[The Aram. צְדָקָה appears in Dn 4^{24}].

The verbal forms are much less frequently used, viz.:—

3. The Qal צָדַק (22 times in MT); LXX *δίκαιος εἶναι*, *δικαιοῦν* (pass.), etc.; EV 'be righteous,' 'be justified,' 'be just,' etc.

4. The Hiphil הִצְדִּיק (12 times, always in a declarative sense except Is 53^{11}, Dn 12^{3}); LXX *δικαιοῦν*, etc.; EV 'justify,' etc.

5. The Piel צִדֵּק (5 times, with the sense 'make out to be in the right,' or 'make to appear in the right'); LXX *δικαιοῦν*, etc.; EV 'justify.'

6. The Hithpael (refl.) הִצְטַדֵּק (Gn 44^{16}); LXX *δικαιοῦν* (pass.); EV 'clear ourselves.'

7. The Niphal נִצְדַּק (Dn 8^{14}, of the Temple); LXX *καθαρίζειν* (pass.); EV 'be cleansed.'

The Greek and English terms given above represent only the prevalent usage of LXX and EV respectively. With regard to the latter, it may be said that the words 'righteous' and 'righteousness' cover approximately the uses of צדק in the OT. Out of some 520 instances where the Heb. root appears, about 400 are rendered in AV by 'righteous,' 'righteousness,' or 'righteously.' In over 100 cases 'just,' 'justice,' 'justify' are employed, sometimes appropriately enough, but at other times quite arbitrarily (cf. *e.g.* Gn 6^{9} with 7^{1}, or Am 2^{6} with 5^{12}). There are, besides, a few miscellaneous renderings, which it would serve no useful purpose to tabulate. On the other side, 'righteous' stands for יָשָׁר ('upright') in Nu 23^{10}, Job 4^{7} 23^{7}, Ps 107^{42}, Pr 2^{7} 3^{32} 14^{9} 15^{19} 23^{16} (similarly the adv. Ps 67^{4} 96^{10}). RV has rectified some of those anomalies: for instance, except in Nu 23^{10}, 'righteous,' etc., never are used except for some form of צדק. The usage of the LXX is marked by somewhat greater diversity, as was to be expected from the variety of

circumstances in which the different books were translated. In the great majority of cases, however, the Heb. terms are represented by δίκαιος and the cognate words, although other renderings are frequent, as ἄμεμπτος, καθαρός, πιστός, εὐσεβής, κρίσις, ἔλεος, ἐλεημοσύνη (the last two are instructive). And, conversely, δίκαιος, etc., are used for such words as נָקִי, יָשָׁר ('innocent'), חֶסֶד ('kindness'), אֱמֶת ('truth,' 'fidelity'), מִשְׁפָּט ('judicial decision,' 'judgment'), etc. A certain freedom of translation is, no doubt, permissible in view of the extreme versatility of the Heb. notion, and its association with numerous parallelisms; and these Heb. synonyms have naturally to be taken into account in forming conclusions regarding the OT idea of righteousness. Cf. Hatch, *Essays in Bibl. Gr.* 49.

i. Righteousness in Common Life.—In the earliest historical literature—the documents J and E of the Hex., and the oldest sources of the Bks. of Samuel and Kings—the words for 'righteousness' occur, not very frequently, but in connexions which convey a pretty complete idea of what they meant in everyday life. Here the most prominent aspect of the notion is the *forensic*, although this by no means excludes an ethical and religious reference. In early Israel, law, morality, and religion were closely identified, all three resting largely on traditional custom or being embodied in it. Morality consisted in conformity to the conventional usages of the society to which a man belonged (Gn 26[9], 2 S 13[12] etc.); the administration of justice was the enforcement in individual cases of the acknowledged rules of social order; and, again, these rules were invested with religious sanctions as expressing the will of J″. Thus a man's legal rights were a measure of the morality of his conduct, and at the same time all rights existing between men were also rights before J″. When it is said that the forensic element preponderates, what is meant is that questions of right and wrong were habitually regarded from a legal point of view as matters to be settled by a judge, and that this point of view is emphasized in the words derived from צדק. This, indeed, is characteristic of the Heb. conception of righteousness in all its developments: whether it be a moral quality or a religious status, it is apt to be looked on as in itself controvertible and incomplete until it has been confirmed by what is equivalent to a judicial sentence. Now, within the forensic sphere we can distinguish three aspects of righteousness which are of fundamental importance for the subsequent history of the idea; and these may be illustrated from almost any period of the language.

(1) Righteousness means, in the first instance, being *in the right* in a particular case. Of the two parties in a controversy, the one who has the right on his side is designated as הַצַּדִּיק, and the one in the wrong as הָרָשָׁע: Dt 25[1] 'If there be a quarrel between men, and they bring it to the judgment-seat, and (the judges) judge them, they shall justify the צַדִּיק and condemn the רָשָׁע'; cf. 16[19], Ex 23[7. 8], Is 5[23] 29[21], Pr 17[15] 18[5. 17] 24[24] etc. Similarly, a person accused or suspected of wrongdoing is צַדִּיק if he is innocent and רָשָׁע if guilty (Gn 20[4], 2 S 4[11], 2 K 10[9], Pr 17[26]). It makes, of course, no difference whether the case is actually submitted to a judge or not; all questions of right and wrong are conceived as capable ideally of being so settled, and the intrinsic merits of the dispute are described by the same terms; see Ex 9[27] ('J″ is *in the right*, and I and my people are *in the wrong*'); 1 S 24[17], 1 K 8[32] (cf. Ex 2[13]). Thus צְדָקָה (צֶדֶק) in this sense appears to be later) denotes the right or innocence of an incriminated person, his claim to justification, the validity of his plea (2 S 19[29] 26[23], Neh 2[20]).* In these cases righteousness is an inherent quality, not depending on the decision of the judge, but at the most demanding recognition by him. And although the conception is essentially forensic, it is obviously one to which ethical ideas readily attach themselves. Righteousness comes to mean *unimpeachable moral conduct* (Gn 30[33]—a difficult case); and in this sense it may be predicated of a man's whole life, the righteous man being one who is blameless before an ideal tribunal; see 1 K 2[32] 3[6], Gn 7[1], 6[9] (P) 18[23ff.], Dt 9[4-6], La 4[13] etc. In this application a religious reference is probably always included, the ideal tribunal being that of God.

Legal phraseology is naturally transferred to the case of mere *debate*: Job 11[2] 33[12]; here to 'justify' means virtually to admit the force of one's arguments (27[5]). With this may be connected the use of the words to express correctness in prediction (Is 41[26]), or truthfulness in speech (Is 45[19. 23] 63[1], Ps 52[5], Pr 8[8] 12[7] 16[13]); although other explanations are here possible (see below, p. 274).

(2) Righteousness, however, has a second sense, which is purely forensic; it means the *legal status* established by a public judgment in one's favour: Is 5[23] 'take away the righteousness of the righteous from him' (cf. 10[2]). Examples of this kind are rare in allusions to secular jurisprudence; but the distinction plays a very important part, as we shall see, where forensic analogies are transferred to men's standing before God; and it could hardly be drawn so clearly there unless it had some basis in ordinary judicial administration.*

(3) Lastly, righteousness is the quality expected *of the judge* in the exercise of his office. His fundamental duty is to 'justify' (הִצְדִּיק = 'declare in the right') him who is in the right, and to condemn (הִרְשִׁיעַ) him who is in the wrong (Dt 25[1], 2 S 15[4] etc.); and, if the circumstances require it, to inflict punishment on the wrong-doer (Dt 25[2]; cf. 2 S 12[6] etc.). In this he is said to manifest צֶדֶק (Dt 1[16] 16[18. 20], Lv 19[15], Is 11[4. 5] 16[5]), or in a common phrase to execute מִשְׁפָּט וּצְדָקָה.† The temptations to which a judge was mainly exposed being bribery and 'respect of persons,' his righteousness consists essentially in his rising superior to such influences and deciding each case with absolute impartiality on its merits. Stress, however, is naturally laid on the duty of redressing the wrongs of the poor and defenceless; hence judicial righteousness is frequently equivalent to deliverance or protection. This idea lies, indeed, in the verb שָׁפַט itself, which means not only to judge, but also to vindicate or defend (1 S 24[15], Is 1[17] etc.).

The forensic sense of righteousness illustrated above appears to be fundamental in Heb., and goes back to a remote period in Semitic antiquity. It is found in a phrase closely corresponding to OT usage in one of the Tel el-Amarna tablets (15th or 14th cent. B.C.), where Abdḫiba of Jerusalem says, *sa-du-uk ana ia-a-ši aš-šum amīlūti Ka-ši*='I am *innocent* with respect to the Kashi' (*KIB* v. 306 f.). That a similar usage prevailed in Aramaic and Phœnician is shown by the inscriptions in both languages (see Lidzbarski, *Handbuch der nordsem. Epigraphik*, p. 357). The forensic conception of righteousness appears, therefore, to be characteristic of the northern group of Semitic dialects. In Arabic, on the other hand, the root has no forensic

* The fem. of the adj. צַדִּיק is nowhere used; in the only instance where the right of a woman is concerned the simple verb is employed; Gn 38[26] (צָדְקָה מִמֶּנִּי).

* It may here be pointed out that it is doubtful if the adj. צַדִּיק bears this sense of outward justification even in the religious sphere (Kautzsch). It seems confined to the inherent character on which a legal right is based, but not to include the status which results from a vindication of that right. In other words, it is used of the godly as *entitled* to Divine justification, but not as actually *justified*. Kautzsch thinks there are exceptions in Is 40–66 and 24–27; but that is not quite clear. Zec 9[9] would be a case in point if the meaning is to be determined by the following epithet נוֹשָׁע ('*vindicated* and victorious'; G. A. Smith, *Twelve Prophets*, ii. 466). On some doubtful cases in the Psalms, see below, p. 278.

† This expression was probably used originally of judicial action (2 S 8[15], Jer 22[15] 23[5], Ezk 45[9]), but was extended to moral conduct in general (Gn 18[19], Ezk 18[5. 19. 21], and very often). In Dt 1[16] etc. (above) צֶדֶק is partly the personal virtue of the judge, partly the objective right which is the result of his just action; the word appears first in Hosea and Isaiah. It is possible that this judicial sense of righteousness (3) is less primitive than that described under (1). At least the cases are few where the *adj.* is applied to a *human* judge (though often to God as the Supreme Judge of men). 2 S 23[3] is a clear example; on Zec 9[9] see the last note; other possible cases are Jer 23[5], Ezk 23[45].

associations. The verb *ṣadaḳa* means to speak the truth; *ṣaddaḳa*, to attribute truth to a speaker, to accept or homologate his statement; *ṣaddîḳ* is one who is habitually veracious, and *ṣaḏîḳ* a true or sincere friend. All these uses embody the ethical idea of *trustworthiness* or genuineness; and a reflexion of this moral sense is probably to be recognized in some peculiar subsidiary applications, as when the verb is employed of eyes and ears that faithfully perform their functions, or of earnestness or steadiness in battle 'as opposed to a false show of bravery,' or of the desperate running of a hunted animal (see Lane, *Lexicon*). *Ṣaḏâḳ*, the marriage gift from husband to wife, was originally a pledge of friendship; and even the much discussed *rumḥ ṣaḏḳ* possibly means a *trusty* lance, and not a straight or sound or hard lance (Wellhausen, *GGN*, 1893, p. 434), though Nöldeke considers that in this case the meaning 'straight' is certain (*Fünf Mo'allaqāt*, 2, p. 40).

It has commonly been held that the varied senses of righteousness can be reduced to the single idea of 'conformity to a norm,' resting ultimately on the physical analogy of *straightness*. But the notion of 'conformity to a norm' could hardly be primitive; and, even if all the uses of צדק could be brought under it, it would not thereby be proved to be fundamental, since all legal and ethical terms necessarily imply a reference to a norm. It is indeed very doubtful if straightness be the concept originally expressed by the root. Certainly, nothing of the kind can be inferred from the cases in the OT where the word is used of material objects. *Just balances, weights*, etc. (Lv $19^{35.36}$, Dt 25^{15}, Job 31^{6}, Ezk 45^{10}), are simply such balances, etc., as justice demands (cf. Am 8^{5}), just as *sacrifices of righteousness* (Dt 33^{19}, Ps 4^{5} 51^{19}) are sacrifices rightly offered. The phrases *paths of righteousness* (Ps 23^{3}) and *gates of righteousness* (118^{19}) are so obviously figurative that they do not fall to be considered here at all. The evidence from Arabic is equally inconclusive. Here the discussion has turned largely on the use of *ṣaḏḳ* as an epithet of the lance (see above). It happens, however, to be applied in particular to the *knots* of the lance reed (cf. *ṣaḏḳ'ul-ku'ûb*, Muall. Antara, 48), where, if the word describes any physical quality at all, it must be *hardness*; unless, indeed, *ka'b* be understood as a section of the reed between two knots (Nöldeke, *ib.*). On the whole, perhaps, the idea of hardness best accounts for the higher developments of the idea both in Arabic and Hebrew. The transition from hardness to trustworthiness is easy and natural, while the same analogy in the legal sphere might denote unimpeachableness of conduct on the part of a suitor, or steadfastness of character on the part of the judge. But these speculations are of little account; the meanings of righteousness in OT have to be ascertained from usage, and the fundamental usages appear to be those stated in the preceding paragraphs.

ii. RIGHTEOUSNESS IN THE PROPHETS.—Although the prophets were the great champions and exponents of righteousness in Israel, it is not easy to say precisely in what respect their teaching marks an advance on the current notions examined in the last section. In their use of terms they adhere closely to the common forms of speech: the צַדִּיק is still the man whose cause is just, and צְדָקָה and צֶדֶק continue to be used of forensic right or judicial rectitude. Nevertheless it is clear that the whole idea is elevated to a higher plane in the teaching of the prophets, and acquires a significance at once more ethical and more universal. The difference of standpoint is partly to be explained by the state of things which the prophets saw around them. By the 8th cent. the old consuetudinary morality had broken down under the pressure of far-reaching economic changes which had affected disastrously the life of the people. Large numbers of Israelites had been dispossessed of their holdings, and in consequence deprived of their civil and religious rights; the poor were defrauded and ground down by the rich, and even the forms of law had been turned into a powerful engine of oppression. In face of a situation like this, it is evident that the prophetic ideal of righteousness must rest on deeper foundations than mere use and wont. It rests, in fact, on the ethical character of J". What is distinctive of the prophets is the conviction that social righteousness is the necessary and inexorable demand of J"'s moral nature. So intense is this conviction that the idea of abstract right seems to stand out before their minds as an objective reality, a power that may be resisted but can never be defeated. 'Never before,' says Wellhausen, 'had this been proclaimed with such tremendous emphasis. Morality is that through which alone all things subsist, the sole reality in the world. It is no postulate, no idea, it is at once necessity and fact,—the most living, personal energy,—Jahwe, the God of Forces.'* This is most clearly to be seen in Amos, the father of written prophecy; but all the prophets move on the lines laid down by him, and mean by righteousness substantially what he means, although they may not give it the same central position which it occupies in his book. It may suffice to note the following points. (1) The prophets are concerned in the first instance with that exercise of righteousness on which the well-being of the community most depends, *the public administration of justice*. Amos demands that right (מִשְׁפָּט) be set up in the gate (5^{15}); that right roll down like waters, and righteousness like a perennial stream (5^{24}); and complains bitterly of those who turn righteousness to wormwood, *i.e.* turn the fount of justice into a source of wrong and misery (5^{7} 6^{12}). Isaiah and Micah hurl their invectives against the ruling classes for their perversion of justice and legalized plunder of the poor (Is 1^{17} $3^{14f.}$ 5^{23} $10^{1f.}$, Mic $2^{1f.\ 8f.}$ $3^{1-3.\ 9f.}$), and Jeremiah denounces the rapacity and misgovernment of the kings ($22^{13.\ 15}$ $23^{1f.}$; cf. Ezk $34^{3ff.}$). Cf. further, Hos 10^{12}, Is 1^{21} 5^{7}, Jer 22^{3} etc. A well-governed State, repressing all wrong and violence, and securing to the meanest his rights as a member of J"'s kingdom, is the embodiment of the prophetic ideal of righteousness. At the same time, the spirit which ought to preside at the seat of judgment is conceived as a principle pervading the whole life of the nation, and regulating the relations of its different members and classes. Civic righteousness is perhaps more a function of the community, a sound and normal condition of the body politic, than a rule of individual conduct; although the latter is, of course, included (Hos 10^{12}, Jer 4^{2}). (2) In their conception of what constitutes righteousness, the prophets are not dependent on a written code,† and still less on the technicalities of legal procedure. Their appeal is to the moral sense, the instinctive perception of what is due to others, the recognition of the inherent rights of human personality. The idea is far broader than what we usually mean by right or justice; it includes a large-hearted construction of the claims of humanity; it is, as has been said, the humanitarian virtue *par excellence*.‡ And this is true not only in private relations, but also in the sphere of judicial action. The righteousness of the judge appears pre-eminently in his vindication of the widow, the orphan, and the stranger, the oppressed and defenceless classes generally (Is 1^{17} etc.). In Amos the צַדִּיק is always the poor man, with no influence at his back, who must therefore look to the judge to maintain his rights. This feature might be considered accidental, arising from the injustice to which the poor were subjected at that time. But it is important, nevertheless, as exhibiting an aspect of the Heb. idea of judicial righteousness which is apt to be overlooked by us. It denotes not merely the neutral impartial attitude of mind which decides fairly between rival interests, but a positive energy on the side of right, a readiness to protect and succour those who have no help in themselves. (3) Righteousness in this ethical sense is not only rooted in the moral instincts of human nature, but is a reflexion of the character of J". It is what He requires of men, what He has looked for in vain from Israel (Is 5^{7}), that in which He delights, which He seeks to produce on earth (Jer 9^{24}). The inflexibility of this Divine demand for social righteousness is one of the most impressive things in prophecy. Ritual service is as nothing in J"'s sight; He despises and hates

* *Isr. u. jüd. Gesch.*[3] 109.

† The idea of righteousness as obedience to the written law of God, which bulks so largely in the later writings, appears in Dt 6^{25}; cf. 24^{13}, Zeph 2^{3}.

‡ Cf. the combination of צְדָקָה with חֶסֶד ('kindness') in Hos 10^{12}, Jer 9^{23}.

it when offered by men of immoral life. But the claims of righteousness are absolute, and the nation that will not yield to them, though it be the chosen people of Israel itself, must perish. Further, this righteousness, being based at once on the nature of man and the nature of God, is universal in its range. It has its witness in the human conscience everywhere (Am 3^9), and determines the destiny of other nations as well as of Israel (1^3 2^3 etc.). It is, in short, the moral order of the universe, and the supreme law of J″'s operations in history. (4) As the lack of righteousness is the cause of Israel's destruction, so the presence of it is a constant feature of the Messianic salvation to which the prophets look forward. 'A king shall reign in righteousness, and princes decree justice' (Is $32^{1f.}$). The Messiah's kingdom shall be established in righteousness (9^7), and He shall judge the poor in righteousness ($11^{4.5}$), etc. Cf. Jer 22^{15} 23^5 33^{15}, Hos 2^{21} (?), Is 1^{26} $32^{16f.}$ 33^5 etc. (5) Righteousness as a personal attribute of J″ is not named by the prophets so frequently as one might expect. The adj. צַדִּיק is not used in this sense till a comparatively late period (Zeph 3^5, Jer 12^1). Amos never mentions the righteousness of J″, though the image of the plumb-line in $7^{7.8}$ shows that the conception was in his mind (cf. Is 28^{17}). Isaiah speaks of a judgment 'overflowing with righteousness' (10^{22}), and of the Holy God as 'sanctifying himself by righteousness' (5^{16}), *i.e.* showing Himself to be God through the exercise of judicial righteousness. The idea is common to all the prophets. From the special circumstances in which their work was carried on, they dwell chiefly (if not exclusively) on the *punitive* side of the Divine righteousness, the side which it presents to the guilt of Israel (Hos 6^5* 10^4, Hab 1^{12}). Righteousness, in short, is here equivalent to *retribution*, although retribution is not regarded as an end in itself, but only as a step in the carrying out of a redemptive purpose.

These appear to be the chief features of the idea of righteousness which is characteristic of the pre-exilic prophets. It is not yet to be called strictly a religious conception, inasmuch as its human side consists of moral qualities displayed by men in their relations to one another, and the righteousness of men before God is an idea hardly represented in the prophets. But it makes the religious development possible, and some anticipations of that development in the prophetic writings will have to be considered under the next head.

iii. RIGHTEOUSNESS IN THE SPHERE OF RELIGION.—We come now to consider the different forms assumed by the idea of righteousness as expressing relations existing immediately between God and man. These are based on the monotheistic principle, interpreted by the help of the forensic categories described above (under i.). J″ is the supreme Ruler and Judge of the universe, and His judgments are seen in history or providence. But the ordinary course of providence could not always be accepted as the final expression of the mind of the Judge; it is usually in some great crisis, some decisive interposition of J″ felt to be impending, that the ultimate verdict is looked for. Meanwhile nations and men are on their trial, they are severally in the right or in the wrong before God, and in the final day of reckoning the issues will be made clear, and the justice of the Divine government fully vindicated. Although all the elements of this conception are present in pre-exilic prophecy, the special applications of it now to be dealt with belong mostly to a later period, and are the result of certain currents of thought which come to the surface in the age of the Exile. There are three things to be looked at: the righteousness of Israel; the righteousness of the individual; and the righteousness of God.

1. *THE RIGHTEOUSNESS OF ISRAEL.*—The question of Israel's right against other nations is one little considered by the earlier prophets. It was doubtless a factor in the popular religion, revealing itself in that eager longing for the day of J″ which Amos rebukes (5^{18}). From that point of view it was a matter of course that J″ should maintain the cause and right of His people, and moral considerations hardly entered into the feeling. The prophets, on the other hand, were too much concerned to impress on Israel a sense of its utter unrighteousness before God to pay much heed to the violation of right involved in its subjection to nations morally worse than itself. In the 7th cent., however, partly as a consequence of the Deuteronomic reformation, the idea of a righteous Israel begins to exert an influence on prophetic thought (cf. Dt 6^{25}). The first prophet to treat the matter expressly from this point of view is Habakkuk (the idea is latent in Nahum), who uses the technical terms צַדִּיק and רָשָׁע to designate Israel and its heathen oppressors respectively ($1^{4.13}$; cf. 2^4: see the Comm.), and appeals to J″ to redress the wrongs suffered by His people. But it was the Exile that brought the question to the front in the prophetic interpretation of history. The Divine sentence had gone forth confirming the moral verdict of the prophets on the nation's past, and the more spiritual part of the people acknowledged the just judgment of God in what had befallen them (La 1^{18}). But there still remained the promise of a glorious future, in which the righteousness of J″ would be displayed not less than in the judgment now past. Israel, therefore, has a right which, though obscured for the present, is recognized by J″, and will be vindicated by Him in due time. Wherein does this righteousness of Israel consist?

Deutero-Isaiah.—The answer to this question is given by the writer of Is 40–55 in a manner which went far to fix the sense of righteousness for all subsequent theology. The prophet looks to his people's restoration from exile as a final disclosure of the righteousness both of Israel and of J″, and an event fraught with the most blessed consequences for humanity. That Israel has been, and is, in the wrong before God is explicitly acknowledged in the ironical challenge of 43^{26} ('that thou mayest be in the right'), and is implied in many passages besides. But its sin has been forgiven, the punishment endured has been adequate (40^2), and, in spite of the unpreparedness of the people, J″ brings near His salvation (46^{13} 51^5 52^{10}); the hidden right of Israel, which exists amidst all its unworthiness and shortcoming, is about to be made manifest. And here, in accordance with forensic usage, the idea of righteousness is resolved into two perfectly distinct conceptions. On the one hand it denotes the inherent right of Israel's cause at the bar of the Divine judgment (as in i. (1)); and on the other hand the external vindication of that right through a judicial intervention of J″ (i. (2)). In the latter sense righteousness means justification ($54^{14.17}$ $45^{8.24}$), and is practically equivalent to salvation, the deliverance of the people being regarded as the execution of a Divine sentence in its favour.* The idea of the inherent righteousness of Israel, however, is more difficult, and several elements appear to enter into it. (*a*) Israel is in the right, first of all, as having *suffered wrong* at the hands of the world-power. The triumph of Babylon has been the triumph of brute

* Read ומשפטי כאור יצא.

* In 41^2, where it is said of Cyrus that 'right meets him at every step,' צֶדֶק bears the sense of right vindicated on the field of battle, *i.e.* 'victory' (see the Comm.).

force over helpless innocence (47[6] 52[3-5]), and a violation of the moral order of the world. On this ground alone Israel has a plea before the Judge of all the earth, it has a right (מִשְׁפָּט) which does not escape the notice of J″ (40[27]; cf. Mic 7[9]). (*b*) Righteousness includes, in the second place, a way of life in accordance with the law of God. Of the better part of the people it is said that they follow after righteousness (51[1]) or know righteousness (51[7]), just as it is said of another section that they are far from righteousness (46[12]).* Similarly, in 53[11] it is said of J″'s righteous Servant that by his knowledge he shall make many righteous, *i.e.* bring them to a moral condition conforming to the Divine will. (*c*) There is, perhaps, yet another element to be taken into account: Israel is in the right in virtue of its being identified with the cause of J″, the only true God. Israel is J″'s witness, His client in the great controversy between the true religion and idolatry, His servant and His messenger whom He has sent (43[10. 12] 44[8] 41[8. 9] 42[19] etc.). As the organ of J″'s self-revelation, the nation represents the cause that must ultimately triumph, and is therefore essentially in the right. This vocation of Israel is described as perfectly realized in the ideal Servant of the Lord (49[3]), whom J″ has called in righteousness (42[6]) and appointed for a light of the Gentiles, that His salvation might be to the ends of the earth (49[6]; cf. 42[1. 4]). The Servant's confidence that he shall be justified (50[8. 9] 49[4]) rests on the consciousness of his election, and the unique relation which he holds to the redemptive purpose of J″.

The same distinction between inherent and external righteousness is met with in chs. 56–66, which are assigned by some scholars to a later date. Thus in the sense of justification (salvation, prosperity, etc.) the nouns occur in 56[1b] 58[8] 59[9] 61[3. 10f.] 62[1f.] (cf. 48[18], possibly an interpolated passage in the earlier part). Of inherent right, the adj. is used in 57[1] 60[21]; the substantives in 56[1a] 58[2] 64[4f.]; the aspect most prominent appears to be obedience to the law.—The idea of civic righteousness in the sense of the pre-exilic prophets appears in 59[9. 14].

The sense of Israel's right against the nations appears likewise in other post-exilic writings, particularly in the Psalter, where the antithesis of 'righteous' and 'wicked' sometimes denotes Israel and the heathen respectively; cf. Ps 7[10] 14[5] 31[18] 33[1] 52[6f.] 75[10] 94[21] 97[11f.] 118[15. 20] etc. etc. But here it is no longer possible to separate between the national and individual references of the idea of righteousness; and it is therefore better to deal with the subject after we have considered—

2. *The Righteousness of the Individual.*—That individual righteousness was an idea familiar in early times to the Israelites, is sufficiently clear from such passages as 1 S 26[23], 1 K 8[32], Is 3[10. 11] (? if genuine), etc.† It may be true that the individual was hardly felt to possess an independent religious status before God. His life and his interests were seen to be merged in those of his family or the community (1 S 3[13] etc.); and it was perhaps not expected that his outward fortunes should correspond exactly with his moral condition. At all events, there is no evidence that the inequalities of providence in this sphere pressed severely on religious thought till towards the Exile, when a growing sense of personal right begins to assert itself (Dt 24[16], 2 K 14[6]). In the remarkable prophetic experience of *Jeremiah*, religion appears to resolve itself into a personal relation of the individual soul to God. And it is noteworthy that immediately he is confronted by the gravest problem of Jewish theology,—Why is it that the man who is right with God has to suffer affliction and injustice in the world? 'Too righteous art thou, O J″, for me to contend with thee; yet of judgments would I speak with thee: Wherefore is the way of the wicked prosperous?' etc. (12[1]).

Ezekiel.—Besides the general tendency of thought referred to in the last paragraph, there were two special reasons for the rapid growth of individualism in the exilic and post-exilic ages. One was the dissolution of the State, in consequence of which the principle of collective retribution was necessarily suspended, and each man became directly accountable to God for his own sins (Jer 31[29f.], Ezk 18[2-4]). But another and more permanent cause was the introduction of the written Law as the basis of religion. The Law makes its appeal in the first instance to the individual conscience, and, although the aim of the Deuteronomic covenant was to make of Israel a righteous *nation* through obedience to the Divine will (Dt 6[25]), its immediate effect was only to set up a standard of righteousness which served as a test of the individual's relation to God. The influence of these two facts is very apparent in the conception of righteousness which meets us in the Bk. of Ezekiel. Except in a few instances (16[51f.] 23[45] 45[9f.]) the words 'righteous' and 'righteousness' are there used solely to denote the religious condition of individual persons in the sight of God (3[20ff.] 13[22] 14[14. 20] 18[5ff.] 21[3f.] 33[12ff.]). Sometimes even the plu. צְדָקוֹת is employed of the separate virtues or good deeds, which when integrated make up the religious character (3[20] 18[24] 33[13]; cf. Is 33[15] 64[5]). In form the idea is purely legal, consisting in obedience to the precepts of the written Law; its content, as given in 18[5-8] 33[15] etc., is mainly but not exclusively ethical. And to this conception of righteousness there is attached a rigorous theory of individual retribution; according as a man's state is when the judgment overtakes him, so will his destiny be: the righteous shall live, and the wicked shall die.

Book of Job.—Ezekiel's doctrine of retribution was formulated with express reference to the final judgment which determines whether a man is to be admitted into the perfect kingdom of God or excluded from it. When the principle was extended to the ordinary course of providence, it was found to be contradicted at many points by experience. Hence arose the most serious stumbling-block to the faith of OT believers—the inequalities, the seeming injustice, of God's providential dealings with men. This problem emerges in many forms (see Hab 1[2-4. 13], Is 53, Mal 3[15. 18], Ps 37. 39. 49. 73, etc.), but nowhere is it treated with such penetration and such intensity of feeling as in the Bk. of Job. Job, a typically pious man, acknowledged to be such by the Almighty and the Satan, as well as by his fellow-men, is suddenly visited by a series of calamities which, on the current view of providence, could only be explained as the punishment due to heinous sins. This view is upheld, in the discussion which ensues, by the three friends, and is partly shared by Job himself. His mind is dominated by the thought of God as his adversary in a lawsuit; or rather his chief complaint is that the Almighty constitutes Himself both accuser and judge, while there is no umpire who can lay his hand upon them both (9[32ff.]). He feels himself to be the victim of an accusation brought against him by an all-powerful antagonist; and his contention is that the accusation is unjust—that he is in the right and God in the wrong in this unequal quarrel. This, of course, as the other disputants are quick to point out (8[3] 34[17] 36[3] 37[23] 40[8]), is to impugn the judicial righteousness of God; and such a position is to them simply inconceivable. 'How can a man be in the right against God?' they ask (4[7] 5[14] 25[4]); and Job retorts with bitter irony, 'How indeed! seeing He is the

* Many commentators take the word in these passages in the sense of outward justification. But the parallelism in 51[7] ('in whose heart is my law') strongly favours the more ethical meaning, and this ought in fairness to rule the interpretation of 51[1]. 46[12] is more doubtful.

† On an Aramaic inscription of the 7th cent. B.C. (Nerab ii. 2) the following words are put into the mouth of a dead priest: 'For my righteousness before him, he (the god) gave me a good name and lengthened my days' (Hoffmann, *ZA*, 1896, p. 221 f.).

Omnipotent against whom there is no redress' (9^2). Thus to the friends the question at issue is the righteousness of Job, which they ultimately deny; while to Job himself it is the righteousness of God in His providential dealings with men: 'he condemns God that he himself may be in the right' (40^8, cf. 34^5). Although he is forced to acknowledge that God has pronounced him guilty, he is nevertheless perfectly sure of his own righteousness (27^6), by which he means in the first instance his 'just cause against God' (35^2), his innocence of the unknown transgressions laid to his charge by his irresistible opponent. 'I am innocent—in the right' is his constant cry ($9^{20f.}$ 13^{18} 34^5 etc.). But behind this formal and purely forensic sense of righteousness there lies a deeper question, viz. What constitutes the righteousness of a man before God, or what entitles him to a sentence of justification in the shape of temporal prosperity? On that point there does not appear to be any fundamental difference between Job and his friends. Righteousness means morality combined with piety—loyal and whole-hearted obedience to the will of God. Observance of the written Law is obviously excluded by the conditions of the poem; but it is assumed that God's will is known, and that a man may so fulfil it as to be righteous. Job is a man perfect and upright, fearing God and shunning evil (1^1 etc.). That his outer life had been morally correct was known to all the world; what was known to himself alone and God was that there had been no hypocrisy or secret infidelity in his heart ($29^{12ff.}$ 31^{1-35}); his morality had been inspired by religion, by reverence, and perfect allegiance to his Creator. On that point the testimony of his conscience is clear and unwavering; and it is the undoubted teaching of the book that this plea of Job's is valid, and that the real problem lies where Job's argument places it, in the mystery of the Divine government. We are not here concerned with the solution which the author intends to suggest, but it can hardly consist, as some have thought, in the undermining of Job's consciousness of innocence, and his being convicted of a subtle kind of sin in the shape of self-righteousness. It is rather to be looked for in the remarkable distinction which the patriarch is led to draw between the God of Providence who condemns and persecutes him, and the God to whom his heart bears witness, who is even now his friend, and must yet appear as his avenger, though it be after his death (16^{19-21} 19^{25-27}). Job is enabled in some degree to maintain his fellowship with God apart from outward tokens of His favour, sustained only by the witness of his conscience, and the nascent hope of seeing Him as He is, in another state of being.

It has already been pointed out that in this book the terms for righteousness are employed of *being in the right* in argument; cf. 11^2 27^5 32^2 $33^{12.\ 32}$. Note also the occasional use of צֶדֶק in the sense of external justification (= prosperity), 8^6 29^{14} [?] 33^{26} 36^7.

Proverbs and Ecclesiastes.—In the two remaining canonical *Ḥokhmah* books the conception of righteousness is as distinctly individualistic as in Job or Ezekiel. A very common theme in the Proverbs is the contrast between the 'righteous' (צַדִּיק—sing. or plu.) and the 'wicked' (רָשָׁע).* Here the righteous do not form a *party* (as often in the Psalms); they are a *class*, comprising all who follow the moral ideal taught by the wise men. All men, in short, are divided by the Proverbialists into good and bad, and 'righteous' is simply one of the commonest designations of the good part of mankind. It follows that the idea of righteousness presented in the book is essentially ethical, though no doubt with a strong dash of utilitarianism, the virtues chiefly insisted on being those which experience shows to be necessary for the welfare of society, and therefore most immediately beneficial to the individual who practises them. At the same time the moral system has a religious background. The written Law is the supreme standard of morality or righteousness. Moreover, one of the chief objects of the writers is to inculcate the doctrine of individual retribution in the ordinary course of Divine providence. However the fact may be explained, the difficulties surrounding this question are ignored in the Proverbs, and the law of retribution is regarded as fully manifested in the present life: 'The righteous shall be requited in the earth, much more the wicked and the sinner' (11^{31}). Hence the idea of righteousness appears to have lost the eschatological reference which it frequently has in other parts of OT, and (what is more remarkable) it has all but lost the sense of outward justification, such as we meet with occasionally even in the Bk. of Job. Although it is constantly asserted that righteousness is the way to honour, wealth, prosperity, etc., it does not seem ever to be *identified* with these external tokens of God's approval except in 21^{21b} 8^{18}. In Ecclesiastes the same conception of righteousness as the supreme moral category prevails; cf. 3^{17} 7^{15} 8^{14} $9^{1.\ 2}$. The sayings most characteristic of the author are these two: 'Be not righteous overmuch' (7^{16}), and 'There is not a righteous man upon the earth that doeth good and sinneth not' (7^{20}). The latter is perhaps the only passage in OT where righteousness is treated as equivalent to sinlessness; the former exhibits a reaction against the casuistries of Pharisaic legalism. The vacillation of the book on the subject of retribution (contrast 7^{15} 8^{14} 9^2 with 3^{17} 9^1 etc.) raises difficult critical questions which need not be considered here.*

The Psalms.—It is very difficult to analyze and classify the varied aspects of human righteousness presented in the Psalter. For one thing, it is impossible (as was said above) to draw a sharp line of division between the righteousness of the nation and that of the individual. The point of view most characteristic of the Psalms is intermediate between these two. In a large number of passages the distinction of צַדִּיק and רָשָׁע is applied to two parties within the community; the 'righteous' being the religious party who have regard to the Covenant, and the 'wicked' the godless and wealthy anti-theocratic party who set religion and morality at defiance.† Here the idea of righteousness is partly national, since the 'righteous' represent the true ideal Israel; partly individual, inasmuch as the party is formed by those members of the nation who accept the Law as their rule of life. In some cases, indeed, it is difficult to say whether the contrast intended be one within the nation or between the nation and the rest of the world. The ungodly in Israel are animated by the same spirit as the heathen that know not God, and conversely the qualities of the righteous are the same whether the predicate be extended to the people as a whole or restricted to a portion of it.

With regard to the conception of righteousness implied by this contrast, the following points have to be noted. (*a*) The conflict of parties is, first of all, a conflict of religious first principles. The righteous are distinguished by their faith in the

* See 3^{33} 10 *pass.* (11 times), $11^{8.\ 10.\ 23.\ 31}$ $12^{5.\ 7.\ 10.\ 12.\ 21.\ 26}$ $13^{5.\ 9.\ 25}$ $14^{19.\ 32}$ $15^{6.\ 28.\ 29}$ $21^{12.\ 18}$ $24^{15f.}$ 25^{26} $28^{1.\ 12.\ 28}$ $29^{2.\ 7.\ 16.\ 27}$. There are many other contrasts, as *sinner* 13^{21}, *evil-doers* 21^5, *fools* 10^{21} etc.; and many synonyms, as *wise* 9^9 11^{30} 23^{24}, *good* 2^{20}, *upright* 21^{18} etc.

* Both in Proverbs and Ecclesiastes there are references to the public administration of justice, where of course the idea of righteousness has the ordinary legal applications: cf. Pr $17^{15.\ 26}$ 18^5. 17 24^{24} 25^{26}, 8^{15} 16^{12} 25^5 31^9, Ec 3^{16} 5^8.

† Cf. 1^5 5^{12} $11^{3.\ 5}$ 32^{11} $34^{17.\ 20.\ 22}$ 37 *pass.* 55^{22} 64^{10} 69^{28} 92^{12} 112^6 140^{13} 141^5 etc.

moral government of the universe. They trust in J″ (16[1] 26[1] 22[29]), and consciously identify themselves with His cause in the world; they stake their existence on the conviction that 'there is a God that judgeth in the earth' (58[11]), and that 'in the end judgment must be given for righteousness' (94[15] Wellhausen). The wicked, on the contrary, are practical atheists. They deny, not perhaps the existence of God, but His providential action (14[1] 53[1]), and acknowledge no higher authority than their own lawless wills (12[4] 59[7] 64[5] 94[7]). Thus the Divine decision in their favour for which the Psalmists pray will be the vindication of that view of the world to which they have committed themselves—the proof that they are *in the right* in the fundamental beliefs on which their life is based. (*b*) The sphere in which the contrast is wrought out is that of personal and social morality; hence there is a constant reference, tacit or expressed, to the moral character of the suppliants. They are those who practise righteousness and justice (106[3] 119[121]); they appeal to their integrity (7[8] 25[21] 41[12]); they claim to be upright, or upright of heart (32[11] 33[1] 37[18] 64[10] 97[11] 140[13]), and innocent (94[21]); to have clean hands and a pure heart (18[20. 24] 24[4]); cf. 17[1ff.] 26[1ff.]. On the other hand, the wicked are cruel, unjust, deceitful, bloody-minded, adulterous, avaricious, etc.; men who, with no fear of God before their eyes, trample every social obligation under their feet.* (*c*) Another element in the Psalmists' sense of righteousness is the fact that they suffer wrong at the hands of their enemies (7[1] 10[2] 22[7ff.] 31[15] 69[26] 119[86] 125[3] 143[3] etc.). The outrages perpetrated by the heathen nations on Israel, and by the rich upon the poor within Israel, are a violation of the moral order of the world which cannot pass unpunished under the just government of J″; the oppressed are, *ipso facto*, in the right against their oppressors. (*d*) Lastly (as in Deutero-Isaiah and elsewhere), righteousness bears the sense of *justification* through the judicial interposition of J″, usually in the form of a restoration of temporal prosperity. So in 24[5] 'he shall receive blessing from J″, and *righteousness* from the God of his salvation' (cf. 17[15] 35[27] 37[6] 112[3. 9] etc.); in 23[3] 'paths of righteousness' means 'paths of prosperity' (118[19] 132[9]).†

Now, while all these elements may enter more or less into the Psalmists' consciousness of being in the right,—that consciousness on which they base their expectation (or explain their experience) of deliverance (4[1] 7[9] 17[1] 18[20. 24] etc.),—they are not of equal importance. The second (*b*) far outweighs the others. Righteousness is in the main an ethical word, describing the condition of those whose lives are governed by regard for the moral law. To the question in what sense morality constitutes righteousness before God, the Psalms, of course, furnish no direct answer. The chief consideration, no doubt, is that obedience to the written Law was the condition of acceptance with J″ under the Covenant. This thought is often expressed (19[7ff.] 78[7] 99[7] 103[18] 105[45] 119 *pass.*, etc.), and may be presumed to be always in the mind of the writers. At the same time it is to be observed that only the ethical (as opposed to the ceremonial) elements of the Law enter into the conception of righteousness, a fact which shows that the influence of the prophets still lives in the devotional poetry of Judaism. Nor is there anything in the Psalms that can properly be called self-righteousness or legalism in a Pharisaic sense, *i.e.* the Psalmists do not think of their good works as giving them an absolute title to justification. They do not (like Job) maintain their right *against* God—'in thy sight shall no man living be in the right,' 143[2]—they are ever conscious of defect and sin cleaving to all they do; and merely plead the steadfast direction of their will towards the ethical ideal as evidence of their fidelity to J″. Righteousness, in fact, is a relative term, meaning *in the right* as against some other, not absolute moral perfection in the sight of God. In 106[31], where a single good action is said to be 'counted' for righteousness, the word has doubtless a sense approaching to *merit* (cf. Gn 15[6]); but here the Pauline maxim has to be borne in mind that the 'reckoning' of a reward is of grace, not of debt (Ro 4[4]). It is a manifestation of grace on the part of J″ that He renders to a man according to his works (62[12]).

This is not the place to examine the moral ideal of the Psalmists in detail (see ETHICS); it is in all important features the common property of post-exilic Judaism, and it has its centre in the individual life. Only one point needs to be adverted to, in order to guard against a possible misconception. It is found that in connexion with the idea of righteousness considerable emphasis is laid on the humane virtues. In 112[4] 'righteous' and 'merciful' occur together in the description of the God-fearing man; in v.[9] of the same Psalm charity to the poor is mentioned as a condition of righteousness; in 37[21] 112[5. 9] the righteous is characterized by willingness to lend and to give.* Now, it is a well-known fact that in later times righteousness acquired the special sense of mercy or even almsgiving (see below), and it might be supposed that in the passages just cited we have the first indication of that important change of meaning. It is very doubtful if this view be correct. In reality, the phenomenon in question is little different from a feature we have already remarked in the prophetic conception of righteousness. To say that the righteous man is merciful, etc., is not the same thing as to identify righteousness and mercy; all that is meant is that mercifulness is one feature of the ideal righteous character; and any stress laid on such virtues in particular passages is amply explained by the prominence assigned to them in the moral code of Judaism.

Some additional illustrations of the various kinds of human righteousness may here be given from the later writings of OT. —In Mal 3[18] the two parties in the restored community are distinguished as the 'righteous' and the 'wicked' respectively (as in Psalms).—In 3[20] righteousness means *justification* through a return of prosperity; as also Jl 2[23]: 'the early rain *in token of justification*' (לְצְדָקָה),—less probably, *in just measure*); Dn 9[24] ('everlasting righteousness').—In Is 24[16] 26[2] צַדִּיק is a predicate of the nation of Israel; in 26[7], perhaps of the theocratic party.—In 26[9] the idea seems to be that when J″ rouses Himself to the exercise of His judicial functions, the inhabitants of the world will learn what true piety is.—Is 64[5], Dn 9[18] express a sense of the worthlessness of the works of righteousness (צְדָקוֹת) performed by the people; the consciousness of being in the right (often so powerful in the Psalms) cannot maintain itself in the face of prolonged national misfortune. Dn 8[14] (נִצְדַּק) is a peculiar case: the cleansing of the sanctuary is considered as a *justification*, a vindication of its rights against the heathen who had profaned it.

3. *THE RIGHTEOUSNESS OF GOD.*—In the OT righteousness is never predicated of any other deity than J″, the God of Israel.† It appears to be regarded

* Righteousness in judgment is emphasized, *e.g.*, in the portraits of the king, 45[7] 72[2] (cf. 58[1] 82[2f.] 99[4] etc.). In 72[3] 85[10. 11. 13] the word possibly means the ideal state of a well-ordered commonwealth, bringing peace and prosperity in its train (cf. Is 45[8]).

† As was remarked above, צַדִּיק (the adj.) does not appear to have this sense; it refers to the inherent state or character of those who are in the right, whether it has been manifested by external providential acts or not. 118[15. 20] are hardly exceptions.

* The same combination is met with in Proverbs (cf. 12[10] 21[21] 29[7]), and perhaps in Job (29[14]).

† In Ps 58. 82 many commentators find the unfamiliar idea expressed that the government of the world has been delegated by J″ to inferior, semi-divine beings, the gods of the heathen. To the unrighteous judgment of these subordinate deities is ascribed the perversion of right which prevails on earth. If this view were correct (which is doubtful), it would certainly show that righteousness was *expected* of all beings to whom Divine honours were paid; but such a representation hardly conflicts with the statement made above.

not as a natural attribute inseparable from the very notion of Godhead, but as one which J″ alone has proved Himself to possess in the positive revelation of Himself through the history of Israel (see Is $45^{19ff.}$). The idea has its roots in the fundamental institutions of the Hebrew religion. From the time of Moses, J″ was regarded as the fountain of right in Israel, the King and Judge of His people, dispensing justice continuously through His accredited representatives (Dt 1^{17}).* The development of the idea is due chiefly to influences emanating from the prophets. It belongs to their view of J″ as an ethical Person having an independent character of His own, in contrast with the gods of the heathen, who were conceived even by their worshippers as arbitrary and capricious beings, subject to incalculable humours and swayed by self-interest. The righteousness of J″ is the steadfastness of His character, to be seen, first of all, in His inflexible determination to punish Israel for its sins (Is 28^{17} etc.). It comes to light in the moral order of the universe, which is just J″ Himself operating in history in a way that answers to the sense of right which He has implanted in human nature. In Zeph 3^5 His moral rule is described as having the constancy and uniformity of the natural law that brings in the dawn: 'J″ is righteous in the midst of her; he doeth no iniquity; morning by morning he bringeth his judgment to light, nothing is missing' (cf. Hos 6^5 'my judgment goeth forth as the light'). In a similar and nearly contemporary passage we read: 'The Rock, his work is perfect, for all his ways are judgment; a God of faithfulness and without iniquity; righteous and upright is he' (Dt 32^4).

This prophetic conception of the Divine righteousness receives a remarkable expansion in the hands of Deutero-Isaiah. The most suggestive passage is $45^{19\text{-}21}$ 'Not in secret have I spoken, in a place of the land of darkness; I have not said to the seed of Jacob, Seek me in the waste. I, J″, speak righteousness, proclaim uprightness . . . A righteous God and a Saviour (אֵל צַדִּיק וּמוֹשִׁיעַ) there is not except me' (cf. v.^{23} 'righteousness is gone forth from my mouth,—a word that shall not return'; and 63^1 'I that speak in righteousness, mighty to save'). Here two things are to be noted: first, that righteousness is a feature not merely of J″'s judicial action, but of His whole manner of revealing Himself in history; and, secondly, that beyond the universal moral order of the world it embraces a redemptive purpose, which, however, is ultimately coextensive with the destiny of mankind. The fundamental thought would seem to be the trustworthiness and self-consistency of J″'s character,—His being ever true to His own nature and purpose,—and along with that His straightforwardness in the revelation of that purpose to Israel. In the same profound ethical sense the words are used in 41^{10} 42^6 45^{13}: the upholding of Israel, the election of the ideal servant, and the raising up of Cyrus, are all moments in one comprehensive purpose of salvation which J″, in virtue of His righteousness, steadily pursues to its glorious issue.† Elsewhere than in Deutero-Isaiah, this precise sense of righteousness is rarely met with in OT (see Zec 8^8, Neh 9^8, and those passages in the Psalms where righteousness is parallel to faithfulness). Its indirect influence, however, has been very great, as appears from the remarkable way in which the Psalmists emphasize the gracious aspect of the attribute (see below).

The teaching of Deutero-Isaiah on this subject stands somewhat apart from the rest of the OT, and represents a standpoint hardly reached by subsequent writers. Righteousness appears to be conceived as a moral attribute expressing what J″'s character is in itself, apart from His legal relations with men; and it is difficult to trace a connexion between this view of righteousness and the commoner forensic conceptions about to be considered. Smend describes it as 'die Zuverlässigkeit mit der er sich als der Helfer Israels beweist' (*Rel.-gesch.*^{2} 394; cf. 1st ed. 421 ff.), and seems to derive it from the idea of J″'s being in the right in His controversy with Israel (see (*a*) below). Dalman treats it simply as a manifestation of judicial righteousness on the part of God ((*b*) below). Were it not hazardous to depart from the forensic usage which is so prevalent in Hebrew, one might be tempted to suppose that we have here to do with an independent development of the notion parallel to what is found in Arabic.

For the most part, however, the idea of Divine righteousness is based on legal analogies applied to the relation between J″ on the one hand and Israel or mankind on the other. Here, again, there are two cases to be distinguished. (*a*) Not infrequently, in the prophets and elsewhere, J″ appears as the *plaintiff* in a legal action, pressing His suit against Israel, and calling for the judgment of an ideal tribunal (Is 1^{18} 43^{26}, Mic 6^2 etc.). When in this connexion the word 'righteous' is employed of J″, it denotes that He is *in the right* and His adversary in the wrong in the controversy between them. The adj. has this sense in the mouth of Pharaoh, Ex 9^{27} ('J″ is in the right,' etc.). It is so used also in the following passages, where the righteousness of J″ is acknowledged in the punishment of Israel's sin: La 1^{18}, Ezr 9^{15}, Neh 9^{33}, 2 Ch 12^6, Dn 9^{14}. Similarly, צְדָקָה in Dn $9^{7.\,16}$, צְדָקוֹת in 1 S 12^7, Mic 6^5;* and the verb in Ps 51^6 ('that thou mayest be in the right in thy sentence'). By an extension of meaning parallel to what we have already noted in the secular sphere, this sense of righteousness might readily pass over into that of ethical perfection; and there are a few instances where the word is possibly to be so understood; cf. again Zeph 3^5, Dt 32^4, Zec 8^8; also Neh 9^8, Ps 145^7 etc.

(*b*) The prevalent conception of the OT is that in which J″ is represented not as one of the parties in a lawsuit, but as the supreme Judge, who sits enthroned above the confusion and strife of the world, and dispenses absolute justice in the end to all His creatures. Righteousness, accordingly, is pre-eminently the *judicial* attribute of God; it is that which pertains to Him as 'the Judge of all the earth' (Gn 18^{25}). J″ is a righteous Judge (Jer 11^{20}, Ps 7^{11}); judges the world in righteousness (Ps 9^8 96^{13} 98^9); He sits on a throne judging righteousness (9^4); righteousness is the foundation of His throne (89^{14} 97^2); cf. 11^7 36^6 48^{10} 50^6 71^{19} 97^6 111^3 etc. Hence the word may be expected to have the same range of meaning as the ordinary OT conception of judicial righteousness, which we have seen to be a somewhat wider idea than its modern equivalent. (*a*) It includes of course, first of all, the cardinal virtues of the judge: *e.g.* love of right (Jer 9^{23}, Ps 11^7 33^5 99^4); rigorous impartiality in the distribution of punishment or reward (Job 8^3 36^3 37^{23}); and unerring recognition of men's true moral condition (Jer 11^{20} 20^{12}, Ps 7^9; cf. Is 11^3 of the Messiah).† Its action is naturally two-sided:

* As expressions of the righteous will of J″, the precepts of the Law are sometimes spoken of as themselves 'righteous' (Dt 4^8, Ps 19^9, and often in Ps 119). So in Dt 33^{10}, and perhaps elsewhere (Ps 5^9 119^{40} etc.), the righteousness of J″ means that which He requires of man, or that which is prescribed in the Law. Some writers have thought it strange that this Divine attribute is nowhere mentioned in the Pent. in connexion with the Mosaic legislation, which, from one point of view, might seem the most signal exhibition of J″'s righteousness in the whole history of Israel. The explanation probably lies in the essentially prophetic character of the conception referred to in the text above. By the prophets the term is applied not to the legislative activity of J″, but to His dealings in providence.

† Cf. also 42^{21} 'J″ was pleased, for his righteousness' sake, to magnify revelation,' etc. Less significant, but still noteworthy, are 41^{26} 43^9, where the terms are applied to predictions as verified by the event.

* צְדָקוֹת in Jg 5^{11}, Ps 11^7 103^6 is probably different (=manifestations of judicial righteousness, in a sense favourable to Israel).

† 'Die göttliche *Zedakah* ist diejenige Gesinnung, welche in ihrer Bethätigung den wahren, d. i. sittlichen Werth oder Unwerth einer Persönlichkeit (oder einer Gemeinschaft) in absolut richtiger Weise anerkennt' (Diestel, *JDTh*, 1860, p. 179).

towards the wicked it is vengeance (Jer 11^{20} 20^{12}, Is $59^{16f.}$, Ps 129^{4} etc.), while for the righteous it means vindication and deliverance; and usually the two sides of the idea will be displayed in the same act of judgment, the deliverance of the righteous being effected through the destruction of the wicked. (β) But frequently the second is so emphasized that the other is almost or quite left out of view; and this tendency is so pronounced as almost to bring about a transformation of the whole idea of Divine righteousness. Thus in virtue of His righteousness J″ establishes the righteous (Ps 7^{9}), and pleads the cause of His people (Mic 7^{9}); He answers their prayer by terrible things in righteousness (Ps 65^{5}), etc. So in the many places where the righteousness of God is referred to as an object of praise (Ps 7^{17} 22^{31} 35^{28} 40^{10} 51^{15} $71^{15f.\ 19}$ 89^{16} 145^{7}), it is not the abstract justice of J‴s dealings that calls forth adoration, but His proved readiness to help and bless His people. This aspect of righteousness may be defined as the *justifying activity* of God. (γ) Once more, the name righteousness is given to the *act* of justification in which the Divine attribute is manifested, and to its external consequences as seen in the lot of the justified. In other words, righteousness is synonymous with salvation (Is 46^{13} $51^{5.\ 6.\ 8}$ $59^{16f.}$, Ps 40^{10} 51^{16} $71^{15f.}$ 98^{2} etc.). This objective righteousness is spoken of indifferently as that of God the Justifier, or of men the justified * (cf. Ps 111^{3} with 112^{3}, and see the passages cited above amongst the illustrations of human righteousness). It should be added that in many cases the context hardly determines whether it be the subjective attribute in the Divine mind or the outward embodiment of it in providence which is to be understood.

It is evident that the OT writers know nothing of the sharp contrast often drawn by theologians between the righteousness and the mercy of God. Righteousness and saving activity, so far from being opposed to each other, are harmonious principles of action in the Divine nature; J″ is a righteous God *and* a Saviour (Is 45^{21}). Accordingly, the Psalmists constantly appeal to the righteousness of God, not only for judgment (22^{32} 35^{24}), but for deliverance (31^{1} 71^{2} 143^{11}), for quickening (5^{8}), for the answer to prayer (143^{1}), etc. Again, righteousness is frequently associated with other attributes expressing the gracious attitude of J″ to His people, *e.g. mercy* or *grace* (חֶסֶד Ps $36^{6.\ 10}$ 89^{14} 103^{11} 145^{17}), *faithfulness* (אֱמוּנָה, אֱמֶת Zec 8^{8}, Ps 36^{6} 40^{10} 88^{12} 89^{14} 96^{13} $119^{137.\ 142}$ 143^{1}), *compassion* (חַנּוּן 116^{5}), *goodness* (145^{7}), etc. These parallelisms are not to be pressed so far as to identify righteousness with grace or faithfulness; all that is implied is that in J‴s providential action various attributes meet, so that the same act may from different points of view be regarded as an exercise of righteousness, or of faithfulness, or of mercy. Still they suffice to show that in the mind of the writers there was no sense of opposition between righteousness and grace in God. How far their idea is from mere retributive justice, — the *constans et perpetua voluntas suum cuique tribuendi*, — appears with almost startling force from the singular wish of Ps 69^{27} that the wicked may not come into J‴s righteousness (*i.e.* have no share in His justifying activity), or the not less remarkable prayer of $143^{1.\ 2}$ 'Answer me in thy righteousness. And enter not into judgment with thy servant: for in thy sight shall none living be in the right.' † Nay more, the principle of retribution is in Ps 62^{12} expressly deduced not from the righteousness of God, but from His grace: 'to thee belongeth grace: for thou requitest each man according to his works'; here the meaning must be that it is an act of condescending grace on the part of God to take cognizance of the differences in human conduct.

On the other hand, however, these examples do not justify certain extreme theories that have sometimes been built upon them. They do not, *e.g.*, warrant the definition of righteousness as God's fidelity to the Covenant (Kautzsch, Riehm, etc.). No doubt, faithfulness to covenant obligations is a part of the ethical righteousness of J″ when once a covenant has been established; but there is nothing to suggest that the attribute comes into play only with the covenant relation, or that its sphere of exercise is confined to the maintenance of the Covenant with Israel. Again, it is an exaggeration to deny that retribution is an element of the Divine righteousness. This has been done by Diestel and Ritschl, who hold that the righteousness of God has a positive reference only to the purpose of salvation, and that retribution has merely an accidental connexion with it in so far as the punishment of the wicked may be necessary for the establishing of the righteous. The distinction here attempted to be drawn is illusory. The punishment of sin is directly connected with the Divine righteousness in such passages as Is 5^{16} 10^{23} 28^{17}, Ps 7^{11} 50^{6}, 1 K 8^{32} etc.; and if this does not more frequently occur, the reasonable explanation is that the matter was too self-evident to require to be insisted on. But the mistake of both these theories, as of others that might be mentioned, is that they tend to dissociate an OT idea from the historic institutions in which it was incorporated in Hebrew thought, and try to reconstruct it on the unsafe foundation of an abstract definition. The language of the OT is not scholastic but practical; its writers do not analyze and expound ideas, but express in vivid popular speech the spiritual truths by which their religious life was sustained. That the Divine righteousness was mainly conceived by them as a judicial attribute is beyond dispute, and they must be presumed to include under it all that the term would imply if used of a human judge,—the punishment of the guilty as well as the vindication of the innocent. The prominence which is given to the latter aspect of the notion is certainly a fact of the utmost significance for theology, but it involves no departure from the analogy of secular justice as administered in ancient Israel. If it be considered that the Psalmists and other writers were accustomed to look on a judge as the natural protector and patron of the oppressed, and, further, that they were always confident in the substantial justice of their own cause before God, there need be no difficulty in recognizing the essentially judicial character of their conception of the Divine righteousness, although to their minds it presents on the whole the aspect of grace.

Another point may be referred to. The OT does not appear to teach a justification of sinners as such. In Protestant theology, according to Ritschl, justification is a *synthetic* judgment of God, expressing, that is, His resolve, for the sake of Jesus Christ, to treat as righteous those who have no righteousness in themselves. Assuming that to be a correct statement of the evangelical doctrine, we have merely to observe that the OT does not proceed quite so far. It rather leads us to think of justification as an *analytic* judgment, a declaration of righteousness by God in favour of such as are inherently in the right. Those who are justified are, in fact, sinful men, — though

* 'Gottes Gerechtigkeit hat einen mehr ursächlichen, aktiven, die menschliche einen mehr sekundären und receptiven Charakter, jene ist eine Kraft, diese ein Zustand' (Duhm on Ps 112).

† Here 'enter into judgment' apparently means to appear as the accuser in a legal process (Wellhausen). The Psalmist does not shrink from the judgment of God, in which His צְדָקָה is operative, but only from a controversy with the Almighty, like that in which Job so recklessly engaged.

never, of course, 'wicked' (רְשָׁעִים), — but still, in the relative sense in which the word is used, they are the 'righteous'; and it is *quâ* righteous, not *quâ* sinners, that they are objects of the justifying decree of God. It is true that in the actual experience of OT believers this order of ideas is generally reversed. The consciousness of being in the right is seldom strong enough to be long maintained in the absence of the outward marks of God's approval in the shape of temporal good fortune; the case of Job is quite exceptional. The external justification, therefore, as a rule comes first in the thought of OT writers; and from it they derive the assurance that they are inherently righteous before God. And as the withdrawal of outward prosperity is a proof of sin in the righteous, so the act of justification is equivalent to the pardon of sin; cf. Job 33^{26}, where the conversion of a sinner under the chastening hand of the Almighty is said to be followed by the restoration of his righteousness. Thus the teaching of the OT may be said to culminate in the thought of righteousness as a gift of God, an idea appearing most clearly perhaps in Ps 24^{5} 69^{28}, Is 46^{13} $51^{5.8}$ 56^{1}. In these passages we find the nearest approximation to what we mean by 'imputed' righteousness. The idea of the righteousness of one person being imputed to another is, it need hardly be said, entirely foreign to the OT.

In late Hebrew the word צדקה underwent a remarkable change of meaning, for a full account of which the reader is referred to the valuable treatise of Dalman cited below (under Literature). A few points may here be noted.

(1) In the sphere of private morals צדקה became almost equivalent to the OT חֶסֶד; *i.e.* it denoted any exercise of benevolence which goes beyond a man's legal obligations. Obviously, this is a development of the humanitarian aspect of the idea which we have seen to be prominent in the prophets and the Hagiographa, and it reaches its climax in the sense of *almsgiving* (see Mt 6^{1}). Dalman considers that the word had this sense in the Aramaic dialect before its adoption by the Jews, but this is hardly proved by the examples he adduces (p. 18). It is not necessary to take the original צְדָקָה in Dn 4^{24} as anything else than right living; and the occurrence of the later sense in the Targ. (Gn 18^{19}) is no sure evidence of an independent Aramaic development. It seems more natural to suppose that the usage of the Targ. registers a change which the idea had undergone in the religious thought of later Judaism.

(2) In the judicial sphere צדקה has ceased to be a properly judicial attribute. It is a consideration which comes in to moderate the operation of strict justice (דִּין), so that the question is actually raised, and answered with much ingenuity, how, in accordance with OT injunctions, צדקה is to be exercised in judgment.* This, of course, applies equally to the Divine righteousness and to that of a human judge. Here, again, we have the one-sided exaggeration of a single element in the old Hebrew notion of judicial righteousness. Originally it included both the exercise of impartial justice and a readiness to espouse the cause of the oppressed. Eventually — partly through the parallel development in the sphere of private morals, and partly, as Dalman observes (p. 18), from a more developed sense of formal right—the two ideas proved to be incompatible, and the name צדקה was appropriated to that which, strictly speaking, has nothing to do with a judge's functions at all.

The question arises, To what time can these changes, or the beginnings of them, be traced back? Here the evidence of the LXX is of importance. Where the reference is to righteousness manifested by God to man, צדקה is not infrequently rendered by ἐλεημοσύνη (Dt 6^{25} 24^{13}, Ps 24 (23)^{5} 33 (32)^{5} 103 (102)^{6}, Is 1^{27} 28^{17} 59^{16}, Dn 9^{16}) or ἔλεος (Is 56^{1}). For human righteousness we have only ἔλεος in Ezk $18^{20.22}$ and ἐλεημοσύναις (=alms) in Dn 4^{24}. On the other hand, δικαιοσύνη stands for חֶסֶד in Gn 19^{19} 20^{13} 21^{23} 24^{27} 32^{10}, Ex 15^{13} 34^{7}, Pr 20^{28}, Is 63^{7}. These facts indicate a tendency to confuse the ideas of צדקה and חסד, though they do not show it to be far advanced; something must be allowed for the difficulty of rendering in another language the peculiar shades of meaning assumed by the Hebrew term.—In the original Hebrew of Ben Sira, the later sense of צדקה appears (3^{14} 3^{30} [cf. Pr 16^{6}] 7^{10} 40^{17}), alongside of the more general OT sense (12^{3} 16^{14} 44^{13} 51^{30}): some passages are ambiguous (40^{24} etc.).—Since the OT probably contains writings of more recent date than the Greek translation of the Pent., or even the age of Ben Sira (*c.* 200 B.C.), it would not be surprising if in some parts of the Canon the idea of righteousness were found to have undergone the transformations just described. Yet, as has been already said, it is doubtful if this is the case. The OT emphasizes humanity or mercy as an element in the ethical ideal; but it is this ethical ideal itself, and not any particular virtue, which is described by the term righteousness. So again in the administration of justice: righteousness, with whatever latitude of meaning, is always an attribute proper to the judge, never a foreign influence brought in to modify judicial action. There is no foundation in OT for the rabbinical maxim, 'Where judgment is there is no room for צדקה, and where צדקה is there is no judgment' (Dalman, p. 6).

* Some of Dalman's illustrations are very striking (p. 5 f.). *E.g.* it is said that a judge exercises 'righteousness' when he pays out of his own pocket the fine he has imposed on a poor man.

LITERATURE.—Diestel, 'Die Idee der Gerechtigkeit, vorzüglich im AT' (*JDTh*, 1860, 173–253); Ortloph, 'Ueber den Begriff von צֶדֶק und den wurzelverwandten Wörtern im 2ten Theil des Pr. Jes.' (*Zeitschr. für die ges. luth. Th. u. K.* 1860, 401–426); Kautzsch, *Ueber die Derivate des Stammes* צדק, etc. (1881); Orelli, 'Einige ATliche Prämisse zur NT Versöhnungslehre: II. Die Gerechtigkeit Gottes' (*Ztschr. für Kirchl. Wiss. u. K. Leben*, 1884, 73 ff.); Koenig, 'Essai sur l'évolution de l'idée de justice chez les prophètes Hébreux' (*Annales du Musée Guimet*, 1894, 121–148); Dalman, *Die richterliche Gerechtigkeit im AT* (1897).

The OT Theologies of Oehler^{3} (1891), 176 ff., 285 ff.; Schultz^{4} (1889), 420 ff., 540 ff.; Riehm (1889), 270 ff., 283 ff.; Dillmann (1895), 270 ff., 435 f.; Bennett (1896), 103, 173; Marti, *Geschichte der Israel. Religion* (1897), 134 ff., 170; Smend, *Lehrbuch der AT Religionsgesch.*^{1} (1893), 410–423, ^{2}(1899), 388–394 (the best statement); Ritschl, *Rechtfertigung u. Versöhnung*^{3}, ii. 102 ff., 265 ff.; G. A. Smith, *Isaiah* (Expositor's Bible), ii. (1890) 214 ff.; W. R. Smith, *Prophets*^{2}, 71 f., 389. J. SKINNER.

RIGHTEOUSNESS IN NT.—The words denoting 'righteous' and 'righteousness' in NT, δίκαιος and δικαιοσύνη, primarily signify what is conformable to an ideal or standard, agreement with what ought to be. These terms naturally take their colour from the system of morals in connexion with which they are used. Righteousness will be a very noble or a very commonplace virtue, according to the standards by which men measure character and conduct. Accordingly we find that, in profane Greek, righteousness is chiefly a social virtue. Usage and custom prescribe the standard of righteousness and measure its elevation. In NT, however, righteousness is, above all things, a religious word; it is rightness according to the Divine standard; it is conformity to the will and nature of God Himself. Since, therefore, the character of God is conceived in NT teaching as absolute moral perfection, righteousness in men becomes a name for that disposition and method of life which accord with God's holy will; in short, righteousness is Godlikeness.

The adjective δίκαιος occurs with nearly equal frequency in the Synoptic Gospels and in the Pauline Epistles. The noun δικαιοσύνη occurs seven times in Matthew, once in Luke, and not at all in Mark, and is more frequently used by St. Paul than by all the other NT writers combined. In studying the NT concept of righteousness it will be convenient to begin with the Synoptic Gospels, with special reference to the teaching of Jesus, then to consider the Pauline usage, and finally to notice that of other NT writers. We shall thus be led to a general estimate of the NT doctrine.

(*A*) RIGHTEOUSNESS IN THE SYNOPTIC GOSPELS. —We may here take as our starting-point that saying of Jesus to His disciples: 'Except your righteousness shall exceed the righteousness of the scribes and Pharisees, ye shall in no wise enter into the kingdom of heaven' (Mt 5^{20}). The righteousness which He required was in some essential respect higher than that which was current in the life and ideals of the Jewish people of His time. We must therefore briefly describe the popular Jewish idea of righteousness. That idea grew out of the current conception of God and of His revelation. Righteousness was thought to consist in obedience to commandments, and the nature of the Divine commands was viewed quite

superficially. The rich young man who came to Jesus asking what he should do to inherit eternal life, is an illustration of the view which the Jews took of the commandments (Mt $19^{16ff.}$). He said that he had kept them all. His conception evidently was that to refrain from the outward sins which they forbade—stealing, lying, Sabbath-breaking, and the like—was to keep the commandments. Only a superficial conception of the import and bearing of the commandments could have permitted him to make the claim that he had kept them all from his youth. The same faulty notion of the real moral requirements of the law lay at the root of the pride and self-righteousness of the Pharisees. They were able to think themselves righteous only because they measured themselves by an imperfect standard, an inadequate idea of the high demands which the law made upon the inner life. Religion was conceived as a legal affair, and therefore righteousness consisted primarily in the observance of all the rites and ceremonies prescribed in the law, and in refraining from all the acts which the law forbade.

Righteousness was thus placed too much in externals and too little in the state of the heart. It exaggerated the ritual features of religion, and overlooked its deeper spiritual requirements upon conduct and life. Either of two results might flow from this externalism in religion—results which would be equally detrimental to a healthy religious life. On the one hand, if one supposed himself to have done all that was required, he would easily fall a prey to spiritual pride, for had he not achieved this lofty height of goodness by his own exertions? On the other hand, if a man felt that he had failed to do the Divine will and to win acceptance with God, he would naturally become hopeless and despondent. We accordingly find that the religious life of the Jewish people, to a great extent, oscillated between self-righteousness and despair. Jesus must therefore have demanded something vastly superior to this observance of ritual, this conformity to commandments and prohibitions, when He said, 'Seek ye first God's kingdom and righteousness' (Mt 6^{33}). What then is that true righteousness, that δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ, which Christ requires and fosters in the lives of His disciples? This question can best be answered by appeal to the Sermon on the Mount, a collection of the sayings of Jesus, some of which were uttered on various occasions. They are grouped together as illustrating chiefly the nature and demands of 'God's kingdom and righteousness.' In the 'beatitudes' are described the qualities which fit men for the kingdom of God—the characteristics which constitute true righteousness. They are such as spiritual poverty, a sense of one's weakness and sin; meekness, mercifulness, purity, and peacemaking. They are qualities which stand opposed to pride, presumption, and selfishness. They are, above all, qualities of the inner life. They describe what a man is in the secret springs of his motives and dispositions (Mt 5^{3-9}).

The true righteousness is a heroic virtue. It is founded in strong convictions of truth and duty, and is willing to suffer, if need be, for the truth (Mt 5^{10-12}). The truly righteous, the sons of the kingdom, have a saving, illuminating power. They are the world's 'salt' and 'light.' They preserve the world from moral corruption, and they shed abroad upon men the light of love and helpfulness (Mt 5^{13-16}). Again, the true righteousness is not a destructive, but a constructive principle. The righteousness of Christ's kingdom will not break with the past. It will conserve all that was true and good in OT religion, and build upon it. It requires that the earlier and imperfect system of Judaism should not be rejected, but fulfilled. Its true ideal content is to be developed out of the limited and provisional form in which it had been apprehended in earlier times, into its destined universality and spirituality. The Divine law which has been revealed is to be observed and taught in its essential spiritual content, and not merely in its outer form, and thus the righteousness of the sons of the kingdom will 'exceed the righteousness of the scribes and Pharisees' (Mt 5^{17-20}).

Then follow several illustrations of the true righteousness. The law prohibiting murder had commonly been taken merely as a prohibition of an overt act. Not to kill another was to obey it. But Jesus places right and wrong, not in overt acts, but in inner motives. He who cherishes murder and hate—the passions from which murder springs—is, morally speaking, a murderer. From hate murder would spring were there no outward constraint preventing it. But he who would commit an overt act of sin but for an outward restraint, has really committed it in his heart already (Mt 5^{21-26}). The same principle holds good respecting sensual passion. The impure thought, the carnal desire, is itself, in God's sight, the act of adultery. Every effort must be made, every necessary self-denial endured, by those who would be truly righteous, to break the power of evil thought and to exclude impurity from the heart (Mt 5^{27-32}).

Three further illustrations are given. The first concerns truthfulness. The Jews had been accustomed to make a fictitious distinction between oaths taken in J"'s name, which they had regarded as sacred, and other oaths, which they had felt at liberty to violate. Jesus discountenances not only this false distinction, but all such profane appeals to sacred names or objects. Those who confirm their assertions and promises by such oaths thereby betray the fact that their simple word is not regarded as binding, and thus show themselves not to be really truthful. The simple assertion should be enough. The honest man's word is as good as his most solemn oath. Be absolutely truthful, says Jesus, and the meaning and occasion of these irreverent oaths in common use will completely disappear (Mt 5^{33-37}). The next illustration respects revenge. The OT civil law of retaliation—which, at best, was a rude kind of justice incident to an undeveloped ethical code—was commonly construed as a permission to take private revenge. This disposition to do the offender an injury like that which he has done, Jesus discountenances. Better suffer injustice, He says, than resort to revenge, which springs from hate, and is wholly incompatible with love (Mt 5^{38-42}). The third illustration deals with the contrast of love and hate. From the OT maxim, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour,' many had drawn the inference, 'Thou shalt hate thine enemy.' Then, by making 'neighbour' mean 'friend,' it was easy to find in the maxim a justification for hatred towards personal enemies. This inference Jesus utterly repudiates. The righteousness of the kingdom requires that we should love all men; that we should seek the good even of our enemies. We may not hate even those who injure us. The gospel has no place for hatred, because it is essentially un-Godlike. God hates no one; He blesses all, even the wicked. So must the man do who possesses God's righteousness. Love is the essential principle of moral perfection, and hatred is the opposite of love. This love which finds its perfect exemplification in the character and action of God is the law of the Christian life. The Christian ideal is completeness of love; conformity to the moral complete-

ness of God's own perfectly loving character (Mt 5^{43-48}).

The next group of passages illustrates how men are to 'do their righteousness.' The first illustration is drawn from alms-giving. Beneficence is not to be ostentatious. Those who give alms to be seen of men must do so from selfish motives. They, indeed, obtain their appropriate reward, but it is not the Divine approval (Mt 6^{1-4}). The next example is prayer. A false righteousness leads men to perform their devotions in public that they may create the impression that they are unusually pious. The true inner righteousness dictates that men pray in secret. Nor is prayer to be based on the idea that God is a reluctant Giver whose favour is to be won by the wearisome repetition of the same wish or cry. God is, on the contrary, a willing Giver who knows all our wants in advance, and only desires that we be willing to receive His mercies. A simple sincere request is therefore enough. Then follows the model prayer illustrating the true spirit, as well as the simple form of prayer (Mt 6^{5-15}). Jesus then shows that fasting performed with a mere semblance of humility and sorrow is no part of true righteousness, but that it may be such when practised unostentatiously from real inward contrition (Mt 6^{16-18}). Then follows a series of striking contrasts between the worldly and selfish spirit and supreme concern for the spiritual life. The latter must be placed first, and must subordinate to itself all other interests. Every life must have one main direction. There can be but one supreme choice. That should be made central in life which is truly central. Other things, so far as needful, God will supply. Seek, then, first His kingdom, and His righteousness; and all those things shall be added unto you (Mt 6^{19-34}).

It is not necessary for our present purpose to follow this series of sayings further. It illustrates, better than isolated uses of the words 'righteous' and 'righteousness' could do, the real content of Jesus' doctrine of righteousness as the Synoptic tradition has preserved it. It does not, indeed, yield us any formal definition of righteousness, but it shows us what righteousness is by exhibiting its characteristics and by showing how it expresses itself in human conduct. It leaves no doubt that the righteousness of the kingdom is essentially Godlike character. If it is not precisely identical with love, it is, at any rate, absolutely inseparable from it. Love is the completeness (τελειότης) of God, and the completeness of character in men consists in love. Righteousness appears to be conceived of as the different kinds of right action which have their spring in love. Righteousness is never presented in our sources as a mere judicial principle in contrast to mercy or grace. It is right conduct and right character, both of which are grounded in love. Nor does the word bear the semi-formal sense in which we shall find it employed by St. Paul. It is not thought of under the form of a *status* or relation; it is used rather in the simple ethical sense, to include the qualities of a character which is acceptable to God.

(*B*) Righteousness in the Writings of St. Paul.—In several instances the phrase δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ is used to denote an attribute of God. In Ro 3^{5} St. Paul asks the rhetorical question: 'But if our unrighteousness commendeth the righteousness of God, what shall we say?' The context shows that the 'righteousness of God' here means essentially the same as the faithfulness or truthfulness of God (cf. vv.$^{3.\ 4}$). His righteousness is His faithfulness to His own nature and promises. If men are untrue to Him, their falseness will but set His righteousness in the stronger relief. Again, in $3^{25.\ 26}$ St. Paul speaks of the ἔνδειξις τῆς δικαιοσύνης αὐτοῦ which God has made in the death of Christ, and which should prevent men from supposing that because God treated leniently the sins of men in past times, He is indifferent to sin or lightly regards it. Here, then, δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ must denote that self-respecting quality of holiness in God, that reaction of His nature against sin, which must find expression in condemnation of it. Righteousness in this sense is the reaction of God's holy nature against sin which expresses itself in the Divine wrath (ὀργὴ θεοῦ).

In the prevailing use of the word by St. Paul, however, righteousness means the state of acceptance with God into which one enters by faith. This is its meaning in Ro 1^{17} 'For therein (in the gospel) is revealed a righteousness of God by faith unto faith; as it is written, But the righteous shall live by faith'; also in Ro $3^{21.\ 22}$ 'But now apart from the law a righteousness of God hath been manifested, being witnessed by the law and the prophets; even the righteousness of God through faith in Jesus Christ unto all them that believe.' We cannot accept the view of some, that in these passages also 'the righteousness of God' refers to the character of God, although we grant that between the idea of righteousness as an attribute of God and righteousness as a gift of God, a state of acceptance with God into which God introduces one, there is an essential connexion (cf. Sanday-Headlam on Ro 1^{17}). The righteousness which God confers has its ground in the righteousness of God. The state of acceptance into which the believer is represented as inducted is a state of fellowship and harmony with God. The conditions of being accounted righteous are such as God's perfect character prescribes. These conditions may be summed up in the word *faith*. Now faith is, in St. Paul's view, a personal relation with God mediated through Christ. It involves by its very nature spiritual union with God, obedience to His will, and increasing likeness of character to Him. There is thus a close connexion between the righteous character of God and the righteous *status* which He reckons as belonging to believers on condition of faith. But, formally considered, they are quite different.

The meaning of δικαιοσύνη now under consideration explains the meaning of justification (δικαίωσις), and of the reckoning of faith for righteousness (Ro 4). *To justify* means in Pauline phraseology, to regard and treat one as righteous; to confer the gift of righteousness: in other words, to declare one accepted with God. This judgment of justification God pronounces upon condition of faith. The phrase 'to reckon faith for righteousness' is a periphrasis for 'to justify.' To declare righteous upon condition of faith, means the same as to reckon faith for righteousness. In both cases the meaning, expressed in a somewhat formal and legal way, is simply this: that faith is the necessary condition of a gracious salvation. Salvation is a free gift; faith is its humble and thankful acceptance. St. Paul is fond of conceiving this process of salvation in forensic forms of thought, and of interpreting it by judicial analogies. This tendency is due to his OT and Rabbinic training. None the less does he lay stress upon its ethical and spiritual significance. If justification is a 'forensic act,' there corresponds to it and is involved in it a spiritual renewal. If righteousness is a gift or a state, it is also a character. It is an inward state as well as an outward one. It would be a great mistake to represent St. Paul's doctrine of salvation as predominantly legal or forensic. He has indeed brought over from his Jewish training the legal conception of righteousness as an acquittal before God and of justification as the decree of acquittal, but his intensely ethical principles of grace and faith put quite a different content into these thought-forms

from what they have in Jewish theology. Essentially, St. Paul is far more of a mystic than of a legalist, though he still speaks, to some extent, the language of legalism in which he had been born and trained. Cf. Thackeray, *Relation of St. Paul to Contemporary Jewish Thought*, 87 ff.

The question arises: If faith is reckoned for righteousness, is it because faith is synonymous with righteousness or a substitute for it? Faith is not righteousness in the sense of being so inherently excellent that it may be regarded as equivalent to righteousness. The power and value of faith are in its object. Faith is great because it allies man with God. Faith is union with Christ, and this union involves and guarantees increasing Christ-likeness, and Christlikeness *is* righteousness. The imputation of faith for righteousness involves a gracious treatment of man on the part of God; it is an anticipatory declaration of what the grace of God will increasingly realize in those who in faith open their lives to the power of the Divine life. Justification means an entire forgiveness and an increasing attainment of righteousness.

(*C*) RIGHTEOUSNESS IN THE JOHANNINE WRITINGS.—In one passage only in the Fourth Gospel is the word δίκαιος applied to God: 'O righteous Father, the world knew thee not, but I knew thee' (17[25]). The idea of God's righteousness here appears to be that it is the quality which prevents Him from passing the same judgment upon Christ's disciples which He passes upon the sinful world. Upon this equitableness of God, Jesus bases His confidence in asking that special blessings be conferred upon His disciples. The thought is similar in 17[11], where the Father is designated as ἅγιος. As the One who is absolutely good,—wholly separate from all that is sinful and wrong,—God is besought to guard from evil those whom He has given to His Son. In both these cases the righteousness or holiness of God is conceived of, not as a forensic or retributive quality, but as God's own moral self-consistency, His faithfulness to His own equity.

In 1 Jn (1[9] 2[29]) God is described as δίκαιος, and, in both cases, in a sense closely akin to that which we have found in the Gospel. 'If we confess our sins, he is faithful and righteous (πιστὸς καὶ δίκαιος) to forgive us our sins' (1[9]). The correlation of the word δίκαιος with the word πιστός, as well as the entire context, shows that righteousness here is that quality of God which would certainly lead Him to forgive those who repent. It would be inconsistent in God — contrary alike to His promises and to His nature—not to forgive the penitent, and to exert upon his life the purifying influences of His grace. In the remaining passage (2[29]), the term 'righteous' has a broader meaning, and designates the moral perfection of God in general, as the type and ideal of all goodness in man: 'If ye know that he (God) is righteous, ye know that every one also that doeth righteousness is begotten of him.' Since God is essentially righteous, those who are begotten of Him must also be righteous. A similar thought is presented in 3[7], but in the reverse order: 'He that doeth righteousness is righteous, even as he (Christ) is righteous.' As against the Gnostic over-emphasis of knowledge, the apostle insists that the mere intellectual possession of truth is not enough. Truth, or righteousness, is not merely something to be known, but something to be done (1[6] 3[21]). The man is righteous who walks in the truth as his native element (2 Jn [4], 3 Jn [3. 4]); in whom the truth dwells, controlling and guiding him (Jn 8[44], 1 Jn 2[4]); who belongs to the truth and draws from it the strength and inspiration of his life (Jn 18[37], 1 Jn 2[21] 3[19]). Doctrine and life are inseparable.

(*D*) RIGHTEOUSNESS IN OTHER NT WRITINGS.—There is nothing characteristically different in the conception of righteousness in the minor types of NT teaching from what we have already found. The word is almost always used in the practical, religious sense of the good life which Christ in the gospel requires and imparts. Both James and Hebrews allude to righteousness in the sense of a gift of God on condition of faith (Ja 2[23], He 11[7]), but both these Epistles generally speak of it as that good life which the Christian loves and seeks. In the Petrine Epistles righteousness is the holy life in contrast to sin, as in 1 P 2[24] 'that we, having died unto sins, might live unto righteousness.' In Revelation righteousness is predicated of the judgment (19[11], cf. 15[4]), and is said to be 'done' (cf. 1 Jn) by those who are righteous in the world to come (22[11]).

From this sketch it appears that the NT presents the idea of righteousness mainly in two ways: (1) as a quality of God's nature and action, and (2) as the character which God requires of man. The first of these ideas is the logical basis of the second. What God requires is grounded in what God is. What, now, is the actual content of that Divine righteousness which is the test and measure of all good life in men? What is the ethical nature of God? St. John replies that it is love, and the whole NT conception of God agrees with this answer. Righteousness is an activity or aspect of love. When it is used to denote more especially the law and penalty side of God's nature, it is the self-respecting, self-preservative aspect of holy love—love as it appears in forbidding all sin and enjoining conformity to the perfect standard of uprightness. Righteousness is an element of love, without which love would be mere benevolence or good-nature. But since love is eternally holy, and is a consuming fire to all sin, justice and judgment are the foundation of God's throne. In the NT, righteousness is sometimes used more comprehensively to denote the equity or uprightness of God in general, His correspondence to what He ought to be; sometimes more narrowly to denote the judicial aspect of His nature and action. In the latter sense it may be defined as the self-respect of perfect love.

LITERATURE.—The NT idea of righteousness is more or less fully discussed in all Commentaries and Biblical Theologies. The Pauline doctrine is carefully considered in Meyer and Sanday-Headlam on *Romans*, and in Morison on *Romans Third*. The general subject receives attention in the *NT Theologies* of Baur, Weiss, Beyschlag, Bovon, and Holtzmann, and special aspects of it in Wendt's *Teaching of Jesus*, Bruce's *Kingdom of God*, and *St. Paul's Conception of Christianity*, and Stevens' *Pauline Theology*. A careful study of the words will be found in Cremer's *Bib.-Theol. Lex. of NT Greek*.

G. B. STEVENS.

RIMMON (רִמּוֹן).—The name of a Syrian deity mentioned as occupying a temple in Damascus during the activity of Elisha in Israel (2 K 5[18]). It appears in such compound proper names as Hadad-rimmon (Zec 12[11]) and Tab-rimmon (1 K 15[18]). LXX reads Ῥεμμάν and the Vulg. *Remmon*. It has been interpreted as 'pomegranate' by Movers (*Die Phönizier*, i. 197 f.) and Lenormant (*Lettres assyriologiques*, ii. 215, r. 1). But the name is now identified with the Bab.-Assyr. deity *Rammân*, god of wind and weather, of the air and clouds, of thunder, lightning, and storm. He is designated in the inscriptions as AN. IM, that is, 'god of the celestial regions,' and on reliefs and seals he is figured as armed like Jove with thunderbolts. Rammân is sometimes derived from רוּם or רָמַם, and thus taken to mean 'the high,' 'majestic' one (cf. Baudissin, *Studien*, i. p. 307); again it is derived from the stem רָעַם 'thunder,' and supposed to be='the thunderer' (Schrader, *Jahrb. f. prot. Theol.* i. 334 ff.). The correct derivation of the word is that advocated by Pinches from a Bab.-

Assyr. root *ramâmu*, 'roar,' 'thunder' (cf. Del. *HWB* 624). For Syria and the west, in a comparative list of deities, *Hadad*, *Adad*, *Daddu*, *Dada*, *Addu* appear as special names for Rammân (Bezold, *PSBA*, June 7, 1887). The identification of *Hadad* or *Adad* of Syria with *Rammân* of Babylonia-Assyria is established by the fact that these two names are represented by one and the same ideogram in several proper names (cf. Pinches, *PSBA*, 1883, pp. 71–73). Rimmon is then a Hebraized form (the word for 'pomegranate') of the Bab.-Assyr. name *Rammân*, and is identical with the Syrian god *Hadad* or *Adad*. The importance of this deity in Syria is seen in the fact that his name heads the list of four gods of the North Syrian kingdom of *Panammû* to whom his son *Bar-Rakûb* offered prayer (cf. *Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli*, vol. i. p. 61). For a detailed description of the latest utterances on the etymology of the name, and the attributes and relations of Rammân, see Jastrow, *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, pp. 156–164. It may be that the compound (Heb.) form Hadad-Rimmon (in Bab.-Assyr. *Adad-Rammân*) arose, as suggested by Baethgen (*Beitr. z. sem. Relig.-Gesch.* 75), in a manner similar to Adonis-Osiris in Cyprus. Such combination would be self-explanatory to the population of all Western Asia. To this 'prince of the power of the air' was dedicated the eleventh month, the rain-month Shebaṭ. In the Bab. pantheon, Rammân appears as the son of Anu and Anatu.

LITERATURE.—Baudissin, *Stud. z. sem. Relig.-Gesch.* i. 306–308; Tiele, *Bab.-Assyr. Gesch.* ii. 525, n. 3; Schrader, *COT* i. 196 f.; Delitzsch-Smith, *Chald. Genesis*, 269 f.; Winckler, *Gesch Bab. u. Assyr.* 164, 166; Baethgen, *Beitr. zur sem. Relig.-Gesch.* 75; Winckler, *Alttest. Untersuch.* 69; Delitzsch, *Calwer Bibellexicon*, art. 'Rimmon'; Riehm, *HWB*, art. 'Rimmon'; Meyer, *Gesch.* i. 175, 182; Hilprecht, *Assyriaca*, 76 ff.

IRA M. PRICE.

RIMMON (רִמּוֹן 'pomegranate,' Ῥεμμών).—A Beerothite, the father of Baanah and Rechab, who murdered Ish-bosheth, the son and successor of Saul (2 S $4^{2.5.9}$).

RIMMON.—**1.** The rock (סֶלַע (הָ)רִמּוֹן, ἡ πέτρα (τοῦ) Ῥεμμών) in the eastern highlands or wilderness (*midbār*) of Benjamin, whither the remnants of the Benjamites (Jg 20^{45} 21^{13}) fled. It has been identified by Robinson (i. 440) as a lofty rock or conical chalky hill, visible in all directions, on the summit of which stands the village of *Rummôn*. It forms a remarkable object in the landscape as seen from the village of *Jîbâ*, some 6 miles distant. It is about 4 miles east of *Beitîn* (Bethel) (cf. van de Velde, *Memoir*, 345; *SWP* ii. 292). A place of this name is mentioned by Eusebius and Jerome as existing in their day 15 miles north of Jerusalem (*Onomast. s.* 'Rimmon').

2. (רִמּוֹן) A city in the south of Judah, towards the border of Edom, Jos 15^{32} (Ἐρωμώθ); in 19^{7} (B Ἐρεμμών, A Ῥεμμώθ) counted to Simeon; in Zec 14^{10} (Ῥεμμών) named as lying to the far south of Jerusalem. In the first two of these passages Rimmon is coupled with Ain (in the first with, in the second without, the conjunction ו), cf. 1 Ch 4^{32}. In Neh 11^{29}, on the other hand, we read **En-rimmon** ('spring of the pomegranate'), and there are good grounds for holding that this is the correct reading in all the other passages as well. See EN-RIMMON.

Van de Velde (*Mem.* 344) has identified Rimmon and En-rimmon with *Umm er-Rumâmîn*, between Beit-Jibrîn and Bîr es-Seba, very nearly at the distance mentioned by Eusebius. He mentions that Grotius and Rosenmüller suppose, as a solution of the difficulty, that Ain and Rimmon were near together, and in later years united in one. 'Ain is probably identical with a site only half a mile north of *Umm er-Rumâmîn*, now called *Tell Khewelfeh*, and opposite another ancient site, *Tell Hora*. Between the two *tells* is a copious fountain filling a large ancient reservoir, which for miles around is the chief watering-place of the Bedawin population of this region. A city at the base of which such a remarkable fountain existed would well derive its name from "the fountain," and its vicinity to *Rimmon* would justify both its distinct enumeration and its collective appellation.' *SWP* (iii. p. 397) confirms this, stating that *Khan Khuweilfeh* is an extensive ruin near *Bir Khuweilfeh*. Caves, cisterns, broken pillars, shafts, and traces of walls are found. The ruins extend along the valley and on the higher ground. The well is large, lined with well-dressed stones, and resembling the Beersheba wells. The *tell* has an artificially-levelled platform, and seems to have formed a fortress. The water-supply is perennial. At *Khan umm er-Rumâmîn* there are heaps of well-dressed stones, many of which are drafted. There are also several large lintel stones, and part of a stone apparently representing the seven-branched candlestick. These remains probably belong to the Byzantine period (*SWP* iii. 398).

3. In Jos 19^{13} one of the boundaries of Zebulun is given as 'Rimmon that stretched to the Nēāh' (רִמּוֹן הַמִּתְאַר הַנֵּעָה); AV wrongly 'Remmon-methoar to Neah'). In 1 Ch 6^{77} [Heb. 62] the name appears as **Rimmono** (רִמּוֹנוֹ), and in Jos 21^{35} as **Rimmonah** (for which, by a textual error, MT has **Dimnah** [which see]). See Dillm. *Joshua*, *ad loc.*

Robinson proposes to identify Rimmon with the village of *Rummâneh*, north of Nazareth, and this site has since been accepted. *Rummâneh* is a small village built of stone, and containing about 70 Moslems. It is situated on a low ridge above the plain, and there are a few olive trees around. The water-supply is from cisterns and a well. There are rock-cut caves, and traces of ancient remains in the village (*SWP* i. 417).

C. WARREN.

RIMMONO.—See RIMMON, No. **3.**

RIMMON-PEREZ (AV Rimmon-parez, following, with LXX and Vulg., the pausal form given in the MT of Nu $33^{19.20}$ רִמֹּן פָּרֶץ; LXX Ῥεμμὼν Φάρες (also Ῥαμμὼν and Ῥεμμὼθ Φ.), Vulg. *Remmonphares*).—One of the twelve camping places of the children of Israel, mentioned only in the itinerary of Nu 33, between Hazeroth and Moseroth. Ewald identifies it with Rimmon in the south of Judah (Jos 15^{32} etc.), and some of the names following are referred by him to the same region. He thinks it probable that the Israelites made their way for some distance into the southern part of the country, afterwards allotted to Judah and Simeon, and that in this portion of the itinerary a trace may be found of such a campaign; cf. Nu 14^{45} 21^{1-3}, and HORMAH. The second part of the name may have been added in commemoration of a victory gained at this place, after the analogy of BAAL-PERAZIM.

A. T. CHAPMAN.

RING (usually טַבַּעַת *ṭabba'ath*; δακτύλιος).—The rings of the tabernacle and its furniture are spoken of as having been cast (Ex 25^{12} *al.*), and this sense of moulding appears in the cognate Arabic *ṭaba'a* 'to print,' *maṭba'ah* 'printing press.' Rings are referred to in connexion with the boards for the corners of the tabernacle (Ex 26^{24}); there are also rings through which bars pass to keep in position the upright boards for the sides of the tabernacle (v.^{29}). Similarly, rings were attached to the ark of the covenant (25^{12}), to the brazen altar ($27^{4.7}$), to the altar of incense (30^{4}), and were used for fastening on the high priest's breastplate (28^{23}).

In Est 1^{6} and Ca 5^{14} גְּלִיל is translated 'ring' in AV and RV, but a preferable rendering would be 'cylinder' or 'rod.' The 'rings' (גַּבִּים) of Ezk 1^{18} are *felloes* (so RVm; cf. 1 K 7^{33}). In RV the more

general term 'ring' is used instead of 'ear-ring' (נֶזֶם; see EAR-RING) in Gn 24[22] 35[4], Job 42[11], Ex 32[2. 3]. In Ezk 16[12], where RV gives 'ring' for 'jewel' of AV, the allusion may be, not to a ring in the nose, but to the custom still prevailing among the Bedawin, in the case of a favourite child, of fastening an ornamental ring, jewel, or bead to a lock of hair over the brow and allowing it to dangle down as a protective charm nearly as far as the eyes. The ear-ring as worn by the Bedawin is about an inch and a half in diameter, and opens with a hinge like a bracelet, so that when closed it clasps the outer ear. The hasty removal of such ornaments is translated 'break off' (פרק) in Ex 32[2]. The ring (*ṭabba'ath*) appears as an ornament in Is 3[21], and as a gift for sacred purposes in Ex 35[22], Nu 31[50] (both P).

Signet-ring.—In closest connexion with the general meaning of 'ring' is the special sense of signet-ring: Gn 41[42], Est 3[10. 12] 8[2. 8. 10], in which *ṭabba'ath* is the equivalent of חוֹתָם *ḥôthām* in Gn 38[18] (in v.[25] חוֹתָמֶת), Ex 28[11. 21. 36] 39[6. 14. 30], Jer 22[24], Hag 2[23], Job 38[14] 41[7], Ca 8[6]; עֶזְקָא *'izḳā* in Dn 6[17]; *δακτύλιος* in Lk 15[22], and *σφραγίς* in Ro 4[11], 1 Co 9[2], Apoc. *passim*, etc. See art. SIGNET.

Both in biblical usage and in modern custom there are several important meanings connected with the employment of signet-rings.

1. *Irrevocable testimony*, Jer 32[44], Ro 4[11], 1 Co 9[2].—Where the art of writing is limited to the educated few, as is the case still in the East, the difficulty of affixing the signature is got over by the use of a seal. In front of every Turkish police-court men sit with paper and ink ready to write out a statement of evidence or form of appeal, and one or two men are usually to be met with who have seals for sale and are expert in cutting monograms for brass seals. When a village is divided into two parties, as in the case of a dispute about a right of way through private property, it is customary to present to the local magistrate two papers covered with the seals of those who thus witness for and against the road.

2. *Delegated authority.*—Thus Pharaoh took off his ring and put it upon Joseph (Gn 41[42]), and Ahasuerus gave his ring to Haman (Est 3[10]). Hence the figurative description of Zerubbabel as a signet of the Lord (Hag 2[23]). Thus in an Oriental custom-house a junior clerk borrows the seal of a busy higher official, and an indolently obliging censor leaves in the mission press his seal which gives to books the right of circulation in the empire.

3. *Completion.*—From its being affixed to the end of a document as a testimony to the truth of what is stated, the act of applying the seal gave a sense of finality to what was thus sealed (Dn 9[24] 12[4]).

4. *Inviolability* (Job 14[17], Eph 4[30], Rev 5[2]).—A sense of sanctity was connected with anything sealed.

The veneration felt towards anything guarded by a seal was illustrated some years ago at Sidon. A coasting vessel had gone on the rocks near that town, and a few days afterwards there was washed ashore a small bag of gold coins, which the captain had received from a British merchant in Beyrout, with instructions to deliver it over to another merchant in Jaffa. The bag was found on the Sidon beach by a Syrian peasant; and though such a treasure, washed up at his feet from the sea, might in itself have been regarded as sent from God to him, he shrank from breaking the seal. He walked the intervening distance of twenty miles in order to deliver the money to its owner in Beyrout.

Arabic tales abound in accounts of things kept secret and wonders wrought by seals of power, the most celebrated being the wishing seal of king Solomon.

In the Book of Job there occur several beautiful figurative applications of the signet, such as the sealing up of the stars (9[7]) as of something folded away and laid out of sight, the sealing of instruction in night visions (33[16]) like the imprinting of a mould upon clay, and the sealing up of man's hand (37[7]) as expressing the limitation of human power. See also art. SEAL, SEALING.

G. M. MACKIE.

RINGSTRAKED.—So the adj. עָקֹד *'āḳōd* is tr[d] in all its occurrences, Gn 30[35. 39. 40] 31[8. 8. 10. 12]. The root verb עָקַד is found once, Gn 22[9] 'Abraham . . . *bound* Isaac his son,' so that the primary idea is 'banded' or 'striped.' The adj. is used of striped cattle, goats, or sheep. The LXX tr. *διάλευκος* except in 31[8. 8] *λευκός*, and it is followed generally by the Vulg. (*albus*) and most English versions 'white'; but Tind. has 'straked' in 31[8], and then the Bishops' Bible gives 'ringstraked' throughout. The word does not seem to occur in Eng. literature elsewhere. See STRAKE.

J. HASTINGS.

RINNAH (רִנָּה).—A Judahite, one of the sons of Shimon, 1 Ch 4[20]. The LXX (B Ἀνά, A Ῥαννών) makes him the son of Hanan, taking the following בֶּן־חָנָן thus (*υἱὸς Φανά* [Ἀνάν]) instead of making it a proper name, BEN-HANAN, as AV and RV.

RIPHATH (רִיפַת; A Ῥιφάθ, *D* Ἐριφάθ).—One of the sons of Gomer, Gn 10[3]. The parallel passage, 1 Ch 1[6], reads **Diphath** (דִיפַת, so RV, but AV Riphath); but this is certainly an ancient scribal error, easily explicable as due to an interchange of ר and ד. The LXX (B Ἐρειφάθ, A Ῥιφαέ) and Vulgate (*Riphath*) support this view.

The ethnographical sense of Riphath is uncertain. Perhaps the view of Josephus (*Ant.* I. vi. 1) that the Riphæans (*i.e.* Paphlagonians) are meant is still the most plausible. Bochart and Lagarde think of the Bithynian river Rhebas, which falls into the Black Sea, and the district Rhebantia in the Thracian Bosporus; but, as Dillmann remarks, this appears to be too far west for the position of Riphath between ASHKENAZ (? Phrygia) and TOGARMAH (? W. Armenia). A widely-held opinion, which makes its appearance as early as the Book of Jubilees, identified Riphath with the fabulous Riphæan mountains, which were supposed to form the northern boundary of the earth.

J. A. SELBIE.

RISSAH (רִסָּה; B Δεσσά, AF Ῥεσσά).—A camping place of the children of Israel, noted only in Nu 33[21. 22]. It has been proposed to identify it with *Rasa* in the Peutinger Tables, on the road from the Gulf of Akabah to Jerusalem, or with Ῥῆσα of Jos. *Ant.* XIV. xiii. 9, xv. 2, *BJ* I. xiii. 8; but according to some MSS this place is Θρῆσα.

A. T. CHAPMAN.

RITHMAH (רִתְמָה; LXX Ῥαθαμά; Vulg. *Rethma*, Nu 33[18. 19]).—The first of the twelve stations following Hazeroth which are given in Nu 33 only. The name seems to be connected with רֹתֶם (AV and RV 'juniper,' RVm 'broom'), and to indicate a place where that shrub was found in abundance. Such are noted by Robinson (*Wady Abu Retamât*) and Palmer (*Wady Erthâme*), but any definite identification of this or of the eleven following stations must be regarded as very uncertain.

A. T. CHAPMAN.

RIVER.—In the OT this is the AV rendering of the following words: **1.** יְאוֹר or יְאֹר, an Egyptian loan-word, which in the singular is always (except in Dn 12[5 *bis*. 6. 7], where it means the Tigris) used of the Nile: Gn 41[1. 2. 3 *bis*. 17. 18], Ex 1[22] 2[3. 5 *bis*] 4[9 *bis*] 7[15. 17. 18 *ter*. 20 *bis*. 21 *ter*. 24 *bis*. 25. 28] [Eng. 8[3]] 8[5 (9). 7 (11)] 17[5] [all JE], Am 8[8] 9[5],* Is 19[7 *ter*] 23[3. 10], Jer 46 [Gr. 26][7. 8], Ezk 29[3b. 9], Zec 10[11]. In all these passages the LXX renders by *ποταμός* (in Ezk 29[3b. 9], Zec 10[11] *ποταμοί*) except Is 23[3. 10], where a different text appears to have been followed. The plur. יְאֹרִים is used of the Nile arms or canals: Ex 7[19] 8[1 (5)] [both

* The prophet's allusion in these two passages to the rise and the fall of the Nile (יְאוֹר מִצְרַיִם) is quite obscured by the AV rendering 'flood.'

P], Is 7[18] 19[6] 37[25]=2 K 19[24], Nah 3[8], Ezk 29[3. 4 bis. * 5. 10] 30[12], Ps 78[44]. The LXX has in all these passages *ποταμοί* (in Is 7[18], Ezk 29[4 bis. 5 ποταμός] except Is 19[6], which reads *αἱ διώρυχες τοῦ ποταμοῦ*, and 37[25], where the text is mutilated. The same word יְאֹרִים is used of watercourses in general in Is 33[21] (*διώρυχες*), and is even applied once to shafts or tunnels cut in the rock by the miner, Job 28[10] (cf. נַחַל in v.[4]).

2. נָהָר (LXX in the following passages *ποταμός*, unless otherwise noted), the most general term for river, occurs some 120 times in the OT. It is uncertain whether it is derived from a root נהר 'to flow,' or whether the latter is a denominative from נָהָר, which may be a loan-word (cf. Assyr. *nâru*, 'stream,' 'river'). It is used of rivers in general in Nu 24[6] [JE], Job 14[11] 40[23], Ps 74[15] 78[16] etc.; very frequently of particular rivers: the river of Eden and its branches Gn 2[10. 13. 14]; the Nile Is 19[5]; esp. the Euphrates (נְהַר־פְּרָת) Gn 15[18], Dt 1[7], Jos 1[4], which is often called הַנָּהָר as **the river** *κατ' ἐξοχήν* (cf. the title 'the great river,' הַנָּהָר הַגָּדוֹל, in Gn 15[18], Dt 1[7], although this title is once, Dn 10[4], applied to the Tigris), Gn 31[21], Ex 23[31], Nu 22[5], Jos 24[2. 3. 14. 15] [all E], Ezr 8[16], Neh 2[7. 9] 3[7] (and Aram. נְהַר, emphat. נַהֲרָא, Ezr 4[10. 11. 16. 17. 20] and oft.), prob. also Gn 36[37] (P; see REHOBOTH, No. 2), without the art. (poet.) in Is 7[20], Jer 2[18], Mic 7[12], Zec 9[10], Ps 72[8]; the river of Gozan 2 K 17[6] 18[11], cf. 1 Ch 5[26]; the rivers of Cush Zeph 3[10]. The reference is probably to *canals* in the following: the Chebar Ezk 1[1. 3] 3[15. 23] 10[15. 20. 22] 43[3]; the Ahava Ezr 8[21. 31]; the 'rivers' of Babylon Ps 137[1]; the gates of the 'rivers' of Nineveh Nah 2[7] (BA *πύλαι τῶν πόλεων*, א* *π. τ. ποταμῶν*), as נְהָרוֹת is used of the canals of Egypt in Ex 7[19] 8[1 (5)] (in both ‖ יְאֹרִים). In Job 28[11] 'he (the miner) bindeth the streams (נְהָרוֹת) that they trickle not,' the reference is to underground water which is prevented by the use of lime or clay from percolating into the mine (A. B. Davidson, *ad loc.*). The נַהֲרַיִם in **Aram-naharaim** (Gn 24[10], Dt 23[4] [both *Μεσοποταμία*], Jg 3[8] [B *ποταμοὶ Συρίας*, A Σ. *Μεσοποταμία ποταμῶν*], Ps 60 [title; *Μεσοποταμία Συρίας*]) was probably meant by the Hebrew writers to have a dual sense ('Aram *of the two rivers*,' these being probably [see Dillm. on Gn 24[10]] the Euphrates and the Chaboras), but the original ending may have been a plural one (ם־), as would appear to be implied by the Tel el-Amarna *Na-ri-ma*, *Naḫrima*, and the Egyp. *Nhrima*.

3. נַחַל (etym. uncertain) is used either (*a*) of a torrent of rushing water or (*b*) of a valley through which a torrent flows or has flowed, a 'torrent-valley' (modern *wâdy*).† For this latter sense cf. Gn 26[17. 19], Nu 13[23. 24] 21[12] 32[9], Dt 1[24] 2[36a] (see Driver's note; so Jos 12[2] 13[9. 16] [same phrases]; v.[b] is uncertain [see Driver's note], so Jos 12[2 (2nd time)] 3[12. 16 (2nd time)] 4[18] [as 2[36a]], 2 K 10[33]. For AV 'river(s)' RV substitutes the very misleading tr. 'brook(s)' in Nu 34[5], Dt 10[7], Jos 15[4. 47] 16[8] 17[9] 19[11], 1 K 8[65], 2 K 24[7], 2 Ch 7[8], Am 6[14], Ezk 47[19] 48[28], and the equally misleading 'valley' in Dt 2[24. 36 bis] 3[8. 12] 4[48], Jos 12[1. 2 bis] 13[9 bis. 16 bis], 2 K 10[33]. The use of נַחַל in the sense (*a*) above (reproduced by the LXX in the following passages, unless otherwise noted, by *χειμάρρους* or *χείμαρρος*) may be illustrated by its application to the Kishon Jg 4[7. 13] 5[21 ter], Ps 83[10 (9)]; to Elijah's stream Cherith 1 K 17[3. 4. 5. 6. 7], which was liable to dry up in summer, cf. Sir 40[13] (*ποταμός*); to water bursting from the rock Ps 78[20] (‖ מַיִם). Prefixed to another word, it is often used in the sense (*b*) above: *Naḥal* Arnon Nu 21[14] [here plur.], Dt 2[24] (*φάραγξ*)[36] 3[8. 12. 16] 4[48], Jos 12[1. 2] 13[9. 16], 2 K 10[33]; *N.* Eshcol ('Wâdy of the Cluster') Nu 32[9], Dt 1[24] (both *Φάραγξ βότρυος*); *N. hashshittîm*, 'Wâdy of the Acacias' Jl 4 (3)[18] (*χειμάρρος τῶν σχοίνων*); *N.* Besor 1 S 30[9. 10. 21]; *N.* Gad 2 S 24[5]; *N.* Gerar Gn 26[17]; *N.* Zered Nu 21[12], Dt 2[13. 14] (LXX in last five passages *φάραγξ*); *N.* Jabbok Gn 32[24], Dt 2[37] 3[16], Jos 12[2]; *N.* Ḳidron 2 S 15[23], 1 K 2[37] 15[13] 18[40], 2 K 23[6. 12], 2 Ch 15[16] 29[16] 30[14], Jer 31 (38)[40] (*νάχαλ*); *N.* Ḳanah Jos 16[8] 17[9] (*φάραγξ*); *N.* Soreḳ Jg 16[4] (B Ἀλσωρήχ, A ὁ *χειμαρρο(υ)ς* Σωρήχ); *N. ha-'Arabah* Am 6[14] [dub.; Wellh. would read *N. Miẓraim*; LXX ὁ *χειμαρρο(υ)ς τῶν δυσμῶν*]. The familiar **river** (RV 'brook' except in Jth 1[9] 'river') **of Egypt** is *N. Miẓraim* (modern *Wâdy el-'Arîsh*). See EGYPT (RIVER OF). נַחַל is once, Job 28[4], used of a *miner's shaft* (cf. the use of יְאֹרִים in v.[10]).

4. 5. יוּבַל, by-form אוּבָל or אֻבָל (root יבל 'flow' [?]). The former occurs only in Jer 17[8] 'he shall be as a tree planted by the waters (מַיִם, *ὕδατα*), and that spreadeth out his roots by the river' (עַל־יוּבַל, *ἐπὶ ἰκμάδα*, 'to moisture'); the latter only in Dn 8[2. 3. 6] (Theod. transliterates τὸ Οὐβάλ, LXX has *ἡ πύλη*).

6. אֲפִיק, from a root אפק 'to hold,' is a poetical word, whose nearest English equivalent is perhaps 'channel,' the original idea being that of holding or confining waters.* It thus denotes, primarily at least, the stream-bed rather than the stream. Its occurrences are: Ps 18[15 (16)] (where for 'channels of waters,' אֲפִיקֵי מַיִם, we should read, as in 2 S 22[16], 'channels (*i.e.* bed) of the sea,' אֲפִיקֵי יָם). The LXX has in the latter *ἀφέσεις θαλάσσης*, and in the former *πηγαὶ ὑδάτων*) 41[1] (AV and RV 'brooks,' LXX *πηγαί*) 126[4] (AV and RV 'streams,' LXX *χειμάρρους*), Jl 1[20] 4 (3)[18] (in both AV 'rivers,' RV 'brooks,' LXX *ἀφέσεις*), Ca 5[12] (AV 'rivers,' RV 'brooks,' LXX *πληρώματα*), Job 6[15] (א' נְחָלִים 'channel of torrents,' LXX *χειμάρρους*), Is 8[7] (AV and RV 'channels,' LXX *φάραγξ*), Ezk 6[3] 31[12] 32[6] 34[13] 35[8] 36[4. 6] (AV in all the Ezekiel passages has 'rivers,' RV 'watercourses,' LXX *φάραγξ* in all except 31[12], where it has *πεδίον*).

7. פְּלָג, from root [פלג] 'divide,' cf. the proper name PELEG and the explanation of it given by J in Gn 10[25]. This word means an artificial *watercourse*, a *canal* formed for the purpose of irrigation. Its occurrences are: Job 29[6] ('rivers of oil,' LXX simply *γάλα*); Ps 1[3] (AV 'rivers,' RV 'streams,' LXX *διέξοδοι*) 46[4] ('there is a river [נָהָר] whose streams [פְּלָגִים, LXX *ὀρμήματα*, arms or branches led from the river through the surrounding land] make glad the city of our God') 65[10 (9)] (*ποταμός*, see below) 119[136] ('mine eyes run down with rivers [LXX *διέξοδοι*] of waters'), borrowed from or quoted in La 3[48] (LXX *ἀφέσεις*. The figure in these two passages is probably that of the tears in their flow tracing furrows on the cheek); Pr 5[16] ('should thy springs be scattered abroad, thy streams of water [LXX *ὕδατα*] in the street?' an exhortation to conjugal fidelity, addressed probably to the husband, who is cautioned against seeking pleasure from sources outside his own house; see the various interpretations discussed in Wildeboer or Toy) 21[1] ('the king's heart is in the hand of the LORD as the watercourses'; so RV, which brings out the meaning more clearly than the AV 'rivers'; LXX *ὁρμὴ ὑδάτων*); Is 30[25] (LXX *ὕδωρ διαπορευόμενον*, ‖ יְבֻלֵי מַיִם) 32[2] ('as rivers of water in a dry place,' LXX *ὕδωρ φερόμενον*). There is some doubt as to Jg 5[15. 16] and Job 20[17]. In the former of these passages AV has 'for (m. 'in') the divisions of Reuben,' RV 'by the watercourses of Reuben,' פלגות being here and in Job 20[17] taken in both versions as the plural of פַּלְגָה, a supposed by-form of פָּלֶג, but it is not improbable that we should at least in Jg 5 vocalize פְּלֻגוֹת (cf. 2 Ch 35[5. 12]), giving the meaning of 'divisions' in the sense of *clans* or *families*. In Jg 5[15] the LXX has *μερίδες*, and in v.[16] *διαιρέσεις*, while in Job 20[17] it reads *ἄμελξις*

* Cornill, following the LXX, deletes the last clause of the MT, in which יְאֹרִים occurs a third time.

† See Driver on Am 5[24].

* The word אֲפִיק is used figuratively of the bones of the hippopotamus, as being hollow, Job 40[18], and of the furrows between the scales of the crocodile, 41[7 (15)].

νομάδων, after which Duhm emends to חֵלֶב נָוֶה 'milk of the pastures.' But Dillm., Budde, and most tr. 'streams,' viz. of honey, etc., as explained in v.[b] (cf. 29[6]). In Ps 65[10 (9)] 'the river of God' (פֶּלֶג אֱלֹהִים) is the channel or conduit by which rain is poetically supposed to be conducted from its reservoirs in the heavens (cf. Job 38[25] 'Who hath cleft a conduit for the rain?'). See Driver, *Par. Psalt. ad loc.*

8. תְּעָלָה. The proper meaning of this word is 'conduit' (from Hiphil of עלה), and it is so rendered by both AV and RV in 2 K 18[17] 20[20], Is 7[3] 36[2] (LXX, except Is 7[3], where 'conduit' is not expressed, ὑδραγωγός). In Job 38[25] AV has 'water-course,' RV 'channel' (poet. for rain), LXX ῥύσις; in Ezk 31[4] AV 'little rivers,' RV 'channels' (for irrigation), LXX συστέματα. In 1 K 18[32. 35. 38] the same Heb. term is used for the 'trench' round Elijah's altar (LXX θάλασσα); but in Jer 30 [Gr. 37] [13] 46 [Gr. 26] [11] it (really a diff. word) means either *new flesh* or *plaister* (something *coming up*, or *placed on* the wound); LXX ὠφελ(ε)ια, confusing with תְּעָלָה from √ יעל.

In the NT 'river' occurs only in Mk 1[5], Jn 7[38],* Ac 16[13], Rev 8[10] 9[14] 16[4. 12] 22[1. 2], in all of which it is the tr. of ποταμός. The imagery of Rev 22[1f.] is borrowed from Gn 2[9f.] and from the vision in Ezk 47.

Rivers serve in Scripture, as they have done in all ages, to fix boundaries: Gn 15[18], Ex 23[31], Nu 34[5], Dt 1[7] 3[8. 16] 11[24], Jos 1[4] 12[1] 15[4] 16[8] 17[9] 19[11], Jg 4[13], 2 S 10[16], 1 K 4[21. 24] 8[65], 2 K 10[33] 24[7], Ezr 4[10], Neh 2[7] etc.; they are utilized for bathing Ex 2[5], for drinking 7[18. 21], 1 K 17[4. 6], for fishing Ex 7[18. 21], Lv 11[9. 10], Ec 1[7], Ezk 29[4. 5], and for irrigation (see above); they serve as means of defence Nah 3[8], and as a highway for navigation Is 18[2]; a river side appears as a place of prayer in Ac 16[13].

Besides the instances of figurative employment of the word 'river' which have been referred to above, the following may be noted:—In Jer 46[7. 8] the rising of the Nile is used as a symbol of an Egyptian invasion; cf. the similar use in Is 8[7] of 'the river' to typify the invading hosts of Assyria, and the language used in Jer 47[2]; in Is 43[2] (cf. Ps 66[12]) rivers are a type of danger or affliction; in Is 59[19] a manifestation of Jehovah is compared to a נָהָר צָר, the probable rendering being that of RV 'He shall come as a rushing stream, which the breath of the LORD driveth' (AV 'when the enemy shall come in like a flood, the spirit of the LORD shall lift up a standard against him'; see the Comm. *ad loc.*); in Ps 46[5 (4)] a river (נָהָר) is a type of Jehovah's favour; in Job 29[6], Ps 119[136], La 3[48] (all פְּלָגִים), Mic 6[7], Job 20[17] (both נְחָלִים) 'rivers' typify abundance; in Am 5[24] righteousness is compared to a perennial torrent (נַחַל); a well-spring of wisdom and a flowing torrent (נַחַל) are coupled in Pr 18[4]; a river (נָהָר) is a symbol of peace in Is 48[18] 66[12]; the breath of Jehovah is compared in Is 30[28] to an overflowing torrent, and in v.[33] to a torrent of brimstone (both נַחַל).

The נַחֲלֵי בְלִיַּעַל, lit. 'torrents of Belial,' of 2 S 22[5] is a doubtful phrase. It is generally explained as 'torrents of worthlessness (=wickedness),' but Cheyne (*Expositor*, 1895, p. 435 ff., see also *Expos. Times*, viii. [1897], p. 423 f., and *Encyc. Bibl.* art. 'Belial') discovers a mythological allusion in the expression and renders it 'streams of the underworld,' identifying *Belial* with the Babylonian goddess *Belili*, whom he connects with the underworld. Hommel agrees with this identification, but Cheyne's interpretation is opposed by Baudissin and Jensen (see *PRE*[3], *s.* 'Belial,' and the articles by all four scholars in the *Expos. Times*, ix. pp. 40 ff., 91 f., 283 f., 332, 567).

* The quotation 'Out of his belly,' etc., may represent the general sense of such OT passages as Is 44[3] 55[1] 58[11], Jer 2[13], Ezk 36[25ff.] 47[1ff.], Jl 2[18f.] 3[1f.], Zec 13[1] 14[8]—the series resting ultimately (Westcott) on Ex 17[6], Nu 20[11].

For the river system of Palestine, see vol. iii. p. 642 f., and for an account of particular rivers the articles under their respective names.

J. A. SELBIE.

RIVER OF EGYPT.—See EGYPT (RIVER OF), and add that in RV of Am 8[8] 9[5] the Nile is called the 'River of Egypt' (יְאֹר מִצְרַיִם, AV badly 'flood').

RIZIA (רִצְיָא; B Ρασειά, A Ῥασιά).—An Asherite, 1 Ch 7[39].

RIZPAH (רִצְפָּה; LXX Ρεσφά, except 2 S 21[8], where A has Ῥεφφάθ).—A concubine of king Saul. She is called the daughter of Aiah (2 S 3[7] 21[8]), which may imply that she was a descendant of that Hivite clan in the S.E. of Palestine from which Esau is said to have taken one of his wives (Gn 36[2. 24] [R]).

When the Philistines struck down the kingdom of Saul, and David established himself in Hebron, Rizpah must have withdrawn to Mahanaim among the few who clung to the ruined house. For (2 S 3[6-11]) when Abner held towards Ishbosheth the position, and was suspected of cherishing the designs, of a Mayor of the Palace, some who doubted his loyalty accused him of having entered into an intrigue with his dead master's concubine. The sting of the accusation lay in the fact that such an alliance was regarded at that period as a sure step toward claiming the throne (cf. 2 S 16[22], and especially 1 K 2[22]).

At a later period in David's reign (the exact date of the incident is uncertain, since the story is found in an appendix to the history of David), a three years' famine fell upon the land (2 S 21[1ff.]). The oracle, when consulted, decided that J″ was angry with His people, and that the cause of that anger was to be found in the fact that Saul, instead of remaining true to the oath of the congregation (Jos 9), had deprived the Gibeonites of the privileges which the oath secured them, and had oppressed this clan. David accordingly approached the Gibeonites with offers to stanch the feud. These rejected all money compensation, and, denying that they had any quarrel with Israel at large, demanded the blood of the guilty house. Seven descendants of Saul—five of them sons of Merab; two, Armoni and Mephibosheth, sons of Rizpah—were thereupon seized and delivered over to their vengeance. The Gibeonites brought them up to Gibeon, which, from its name 'the hill of God,' evidently bore a sacro-sanct character, and there exposed* the seven before J″. To the rock on this hill the unhappy Rizpah resorted, and, spreading her mourning cloak of sackcloth, kept dreary watch beneath her dead to scare from their prey the wheeling vultures of the daytime, the prowling jackals of the night. The judicial execution had taken place in the early days of barley harvest. It lends a sharper touch to the picture, if one can see the reapers come and go in the fields, while above them the silent woman crouched beside her dead, whose death was to avert the curse from those fields. For she must watch on the height until the merciful rain of heaven signalled the end. The fall of rain is not inserted as a mere mark of the length of her guard; it is not 'the periodic rains in October' which are referred to. Probably it is mentioned as the sign from which men concluded that the famine-drought was broken, that the sacrifice was effectual, that the anger of J″ was averted from His land, and that now at last the mother might cease from her fearful watch.

A. C. WELCH.

* The word used is rare and uncertain in its meaning. It occurs again Nu 25[4]. The likeliest sense is the general one 'exposed.' Probably the method of actual execution was not mentioned, because so well known as to need no detailed explanation. See, further, art. HANGING.

ROAD (Anglo-Sax. *rad*, a journey, literally 'a riding,' from *ridan* to ride) is found in AV only once, 1 S 27[10] 'Whither have ye made a road to-day?' The sense is a riding into a country with hostile intent, a 'raid'* (so RV). Cf. Calderwood, *Hist.* 143, 'All who were under the danger of the lawes for the roade of Ruthven were charged to crave pardon'; and Spenser, *FQ* VI. viii. 35—

> 'In these wylde deserts where she now abode,
> There dwelt a salvage nation, which did live
> Of stealth and spoile, and making nightly rode
> Into their neighbours borders.'

See WAY. J. HASTINGS.

ROBBER, ROBBERY.—See CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS, vol. i. p. 522[b].

ROBBERS OF CHURCHES.—See CHURCHES (ROBBERS OF).

ROCK.—In the OT this is the AV tr. of the following terms:—**1.** חַלָּמִישׁ, properly 'flint.' AV renders by 'rock' only in Job 28[9] 'he (the miner) putteth forth his hand upon the rock (RV 'flint,' AVm 'flinty rock'), he overturneth the mountains by the roots' (cf. v.[10] 'he cutteth out channels among the rocks,' צְרוֹת). The combination צור ח' 'rock of flint' (so AV and RV, LXX *πέτρα ἀκρότομος*, cf. Wis 11[4]) occurs in Dt 8[15], and ח' צור (‖ חַלָּע), lit. 'flint of rock' (AV and RV 'flinty rock,' LXX *στερεὰ πέτρα*) in 32[13]. In the only other two instances in which the Heb. word occurs, ח stands alone: Ps 114[8] (‖ צור; AV and RV 'flint,' LXX *ἀκρότομος*), Is 50[7], where it is used as a symbol of firmness, 'therefore have I set my face like a flint' (*στερεὰ πέτρα*; cf. Ezk 3[9] 'as an adamant harder than flint [צִר, *πέτρα*] have I made thy forehead'). See, further, art. FLINT.

2. [כֵּפָה] only in plur. כֻּפִּים. This, which is perhaps an Aram. loan-word (כֵּיפָא *kêphā*, cf. the NT *Kephas*, see art. PETER in vol. iii. p. 756), occurs only in Jer 4[29] 'they climb up upon the rocks' (for refuge; LXX *πέτραι*), and in Job 30[6] of one of the dwelling-places of a race of outcasts (‖ חֹרִים 'caves'; on cave-dwellers or *Troglodytes*, see Driver, *Deut.* 37 f.), cf. 24[8] 'they embrace the rock (צור, *πέτρα*) for want of a shelter.' In 30[6] the LXX has a shorter text than the Hebrew, the whole verse reading *ὧν οἱ οἶκοι αὐτῶν ἦσαν τρῶγλαι πετρῶν*.

3. מָעוֹז is once rendered 'rock' by AV, namely Jg 6[26] 'build an altar upon the top of this rock' (m. 'strong place,' RV 'strong hold,' B τὸ *Μαουέκ*, A τὸ *ὄρος Μαώχ*). The reference is probably to a natural stronghold rather than to a fortification (Moore). The word מָעוֹז 'place of refuge' (if from √ עוז) or 'strong place' (if from עוז) occurs elsewhere only in the Prophetical books (21 times) and in Proverbs (once) and Psalms (9 times). For צור מָעוֹז, applied to God, see below. Cf. also art. MAUZZIM.

4. חַלָּע, the nearest English equivalents of which are 'cliff' and 'crag.' The ideas of steepness and inaccessibility are connected with the word, at least in earlier passages, although in later ones it has at times a more general sense. In the following passages חַלָּע is used (LXX, wherever 'rock' is expressed, has *πέτρα*, unless otherwise noted): Nu 20[8 *bis.* 10 *bis.* 11] [all P], Neh 9[15], Ps 78[16] (v.[15] צור), of the rock struck by Moses; in the similar narrative, Ex 17[6 *bis*] [E] צור is used, and so in Dt 8[15], Ps 78[15] (v.[16] חַלָּע)[20] 105[41] 114[8], Is 48[21 *bis*] [on the later Jewish legends regarding this rock, see below on 1 Co 10[4]]. In Nu 24[21] [JE] the words of Balaam with reference to the Ḳenites, 'strong is thy dwelling-place, and thy nest (*ḳen*, a characteristic word-play) is set in the rock,' allude to the safety of birds and their nests on inaccessible cliffs, cf., for the same figure, Ca 2[14], Jer 48 [Gr. 28][28] 49 [Gr. 29][16], Ob[3], Job 39[28]. Dt 32[13] [JE] 'He made him to suck honey out of the crag' (חַלָּע; ‖ 'oil out of the rock of flint,' צור חַלָּמִישׁ) has in view the stores of honey that are found in Palestine in the caves and fissures of the dry limestone rocks (cf. Ps 81[16] צור), and the fact that the olive flourishes even in rocky soil (cf. Job 29[6] צור, LXX τὰ *ὄρη*); see Driver, *Deut. ad loc.* The חַלָּע of Jg 1[36], 2 K 14[7], Is 16[1] 42[11] (in the first two passages with the art. in both MT and LXX) is very frequently taken to be Petra, the rock-built capital of Edom (see art. SELA). But while this might suit the two passages in Isaiah (but see Dillm. *ad loc.*), and is very appropriate to 2 K 14[7], it appears quite impossible to fit such an identification to the situation of Jg 1[36]. There are strong reasons for taking '*the* cliff' in this last passage to be some prominent cliff near the south end of the Dead Sea, perhaps the modern *eṣ-Ṣafieh* (see Buhl, *Gesch. d. Edom.* 20, and Moore, *Judges, ad loc.*). In Jg 6[20] (probably a late interpolation) חַלָּע, but in v.[21] צור (and so in 13[19] of Manoah's sacrifice), is used of the rock on which Gideon offered his sacrifice; the fissure of the cliff ETAM was one of Samson's places of refuge, Jg 15[8. 11. 13], cf. 20[45. 47] 21[13] the crag RIMMON to which the Benjamites fled, 1 S 13[6] the crags where the Israelites took refuge from the Philistines, 23[25] the crag in the Wilderness of Maon to which David fled from Saul [on *Sela-hammahleḳoth* of v.[28] see art. under that name], 1 Ch 11[15] the rock at Adullam, Is 2[21] (‖ צור, and so in vv.[10. 19]) the crags to which men are to flee from before the LORD, Jer 16[16] the refuge from which the Israelites are to be hunted, 48 [Gr. 31][28] the crags for which Moab is to abandon her cities (cf. 21[13]). Crags are spoken of as the haunt of bees Is 7[19] (cf. Dt 32[13] above), conies (*Hyrax Syriacus*) Pr 30[26], wild goats Job 39[1], Ps 104[18], cf. 1 S 24[2] (צור); sepulchres are hewn in rocks, Is 22[16]; a rock is a type of hardness, Jer 5[3] 'they have made their faces harder than a rock'; precipitation from a rock appears as a form of execution in 2 Ch 25[12] (*κρημνός*), cf. (?) Jer 51 [Gr. 28][25], and see art. HANGING in vol. ii. p. 298[b]; the feet set upon a rock typify security, Ps 40[3 (2)], cf. 27[5] 61[3 (2)] (both צור); crags were splintered by the storm in Elijah's vision, 1 K 19[11]; the shadow of a great crag is grateful in a weary land, Is 32[2]; cliffs are strong places of defence, Is 33[16] [for the two crags of 1 S 14[4] see BOZEZ and SENEH]; the clefts of the rocks in the wādis were the scene of the sacrifice of children, Is 57[5]; in a hole of the rock Jeremiah was to hide his girdle, Jer 13[4]; the word of the LORD is compared to a hammer that breaketh a crag in pieces, Jer 23[29]; in Ezk 24[7] the blood of Jerusalem's idolatrous sacrifices is compared to blood shed upon a bare rock (*ἐπὶ λεωπετρίαν*), which does not sink into the earth but continues to cry to heaven for vengeance, cf. the threatening in the following verse; Ezk 26[4. 14] declare that Tyre is to become a bare rock (צְחִיחַ חַלָּע, *λεωπετρία*), there being here a punning allusion to the name of the city (Tyre=צור='rock'); the question 'do horses run upon crags?' introduces in Am 6[12] a reproach for conduct of a thoroughly unnatural kind.

5. צור is best reproduced by 'rock,' having all the senses (except, of course, the geological one) which that word bears in English. In many instances it is synonymous with חַלָּע (see the numerous parallel occurrences of the two terms quoted above), but there are some passages where צור occurs in which חַלָּע could not have been suitably used, at least by early writers. Besides the occurrences of the word which have been already noted, צור is used: of the rock where Moses had a partial vision of the glory of Jahweh, Ex 33[21. 22]

* Raid is of Scand. origin. Raid, says Skeat, was the northern Border word, 'road' being used in the south; but the first quotation above is Scottish, and yet 'road' is used.

[J]; of the rocky summit (*κορυφὴ ὀρέων*) from which Balaam looked down upon the camp of Israel, Nu 23[9] [JE]; of the rock OREB where the Midianite prince Oreb was slain, Jg 7[25] (Σούρ), Is 10[26]; of the rock where Saul's seven sons were 'hanged' (see HANGING in vol. ii. p. 298[b]) by the Gibeonites, and where Rizpah kept her ghastly watch, 2 S 21[10]; in Job 14[18] the removing of the rock out of its place is an accompaniment of the wearing down of a mountain by slow natural forces, while in 18[4] the question 'shall the rock (*τὰ ὄρη*) be removed out of its place?' is tantamount to 'shall the constitution of the world be subverted?'; the custom of cutting inscriptions on rocks, of which so many examples are known, is referred to in Job 19[24]; rocks are the shelter of a class of outcasts, Job 24[8], see under No. 2, above; in Pr 30[19] the way of a serpent over a rock (*i.e.* its mysterious movements, without the aid of feet) is one of the four things which the writer cannot understand; Jehovah is to be a stone of stumbling (אֶבֶן נֶגֶף) and a rock of offence (צוּר מִכְשׁוֹל) to both the houses of Israel; in Is 51[1] Abraham is called the rock (see vol. iii. p. 795[b], 'Additional Note') whence Israel was hewn; the perennial snow on the rocky summit of Lebanon is mentioned in Jer 18[14]; the rocks are broken asunder (Nowack [emending the text] 'kindled') by the fury of the LORD, when it is poured out like fire, Nah 1[6].

We have reserved till now those passages in which the term 'rock' is figuratively used of God. These are the following. The word סֶלַע is used in 2 S 22[2] [=Ps 18[3] (2)] (*στερέωμα*)] 31[4] (3) (*κραταίωμα*) 42[10] (9) ('Αντιλήμπτωρ) 71[3] (*στερέωμα*). The term employed is צוּר in Dt 32[4. 15. 18. 30. 31] (all *θεός*, cf. v.[37]), 1 S 2[2] (? *δίκαιος*), 2 S 22[3] (*φύλαξ*) [32] (*κτίστης*) [=Ps 18[32] (31) (*θεός*)] [47] (*φύλαξ*) [=Ps 18[47] (46) (*θεός*)] 23[3] (*θεός*), Ps 19[15] (14) (*βοηθός*) 28[1] (*θεός*) 31[3] (2) (*θεὸς ὑπερασπιστής*) 62[3] (2). 7 (6). 8 (7) (all *θεός*) 71[3] (*θεὸς ὑπερασπιστής*) 73[26] (*θεός*) 78[35] (*βοηθός*) 89[27] (26) (*ἀντιλήμπτωρ*) 92[16] (15) (*θεός*) 94[22] (*βοηθός*) 95[1] 144[1] (both *θεός*), Is 17[10] (*βοηθός*) 26[4] (? *μέγας*) 30[29] (*θεός*) 44[8] (LXX om.), Hab 1[12] (LXX om.). In some of these passages it has been contended that *ṣur* has the force of a proper (Divine) name. Hommel, for instance, in support of his claim that a certain class of personal names found in P, which have been widely suspected of being late and artificial, are *bona fide* ancient Hebrew survivals, brings forward two compound names to show the existence in early times of a Divine name *Ṣur*. These are *Ṣuri-'addana*, from a S. Arabian inscription not later than B.C. 800, and *Bir-* (or *Bar-*) *Ṣur*, from Zinjerli (8th cent. B.C.). But, while Hommel has rendered a service by calling attention to these names, one does well to remember that, whatever they may prove for *the period and the place to which they belong*, it is very questionable whether they justify the inference that *Ṣur* was used in a similar sense by the early Hebrews, and it remains as doubtful as before whether names like *Pedahṣur*, *Elizur*, *Ṣuriel*, and *Ṣuri-shaddai*, Nu 1[5. 6. 10] 3[35] [why are these the only instances in the OT of compounds with *ṣur*, and why are they confined to P?], were at any time, and much more in *early* times, prevalent in Israel. To the present writer the probability appears to be that, as far as the OT is concerned, Dt 32 is the source to which all the above passages may be traced back; and neither in Dt 32[4. 18] nor in Hab 1[12], the passages which plead most strongly in favour of Hommel's view, does it seem to be necessary to take *ṣur* as a Divine name in the proper sense. The circumstance that *ṣela'* and *ṣur* are both employed in the sense we are examining (sometimes even side by side, *e.g.* Ps 18[3] (2) [cf. v.[23]] 71[3]), strengthens the conclusion that in all the instances cited we have to do simply with one of those metaphors of which Hebrew writers are so fond. 'It (*ṣur*) designates Jehovah, by a forcible and expressive figure, as the unchangeable support or refuge of His servants, and is used with evident appropriateness where the thought is of God's unvarying attitude towards His people. The figure is, no doubt, like *crag*, *stronghold*, *high place*, etc., derived from the natural scenery of Palestine' (Driver, *Deut.* 350; similarly Bertholet and Steuernagel. Hommel's contentions will be found stated in his *AHT*, pp. 300, 319 f., where he opposes the views of G. Buchanan Gray contained in *HPN*, 195 f.; Gray replies to Hommel in the *Expositor*, Sept. 1897, p. 173 ff.: cf. also Whitehouse's view, as expressed in art. PILLAR in the present work, vol. iii. p. 881[a]).

In the NT 'rock' always represents *πέτρα*. Its occurrences are as follows: Mt 7[24f.] || Lk 6[48] * as a type of a sure foundation, in Jesus' simile of the two buildings; Mt 16[18] 'upon this rock I will build my church' [this passage is exhaustively discussed in art. PETER in vol. iii. p. 758]; Mt 27[51] the rocks were rent by the earthquake at the Crucifixion; Mt 27[60] || Mk 15[46] Joseph's tomb was hewn out in the rock, cf. Is 22[16]; Lk 8[6. 13] part of the seed scattered by the sower fell *ἐπὶ τὴν πέτραν*, 'upon rock,' which is interpreted by the *ἐπὶ τὰ πετρώδη* of Mt 13[5. 20] [the expression means places where only a thin coating of soil covered the underlying rock, hence RV appropriately 'rocky places'; AV infelicitously 'stony places,' which suggests ground in which a number of loose stones were found]; Ro 9[33] 'As it is written, Behold I lay in Zion a stone of stumbling (*λίθον προσκόμματος*) and a rock of offence (*πέτραν σκανδάλου*),' where Is 8[14] and 28[16] appear to be in view as in 1 P 2[6-8]; in Rev 6[15f.] the caves and rocks of the mountains play the same part as in Is 2[18ff.] and as the mountains and hills in Hos 10[8] (cf. Lk 23[30]). Finally, there is 1 Co 10[4], where St. Paul says of the Israelites who were led by Moses through the wilderness that 'they did all drink the same spiritual drink, for they drank of a spiritual rock that followed them: and the rock was Christ' (*ἔπινον γὰρ ἐκ πνευματικῆς ἀκολουθούσης πέτρας, ἡ πέτρα δὲ ἦν ὁ Χριστός*). Not only does St. Paul here spiritualize the smitten rock and the water that flowed from it, giving to these a Eucharistic sense (cf. the foreshadowing of Baptism which he discovers in the Passage of the Red Sea and the Pillar of Cloud, v.[1], and St. Peter's treatment of the Deluge and the Ark, 1 P 3[20. 21]),† but he has drawn upon later Jewish expansions of the OT story. Neither in Ex 17[6ff.] nor in Nu 20[8ff.] is it hinted even that the water continued to flow from the rock after the temporary occasion for it had passed (contrast the case of Jg 15[19]). Jewish *haggāda*, however, went much beyond this, describing how the rock accompanied the Israelites all through their march (cf. St. Paul's *ἀκολουθούση πέτρα*), and how, wherever the Tabernacle was pitched, the princes came and sang to the rock, 'Spring up, O well, sing ye unto it,' whereupon the waters gushed forth afresh (*Bammidbar rabba* Nu 21[17f.]; Delitzsch in *ZKW*, 1882, p. 455 ff.; Driver, *Expos.* Jan. 1899, p. 15 ff.; Thackeray, *St. Paul and Contemp. Jew. Thought*, 204 ff.; the Comm. on 1 Corinthians; cf., for instances of similar Jewish fancies, Schürer, *GJV*[3] ii. 343 [*HJP* II. i. 344]).

RV substitutes 'rocky ground' for AV 'rocks' in Ac 27[29] as tr. of *τραχεῖς τόποι* (lit. 'rough places'), and 'hidden rocks' for AV 'spots' (Vulg. *maculæ*) in Jude[12] as tr. of *σπιλάδες* [the AV rendering was, no doubt, influenced by the parallel passage 2 P 2[13]; see the Comm. *ad loc.*]. J. A. SELBIE.

* In the last clause of this verse the true reading is *διὰ τὸ καλῶς οἰκοδομῆσθαι αὐτήν* (RV 'because it had been well builded'), not *τεθεμελίωτο γὰρ ἐπὶ τὴν πέτραν* (AV 'for it was founded upon a rock'), which has been introduced from Mt 7[25].

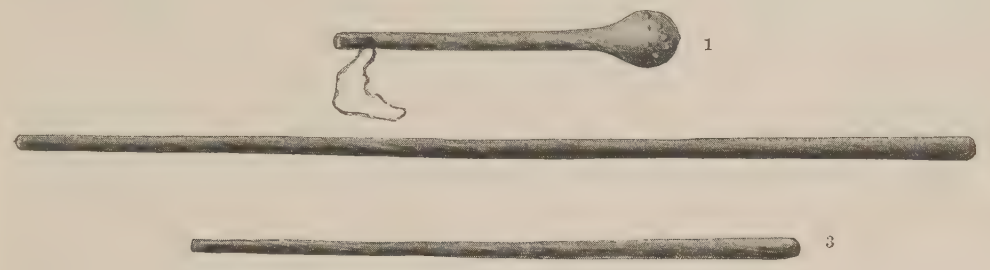
† St. Paul follows similar methods of interpretation and argument in Ro 10[5ff.] and Gal 4[22ff.].

ROD (מַטֶּה *maṭṭeh*, מַקֵּל *makḳēl*, שֵׁבֶט *shēbeṭ*, מִשְׁעֶנֶת *mish'eneth*; ῥάβδος).—The rod or staff in the hand is the chief emblem of Oriental travel. Thus Jacob setting out for Paddan-aram left everything behind him except his *makḳēl* (Gn 32[10]), the Israelites kept the first Passover feast *makḳēl* in hand (Ex 12[11]), and Elisha sent his *mish'eneth*, the companion of his journeys, on before, as if it had been a living friend, to represent him in the chamber of death (2 K 4[29]). The modern Syrian peasant when on a journey carries a staff slightly longer than that used in Europe. He invariably holds it by the thin end, with the hand an inch or two down and the thumb often resting on the top. Such a manner of grasping the stick is suggestive of defence; and by the way in which he raises himself by means of it in the steep and rough mountain path, and pushes himself along when travelling on the dusty road of the hot plain, it is evident that the walking-stick is also meant to be a support on the journey. Protection from danger and something to lean upon,—such are the two original meanings of the rod or staff.

In EV the word *maṭṭeh*, used literally, is translated 'rod' when referring to the rod of Moses (Ex 4[2] and oft.), of Aaron (Ex 7[10. 12] and oft.), of the heads of the tribes (Nu 17[2-10]), of Jonathan (1 S 14[27. 43]), and is tr. 'staff' in Gn 38[18. 25], Is 10[15. 24] 28[27] (as a kind of *flail*) 30[32] (for *punishment*), Hab 3[14]. of office. The Heb. word is translated 'sceptre' in Gn 49[10], Nu 24[17], Ps 45[6], Is 14[5], Ezk 19[11. 14], Am 1[5. 8], Zec 10[11], and in RV of Ps 125[3]. See SCEPTRE.

These meanings of power, authority, punishment, or correction are exemplified in 2 S 7[14], Job 9[34] 21[9] 37[13] (AVm), Ps 2[9], Is 11[4]. In Is 11[1] the expression 'a rod (חֹטֶר), of which the only other occurrence is Pr 14[3], where see Toy's note) out of the stem of Jesse' is more appropriately rendered in RV 'a shoot out of the stock of Jesse,' where the figure is that of a cut-down stump, which will put forth a single flourishing 'rod.' Compare, for the figure, מַטֶּה in Ezk 19[11. 12. 14 bis] (blooming up into a *shēbeṭ*, sceptre of rule).

Along with his 'rod' or club (*shēbeṭ*) the shepherd had also his '**staff**' (*mish'eneth*), which was a straight pole about 6 ft. in length. Its service was for mountain climbing, for striking troublesome goats and sheep, beating leaves from branches beyond the reach of his flock, and especially for leaning upon. As he stood clasping the top of his stick with both hands, and leaning his head against it, his conspicuous and well-known figure gave confidence to the sheep grazing around him among the rocks and bushes of the wilderness. The *mish'eneth* is essentially something to lean upon. Thus it is the word used for Elisha's staff (2 K 4[29]), and it indicates the untrustworthiness of Egypt as a reed of cane for Israel to lean upon (Is 36[6]), in-



1. Shepherd's rod or, rather, club (*shēbeṭ*).
2. Shepherd's staff (*mish'eneth*).
3. Common staff (*maṭṭeh*, *makḳēl*, or *mish'eneth*).

In the Heb. *maṭṭeh* is coupled with *shēbeṭ* in Is 9[4] (of taskmaster; fig. of oppressor; cf. 10[5. 24] 14[5]) 10[15] 28[27] 36[6], and with *makḳēl* in Jer 48[17] in such a way as to imply that the terms were practically interchangeable under ordinary circumstances.

It is in the primitive usage of the shepherd's life that a distinction is found between the 'rod' and the 'staff.' The shepherd carries both, but for different purposes. In Ps 23[4] the 'rod' (*shēbeṭ*) is a club about 2½ ft. long, made from an oak sapling, the bulging head being shaped out of the stem at the beginning of the root.* The shepherd's *shēbeṭ*, frequently with large-headed nails driven into the knob, is his weapon against men and animals when in the wilderness with his flock. It is worn either suspended by a thong from the waistband or inserted in a special sheath or pocket in the outer cloak; cf. Lv 27[32], and Mic 7[14], Ezk 20[37] (last two fig.). The *shēbeṭ* was, further, the staff of authority (not necessarily of a king), Jg 5[14] and perhaps Gn 49[10]. It is seen in the sculptures of Assyrian and Egyptian kings, and was the original of the military mace and the baton and truncheon

* This manufacture of the *shēbeṭ* from a young tree might suggest that in the metaphorical use of *shēbeṭ* (Arab. *sabṭ*), 'tribe,' the reference is to various seedlings with a common origin—the tribes of the children of Israel. It is to be noted, however, that *maṭṭeh* is equally (183 t.) used for 'tribe,' and possibly the original reference in both cases is to a company led by a chief with a *staff*. See, further, on the relation between *shēbeṭ* and *maṭṭeh*, Driver in *Journ. Philol.* xi. (1882) 213 f.

stead of upon the strength of God. In Nu 21[18] the *mish'eneth* is used by the nobles in digging a well (see LAWGIVER); the angel who appeared to Manoah carried a *mish'eneth* (Jg 6[21]); in Zec 8[4] the *mish'eneth* is characteristic of old age.

'He that leaneth upon a staff' (מחזיק בפלך, B *κρατῶν σκυτάλης*) of 2 S 3[29] should probably be 'he that handleth the spindle' (see Driver, *ad loc.*), if the text be correct, which H. P. Smith (*Sam. ad loc.*) doubts. The references to *makḳel* are generally to the ordinary staff* for a journey [in Hos 4[12] 'their staff declareth unto them,' there is reference to the practice of *rhabdomancy*], at once protective and supporting. Examples are Jacob's staff (Gn 32[10]), the staff of the Passover feast (Ex 12[11]), Balaam's staff (Nu 22[27]), with which he could support himself by resting the end of it on the front of the broad Oriental saddle; also probably the staff in David's hand when he went out to meet Goliath (1 S 17[40]), for being then on a journey he would have laid aside the more cumbrous shepherd equipment.

In NT ῥάβδος has the twofold meaning of a staff for a journey (Mt 10[10], Mk 6[8], Lk 9[3], He 11[21]) and a rod for chastisement (1 Co 4[21] [cf. the verb in 2 Co 11[25]], Rev 2[27] 12[5] 19[15]). G. M. MACKIE.

RODANIM, reading of MT in 1 Ch 1[7] for the Dodanim of Gn 10[4], answering to the Ῥόδιοι of the LXX in both passages. See DODANIM.

* This is also the word used in Gn 30[37ff.] of the sticks employed by Jacob in his cattle-breeding artifices.

ROE.—This word occurs once in AV (Pr 5^{19}, RV 'doe') as the equivalent of יַעֲלָה *ya'ălāh*; see DOE. In all other places where 'roe' occurs in AV (2 S 2^{18}, 1 Ch 12^{8}, Pr 6^{5}, Ca $2^{7.\ 9.\ 17}$ 3^{5} 4^{5} 7^{3} 8^{14}, Is 13^{14}) it is the tr^{n} of *ṣĕbî* or *ṣĕbîyyāh*, and in these RV also gives 'roe,' but in every passage except 2 S 2^{18} and 1 Ch 12^{8}, with marginal note, 'gazelle,' which is undoubtedly the correct rendering. See GAZELLE.

G. E. POST.

ROEBUCK.—This word, wherever it occurs in AV (Dt $12^{15.\ 22}$ 14^{5} 15^{22}, 1 K 4^{23}), is the equivalent of צְבִי *ṣĕbî*, LXX *δορκάς*. RV has in all these passages consistently tr^{d} *ṣĕbî* 'gazelle' (see GAZELLE). 'Roebuck' is the proper tr^{n} for יַחְמוּר *yaḥmûr*, which is rendered by AV 'fallow deer' (Dt 14^{5}, 1 K 4^{23}). Tristram (*Fauna and Flora*, p. 4) says that *yaḥmûr* is used by the natives of Carmel for the roebuck, which is still found there. One of the districts of Carmel is known as *Yaḥmûr*, perhaps from the former abundance of this animal. Conder says that the roebuck is called *ḥamûr* in Gilead. The people about *Ḳâna* and *'Alma*, north of Carmel, call it *wa'l*, which is one of the names of the ibex or wild goat, which animal, however, is not now found there. In N. Africa *yaḥmûr* is synonymous with *baḳar el-waḥsh*, *Alcephalus bubalus*, Pall. From these facts two things are evident—(1) That 'fallow deer' is not a correct tr^{n} of *yaḥmûr*. The fallow deer is אַיָּל *'ayyāl* (see HART). The first three animals of the list (Dt 14^{5}) are *'ayyāl*, correctly tr^{d} in both AV and RV 'hart'; *ṣĕbî*, AV incorrectly 'roebuck,' RV correctly 'gazelle'; and *yaḥmûr*, AV incorrectly 'fallow deer,' RV correctly, as we believe, 'roebuck.' The LXX (B) gives us no help, as it has only *ἔλαφος* and *δορκάς*, the equivalents of *'ayyâl* and *ṣĕbî*, and drops out *yaḥmûr* from the lists. (2) That *bubale* (LXX AF *βούβαλος*), as proposed by some, is also not a correct tr^{n} for *yaḥmûr*. The *bubale* is not now found west of the Jordan, and only rarely east of it. The roebuck is found in considerable numbers on both sides of this river. The *bubale* is not called *yaḥmûr* where found on the confines of Palestine. The roebuck is so called both east and west of the Jordan. It is most numerous in the thickets, in the wâdis of Carmel and N.W. Galilee.

The roebuck, *Cervus capreolus*, L., is shaped like a gazelle. Its full length is 3 ft. 10 in. from the tip of the nose to the end of the rump; height at shoulder 2 ft. 4 in., at rump 2 ft. 6 in. The horns are about as long as the face, on a line with it, and have three short branches. The eyes are almond-shaped, with point forward. There is no external tail. The coccyx is 2 in. long, but is covered by the rump fat. The colour is grey, with a reddish-brown shade towards the posterior part of the rump, and white between the thighs and on the belly. (See figure of a specimen in *PEFSt*, July 1890, p. 171).

G. E. POST.

ROGELIM (רוֹגְלִים; Ρωγελλείμ, A in 2 S 17^{27} Ῥωγελείμ).—The native place of Barzillai the Gileadite. The exact site is unknown; it probably lay in the north of Gilead (2 S 17^{27} 19^{31}).

ROHGAH (*Kethîbh* רוהגה, corrected by *Kerê* to רַהְגָּה; B om., A Ὄγά).—An Asherite, 1 Ch 7^{34}.

ROIMUS (Ῥόιμος), 1 Es 5^{8}, corresponds to Rehum, Ezr 2^{2}, or Nehum, Neh 7^{7}.

ROLL.—See WRITING.

ROMAMTI-EZER (רוֹמַמְתִּי עֶזֶר).—A son of Heman, 1 Ch $25^{4.\ 31}$. There is reason to believe that this and five of the names associated with it are really a fragment of a hymn or prayer (see GENEALOGY, III. 23 n.; and cf. Kittel in *SBOT*, and W. R. Smith, *OTJC*^{2} 143 n.).

ROMAN (Ῥωμαῖος, esp. Ac $16^{21.\ 37.\ 38}$ 22^{25-29} 23^{27}).—Roman citizenship (*civitas*) might be held in NT times (*a*) by birth, from two Roman citizens united in *justæ nuptiæ*. There was no *connubium*, or right of *Roman* marriage (unless specially granted), except with a Roman woman. If the union were un-Roman (with a Latin woman, a foreigner, a concubine) or unlawful (with a slave, etc.), it gave no *patria potestas*, and the children followed the mother's condition. It might also be held (*b*) by manumission in certain cases, or (*c*) by grant, either to entire cities or districts, or to individuals in reward of political or other services, as to a soldier on his discharge. Under Claudius, however, Messalina sold the *civitas*, and the price gradually fell (Dio, lx. 9) to a ridiculous figure. The chief captain (Ac 22^{28}) bought it at a high price; but if St. Paul was born free, it must have been held at least by his father (Ramsay, *St. Paul*, 30 f.). The franchise of Tarsus (Ac 21^{39} Ἰουδαῖος, Ταρσεύς) would not imply the *civitas* as a matter of course, for Tarsus was an *urbs libera* (Pliny, *NH* v. 27).

The most practical advantage of the *civitas* in NT times was that no citizen could be scourged (lex *Valeria* B.C. 509, lex *Porcia* of uncertain date) or put to death by any provincial authority without the right of appeal to the emperor. Even the *prætectus prætorio* could not condemn him to *deportatio*, and the emperor himself commonly had him executed by the sword, reserving the cross, the fire, and the beasts for slaves and other low people. It was illegal when Paul and Silas were scourged at Philippi (Ac 16^{37}), and when Paul was to have been examined at Jerusalem by scourging (Ac 22^{24} *μάστιξιν ἀνετάζεσθαι*). In both cases *ἀκατάκριτος* is *re incognita* (Ramsay, *St. Paul*, 225), for it would not have been less illegal after condemnation. Of the other two scourgings mentioned in 2 Co 11^{25} nothing further is known.

The right of appeal to the emperor seems to continue neither the old *provocatio ad populum*, which was limited even in republican times by the *quæstiones perpetuæ*, and had now become obsolete, nor the old *intercessio* of the tribunes, which was purely negative, and limited by the first milestone from Rome. It seems rather to rest on the general authority of the emperor, under the lex *de imperio*, to do almost anything he should consider *ex usu reipublicæ*, etc. The appeal was not granted quite as a matter of course. Festus confers (Ac 25^{12}) with his assessors before deciding (v.^{25} *ἔκρινα*). Once granted, it stopped the case. The governor could not even release the accused (Ac 26^{32}). His only duty was to draw up a statement of the case (*apostoli*, *litteræ dimissoriæ*—Festus asks Agrippa's help in doing this) and send him to Cæsar. St. Paul is delivered to a centurion, *σπείρης Σεβαστῆς*—one of the legionary centurions employed on detached service at Rome, and therefore called *peregrini* from the Roman point of view, and by him handed over at Rome to his chief, the *στρατοπεδάρχης* (Ac 28^{16}, but om. WH) or *princeps peregrinorum* (so Mommsen: not the *prætectus prætorio*).

The accused might be kept before trial in (*a*) *custodia publica*, the common jail, though a man of high rank was frequently committed to (*b*) *custodia libera* as the guest of some citizen who would answer for his appearance. Intermediate was (*c*) *custodia militaris*, where one end of a light chain (*ἅλυσις*) was constantly fastened to his right wrist, the other to the left wrist of a soldier (so St. Paul, Ac 26^{29} 28^{20}, Eph 6^{20}, 2 Ti 1^{16}). In this case he might *either* be kept in strict custody (2 Ti 1^{17}, where Onesiphorus needs diligent search to find St. Paul), *or* allowed to live in his own

lodgings and receive in them what company he chose (Ac 24^{23} 28^{30}). The actual trial was before the emperor (often in person) and his *consiliarii*; and each count of the indictment was separately examined. 2 Ti 4^{17} seems to say that the *prima actio* against St. Paul had been a failure, though the apostle has no hope of escape on the second.

A false claim of citizenship was a capital crime (Suet. *Claudius*, 25).

LITERATURE.—Mommsen, *Römische Staatsrecht*, 1876–77, and (for peregrini) *Berlin. Akad. Sitzungsber.* 1895, p. 501; Willems, *Droit public Romain*, 1883; Karlowa, *Römische Rechtsgeschichte*, 1885; W. M. Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller*, 1895.

H. M. GWATKIN.

ROMAN EMPIRE (most nearly *orbis terrarum*, *ἡ οἰκουμένη*, Lk 2^{1}; and its people *genus humanum*, as Tac. *Ann.* xv. 44 'odio humani generis.' *Imperium populi Romani* does not cover the free cities, and *Romania* seems first found Ath. *Hist. Ar.* 35, and Orosius, *Hist. e.g.* vii. 43).—Augustus left the Empire bounded by the Rhine and the Danube, the Euphrates, the African desert, the Atlantic, and the North Sea. These limits he recommended to his successors, and they were not seriously exceeded till Trajan's time, except that the conquest of Britain was begun by Claudius in 43, and finished as far as it ever was finished at the recall of Agricola in 85. Germany had recovered its independence in 9 A.D. by the defeat of Varus, and the conquest of Parthia was hardly within the range of practical politics.

Not Rome destroyed the ancient nations, but their own wild passions and internecine civil strife. The Greeks could make nothing of the liberty Flamininus gave them, the Gauls were no better, and even Israel—the one living nation Rome did crush—was in no very different case in Judæa. Rome came in as often as not to keep the peace; and when the Empire settled down, it seemed quite natural that 'all the world' should be subject to her. Virgil and Claudian sing with equal enthusiasm her everlasting dominion; and even the Christians firmly believed that nothing but Antichrist's coming would end it (2 Th $2^{6f.}$). So, though she had mutinies enough of armies, Israel was almost the only rebel nation. She could mass her legions on the great river frontiers, and leave a score of lictors to keep the peace of Asia, a garrison of 1200 men to answer for the threescore States of Gaul. She no more ruled the world than we rule India by a naked sword.

Hence there was a vast variety even of political *status* within the Empire. Some cities had the Roman *civitas* (see ROMAN), others only the *jus Latii*; some, like Athens, were in theory free and equal allies of Rome, while others had no voice in their own taxation. Italy had the *civitas*, and was supposed to be governed by the Senate, whereas a senator could not even set foot in Egypt without the emperor's permission. Some provinces were governed by senatorial proconsuls or proprætors, others by *legati Augusti pro prætore*, or, like Egypt or Judæa, by a *præfectus augustalis*, or a *procurator* of lower rank. Some regions, again, had client kings, like Mauretania, Judæa under the Herods, or Thrace. True, the Empire was steadily levelling all this variety. The client kingdoms disappeared—Galatia as early as B.C. 25, Chalcis (held by Agrippa II.) as late as 100. The autonomy of the *urbes liberæ* was commonly respected—Hadrian was archon twice at Athens; but the Roman *civitas* was steadily extended till Caracalla gave it in 212 to all free inhabitants of the Empire.

Broadly speaking, the Eastern half of the Empire was Greek, the Western Latin. The dividing line may run pretty straight from Sirmium to the altars of the Philæni. But Greek was dominant in parts of the West,—Massilia, Sicily, and the coasts of Southern Italy,—and was in most places the language of culture and of commerce, whereas Latin in the East was not much more than an official language. Nor was either Latin or Greek quite supreme in its own region. Latin had perhaps displaced by this time the Oscan and other dialects of Italy; but it had only well begun the conquest of Spain, Gaul, and the Danube countries. Greek was opposed by the rustic languages of Thrace and the interior of Asia Minor, such as the Lycaonian (Ac 14^{11}) and the Galatian. Further East it had tougher rivals in Aramaic and Coptic, which it was never able to overcome, though Alexandria was a Greek city, and Galilee almost bilingual in the apostolic age. The distribution of the Jews resembled that of the Greeks in being chiefly Eastern, and in following the lines of commerce westward: but their great centres were Syria and Alexandria within the Empire, Babylonia beyond it.

Rome was never able to make a solid nation of her Empire. In Republican times her aim was utterly selfish—to be a nation ruling other nations, and getting all she could out of them. The Republic broke down under the political corruption this caused, and the proscriptions completed the destruction of healthy national feeling. The Empire had higher aims from the first, and the sense of duty to the conquered world increased on it as time went on; but it could neither restore nor create the patriotism of a nation. The old Roman nation was lost in the world; and if the world was lost in Rome, it did not constitute a new Roman nation. Greeks or Gauls might call themselves Romans, and seem to forget their old people in the pride of the Roman *civitas*; but Greeks or Gauls they remained. Every province of the Empire had its own character deeply marked on the society of the apostolic age and on the Churches of the future. Galatia was not like Asia, and Pontus or Cilicia differed from both. There were peoples in great variety; but the old nations were dead, and the one new nation was never born.

Yet the memory of nations put the Empire in a false position. It belonged, like the Christian Church, to the universalism of the future; but the circumstances of its origin threw it back on the nationalism of the past. Augustus came in after the civil wars as a 'Saviour of Society,' sustained by the abiding terror of the proscriptions. Hence he was forced into a conservative policy very unlike the real tendency of the Empire to level class distinctions, to replace local customs by uniform laws and administration, and to supersede national worships by a universal religion. The Empire was hampered by Republican survivals, degraded by the false universalism of Cæsar-worship. Augustus had to conciliate Rome by respecting class-feeling, and by leaving Republican forms of government almost unaltered. He was no king, forsooth (not *rex*, though called *βασιλεύς* in the provinces, Ac 17^{7}, 1 P $2^{13.\ 17}$),—only *princeps*, the first citizen of the Republic. The consuls were still the highest magistrates, though those who gave their names to the year were replaced during the year by one or more pairs of *consules suffecti*. Prætors, quæstors, etc., went on much the same, and even the anarchical power of the tribunes was not limited by law till the reign of Nero, though the popular assemblies vanished after that of Augustus. The Senate deliberated as of old under the presidency of the consuls, and the emperor himself respectfully awaited their *Nihil vos moramur* at the end of the sitting. It still governed Italy and half the provinces, and furnished governors for nearly all—deep offence would have been given if any one

but a senator had been made *legatus Augusti pro prætore*. Above all, the Senate could legislate without interference from tribunes or *Comitia*. It elected all the magistrates (from the time of Tiberius), and even the emperor owed to it his constitutional appointment. So far as forms went, the State was a Republic still, and became a real one for a moment when the government lapsed to the consuls at an emperor's death. The name *respublica* lasted far past 476.

But the emperor was not only master, but fully recognized as such. The liberty of the Senate was hardly more than liberty to flatter him. The pillars of his power were three. He had (1) the *imperium proconsulare*, which gave him full military and civil power in the great frontier provinces, where most of the army lay. The rest were left to the Senate; but as his *imperium* was defined to be *majus*—superior to that of ordinary proconsuls—he practically controlled them too. The power was for life, and was not forfeited in the usual way by residence in Rome. He held also (2) the *tribunicia potestas*, also for life, and without limitation to the first milestone out of Rome. This made his person sacrosanct, and gave him the *jus auxilii*, by which he cancelled decisions of magistrates, and the *intercessio*, by which he annulled decisions of the Senate. He had also (3) other powers conferred separately on Augustus, but afterwards embodied in a *lex regia* or *de imperio* for his successors. A fragment of the law passed for Vespasian is preserved (*CIL* vi. 930), and two of its clauses run—

'*Utique, quæcumque ex usu reipublicæ, majestate divinarum, humanarum, publicarum privatarumque rerum esse censebit, ei agere, facere jus potestasque sit, ita uti divo Augusto Tiberioque Iulio Cæsari Augusto Tiberioque Claudio Cæsari Augusto Germanico fuit; utique quibus legibus plebeive scitis scriptum fuit ne divus Augustus &c. tenerentur, iis legibus plebisque scitis imperator Cæsar Vespasianus solutus sit, quæque ex quaque lege, rogatione divum Augustum &c. facere oportuit, ea omnia imperatori Cæsari Vespasiano Augusto facere liceat.*'

Thus the emperor was not arbitrary. He was subject to law like any other citizen, unless dispensed by law. True, he could alter law by getting a *senatus consultum*, or by issuing his *edict* as a magistrate. He could also interpret it by a rescript or answer to a governor who asked directions; his *acta* were binding during his reign, though the Senate might quash them afterwards; and, as we have seen, he had large discretionary powers. But by law he was supposed to govern, and by law he commonly did govern. The excesses of a Nero must not blind us to the steady action of the great machine, which was so great a blessing to the provincials. Moreover, though the Senate was commonly servile enough, it was no cipher even in the 3rd century. It represented the tradition of the past, the society of the present; and every prudent emperor paid it scrupulous respect. If an emperor is called bad, it need not mean that he was incompetent (Tiberius was able enough), or that he oppressed the provinces (Nero did not). It means that he was on bad terms with the Senate, and, therefore, with the strong organization of society which culminated in the Senate. Nero did himself more harm by fiddling and general vulgarity than by murders and general vileness. Society was always a check on the emperor, and in the end it proved the stronger power. If Diocletian shook off the control of the army, he did it only by a capitulation to the plutocrats of society.

The religious condition of the Empire was not like anything in modern Europe. It had no established or even organized Church, for the regular worships were local, except that of the emperor. Priesthoods might run in families or be elective, or sometimes any one who knew the ritual might act as priest; but the priests were not a class. Taken as he commonly was from the higher ranks of society, the priest was first of all the great senator or local magnate, so that his priesthood was only a minor office. The priests were not a clergy, except in the irregular Mithraic and other Eastern cults, where they were not yet taken from the higher classes. Nevertheless, there were sharp limits to Roman toleration, though persecution was not always going on. Intolerance, indeed, was a principle of heathenism, laid down in the Twelve Tables, and impressed by Mæcenas on Augustus. Rome had her gods, whose favour had built up the Empire, and whose wrath might overthrow it: so no Roman citizen could be allowed to worship other gods without lawful authority, which could be given only by the Senate. Gradually all national gods obtained recognition, so that the pantheon of the Empire became a large one; but the individual was as strictly as ever forbidden to go outside it. Thus we get the anomaly of persecution without a persecuting Church.

The emperor's own position was equally unlike that of modern sovereigns. He held the office of *Pontifex Maximus* in permanence after the death of Lepidus, B.C. 12. This gave him a dignified position as head of the college of pontiffs, which superintended the State religion; and it gave him by law or usurpation the appointment of pontiffs, vestals, and flamens. But these were only local officials; with the priests in the provinces and with the irregular Eastern cults the *Pontifex Maximus* had no direct concern. Complete as was the identification of Church and State in Rome, the office gave its holder no exorbitant power over religion.

The strength of his position was not official but personal—vaguely indicated by the title *Augustus* (Σεβαστός, Ac $26^{21.25}$). The courtly fiction that the Julian house was descended from the gods might do service for a time; but the truth came out clear at Vespasian's elevation. If he was a tough old general with no romance about him, who died with a scoff on his lips at his own divinity, he was none the less the impersonation of the glory of the world and Rome; and this is what made the emperors divine, and kept them so in spite of absurd deifications like those of Claudius and of Poppæa's infant. Emperor-worship might be fashion; but it was also a real cult sustained by genuine belief. If courtiers placed Augustus among the household gods, courtiers did not keep Marcus there in Constantine's time. Kings were counted gods from the Pharaohs of Egypt to the Jubas of Mauretania; and the Greeks had worshipped great men from Lysander (B.C. 403) onward, till deification became a cheap compliment for kings and their favourites. Rome understood better than the Greeks the difference between gods and men—*deus* is a much more definite word than θεός; yet even she deified legendary kings. But Romulus was the last of them, and she never deified the heroes of the Republic. Flamininus was a god in Greece; but Scipio was no more than a man at Rome; and even Sulla was only *Felix*, not *Augustus*. To the last she reserved the honour for emperors and their near relations, for the worship of Hadrian's favourite Antinous was rather Eastern and Greek than Roman. Yet in the goddess Roma the spirit of the State was worshipped long before the honours of deity were pressed on the dictator Cæsar by a grateful people and a servile Senate. Cæsar's murder was a warning to Augustus; and he called himself *Divi Filius*, but not *Divus*. He allowed the Asiatic cities to build temples to him after the battle of Actium, but required them to join with him the goddess Roma. Other cities followed: first in Asia in apostolic times was

Pergamum, 'where Satan's seat is' (Rev 2^{13}). Such cities were called *νεωκόροι* or temple wardens of Augustus, as Ephesus (Ac 19^{35}) was *νεωκόρος* of Artemis. Before long a *Commune Asiæ* (*τὸ κοινὸν τῆς Ἀσίας*) was formed, with a chief priest or ASIARCH (in looser sense, as Ac 19^{31}, unless these be past Asiarchs) in each city, and over them an elected Asiarch (in the strict sense) or chief priest of the province. Other provinces did likewise, as Bithynia, Galatia, Phœnicia, etc., and in B.C. 12 the 60 States of Gaul organized a *Commune*, meeting annually at the confluence of the Rhone and the Saône. These provincial assemblies were powerful enough—the priests were always magnates—to answer some of the purposes of representative government. They could complain of a bad governor, and often obtain his recall. In Italy, and especially in Rome, the worship of the emperor was chiefly represented by that of his genius or his virtues: only at his death he was formally placed among the gods by the Senate. '*Reliquos deos accepimus*,' says Valerius Maximus, '*Cæsares dedimus*.' This deification was the rule, though emperors who displeased the Senate were not deified when the honour could safely be refused them; and it can be traced well into Christian times, certainly till Jovian (364), and perhaps as late as Theodosius, though long before that time the emperor had ceased to be a real divinity, even among the heathens.

If the Empire was the greatest of hindrances to the gospel, it was also the greatest of helps. We must look below its superficial tolerance in the Apostolic Age, below the deeper enmity proclaimed by Nero's persecution. The single fact that the Empire was universal went far to complete the fulness of time for Christ's coming. Rome put a stop to the wars of nations and the great sales of slaves resulting from them, to the civil strife of cities and their murderous revolutions. Henceforth they were glad to live quietly beneath the shelter of the Roman peace. Intercourse and trade (witness the migratory Jews) were easier and freer than ever since in Europe till quite recently. It was settled peace, too, such as never came again till after Waterloo. Whole provinces hardly saw the face of war for generations together. Roman law went with Roman citizenship; and Latin civilization overspread the West, while Greece under Roman protection completed her conquest of Asia within Mount Taurus.

Historically, the Empire is the great barrier which won for civilization a respite of centuries by checking at the Rhine the tide of Northern barbarism, and at the Euphrates the two thousand years' advance of Asiatic barbarism through Parthian and Saracen and Turkish times, beginning with Alexander's retreat from the Sutlej, B.C. 327, and ending only at the repulse of the Turks from Vienna in 1683. During that momentous respite Rome gathered into herself the failing powers of the old world, and fostered within her the nascent powers of the new. This was her work in history—to be the link between the ancient and the modern—between the heathen city-states of the ancient world and the Christian nations of the modern. Her weakness was not political. Emperors might rise and fall, but the Empire itself did not perish when emperors rose and fell no more. It was not military: generals might blunder, but nearly to the end no enemy could face a Roman legion in the shock of battle. It was partly economic, in slavery and bad taxation; partly educational, in the helpless hark back to the mere words of the past; partly also administrative. Christian thought is even now profoundly influenced by the fact that the Empire had no good police. Brigands were plenty in Judæa (*λῃστής* 15 times in NT, of which 2 Co 11^{26} may refer to Gentile regions), and, though other provinces were better off, the evil increased as time went on, and the emperor lost control of the administration. Hence arbitrary severities and laws of atrocious cruelty against such offenders as were unlucky enough to be caught. The Empire was by far the worthiest image of the kingdom of God yet seen on earth, but its imperfections are writ large on every form of Christian thought which looks on power as the central attribute of deity. After all, the Empire was the passing of the ancient world. With all their grandeur, its rulers were only the *καταργούμενοι* (1 Co 2^{6}).

LITERATURE.—See ROMAN: and add Boissier, *Religion romaine*; Westcott's *Comm. on St. John's Epp.* ('The Two Empires'); Lightfoot, *Ignatius*, iii. 404; and authorities quoted by them, to which add Fustel de Coulanges, *La Gaule romaine*; and E. G. Hardy, 'The Provincial Councils from Aug. to Diocl.,' in *Eng. Hist. Rev.* v. 221.

H. M. GWATKIN.

ROMANS, EPISTLE TO THE.—

i. Place of the Epistle in tradition. Genuineness.
ii. Time and Place of writing.
iii. Occasion and Purpose: (1) Jews in Rome; (2) Christians in Rome; (3) Apostolic foundation; (4) Jewish or Gentile readers? (5) Letter or Treatise? (6) Relation to other letters of the group.
iv. Sketch of main arguments, and Analytical Table.
v. Importance of the Epistle.
vi. Theology and characteristic ideas: (1) God, Attributes and Will—Law, Christ; (2) Man under sin; (3) Man under law and under grace, the Spirit; (4) Man's admission to grace, faith, justification; (5) Grace and the moral life; (6) The Christian community and its Institutions.
vii. Materials for personal history of St. Paul.
viii. Transmission of the Text. Integrity. Literature.

i. PLACE OF THE EPISTLE IN TRADITION.—What has been remarked of 1 Corinthians applies equally to this Epistle. But definite traces of its language occur already in 1 Peter, fainter but still distinct traces in Hebrews, and probable distinct traces in James, though here the case is less clear, and Mayor, in his edition of *James*, contends for the priority of the latter (see for details, and traces in Jude, Sanday-Headlam, lxxi ff.). The Epistle was well known to Clem. Rom. (nine passages are distinctly traceable), Ignatius (twelve), Polycarp (six), Justin Martyr (seven), and apparently to Gnostic writers (Naassenes, Valentinians, and Basilides) quoted by Hippolytus. For details, see Sanday-Headlam, who add some very instructive quotations (thirteen, of which seven seem indisputable) from *Test. of xii. Patriarchs*. The first reference to our Epistle by name is that by Marcion, who included Romans in his collection of Pauline Epistles (see below, § viii.). We may safely repeat here what was said on 1 Corinthians (which see), that the Epistle to the Romans has been recognized in the Christian Church as long as any collection of St. Paul's Epistles has been extant. In the Muratorian and other early lists our Epistle stands seventh among the Pauline Epistles, *i.e.* last among the Epistles addressed to *Churches* as distinct from individuals. Its present position at the head of the list appears first in the 4th cent. (see on 1 Cor., § 1, and Sanday-Headlam, lxxxiv ff.). Another important direct quotation is in Irenæus, *Hær.* III. xvi. 3, and in IV. xxvii. 3, an 'elder,' the pupil of men who had seen the apostles, is represented as quoting Ro $11^{17.\ 21}$ ('Paulum dixisse') and 3^{23}. Marcion, it is true, omitted chs. 15. 16, and certain other passages; but neither he nor any other heretic impugned the authority of the Epistle, which is included in all the ancient versions. But no weight of external attestation could be more eloquent than the style and character of the Epistle itself. Its very difficulty is of a nature which raises it above the plane of arti-

ficiality. For this difficulty springs from no clumsiness of expression or confusion of thought, but from the depth of the questions handled and the originality of their treatment. It is the most 'Pauline' of all the writings which bear St. Paul's name. Accordingly, critics who have set down almost every other writing of the NT as anonymous, have allowed that this Epistle, along with those to the Corinthians and Galatians, is really from the hand of St. Paul. The somewhat reckless criticism of Bruno Bauer produced little or no effect upon the body of critical opinion in Germany. In more recent times the hypercriticism of the Dutch school of Loman and others, and the extreme theories of Steck (on these see 1 CORINTHIANS, § 4; also Sanday-Headlam, pp. lxxxvi–lxxxviii), have failed to shake the main body of representative critics in their estimate of our Epistle.

ii. TIME AND PLACE OF WRITING.—The ministry of St. Paul as recorded in Acts falls into three periods: (*a*) The Antiochene (Ac 13–18[23]), when Antioch was his headquarters. Towards the end of this period (Ac 16–18) he founds the great Churches of the Ægean region. (*b*) The Ægean or Ephesian period (Ac 18[24]–21[10]), when he transfers his residence to Ephesus; at the end come his second visit to Corinth and his last voyage to Jerusalem. (*c*) The period of captivity (Ac 21[11]–28) at Cæsarea and Rome. To the first period belong the Epistles to the Thessalonians, written from Corinth; to the second, the four Epistles to the Galatians, Corinthians, and Romans. The third period is that of the 'captivity group,' Philippians, Colossians, Ephesians, Philemon. Our Epistle was in all probability the last of its group,—certainly it is later than 1 and 2 Corinthians. It was written from Corinth, where (assuming that 16[23] belongs to our Epistle, see below, § viii.) St. Paul was the guest of the Gaius of 1 Co 1[14].

Phœbe, possibly the bearer of the letter, was a 'deaconess' of Cenchreæ, the eastern port of Corinth. Moreover, St. Paul was on the eve of departure from Corinth with the alms collected by him in Macedonia and Achaia (15[25. 26]) for the 'poor saints' of Jerusalem. From the latter place he was hoping to visit Rome, and afterwards Spain (15[28]; cf. 2 Co 8[1. 2], Ac 24[17] 20[22] 19[21]). It was after the winter, which St. Paul had probably spent in Corinth (1 Co 16[6]), for he proposed *to sail* to Syria (Ac 20[3]) and to reach Jerusalem before Pentecost (Ac 20[16]). But Ro 15 contains no allusion to the plot of the Jews which at the last moment forced him to change his route (Ac 20[3]). The exact year in which the Epistle was written depends upon the dates to be assigned to 1 and 2 Cor. (see 1 CORINTHIANS, § 6 and reff., and CHRONOLOGY OF NT). If, as the present writer inclines to believe, the chronology of Lightfoot, etc., is not definitely superseded, the Epistle dates from just before the Passover of the year 58. If the whole scheme has to be shifted back two years, then the corresponding date in 56 must be adopted. The point may, for the purpose of this article, be left in suspense. The relative date, *i.e.* with reference to the other Epistles, is the point of real importance for the historical explanation of our Epistle. On this point the limits of doubt are narrow. There is no question but that Romans belongs, with 1 and 2 Cor., to the Ægean period (see above), in contrast to 1 and 2 Thess., which belong to the Antiochene period, and to Philippians, Colossians, Ephesians, Philemon, which come after St. Paul's captivities had begun. There is, moreover, no doubt that Romans was written on the eve of St. Paul's departure from the Ægean region, and therefore was preceded in time by both Epistles to the Corinthians. The point which is less absolutely certain is the relation of Romans to Galatians. It is not so very important to subdivide the alternative hypotheses which agree in supposing Romans to follow Galatians. If Lightfoot's view of the close psychological relation between 2 Corinthians and Galatians remains unshaken in itself, and is not outweighed by general chronological considerations, we have a very intelligible historical situation for the origin of Romans (see below, §§ iii. v.). Even if Galatians has to be placed at the beginning of the Ephesian period (Weiss, etc.) or at the close of the Antiochene period (Ramsay, Rendall, etc.), we lose, no doubt, something of the dramatic unity of situation, but we may still regard Romans as the mature expression and expansion of the thoughts struck out at white-heat in Galatians. But the relation is wholly reversed if (with Clemen, *Chronol. der Paul. Briefe*) we regard Galatians as presupposing Romans. This view is part of a general rearrangement of Pauline chronology discussed in the art. 1 CORINTHIANS, vol. i. p. 485. Its direct proof is drawn from the relation of the treatment of circumcision, the law, etc., in our Epistle to that in Galatians, which is supposed to represent an exacerbation of the apostle's attitude. The view to be maintained below (§§ iii.–vi.) seems quite as legitimate an inference from the facts, and in itself more in accord with our general knowledge of St. Paul's thought and temper. If the reader finds it unsatisfactory, he may remember that he has the hypothesis of Clemen to fall back upon.

iii. OCCASION AND PURPOSE.—In order to estimate the occasion and purpose of our Epistle, we must *first* ask, For what readers was it meant? and, *secondly*, What was the apostle probably desirous to say to such readers at this particular time? This necessitates a glance at the antecedents of Roman Christianity.

The Christian body to which our Epistle is addressed was clearly not, like that of Thess. or even of Gal., of recent origin (1[8. 13] 15[23] 16[7]). In view of features of the Epistle, to which attention will presently be drawn, its origin is to be sought in connexion with the existence of a Jewish community in Rome.

1. *Jews in Rome.*—The first known connexion of the Jews and Romans was in the 2nd cent. B.C., under the Maccabees (1 Mac 8[17ff.] 12[1ff.] 14[16. 24] 15[15ff.]). Jewish embassies had gone to Rome, and had obtained treaties of alliance (B.C. 161, 144, 141, 129). Probably their earliest settlements in Rome date from this period,—though there is no need to seek a special occasion at Rome at a period when Jews were beginning to find their way all over the civilized world. Cicero (*pro Flacco*, 59) tells us of a large Jewish community in Rome, which sent annual subsidies to Jerusalem. The captives brought by Pompey from the East (B.C. 61) swelled their numbers. Many of these gained enfranchisement (Philo, *Leg. ad Gaium*, 23), and these are probably the *Libertini* who supported a synagogue of their own at Jerusalem (Ac 6[9]). Their worship was expressly tolerated by Julius, Augustus, and Tiberius. They occupied, according to Philo, a quarter of their own beyond the Tiber. But there is evidence of synagogues, and therefore of Jewish residents, in other parts of the city also. Josephus tells us how 8000 Jews in Rome supported the complaints against the rule of Archelaus in Judæa (A.D. 2–4; *Ant.* XVII. xi. 1; *BJ* II. vi. 1). The satires of Horace, Juvenal, and Persius show that the Jews were far from popular in Rome; while yet, partly from the attraction which foreign rites had for the superstitious, partly, no doubt (Schürer, *HJP* § 31, v.), from the more serious attraction of the fusion of a higher morality and a purer theism than were to be found elsewhere, they did not

lack very numerous adherents ('Unus multorum,' Hor. *Sat.* I. ix. 71). A temporary expulsion, A.D. 19, by Tiberius, did not long check their growing numbers and importance in the city (see, for details, Schürer, *Gemeindeverfassung*, and *HJP* § 31, i. ii.; Berliner, *Gesch. der Juden in Rom*, 1893; Sanday-Headlam, *Romans*, Introd. § 2, and authorities cited by them).

2. *Origin of Christianity in Rome.*—A movement which so profoundly stirred Judaism at its religious centre could not fail to find an early response in the Jewish community at the centre of the world's intercourse. At every great festival at Jerusalem, Roman Jews would be present (ἐπιδημοῦντες, Ac 2^{10}, *i.e.* ἐν πανηγύρει, as Demosth. *c. Mid.* p. 584). This was the case at the first Christian Pentecost. We may see in the mention of the Roman Jews of Ac 2^{10} a significant hint of what may possibly have happened. 'Some who had gone forth from Rome as Jews may well have returned there as Christians' (W. H. Simcox). But we must look rather to the constant stream of movement to and fro than to the result of so momentary an impression as that of this one festival. 'It would take more than they brought away from the Day of Pentecost to lay the foundations of a church.' The origin of the Roman Church is to be looked for in the steady though obscure circulation, kept up among the Jews as among other classes, between Rome and the provinces. Aquila and Priscilla may have been Christians before their expatriation from Rome, A.D. 51, 52. It was, at any rate, in the class to which they belonged that the seed of the vast tree of Roman Christianity was first sown and grew (see also Sanday-Headlam, p. xxvii, for details from Ro 16).

3. *Apostolic foundation of the Roman Church.*—There is no need to assume that any apostle first planted the gospel in Rome, nor do the facts permit the supposition. St. Paul is not, in writing to the Romans (15^{20}), building upon the foundation laid by another. He is, on the contrary, discharging an unfulfilled portion of his mission as Apostle to the Gentiles (11^{13} $1^{6.14}$). The Roman Church, then, had hitherto lacked apostolic leadership and, so far as our Epistle informs us, organization on any permanent basis (see below, § vi. 5, and art. 1 CORINTHIANS, vol. i. p. 490). It is true that early tradition ascribes the foundation of the Roman Church to St. Peter, and a less ancient but still somewhat early tradition ascribes to that apostle a twenty-five years' episcopate of the Roman Church. The highly contentious character of the questions here at issue, their extraordinary complexity, and their secondary bearing upon our main subject, forbid anything but the slenderest discussion of them in this article. But it may be said, with reference to the first-named tradition, that the earliest testimony on the subject ascribes the foundation of the Roman Church to St. Peter and St. Paul *jointly*; it is 'Petro-Pauline,' *i.e.* ascribes nothing to St. Peter which it does not equally ascribe to St. Paul. Moreover, it hinges primarily on the *martyrdom* of the two apostles at Rome. Clement, writing soon after 95 ($5^{4ff.}$), couples the death of the two apostles in a context suggestive of martyrdom; he does not expressly locate their death at Rome, but speaks of it as if it were within the direct knowledge of those on whose behalf he is writing. Ignatius (*ad Rom.* iv. 3) is less explicit; he suggests that the two apostles had given instructions to the Roman Christians. His language exemplifies the habitual association of the two names. This is stronger still in Dionys. Cor. (in Eus. *HE* II. xxv. 8); he makes the two plant the Church of *Corinth* as well as that of Rome. Irenæus (and perhaps Hegesippus, *ap.* Eus. *HE* IV. xxii.) knows that the Roman Church claims the two apostles as its founders. Tertullian (*Præscr.* 36) speaks of the two apostles as having 'poured into that Church all their doctrine along with their blood.' His Roman contemporary, Caius, knows the τρόπαια of the two apostles on the Vatican and by the Appian Way. We must notice, lastly, the interesting statement in the *Prædicatio Pauli*, quoted by pseudo-Cyprian (*De rebapt.*, Hartel, vol. iii. p. 90), that after long separation the two apostles met and suffered together in Rome. It is a very improbable suggestion of Lipsius, that this stream of tradition owes its origin to the attempt to harmonize the relations of the two apostles, and that it presupposes the Clementine tradition in which the anti-Pauline tradition of SIMON MAGUS at Rome was incorporated. This latter tradition is closely connected with the tradition which ascribes to St. Peter a *special* connexion with the Roman Church, *i.e.* as distinct from St. Paul. Whether it is possible to separate them, so as to exhibit the story of St. Peter's twenty-five years' episcopate, without any dependence on the legend which brings Simon Magus to Rome (which in turn seems wholly due to a well-known mistake of Justin, see *Dict. Chr. Biog.* art. 'Simon Magus'), is a most intricate question. An inadequate discussion of it would be worthless, an adequate discussion would transgress the proportions of this article. Suffice it, then, to say that the question of importance for our purpose is whether St. Peter can be credibly held to have come to Rome as early as the reign of Claudius (41–54). There are two possible sources for this supposition. The one is the statement of Justin, that Simon came to Rome in this reign. But, apart from the mistake upon which Justin founded this statement, neither Justin, nor Irenæus, nor Tertullian after him, know anything of the Roman conflict of Simon with St. Peter. The other source is the idea that St. Peter, on leaving Jerusalem (Ac 12^{17}), came to Rome shortly before the death of Herod Agrippa I. (*i.e.* about A.D. 42); the Lord having (*as inferred from that text*) commanded the apostles to remain twelve years in Jerusalem. Neither of these alternatives proves any foundation in fact for so early a visit of St. Peter to Rome.

On the whole, we conclude that the Petro-Pauline tradition is the only one which goes back to the 1st cent., that it is presupposed by the tradition of the Roman conflict between St. Peter and Simon, and by the tradition of St. Peter's twenty-five years' episcopate, and that its foundation in fact is the martyrdom of both apostles at Rome. This was the 'foundation' of the Roman Church in the sense in which the 'foundation-stone' of a building is often laid after the actual foundations have been long in progress. The two apostles 'consolidated the Church with their blood.' There is therefore no primitive tradition which brings St. Peter to Rome before St. Paul, or any long time before the usually accepted date of his martyrdom. (See Lipsius, *Apokr. Apostelgesch.* vol. ii., and *Quellen der röm. Petrussage*; Erbes, 'Todestage der Apostel Paul. und Pet.' in *Texte und Untersuch.* xix. 1; Lightfoot, *St. Clement*, vol. ii. p. 490 ff.; the very careful and fair discussion in Sanday-Headlam, *Intr.* § 3; and Chase in art. PETER in vol. iii. of the present work).

4. *Composition of the Body addressed by St. Paul.*—We must assume as the basis of discussion that St. Paul was not wholly ignorant of the composition and general state of the Church to which he was writing. The names and data of ch. 16, which we believe to be an original part of the Epistle (see below, § viii.), and the sureness of touch which

marks all St. Paul's references to the readers of this Epistle, are enough to carry us thus far. The Epistle, then, is certainly meant for *readers of Gentile origin*. St. Paul counts the Romans, as such, as Gentiles; see $1^{7f.}$ ἐν οἷς ἐστε καὶ ὑμεῖς, v.^{13} ἐν τοῖς λοιποῖς ἔθνεσιν, cf. $15^{15ff.}$. The readers are expressly described as Gentiles 11^{13-32}, especially ὑμῖν λέγω τοῖς ἔθνεσιν, while he speaks of the Jews in the third person $9^{1ff.}$ $11^{23.\ 28.\ 31}$. These passages are quite conclusive, and would justify a verdict if taken alone.

But there are other passages which show with equal clearness that St. Paul is contemplating *readers Jewish in their religious education and ideas*. (1) The general argument of the Epistle, levelling down the Jew, *both* under law *and* under grace, to the footing of the Gentile, is more intelligible as addressed to Christians of Jewish habits of thought. The careful discussion of Abraham's righteousness suggests a similar origin. Nor, be it observed, is there any suggestion of anti-Pauline agitators in the Roman Church to account for this line of argument (as in Galatians). Add to this the assumption of knowledge ($5^{1ff.}$) as to Adam and his heritage of death, the pains taken (3^{8} 6^{1}) to rebut the imputation of antinomianism, and to show (ch. 11) that the rejection of Israel may be but the necessary step to their eventual acceptance. (2) The dialectical form in which Jewish difficulties are carefully faced, and paradoxes especially abhorrent to the Jewish mind repelled with μὴ γένοιτο ($3^{1.\ 3}$ 4^{1} $7^{7.\ 13}$ $9^{14.\ 30}$ $11^{1.\ 11}$, cf. Gal 2^{17}); the προεχόμεθα of 3^{9} (cf. 4^{1}, and $7^{5.\ 6}$ in conjunction with the expansion, vv.$^{7-25}$, also 9^{10}). (3) Here we must emphasize the express statement 7^{1-5} that the readers had lived under the Law, and in 'oldness of letter,' and that by the death of Christ they had been discharged from their allegiance to the Law. This passage was regarded by Mangold (*der R.-Brief u. s. gesch. Voraussetzungen*, 1884) as the immovable corner-stone of the Jewish-Christian character of the Roman Church. It seems to explain St. Paul's readiness throughout to make use of *Jewish* concessions ($2^{2ff.}$ $3^{2f.\ 19.\ 29f.}$ $4^{1ff.}$ $6^{16ff.}$) and his regard for objections natural to a Jewish mind.

In any case, there is not the smallest evidence in the Epistle that St. Paul apprehended hostility on the part of his readers (see 6^{17} 16^{17}). He writes as a Jew to Jewish, but not to inveterately prejudiced readers. The *Judaism* of the Dispersion was, in many places (*e.g.* Berœa), milder and less *pratiquant* than that of Palestine. The Jewish *Christianity* of the Diaspora may well have stood, in many cases, in an analogous relation to that of the πτωχοὶ ἅγιοι (Ac 21^{20c}). Evidently, the Jewish influence which had moulded the religious temper of the Roman Church was not, as in Galatia and Corinth, of a recently imported or aggressive type.

How, then, are we to combine the two classes of evidence? Partly we might explain their divergence by St. Paul's habit of treating one portion of a Church as if it represented the whole; *e.g.* at Thessalonica, Corinth, and Ephesus there were numerous Jewish Christians, but St. Paul addresses the Churches, especially the first and last named, as wholly Gentile.

But the mere assumption of a mixed composition does not quite account for the phenomena. The readers are treated by St. Paul as a homogeneous body. Even in ch. 14 the distinction between the strong and the weak is not to be simply identified with that between Gentile and Jew. The Roman community as a whole is treated as Gentile in its elements, but Jewish in its ideas and feeling. Now, a class of men corresponding to this description existed all over the Hellenistic Jewish world in the PROSELYTES, the σεβόμενοι of Acts, who, without as a rule accepting circumcision, frequented the synagogues, observed the moral law, worshipped the God of Israel, and were instructed in the Scriptures. It was among these, according to Acts, that the gospel everywhere made its first heathen conquests. Probably the Roman Church was no exception. If so, there would of course be, as at Corinth, etc., a nucleus of Christian Jews, and, by the time when our Epistle was written, numbers of heathen might well have become proselytes directly to the Christian body without previously passing through the intermediate stage of Jewish proselytism. Still it was the proselytes who gave the tone to the community, and they owed their all, as Christians, to the influence and training of Christian Jews. We are compelled to form hypotheses in this matter, and it is this hypothesis which best satisfies the conditions of our problem. The old Tübingen alternative of anti-Pauline Jewish, or anti-Jewish Pauline Christianity, is not imposed upon us either by the facts of history or by the internal evidence of the letter itself. (On this subject see also Hort, *Romans and Ephesians*, pp. 19–33; Beyschlag in *SK*, 1867; Schürer's art. on 'Romans' in *Encyc. Brit.*^{9}).

5. *Letter or Treatise?*—This being assumed, we may approach the question of the writer's purpose. St. Paul would not fail to see that the future of Gentile Christianity in the Roman world depended to no small extent upon the future of the Christian body in the imperial city. We accept the suggestion of Ramsay, that St. Paul had early grasped the importance of the Roman empire as a vehicle for the dissemination of the gospel. To commend his own gospel—the gospel of the Gentiles—to a community like that at Rome, was no hopeless task. To this end a *personal visit* to Rome was the obvious means, and this he had long resolved to pay (1^{11}). But a letter such as this would pave the way for a successful visit, and meanwhile it would accomplish much. Hence its reasoning conciliatory tone (12^{3} $15^{5f.}$ etc.), specially characteristic of a period of reaction from a critical contest, when the apostle's own desire for peace was, moreover, finding concrete expression in the great λογία ($15^{25.\ 30ff.}$). It was, then, no mere arbitrary choice which led St. Paul to address this, his greatest letter, to Rome. The Epistle is not a systematic treatise which might with equal appropriateness have been addressed to any Church. It has, primarily at least, in view the idiosyncrasy of the Christian community at Rome (see below, § v.).

6. *Relation to other Epistles of the group.*—Our Epistle comes at the close of a period of deep agitation, reflected in the Epp. to the Corinthians and Galatians, and summed up in 2 Co 7^{5} ἔξωθεν μάχαι, ἔσωθεν φόβοι. Referring for details to the articles on those Epistles, it will suffice to say that many of 'the circumcision' had never in their hearts acquiesced in the recognition (Ac 15, Gal 2^{3}) of a Christianity emancipated from the Law, or frankly recognized the apostleship of St. Paul. At Corinth the latter question had been brought into prominence, in Galatia the former and deeper question. The Epistle to the GALATIANS stands in the closest relation to our Epistle, and its main ideas must be grasped as a preliminary to the understanding of Romans (see below, § v.). 'To the Galatians, the apostle flashes out in indignant remonstrance the first eager thoughts kindled by his zeal for the gospel, striking suddenly against a stubborn remnant of Judaism. To the Romans he writes at leisure, under no pressure of circumstances, in the face of no direct antagonism, explaining, completing, extending the teaching of the earlier Epistle, by giving it a double edge directed against Jew and Gentile alike' (Lightfoot). The agitators of Galatia had insisted upon the Law as a necessary and permanent scheme of righteousness and salvation

for mankind. Laid down by God as the condition of man's communion with Himself, it could not be set aside by any subsequent covenant. Man could only appear before God as a faithful doer of the Law. St. Paul in reply had addressed himself to two main points: (1) to prove that the Law could not, and that faith alone could, make man righteous in God's sight; (2) to show the true position of the Law in the history of God's dealings with man. Righteousness, he argues, is a free gift from God to man, and as such was accorded to Abraham on the sole condition of faith in an unconditional promise. The inheritance of this promise passes not by any earthly law of succession, but to those who resemble Abraham in his faith. The Law, being of long subsequent date to the Promise, could not be meant to affect its fulfilment. It was given for a temporary purpose, pending the fulfilment of the Promise, namely, to prepare men for the fulfilment by bringing out and making men feel their essential sinfulness and helpless inability to approach God with any claim to righteousness of their own. The righteousness which they could not earn is accorded as the fulfilment of the promise to Abraham's faith in Christ. Like the promise itself, it is unconditional, demanding nothing on our part but faith. To go back to circumcision is to abandon the attitude of faith, and to refuse to see that in Christ the Law has fulfilled its purpose, and has an end. 'Behold, I Paul say unto you, that if ye accept circumcision, Christ shall profit you nothing' (Gal 5^2, cf. the whole of ch. 3). This is the central thought worked out in Romans, but fortified and enlarged by a wider outlook upon history, a profound application to the principles of the moral life, and a comprehensive philosophy of the history of revelation. In this latter part of our Epistle (chs. 9–11) the school of Baur saw its principal purpose. This is a mistake. But it is essential to St. Paul's argument to show that the righteousness of faith, by excluding the Jewish 'boast,' does not involve a reversal of God's 'gifts and calling.'

iv. Argument of the Epistle, and Analysis. —The theological part of the Epistle extends from 1^{15} to the end of ch. 11. It treats successively the Theology of (1) Redemption (1^{11}–5), (2) of the Christian life (6–8), and (3) of history (9–11). The Theology of Redemption comprises two themes, summed up and contrasted in 5^{12-21}, viz. the 'wrath of God' (1^{10}–3^{20}) and the righteousness of God (3^{21}–5^{11}). The wrath of God is the correlative of man's need of redemption. 'First comes the statement that the world up to that moment had been, morally speaking, a failure' (Mozley, *Miracles*, Lect. vii., a remarkable passage on our Epistle). A moral creed was there, but not a corresponding life. Among Jews and Gentiles alike the facts are the same: 'knowledge without action.' The utmost the knowledge of right could do for man was to confound him with a sense of utter self-condemnation. And this self-condemnation was but the perception of an awfully real fact—the wrath of God revealed in all its fearful intensity, not only upon the careless Gentile, but upon the privileged Jew, whose privilege (none the less real because of his apostasy, 3^{1-8}) only heightened his personal guilt. But God's dealings with men, His self-revealed character, had not only led men to fear His holiness, but had also from the first led men to look upon Him as a Saviour. His long series of mercies to His people had led them to look forward to something in the future, some deliverance more final, more complete, more marvellous, than His mighty works of old. God was pledged to redeem, and God was righteous (see below, § vi. (1)). The OT revelation had led men to hold to the righteousness of God as containing the promise of salvation; the gospel declares it as an accomplished fact. And the universality of the wrath of God before Christ only brings out that redemption, when it came, was the sole outcome of the righteousness of God, and not in any degree the achievement of man. God's *righteousness* has as its correlative the *fact* of Redemption. The redeeming work of Christ, then, wherein God appears as 'righteous and making righteous' (3^{26}), humbles man even more completely than did the antecedent revelation of wrath—their boast is shut out, not (only) by a law of works, but (even more completely) by a law of faith. The privilege of the Israelite has no place in the sight of God.

And this strange result, so far from revoking the word of God in the OT, is really its fulfilment. This gospel of faith, this levelling of privilege, was preached before the Law, before any characteristic institute of Judaism was ordained. The whole story of Abraham—the boasted father of Jewish privilege—makes this clear (ch. 4). 'Well, then, my readers,' the apostle concludes, 'let us all make this gift of God our own' (see Beet on ἔχωμεν, 5^1). Peace with God is ours, founded on the certainty of God's love for us—a certainty created in our hearts by the Spirit of God Himself, but no mere subjective certainty; for actual recorded fact speaks plainly to us of that love—a love transcending all probable limits of human devotion. We can trust God to complete what He has begun, and live in joyful hope, however the appearances of life are against us.

True, the experience of history, so far, has been that of a world-wide heritage of death and sin. But the act of weakness which bequeathed that heritage to man has now been superseded by an act of Divine power fraught with the promise of Righteousness and Life to all who receive the abundance of its grace (5^{12-19}).

In this great twofold division of human history, how subordinate a part was played by Law! It forms the last episode of the heritage of death, aggravating the disease in order to intensify man's want of the Remedy (5^{20}).

St. Paul has done half his work, and what he has done is 'more than half of the whole.' He has shown that the wall of sin no longer shuts out the soul from God, that access to God is ours, that the Christian Life is made possible.

But it remains for him to place the Christian Life itself before our eyes, and this he does in the second great section. And, first of all, he takes it in the concrete (ch. 6). The twofold question, 'Shall we sin?' (vv.$^{1-15}$) at first sight answers itself—no one would say that the Christian is to sin. But the weight of the question really turns on the *reason why*? These chapters (6–8) give us the fundamental principles of Christian ethics. And, first of all, he shows us that 'the grace wherein we stand,' which he has hitherto viewed negatively as Justification, *i.e.* Forgiveness of sin, is on its positive side union with Christ. If we were united to Him by Baptism, the rite resembling His Death, we shall further be united with Him by something corresponding to His Resurrection, viz. a new vital energy—καινότητι ζωῆς; only, we must realize this—allow the new life of Christ to wield our limbs. For we are no longer under an external compulsion, but instinct with an indwelling Force—'not under law, but under grace.'

Our obedience to the will of God will be not *less* complete for this reason,—but *far more*. 'If,' he continues, 'you seem to take what I have said as a paradox, I will make my meaning plain by an unworthy metaphor. You have to choose between slavery and slavery—nay, you have made your choice—you have renounced slavery to sin. Well, then, you are slaves of righteousness, slaves of

God: you cannot, if you look back on the past, repent your choice. You are dead in Christ, and when a person dies, he passes out of the control of law. You then, in dying with Christ, died to the law, and are alive to Christ alone' (6^{15}–7^{4}).

St. Paul passes from the concrete picture of the Christian life to the consideration of the forces which are at work in it (7^{5}–8). He employs the method of difference, comparing the pre-Christian life *at its very best, i.e.* as lived under Divine law, with the Christian life; the old life under the letter with the new life in the Spirit. This contrast is tersely stated in $7^{5.6}$, then life under law is characterized in 7^{7-25}, and life in the Spirit in ch. 8. In $8^{12f.}$ the question asked in 6^{1}, so far as it needs an explicit answer, is formally answered.

The connexion of 9–11 with the general argument of the Epistle may be best seen if we consider how they are anticipated in 3^{1-8}. That this is so can be readily proved. The Rejection of Israel, then, was a fact which apparently collided with the main thought of the first section—the Righteousness of God. The Righteousness of God was apparently, to St. Paul, above all God's consistency with, or truth to, His revealed character and purpose. And the absolute levelling of Jew and Gentile—especially the *levelling down* of the Jew to the position of the Gentile as the object of God's wrath—had the look of a revocation of express promise, the going back upon God's own covenant. Was, then, God a 'covenant-breaker'?—*μὴ γένοιτο*. Yet to St. Paul the difficulty was a very real one, and had to be explained. His fundamental explanation is found in 9^{6-29} and 11^{1-10}—viz. that the proper party to the Divine covenant, the true heir to the Promises, is not Israel after the flesh, but the believing few—or, rather, all who by their faith prove themselves true sons and heirs of Abraham (see ch. 4), and that this has been made plain by God all along. But there is the equally important thought that the calling in of all nations—without which the Divine promises from Abraham downwards would not be satisfied, nor the Truth of God really maintained—would have been impossible but for the rejection of the Jews. 'By their fall, salvation had come to the Gentiles,' their *un*righteousness had *established* the Righteousness of God (3^{5}). This is the great paradox of the third section. Still, even with St. Paul, *τὸ συγγενές τοι δεινόν, ἢ θ' ὁμιλία*, blood is thicker than water, and he will not surrender the hope of the ultimate conversion of the apostate people, consecrated as they are by the root whence they had sprung (11^{11-32}).

The argument therefore falls into the following tabular scheme:—

I. Epistolary Introduction, 1^{1-15}.
  A. *The Salutation* (1^{1-7}).—*α*. The writer, his gospel and apostleship (1^{1-6}); *β*. the readers (1^{7a}); *γ*. the greeting (1^{7b}).
  B. *The Romans, and the Apostle's desire to preach to them* (1^{8-15}).
II. Doctrinal Part (1^{16}–11).
  A. *Theology of Salvation* (1^{16}–8).
    a. *Theology of Redemption* (1^{16}–5).
      Preamble ($1^{16.17}$).
      (1) The Wrath of God (1^{18}–3^{20}).
        All, Gentiles (1^{19-32}) and Jews (2^{1}–3^{8}), alike (3^{9-20}) under the wrath of God against sin, and in need of redemption; (2^{1-16} lay down a general principle, preparing for the direct attack (1^{7-29}) upon Jewish self-esteem).
      (2) The Righteousness of God (bringing redemption to all) (3^{21}–5^{21}).
        α. The fact of Redemption (3^{21-26}) (vv.$^{25.26}$. *Significance of the Death of Christ*).
        β. All men on an equality in view of this fact (3^{27-30}).
        γ. The Righteousness of Faith older than that of Law (3^{31}–4^{25}).
        δ. The Righteousness of Faith the basis of Certitude and Hope (5^{1-11}).
        ε. Conclusion. The work of Christ in contrast with the failure of Adam (5^{12-21}).
    b. *Theology of the Christian Life* (6^{1}–8^{39}).
      (1) Synthetic treatment. The Christian and the pre-Christian life contrasted as—
        α. Life and death (6^{1-14}).
        β. Sin and righteousness (6^{15-23}).
        γ. Law and grace (or letter and Spirit) (6^{14} 7^{1-6}).
      (2) Analytic treatment (7^{5-25}): the factors (or psychology) of the Christian life.
        α. Under Law: flesh, will, intellect ($7^{5.7-25}$).
        β. Under Grace: spirit, and the Spirit of God (7^{6} 8).
        The Spirit of Sonship in Christ creates { Obedience to God's Will (8^{1-17}). in us { Certitude and Hope (8^{18-39}).
B. *Theology of History* (9–11; cf. 3^{1-8}).
  (The character of God as shown in the history of the People of God).
  The problem of the rejection of Israel (9^{1-5}) considered in relation to—
    a. *The Past* (the promise of God) (9^{6-29}).
      (1) The promise to Israel was never, from the first, tied to fleshly descent ($7-13$), but freedom was expressly reserved to God ($14-18$).
      (2) This freedom vindicated—*α*. *a priori* ($19-21$), and *β*. *a posteriori* ($22-24$); what has happened is the fulfilment of God's word in prophecy ($25-29$).
    b. *The Present* (9^{30}–10^{21}), the responsibility of the rejected.
      (1) The actual error of Israel (9^{30}–10^{3}).
      (2) Their error analyzed and defined (10^{3-13}).
      (3) Its inexcusable nature shown (10^{13-21}).
    c. *The Future* (11^{1-36}). The Rejection of Israel.
      (1) Only partial (11^{1-10}).
      (2) Only temporary (11^{11-32}).
    Doxology, closing part II. B. and the doctrinal portion of the Epistle (11^{33-36}).
III. Practical Part.
  A. *General Social and Moral Duties* (12. 13).
    a. *Practical Christian Conduct* (12^{1-21}).
    b. *The Christian and the Civil Power* (13^{1-7}).
    c. *The Law of Love* (13^{8-10}).
    d. *The Approach of the Day* (13^{11-14}).
  B. *Mutual Duties of Sections in the Church* (14^{1}–15^{13}).
    a. *The Strong and the Weak* (14^{1-23}).
    b. *Gentiles and Jews* (15^{1-13}).
IV. Epistolary Conclusion (15^{14}–16^{27}).
  a. *The Apostle and his readers* (15^{14-24}).
  b. *The λογία, and the Apostle's approaching visit to Jerusalem* (15^{25-33}).
  c. *Introduction of Phœbe* ($16^{1.2}$), *and salutations to individuals* ($3-16$).
  d. *Final warnings* ($17-20$) *and benediction.*
  e. *Salutations from individuals* [*and benediction in many MSS*] ($21-24$).
  f. *Final Doxology* ($25-27$).

v. Importance of the Epistle.—It is evident that we have here, not exactly a systematic treatise on Christian doctrine, but a letter, held together in all its parts by a central idea, the working out of which in its presuppositions and applications is the essential purpose of the whole. This central idea is to be sought for in connexion with what the apostle calls (2^{16} 16^{25}) 'my gospel' (cf. 1^{1-6}). This expression, understood in the light of Gal 2^{7}, points to more than a mere subdivision of labour between the apostles. Not merely the well-being, but the very existence of non-Jewish Christianity depended upon the gospel specially entrusted to St. Paul (compare Ph 2^{16} with Gal 2^{2c}). The gospel of the uncircumcision, St. Paul's gospel (Ro 16^{25}, Eph $3^{3.6.7}$), meant the levelling of Jewish privilege and self-righteousness (Ro 10^{3} 3^{30}), and this rested upon the principle of *faith* as the sole ground of righteousness in the sight of God ($3^{27.28}$ read *γάρ*, 4^{16} etc.).

If this view is correct,—and it seems to follow directly from St. Paul's own language,—it at once places Romans in a fundamental position among our materials for a Pauline theology, and marks the earlier chapters as fundamental in comparison with the rest of the Epistle. To take the latter point first: it was a too external view of the Epistle which led Baur to see its primary purpose in the subject of chs. 9–11. Near to the

apostle's heart (9$^{1ff.}$) as that subject was, it belongs to the historical application of the fundamental idea of the Epistle rather than to the fibre and substance of that idea itself. The ideal relation between God and man holds good prior to any particular course which in God's providence the religious history of the world may have followed. Had the Jews never enjoyed the position of a chosen people, the fundamental facts of human nature in relation to God would have been the same. The Law came in as a secondary factor (3^{20}), and the historical relations of Jew and Gentile, the apostasy of the Jews, belong to the sphere not of eternal realities, but of the contingent. Therefore the first eight chapters accomplish St. Paul's primary purpose; the next three round off his fundamental thought by vindicating it in the light of religious history. And of the first eight chapters, clearly those (6–8) which deal with the principles of the Christian life presuppose and are governed by those which treat of man's fundamental relation to God (1–5). These chapters, then, which are directed to convincing all Christians, especially those of Jewish habits of thought, that man cannot become righteous by means of law, but only by faith, are the central portion of the Epistle, and it is there that its main purpose is to be found. St. Paul's main purpose was, then, to commend 'his gospel,' the principle of the righteousness of faith, to the Christians of Rome. But if so, it is a letter, not a treatise in the full sense of the word. So far from being meant as a compendium of Christian doctrine, it is not written with special reference to what was common to St. Paul and the older apostles (1 Co 15^{11}). This the Romans already know, and it is taken for granted (16^{17} 6^{17}). The apostle writes not to controvert, nor even to reconstruct *de novo*, but to complete (1^{11}). St. Paul's gospel was but the explicit formulation of what was implied in the gospel as preached by all, and from the first. If Christ, as all taught and all believed, had died not in vain, then righteousness did not come through Law (cf. Gal 2^{21}). It need not, then, surprise us that the enunciation *ex professo* of the specifically Pauline doctrines is almost confined to the Epistles of this group. In the earlier Epistles to the Thessalonians, St. Paul is at a simpler stage of his teaching. To the recent converts of Macedonia, temperance, righteousness, and the judgment that was to come (Ac 24^{25}) supply the natural heads of instruction. In Philippians we catch the last echoes of the great controversy; in Ephesians, Colossians, Philemon, and still more in Timothy and Titus, new circumstances call forth different categories of doctrine. But throughout, the principles of Romans and Galatians are presupposed and are fundamental. Lastly, as compared with Galatians itself, our Epistle is primary. Galatians (see above, § iii. 6) is addressed at a special psychological moment. Its argument from the priority in time of the covenant of faith reappears, identical in substance, but in more extended elaboration, in Ro 4. But the eternal principle which underlies this historical argument is worked out in Romans with a wider outlook and a deeper foundation in human nature. The Gentile world is included in the arraignment of human helplessness before God. The history is carried back from Abraham to Adam; the justification of man is put into relation with the righteousness of God, the inability (8^{3}) of the Law to save is grounded upon a searching psychological analysis of its exact effect (Ro 7$^{5ff.}$, cf. Gal 3^{19}), and the contrasted moral renovation effected by the Spirit (Gal 5$^{16ff.}$) is described at length and put into relation with a comprehensive and sublime view of the meaning and destiny of creation. No doubt, the root-ideas of Romans are those of Galatians; but in the latter Epistle St. Paul is dealing with the controversy of the hour, in Romans he is dealing with human nature itself, and with the fundamental and universal relations of man as man to God as God, as conditioned by the central fact of history—the Person and work of Christ. Our Epistle, then, is the ripe fruit of St. Paul's distinctive mission as a master-builder (1 Co 3^{10}) in the formation of the Church. In chs. 1–5, where he speaks as a Jew to Jews, we see Judaism *led out of itself* by the gospel, but by its own methods and from its own premises. This is a re-statement, but on a broader basis, of the position of Galatians. Then in chs. 6–8, speaking as a Christian to Christians, he brings out the contrast between law (and flesh) and grace (and spirit) as the respective spheres of the old and the new life. Here the Jewish point of view, its legalism and nationalism, are left far behind, and the ethical categories of the OT (even in their truest significance) have given place to those of the New (compare the deepened sense of the terms 'spirit' and 'flesh,' below, § vi.), the obedience of slaves to that of sons, the natural man to the spiritual; propitiation for sin issues in the destruction of its power (8$^{1ff.}$), the satisfaction of Law by Christ in its supersession as a factor in the spiritual life.

vi. THEOLOGY AND CHARACTERISTIC IDEAS. — An article like the present neither requires nor permits a full discussion of these; but it would be incomplete without a brief enumeration of the principal characteristic conceptions of the Epistle.

1. For his *conception of God*, St. Paul is dependent on the Old Testament. In other words, he does not so much analyze the idea of God as the absolute or perfect Being, as insist upon the character of God as it has entered into human experience in the course of God's dealings with men. This has been the case in two main ways. On the one hand, God has revealed Himself to man through nature (1$^{20ff.}$) and conscience (2$^{14f.}$). 'His eternal power and divineness' and the doom due to sin are made known to man apart from direct revelation, and moral apostasy is therefore without excuse. On the other hand, the will (2^{18}) and character of God have been specially revealed, and Divine promises have been given, to a particular nation entrusted with His 'oracles' (9$^{4ff.}$ 3^{1}). Both Jew and Gentile, in their several ways, have the terrible knowledge, antecedent to Christ, of the *wrath of God* (1^{18}). This conception is with St. Paul primarily *eschatological* (see Sanday-Headlam, *in loc.*, and on 5^{9}), but the certainty of its unveiling in the 'day of wrath' (2^{5}) is a *present* certainty. The wrath of God in our Epistle is the category which includes the sternly retributive attitude of God towards sin, His δικαιοκρισία (2^{5}). It stands in the closest relation to the OT conception of the Divine HOLINESS (see *Expositor*, March 1899, p. 193). If the Divine wrath is an experience common to Jew and Gentile alike, the Divine RIGHTEOUSNESS (see the two artt. on this subject) is one specifically related to *revealed* religion. This is, of course, true on the view very commonly taken of the phrase δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ in 1^{17} and other passages of the Epistle, viz. that it denotes, not an attribute of God Himself, but a righteousness which *man* derives from God as its source. This view, which has influenced the RV of 1^{17}, supplies an idea so obviously necessary to St. Paul's contrast between the false righteousness and the true (10^{3} etc.), and is in such close correspondence with his language in 2 Co 5^{21}, Ph 3^{9} etc., that it must, in some way or other, be *included* in any satisfactory explanation of the phrase in 1^{17} and cognate passages. But there is a marked tendency in many quarters to go back to the sense suggested by the parallelism

of δύναμις θεοῦ and δικ. θεοῦ in $1^{16.17}$ as the primary one, and to recognize the antithesis between the wrath of God as the 'revelation' antecedent to the gospel, and the 'righteousness of God' as the specific revelation of the gospel itself. The main objection to this is the presupposition that by God's 'righteousness' must be meant His stern retributive *justice, i.e.* His anger against sin. The result of an examination of the use of the conception of God's righteousness in the Old Testament is, however, adverse to this presupposition. The subject is *sub judice*, and it is beyond the province of this article to attempt to decide it (see above, § iv.; Sanday-Headlam, p. 24 ff.; *Expos.*, March 1893, p. 187 ff.; Häring, δικ. θ. *bei Paulus*, Tübingen, 1896; Beck in *Neue Jahrb. f. deutsche Theol.* 1895, p. 249 ff.; Kölbing in *SK*, 1895, p. 7 ff. Häring, p. 14 ff., tabulates the principal alternative views). There is, at any rate in this Epistle, the closest correlation between the righteousness of God and the justification of the believer in Christ (3^{26}).

A similar correlation exists between the final salvation of man and the *Glory of God*. By this expression St. Paul sometimes means the honour due to God from His creatures (1 Co 10^{31}, Ro 16^{27}); but there is a sense, specially characteristic of our Epistle, in which it denotes the supreme destiny of man, realized in the ultimate salvation of the redeemed (3^{23} 9^{23}, cf. $8^{19.21.30}$). The idea of the word δόξα here seems to be the positive counterpart of the more negative ἀποκάλυψις. The latter suggests the removal of something which hides, the former the shining forth of the thing previously hidden in all its sublime reality. Relatively, this is seen in any signal display of Divine power, *e.g.* in the resurrection of Christ (6^4). Absolutely, it is reserved for the consummation of all things, when the kingdom of God shall appear in its perfection, and the righteous shall shine forth in it as the sun. In this connexion the Divine PREDESTINATION must be taken into account. In 9^{23}, though the general context relates more especially to the Divine predestination of men to *function, i.e.* to the several parts they play in the providentially ordered course of history, there is in the immediate context unquestioned reference to those whom God has prepared for *glory* (see above), in contrast to those who are 'made ready' (it is not said 'by God Himself') for destruction. There is neither here nor elsewhere in the Epistle anything said of the 'double predestination.' But the predestination *of the saints* is clearly laid down in $8^{29.30}$. Only, in the latter passage *foreknowledge precedes predestination*. On the whole, while frankly recognizing the predestinarian language used, we must also recognize its limitations. The apostle does not appear to be giving expression to a systematized scheme of thought on the subject.

The will of God *for man's conduct* enters into man's experience in the form of *Law*. In the generic sense, the term is applicable to any authoritative principle of action normally issuing in human obedience (8^{2a}, cf. 3^{27b}, 1 Co 9^{21}). Such obedience may, however, be the response either to an enabling principle working from within (see passages just quoted, and $8^{14f.}$), or to a summons confronting man from without. In this, the characteristic sense of νόμος in our Epistle, law is a factor in the moral life fitted to acquaint the intellect with the Divine standard of conduct (7^{25} and previous context), but incapable (ἀδύνατον, 8^3) of bringing the life of man into harmony with its precepts. This result, due to the conditions of human nature (below, 2) is the more apparent the more fixed and definite the form in which law is promulgated. This appears to be the meaning of 'the letter' (γράμμα), in which the full moral effect of law is seen (7^6, cf. 2 Co 3^6, 1 Co 15^{56}, Ro 3^{19} 4^{15} 5^{20} 7^7, Gal 3^{19}). This was above all true of the one law which had conveyed to man in inexorable fixity and definiteness the Divine standard of action, the Jewish law, ὁ νόμος. The denotative force of the definite art. depends upon its context. In most cases, 'the law' in question is the Jewish law; on the other hand, the anarthrous νόμος may well be used of the Jewish law, either as *a* law or as representing the *principle* of law, or as a quasi-proper name (probably 7^1, possibly 3^{31} etc.). See, further, art. LAW (IN NT). The Christian is ideally free from 'law' as an external principle (6^{14}), but to be ὑπὸ χάριν is to be ἔννομος Χριστοῦ (1 Co 9^{21}, cf. Ro 8^2, see below, 2; on the whole subject, cf. Gifford, p. 41 ff.).

In connexion with the doctrine of God, we must, lastly, note the bearing of the Epistle on the theology of *the Person and Work of Christ*. Neither are treated of *ex professo*. But in $1^{4.5}$ and 9^5 we have the contrast between what Christ was, κατὰ σάρκα, and His higher nature as Son of God (1^5) and as actually God (9^5). The difficulty of the former passage is in the exact interpretation of κατὰ πνεῦμα ἁγιωσύνης (see Gifford and Sanday-Headlam, *in loc.*). In the latter there is a still more difficult question of punctuation (see the Commentaries, also Ezra Abbot, *Critical Essays*, and Hort's critical note, *in loc.*). On the whole, the punctuation assumed just above appears distinctly the more probable. The principle, moreover, of τέλος νόμου Χριστός (10^4), and Christ as an object of Faith (1^1 δοῦλος Ἰησ. Χρ., contrast 1 Co 7^{23}), and 10^{13} which identifies Christ (by the context) with יהוה, make decisively in the same doctrinal direction. (On 8^3 see below, 2).

On the Atonement, $3^{25.26}$ is a classical passage, but it leaves open most of the difficult questions which attend the theology of that mysterious subject. The reader must consult the admirable excursus of Sanday-Headlam on the subject, Lightfoot's notes, and the discussion of the passage in R. W. Dale, *The Atonement*. The key to the meaning is to be found in the words ἱλαστήριον . . . ἐν τῷ αἵματι αὐτοῦ, rather than in the ἔνδειξις τῆς δικαιοσύνης αὐτοῦ, which, taken by itself, would hardly compel us to go beyond the thought of punishment as a vindication of God's moral government, which by no means exhausts the significance of the Atonement. The doctrine is emphasized, but not explained, in 5^{6-10}.

2. St. Paul's *doctrine of man* is formulated in OT categories, but enlarged and deepened by his outlook upon life and history, and by his personal experience as a Jew and as a 'slave of Christ' (Ro 1^1). His comprehensive formula for human nature is 'flesh'—'all flesh' (cf. 1 Co 3^4 ἄνθρωποι = σάρκινοι). From the time of Theodore of Mopsuestia to our own day the moral colour of St. Paul's conception of σάρξ has been matter of keen debate. The close relation between flesh and sin in his theology is obvious. But to make the connexion essential, is to mistake the entire meaning of the apostle. In Ro 8^3 we have the crucial passage. What the law could not do—namely, liberate man from the law of sin—God did by sending His own Son, and in Him condemning sin 'in the flesh.' That is, sin was, by the mere fact (πέμψας) of the coming of Christ, shown to be a usurper in human nature. This was effected by the Son of God coming 'in the likeness of sinful flesh'—ἐν ὁμοιώματι σαρκὸς ἁμαρτίας. 'Sinful flesh' is the universal condition in which our common humanity draws its first breath (5^{14}). Christ did not enter into this condition, but into its 'likeness.' The *un*-likeness certainly did not consist in 'the flesh' (1^3 9^5) which Christ took in reality, not in mere likeness. St. Paul could not have written ἐν ὁμοιώματι σαρκός. But neither did he write ἐν σαρκὶ

ἁμαρτίας, which he should have done had sin been to him part of the very meaning of 'flesh' (see Gifford's admirable discussion, Introd. p. 52, and *in loc.*). His language expresses with consummate accuracy the thought that Christ 'by taking our flesh made it sinless' (Tertull.), and so broke the empire over human nature usurped by sin. Flesh, in fact, has with St. Paul a physical (σάρκινος) and a moral (σαρκικός) sense. In the former sense, as long as this life lasts we are ἐν σαρκί (Gal 2^{20}), in the 'mortal body' (Ro 6^{12} 8^{11}). But ideally the Christian has left the flesh as the sphere of his *moral* life behind (Ro 7^5 8^9). But in the pre-Christian, and even in the imperfectly Christian life, the σάρκινος is inevitably σαρκικός (Ro 7^{14}, 1 Co $3^{1ff.}$). This is carried back by him to a historic beginning in the one sin of one man ($5^{12.\ 16\text{-}18}$), which left human nature under the reign of death and sin. Unquestionably, actual disobedience is to St. Paul far graver than passive or congenital sin. Before sin becomes a fact of experience, the individual is, comparatively speaking, 'alive' (7^9). But guilt in some sense is there already (5^{14}), and rebellion is there, though latent and 'dead' (7^{8b}), and it needs but the first shock of prohibition to 'revive' (v.^{9}). Under the most favourable conditions of enlightenment, with the law of God to guide it, and with complete mental assent to and enthusiasm for (7^{22}, cf. 2^{17}) that law, human nature experiences helpless failure and disaster. But, where the higher guidance is absent or lost, man becomes more and more lost to self-respect and moral conviction ($1^{18.\ 32}$). In a sense the heathen is, like the Jew, under law: apart from the ideal sense in which 'the Jewish law was a law for all men' (Hort, *Romans and Ephesians*, p. 25), his reason and conscience (2^{14}), if normal and healthy, tell him what is right. The 'natural virtue' of Aristotle is fully recognized by St. Paul, and it is, in fact, this *inward* moral law that is restored in Christ. But, in fact, the law of conscience condemned the Gentile as completely as the written law condemned the Jew (3^9), and not less so when its voice had ceased to be heard ($1^{28.\ 32}$).

3. *Sinful man does not*, according to St. Paul, *lack a higher nature.* The inward self (7^{22}) is *capable* of renewal (12^2), though in sore need of it. For the higher self St. Paul has the term πνεῦμα (1 Co 5^5, 2 Co 7^1), though in this sense he employs it sparingly, and not in our Epistle. More characteristic of Romans is the term νοῦς, which plays so prominent a part in the analysis ($7^{7\text{-}25}$). Νοῦς is an inalienable endowment of human nature, *i.e.* it belongs to the flesh (cf. Col 2^{18}), and may be involved in its bondage to sin (1^{28}, cf. Tit 1^{15}); but it is the highest endowment of the flesh, and is capable of conveying to the will the commandment of God (7^{23}); but there its power ceases—St. Paul would have accepted, so far as it goes, Aristotle's *dictum* that 'understanding alone moves nothing.' The understanding, the higher self, can indeed 'wish' what is right ($7^{15ff.}$), but its wish has no power in the face of the flesh wielded by sin—'to wish and to effect' (Ph 2^{12}) requires a vital energy (Ro 6^4) which human nature cannot originate.

This vital energy is the Spirit (see καινότης in 6^4 7^6, cf. 2 Co 5^{17}) which inhabits the body of Christ, and dwells in those who are in vital union with Him. The word πνεῦμα in this Epistle is used, now for the Spirit of God, now for the inward man (see above) *as renewed and energized* by union with Christ (see *Expositor*, May 1899, p. 350 ff.; Sanday-Headlam, pp. 162 ff., 199 f.). It is this living union with the crucified, risen, and glorified Christ that distinguishes the new self from the old self (παλαιὸς ἄνθρωπος, 6^6), the pre-Christian life ἐν σαρκί, ἐν παλαιότητι γράμματος, from the regenerate life ἐν πνεύματι, ἐν Χριστῷ, ἐν καινότητι ζωῆς, the obedience of sons from the obedience of slaves—slaves in mind possibly to a law of God, but practically to a law of sin (7^{25} $6^{16ff.}$). To make quite clear the perfection of the obedience implied in the new state, St. Paul employs, in $6^{16ff.}$, with an apology for doing so (v.^{19}), the term 'slavery' to describe it (cf. 1^1); but he proceeds to throw it aside (8^{15}) in completing his theology of the Christian life. The son and the slave differ above all in this, that the son's *interest* is centred on his father's will, that of the slave is elsewhere. This is expressed in the famous antithesis of the two φρονήματα (8^6, cf. Ph 2^5 3^{19}, Col 3^2), by which St. Paul sums up his fundamental distinction of human character. It must be noted here that the language of ch. 8 postulates the distinct Personality of the Spirit (v.$^{26ff.}$) not less clearly than that of 1 Co $2^{10ff.}$ implies His divinity. The Spirit dwells in the children of God in this life as an instalment (ἀπαρχή, 8^{23}, cf. ἀρραβών elsewhere) of the life which is theirs already (v.^{10}), but to be unveiled in its glory only with the consummation of God's kingdom over all His creatures ($8^{18ff.}$).

4. St. Paul's conviction of the *profound degradation of human nature* is thus at once deepened and relieved by his belief in its *lofty capacities and destiny.* The latter, though to be fully realized only in the life to come, are to be entered upon in this life. We have now to notice St. Paul's doctrine of the transition from the helpless, hopeless old life to the 'life and peace' of the new. Obviously, man cannot by himself cross so vast a chasm. But the 'good-news of Christ' comes to him as 'the power of God to his salvation' (1^{16}), if he believes it. Faith, then, presupposes that the Divine power to save has already been directed towards the believer; and it has as its immediate accompaniment the opening of a life in fellowship with God from which the sinner as such is excluded. In other words, by believing, the sinner is in God's sight as though his sin had not been, —he is 'justified by faith.' By justification, then, St. Paul primarily means the non-imputation—the forgiveness—of sin (he equates the two ideas, $4^{8.\ 9}$ etc.). Justification renders possible, for the first time, active righteousness (6^{18} $8^{1ff.}$) in God's sight, but it is not possible to confuse the two in one idea without destruction of St. Paul's most characteristic thought. If once it is grasped that justification means to St. Paul the removal of the impassable barrier set up between God and the soul by sin, and not the progressive assimilation of character to the filial type which springs from reconciliation as its root, and that faith is to the apostle not merely assent to doctrine as divinely revealed, but personal trust in God through Christ, it becomes easy to see how central a place the doctrine of justification by faith holds in St. Paul's system, how unreal is its supposed conflict with the severest standard of Christian obligation, or the most thankful use of divinely provided means of grace, and how profoundly it appeals to the most legitimate and elementary need of human nature, the longing for a gracious God (see Jn 6^{37}). The doctrine, taken by itself, does not offer an account of all that grace does for a man, but of how a man is *admitted* to grace. The two things are clearly distinguishable in St. Paul, though, of course, in practice they can never be separated (compare carefully Ro 8^1 with context before and after). Faith, then, is to St. Paul the attitude of soul which never regards itself as righteous before God, but refers all to God's free gift. Its trust in God is absolute; but it has as its objective foundation certain definite facts ($5^{2.\ 6ff.}$) which become material for faith under the influence of the Spirit, who interprets to the soul the Death of Christ as the

outcome of God's love (5^5). Hence it is 'through faith' (3^{25}) that the Death of Christ reaches its effect in the justification of the sinner. It is this fact—even more than the inclusion of all alike under sin—that reduces all men to one level in God's sight (3^{27}). (On this subject see the articles on FAITH and JUSTIFICATION in the present work, and a most careful discussion in Sanday-Headlam, pp. 28–39; also *Expositor*, March 1899, p. 200 ff.; Ritschl, *Lehre d. Rechtfertigung*, vol. ii. ch. 4, § 36, and all important commentaries on Romans). Justifying faith, then, is not purely 'dogmatic,' because it is trust *in a Person*. Neither is it purely 'undogmatic,' because it rests upon, and includes the knowledge of, something *which that Person has done* (1 Co 15^3, the germ of an 'Apostles' Creed'). Lastly, justification, to St. Paul, is doubtless one act, the entrance once for all into the state of grace ($5^{1ff.}$). But it remains as a root of character; its connexion with vital holiness is not that of mere succession in time, but as its organic beginning. Faith is the abiding sphere of all Christian life (Gal 2^{20}, 2 Co 13^5), not a passing emotion, evoked by a single great crisis and subsiding with it.

5. *Grace and the moral life.*—The act of faith is not meritorious in its character, for this would be open, equally with righteousness by works, to the objection of $4^{2ff.}$. It must come, that is, from God as its source; it not only *receives* God's free gift, but it *is* God's free gift. In other words, by excluding merit, we seem to deprive man of his responsibility. It may be questioned whether St. Paul had ever formulated in his own mind the problem of 'responsibility without merit,' which is the age-long *crux* of the doctrine of grace. Both from the consideration of justifying faith, and again from that of Divine predestination to glory (above, 1), the moral responsibility of man seems threatened, if St. Paul's principles are logically developed. But he neither develops them in this way himself, nor does he seem conscious of the need for a reconciliation of the opposed truths. That all human history is in God's hands, and that the sin of man, *e.g.* the apostasy of Israel in rejecting Christ, is used by God as a step to the fulfilment of His will for man, is insisted upon. But the fact is wholly disallowed as an extenuation of the sinner's responsibility; St. Paul repudiates with intense indignation (3^{8b}) the charge that his teaching encouraged any such view. 'Ch. 9 implies arguments which take away free will, ch. 10 is meaningless without the presupposition of free will' (Sanday-Headlam, p. 348). It is to be noted that St. Paul's entire case for the need of redemption ($1–3^{20}$) is an indictment of human sin, which loses all force if human responsibility is lost sight of. Although by 'works of law' no flesh shall be justified, yet God 'will render to each man according to his works' (2^6, cf. 14^{12}). The stress laid by St. Paul upon personal faith and individual renewal as the heart and mainspring of the moral life, gives to his theology of conduct a strongly individualistic character. But no one could be further from individualism in the sense in which that term is often used. The personal life of the Christian is one of *fellowship* with the saints through Christ. All the manifestations of the Christian life are conditioned by membership of a body ($12^{3ff.}$). And in critical questions of moral alternative (ch. 14) the sense of brotherhood is a safe guide. We are to ask not merely 'what does my liberty permit?' but 'how will my conduct help or hinder my brother?' We are to respect the liberty of others (14^{4-6}), but to be ready to subordinate our own (for the whole chapter, cf. 1 Co 8–10. 13).

An interesting application of St. Paul's general theory of conduct is the attitude inculcated by him towards the civil power (13^{1-7}). In a word, his spirit is that of good citizenship, idealizing the magistrate as 'the minister of God.' This position, natural to a born 'Roman' (Ac 22^{28}), is very much in advance of the general spirit of the apostle's compatriots, and decidedly in contrast with that of the Apocalypse. This is partly to be explained by the circumstances. When St. Paul wrote, Imperial Rome was not yet 'drunk with the blood of the saints'; on the contrary, the imperial officials had more than once protected him against Jewish fanaticism.

6. *The Church and its institutions.*—The Roman community does not seem as yet to possess a permanent organization of 'bishops' and deacons (see Sanday-Headlam, Introd. § 3 (3)). The list of ministries ($12^{7ff.}$) must be compared with others of the same kind (see the table in art. 1 CORINTHIANS, vol. i. p. 490). The *προϊστάμενος* can hardly be a permanent officer; he comes too low on the list, and is apparently on a line with the *κυβερνήσεις* of 1 Cor. There is evidence (16^5) that the houses of different members of the community formed scattered centres for the worshippers of the household or neighbourhood (see Sanday-Headlam, *in loc.*). Of the *sacraments*, the Eucharist is not mentioned; but upon Baptism great stress is laid (6^{1-5}). To St. Paul's readers, to believe and to be baptized were, probably in all cases, coincident in time. Faith issued in baptism as its concrete expression and correlative. Baptism was the external means of union with Christ, the closing of the door upon the old and lower self, the opening of the new life of grace. It does not occur to St. Paul to put faith and baptism in any sort of rivalry. Faith in Christ would involve the desire to join His body by His appointed means. In all probability, the reference to faith and its confession in $10^{9f.}$ is associated with the thought of baptism.

vii. MATERIALS FOR PERSONAL HISTORY OF ST. PAUL.—The Epistle is far less rich than those to the Corinthians and Galatians in details as to St. Paul's personal history. His long-standing desire to see Rome is mentioned in ch. 1 and in 15^{22}; the puzzling reference to his having preached *μέχρι τοῦ Ἰλλυρικοῦ* in 15^{19} (see art. 2 CORINTHIANS, vol. i. p. 495), if the words do not compel us to suppose that he had actually entered Illyricum, would be satisfied by his visit to Berœa, the last important place in Macedonia (Ac 17^{10}). His further intention to visit Spain (15^{24}) is a fact of great interest, as also is his apprehension as to his coming visit to Jerusalem with the *λογία* (vv.$^{25-33}$). The names in ch. 16 contain those of many friends of the apostle otherwise unknown to us, including his kinsmen Andronicus and Junias, Jason and Sosipater. In Tertius we have the only certain name of an amanuensis employed by the apostle. His reference to miracles worked by himself (15^{19}) should not be overlooked (cf. 2 Co 12^{12}).

Of deeper interest, though open to more doubt, is the personal bearing of the passage 7^{7-25}. It is impossible to regard the passage as a mere *μετασχηματισμός*, describing the phenomena in the first person merely for the sake of vividness. The *ἐγώ* is too emphatic, too repeated, the feeling too deep, for a purely impersonal statement. On the other hand, the passage is universal in its reference, and supplies the argument with an indispensable piece of analysis. We may regard it as St. Paul's account, based upon reflexion as well as on experience, of the utmost that law can do for human nature. And if so, we may use it in order to understand how St. Paul may well have come to realize, even before his conversion, that *if* the preaching of the apostles (cf. 1 Co $15^{11.\ 3}$) was true, *if* Christ had died 'not in vain' (Gal 2^{21}), then

righteousness *did not* come by the law. It enables us to realize something of the 'kicking against the goads,' which, as we know, had preceded the scene on the road to Damascus.

viii. TRANSMISSION OF THE TEXT. INTEGRITY. —The text of our Epistle comes to us through much the same lines of transmission as that of 1 Cor. (which see). It is contained in the Peshitta, Old Lat., Copt., and other oldest versions of the NT, as well as in the principal Gr. MSS. Of the latter it is complete in ℵABLS (the last uncollated). C lacks 2^{5}–3^{21}, 9^{6}–10^{15}, 11^{31}–13^{10}. D^{paul} lacks 1^{1-7}, 1^{27-30} are supplied by a somewhat later hand (also 1^{24-27} in the Lat.); E^{paul} (copy of D) has these passages, but lacks 8^{21-33}, 11^{15-25}. F^{paul}, a copy of G, is lacking in 1^{1}–3^{19}. G^{paul} lacks 1^{1} ἀφωρισμ.–πίστεως 1^{5}, also 2^{16-25}. K contains the Epistle only to 10^{17}. P lacks 2^{15}–3^{5}, 8^{35}–9^{11}, 11^{22}–12^{1}. ב contains only 13^{4}–15^{9}. (On the cursives, and on the authorities for the Old Lat., what was said on 1 Cor. may be repeated, with a further reference to Sanday-Headlam, p. lxv).

Of textual phenomena we must notice the omission in G g, supported by a note in the Bodleian cursive 47, of the words ἐν Ῥώμῃ, $1^{7.\,15}$. The omission tempts a comparison with the omission, by important authorities, of the analogous words in the address of EPHESIANS. But in this case there can be no question that the words ἐν Ῥώμῃ are original. The omission may, however, be due, as may also be the case with Ephesians, to the early circulation of our Epistle among other Churches with the omission of the definite references to Rome. This might be connected with the omission, in some early authorities, of chs. 15. 16 (see below). But this connexion would be much more certain if the authorities for the omission of ἐν Ῥώμῃ and of chs. 15. 16 were identical. This is not the case.

A more difficult question is that of the place of the doxology (16^{25-27}). L and many cursives, with some other ancient authorities, place it at the end of ch. 14; AP and a few authorities repeat it at the end of 16; FG g Marcion omit it wholly, but G leaves a blank space at the end of ch. 14. (On D see Sanday-Headlam, p. lxxxix). But ℵBCDE, some cursives, and most Western authorities, place it after 16 *only*. This is probably the earliest position; its omission by Marcion may be the source of all the variations, although, if there were good grounds for thinking that St. Paul himself issued two recensions of the Epistle, the resemblance of the language of the doxology to that of the captivity group of Epp. (on which, however, see Hort in Lightf. *Bibl. Essays*, p. 327) might warrant us in ascribing the doxology to his second recension. But here, again, the hypothesis in question is inadequately founded. It should be noted that G g, which omit ἐν Ῥώμῃ, should, on this supposition, *insert* the doxology, which they, on the contrary, omit.

A far more complex question is raised by the omission, in some indirect but ancient witnesses to the text, of chs. 15. 16. These witnesses consist of (1) Marcion, as quoted by Orig.^{lat} supported by the language of Tertull. *adv. Marc.* v. 14. (2) The absence of quotations in Tert., Iren., Cyprian. (3) The capitulation in certain MSS of the Vulgate. (4) The fact that ALP, etc. (see above), place the doxology at the end of 14. Of these, number (2) is inconclusive as a mere argument from silence. The others require explanation. A further argument from the repeated benediction $16^{20.\,24}$ (TR) is shown by Sanday-Headlam to rest on no solid foundation. How, then, are we to explain the facts? The supposition that chs. 15. 16 are spurious (Baur) cannot stand in face of the close connexion between chs. 14 and 15^{1-13}, a governing fact in the whole question. The chapters are omitted by no known MS, nor does the theory of their *partial* spuriousness (Lucht), *i.e.* of interpolations, find any support in the textual material. The supposition that our chapters are a combination of the endings of recensions of the Epistle addressed to several different Churches, 1–14 (or 1–11) being the part common to all recensions (Renan), offends against the governing fact mentioned above, and depends, moreover, upon an erroneous view (see above) of $16^{20.\,24}$. A plausible, but in reality equally untenable, modification of this view is that 16^{1-21}, or 16^{3-21}, or $^{3-16}$, originally formed part of a letter addressed to Ephesus, and became afterwards incorporated in our Epistle (first suggested in 1767 by Keggermann, substantially adopted by Ewald, Mangold, Reuss, Lucht, Holsten, Lipsius, Weiss, Weizsäcker, Farrar, etc.). Aquila and Priscilla, it is true, were last heard of in Ephesus (1 Co 16^{19}), and are there later (2 Ti 4^{19}); Epænetus is the 'first-fruits of Asia' (RV); and St. Paul must have had many friends in Ephesus, while he had never seen Rome. But the hypothesis does not account for the facts; on the contrary, it leaves ch. 15 wholly untouched. Again, considering the constant going and coming between Rome and the provinces, it would be very surprising that St. Paul should not have many acquaintances in Rome. Moreover, there is good inscriptional and other evidence connecting many of the names with Rome, and indeed with Roman Christians. (See Sanday-Headlam, notes on ch. 16). This is specially true of the households of ARISTOBULUS and NARCISSUS, of AMPLIATUS and of NEREUS (see the articles on these names). On the whole, with all deference to the distinguished scholars who have represented it, our conclusion must be that the case for transferring this section, without any textual ground, from its actual connexion to a lost Epistle to Ephesus, is not made out.

To return, then, to the general question of chs. 15. 16, and to the heads of evidence (1), (3), and (4), the questions to be considered are, *firstly*, What were Marcion's grounds for omitting the chapters? and, *secondly*, Does the fact that he did so sufficiently explain (3) and (4)? If Marcion omitted the chapters on grounds *of tradition*, the second question need not be asked, for a tradition older than Marcion would doubtless leave other traces; but if his omission was purely arbitrary, the question of his probable influence becomes important. That Marcion's text had considerable circulation and some influence in the West may be allowed. But this is hardly adequate as a hypothesis by itself to account for the facts; it does not march without a stick. The extra support required is furnished by the *assumption* that the text was adapted for Church use in certain localities by omitting the personal and less edifying conclusion. The existence of a known text—Marcion's—which lacked chs. 15. 16, *suggested* the adoption of 14^{23} as the close of the shortened Epistle, and accordingly the doxology, which it was desired to retain, was added at that point. The answer to our second question, then, may be put thus: *Given* a demand for an edition of our Epistle with the closing section, excepting the doxology, omitted, the influence of Marcion's text was likely to suggest the exact point where the omission should begin. In other words, the heads of evidence (3) and (4)—we may perhaps add (2)—*may* be explained by (1). The *first* question, then, becomes one of probability. Was Marcion *likely* to omit the chapters on doctrinal grounds, or was he, on the other hand, *unlikely* to excise any matter without documentary authority? On this question the reader is as entitled to decide as the present writer.

The connexion between the question of chs. 15. 16 and the omission of ἐν Ῥώμῃ in $1^{7.\,15}$ is very

obscure. Sanday-Headlam conjecture that Marcion is responsible for the latter omission also; but there is no evidence that he omitted these words. But given the demand (see above) for an 'impersonal' edition, the words may have been struck out in some copies of such an edition either with or without the support of Marcion's text. That Marcion was interested in the addresses of St. Paul's Epp. we know from the case of EPHESIANS (which see, and cf. Smith's *DB*[2] p. 947).

LITERATURE.—On the ancient commentaries, Origen, Chrysostom, Theodoret, John Damasc., Œcumenius, Theophylact, Euthemius, Ambrosiaster, Pelagius, Hugh of St. Victor, Abelard, and Aquinas, see the excellent characterizations in Sanday-Headlam. Augustine thought profoundly over the Epistle to the Romans; his anti-Pelagian writings are in effect a commentary upon its most characteristic ideas. He began a formal commentary, but only reached the salutation (*Retract.* i. 25). Of more interest is the *Expositio quarundam quæst. in Ep. ad Rom.* (Migne, *Pat. Lat.* xxxv. 2087), which is the result of his study of the Epistle as a presbyter (about A.D. 396) with some friends. We have here the transition from his earlier views of grace and free will, etc., to his more developed and characteristic conviction, formed under the influence of his studies of St. Paul (see Reuter, *August. Studien*, p. 7 ff.). The Biblical Commentary of Cornelius a Lapide (S. J., †1637) gathers up usefully much exegetical material from ancient and mediæval Latin writers, including Augustine. On the commentaries of Colet (ed. Lupton, 1873), Luther (Preface to Melanchthon's comm. 1523), Calvin (1539, 'by far the best of the commentators of the Reformation'), Beza (1594), Estius (1614–6), Hammond (1653), Locke (1705–7), Bengel (1742), Wetstein (1751–2), see Sanday-Headlam, who also give a useful list of modern commentaries. Among the more important of these are those of Fritzsche (1836-43), Meyer (indispensable; the later German ed. by Weiss), de Wette (1836 and foll.), Olshausen, Philippi (²1856 and ⁴1896), Jowett (²1869, ³1894, suggestive and inexact), Vaughan (⁵1880, scholarly and admirable in illustration, less satisfactory on connexion of thought), Bisping, Maier (Roman Catholic, as also) Klofutar (Laibach, 1880, terse and sensible), Godet (1879, ²1883, admirable in general exposition and in biblical theology; among the best general commentaries), Oltramare (Geneva, 1881–2), J. A. Beet (⁵1885, able, and always worth consulting), Otto (Glauchau, 1886), Lipsius (in *Handkommentar*, 1881, able and useful), Barmby (1890, in *Pulpit Commentary*), Moule (in *Expositor's Bible*, excellent popular exegesis, and a distinct advance on that in his *Camb. Bible for Schools*), Liddon (1893, *Explanatory Analysis*). Lightfoot's posthumous *Notes on Epistles of St. Paul* contain a precious fragment on Ro 1–7. The two volumes of Gore (1898–9) are popular, but based upon thoroughly scientific criticism and exegesis. At the head of all English commentaries, and pre-eminent among those in any language, are those of Gifford (1886, reprinted from the *Speaker's Commentary*, unrivalled for accuracy, both in scholarship and theology) and Sanday-Headlam (1895). The last named is one of the most complete and satisfactory commentaries extant on any of the books of the Bible. The present article owes more to it than to any one work on this Epistle. After it, the writer would wish to acknowledge special indebtedness to Gifford, Godet, Meyer-Weiss, and Lipsius.

The standard works on Biblical Theology should be consulted on the leading ideas of the Epistle. With specific reference to St. Paul, Baur's *Paulus* (part 2, ch. iii., which incorporates the substance of his earlier essays on the subject) should still be read, also Usteri's *P. Lehrbegriff* (²1854), and Pfleiderer's highly suggestive *Paulinism*. Essays and studies on the theology of the Epistle are numerous. Among the more recent may be mentioned Headlam in *Expos. Times*, 1894, 1895; Beet in *Expos.* 1898; and some studies by the present writer, begun in *Expos.* 1899, but not as yet completed. On chs. 9–11, Beyschlag, *die Paul. Theodicee*; Morison (1849, on ch. 9. In 1866 he published an exposition of ch. 3). The integrity of the Epistle is discussed (in addition to works cited, above, § viii.) in the earlier part of Mangold's *Römerbrief, u.s.w.*, and by Lightfoot and Hort in articles reprinted in Lightfoot's *Biblical Essays*. Hort's *Lectures on Romans and Ephesians* also deal with this and other introductory matters. The Eng. tr. of Meyer's commentary, that of Godet's *Introd. to St. Paul's Epistles* (Edinb. 1894) and the end of the Introduction on his commentary, may be referred to for additions to the above brief list. Works referred to in the body of the above article are not in all cases enumerated here.

A. ROBERTSON.

ROME.—The aim of this article is (1) to give an outline of the relations between Rome and the Jews during the period covered by the Scripture history; (2) to describe the general aspects and life of the city at the time when it was first brought into contact with Christianity; (3) to touch upon its associations with the names or writings of St. Paul, St. Peter, and St. John; and (4) with some of the minor characters mentioned in the NT.

1. The first specific mention of Rome in Jewish literature occurs incidentally in 1 Mac 1[10], where reference is made to 'a sinful root, Antiochus Epiphanes, son of Antiochus the king, who had been an hostage at Rome.' Political relations of a somewhat indefinite character were established by Judas Maccabæus in B.C. 161. By that date Rome had gained a position of unquestioned supremacy. The power of Carthage, which carried with it the control of the West, was broken at Zama in B.C. 202; the defeat of Antiochus at Magnesia in B.C. 190 made Rome arbiter in the East. A graphic picture of the reputation which Rome had created for itself in the East is found in 1 Mac 8[1-16]. It ascribes to the Romans some virtues in regard to which closer experience might have modified the judgment of Judas, and contains some inaccuracies in details, but is vivid and accurate in its spirit. The valour of the Romans, the terror with which they inspired their foes, the support which they gave to their allies, their victories over Spain, over Philip and Antiochus, the constitution of the Senate, the absence of all the outward insignia of royalty, their freedom from envy and emulation, are all set forth in words of laudation. On the strength of this conviction as to Roman power and policy, Judas sent Eupolemus the son of John, and Jason the son of Eleazar, to Rome with the view of establishing friendship and a treaty of alliance (1 Mac 8[17]). The object of Judas was to get rid of the Syrian yoke, and in accordance with its traditional policy Rome readily recognized the Jewish autonomy in order to cripple Syria; but though they mutually pledged themselves to furnish a contingent if required, and not to assist any common enemy with 'victuals, weapons, money, or ships,' the treaty seems to have led to no definite action by either party. About eighteen years later, in B.C. 143, Jonathan, the brother and successor of Judas, sent representatives to Rome to renew and confirm the former alliance (1 Mac 12[1. 3. 4]). In B.C. 139, Simon, the brother of Jonathan, despatched an embassy, of which Numenius was the head, to Rome, with a great shield of gold, a thousand pounds in weight (1 Mac 14[24]). The Romans graciously received the costly gift and entered into a formal treaty with Simon. They intimated the fact of that alliance to all the powers with which they themselves were friendly, and called on them to hand over to the Jews any 'pestilent fellows,' *i.e.* any political refugees who had found an asylum with them. Details of the embassy of Numenius are given by Jos. (*Ant.* XIV. viii. 5), though by a blunder he assigns it to a later date. (For the literature on this embassy see Schürer, *HJP* I. i. 268). To this date is probably to be referred the obscure statement in Valerius Maximus (i. 3. 3), the authenticity of which is now generally acknowledged, that 'Cornelius Hispalus compelled the Jews, who had been trying to corrupt the Roman morals by the worship of Jupiter Sabazius (J" *Zĕbâôth?*), to go back to their own homes.' If the reference be correct, it would appear that by some of the suite of Numenius attempts at propagandism had been successfully made (see Reinach, *Textes relatifs au Judaisme*, p. 259, note 3). Though we can point to no definite statement, it is probable that after this date many Jews found their way to Rome in pursuit of business (Grätz, *History of the Jews*, ii. 67; Berliner, *Gesch. d. Jud. in Rom*, p. 5).

After his capture of Jerusalem in B.C. 63, Pompey carried many Jewish prisoners to Rome as slaves. (See LIBERTINES). The great majority of them would seem to have been voluntarily manumitted by their masters or ransomed by their fellow-countrymen, for we find but a few years later that a strong Jewish community was in

existence dwelling on the other side of the Tiber in the quarter corresponding to the Trastevere of to-day. From its proximity to the wharves it was a suitable place for the trades which were carried on by the Jews, and the Jewish community rapidly increased in numbers and influence. In his defence of Valerius Flaccus—who was accused of appropriating the gold which had been sent by the Jews in Asia Minor towards the maintenance of the temple worship at Jerus.—in the year B.C. 59, Cicero makes many allusions which show that the Jews in Rome were a party worth conciliating. He speaks of their numbers, their unity, their influence in public gatherings. He pretends that he must speak in a whisper so that only the judges may hear, on the ground that there was no lack of persons ready to stir up the Jews against him and all the best men in the State (*pro Flacco*, c. 28). The very exaggeration of the scorn which he pours on their claim to be specially favoured of heaven (*ib.* c. 69) is a testimony to their growing strength, as well as an index of the alarm which the success of their proselytizing efforts had created. Julius Cæsar, perhaps from the idea that the Jews were specially fitted to be intermediaries between the East and the West (Rosenthal in Berliner, p. 17), treated the Jews throughout the empire with great generosity; and we read without astonishment that conspicuous among the foreign races in Rome in their sorrow over the death of Cæsar were the Jews, who, for nights in succession, visited his tomb (Suet. *Divus Julius*, c. 84). By the time of Augustus the Jewish population in Rome must have numbered many thousands. According to Jos. (*Ant.* XVII. ii. 1; *BJ* II. vi. 1) more than 8000 Jews supported the embassy that came to Augustus with complaints against Archelaus. For a time no repressive measures were adopted; on the contrary, the Jews in Rome received special privileges in the form of a limited jurisdiction over their own adherents. The rulers of Palestine were often brought into close relations by friendship and alliance with members of the imperial household. Herod Agrippa I., *e.g.*, was brought up at Rome along with Drusus the son of Tiberius (Jos. *Ant.* XVIII. vi. 1). From allusions in the Roman Satirists (Juv. iii. 10–15), as well as from the evidence of the cemeteries (see Schürer), it is plain that the limitation to the Trastevere was not rigidly enforced, and soon disappeared. From a story in Jos. (*Ant.* XVIII. iii. 5) it may be gathered that the success of their proselytism, especially among women in the higher classes, was the main ground for the coercive measures that were subsequently adopted. In A.D. 19, perhaps at the instigation of Sejanus, who according to Philo (*Leg. ad Gaium*, c. 24) was bitterly hostile to the Jews, 4000 Jews were banished to Sardinia under the pretext of being sent to put down brigandage there, but not without a hope that they might be cut off by the notoriously unhealthy climate (Tac. *Ann.* ii. 85; Suet. *Tib.* 66). In the account of the embassy to Caligula in A.D. 40, we have a curious light thrown on the character of the emperor as well as on the attitude of the court to Jewish customs and beliefs (Philo, *Leg. ad Gaium*, 44–46). In A.D. 49 (or 52 according to some authorities), probably on account of the tumults created by the preaching of the gospel in the Jewish quarter (Suet. *Claud.* 25), Claudius issued an edict for the banishment of all the Jews from Rome.* Among those banished were Aquila and Priscilla, who went to Corinth, where they came into contact with St. Paul (Ac 18[2]). But the decree of banishment was futile, for the Jews had now obtained a social and political influence that made repression difficult or impossible. 'The customs of that most accursed race,' says Seneca,—perhaps with an indirect reference to the influence of Poppæa on Nero (Jos. *Vita*, 3, *Ant.* XX. viii. 11),—'have spread to such an extent that they are kept in every land; the conquered have given laws to the conqueror' (Aug. *de Civ. Dei*, vi. 11). And yet 'we may be sure that the proud patricians, who, in their walks on the Aventine cast a glance on the other side of the river, never suspected that the future was being made ready in that mass of hovels which lay at the foot of the Janiculum' (Renan, *Hibbert Lecture*, p. 53).* The destruction of Jerusalem in A.D. 70 is commemorated in the well-known Arch of Titus on the Via Sacra. The seven-branched candlestick, the golden table, and the silver trumpets, delineated on the Arch, were themselves placed in the Temple of Peace in A.D. 75, but fell a prey to Genseric, and were landed safely at Carthage in 455. In 535 Belisarius recaptured them, took them to Constantinople, and since then they have completely disappeared. But it is fairly certain that they cannot be, as is popularly imagined, in the bed of the Tiber.

2. When Christianity was first proclaimed in the Jewish quarter, Rome with its environs had far outgrown the old walls of Servius Tullius, and contained a population probably of 1½ millions (Friedländer, i. 23; Champagny, *Les Cæsars*, iv. 347–353; Renan, p. 53. Merivale, *Hist. of the Romans*, v. 58, estimates it at 700,000). Lauded by poets and orators as 'the queen of cities,' 'the home of the gods,' 'golden Rome,' 'the epitome of the world,' Rome even at the beginning of the Christian era was impressive mainly by reason of its great extent, and not in virtue of any distinctive beauty or grandeur. The movement begun by Augustus to make Rome worthy of the majesty of the empire, led to great changes, and to the building of many palatial mansions, of ornate temples (*e.g.* the Pantheon and the Temple of Apollo), and large basilicas for the transacting of banking and law, notably the Basilica Julia in the Forum commenced by Julius and completed by Augustus. Great aqueducts are associated with the names of Agrippa and the emperor Claudius, bringing the water then as now chiefly from the hills of Alba Longa, and making possible the life that centred around the *thermæ*, corresponding very closely to the club life of our own day. To what an extent this afterwards developed may be seen from the imposing remains of the Baths of Caracalla and of Diocletian. The patrician's day was divided between the forum and the *thermæ*. The Forum was now embellished on all sides; the Triumphal Arch of Tiberius spanned the lower part of the ascent to the Capitol; the palace of the Cæsars on the Palatine, 'with gilded battlements, conspicuous far,' looked worthy of an imperial city (see Merivale, v. 18–48; Conybeare and Howson, *St. Paul*, ii. 449–454). But notwithstanding all the changes that had been effected, down even to the great fire in A.D. 64, in the reign of Nero, Rome was built on no regular plan; its streets were narrow and dirty, the houses, several storeys high, were flimsily built

* The identification of the Christians with the Jews was not the result of a mistake. They *were* Jews, and the Christians were regarded simply as a sect, certainly by outsiders, and in all probability they so regarded themselves. The time of cleavage was not yet.

* Two of the catacombs are exclusively Jewish. One was discovered by Bosio on Monte Verde, and contained many slabs with the seven-branched candlestick inscribed, and one on which the word CYNAΓωΓ was plainly legible. The other was discovered in 1859 in the Villa Randanini on the Appian Way, about 2 miles out of Rome (see *Cimitero degli antichi Ebrei*, illustrato da Raffaele Garucci, Roma, 1862). In it the candlestick, the dove, the olive branch and the dove are the favourite emblems. Many of the inscriptions have been removed to the Lateran Museum. There is no authority for the statement, sometimes made, that the Colosseum was erected by forced Jewish labour.

and often tumbling down. 'The vici,' says Merivale, 'were no better than lanes or alleys, and there were only two viæ, or paved ways, fit for the transport of heavy carriages, the Sacra and the Nova, in the central parts of the city.' (For a vivid picture of the shops and streets, see Martial, vii. 61). It was desolated by frequent fires; it was subject to earthquakes and inundations; fever, as was plainly indicated by the many altars dedicated to it, was never absent; the unhealthiness of the site manifested itself in the unhealthy pallor of the inhabitants. Yet from the vastness of its extent, the density of its crowds representative of every nationality, religion, and race, from its being the natural treasure-house of all that was valuable and curious in the empire, from its being the centre of political and intellectual life, from the elaborate amusements provided gratuitously for the inhabitants, it fascinated and drew to itself patriots as well as adventurers of all types. 'The rich man went to Rome to enjoy himself, the poor to beg; the new citizen to give his vote, the citizen who had been dispossessed to reclaim his rights.' The rhetorician from Asia, the Greek philosopher, the Chaldæan astrologer, the magician from Egypt, the begging priest of Isis, all jostled each other in the struggle for existence in the metropolis (Champagny, i. 41; Strabo, v. iii. 8). The picture of Milton (*PR* iv. 36–68) furnishes a vivid if idealized representation of Rome as it would appear to St. Paul and his fellow-travellers as they came along the Via Appia from Puteoli (Pozzuoli), and passing through the Market of Appius and the Three Taverns (both as yet unidentified) entered the city through the Porta Capena, the Dripping Gate (*Madida*) of Martial and Juvenal (long since closed, but whose position was determined by the discovery in 1584 of the first milestone of the Via Appia, and since then confirmed by the discovery of the walls of the gate). These may now be seen in the cellar of the *Osteria della Porta Capena*. All Rome is historic ground and of special interest to the student of NT times, for the places associated with the names of the apostles and their friends and converts are in many instances still to be seen, in some few cases unchanged since apostolic times. They will be treated of under the respective names.

3. When and by whom the gospel was first proclaimed in Rome is uncertain. As sojourners from Rome were in Jerus. on the day of Pentecost, some of them may have been among the 3000 converts (Ac $2^{10.\ 41}$). St. Paul refers to Romans who were in Christ before him (Ro 16^{7}). Many of the Jews who had been banished by the edict of Claudius were brought under the influence of St. Paul, and on returning to Rome swelled the ranks of the missionaries and converts there (Ac $18^{2.\ 3.\ 18}$, Ro $16^{3-7.\ 9.\ 12}$). Prisca and Aquila should be specially noted in this connexion. In A.D. 59 (or 58), when the Ep. to the Romans was written, there was in existence a strong Church, partly composed of Jews, partly of Gentiles. St. Paul had for many years cherished a strong desire and resolution to see Rome (Ac 19^{21} 25^{11}, Ro 1^{13-16}). From the time of the Second Missionary Journey it had been quite clear to him that his mission was to the Roman Empire *qua* Empire, and all his subsequent movements are governed by this dominant idea. Hence he goes to Ephesus, the door of the East toward the West, afterwards to Rome, and we find him purposing to visit Spain, the great province of the West. There is much plausibility in the view that his purpose in appealing to Cæsar was to gain recognition for Christianity as a *religio licita* (cf. Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller*, p. 308); and he apparently succeeded for the time being, for after his first trial the emperor left Jews and Christians in peace.

About A.D. 61 he was brought to Rome as a prisoner. Nero had already begun to disappoint the promise of the early years of his reign, and had given way to his ungovernable savagery. For two years before his trial, St. Paul lived either in the prætorian barracks attached to the palace, or in the prætorian camp (but see p. 33[a]) in the N.E. of the city,—in a place in any case where, in spite of his bonds, he was brought into contact with the freedmen and slaves who formed part of the household of Nero (Ph 1^{13} 4^{22}); or in the house of the centurion, still to be seen beneath the church of S. Maria in Via Lata, at the junction of the Via Lata and the Corso (the Via Flaminia) (see Lewin, *Life and Epistles of St. Paul*, ii. 238, 239, and Appendix (I.) for a sketch and plan of the house).

There is no evidence beyond the name for the Scuola di S. Paolo underneath the church of S. Paolo alla Regola (*i.e. arenula*, from the sand deposited by the Tiber) near the modern Ghetto, but the underground chamber is unquestionably old. Neither do we know with certainty the spot where the trial of St. Paul took place. The *Prætorium* of Ph 1^{13} 'is the whole body of persons connected with the sitting in judgment, the supreme Imperial Court, doubtless in this case the Prefect or both Prefects of the Prætorian Guard, representing the emperor in his capacity as the fountain of justice, together with the assessors and high officers of the court' (see *St. Paul the Trav.* p. 35, and cf. art. PRÆTORIUM). The Mamertin dungeon or *Tullianum*, under the church of S. Giuseppe de' Falegnami, remains as it was in apostolic days, though the stairs leading to the lower dungeon are modern. The only entrance originally was through the hole in the roof. Here St. Peter and St. Paul are said to have been immured during St. Paul's second imprisonment. The outbreak of Nero's fury, which resulted in a renewal of hostilities against the Christians, led to the numerous martyrdoms in the garden of Nero (now partly covered by St. Peter's), where, amid sufferings of fiendish ingenuity, so many disciples sealed their testimony with their blood (Tac. *Ann.* xv. 44; Suet. *Nero*, 35; Renan, *Hibbert Lecture*, 70–98; Lightfoot, *St. Clement*, ii. 26, 27). This was in A.D. 64–65. About this time, or a little later, St. Paul suffered martyrdom by execution. He was led out of the city past the Pyramid of Caius Cestius, along the Via Ostiensis, thence along the Via Laurentina, to a spot near some springs, then known as Aquæ Salviæ, now called Tre Fontane, and there, being a Roman citizen, was beheaded. This fact gives point to his words in Ph 2^{8} 'obedient even unto death, yea, the death of the cross,' *i.e.* to a more degrading form of death than the apostle himself would have been allowed to suffer. The site is fixed partly by an unbroken tradition and partly by local evidence. It is a wild, desolate spot, almost uninhabitable through the prevalent malaria (the Trappist monks have of recent years redeemed it by planting eucalyptus), so that there would be everything against the invention of such a site for so important an event. This factor has very frequently to be borne in mind in judging of the likelihood or the reverse of a traditional site. Over the spot a memorial oratory was erected in the 5th cent., whose 'foundations were discovered in 1867 beneath the present church of S. Paolo alle Tre Fontane, erected in the 17th cent., together with historical inscriptions in Latin and Armenian' (Lanciani, *Pagan and Christian Rome*, p. 156). Lanciani also quotes an interesting fact confirmatory of the tradition that the apostle was beheaded under a stone pine. The Trappists were excavating in 1895 for the foundation of a water-tank behind the chapel, and found a mass of coins of Nero, together with several pine cones fossilized by age and earth pressure.

There is a continuous tradition, found first in Tertullian (*Scorp.* 15; *de Præscript.* 36) and in Caius of Rome (quoted by Eus. *HE* II. xxv. 6, 7), and repeated in varying forms by later writers, to the effect that St. Paul was buried on the Via Ostia. Says Caius: 'But I can show you the trophies of the apostles. For if you will go to the Vatican, or to the Ostian road, you will find the trophies of those who have laid the foundation of this church.' So that about the beginning of the 3rd cent. the prevalent belief in Rome was that St. Paul was buried on the Via Ostia. The translation of his body, together with that of St. Peter, to the catacomb of St. Sebastian, to the spot called Platonia, occurred later, in A.D. 258, probably owing to the Valerian persecution. This seems to dispose of the ingenious theory of Mr. A. S. Barnes (*St. Peter and his Tomb in Rome*), that the apostles were buried first of all in the catacomb, and only removed to the Vatican and the Ostian Way after the persecution of Valerian had ceased, and therefore enables us to accept the earlier and more likely theory of de Rossi. The tradition is that a certain Roman matron named Lucina, a disciple of the apostle, begged the body and buried it in her own garden on the Ostian road, at the spot now marked by the basilica of S. Paolo fuori le mura. De Rossi has conjecturally identified (and the identification is accepted by Lanciani and others) Lucina with Pomponia Græcina, the wife of Aulus Plautus, the conqueror of Britain, of whom Tacitus (*Annal.* xiii. 32) records that she was accused of 'foreign superstition,' was tried by her husband, and acquitted. Recent investigations have made it very probable that she was a Christian. An inscription was discovered in the cemetery of St. Callixtus, ΠΟΜΠΩΝΙΟC ΓΡΗΚΕΙΝΟC. The

subsequent and varied history of the famous basilica need not be detailed here. Suffice it to say that within the walls of that most glorious fane, into which the kings of the earth poured their treasure after the fire of 1825, rests all that is mortal of the great apostle. The remains were enclosed by Constantine in a bronze sarcophagus, and Lanciani (*op. cit.* p. 157) relates that in 1891 he examined the grave so far as he then could. 'I found myself on a flat surface paved with slabs of marble, on one of which (placed negligently in a slanting direction) are engraved the words, PAVLO APOSTOLO MART. . . . This inscription belongs to the 4th cent.,' and is, it will be observed, dedicatory and not declaratory. It is possible that ere long more will be known of this tomb and of the garden in which it stood. The Italian Government is constructing a sewer from Rome to Ostia, and the excavations will include the garden of Lucina. E. Stevenson (since dead) has recorded in an article full of interest, 'Osservazioni sulla topografia della via Ostiense e sul cimitero ove fu sepolto l'apostolo S. Paolo' (*Nuovo Bullettino di Archeologia Cristiana*, Anno iii. n. 3, c. 4, 1897), all that is known about the tomb up to the time of writing, and the *Bullettino* will contain an account of any discoveries that are made during the progress of the engineering works. On the possibility of the bodies of St. Peter and St. Paul having been carried off by the Saracens in A.D. 846, see Lanciani, *Destruction of Ancient Rome*, p. 129 ff.

During his imprisonment St. Paul wrote the Ep. to Philemon, and the Epp. to the Churches in Philippi, Colossæ, and Ephesus. From Rome also was written the second Ep. to Timothy shortly before his martyrdom, in A.D. 67 (?). (For a discussion of questions connected with St. Paul's imprisonment, see PAUL, and cf. Ramsay, *Church in the Roman Empire*, and *St. Paul the Trav.*; for the constitution of the early Church at Rome, see ROMANS; cf. Lightfoot, *Philippians*[2], 1–27, 97–102; Hort, *Christian Ecclesia*).

The relation of *St. Peter* to Rome has been a matter of keen controversy. The general questions of St. Peter's presence and martyrdom in Rome have been fully discussed in the article PETER, and there is now an almost unanimous agreement among scholars that the apostle suffered martyrdom in the eternal city, the only point of difference being as to the date, some adhering to the earlier date, simultaneously with or shortly after the death of St. Paul, some (notably W. M. Ramsay and Swete, see *Church in Roman Empire*, p. 279; *St. Mark*, p. xviii) inclining to a later date, in the persecution of Domitian, but not later than that. What has been already said about the burial-place of St. Paul applies to that of St. Peter. His tomb in the Vatican Cemetery was well known in the days of Caius of Rome, and therefore anterior to the translation of the body to the catacomb of S. Sebastiano. This has been recently questioned in an able book (cited above) by Mr. A. S. Barnes—a work full of interest, in its later parts dealing with the site of the tomb in old and new St. Peter's, but vitiated in the earlier chapters by an insufficient review of evidence and many inaccuracies (see review by Ramsay in *Bookman*, September 1900). The site of the martyrdom is sometimes stated to have been where the obelisk now stands in the centre of the piazza; but this is inaccurate. The obelisk was moved when new St. Peter's was built, and the true site is marked by a slab with an inscription (worn, neglected, and needing renewal) to be found in the pavement of the courtyard behind the sacristy on the north side of the present basilica. The sites of the supposed parting of St. Peter and St. Paul, and of the *Domine quo vadis?* story may or may not be genuine. The chapels in both instances are modern. The archæological evidence supporting the residence of St. Peter in Rome is strong. It should be borne in mind, however, that his residence there, if proved, does not carry with it the episcopate, nor, if it did, does that involve the further claims of supremacy and infallibility. If Ramsay is right and St. Peter did not die till the last quarter of the 1st cent., there is then room (though not at the period traditionally assigned to them) for the alleged twenty-five years' residence and work in Rome. Two spots are locally connected with this tradition—the house of Prisca and the house of Pudens, on which see below.

The question as to the significance of Babylon in 1 P 5[13] and in the Apoc. has already been discussed in a separate article. (See BABYLON IN NT, and add to the literature there given, Butcher, *The Church in Egypt*). At what date the name of Babylon came to be so used cannot be definitely determined; but it was a familiar designation in the 1st cent. of the Christian era. In 2 Es. (3[1] 15[43]), which is now usually assigned to the age of Domitian, it is so used. In the *Sibylline Oracles*, v. 158—written about A.D. 80, or earlier, in the judgment of Ewald and Hilgenfeld—we find the words—

καὶ φλέξει πόντον τε βαθὺν καὐτὴν Βαβυλῶνα
Ἰταλίας γαῖαν θ'.

In the Jer. Talm. (*Aboda zara*, c. 1) there is a curious passage to the effect that, on the day when Jeroboam set up the golden calves, Remus and Romulus built two huts at Rome. The story is repeated with variations in the Midrash Rabba (on Ca 1[6]), and it is said that the huts repeatedly fell down, until water brought from the Euphrates was mixed with the clay, and the huts thus made stable received the name רומי בבלון. (Cf. Otho, *Lex. Rabb.*).

The general opinion even among interpreters of opposite schools is that Babylon in the Apocalypse (14[8] 16[19] 17[5] 18[2. 10. 21]) must be understood as Rome. The reference to it as the seat of universal empire (17[18]), as the centre of a bloody persecution (17[6]), above all to the seven mountains (17[9]), shows that, whether we are to give a mystical sense or not to that which is signified, Babylon stands for Rome. As the city of the seven hills, Rome is lauded by Virgil, Horace, Ovid, and Claudian; it is so represented on coins; it is so designated in the *Sibyll.* (ii. 18, etc.); in the month of December it celebrated the feast of the *Septimontium*, and, if a statement of Tertullian is to be trusted, *Septimontius* was one of its many divinities (*ad Nationes*, ii. 15).

The question of the visit of *St. John* the apostle to Rome is one that is so far wrapped in obscurity. The first mention of it is in Tertullian (*de Præs. Hær.* 36), who says: 'Ubi Apostolus Joannes posteaquam, in oleum igneum demersus, nihil passus est, in insulam relegatur.' The only other early notice of this event is found in the *Fragmenta Polycarpiana* (see Lightfoot, *Ignatius*), which is, however, both of uncertain authorship and date. The catena of which it forms a part was compiled by some writer later than Victor of Capua, 480–554 (Lightfoot, *op. cit.* iii. 420 ff.). This fragment runs thus: 'Idem ad hæc verba Christi: Calicem meum bibetis, etc. [Mt 20[23]]. Per huiusmodi potum significat passionem, et Jacobum quidem novissimum martyrio consummandum, fratrem vero eius Joannem transiturum absque martyrio, quamvis et afflictiones plurimas et exsilia tolerarit, sed præparatam martyrio mentem Christus martyrem iudicavit. Nam apostolus Paulus, Quotidie, inquit, morior: cum impossibile sit quotidie mori hominem ea morte qua semel vita hæc finitur. Sed quoniam pro evangelio ad mortem iugiter erat præparatus, se mori quotidie sub ea significatione testatus est. Legitur et in dolio ferventis olei pro nomine Christi beatus Joannes fuisse demersus.' The traditional site on which this confession of St. John took place is outside the Porta Latina (now closed). Hence the celebration in the Calendar of S. John ante Port. Latina. The church of S. Giovanni a Porta Latina was founded by Pope Adrian I. in 772, and the adjoining circular chapel of S. Giovanni in Oleo was erected so recently as 1509. But although there are no documentary records earlier than those cited, and no evidence for the existence of a shrine on this spot earlier than the 8th cent., yet it is hardly a place likely to have been chosen unless there were some reasons (lost to us now) for the selection. It is out of the way, near nowhere, and very inaccessible even to-day. So that there is no *a priori* ground for setting aside the traditional spot. Not without interest in the same connexion is the dedication of the cathedral of Rome (*omnium Urbis et Orbis Ecclesiarum mater et caput*) from about the 6th cent., 'to Christ the Saviour, and in honour of St. John the Baptist and St. John the Evangelist.' The earlier dedication was 'to Christ the Saviour' alone. It is difficult to resist the belief that probably at the time of the Neronian persecution, and for some cause and length of time as yet unknown to us, St. John did visit the city of the seven hills, and thence, perhaps, derived his conception of Nero as the Beast from (as Renan suggests, *L'Antichrist*, p. 175) seeing the emperor

'disguised as a wild beast, and in that disguise let loose from a cage, and personating the furies of a tiger or a panther.' Cf. Suet. *Nero*, 29.

4. Connected with the Apostolic Church in Rome there were many whose names are mentioned in the NT, and with whom associations remain in the city of to-day. Chief among these are PRISCA and AQUILA (which see). Plumptre claimed for them (*Biblical Studies*, p. 415 ff.) the honour of being the real founders of the Church of Rome. But certain it is that their house (Ro 16^3) was one, if not the only one or the earliest, of the meeting-places of the primitive Church; and here St. Peter is said to have stayed, for some time at least, during his residence in Rome. The church of S. Prisca on the Aventine Hill marks the spot. The dedication to Prisca is older than the saint of the same name (Virgin and Martyr, commemorated in the Calendar on January 18th), whose body was placed there by Eutychus towards the end of the 3rd century. The original designation of the church is the *Titulus Priscæ*, and even in the 12th cent. it is known as the '*titulus beatorum Aquilæ et Priscæ*.' De Rossi has published accounts of two very remarkable discoveries made in the 18th cent. The original oratory was discovered in 1776 in a garden near the church. It was decorated with frescoes in which the symbol of the fish and the figures of the apostles were clearly discernible. No attention was paid to the discovery, and the only record of it is in 'a scrap of paper in Codex 9697 of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, in which a man named Carrara speaks of having found a subterranean chapel near S. Prisca, decorated with paintings of the 4th cent. A copy of the frescoes seems to have been made at the time, but no trace of it has been found' (Lanciani's *Pagan and Christian Rome*). A few years later the ruins of an old Roman house were discovered close to the church, but oratory and house have alike now disappeared. Lanciani gives an account of part of this latter excavation, which is important. 'A bronze tablet was found, which had been offered to Gaius Marcus Pudens Cornelianus by the people of Clunia as a token of gratitude. . . . The tablet, dated A.D. 222, proves that the house of Aquila and Prisca in apostolic times had subsequently passed into the hands of a Cornelius Pudens; in other words, that the relations formed between the two families during the sojourn of the apostles had been faithfully maintained by their descendants. Their intimate connexion is also proved by the fact that Pudens, Pudentiana, Praxedes, and Prisca were all buried in the cemetery of Priscilla on the Via Salaria.' So that, in all probability, beside that lonely church on the Aventine must we look for the cradle of the infant Church of Rome.

The recently excavated house of Pudens on the Viminal Hill is thus connected with that just described. Pudens, mentioned in 2 Ti 4^{21}, in company with Linus and Claudia (see PUDENS), has been the subject of many conjectures (see Lightfoot, *Clement*, i. 76 ff., ii. 464; Farrar, *St. Paul*, p. 681), upon which Roman archæology has thrown no light. The church, now called S. Pudentiana (a later ignorant change from the earlier name 'the church of Pudens'—*Ecclesia Pudentiana*), has existed in some form on the present site from very early times. Pius I. in the middle of the 2nd cent. granted to Pudentiana, Praxedes, and Timotheus, daughters and son of Pudens, the institution of a regular *titulus*, or parish, with a font for baptism. Here, too, were preserved some pieces of household furniture used by St. Peter during his stay. Part of this, the old wooden table on which the apostle is said to have celebrated the Lord's Supper, was given by Cardinal Wiseman (who was titular of the church) to St. John Lateran. If it had been a stone altar or an elaborate piece of work, doubt would easily gather round it. But there is nothing *per se* against the genuineness of the relic. The excavation of the house is still proceeding.

Together with the house of Prisca and the house of Pudens, both genuine memorials of the apostolic age and closely connected with St. Peter and St. Paul, should be mentioned the house of Clement beneath the lower church of S. Clemente near the Colosseum (see Lightfoot, *Clement*, i. 91 ff.). This has been for many years flooded with water; but one of the present writers was privileged, by the kind permission of the authorities, to inspect it so far as possible this year (1900), and it is to be hoped that ere long it may be drained and once more opened to the archæologist and the pilgrim. For its interest is that of the apostolic times, whatever view we may take of the personality of St. Clement and of his connexion with the Clement mentioned by St. Paul.

There remain to be noticed only the catacombs and other funereal memorials of Rome bearing on NT times. The inscriptions, frescoes, and monuments have been mostly removed to the Lateran and Capitoline museums, and can be there studied with the help of such works as de Rossi, Northcote (though now somewhat out of date), Witherow, *The Catacombs of Rome*, and Malleson and Tuke's *Handbook to Christian and Ecclesiastical Rome*, 3 vols. (the catacombs are dealt with in the first volume). The exploration of the columbarium of the empress Livia has led to the possible identification of some of the names in Ro 16 (see Lightfoot, *Philippians*, Excursus). See also NEREUS.

Monumental evidence also confirms the traditional friendship between Seneca and St. Paul. See Lanciani, *Pagan and Christian Rome*; Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller*, p. 353 ff.

Much still has to be done before our knowledge of Rome in the 1st cent. is anything like complete, and almost every day brings its news. The enthusiastic band of Italian scholars, headed by Lanciani and Marucchi and Baccelli, is working hard, and great things are expected from the newly founded British School in Rome. The *Bullettino* and the *Nuovo Bullettino* contain full records of all recent discoveries. Among the researches needing to be made are those concerning the burial of other apostles in Rome, in addition to those already named, *e.g.* St. Timothy (in St. Paul's outside the walls), St. Bartholomew, etc., and a scientific sifting of the evidence concerning many of the Eastern relics (such as the Santa Scala) and remains. In the case of the latter class the history is fairly clear from the time of Helena onwards, but before that, which is the crucial period, it is all vague and unsatisfactory.

Professor James Orr, in his *Neglected Factors in the Study of the Early Progress of Christianity* (1899), has suggested two fields of inquiry—first, into the actual numbers of Christians in the city in the 1st cent. (on this the evidence of the catacombs has yet to be examined fully, but the numbers appear to have been very much larger than is commonly supposed); and, secondly, into the social status of those who were drawn into the infant Church. He has shown very clearly that the poor were by no means the only members, and the evidence of houses like those of Pudens, Prisca, and Clement, of churches like that discovered this year (1900) on the very Palatine Hill itself (of as yet unknown date, but very early), all goes to show that then as now the gospel was universal in its power as well as in its claim, and that St. Paul's great *Apologia* in Romans for the 'wisdom' of God was addressed to the wise and learned as well as to the freedmen and slaves.

LITERATURE. — See, besides the works already mentioned, Schürer, *Die Gemeindeverfassung der Juden in Rom*, 1879, *HJP* I. i. 231, II. ii. 232 *et passim*; Berliner, *Gesch. d. Jud. in Rom*, 1893; Holtzmann, *Ansiedelung des Christenthums in Rom*, 1874; Schmidt, *Anfänge des Christenthums in der Stadt Rom*, 1879; Friedländer, *Sittengeschichte Roms*, i. 1–183, iii. 506, etc. (1869); Renan, *Hibbert Lecture*, 1885; Hild., 'Les Juifs à Rom,' in *Rev. d. Ét. Juives*, 1884, etc.; Huidekoper, *Judaism at Rome*, 1876; the articles in Riehm's *HWB*, Schenkel's *Bibel.-Lex.*, Hamburger's *RE.*; Lanciani, *Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome*; Sanday-Headlam, *Romans* (Internat. Crit. Com.); de Bussierre, *Les Sept Basiliques de Rome*; Mrs. Jameson, *Sacred and Legendary Art*, vol. i.; Stanley's *Sermons and Essays on the Apostolic Age*; Murray's *Handbook for Rome*, ed. Pullen, Murray, Layard, and Lanciani; Macduff, *Footsteps of St. Paul*; Plumptre, Excursus on the later years of St. Paul's life, in *Commentary on Acts* (NT Com. for English Readers); Gloag, *Catholic Epistles*, pp. 140–160; Mullooly, *S. Clemente*; Ramsay, 'Paul the Statesman,' in *Contemp. Rev.*, March 1901.

JOHN PATRICK and F. RELTON.

ROOF (גָּג, perhaps from a root meaning 'to cover,' קוֹרָה [once, Gn 19^8, tr^d 'roof,' lit. 'beam'], חֵךְ ['roof of the mouth']; στέγη).—The most convenient form of roof for domestic purposes in a dwelling-house is undoubtedly a flat one; but the form of roof from the earliest times has probably been governed by a variety of factors, of which the most important are the materials procurable near the spot and the climatic conditions.

In northern climates, where wood is plentiful and the snowfall is heavy, a high-pitched roof of thatch or shingle can be readily made, and is a necessity. All around the shores of the Mediterranean Sea, where there is no snow and slight rainfall, and where timber can be procured, the most convenient form of roof can be economically constructed, and that is a flat one of some substance impervious to water. In more tropical climates, where the rains are exceedingly heavy and sudden, and the houses are for the most part of wood, the roofs again are usually high-pitched, and of thatch or leaves. In countries, such as Chaldæa, where there is little or no wood, the storehouses and places where dryness is necessary are built with thick walls and vaults with flat roofs or masonry domes, and for the same reason the houses of modern Jerusalem are built with thick walls and domes. The houses otherwise in Assyria-Chaldæa are flat-roofed.

In Egypt, where timber is scarce, but where stone is plentiful, the roofs are usually flat, the roofs of the peasants' houses being usually lightly constructed, and resting on palm beams, while the temples and palaces were roofed with stone.

Probably from the earliest times the same forms of roof have obtained in the same parts of the world, except that local circumstances have here and there interfered. For the buildings of Nineveh and Babylon, as well as for Jerusalem, the cedars of Lebanon were made use of. In Jerusalem, in early days, the roofs were flat, and the scarcity of timber, necessitating domed roofs, appears to have been first felt after the siege of the Holy City by Titus. In early days in Greece the roofs were flat, and it was customary to walk upon them. But pointed roofs were also used. In Rome the *solaria*, properly places for basking in the sun, were terraces on the tops of houses. In the time of Seneca the Romans formed artificial gardens on the tops of their houses, which contained even fruit trees and fish ponds (Smith's *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Ant.*, *s.* 'Domus'). Herodotus (ii. 95) says that the Egyptians slept on the roof in the marshy part of Lower Egypt.

'Even the houses of the poor seem generally to have had their courtyards, at the back of which a structure was raised consisting of a single storey surmounted by a flat roof, to which access was given by a single staircase' leading from the courtyard.

'The flat roof seems to have been universal in Egypt; it added to the accommodation of the house; it afforded a pleasant rendezvous for the family in the evening, where they enjoyed the view and the fresh breezes which spring up at sunset. At certain seasons they must have slept there. On the other hand, the granaries, barns, and storehouses are almost always dome-shaped.

'The flat roof of the house had a parapet round it, and sometimes a light outer roof supported by slender columns of brilliantly painted wood' (Perrot and Chipiez, i. 36).

Fergusson (*History of Architecture*, 119) gives an illustration of a three-storeyed dwelling in the Egyptians' own quaint style, 'the upper storey apparently being like those of the Assyrians, an open gallery supported by dwarf columns. In the centre is a staircase leading to the upper storey, and on the left hand an awning supported on wooden pillars, which seems to have been an indispensable part of all the better class of houses.' 'In the Yezidi House we see an exact reproduction in every essential respect of the style of building in the days of Sennacherib. Here we have the wooden pillars with bracket capitals, supporting a mass of timber intended to be covered with a thickness of earth sufficient to prevent the rain or heat penetrating to the dwelling. There is no reason to doubt that the houses of the humble classes were in former times similar to that here represented' (*ib.* 160). In speaking of the palace of Esarhaddon, Fergusson says (*ib.* 164), 'Had these buildings been constructed like those of the Egyptians, their remains would probably have been applied to other purposes long ago; but having been overwhelmed so early and forgotten, they have been preserved to our day: nor is it difficult to see how this has occurred. The pillars that supported the roof being of wood, probably of cedar, and the beams on the under side of the roof being of the same material, nothing was easier than to set them on fire. The fall of the roofs, which were probably composed, as at the present day, of 5 or 6 ft. of earth, that being requisite to keep out heat as well as wet, would probably suffice to bury the building up to the height of the sculpture. The gradual crumbling of the thick walls, consequent on their unprotected exposure to the atmosphere, would add 3 or 4 ft. to this; so that it is hardly too much to suppose that green grass might have been growing on the buried palaces of Nineveh before two or three years had elapsed from the time of their destruction and desolation. Whenever this had taken place, the mounds afforded far too tempting positions not to be speedily occupied by the villages of the natives.' We may here remark that the modest dwellings of the Egyptian fellah are often covered by vaults of frisé, that is to say, of compressed or kneaded clay. None of the ancient monuments of Egypt possess such vaults, which are of much less durability than those of stone or brick. We are, however, disposed to believe that they were used in ancient times (Perrot and Chipiez, i. 110).

The palaces of Babylon appear to have consisted of courtyards and long narrow chambers; and as stone was not readily obtained, the question of how they were roofed has occasioned much discussion. Diodorus (ii. 10) states that the hanging gardens of Babylon were supported by stone beams, 16 ft. long and 4 ft. wide; but Strabo (xvii. 1. 5) says they were supported by vaulted arcades. Sir H. Layard believed that there were only flat roofs at Nineveh similar to that of modern houses in Mosul and the neighbouring villages, and states that he never came upon the slightest trace of a vault, while in almost every room that he excavated he found wood ashes and carbonized timber. He suggests that the long and narrow

rooms were roofed with beams of palm or poplar, resting on the summit of the walls (Layard, *Nineveh*, ii. 256).

That flat roofs must have been extensively used is evident from the number of limestone roof rollers found by M. Place (*Ninivé*, i. 293) in his excavations in the ruins of buildings where they had fallen with the roofs; but Place as well as Perrot and Chipiez (i. 163) are of opinion that though the roofs were flat they were in many cases supported by brick vaults, side by side with other flat roofs of timber. Arches still standing in the city gates, and fragments of vaults found within the chambers of Sargon's palace at Khorsabad, give colour to this opinion. A vaulted storehouse for grain with a flat roof is shown in Wilkinson's *Ancient Egyptians* (vol. ii. p. 135).

Strabo (xv. 3. 18), quoting from some old authority on Susiana, states, 'In order to prevent the houses from becoming too hot, their roofs are covered with 2 cubits of earth, the weight of which compels them to make those dwellings long and narrow; because although they had only short beams, they had to have large rooms, so as to avoid being suffocated.'

What strikes one in considering the subject of roofs is the similarity of design in the countries north and south of Palestine (Assyria, Chaldæa, Egypt), the difference being due only to the material available. Wilkinson (ii. 115) says that the roofs of rooms of houses in Egypt were supported by rafters of the date tree, arranged close together, or more generally at intervals, with transverse layers of palm branches or planks. Many roofs were vaulted, and built, like the rest of the house, of crude brick. On the top of the house was a terrace, which served as well for a place of repose as for exercise during the heat; it was covered by a roof supported on columns; here they slept, using a mosquito net (Herod. ii. 95). The floors of the rooms were flat on the upper side, whether the rooms beneath were vaulted or supported on rafters. Strabo (xvii. 1. 37), in speaking of the labyrinth at Lake Mœris, tells us that the roofs of the dwellings here consisted of a single stone each, and that the covered ways throughout the whole range were roofed in the same manner with single slabs of stone of extraordinary size, without the admixture of timber or of any other material. 'On ascending the roof, which is not a great height, for it consists only of a single storey, there may be seen a field thus composed of stones. Descending again and looking into the aulæ, these may be seen in a line supported by twenty-seven pillars, each consisting of a single stone.' Perrot and Chipiez (i. 109) give examples of a complete system of construction, belonging exclusively to Egypt, for stone buildings with stone roofs. The interior of the building is divided up by rows of vertical supports or monoliths, on which rest architraves or stone beams, and across from architrave to architrave are placed long flat stones forming the roof. This, however, seems to have applied only to temples, the palaces as well as the houses of the people having been of very light construction, of wood or crude brick.

At Luxor, Karnak, and the Ramesseum, the temples are provided with staircases by which these flat roofs may be reached. These roofs seem to have been freely opened to the people, just as with us one is allowed to ascend domes and belfries for the sake of the view over the surrounding building and country.

The flat roofs of houses in the East have been used from the earliest times for a variety of domestic and even public purposes.—*For devotion and prayer.* St. Peter went up upon the housetop to pray about the sixth hour (Ac 10^{9}). They were used also for idolatrous purposes. There were altars on the top of the roof-chamber (עֲלִיָּה) of Ahaz in Jerusalem (2 K 23^{12}). They burned incense to Baal on the roofs of houses in Jerusalem (Jer 19^{13} 32^{29}); and there they also worshipped the host of heaven (Zeph 1^{5}).—*For recreation and for sleep at night.* It is customary at the present day for the people (especially the old) to take exercise morning and evening on the roof of the house; and during the summer-time members of the family usually sleep on the roof, carrying their bedding up at night and down again in the morning. 'At night all sleep on the tops of their houses, their beds being spread upon their terraces, without any other covering over their heads than the vault of heaven. The poor seldom have a screen to keep them from the gaze of passengers' (Morin, *Persia*, 229). 'We supped on the top of the house for coolness, according to their custom, and lodged there likewise, in a sort of closet about 8 ft. square, of wicker-work, plastered round towards the bottom, but without any doors' (Pocock's *Travels*, ii. 6). Saul appears to have slept on the roof of Samuel's house in the unnamed city. 'And it came to pass, about the spring of the day, that Samuel called to Saul on the housetop, saying, Up, that I may send thee away' (1 S 9^{26}); 'David walked upon the roof of the king's house at Jerusalem, and from the roof saw a woman washing herself' (2 S 11^{2}); 'Absalom spread a tent upon the top of the house' (2 S 16^{22}); 'Nebuchadnezzar walked upon the royal palace at Babylon' (Dn 4^{29}); 'Samuel communed with Saul upon the top of the house' (1 S 9^{25}); 'the people made themselves booths, every one upon the roof of his house' (Neh 8^{16}).

They used the housetops *to make their public lamentations*, and in the villages *to proclaim any news* that required to be promulgated. As the houses had few windows opening to the streets, the people rushed to the roofs to look down upon any processions, and to view what was going on far and near. 'At the present time local governors in country districts cause their commands thus to be published. These proclamations are generally made in the evening, after the people have returned from their labours in the field; the public crier ascends the highest roof at hand, and lifts up his voice in a long-drawn call upon all faithful subjects to give ear and obey. He then proceeds to announce, in a set form, the will of their master, and to demand obedience thereto.' 'On their housetops, and in their broad places, every one howleth' (Is 15^{3} 22^{1}). 'On all the housetops of Moab, and in the streets thereof, there is lamentation' (Jer 48^{38}). 'Proclaim upon the housetops' (Mt 10^{27}, Lk 12^{3}). Eusebius (*HE* ii. 23) tells us that 'the Pharisees, who had a design upon the life of St. James, bishop of Jerusalem, persuaded him to preach to the people, when assembled at the Passover, from the battlements of the temple, alluding to this custom of proclaiming from the housetop whatever was to be made known far and wide.'

The roof of the house in the East is used as is the backyard of European houses; linen and flax are dried there, also figs, apricots, raisins, and corn. 'The ordinary houses have no other place where the inmates can either see the sun, "smell the air," dry their clothes, set out their flower-pots, or do numberless other things essential to their health and comfort' (*Land and Book*, i. 49). Rahab the harlot brought the spies up to the roof of the house and hid them with the stalks of flax, which she had laid in order about the roof (Jos 2^{6}).

The staircase from the roof leads down into the inner court (Mt 10^{27} 24^{17}, Lk 12^{3}). Battlements or

a parapet were enjoined by the law, a very necessary precaution, to prevent loss of life from falling over (Dt 22[8]).

The manner in which Samson brought down the roof of the temple of Dagon (Jg 16), upon which about 3000 persons were assembled, by pulling down the two principal pillars, has not yet been satisfactorily ascertained. Shaw describes having seen several hundreds of people assembled, on the dey's palace in Algiers, to view an exhibition of wrestlers, and describes how the pulling down of the front or centre pillars would have been attended by a catastrophe similar to that which happened to the Philistines (Shaw, *Travels*, p. 283). Cf. further, Moore, *Judges*, *ad loc.*

The flat roofs in Syria at the present day are made as follows: Stout beams are first laid across the walls about 2 ft. apart; crosswise is laid tough brushwood, or, if that cannot be obtained, split wood with matting, and over it a mass of thorny bush in bundles; upon this is laid a plaster of mud or clay mortar, which is well pressed in, and over this a layer of earth 6 to 12 in. thick. This is plastered over with mud and straw as a protection against the rain. Each roof requires a little stone roller to be always ready—the handles of wood being movable, and used for all the rollers of the different roofs; periodically, and whenever the rain falls, the roller must be used to fill in the cracks and keep the roof compact. Constant care is required to avoid leakage (Pr 27[15]). During the *PEF* excavations at Jerusalem one of these roof rollers was found in the ancient aqueduct to the west of the temple, where it must have lain for quite 1800 years, showing that flat roofs at that time were in use at Jerusalem, though at the present day they are mostly domed roofs of stone, on account of the scarcity of timber. The uncovering of a roof (Mk 2[4]) of this nature would not be a difficult matter. See HOUSE in vol. ii. p. 432[a].

For other points connected with the subject of this art. see BRICK, GATE, HOUSE, PAVEMENT, WALLS.

LITERATURE.—Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt.*; Fergusson, *Architecture*; Layard, *Nineveh*; Place, *Ninivé*; Perrot and Chipiez, *Egypt*, also *Chaldæa and Assyria*; *PEFSt*; Thomson, *The Land and the Book*. See also Marshall in *Expos.* March 1891, p. 218 f.; Ramsay, *Was Christ born at Bethlehem?*; E. A. Abbott, *Clue* (1900), p. 118 ff.; and the Comm. on Mk 2[4], Lk 5[19].

C. WARREN.

ROOM.—**1.** *Space to stay in:* Gn 24[23] 'Is there room in thy father's house for us to lodge in?'; so 24[25. 31] (all מָקוֹם, from קוּם to rise up, stand; RV adds Is 5[8] for same Heb., AV 'place'); Ps 31[8] 'Thou hast set my feet in a large room' (מֶרְחָב, from רָחַב to be spacious; RV 'place'); Lk 2[7] 'There was no room for them in the inn,' and 14[22] 'Yet there is room' (both τόπος); cf. Mal 3[10] 'there shall not be room enough to receive it' (no Heb.), Mk 2[2] 'So that there was no room to receive them' (ὥστε μηκέτι χωρεῖν, RV 'so that there was no longer room for them'); Lk 12[17] 'I have no room where to bestow my fruits' (οὐκ ἔχω ποῦ, RV 'I have not where'). In this sense is the phrase 'make room,' Gn 26[22], Pr 18[16] (both רחב); to which RVm adds 2 Co 7[2] 'make room for us' (Gr. χωρήσατε ἡμᾶς, AV 'Receive us,' RV 'Open your hearts to us'). Similarly Ps 80[9] 'Thou preparedst room before it' (no Heb.). Cf. Dt 33[20] Tind. 'Blessed is the rowmmaker Gad' (AV 'Blessed be he that enlargeth Gad'); and Milton, *PL* vii. 486—

> 'First crept
> The parsimonious emmet, provident
> Of future, in small room large heart enclosed.'

2. A *definite position* to be occupied: To 2[4], Wis 13[15] (both οἴκημα); 1 Co 14[16] 'he that occupieth the room of the unlearned' (ὁ ἀναπληρῶν τὸν τόπον τοῦ ἰδιώτου, Vulg. *qui supplet locum idiotæ*). Cf. Melvill, *Diary*, 6, 'I durst na wayes waver or mint away, bot stand stedfast in that roum and station wher He haid placed me'; Calderwood, *Hist.* 128, 'Displacing of the Minister of Glasgow out of his roome, which without reproach he hath occupied these many years.' This is the meaning of 'room' when in AV πρωτοκλισία is tr[d] 'uppermost room' (Mt 23[6] Mk 12[39], RV both 'chief place'), or 'chief room' (Lk 14[7], RV 'chief seat,' 20[46], RV 'chief place'), or 'highest room' (Lk 14[8], RV 'chief seat'). The Gr. word means the place of highest honour at table. See FOOD, vol. ii. p. 43[a]. Cf. Knox, *Hist.* 380, 'But, said hee (turning his face towards the Room where such men as had so affirmed sate), if I bee not able to prove the Masse to bee the most abominable Idolatry that ever was used from the beginning of the world, I offer my selfe to suffer the punishment appointed by God to a false Preacher'; Lever, *Sermons*, 107, 'Then who can desyre a better master then the Lorde God or a higher roume then a stewardshyppe in the house of Christ'; and Ps 63[9] in metre—

> 'Who seek my soul to spill shall sink
> Down to earth's lowest room.'

So in the frequent phrase 'in the room of' or 'in his room,' the Heb. being תַּחַת (2 S 19[13], 1 K 2[35 bis] 5[1. 5] 8[20], 2 K 15[25] 23[34], 2 Ch 26[1]; RV adds 2 K 14[21] for AV 'instead of'); and the Gr. ἀντί (Mt 2[22]). So Ac 24[27] 'Porcius Festus came into Felix' room' (ἔλαβε διάδοχον ὁ Φῆλιξ Πόρκιον Φῆστον, RV 'Felix was succeeded by Porcius Festus'). Cf. Melvill, *Diary*, 129, 'The Generall Assemblie commandit the Presbyterie of Edinbruche to keipe his roum frie, and place nan thairin'; Calderwood, *Hist.* 110, 'It pertaines to the Office of a Christian Magistrate . . . to see that the Kirk be not invaded, nor hurt by false Teachers and Hirelings, nor the roomes thereof occupied by dumb doggs or idle bellies.' The plu. 'in their rooms' is found in 1 K 20[24] (RV 'room') and 1 Ch 4[41] (RV 'stead'), Heb. in both places תַּחְתֵּיהֶם. Cf. Dt 2[23] Tind. 'The Caphthoryms which came out of Caphthor destroyed them and dwelt in their rowmes.' This is the meaning in the phrase 'give room,' which has been changed into 'give place' in AV wherever it occurs in earlier VSS; thus Gal 2[5] Tind. 'To whom we gave no roume, no not for the space of an houre,' so Gen. NT 1557, but 1560 'gave not place.' Cf. Tindale, *Works*, i. 227, 'Dearly beloved, avenge not yourselves, but give room unto the wrath of God'; and *Pent.* (Prologe) 'Isaac when his welles which he had digged were taken from him, geveth rowme and resisteth not.'

3. The 'upper room' of Mk 14[15], Lk 22[12] (Gr. ἀνάγαιον, TR ἀνώγεον), and of Ac 1[13] (Gr. ὑπερῷον, RV 'upper chamber') is a room in the upper storey of the house, 'a roof-chamber' (see Moore on Jg 3[20]; Driver, *Daniel*, p. 74; Thomson, *Land and Book*[2], ii. 634, 636 [with illustration]; and cf. HOUSE in vol. ii. p. 433[a]). RV adds 1 Ch 28[11] (Heb. עֲלִיָּה, AV 'upper chamber').

4. In Gn 6[14] it is said that Noah's ark had 'rooms' made in it. The Heb. (קִנִּים) is lit. 'nests,' and is usually understood to mean small divisions or *cells*.

J. HASTINGS.

ROSE (חֲבַצֶּלֶת *ḥăbhaẓẓeleth*, Ca 2[1], Is 35[1] RVm in both 'autumn crocus.'—Some have derived this word from בָּצַל *bāẓāl*, the same as the Arab. *baṣal* = 'onion,' and secondarily 'bulb.' This theory rests on the supposition that the initial ח is a mistake for ה. Apart, however, from the fact that there is no critical support for this theory, it gains no probability from the ancient versions. The Syriac, for example, *ḥamẓallāitā*, gives the ח also instead of ה. The Targum on Ca 2[1] explains *ḥăbhaẓẓeleth* by נרקוס = *narcissus* (Celsius, *Hierob.* i. 489). An Assyrian word of similar

form, *ḥabaṣillatu*, signifies a 'marsh plant or reed.' Notwithstanding the authority of Gesenius, Michaelis, and Rosenmüller, we are inclined to accept *narcissus* as the correct translation. Two species of this genus grow in Palestine and Syria, *N. Tazetta*, L., flowering from November to March, and *N. serotinus*, L., flowering in autumn. The former has larger and more sweetly scented flowers than the latter. They are of the familiar pattern, with a white perigonium, and yellow, cup-shaped crown. The scape bears from three to ten flowers. The mention of the 'narcissus of Sharon' in parallelism with the 'lily (*shōshannāh*) of the valleys' increases the probability that they are allied plants. *Shōshannāh* is doubtless generic, and may include various species of Iris, Colchicum, Crocus, Pancratium, Ixiolirion, Tulipa, Fritillaria, Hyacinthus, Asphodeline, etc. (see LILY), any or all of which would go well in a parallelism with *narcissus*. For the tr^{n} 'rose' we have only the authority of Ben Melech (Cels. *Hierob.* i. 488). The LXX *ἄνθος* and *κρίνον* give it no support.

The rose is mentioned in several places in the Apocrypha. Sirach speaks of *φυτὰ ῥόδου ἐν Ἰεριχῷ*, 'a rose plant in Jericho' (24^{14}, cf. 39^{13}). Seven species of rose exist in Pal. and Syria—*Rosa lutea*, L., the Yellow Rose, which grows only in N. Syria; *R. glutinosa*, S. et S., and *R. Thureti*, Barnat et Gremli, both Alpine species; *R. canina*, L., the Dog Rose, a mountain species; *R. dumetorum*, Thuill., a species growing from Lebanon and Antilebanon northward; *R. Arabica*, Crep., a Sinaitic species; and *R. Phœnicea*, Boiss. The latter is almost universal. The present writer has not met with any of these species at Jericho, but the last might easily grow there in hedges. There is nothing in the context to prevent the 'rose plant in Jericho' being a cultivated one. It has nothing to do with the traditional 'rose of Jericho.' This is a low, annual Crucifer, *Anastatica hierochuntina*, L. The so-called rose in this case is the entire plant, which, after maturing, dries up, and its branches curl inward, forming a brown hemisphere, 3 to 4 in. broad. On placing the root in water, it absorbs moisture, and the dry branches expand, and spread open. It has no resemblance to a rose, except in its round contour. Roses are everywhere cultivated in Pal. and Syria, and passionately admired by the people. The name *Wardeh*=Rose, is a favourite girl's name in Arabic (cf. NT RHODA). One of the industries for which Damascus is noted is the distilling of rose-water and an essential oil (attar of roses), as well as the making of syrup of roses. Large plantations of rosebushes are to be seen there and in other parts of the country. G. E. POST.

ROSH (רֹאשׁ).—**1.** A son, or, according to the LXX ('Ρώς), a grandson, of Benjamin, Gn 46^{21}. The reading of MT אחי וראש מפים 'Ehi and Rosh, Muppim,' should, however, probably be corrected after Nu 26^{38} to אחירם ושופם 'Ahiram and Shupham' (cf. also 1 Ch 8$^{4f.}$). **2.** In the title of Gog נְשִׂיא רֹאשׁ מֶשֶׁךְ וְתֻבָל in Ezk 38$^{2f.}$ 39^{1} (RV 'prince of Rosh, Meshech, and Tubal'; AV and RVm 'chief prince of Meshech and Tubal'; AVm 'prince of the chief of Meshech and Tubal'). It is most probable that *Rosh* is here the name of a people or country, like MESHECH and TUBAL (so LXX ['Ρώς] and Symm. and Theod.). Its position, however, cannot be identified. Gesenius actually thought of the Russians, but this is impossible. Even the land of *Rāsh*, on the western border of Elam, which is mentioned in the cuneiform inscriptions (see Delitzsch, *Paradies*, 322), appears (see A. B. Davidson, *Ezekiel*, *ad loc.*) to lie too far east for the requirements of the prophecy. For further conjectures see the Commentaries of Bertholet and Kraetzschmar, *ad loc.* Duhm, followed by Cheyne, finds this same רֹאשׁ concealed under the קֶשֶׁת ('bow') of Is 66^{19}. J. A. SELBIE.

RUBY.—Three Heb. words, אֹדֶם, כַּדְכֹּד, and פְּנִינִים, are tr. 'ruby' in EV (text or margin), but it is doubtful whether this is the stone meant.

1. אֹדֶם is tr. 'ruby' in AVm and RVm at Ex 28^{17} 39^{10}, Ezk 28^{13}. The text, in each case, has **sardius**, after the Vulg. *sardius* and the LXX *σάρδιον*. אֹדֶם (from אָדֹם or אָדַם 'to be red') would obviously be a suitable name for any red stone. There is nothing in it to help us in fixing on the special kind of gem. A similar ambiguity attaches to the cognate Assyr. word *adamatu*, when used as a plant-name; all that Fried. Delitzsch (Assyr. *Handwörterbuch*, *sub voce*) feels justified in saying of it is that it is 'a plant, probably so called on account of its colour.' Pliny, too, presents the same kind of difficulty as we meet here; his method of naming stones according to their colours often leaves us uncertain which of them he has in view. Modern authorities are divided between the claims of the carnelian [Petrie makes it the red jasper; see art. STONES (PRECIOUS)] and the ruby to represent the Heb. אֹדֶם, the majority favouring the former. Two considerations are in favour of this view: by far the largest number of gems which have come down to us from antiquity are carnelians; and the אֹדֶם of Exodus was an engraved stone, whereas the ruby, on account of its hardness, was seldom engraved in ancient times.

2. כַּדְכֹּד is tr. 'ruby' by RV at Is 54^{12}, Ezk 27^{16}; AV has 'agate,' m. 'Heb. chrysoprase'; LXX has *ἴασπις* (Is.) and *χορχόρ* (Ezek.) (from the common confusion of ר and ד); Vulg. *iaspis* and *chodchod*. It is impossible to determine what the כַּדְכֹּד was. The root from which the noun is derived probably means 'to sparkle.' But this would suit a carbuncle almost, if not quite, as well as a ruby.

3. At Job 28^{18}, Pr 3^{15} [*Kethibh*, by a transcriber's mistake, פְּנִים] 8^{11} 20^{15} 31^{10}, La 4^{7}, AV and RV tr. פְּנִינִים 'rubies'; RVm has 'red coral *or* pearls,' except at La 4^{7}, which has 'corals.' The LXX is very vague and fluctuating, using *λίθοι*, *λίθοι πολυτελεῖς*, *τὰ ἐσώτατα* (Job 28^{18}); and the Vulg. is still more unhelpful, 'cunctis *pretiosissimis*,' 'cunctis *opibus*,' 'multitudo *gemmarum*,' 'de ultimis *finibus*,' 'de *occultis*,' and at La 4^{7} '*ebore antiquo*.' (Toy, *Prov.* p. 72, appears to think that this last is due to a mistaken reading, חֻבָּנִים; but it is to be noted that at Ezk 27^{16} the Vulg. renders שֵׁן חֻבָּנִים by *dentes hebeninos*). Although פְּנִינִים never occurs in a list of gems, the Heb. writers must have had a distinct class of stones in view. This is clear from La 4^{7}: the colour of the human body could not be compared to that of precious stones in general. The same passage seems also to preclude the 'pearls' of our RVm. For if Carey (quoted by Delitzsch, *Job*, p. 370) had seen 'pearls of a slightly reddish tinge,' these are, at all events, not so common as to justify a comparison which would imply that pearls are usually red. The choice would appear to lie between 'ruby' and 'red coral.' And the decision depends on two considerations—the value and the colour of these two classes of objects. The passages in Job and Proverbs show that פְּנִינִים were costly. 'The price of wisdom is above פְּנִינִים.' Either rubies or coral would answer to this requirement. Rubies have always commanded a high price. Theophrastus speaks of quite a small *ἄνθραξ* as being worth forty gold staters. Benvenuto Cellini, in the 16th cent., states that a ruby of one carat was worth eight times as much as a diamond of the same weight. A fine ruby will still fetch more than a diamond of the same size. But red coral (*corallium rubrum*) has also always been held in high esteem. In ancient times it was

eagerly purchased in India. It finds a place in the *Lapidarium* of Marbodus. Good specimens continue to command a high price in China. The coral fisheries are a carefully regulated and highly important source of wealth on the Mediterranean coasts. On the second point—that of colour—the present writer is of opinion that the balance inclines in favour of the coral. Rubies are of too deep and fiery a hue to be compared at La 4[7] to the red of even an Oriental's body, notwithstanding the fact that there are exceptional gems, such as the one King describes (*Antique Gems*, p. 250), 'of the most delicious cerise colour.' But coral is found of every shade—deep red, rose pink, flesh colour, and even milky white. There is no difficulty about the supposition that the Jews were familiar with it, for it was to be obtained from the coast of India and the Red Sea, as well as from the Mediterranean. J. TAYLOR.

RUDDER.—See SHIPS AND BOATS.

RUDIMENT.—See ELEMENT.

RUE (*πήγανον*, *ruta*).—*Ruta graveolens*, L., the officinal rue, is a heavy-smelling, shrubby plant, of the order *Rutaceæ*, 2 to 4 ft. high, with glandular-dotted, bi-pinnately parted leaves, and corymbose, yellow flowers. It is cultivated for its medicinal properties, which are antispasmodic and emmenagogue. It has been inferred from Lk 11[42] that it was one of the plants subject to tithe (but see Plummer, *ad loc.*). The indigenous rue of Pal. is *Ruta Chalepensis*, L., the Aleppo rue, which differs but slightly from the officinal species.
G. E. POST.

RUFUS (Ῥοῦφος).—In Mk 15[21] we are told that Simon of Cyrene, who bore our Lord's cross, was the father of Alexander and Rufus. In Ro 16[13] St. Paul sends his salutation to Rufus, 'the chosen in the Lord, and his mother and mine.' The name, meaning 'red,' 'reddish,' was among the commonest of slave names. The mention of Simon as the father of Alexander and Rufus seems to imply that the two latter were known in the circles to which the Gospel was addressed. There is some evidence for thinking that St. Mark's Gospel was written in Rome; if this be so, then the same person may be referred to in both passages; but as the name was so common, this can be only a conjecture. 'Chosen in the Lord' implies some particular eminence as a Christian, and not merely one of the elect, which would not be any special distinction. By 'his mother and mine,' St. Paul means that the mother of Rufus had on some occasion shown to him the care of a mother, and that therefore he felt for her the affection of a son.

The name of Rufus was made use of largely in legendary history. He is introduced into the *Acts of Andrew* and of *Peter*. According to one account he was bishop of Thebes; according to another, bishop of Capua; according to another, bishop of Avignon. The last legend states that he travelled to Spain, founded the church at Tortosa, went over the Alps to Narbonne, and preached in Avignon. He appears to have been commemorated on the 12th, 14th, and 21st November.
A. C. HEADLAM.

RUG.—Jg 4[18] RV and AVm. See MANTLE, No. 4.

RUHAMAH.—The second child (a daughter) of Gomer, Hosea's unfaithful wife, was called LO-RUHAMAH, 'unpitied,' Hos 1[6. 8], as a type of Israel, when, unpitied by Jahweh, she was to be given over to calamity. The opposite condition of things is expressed in Hos 2[3] [Eng. 2[1]] 'Say ye unto your brethren, Ammi (*i.e.* 'my people,' in opposition to the name of the third child, LO-AMMI, 'not my people'), and to your sisters, Ruhamah' (רֻחָמָה 'pitied,' LXX Ἐλεημένη). Similarly, when Jahweh's anger is turned away, He declares in v.[25 (23)] 'and I will have mercy upon her that had not obtained mercy' (*wĕriḥamtî eth-lō rûḥāmāh*, LXX B *καὶ ἀγαπήσω τὴν Οὐκ ἠγαπημένην* [AQ have *ἐλεήσω* for *ἀγαπήσω*, and *ἠλεημένην* for *ἠγαπημένην*, cf. Hort on 1 P 2[10]]).
J. A. SELBIE.

RULERS OF THE CITY is, at Ac 17[6. 8], the EV rendering of the Gr. *πολιτάρχαι* (on the various spelling *πολειτ.* see Tisch. *NT*[8], Prol. p. 86, n. 2), as the special local title belonging to the magistrates in Thessalonica, before whose bar the Jews of that city, along with a mob of market-idlers, dragged Jason and other Christian converts, under a charge of hospitably receiving Paul and Silas, and of entertaining treasonable designs against the emperor. The word denotes 'rulers of the citizens,' who, as Thessalonica was a free city, had then the privilege of choosing their own rulers. The use of the term *πολιτάρχης* has been pointed to as an excellent illustration of the accuracy of St. Luke (*e.g.* by Alford and Knowling, *ad loc.*); for, while it is not employed in that form by classical authors, who use *πολίαρχος* and *πολίταρχος*, the actual existence of the Lukan form at Thessalonica is vouched for by inscriptions discovered there, one of which (assigned to the time of Vespasian) mentions among the politarchs for the time being Sosipater, Secundus, and Gaius—names occurring also as those of companions of St. Paul (Boeckh, *CIG* 1967, quoted by Conybeare and Howson, and by Alford).

Much fresh light is thrown on this subject in a paper by Prof. Burton of Chicago, in the *American Journal of Theology* for July 1898, entitled 'The Politarchs,' in which he has carefully collected, and commented on, the inscriptions which attest the use of the noun *πολιτάρχης* or of the verb *πολιταρχέω*. The following is a summary of his results:—There are seventeen inscriptions which attest the existence of the office of politarch in ancient cities, to which other two may be added, if we accept recent probable restorations. Eleven contain the verb, always in the present participle, and mostly in the genitive plural; seven contain the noun, giving in all eleven instances of it. There is itacistic variation between *ει* and *ι* in the second syllable of both noun and verb. While isolated examples occur from Thrace, Bithynia, the Bosporan kingdom, and Egypt, no fewer than thirteen belong to Macedonia, and five of these without much doubt to Thessalonica itself. None have apparently been discovered from Greece proper, and there is no reason to believe that the office existed south of Macedonia. Its presence in the latter province so largely was probably due to Roman influence in its municipal organization. The five Thessalonian inscriptions extend from the beginning of the 1st to the middle of the 2nd cent. A.D. As regards number, Thessalonica had five politarchs in the reign of Augustus and six under Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius. Burton gives a full bibliography, mentioning as the most recent book that of Dimitzas: Ἡ Μακεδονία ἐν λίθοις φθεγγομένοις καὶ μνημείοις σωζομένοις, 2 vols., Athens, 1896. WILLIAM P. DICKSON.

RULER(S) OF THE SYNAGOGUE.—See SYNAGOGUE.

RUMAH (רוּמָה; B Κρουμά, A Ῥυμά).—The home of Pedaiah, the maternal grandfather of king Jehoiakim, 2 K 23[36]. Josephus, in the parallel passage, *Ant.* X. v. 2, has Ἀβουμά, no doubt a copyist's error for Ἀρουμά, which may be the ARUMAH of Jg 9[41], which lay in the neighbourhood of Shechem. Another Rumah (in Galilee) is named in Jos. *BJ* III. vii. 21, which *may* have been the birthplace of Pedaiah (see Neubauer, *Géog. du Talm.* 203; Guérin, *Galilée*, i. 367 f.)

Buhl, *GAP* 220 f.), if we may suppose that *connubium* still subsisted between the Northern and Southern kingdoms.

The reading רומה for דומה in Jos 15^{52}, although supported by the LXX (B Ῥεμνά, A Ῥουμά), is probably a copyist's error. See DUMAH, No. 2. According to Jerome, there was a various reading, *Rumah* (*i.e.* Rome) for *Dumah* in Is 21^{11}, which is said also to have been found in a manuscript belonging to R. Meir. J. A. SELBIE.

RUNNERS.—See FOOTMAN, and GUARD, No. 2.

RUSH.—See REED.

RUTH (רוּת, LXX Ῥούθ).—The heroine of the Bk. of Ruth. She was a Moabitess, the wife of Mahlon (Ru 4^{10}) the son of Elimelech and Naomi who were residing in the land of Moab because of a famine in Judah (Ru $1^{1ff.}$). By the time that the famine ceased, Elimelech and his two sons were dead. Naomi decided to return to her own land, and after she and her daughters-in-law had started she recommended them to stay in their native land and marry again. Ruth refused, and declared her intention that nothing short of death should part her from Naomi. They went on their way, and arrived at Bethlehem, much to the surprise of the inhabitants. It was the beginning of barley harvest. Elimelech's kinsman, Boaz, was one of the leading inhabitants of Bethlehem, and Ruth went to glean, and by chance entered a part of his field. Here Boaz noticed her and bade her remain in the same field, and praised her for the care she had taken of her mother-in-law. He invited her to share the meal of the reapers, and instructed his men to show her proper respect (ch. 2). Instigated by her mother, she introduced herself into his presence at night and claimed his protection. He was quite willing to give it to her, but there was a nearer kinsman who had prior rights to his, and he had to be reckoned with first. Boaz therefore sent Ruth home with a present for her mother, whilst he himself took the necessary steps to call upon the nearer kinsman to exercise or refuse to exercise his rights (ch. 3). He summoned him to his side at the gate of the city, with ten elders of the city as witnesses. He then called upon the nearest kinsman to buy or redeem Elimelech's portion of land. He refused to do this, because it involved his taking to wife Ruth the Moabitess, and passed on his rights to Boaz by drawing off his shoe and giving it to Boaz; for 'this was the manner of attestation in Israel.' The people in the gate were called upon as well as the elders to bear witness to the transaction, and invoked the blessing of God upon Boaz and Ruth (4^{1-12}). In this way they were married, and their firstborn son was called Obed, from whom were descended David and Christ (Ru $4^{13ff.}$, cf. Mt 1^5).

The name Ruth is of uncertain origin. It is to be noticed that her alleged descendant David entered into friendly relations with Moab (cf. 1 S $22^{3.4}$). The transaction recorded in this book is on the same lines as that legalized in Dt 25^{5-10}, though not coming under that law (see Driver, *Deut.* 285). The actual selling of the land by Naomi comes nearer to the law of Lv 25^{25}. Attempts have been made to assign the history to the days of Eglon (Jg 3^{12-30}), or the time of scarcity preceding Gideon's call (Jg $6^{3.4}$). See, further, next article. H. A. REDPATH.

RUTH, BOOK OF.—This book, in which the history of Ruth (see preceding article) is narrated, is full of interest. It is an anonymous work, idyllic in its character, describing pastoral life among the Hebrews in a time of peace and order, when old customs were kept up and carefully observed.

i. THE DATE OF THE BOOK.—This *must* be considerably later than the history, though how much later is a matter of controversy. The book looks back to 'the days when the judges ruled' (1^1), to a custom existing 'in former time in Israel' (4^7), and carries the descent from Boaz down to David (4^{22}), unless, as some have with little probability thought, the last verses do not really belong to the book. But it claims no particular date for itself, though the style would lead us to assign it to a comparatively early one. The linguistic difficulties in the way of its being early have been discussed by Driver (*LOT* pp. 426, 427 [^{6}454, 455]). The main argument for a post-exilic date, besides the linguistic one, is the way in which the customs of ch. 4 are treated as quite obsolete.

ii. THE OBJECT OF THE BOOK.—This may be described as twofold. (1) To introduce us to the family from which David was descended; and (2) to illustrate the marriage laws of the Israelites. The marriage of Ruth the Moabitess with Mahlon seems at first to run counter to the law as laid down in Dt $23^{3.4}$, and certainly in post-exilic times such a union was held to be unlawful (see Ezr $9^{1.2}$, Neh 10^{28}), but the law quoted says nothing about marriage, and differs in its terms from that of Dt 7^3. Some of those who look upon this book as post-exilic have been tempted to regard it almost as a political pamphlet, and a protest against the action taken both by Ezra and Nehemiah.

iii. PLACE IN THE CANON.—In the Jewish Canon the Talmud (Bab. *Baba bathra* 14) places it first amongst the Hagiographa or third class of sacred writings immediately before the Psalms. In Hebrew Bibles it is one of the five Megillôth or rolls which were read in the Synagogue on five special days in the Jewish ecclesiastical year—Ruth being read at the Feast of Weeks. As this was the second of the five days, the Book of Ruth generally appears second in order; but in Spanish MSS and in one Bible of A.D. 1009 Ruth comes first (Buhl, *Canon of the OT*, i. § 10). The arrangement adopted in modern versions by which Ruth follows Judges goes back to the Vulgate and LXX, and also to Josephus.* Its position in them is due to its having been linked on to the Book of Judges by its first verse, and having been treated as an appendix to that book.

LITERATURE.—Commentaries of Metzger (1857), Keil and Delitzsch, Wright (1864), Bertheau (combined with *Judges*, 1883), Hummelauer (1888), Oettli (*Die gesch. Hagiog.*, Nordlingen, 1889), Wildeboer (*Kurzer Hdcom.* 1898), Nowack (*Hdkom.* 1900); cf. also Driver, *LOT* 425 ff. [^{6} 454 ff.]; Cornill, *Einleit.*^{2} 242 ff.; Wildeboer, *Lit. d. AT*, 341 ff.; Wellhausen-Bleek; Robertson in *Book by Book*, 75; W. R. Smith, art. 'Ruth' in *Encycl. Brit.*^{9}; see also the relevant sections in the works of Ryle, Wildeboer, and Buhl on the *Canon of OT*.

H. A. REDPATH.

RYE (כֻּסֶּמֶת *kuṣṣemeth*; ζέα, ὄλυρα, *far*, *vicia*).—*Kuṣṣemeth* occurs three times in the Bible. Twice it is tr^d by AV 'rye' (Ex 9^{32}, Is 28^{25} m 'spelt'; RV in both passages 'spelt'). It is also tr^d in AV 'fitches' (Ezk 4^9, AVm and RV 'spelt'). The LXX gives in the first and third of the above references ὄλυρα, and in the second ζέα. ὄλυρα may, and ζέα does, mean 'spelt,' which is the seed of *Triticum spelta*, L., a wild wheat. Notwithstanding the authority of the LXX, we think that *kuṣṣemeth* is the same as the Arab. *kirsanah*, commonly pronounced *kirsenneh*. This is a leguminous plant, *Vicia Ervilia*, L., near the lentil in its general aspect. It is an annual, with pinnate leaves of 8 to 12 pairs of oblong, retuse leaflets, and a tortulose

* The only way in which Josephus' reckoning of the books of the Bible as twenty-two can be accounted for is by supposing that he reckoned Judges and Ruth as one book.

pod, 1 in. long and ⅓ in. broad, containing 3 to 4 seeds, larger than those of the lentil. It is exceedingly common, being extensively cultivated for fodder, and for the seeds, which resemble those of the lentil. The substitution of *r* for the first *s* and *n* for *m* produces the classical Arab. form *kirsanah*. Evidently Jerome adopted this view, translating the word by *vicia*. Rye is unknown in Bible lands. Spelt is not cultivated, and is unknown here in the wild state. Perhaps the best rendering would be 'vetch,' with a marginal note, 'the seed known by the Arabs as *kirsenneh*, properly *kirsanah*' (but see art. BREAD in vol. i. p. 316b).

G. E. POST.

S

SABACHTHANI.—See ELI, ELI, LAMA SABACHTHANI.

SABÆANS, SEBA, SHEBA.—The purpose of this article is to explain and differentiate the employment of these terms, leaving ethnological and other information to be given under the articles SEBA and SHEBA.

Sabæans occurs only twice in RV: once Is 45[14] (סְבָאִים; B Σαβαείμ, A Σεβωείμ) as the gentilic name from *Seba*, and once Job 1[15] (שְׁבָא, LXX om.) as that from *Sheba*. Other two instances occur in AV: Jl 3 [Heb. 4][8], where RV substitutes 'men of Sheba' as tr. of שְׁבָאִים (LXX om.); and Ezk 23[42], where RV and AVm, following the *Kethibh* סובאים, substitute 'drunkards' [AV 'Sabæans' follows the *Kerê* סְבָאִים; B om., A *οἰνωμένοι*]. The text here is almost certainly corrupt, and it can hardly be said that Cornill, Bertholet, or Kraetzschmar have been very successful in their attempts at restoring it.

Seba (סְבָא, Σαβά) is mentioned in Gn 10[7] (=1 Ch 1[9], B Σαβάτ) as a son of Cush; in Is 43[3] (B Σοήνη) the name is coupled with Cush, and in Ps 72[10] with Sheba.

Sheba (שְׁבָא, usually Σαβά) is variously described as (1) a grandson of Cush Gn 10[7] (=1 Ch 1[9], B Σαβάν); (2) a son of Joktan Gn 10[28] (A Σαβεῦ, E Σαβαῦ)=1 Ch 1[22] (A Σαβάν); (3) a son of Jokshan Gn 25[3] (A Σαβάν, E Σαβά)=1 Ch 1[32] (B Σαβαί, A Σαβά). The queen of Sheba (1 K 10[1. 4. 10. 13]=2 Ch 9[1. 3. 9. 12]) visited Solomon, bringing with her great stores of gold, precious stones and spices; the trading companies of Sheba are referred to in Job 6[19] (B Σαβοί, א[c. a] Ἐσεβοι, A[vid] Ἀσεβοι), Is 60[6], Ezk 27[22. 23] (associated with Ra'amah, Haran, Canneh, Eden, Asshur, and Chilmad) 38[13] (with Dedan and Tarshish); its gold is mentioned in Ps 72[15] (Bא Ἀραβία), and its frankincense in Jer 6[20]; in Ps 72[10] the name is coupled with Seba ('the kings of Sheba [B*א βασιλεῖς Ἀράβων] and Seba shall offer gifts').

J. A. SELBIE.

SABANNEUS (B Σαβανναιοῦς, A Βανναιοῦς, AV Bannaia), 1 Es 9[33]. The corresponding name in Ezr 10[33] is Zabad.

SABANNUS (Σάβαννος, AV Sabban), 1 Es 8[63] (LXX 62).—Moeth the son of Sabannus corresponds to Noadiah the son of Binnui, Ezr 8[33].

SABAOTH.—See LORD OF HOSTS.

SABATEUS (B Ἀβταῖος, A Σαββαταΐας, AV Sabateas), 1 Es 9[48]=Shabbethai, Neh 8[7], where the LXX omits the name.

SABATHUS (Σάβαθος, AV Sabatus), 1 Es 9[28]=Zabad, Ezr 10[27].

SABBATEUS (Σαββαταῖος, AV Sabbatheus), 1 Es 9[14].—'Levis and Sabbateus' correspond to 'Shabbethai the Levite' of Ezr 10[15].

SABBATH (שַׁבָּת; σάββατον; also, both in LXX and NT, of a *single* day, τὰ σάββατα).—The Hebrew name for the seventh day of the week, which became among the Israelites a centre of many important religious observances and associations.

The word is in form, probably (as may be inferred from שַׁבַּתּוֹ (שַׁבָּתוֹת), contracted from שַׁבָּתָת (so Olshausen, p. 349; König, ii. 180 f.: otherwise, but less probably, Barth, *Nominalbildung*, p. 24; Jastrow [see *ad fin.*], p. 349). The root שָׁבַת means (see Is 14[4] 24[8]) *to desist, cease* (cf. Arab. *sabata, to cut off, intercept, interrupt*); hence the idea connected with the 'sabbath' will be that of *desisting, cessation*—the doubled *b* having an intensive force, and implying either *complete cessation*, or, perhaps, a *making to cease*. It should be borne in mind that the idea expressed by שְׁבָת and שָׁבַת is not the positive 'rest' of relaxation or refreshment (which is נוּחַ), but the negative 'rest' of *cessation* from work or activity. Whether, however, this etymology expresses the *original* meaning of 'sabbath,' must remain for the present an open question: if it be true that it and the Assyr. *šabattum* had a common origin, it may have denoted originally something different (see below, § ii., first par. in small type).

i. HISTORY OF THE INSTITUTION IN THE OT.—The sabbath is mentioned in all the great Pentateuchal codes, and there are also allusions to it in the historical and prophetical books. It will be most instructive to consider the notices, as far as possible, chronologically.

In the legislation of JE the sabbath appears as a day of cessation from (in particular) *field-labour*, designed with a humanitarian end: Ex 23[12] 'Six days shalt thou do thy work (תַּעֲשֶׂה), and on the seventh day thou shalt *desist* (תִּשְׁבֹּת), in order that thy ox and thy ass may rest (יָנוּחַ), and that the son of thy maidservant, and thy 'stranger,' may be refreshed (יִנָּפַשׁ, properly 'get breath,' cf. 2 S 16[14]),'—comp. the similar motive for the sabbatical year, v.[11]. And in the parallel group of laws in ch. 34 (v.[21]): 'Six days thou shalt work, but on the seventh day thou shalt *desist*: in plowing time and in harvest thou shalt *desist*.' In the Decalogue (Ex 20[8]) the Israelite is commanded to 'keep' the sabbath 'holy'; and the injunction is expanded in the following clauses, vv.[9. 10] (which are probably an explanatory comment, not forming part of the original Ten Words): the seventh day, it is there said, is a sabbath 'unto' (*i.e.* to be observed in honour of) Jehovah: no work—מְלָאכָה, more exactly *business*, the word generally used in connexion with the sabbath—is to be done in it by any member of the Israelite's household (including his servants), or by his cattle, or by the 'stranger' settled in his country; and in Deut. (5[14]) a clause similar to Ex 23[12b] is added, 'in order that thy manservant and thy maidservant may rest (יָנוּחַ) as well as thou' (cf. for the philanthropic motive, 12[12. 18] 14[26b] 16[11]). In the early historical books and prophets the sabbath is associated with the new moon, in a manner which implies that both were occasions of intermission from labour, and holidays: in 2 K 4[22. 23] a visit to

a distance would, it is implied, be undertaken naturally only on a sabbath or new moon. Hos 2^{11} ('And I will cause all her mirth to cease, her pilgrimages, her new moons, and her sabbaths, and all her stated [religious] seasons') implies that the sabbath, though it had a religious object (cf. Is 1^{13}), was also an occasion of social relaxation: Am 8^{5} ('When will the new moon be gone, that we may sell corn? and the sabbath, that we may open out wheat?') shows that trade as well as field-labour was intermitted on it.

The passages quoted make it evident that in the 8th cent. B.C. the sabbath was regarded as sacred to J", and that it was marked by abstention from at least ordinary occupations. The first of these facts implies naturally in addition that some special sacrifices were offered on it—an inference which might also be drawn from the connexion in which it is mentioned in Is 1^{13}. In later times, both the religious observances and also the abstention from labour were more fully defined and specialized. Jeremiah (17^{19-27}) has a prophecy relating to the sabbath: the people are solemnly charged by him, 'Bear no burden on the sabbath day, neither bring in by the gates of Jerusalem, nor carry forth a burden out of your houses, nor do any business; but hallow ye the sabbath day, as I commanded your fathers'; the command, it is added, had been imperfectly observed, but Jer. attaches to its observance now a promise of the permanence of the Davidic dynasty, and the safety of Jerusalem. Jer.'s authorship of this prophecy has been questioned by recent critics; but it is exactly in Jer.'s style: the high importance attached to the sabbath, even before Jer.'s time, is shown by the place which it holds in the Decalogue (to which Jer. plainly refers); and no doubt the prophet emphasized the sabbath, not simply for its own sake, but as a typical religious observance; it was an institution the observance or non-observance of which might be taken as a criterion of the general faithfulness or disloyalty of the nation.

In the 'Law of Holiness' (chiefly Lv 17–26), the individual laws in which, though their setting is later, may in many cases be as old as the 8th cent. or older (cf. vol. iii. pp. 69 f., 108^{a}), the observance of the sabbath is inculcated more than once ('Ye shall keep my sabbaths,' Lv $19^{3.\ 30}$ 26^{2}), even under pain of death (Ex 31^{13} [a fragment of H] 'verily ye shall keep my sabbaths, for it is a sign between me and you [*i.e.* a mark, or token, like circumcision (Gn 17^{11}), of your being my people] . . . to know that I am J" which sanctifieth you. And ye shall keep the sabbath, for it is holy unto you; every one that profaneth it shall surely be put to death'); and Ezekiel (who elsewhere also shows himself to be strongly influenced by this body of laws: *LOT* 138–144 [^{6} 145–152]) lays great stress upon it likewise: with evident reference to the language of H, he declares it to be an ancient ordinance of J" (20^{12} 'moreover I gave them my sabbaths to be a sign between me and them, to know that I am J" which sanctifieth them,' v.^{20} (I said) '. . . and hallow my sabbaths'; cf., of the priests, 44^{24}), and reproaches the people with having defiantly 'profaned' it ($20^{13.\ 16.\ 21.\ 24}$ 22^{8} 23^{38}), or 'hidden their eyes' from it (22^{26}). It is probable that at this time an increased significance began to be attached to the sabbath on account of its being one of the few distinctive institutions of Israel which could be observed in a foreign land. The same prophet in 45^{17} $46^{4f.}$ (cf. vv.$^{1.\ 3}$) also gives directions—based, it may be presumed, upon existing usage—respecting the sacrifices to be offered every sabbath by the 'prince' on behalf of the nation in the restored temple, viz. six lambs and one ram as a burnt-offering, with accompanying meal-offerings (the *daily* offering, according to Ezk $46^{13f.}$, was to be one lamb, with an accompanying meal-offering).

The later exilic references to the sabbath are in a similar strain to the reference of Jeremiah. Its observance is the typical religious duty, and the test of general allegiance to J" (Is $56^{2.\ 4.\ 6}$); and a promise of restoration to Palestine is given to those Israelites who faithfully observe it, regarding it as a 'delight,' and refraining on J"s 'holy day' from 'doing' their (ordinary) 'ways,' or 'finding' their own 'pleasure,' or 'speaking' [vain] 'words' (Is $58^{13f.}$): in Is 66^{23}, also, it is pictured as being (in the restored Jerusalem) a weekly occasion of worship before J" for 'all flesh,' as the new moon would be analogously a monthly occasion.

In the legislation of P the regulations respecting the sabbath are further developed and systematized. Its institution is thrown back to the end of the week of Creation; God, it is said (Gn 2^{3}), then 'blessed the seventh day and hallowed it,'—*i.e.* set it apart for holy uses, and attached blessings to its observance, — 'because in it he *desisted* (שָׁבַת) from all his work (מְלַאכְתּוֹ 'business')' of creation: similarly in the motive, based upon the representation of P, attached in Ex. (20^{5}) to the fourth commandment; and in Ex 31^{17} 'for in six days Jehovah made heaven and earth, and on the seventh day he *desisted* (שָׁבַת), and was refreshed (וַיִּנָּפַשׁ,—as above, in 23^{12}).' In Ex 31^{12-17} the old law, derived from H, is supplemented by an addition (vv.$^{14b-17}$) emphasizing further the sanctity and permanence of the institution, and the penalty (death) for its non-observance: Ex 35^{1-3} (an injunction prefixed to the account of the construction of the tabernacle) the directions contained in 31^{15} are repeated almost *verbatim* (v.^{2}), and in v.^{3} the kindling of fire on the sabbath is prohibited; Lv 23^{3} it is to be observed (like certain other sacred seasons) by a 'holy convocation,' or religious gathering; Lv 24^{8} the shewbread is to be renewed every sabbath: Nu 15^{32-36} relates how a man found gathering sticks on the sabbath was by Divine direction stoned to death; Nu $28^{9f.}$ the special sacrifices for the sabbath are appointed, viz. double those offered on ordinary days (vv.$^{3-8}$), *i.e.* two male lambs for a burnt-offering in the morning, and two in the evening, with twice the usual meal- and drink-offerings. Lastly, in Ex $16^{5.\ 22-30}$ the manna is stated to have been withheld on the sabbath, and given in double quantity on the previous day, in order to preserve the sanctity of the day; and the people are forbidden to leave their homes, and (indirectly) to bake or cook anything, on the sabbath.

In P the term *shabbāthōn* (RV 'solemn rest [properly, *cessation*]') is also used in connexion with the sabbath, viz. Ex 16^{23} 'to-morrow is a *solemn rest*, a holy sabbath unto J"'; 31^{15} (cf. 35^{2}, Lv 23^{3}) 'on the seventh day is a sabbath of *solemn rest* שַׁבַּת שַׁבָּתוֹן, holy unto J"' (elsewhere *shabbāthōn* is used of New Year's day, Lv 23^{24}, of the first and eighth days of the Feast of Booths, Lv 23^{39}, and of the sabbatical year, Lv 25^{5}; and 'sabbath of solemn rest' of the Day of Atonement, Lv 16^{31} 23^{32a} (cf. in v.^{3b} 'sabbath' alone), and of the sabbatical year, Lv 25^{4} †).—The term 'sabbath' is used also (Lv 25^{2} *al.*) of the SABBATICAL YEAR. On Lv $23^{11.\ 15}$ see WEEKS (FEAST OF).

In the history of the post-exilic period we read in Neh 10^{31} how the people, headed by Nehemiah, bound themselves, if foreigners offered wares or food for sale on the sabbath, not to buy of them; and in Neh 13^{15-22} how Neh., finding this obligation disregarded, and also other kinds of work done on the sabbath (treading wine-presses, lading animals with corn, bringing fruit and other wares into Jerus., and selling and buying them), remonstrated with the people, and had the gates of Jerus. closed on that day, in order that merchants and

packmen might not bring their 'burdens' (cf. Jer 17^{21}) into the city. Allusions to the sacrifices offered on the sabbath occur in Neh 10^{33}, 2 Ch 2^4 8^{13} 31^3.

It will be evident, from the preceding survey, that in the priestly Law the original character and objects of the sabbath have receded into the background, it has become more distinctly a purely ceremonial institution, and the regulations for its observance have been made more strict. It will appear in the sequel (iii.) how in a still later age these characteristics are all intensified.

ii. Speculations on the Origin of the Sabbath.—It is not improbable that the sabbath is ultimately of Babylonian origin. In a lexicographical tablet (II Rawl. 32, l. 16) there occurs the equation—

ûm nûḥ libbi=ša-bat-tum,

or 'day of rest of the heart' (*i.e.* not, as was formerly supposed, a day of rest for man, but, as parallel occurrences of the same phrase show,* a day when the gods rested from their anger, a day for the pacification of a deity's anger)=sabbath. Further, in a religious calendar for two months (the second, or intercalary Elul, and Marcheshvan), which we possess,† prescribing duties for the king, the 7th, 14th, 19th,‡ 21st, and 28th days are entered as 'favourable day, evil day,' while the others are simply 'favourable' days. On the five specified days, the king is not, for instance, to eat food prepared by fire, not to put on royal dress or offer sacrifice, not to ride in his chariot, or hold court, not to seek an oracle, or even to invoke curses on his enemies: on the other hand, as soon as the day is over, he may offer a sacrifice which will be accepted. The days, it is evident, are viewed superstitiously: certain things are not to be done on them, in order to avoid arousing the jealousy or anger of the gods. The meaning of the expression 'favourable day, evil day' is that the day had an indeterminate character; it could become either the one or the other, according as the precautions laid down for its observance were attended to or not.§

Except in the passage quoted, *šabattum* is known at present to occur only (in the form *šabattim*) 2 or 3 times in syllabaries (Jensen, *ZA* iv. 274–8, *Z. f. Deutsche Wortforschung*, Sept. 1900, p. 153 [in an art. on the Week of seven days in Babylonia]): in the first of these syllabaries it corresponds to a Sumerian ideogram meaning *to pacify*; in the second (where Jensen contends that it occurs with the meaning *to come to rest, be calmed, pacified*) its occurrence is questioned by Jastrow, *AJTh* ii. 315 *n.*; in the third (*Z. f. D. Wortf.* 153) it corresponds strangely to the ideogram which means simply *day, sun, light*. The etymology of *šabattum* is uncertain. The verb *šabâtu* is, in a lexicographical tablet, equated with *gamâru*, which means commonly (Delitzsch, *HWB* p. 199) *to bring to an end, complete*, but which seems, to judge from two syllabaries (*Z. f. D. Wortf.* 153), to have signified also *to pacify, appease*; and Jensen, assuming that in the tablet *šabâtu* is quoted with this exceptional meaning of *gamâru*, explains *šabattum, šabattim*, from it. It remains however, for the present, a difficulty that while in Heb. *shabbāth* is connected (apparently) with *shābath*, to *desist*, the Assyr. verb *šabâtu* means something different.

These facts make it at least a plausible conjecture that the Heb. sabbath (which was likewise primarily a day of restrictions) was derived ultimately from Babylonia, ‖ or, as Jensen would prefer to say,* that the Heb. and Babylonian institutions had a common origin: though naturally, like other Heb. institutions which were not originally confined to Israel, it assumed among the Hebrews a new character, being stripped of its superstitious and heathen associations, and being made subservient to ethical and religious ends. It is not difficult to imagine how, under the influence of Israel's religion, a change of this kind might gradually be wrought, though (supposing the hypothesis to be a sound one) we have no information of the stages by which it was actually effected; Jastrow's endeavour (*AJTh*, vol. ii. pp. 321 ff., 332 ff., 345 ff.) to show that the Heb. sabbath had once (like the *ûm nûḥ libbi*) a propitiatory character, and even that the verb *shābath*, as applied to J", and *shabbāthōn*, expressed originally the ideas of *ceasing from anger, being pacified*, cannot be deemed convincing.

The sabbath, as a day of restriction, is an institution parallel to what is found among many early peoples, and indeed, as a survival from an earlier stage, among civilized peoples as well. The wide diffusion of periods of restriction makes it probable that they had their origin in simple ideas and social conditions. In all the cases known to us the restrictions are of the same general character—they refer to occupations, food, dress. Thus, besides the Babylonian institution, which has been already referred to, the Egyptians had a list of days, on which certain acts were prohibited (*AJTh*, ii. p. 350†). In Rome business was suspended during the *feriæ*; and on all *dies nefasti* courts of law and the comitia were closed. In the Hawaiian Islands, it was unlawful, on certain days, to light fires or to bathe; the king also at certain times withdrew into privacy, giving up his ordinary pursuits. In Borneo, work was forbidden on certain days in connexion with the harvest. The origin of such times of restriction is lost in antiquity: they come before us commonly as established customs, resting on precedent, and not supposed to need explanation. They may have arisen from various causes: thus in some cases observation would show that particular times were favourable or unfavourable to certain occupations; but very often they would be determined by superstitious or religious motives. The days thus fixed would gradually be tabulated and systematized; and when calendars had been constructed, particular days would come to be marked upon them as lucky or unlucky, and in some cases these would agree with definite phases of the moon. 'Such a calendar the Hebrews may have inherited, or may have received from Babylonia or from some other source': if they received it from Babylonia, they detached it from its connexion with the moon (fixing it for every seventh day, irrespectively of the days of the month), they generalized the abstinence associated with it, and, more than all, they transformed it into an agency, which, though, like other institutions, capable of abuse, has nevertheless, partly as observed by the Jews themselves, partly (see below) as forming the model of the Christian Sunday, operated on the whole with wonderful efficiency in maintaining the life of a pure and spiritual religion.‡

The ancient Assyrians regarded the simplest and most ordinary occurrences as ominous of either good or evil (Jastrow, *Rel. of Bab. and Assyr.* p. 355, etc.); and, in fact, there is a calendar in which every day in the year is marked as either fortunate or unfortunate for something or other (p. 379 ff.).

‖ So Schrader, *KAT*^{2} on Gn 2^3; Lotz, *Quæstiones de hist. Sabb.* (1883) 67; Sayce, *HCM* 76 f., *EHH* 193 (where, however, the facts about the Bab. 'Sabbath' are overstated; for though, no doubt [Lotz, 58], *šabattum* might very naturally be the name of the 7th, 14th, etc., days of the two months referred to above, it is not, in any text at present known, applied to them actually); Gunkel, *Schöpf. u. Chaos* (1895), 155. Nor is there at present any evidence that a continuous succession of 'weeks,' each ending with a day marked by special observances, was a Bab. institution (Jensen, 154).

* *E.g. šigu nûḥ libbi*=psalm of propitiation (Jastrow, *AJTh*, vol. ii. p. 316).

† Jastrow, *Relig. of Bab. and Assyr.* p. 376 ff.

‡ Perhaps the 7×7=49th day from the 1st of the preceding month—the month having 30 days.

§ The ancient Assyrians regarded the simplest and most ordinary occurrences as ominous of either good or evil (Jastrow, *Rel. of Bab. and Assyr.* p. 355, etc.); and, in fact, there is a calendar in which every day in the year is marked as either fortunate or unfortunate for something or other (p. 379 ff.).

* *Z. f. D. Wortforschung*, 154.

† See also Maspero, *Dawn of Civilization*, 210–212; Wiedemann, *Relig. of Anc. Egypt*. 263 f.

‡ With the last paragraph cf. C. H. Toy, 'The earliest form of the Sabbath,' in *JBL*, 1899, pp. 191–193.

explained unhistorically, and antedated: instead of the sabbath, closing the week, being sacred, because on it God 'desisted' from His six days' work of creation, the work of creation was distributed among six days, followed by a day of rest, *because* the week, ended by the sabbath, existed already as an institution, and the writer (P) wished to adjust artificially the work of creation to it. In the Decalogue, 'Remember' may be interpreted quite naturally as signifying 'keep in mind' in the future (cf. Ex 13^3, Dt 16^3).

iii. THE SABBATH IN THE LATER JUDAISM AND THE NT.—There are not many allusions to the sabbath in the apocryphal books. It was naturally included amongst the distinctively Jewish institutions, which Antiochus Epiphanes sought (B.C. 168) to abolish (1 Mac $1^{39.\,43.\,45}$, 2 Mac 6^6). At the beginning of the Macc. uprising, the loyal Jews allowed themselves to be massacred in cold blood rather than profane the sabbath, even in self-defence (1 Mac $2^{31\text{-}38}$): but in view of the consequences which persistence in such a course would obviously entail, Mattathias and his friends decided (vv.$^{39\text{-}41}$) to recognize *defensive* warfare as permissible on the sabbath (cf. 1 Mac $9^{34.\,43}$, 2 Mac $8^{25\text{-}28}$; also Jos. *BJ* II. xix. 2). The destruction of siege-works was not, however, considered allowable; and so Pompey was able to complete his mound against Jerus. on the sabbath (Jos. *Ant.* XIV. iv. 2). The unwillingness of the Jews to fight on the sabbath naturally became known to their enemies; and several instances are on record of attacks being planned for that day, and carried out successfully (Jos. *c. Ap.* i. 22 *end*; 2 Mac $5^{25\text{f.}}$ 15^1; *Ant.* XIII. xii. 4, XVIII. ix. 2). The Romans so far recognized the scruples entertained by the Jews with regard to bearing arms or travelling on the sabbath, as to release them from the obligation of military service (Jos. *Ant.* XIV. x. 11–19).

Allusions to the sabbath, generally more or less satirical, occur in the classical writers: by some of them it was supposed to be a day of mere idleness, by others that it was a fast. See Tac. *Hist.* v. 4; Sueton. *Octav.* 76; Juv. xiv. 96, 105 f.; Martial, iv. 4. 7; Persius, v. 179–184; Seneca, *Epist.* 95, 47 (lights not to be kindled on it).

By the Jewish legalists the OT regulations respecting the sabbath were developed and systematized to an extent which has made their rules on the subject a byword for extravagance and absurdity. Two entire treatises of the Mishna, *Shabbāth* and *'Ērūbin*, as well as parts of others, are devoted to provisions for the observance of the sabbath; and there are also long discussions on the subject, with quotations of the divergent opinions of different Rabbis, in the Gemara. We may mention some of the more simple and reasonable provisions first. As the Jewish day began at sunset in the evening, the sabbath lasted from sunset on what we should call Friday to sunset on Saturday; according to Jos. *BJ* IV. ix. 12, the beginning and end of the day were announced by trumpets from the temple. The afternoon of Friday was called the 'eve of the Sabbath' (עֶרֶב הַשַּׁבָּת), or the PREPARATION-DAY (παρασκευή), and no business was allowed to be begun on it which might extend into the sabbath. The sabbath was no fast-day (cf. Jth 8^6): the second Isaiah had said that it should be regarded as a 'delight' (עֹנֶג); and the Jews have always been careful not to divest it of this character. Three meals (cf. *Pēāh* viii. 7; *Shabb.* xvi. 2), of the choicest available food (Edersh. ii. 52),* were accordingly prescribed for it, being laid ready before sunset on the Friday, and the lamp for the Sabbath being lighted at the same time. The Mishna adds minute regulations, as to how the meals, if necessary, were to be kept warm, without infringing the sanctity of the sabbath, as of course no fire might be kindled (Ex 35^3), or even attended to, on the day. The sabbath was regarded as set apart for religious exercises—both for private meditation and prayer, and also for public worship in the SYNAGOGUE (Mk $1^{21.\,23}$ (Lk $4^{31.\,33}$), 6^2 (Lk 4^{16}), Lk 6^6 13^{10}, Ac $13^{14\text{f.}\,27.\,42.\,44}$ 15^{21} $17^{1\text{f.}}$ 18^4), or other place of prayer (Ac 16^{13}).*

With regard to the more technical observance of the sabbath, the Mishna (*Shabb.* vii. 2) enumerates 39 principal classes† of prohibited actions, viz. sowing, ploughing, reaping, gathering into sheaves, threshing, winnowing, cleansing, grinding, sifting, kneading, baking; shearing wool, washing it, beating it, dyeing it, spinning it, making a warp of it, making two thrum-threads, weaving two threads, splitting two threads, tying, untying, sewing two stitches, tearing thread to sew two stitches; catching deer (game), killing, skinning, salting it, preparing its hide, scraping off its hair, cutting it up; writing two letters, erasing for the purpose of writing two letters; building, pulling down, extinguishing fire, kindling fire, beating with a hammer, and carrying from one property to another (add also *Bēẓa* v. 1, 2‡). The real 'micrology' of the Rabbis appears, however, not so much in this enumeration as such, as in the consideration of the cases in detail, the discussion what actions do or do not fall under the several classes named, and sometimes also in the casuistical evasion of a prohibition. A few specimens of the extraordinary refinements thus introduced must suffice. The prohibition to tie or untie a knot was too general, so it became necessary to define the species of knots referred to. It was accordingly laid down that a camel-driver's knot and a boatman's knot rendered the man who tied or untied them guilty; but R. Meir said, 'a knot which a man can untie with one hand only, he does not become guilty by untying.' A woman might, however, tie on various articles of dress, and also tie up skins of wine or oil, and pots of meat. A pail might be tied to a well by a band ('fascia'), but not by a rope (חֶבֶל). R. Jehudah laid down the rule that any knot might be lawfully tied which was not intended to be permanent (*Shabb.* xv. 1, 2). This rule is, in fact, the principle by which the commentators explain the distinctions that have been just quoted. The rest of the tractate is almost wholly occupied with the discussion of similar distinctions in other subjects.

The aim of the tractate *'Ērūbin* ('mixtures,' or 'connexions') is to alleviate the extreme rigour of some of the Rabb. enactments respecting the sabbath. The 39th of the list of prohibited actions quoted above was that of carrying from one property to another: but in this tractate it is explained how places might, by a legal fiction, be combined together, so that things might lawfully be carried from one into another: there was thus an *'ērūb*, or 'commixture,' of courts, of streets, and of limits: a number of houses opening into a common court were, for example, treated as one, by all the families before the sabbath depositing some food in the common court; or a number of narrow streets or blind alleys were converted into a 'private property,' by extending along them a wire or rope, or by laying a beam over the entrance. The limit of a 'sabbath-day's journey' (Ac 1^{12}) was, according to

* The meal of which our Lord partook on a sabbath in the house of one of the 'rulers of the Pharisees' (Lk 14^1) would, we may be sure, be one of these sabbatical *epulæ lautiores*.

* On the sabbath as a day of spiritual edification, cf. also Jos. *Ant.* XVI. ii. 4 *middle*, *c. Ap.* ii. 17 *end*; Philo, ii. 168 *end*, 169, 197, 282, 630 (from Euseb. *Præp. Ev.* VIII. vii. 9 f.).

† אָבוֹת: derivative actions, or species of the principal classes named, were called תּוֹלְדוֹת. Margoliouth (*Expos.* Nov. 1900, p. 336 ff.) cites from an unedited Persian MS, containing an account of the feasts and other observances of different nations by an author of the 11th cent., an enumeration of 38 forbidden acts, differing in many particulars from those mentioned in the Mishna, and including more directly some of those alluded to in the Gospels.

‡ See Wünsche, *Erläuterung* [see full title *ad fin.*], p. 148.

the Rabbis, 2000 cubits;* but if, before the sabbath, a man deposited food for two meals at the boundary, he was considered to declare that place to be his domicile, and he was at liberty, when the sabbath came, to proceed 2000 cubits beyond it. However, it seems that such concessions were only granted for some serious and worthy purpose (Schechter, *ap.* Montefiore, *Hibb. Lect.* 562).

Naturally, there were cases in which higher considerations superseded these rules for the strict observance of the sabbath,—דּוֹחִין אֶת־הַשַּׁבָּת '*push aside* the sabbath' is the expression used. The priests in the discharge of their duties in the temple—*e.g.* in preparing and offering the sacrifices appointed for the day—profaned the sabbath, and were 'guiltless' (Mt 12^5).† And so the Mishna permits on the sabbath acts necessary for the sacrifice of the passover, though it carefully excludes those which are deemed unnecessary (*Pesāḥim* vi. 1, 2). A Levite performing upon a stringed instrument on the sabbath in the temple (but not elsewhere), might, if his string broke, tie it up again, but he is forbidden to put in a new string (*Ērūbin* x. 13). A priest who hurts his finger may bind it up with reeds in the temple (though not elsewhere), but he is not permitted to press out the blood (*ib.* 14). Similarly circumcision was permitted, though not anything connected with it which could be prepared before (Jn $7^{22f.}$; *Shabb.* xix.). In other cases humanitarian grounds superseded the sabbath. The general principle was that any 'doubt about life,' *i.e.* any doubt as to whether life was in danger, superseded the sabbath (סָפֵק נְפָשׁוֹת דּוֹחֶה אֶת־הַשַּׁבָּת *Yômā* viii. 6);‡ but, of course, the further question then arose, What did endanger life? Ailments supposed to be dangerous to life are mentioned, and treatments permitted or forbidden are enumerated; but, to our minds, the distinctions drawn are arbitrary and absurd, and the reasons alleged in support of them most trivial and insufficient. 'He who has the toothache must not rinse his teeth with vinegar [and spit it out again; for this would be to apply a medicine]; but he may wash them as usual [and swallow the vinegar, for this would be merely like taking food]. He who has pains in the loins may not anoint himself with wine and vinegar [which would be a medicinal application], but he may anoint himself with oil [acc. to the usual custom], though not with oil of roses [which, being costly, would certainly not be used, except as a medicine].' (*Shabb.* xiv. 4; the explanations, from the commentators, *ap.* Surenh.). A strain might not have cold water poured upon it, but it might be washed in the usual way (xxii. 6). With such feelings current on the subject, the hostility aroused by the cures wrought by our Lord on the sabbath (Mt 12^{9-13}=Mk 3^{1-5}= Lk 6^{6-10}, Lk 13^{10-17} 14^{1-6}, Jn 5^{5-16} 7^{23} 9^{14-16}) is at once intelligible. It is also apparent why on a sabbath the sick were brought to Him to be healed after sunset (Mk 1^{32}, see v.^{21}).

The disciples, in 'plucking' (Mt 12^1=Mk 2^{23}= Lk 6^1) and 'rubbing' (Lk 6^{1b}) the ears of corn on the sabbath, violated the day, according to Rabb. ideas, in two respects; for 'plucking' was a species of 'reaping,' and 'rubbing' of threshing (cf. Maimonides, *Hilchoth Shabbāth* viii. 3, 'He who reaps even as little as a dry fig on the sabbath is guilty; and the plucker is a species (תּוֹלֵשׁ) of reaper'; and Jerus. Talm. *Shabb.* 10*a* 'A woman rubbing the heads of wheat [is guilty], as being a thresher,' *ap.* Edersh. ii. 56; also Lightfoot, *Horæ Heb.* on Mt 12^2). To lead an animal to water on the sabbath (Lk 13^{15}) was allowable, provided it carried nothing that could be regarded as a 'burden'; water might even be drawn for it, and poured into a trough, so that it came and drank of its own accord; it might not, however, be brought and set before the beast (Lightf. *ad loc.*; *Ērūbin*, fol. 20*b*). But it is not permitted, at least in the Talmud, if an animal has fallen into a pit, or pool of water, to 'lay hold of it, and lift it out' (Mt 12^{11}; cf. Lk 14^5): it is allowed, however, to supply it with food, or, if that be impossible, to bring mattresses and cushions for the purpose of helping it to come out of itself (*Shabb.* fol. 128*b*; Maim. *Shabb.* xxv. 26); it is possible, however, that in the time of Christ this prohibition had not yet been formulated. To make clay and apply it to the eye (Jn $9^{6.\ 14}$) involved a breach, if not a double breach, of the sabbath-law: the Mishna (*Shabb.* xxiv. 3) lays it down that 'water may be poured on bran, but it must not be kneaded,' and the same rule might be naturally held to apply to clay: but the application of the clay to the eye was certainly not allowable: it was indeed permitted to apply wine to the outside of the eyelid (though not to put it inside the eye), but the application of saliva (which is mentioned, as it was deemed to possess curative properties) was altogether forbidden (*Shabb.* 108*b*; Maim. *Shabb.* xxi. 25; Lightfoot, *ad loc.*). Of course, to take up a bed (Jn 5^{10}) was prohibited, being an act of 'carrying.'*

It is, however, only right to observe that, in spite of the rules and restrictions created by the Rabbis, the sabbath does not seem to have been felt practically to be a day of burden and gloom, to those living under them. 'The sabbath is celebrated by the very people who did observe it, in hundreds of hymns, which would fill volumes, as a day of rest and joy, of pleasure and delight, a day in which man enjoys some presentiment of the pure bliss and happiness which are stored up for the righteous in the world to come. To it such tender names were applied as the "Queen Sabbath," the "Bride Sabbath," and the "holy, dear, beloved Sabbath"' (Schechter, *JQR* iii. 763, or *ap.* Montefiore, *Hibb. Lect.* 507; cf. the hymns quoted by Abrahams, *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages*, 1896, pp. 133–137).

iv. SUMMARY.—It appears, from what has been said, that, so far as we can trace the sabbath back among the Hebrews, it was a day sacred to J", and also a day, presupposing the agricultural period, marked by cessation from labour in the house and in the field: it had thus essentially a *philanthropic* character, the duty enjoined on it, as Wellh. has said, being less that the Israelite should rest himself, than that he should give others rest. Whatever the sabbath may have been in its primitive form, we may feel sure that this philanthropic application of it is of Israelite origin. As sacred to J", religious observances,

* The distance is obtained by an essentially Rabbinical combination of Ex 16^{29} 21^{13} and Jos. 3^4. See Lightfoot on Lk 24^{50}, who remarks drily on the process, 'sed artem disce fabricandi quidlibet ex quolibet'; and comp. further the next article.

† Cf. *Pesāḥim* 65*a* (and elsewhere): אֵין שְׁבוּת בְּמִקְדָּשׁ 'there is no sabbath-keeping in the sanctuary.'

‡ See in Wünsche (p. 151 f.), from the Gemārā (*Yôma* 85 *ab*; cf. *Mechilta* on Ex 31^{13}, fol. 103*b*, ed. Friedmann), the biblical authority which 'Akiba and other Rabbis of the 2nd cent. sought to discover for this principle. The text which was deemed most conclusive was Lv 18^5, where it is said of the statutes of the law that if a man does them, he will 'live by them,' and not that he will die by them. See, further, on the teaching and exegesis of early Rabbis on the subject of the sabbath, Bacher, *Die Agada der Tannaiten*, i. 72, 84 f., 117, 191, 238, 260, 296 ff., 363, 404, ii. 94 f., 351, 362, 470, 510.

* Cf. Schürer, ii. 393–400, 412–414. The tractates *Shabbāth* and *'Ērūbin* are translated, in Sola and Raphael's *Eighteen Treatises of the Mishna* (1843), pp. 34–96; and, with copious notes, in Surenhusius' *Mischna* (1699), ii. 1–77, 78–134. There is also a pretty full abstract of *Shabbāth* in Edersheim, *Life and Times*, ii. 774 ff.; and a separate ed. in Heb., with useful introd. and glossary, by H. L. Strack, Lpz. 1890. See, further, the many Talm. passages tr. by Wetstein (*Nov. Test.*) on Mt $12^{2.\ 5.\ 10}$, Lk 14^1 etc.; and comp. also W. H. Bennett, *The Mishnah as illustrating the Gospels*, 1884, p. 53 ff.

at first simple and rudimentary, afterwards such as would spring naturally out of a more educated and maturer religious feeling, were attached to it, —special sacrifices, gatherings for worship in the temple, private prayer and meditation, and ultimately services in the synagogues. On its practical side, it was essentially an institution 'made for man.' Its intention was to give a rest from laborious and engrossing occupations, and from the cares and anxieties of daily life, and at the same time to secure leisure for thoughts of God. The restrictions attached to it were meant to be interpreted in the spirit, not in the letter. It had not essentially an austere or rigorous character; it was never intended that actions demanded by duty, necessity, or benevolence should be proscribed on it. Its aim was rather to counteract the deadening influence, upon both body and soul, of never-interrupted daily toil, and of continuous absorption in secular pursuits. But as time went on, an anxious and ultimately a superstitious dread of profaning the sabbath asserted itself; the spiritual was subordinated to the formal, restrictions were multiplied, till at length those which were really important and reasonable were buried beneath a crowd of regulations of the pettiest description. The general attitude taken towards the sabbath by our Lord was, while accommodating Himself to such observances as were consistent with its real purpose (*e.g.* worshipping or teaching in the synagogue), or otherwise innocent (p. 320[a] n.), to free it from those adventitious accretions with which the 'tradition of the elders' had encrusted it. The sabbath, He emphatically declares (Mk 2^{27}), 'was made for man, not man for the sabbath.'* In particular, deeds of mercy were no infringement of its sanctity: it was 'lawful to do good on the sabbath day' (Mt 12^{12}). Nor was the sabbath, as the Rabbis seemed to make it, an end in itself, for the sake of which men should be subjected to a number of needless and vexatious rules; it was a means to an end, the good of God's people, and this end was best promoted by a reasonable liberty in the interpretation of the statutes relating to it; the multiplication of rules tended really not to preserve its essential character, but to destroy it.

The injunction Mt 24^{20} ('Pray ye that your flight be not in the winter, neither on a sabbath'; the clause is not in the ‖ Mk 13^{18}) rests probably upon the supposition either that the Christians addressed, being still resident in Judæa, would not, at the time contemplated, have yet cast off their Jewish scruples, or (Hessey, p. 174 f.) that impediments would be thrown in the way of their flight by the Jews around them. Jn 5^{17} 'My Father worketh even until now (viz. without interruption), and I work,' bears upon the relation which—not an ordinary man, but—Christ Himself holds towards the sabbath: He does not by works of mercy break the sabbath any more than God the Father does by His sustaining providence, which operates continuously on the sabbath not less than on other days (cf. *B'rêshîth R.* § 11; tr. Wünsche, 48; Bacher, i. 84 f., 298 f.).

The addition in the Cod. Bezæ after Lk 6^{4} deserves also to be mentioned here: *τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρα θεασάμενός τινα ἐργαζόμενον τῷ σαββάτῳ εἶπεν αὐτῷ, "Ἄνθρωπε, εἰ μὲν οἶδας τί ποιεῖς, μακάριος εἶ· εἰ δὲ μὴ οἶδας, ἐπικατάρατος καὶ παραβάτης εἶ τοῦ νόμου.*

As regards the apostles, the sabbath is mentioned by St. Paul, directly in Col $2^{16f.}$ 'Let no man therefore judge you in meat, or in drink, or in respect of a feast day or a new moon, or a sabbath day, which are a shadow of the things to come (*i.e.* of the Christian dispensation); but the body is Christ's'; and inferentially in Gal 4^{9-11}, where the observance of 'days and months and times and years' is described as a return to the 'weak and beggarly elements,' and Ro $14^{5f.}$, where it is implied that it is a matter of indifference whether one day is esteemed above another, or whether every day is esteemed alike: 'let every man be persuaded in his own mind.' The meaning of these passages clearly is that the Jewish sabbath, like other Jewish ceremonial observances, as the distinction of clean and unclean foods, or Jewish sacred seasons, as new moons, feast-days, and sabbatical or jubile 'years,' was a matter of indifference to the Christian, and was abrogated under the Christian dispensation. The general teaching of the NT is thus, in Dr. Hessey's words, that 'the sabbath properly so called, the sabbath of the Jews, with everything connected with it as a positive ordinance, was swept away by Christianity' (Lect. v., *ad init.*).

The Fathers frequently compare the (Jewish) sabbath with Circumcision, treating it, like that, as a temporary ordinance, and pointing out that Abraham, for instance, was justified without observing it: *e.g.* Justin, *Tryph.* §§ 19, p. 236 E, 27, p. 245 B; Iren. IV. xvi. 2; Tertull. *adv. Jud.* c. 2 (Hessey, pp. 56 ff., 371 ff. [ed. 5, pp. 42 ff., 281 ff.]).

In He 4^{9} 'There remaineth therefore a sabbath rest (*σαββατισμός*) unto the people of God,' *sabbath rest* is used figuratively of the rest in God after death. The apostle has been arguing that it was God's purpose that some should enter into His 'rest' (*κατάπαυσις*,—מְנוּחָה, properly *place of rest*),—the 'rest' signified by the expression being in the original context (Ps 95^{11}; cf. Dt $12^{9.10}$) the rest of Canaan, and this being identified by the apostle—no doubt on account of the presence and fellowship of God implied in it—with the rest of God,—*i.e.* the 'rest' into which God entered after finishing His work of creation, and which He designs to be shared ultimately by all His faithful people; as Israel, through disobedience, failed to enter into that 'rest,' the promise still remains open for Christians. See more fully A. B. Davidson's *Comm.* (T. & T. Clark), pp. 90–101. The Rabbis also sometimes regarded the sabbath as foreshadowing the rest of the world to come: thus in the Mishna (redacted *c.* 200 A.D.), *Tamid* vii. 4 (=*Sopherim* xviii. 2), in the enumeration of the psalms which were sung by the Levites in the Temple, when the morning burnt-offering was offered (Delitzsch, *Psalm.*[4] 26 f.), it is said: 'On the sabbath, they recited the psalm (92) of which the title is "A Psalm, a song for the sabbath-day," *i.e.* a Psalm for the future (לָעֲתִיד לָבוֹא), for the day (*var. lec.* for the age), which is all sabbath, and rest for life eternal (לִיוֹם שֶׁכֻּלּוֹ שַׁבָּת וּמְנוּחָה לְחַיֵּי (נ' א' לְעוֹלָם) עוֹלָמִים).' The same saying is quoted also often elsewhere, *e.g.* *Mechilta* on Ex 31^{13}, *Rosh ha-shana* 31*a* (where, with the entire passage, it is attributed to R. 'Akiba [d. 135 A.D.]; cf. Bacher, i. 336); see also *Aboth de R. Nathan*, fol. 3*a bottom*, ed. Schechter (with the note).* But the passages cited by Schöttgen on He 4^{9} from Zohar, Yalkut Rubeni, and R. Samuel ben David, are very late,—the book Zohar being of the 13th cent., and the other two of the 17th cent.

The question of the relation of the **'Lord's Day'** (Rev 1^{10}), or Christian Sunday, to the Jewish sabbath, does not properly belong to the present article, and need therefore be only referred to briefly. The true view appears to be that the Sunday is not *substituted for* the Jewish sabbath; the sabbath is abolished; and the observance of the First Day of the week is an *analogous* institution, based on the consecration of that day by our Lord's Resurrection, sanctioned by apostolic usage (Ac 20^{7}, 1 Co 16^{2}), and accepted by the early Church,—the day being set apart for similar objects—rest from labour, and the service of God, —in a manner consonant with the higher and more spiritual teaching of Christ, and to be observed in the spirit of loyal Christian freedom, rather than by obedience to a system of precise statutes. Dr. Hessey has made it abundantly clear that during the first three Christian centuries the Lord's Day was never confounded with the sabbath, but carefully distinguished from it; and that it was only after the 3rd cent., and even then only gradually, that the Christian and the Jewish institutions were confused, and that tendencies towards 'Sabbatarianism' began. See, further, LORD'S DAY.

By early Christian writers, it may be worth noticing, the terms *σάββατον* and *σαββατίζειν* are not infrequently used in a fig. or spiritual sense of *abstinence from evil*; *e.g.* Justin, *Tryph.* § 12, 'The new law (of Christ) wills that you should keep sabbath perpetually'; let a thief, etc., turn from sin, *καὶ σεσαββάτικε τὰ τρυφερὰ* (cf. Is 58^{13}) *καὶ ἀληθινὰ σάββατα*

* In the discussion in *Yômā* 85*b* a somewhat similar principle ('the sabbath is delivered into your hands, not you into the hands of the sabbath') is deduced, by an essentially Rabbinical method, from the words of Ex 31^{14} ('it is holy *for you*'). The argument is attributed in *Mechilta* on Ex 31^{13} to R. Shimeon b. Menassya (*c.* 190 A.D.); cf. Bacher, *op. cit.* ii. 493.

* On the opinion that this 'day' would be 1000 years, see Charles, *Book of the Secrets of Enoch*, on $33^{1.2}$; *Sanh.* 97*a*.

τοῦ θεοῦ. Similarly Clem. Al. *Strom.* iii. 15, § 99, p. 556 Potter, where 'that keepeth the sabbath' of Is 56[4] is explained to signify κατὰ ἀσοχὴν ἁμαρτημάτων, and iv. 3, § 8, p. 566 (ᾧ μοι δοκεῖ τὸ σάββατον δι' ἀποχῆς κακῶν ἐγκράτειαν αἰνίττεσθαι), Tertullian, *adv. Jud.* c. 4, and others: see Hessey, pp. 57 ff., 93, 96 (ed. 5, pp. 43 ff., 70, 72); Suicer, *Thes. Eccles.* 916, 918 f.; and cf. also Ep. Barnab. xv. 1, 6, 7. And this, no doubt, is the meaning of the expression in the second of the 'Sayings of Jesus,' discovered in 1897 at Oxyrhyncus, λέγει Ἰησοῦς, Ἐὰν μὴ νηστεύσητε τὸν κόσμον [read τοῦ κοσμοῦ], οὐ μὴ εὕρητε τὴν βασίλειαν τοῦ θεοῦ· καὶ ἐὰν μὴ σαββατίσητε τὸ σάββατον οὐκ ὄψεσθε τὸν πατέρα: the Christian's whole life is to be hallowed, as a sabbath, in the service of God. But it is difficult to think that Christ Himself can have used the expression in this metaphorical sense. See, further, *Expos. Times*, ix. 69; Harnack, *Über die jüngst entdeckten Sprüche Jesu*, 1897, pp. 9–12 [tr. in *Expos.* Nov. 1897, pp. 323–7]; Lock and Sanday, *Two Lectures on the 'Sayings of Jesus,'* Oxf. 1897, pp. 7, 9, 19 f., 35 f.

LITERATURE.—Besides the references already given, Wellh. *Hist.* 112, 116; Montefiore, *Hibb. Lect.* (Index); Smend, *Alttest. Rel.-gesch.* 139 f., 279, 330–332; Nowack, *Arch.* ii. 140–144; *Speaker's Comm.* on Ex. p. 339 ff.; Buxtorf, *Synag. Jud.* c. 10–11; Kalisch, *Comm. on Ex.* [355–363 (with information on Jewish usages); Wünsche, *Erläuterung der Evang. aus Talm. u. Midr.* (on Mt 12[2. 10] etc.); Schürer (Index); Edersheim, *Life and Times*, ii. 52–62, 182, 774 ff.; Maimonides (d. 1204), *Hilchoth Shabbāth* ('rules for the sabbath'), in his *Yād hăzākāh* (ed. 1550, i. fol. 77 ff., ed. 1702, i. fol. 139[b] ff.); §§ 242–416 of part iii. (called *'Oraḥ hayyim*) of R. Joseph Karo's (d. 1575) *Shulḥān 'Arūkh* (a manual of Jewish usages; often reprinted, *e.g.* Danzig, 1845; in Löwe's abridged tr. iii. [Hamburg, 1839] p. 49 ff.); Abrahams, *Jewish Life in Mid. Ages* (Index); J. A. Hessey, *Sunday, its origin, history, and present obligation* (Bampton Lect. for 1860; latest ed. 1889).

S. R. DRIVER.

SABBATH DAY'S JOURNEY (Talmudic תְּחוּם* הַשַּׁבָּת).—An expression found but once in the Bible, Ac 1[12] (σαββάτου . . . ὁδόν), where the Mount of Olives is said to be a Sabbath day's journey from Jerusalem. The expression immediately suggests some well-known regulation fixing the distance which might be travelled on the Sabbath, and, by implication, defines this distance as between five and six furlongs; for, according to Josephus in his *Ant.* (XX. viii. 6), the Mount of Olives is five furlongs from Jerusalem, while in his *BJ* (V. ii. 3) it is stated to be six, the variation being perhaps due either to the fact that the distance lay between the two, or to the fact that the older Hebrew ell was rather shorter than the later one. What the text suggests is quite in harmony with extant Rabbinical regulations, which, therefore, in this case exhibit not merely (as they so often and so misleadingly do) what ought to be, but what actually was. Thus, in the Jerusalem Targum, the command in Ex 16[29] appears in the form, 'And let no man go walking from his place beyond 2000 ells on the seventh day'; and in the Targum on Ru 1[15] Naomi says to Ruth, 'We are commanded to keep Sabbaths and festivals, and not to walk beyond 2000 ells'; and this regulation is supplemented with many ritualistic details in the Mishna tractate *'Ērūbin*. Occasional variations† from this generally accepted measurement‡—as, for example, the greater Sabbath day's journey of 2800 ells, the medium one of 2000, and the smaller one of 1800—are merely the freaks of individual Rabbis.

The evolution of the regulation can be traced with some approximation to certainty. The Rabbis seem first to have generalized the prohibition directed in Ex 16[29] against a man's 'going out of his place' on the Sabbath to gather the manna, and then to have deduced the 2000 ells from the distance ordained (Jos 3[4]) to be between the people on the march and the ark in front of them; or, as some suppose, from the distance between the tabernacle in the wilderness and the outermost part of the camp; but, probably, the case of the tabernacle was only an imaginary Rabbinical inference from that of the ark. By the 'analogy' in the use of *mākôm*, 'place,' in Ex 16[29] and in Ex 21[13]—where the 'place' is a Levitical city of refuge with borders extending (it was affirmed) 2000 ells from the walls (Nu 35[5])—the man's 'place' of Ex 16[29] became, in due course, the city in which he dwelt, together with its borders measuring 2000 ells straight out from the sides of the rectangle hypothetically constituting the city. (This measurement seems, from Nu 35[4], with its 1000 ells, to have been an exegetical mistake: the 2000 ells apparently refer to each side of the larger rectangle circumscribing the borders). According to Ginsburg (Kitto's *Cyclop.*, art. 'Sabbath Day's Journey'), it was argued that 'if one who committed murder accidentally was allowed to undertake this journey of 2000 yards (ells?) on a Sabbath without violating the sanctity of the day, innocent people might do the same.' Compare also J. Lightfoot on Lk 24[50], and his quaint remark on the 'pleasant art [the Rabbis] have of working anything out of anything.'

This Rabbinical regulation, being obviously and often inconvenient, was not allowed seriously to hamper the movements of the Jews. They secured, legally, a wider freedom by a simple device, which was called the 'connexion of boundaries' or the 'amalgamation of distances.' If a man desired to travel more than 2000 ells on a particular Sabbath day he could adapt the law to his project by carrying, before that Sabbath began, to some point within the Sabbatical limit, food enough for two meals; he could then and there eat the one moiety and bury the other, and could thus establish a domicile (to use a modern expression, a 'place within the meaning of the Act'), from which he could date his journey on the coming Sabbath. Even this precaution was not *de rigueur*. He could, if he preferred, eye a tree or a wall at a distance of 2000 ells from the place of his actual abode and declare it his legal abode for the Sabbath—that is, his legal starting-point for his projected Sabbath journey, provided he used words sufficiently definite as to the tree or wall, and, as Schürer phrases it, 'did the thing thoroughly' (*HJP* II. ii. 122, quoting *'Erūbin*, iv. 7).*

J. MASSIE.

SABBATICAL YEAR (including Jubile Year and Land Laws).—In this article several distinct topics are treated together, which are too closely related to one another to be dealt with separately without a good deal of overlapping. A clear summary statement of the position of the Sabbatical and Jubile years in the cycle of Hebrew sacred seasons will be found under the art. FEASTS AND FASTS.

The 7 years' period recurs at every stage of the legislation, but not always with identical provisions, or even with application to the same subject. The 50 years' term is first found in the Priestly Code, but it is applied to cases previously connected with the 7 years' period. Consequently it will be

* See Levy, *NHWB*, *s.v.* תחום (vol. iv. p. 637[b]).

† Nowack (*Lehrb. d. Heb. Archäol.* i. 202) gives as his opinion that the Sabbath journey probably corresponded to the Egyptian measure of 1000 double steps, and quotes from Zuckermann the tradition in the Talmud that it was 2000 *steps*, explaining the 2000 *ells* elsewhere by Zuckermann's statement that in the Talmud *ell* and *step* are quite commonly made the same; and the Sabbath journey (Nowack adds) is sometimes called *mīl* (מִיל) —that is, μίλιον. Jerome has another measurement. In his *Epist. ad Algasiam quæst.* x. we find: 'They are accustomed to answer and say, "Barachibas and Simeon and Hillel, our masters, have handed down to us that we should walk 2000 feet (*pedes*) on the Sabbath."'

‡ Origen (*de Principiis*, iv. 17) says that the Jews held 2000 ells (διςχιλίους πήχεις) to be each man's 'place' (τόπον) (on the Sabbath).

* There is no necessary discrepancy between Lk 24[50] and Ac 1[12]. In the former passage it is said that our Lord took out the disciples ἕως πρὸς Βηθανίαν, 'until they came within view of Bethany' (Blass, *NT Grammar*, 139 n. 4), which (Jn 11[18]) was 15 furlongs from Jerusalem. In the latter passage it is said that the disciples 'returned from the Mount called Olivet, which is nigh unto Jerusalem, a Sabbath day's journey off'—that is, from 5 to 6 furlongs. The Mount of Olives was a ridge about a mile long, and it is this and not Bethany whose distance is thus measured after Luke's manner (cf. 24[13]), for the purpose of informing readers unacquainted with the locality. Bethany was on the south-east slope of the ridge, about a mile beyond the summit. It is unlikely that Luke intended to represent the Ascension as taking place either within or close to the village.

clearest to gather the whole material from the successive sources in such a form as to make comparison easy. Accordingly, the same letter is used to mark corresponding matter in the following paragraphs.

I. Comparative Summary of Laws.—(i.) *The earliest Legislation*—E.—**a.** The 7 years' period is found in the Covenant Book Ex $23^{10f.}$, and among the Judgments Ex 21^{2-6} (cf. vol. i. p. 810).

b. In the former it is laid down as an obligation that every Hebrew owner of land should 'let it rest and lie fallow' in the 7th year. Hupfeld and Wellhausen apply this to the increase only, as though it was lawful to sow, but not to reap; but it is better, with Dillmann, Nowack, etc., to take it, as in our versions, as prescribing an entire cessation of all field work; for the two verbs in v.[11] 'let drop (or 'release') and leave alone' (תִּשְׁבָּתֶנָּה וְנָטַשְׁתָּהּ), seem obviously in contrast to both verbs in v.[10] 'sow' and 'gather.' The oliveyards and vineyards are to come under the same rule as the corn land, *i.e.* no work is to be done in them in the 7th year. The aim expressed is 'that the poor of thy people may eat.' And so stringent is the rule that, if all is not consumed by the poor, the remainder must not be garnered, but must be left for 'the beast of the field' to eat. It is not explicitly stated that the owner and his family were not to *eat* of the spontaneous growth of the fallow year, but the passage, taken by itself, rather suggests that they might not.

c. In Ex 21^{2-6} a 6 years' term is fixed as the normal period during which a Hebrew could be compelled to serve as a slave. In the 7th year he could demand his freedom (see, further, art. Servant, and the *Oxf. Hex.* i. 55).

d. Neither in connexion with the fallow for the land nor with the emancipation of the slave is there any clear indication that the 7 years' period was fixed, beginning and ending simultaneously all over the country. In the second case, of the slave, this hypothesis is practically ruled out as impracticable, and in the case of the fallow the natural interpretation of the language is that each owner would reckon the term independently of others, and indeed that different portions of his holding would lie fallow in different years, so that, *e.g.*, if his corn land did not require his labour, he would still have his vines and olives to attend to, and *vice versâ*. The analogy of the weekly sabbath is too precarious to be allowed much weight.

e. The earliest legislation has no laws as to the inheritance, sale, or redemption of land.

(ii.) *The Deuteronomic Code*—D.—**a.** The 7 years' period occurs twice in Dt 15, in vv.[1-3] and vv.[12-18], and a third time in 31^{10-13}.

b. No mention is made of any custom of a periodical fallow, but an ordinance appears 15^{1-3} for the first time (reflecting the life of times when the purely agricultural stage has been passed), which provides for the remission, or, as some hold, the suspension of debts due to a creditor from 'his neighbour and his brother,' though debts may be exacted 'of a foreigner.' The motive of the law is compassion for the poor and unfortunate among the Israelites. And the provision in 31^{10-13} that 'at the end of 7 years, in the set time of the year of release' (שְׁמִטָּה, from שָׁמַט 'let drop' [RVm 'release'], Ex 23^{11}), in the 'Feast of Booths,' a public reading of the Deut. Law-book should take place, indicates that the sanction for the ordinance is to be found in the great principles of love to God and man reiterated in it.

c. A Hebrew slave (15^{12-18}) may go free after serving for 6 years.

d. The period, in the last case, obviously begins with the entrance of the slave upon servitude; but in the former, it is clear, from the allusion to the 'proclaiming' of 'J"'s release,' that the close of each period is to be simultaneous over all the country, and to be publicly announced.

e. Except for the warnings against disturbing a neighbour's 'landmark' (19^{14} 27^{17}), no Deuteronomic law bears on the ownership of land.

(iii.) *The Priestly Code*—P.—**a.** Not only is the 7 years' period found in this, the latest stratum of Hebrew legislation, but a 50 years' term is added to crown the calendar (Lv 25).

b. Every 7th year, and in addition every 50th year, is to be kept with strictness as a fallow year, the crops being neither sown at the beginning nor reaped at the close, the vines not pruned and the grapes not gathered. The idea must be that no storing, or systematic harvesting operations, was to go on, but not that the crops that might grow of themselves were to be left untouched, for it is added, 'the sabbath of the land shall be for food for you; for thee, and for thy servant and for thy maid, and for thy hired servant and for thy stranger that sojourn with thee; and for thy cattle, and for the beasts that are in thy land, shall all the increase thereof be for food.' So it was lawful to go into the fields and oliveyards and vineyards, and gather food as it might be wanted from the spontaneous yield of the land.

This view is maintained by Dillmann, Nowack, and the Jewish interpreters. Still it is strange that in vv.[20-22], where the problem of food supply is dealt with, no allusion is made to the right conferred in v.[6f.] (cf. v.[12]). It might be conjectured that v.[6] was added to v.[5] to modify a stringency regarded as impracticable.

All mention of the poor has dropped out, and the ordinance is expressly based on the religious principle that the land, as well as the people, should keep Sabbath unto J". Neither is the arrangement of Deuteronomy recalled for the remission of debts, though the prohibition of usury is repeated from Dt 23^{19}.

c. A provision for emancipation of slaves occurs vv.[39-54], but in connexion with the **jubile,** in which year every Hebrew slave is to go free with his family. This can scarcely be in addition to, but rather in substitution for, the earlier provisions; for (1) if the law of emancipation at the 7th year was in force, it would be unnecessary to order it in the 50th; and (2) the later law in another point abrogates the earlier, as it prohibits lifelong bondage, and leaves no room for such a riveting of the ties of slavery as was involved in the archaic ceremony of the boring of the ear. Moreover, we find again the express mention of a religious principle as the motive for the law, viz. that all Israelites are J"'s servants, and therefore cannot be permanently owned by another. V.[48ff.] **a** new provision is also added, that a Hebrew enslaved to a 'stranger' (גֵּר) may be redeemed by a relative, the price varying with the distance of the jubile. Curiously, no such provision exists in the case of a Hebrew enslaved to a Hebrew.

d. The 7th year in Leviticus becomes for the first time a true sabbatical year, a season to be simultaneously observed as a fallow year in which no field work was to be done under a directly religious sanction. Moreover, the difficulties of such observance being apparent, doubters are encouraged (vv.[20-22]) by an assurance of Providential aid in the shape of an unusually abundant yield in the 6th year. The produce is to be enough for 3 years, 'until the 9th year, until her fruits come in.' The reason is that, after the fallow of the 7th year, the ground is so hard that a second or third ploughing is necessary in the 8th year before sowing can take place, and consequently only the summer-sown crops of the 8th year come to anything, and they are not available for use till the beginning of the 9th year, the reckoning of the years being, of course, in this context from autumn to autumn.

It is not therefore necessary to reject 'until the 9th year,' as Dillm. proposes, on the ground that the '3 years' would naturally be the 6th, 7th, and 8th years, and that the allusion to the 9th year has been introduced because an editor referred the passage to the exceptional case of the 49th and 50th years when two fallow years followed one another, the 7th sabbatical year and the jubile year. Yet it is natural to conclude from the language of Lv 25, as Kalisch does, that the intention of the ordinance was that, after 7 sabbatical periods had passed, the 50th or jubile year should be intercalated as an additional fallow year, immediately after the 7th sabbatical year, and that a new sabbatical period should begin with the 51st year. This was also the view of the Jewish interpreters. But see, further, below II. (iv.).

e. The purchase and redemption of land is not alluded to in the earlier codes (but cf. Ezk 46^{17b} for allusion to some such custom), but is here treated with some fulness (vv.$^{8-10.\ 12-16.\ 23-34}$). The provisions may be enumerated as follows:—(1) The freehold of agricultural land could not be sold outright, for at the 50th or jubile year every piece sold returned to the owner or his representatives. The utmost that an owner desirous of selling could do was to grant a lease of the property, the term of the lease to expire at the next jubile, however near that might be. The purchaser only obtained the usufruct for the time being, and the price was to be regulated by the number of the crops due before the jubile. (2) In every case of a man being forced to sell part of his patrimony, it was the duty of his kinsman (v.^{25}) either, according to the ordinary interpretation, to redeem the land, *i.e.* from the purchaser (who is not named), or, according to the attractive theory put forth by Buhl (*AJTh* i. 738), to exercise a right of pre-emption. (3) If there was no kinsman to effect the *gĕ'ullah*, still, if the original owner at any time became rich enough, he could buy it back at the selling price, less the proportion belonging to the years since the sale (v.$^{26ff.}$). (4) House property in a walled city might be sold outright without returning to the vendor at the jubile (v.$^{29f.}$); but he was given the right of redemption during the one year after the sale (Maimonides and others mention a tradition that the term 'walled cities' is restricted to those that were such in Joshua's time). (5) House property in a village was subject to the provisions, see (1)–(3) above, attaching to agricultural land. (6) The Levitical possessions were subject to special provisions; (*a*) house property in their cities was to be saleable, as far as the leasehold value went, redeemable at any time, and restored at the jubile; and (*b*) the farm land round their cities was to be altogether unsaleable and inalienable. (7) The case of a field devoted to J" is treated in Lv 27^{16-24}. The field was to be valued at once, and might be redeemed at that price, with a fifth added, up to the jubile, after which it passed to the priest. If the field had been already sold, then no redemption was possible, and the gift became effective and final at the jubile. If the field was not part of the donor's own patrimony, but a purchased (=leased) portion of another man's possession, then the gift could only involve the usufruct till the jubile, when the property returned to the original owner.

Summary.—Three stages may thus be distinguished. (1) In Exodus a 7th year fallow for the land and a 7 years' term for Hebrew slaves is required, without any simultaneous reckoning of either period throughout the country. (2) In Deuteronomy a simultaneous remission of debts replaces the fallow year, the term of service for slaves remaining the same. (3) In Leviticus a simultaneous 7th year fallow is ordered; remission of debts is dropped in favour of a general prohibition of usury; emancipation at the 50th year is all that remains of the 7 years' term of service; and a whole series of provisions is added on land and house property.

The Analysis of Lv 25.—That this chapter contains earlier and later elements is generally admitted. Dillmann, Kuenen, and Nowack consider that there are no sure grounds on which to discriminate these. Driver and White ('Leviticus' in *SBOT*) treat the jubile for the land as original in the Holiness legislation (Ph), but ascribe to a later hand the extension to persons. Wellhausen thinks that the first draft placed the freeing of slaves and redemption of land in the 7th year, and, if Dillmann criticizes this reconstruction as involving an unworkable arrangement, Holzinger points out, on the other hand, that the priestly scribes were not always very practical. Another solution is offered in the *Oxford Hexateuch*, ii. 177, on Lv 25. It is there suggested that the regulations on the sabbath year, vv.$^{2b-7.\ 18-22}$, belong to the first draft of Ph; that the block of material on the jubile, vv.$^{8-17}$, which now interrupts the former, is itself composite, as is shown (1) by the number of doublets, and (2) by the recurrence of phrases which recall Ph; that a second draft of Ph underlies this passage and also the remainder of the chapter; that in this second draft the emancipation of slaves and redemption of land, and possibly a 50 years' term, were included; and that the rest, embracing all the clauses in which the term 'jubile' occurs, is by a later priestly editor. Addis and Baentsch take a similar view. The blowing of the trumpets on the 10th day of the 7th month is thought by many to be a provision earlier than the appointment of the same day as the solemn day of atonement, so that v.^{9b} will be later than v.^{9a}.

II. HISTORICAL CHARACTER.—(i.) *The Seventh Year Fallow.*—The custom of a periodical fallow is so common a feature in agricultural practice that we should almost require evidence to prove that there was nothing of the kind amongst the Hebrews from the beginning of their settled life; and the 7 years' period, which is still observed in Palestine and Syria, has every argument from analogy in favour of it. Moreover, the fact that the Covenant Book in Ex 23 is throughout directed to defining and regulating existing customs, and bears no mark of introducing any novelty (cf. the prob. allusion in Jer 17^{4} [Heb.]; see Driver, *Deut.* 174), weighs in the same scale. The silence of the earlier historical books must be regarded as entirely natural if the fallow was not simultaneously observed. It would not be a feature that would call for mention. It is otherwise with so serious an interruption of the common life as would be occasioned by the observance of the same year as a universal fallow year, so that all workers on the land would be keeping holiday for 12 months. Moreover, the tradition at the Exile explicitly denies the observance of the sabbath years in the pre-exilic times (2 Ch 36^{21}, cf. Lv $26^{34f.\ 43}$). In fact, the first historical reference to the sabbatical year as an institution within the range of practical politics is in Neh 10^{31}, where it occurs among the items included in the covenant that was entered into at the prompting of Nehemiah. Even there the allusion is not quite certain. The language 'leave (נָטַשׁ; ='let lie fallow,' Ex 23^{11}) the seventh year, and the exaction of every debt,' recalls the law of the fallow in Exodus; but the clause is elliptical and far from explicit, and the following words, which recall Dt 15^{2}, make it doubtful whether the remission of debts in the 7th year is not the institution in view. It is not, in fact, till we reach the Greek period that we come upon undisputed references to the observance of the sabbatical year (Jos. *Ant.* XI. viii. 26): for Maccabæan times, see 1 Mac $6^{49.\ 53}$; Jos. *Ant.* XIII. viii. 1, XIV. x. 6, XV. i. 2; *BJ* I. ii. 4; and for the Herodian era, Jos. *Ant.* XIV. xvi. 2, XV. i. 2; Philo in Eus. *Præp. ad Ev.* viii. 7; and Tac. *Hist.* v. 4.

(ii.) *The Emancipation of Slaves at the Seventh Year.*—This is once referred to in Jer $34^{8ff.}$,* where the custom is shown to be more honoured in the breach than in the observance, and to be most difficult to enforce. The postponement of liberation to the 50th year may be another witness to the same fact.

(iii.) *The Remission or Suspension of Debts.*—

* Note here the techn. phrase קרא דרור ('proclaim liberty'), vv.$^{8.\ 15.\ 17}$; also Is 61^{1} of captives (cf. Ezk 46^{17a} the 'year of דרור,' either of the jubile, or of the year of emancipation of slaves), and Lv 25^{10} of the jubile. [S. R. D.].

Unless Neh 10^{31} refer to this, history is silent as to the observance of any such custom.

(iv.) *The Redemption of Real Property.*—That there was some provision in law or custom against alienating land is clear from the instance of Naboth, and the institution of the *ge'ullah*, Jer $32^{6ff.}$, Ru 4. An obscure allusion in Ezk $7^{12f.}$ may be taken in the same sense; and it is, of course, possible that the 'year of liberty' in Ezk 46^{17} refers to the 50th year as an institution already known. Neither is there anything impracticable in the provisions themselves. See for parallels among other nations, Maine, *Village Communities*, 81–88; *Early Hist. of Institutions*, 81 f., 100 ff.; von Maurer, *Dorfverfassung*, i. 304 ff. This kind of tenure is known as the 'shifting severalty.' Strabo speaks of the Dalmatians redistributing land every 8 years, a practice which would support Wellhausen's theory that the term was originally 7 years and not 50. The denunciations of land-grabbing in Isaiah and Micah show that no such law was operative even if in existence. Moreover, no single undisputed historical allusion to the jubile exists, and the dating of the 3 sabbatical years that can be securely traced in B.C. 164–163, 38–37, and A.D. 68–69 leaves no room for the intercalation of the jubile year. For this reason, and because of the difficulty of the two fallow years in succession, the text has been strained to permit the identification of the 7th sabbatical year with the jubile year. The evidence from the literature is therefore rather against the jubile year having ever been historically observed. Neither is the anthropological evidence such as to rebut this presumption.

The term *jubile*.—Nowack gives a summary of interpretations, and refers to two essays by Kranold and Wolde (Gött. 1837) for a fuller account; but the *Oxf. Heb. Lex.* mentions only that which he selects as the best, and which is supported by the Targum on Ex 19^{13} and Jos 6^{5}, and by Phœnician inscriptions, viz. יובל='ram.' It is used both in combination, as Jos $6^{4ff.}$, and alone, as Ex 19^{13}, for a 'ram's horn,' and lastly stands as a designation of the 50th year, ushered in by trumpet blasts.

LITERATURE.—Treatises on Heb. Archæology by Keil (Eng. tr. ii. 10–20), Nowack, and Benzinger; Ewald, *Antiquities*, 369–380; Schürer, *HJP* I. i. 40 ff.; Dillm., Driver-White, Kalisch, Addis, Baentsch, and *Oxf. Hex.* on Lv 25; Mishna, *Rosh ha-shana* i. 1, *Shebiith* vi. 1, 2, 5, 6.

G. HARFORD-BATTERSBY.

SABBEUS (Σαββαῖας), 1 Es 9^{32} = Shemaiah, Ezr 10^{31}.

SABI (B Τωβεῖς, A Σαβεί, AV Sami), 1 Es 5^{28} = Shobai, Ezr 2^{42}, Neh 7^{45}.

SABIAS (Σαβίας).—A chief of the Levites in the time of Josiah, 1 Es 1^{9}, called in 2 Ch 35^{9} HASHABIAH.

SABIE (B Σαβειή, A Σαβιή, AV Sabi).—'The children of Pochereth-hazzebaim' (AV of Zebaim), Ezr 2^{57}, Neh 7^{59}, appear as 'the sons of Phacereth the sons of Sabie' in 1 Es 5^{34}.

SABTA (סַבְתָא) or **SABTAH** (סַבְתָה).—Son of Cush, Gn 10^{7} (A Σαβαθά), 1 Ch 1^{9} (B Σαβατά, A Σαβαθά, Luc. Σεβαθά). Glaser (*Skizze*, ii. 252) professes himself satisfied with the identification of this place with Dhu 'l-Sabtā, mentioned by the geographer Al-Bekri (i. 65), who quotes a line of an early poet, in which this is mentioned by the side of Al-Abatir, in the dwellings of the Banu Asad, probably in Yemamah. This identification is, however, of very small value; for the word *Sabtāu* means either 'a rock' or 'a desert,' and Dhu 'l-Sabtā therefore 'the place with the rock,' or 'the place with the desert,' whence it is not even certain that the poet quoted really meant it for a proper name. Moreover, there is no sign of such a place ever having been of importance. Hence the conjecture that it was to be identified with Sabat or Sabbata in the Gulf of Adulis (Ptol. IV. vii. 8) is much more probable. Other conjectures made by ancient and modern scholars are given in Ges. *Thes.*, the *Oxf. Heb. Lex.*, and the Commentaries.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

SABTECA (סַבְתְּכָא, Sam. סבתכה).—Son of Cush, Gn 10^{7} (A Σαβακαθά, Luc. Σαβεκαθά), 1 Ch 1^{9} (B Luc. Σεβεκαθά, A Σεβεθαχά).—The identification of this place with Samydake in Carmania (Steph. Byz., ed. Westermann, p. 246), originally suggested by Bochart, has been renewed by Glaser (*Skizze*, ii. 252). There is, however, nothing in favour of this supposition, except the possibility that the genealogist may have been misled by the similarity of the name to Sabtah. Early critics guessed various places in Africa, while some have even supposed a person rather than a place to be meant. The termination *-ka* has an appearance of being Indo-Germanic, as also has the penultimate syllable. In that case the name probably meant 'sevenfold' (*saptaka*), Heptapolis. Some other conjectures are quoted by Gesenius, *Thes.*, and Dillm. *Gen. ad loc.*

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

SACAR (שָׂכָר 'hire,' 'reward' [cf. the name יִשָּׂשכָר ISSACHAR]).—**1.** The father of Ahiam, one of David's heroes, 1 Ch 11^{35} (B 'Αχάρ, A Σαχάρ) = **Sharar** of 2 S 23^{33}, where 'Sharar the (H)ararite' appears in B as 'Αραὶ Σαραυρείτης and in A as 'Αρὰδ 'Αραρείτης. The reading of B here may have arisen, by transposition of letters, from a Heb. original שָׂרַר הַחֲרָרִי, and the name *Sharar* should probably be read in both passages. **2.** The eponym of a family of gatekeepers, 1 Ch 26^{4} (B Σαχάρ, A Σαχιάρ).

J. A. SELBIE.

SACKBUT (סַבְּכָא Dn 3^{5}, שַׂבְּכָא $3^{7.\,10.\,15}$; LXX and Theod. σαμβύκη, Vulg. *sambuca*, Wyc. 'sambuke,' Cov., Bish. 'shawmes,' Dou. 'doulcimer,' Gen., AV, RV 'sackbut').—The Gr. σαμβύκη (which Ges., Buhl, Driver, etc., believe to be derived from the Aram.) was a stringed instrument (see vol. iii. p. 461[a]). The Vulg. *sambuca* is no doubt a translit. of the Gr.; but since *sambuca* may mean 'made of the elder-tree' (from *sambucus*, the elder-tree), the name came to be used for any stringed instrument made of that wood. In Eng. the 'sambuke' had the same general application. Thus Ascham, *Toxophilus*, 26, 'And whatsoever ye judge, this I am sure, that lutes, harps, all manner of pipes, barbitons, sambukes, with other instruments every one, which standeth by fine and quick fingering, be condemned of Aristotle, as not to be brought in and used among them which study for learning and virtue.'

The Geneva translators used the more precise 'sackbut' (possibly, however, from an impression that it was a form of the same word). But the 'sackbut' is unsuitable, for two reasons: it is a wind instrument ('a brass trumpet,' says Chappell, 'with a slide like a modern trombone'); and, whereas the σαμβύκη was particularly shrill, the sackbut had a deep note. Cf. Drayton, *Polyolbion*, iv. 365—

'The Hoboy, Sagbut deepe, Recorder, and the Flute';

and Bunyan, *PP* 235, 'He and his Fellows sound the Sackbut whose Notes are more doleful than the Notes of other Music are.' The origin of 'sackbut' is doubtful. Skeat traces it to the Spanish *sacar* to draw out, and *buche* a box, used familiarly of the belly, and thinks that Webster is right in suggesting that the name was given to the instrument because it exhausts one's wind in blowing! Middleton shows how it lent itself to punning, *Spanish Gypsy*, ii. 1—

'*Alv.*—You must not look to have your dinner served in with trumpets.
Car.—No, no, sack-buts will serve us.'

J. HASTINGS.

SACKCLOTH (שַׂק *saḳ*, σάκκος, *saccus*) was a coarse material woven from goats' and camels' hair, and hence of a dark colour, as we see from Rev 6^{12} 'the sun became black as sackcloth of hair' (σάκκος τρίχινος); cf., for the colour, Is 50^{3}, Sir 25^{17} 'her countenance darkeneth like sackcloth,' reading σάκκος with B; also קֹדֵר 'a mourner,' lit. one who wears dark soiled garments (*RS*[1] 414, n. 2). A similar material was called by the Romans *cilicium* from being prepared from the hair of the black goats of Cilicia, hence Jerome's rendering *saccus cilicinus* (Rev 6^{12}). From the fact that sacks were made of this coarse haircloth, J in Genesis ($42^{25.\ 27.\ 35}$) uses שַׂק as a synonym of אַמְתַּחַת; hence through the medium of Greek and Latin our 'sack' and 'sackcloth,' though haircloth is the more appropriate rendering. It was also used for saddle-cloths (Jos 9^{4}).

From the analogy of the evolution of dress among the Egyptians—for which see Erman (*Egypt*, 200 ff., with numerous illustrations)—we may infer that the dress of the Hebrews was originally, as in Egypt, a scant loin-cloth of *saḳ*, tied in a knot in front. This continued to be the distinctive dress of slaves, captives, and such as wished to appeal to the pity of superiors (see the instructive episode 1 K $20^{31ff.}$). To put on sack-cloth is nearly always חָגַר שָׂק 'to gird sackcloth' about the loins (*loc. c.*, Gn 37^{34}, 2 S 3^{31}, and oft.; חָגַר alone, Is 32^{11}, Jl 1^{13}); to take it off was originally פָּתַח 'to undo [a knot]' (Ps 30^{11}, Is 20^{2}). The linguistic evidence is thus entirely against the current idea that the sackcloth of the OT was worn in the form of a sack 'with an opening for the head, and side apertures for the arms.'

Religious usages are proverbially conservative, and Hebrew customs were no exception (see, *e.g.*, Jos $5^{2b.}$); hence it is not an unlikely supposition (Schwally, *Das Leben nach d. Tode*, 12 ff.) that the haircloth cincture continued to be regarded as the garment most suitable for religious ceremonies long after it had disappeared from ordinary use. This is at least more satisfactory than the usual explanation that the wish to mortify the flesh led to the use of sackcloth in the frequent instances where it is associated with fasting as an outward and visible expression of penitence, or in cases where confession and supplication are combined, as indeed is most frequently the case (1 K 21^{27}, Neh 9^{1}, Jon $3^{5f.}$, Jth $4^{10ff.}$ etc.). In most cases, even when not expressly mentioned, there was the accompaniment of ashes (Dn 9^{3}, Mt 11^{21}, Lk 10^{13}) or earth (Neh 9^{1}) upon the head. Hence the author of Baruch speaks of putting on 'sackcloth of prayer' (4^{20}; see Comm. for alternative rendering). The extravagances of Jon 3^{8}, Jth 4^{10}, where even the cattle are clothed in sackcloth, are scarcely historical. In the latter passage the altar, also, is similarly covered (Jth 4^{11}). That the sackcloth in such cases was usually worn next the skin (עַל־הַבָּשָׂר)—originally, as we saw, it was the only garment—even by women (Is 32^{11}, Jth 9^{1}, 2 Mac 3^{19}), seems beyond doubt (see 2 K 6^{30}, Job 16^{15}, which are often wrongly, as we think, taken to be exceptional cases).

Fondness for 'the old paths,' and the desire to furnish an object-lesson in simplicity of dress, as of life, in the midst of increasing luxury, are doubtless the reason that haircloth was the characteristic material of a prophet's dress (Zec 13^{4} RV; cf. Rev 11^{3} προφητεύσουσιν . . . περιβεβλημένοι σάκκους). Elijah was distinguished by a mantle of hair (2 K 1^{8} RVm). John the Baptist's only garment, like that of his prototype, was of camels' hair (Mt 3^{4}, Mk 1^{6}). Isaiah, on a particular occasion, wore even the primitive loin-cloth of *saḳ* (20^{2}).

The universal use of this black haircloth (שָׂק) as the appropriate dress of those mourning for their dead probably has its root in the circle of primitive thought above referred to—the intention being to do honour to the disembodied spirit (cf. Schwally, *op. cit.*). It was worn not only in cases of private mourning (Gn 37^{34}, 2 S 3^{31} and oft.), but in lamentations over public calamities (Am 8^{10}, Jer 48^{37}, La 2^{10}, 1 Mac 2^{14}). Further, just as prayer in this garb might avert threatened private bereavement (Ps 35^{13}), so might it avert—when combined with humility and penitence—a great national misfortune (Jer 6^{26}, Jl 1^{13}, Jth 4^{12}). Both ideas are frequently combined—mourning for past calamities and prayer for their speedy removal (1 Mac 3^{47}, 2 Mac 2^{25}, also Am 8^{10}, and other passages cited).

A. R. S. KENNEDY.

SACRAMENTS.—The word *sacramentum* (*sacrare* = 'to dedicate') originally meant 'something set apart as sacred, consecrated, dedicated.' As a technical legal term it was used of the sum which the two parties to a suit deposited *in sacro*, and of which the winner of the suit recovered his part, while the loser forfeited his to the *ærarium*. Hence it came to mean the suit itself, *causa controversia* (Smith, *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Ant.* ii. p. 958). *Sacramentum* was also used actively of the 'thing which sets apart and devotes.' As a technical military term it designated either the 'preliminary engagement' entered into by recruits, or (much more often) the 'military oath of obedience' to the commander. Under the Empire the *sacramentum* which soldiers were obliged to take to their *imperator* was often taken by subjects, whether citizens or provincials, to the emperor (Tac. *Ann.* i. 7, 8), in recognition of his *proconsulare imperium* throughout the Empire. From Horace (*Od.* II. xvii. 10) onwards it is sometimes used of any 'oath or solemn engagement.'

The first appearance of the word *sacramentum* in connexion with Christianity may be called accidental. It occurs in a familiar passage in the frequently quoted letter (*Ep.* 96) of the younger Pliny to the Emperor Trajan. It was stated of the Bithynian Christians *quod essent soliti stato die ante lucem convenire carmenque Christo quasi deo dicere secum invicem, seque sacramento non in scelus aliquod obstringere.* There is not much doubt that the witnesses whom Pliny quotes referred to the obligation under which every Christian lies to renounce the devil and all his works, and of which the public service of the Church reminds him. Possibly the service to which allusion is made contained an express renewal of the baptismal pledge. That Pliny uses the word *sacramentum* to express this obligation or pledge is no more than an interesting coincidence. It was a natural word to use; and neither *jusjurandum* nor *promissum* would have expressed the meaning better. Yet Lightfoot is inclined to think that it means 'sacrament' in the Christian sense, and that Pliny has here 'confused the two sacraments,' the wording pointing to the baptismal pledge, while the context about the early hour and the stated day points to the eucharist (*Epp. of S. Ignatius*, vol. i. p. 52). It may be doubted whether the word *sacramentum* had as yet acquired among Christians any specially Christian meaning; and it is improbable that the Bithynian Christians used the word in a technical sense, or that Pliny uses the word because they had done so. The word is his, not theirs; and he employs it in the ordinary classical sense.

As a Christian term, *sacramentum* makes its first appearance in the Old Latin and in Tertullian. Both in Lat-Vet. and Vulg. it is sometimes used to translate μυστήριον. Cod. Bob. (k) has it Mt 13^{11}; Cod. Palat. (e) Lk 8^{10}; Cod. Clar. (h) Eph 1^{9} $3^{3.\ 9}$ 5^{32}, 1 Ti $3^{9.\ 16}$, Ro 16^{25}; Vulg. has it Eph 1^{9} 3^{3} (not [4]) [9] 5^{32}, Col 1^{27} (not [26]), 1 Ti 3^{16} (not [9]), Rev 1^{20} 17^{7} (not [5]).

But the more common rendering of μυστήριον is *mysterium*; and sometimes in consecutive verses first one word is used and then the other. In OT *sacramentum* occurs Dn $2^{18.\ 30.\ 47}$ 4^{6}, To 12^{7}, Wis 2^{22} 6^{24}, in all which places LXX has μυστήριον. But *mysterium* is also found, sometimes side by side with *sacramentum* (Dn $2^{18.\ 19.\ 28.\ 30}$), even in the same verse (^{47}). Tertullian uses *sacramentum* as the rendering of μυστήριον in passages where Vulg. has *mysterium* (1 Co 13^{2}, *Res.* 23; 1 Co 14^{2}, *adv. Marc.* v. 15; Eph 6^{19}, *adv. Marc.* v. 18). It is his usual word.

Three elements seem to have been at work in determining the Christian use of the word: (1) the original passive sense, 'a thing set apart as sacred'; (2) the active sense, 'that which sets apart,' especially an oath or pledge of fidelity; (3) the Greek term μυστήριον, to which it was regarded as equivalent. It is obvious that all these ideas coalesce very well respecting those rites which have been called sacraments, especially baptism and the eucharist.

But in the first instance the use of the term was very much wider. It was used to designate not only religious rites, but doctrines and facts. Almost any external form, whether of word or action, which conveyed or symbolized a religious meaning might be called a *sacramentum*. It will be worth while to examine some of the passages in which the word occurs in Tertullian and Cyprian.

Tertullian, after pointing out that even the heathen recognize avoidance of the public shows as the mark of a Christian, remarks that the man who puts aside the mark of the faith plainly denies the faith. *Nemo in castra hostium transit . . . nisi destitutis signis et sacramentis principis sui* (*de Spect.* xxiv.). Again, with regard to God's prohibition of idolatry, he says: *Huic sacramento militans ab hostibus provocor. Par sum illis, si illis manus dedero. Hoc defendendo depugno in acie, vulneror, concidor, occidor. Quis hunc militi suo exitum voluit, nisi qui tali sacramento eum consignavit* (*Scorp.* iv.)? In both these passages we have little more than the Roman military oath used metaphorically of the Christian's allegiance to God. In *Apol.* vii. we get a stage further, when he calls the horrible rite, of which Christians were often accused, in which a child was killed and eaten, *sacramentum infanticidii*. It is in this treatise that the use of the word is specially frequent. In contending that Judaism, and therefore Christianity, is far more ancient than heathenism, he says: *ipsa templa et oracula et sacra unius interim prophetæ scrinium sæculis vincit, in quo videtur thesaurus collocatus totius Judaici sacramenti et inde jam nostri* (xix.); where *sacramentum* seems to mean 'revelation,' or 'religion,' or 'dispensation.' It has a similarly indefinite meaning in the challenge respecting Christian abstention from heathen temples and nocturnal rites: *omnem hinc sacramenti nostri ordinem haurite, repercussis ante tamen opinionibus falsis* (xv.). In the plural the word is used of the doctrines of the Christian faith. Whence, he asks, did pagan philosophy get its doctrine of future rewards and punishments? *Nonnisi de nostris sacramentis* (xlvii.). OT types he calls *figurarum sacramenta* (*adv. Marc.* v. 1). In the treatise *de Baptismo* we reach the more definite use of the term. It opens with the words, *Felix sacramentum aquæ nostræ, quia ablutis delictis pristinæ cæcitatis in vitam æternam liberamur.* And so also of the eucharist: *Proinde panis et calicis sacramento jam in evangelio probavimus corporis et sanguinis dominici veritatem adversus phantasma Marcionis* (*adv. Marc.* v. 8). And again of both sacraments: *ad sacramentum baptismatis et eucharistiæ admittens* (*ib.* iv. 34).

Cyprian seems to have learned from his 'master' to use the word sometimes in its classical sense, sometimes with a vagueness which was possibly deliberate, sometimes quite definitely of baptism and the eucharist. Of Christian martyrdoms he says: *O quale illud fuit spectaculum Domini, quam sublime, quam magnum, quam Dei oculis sacramento ac devotione militis ejus acceptum* (*Ep.* x. 2). So of a supposed betrayal of the Christian faith, he says: *divinæ militiæ sacramenta solvantur, castrorum cœlestium signa dedantur* (*Ep.* lxxiv. 8). He calls the Passover a *sacramentum* (*de Cath. Eccles. unit.*). But it is not easy to define its meaning when he speaks of *ecclesiæ veritas et evangelii ac sacramenti unitas* (*Ep.* liv. 1), or, again, of *veritatis jura et sacramenta* (*Ep.* lxxiii. 20). Comp. *sacramenta cœlestia* (*Ep.* lxxiv. 4), a phrase which he uses several times. He says that *totum fidei sacramentum in confessione Christi nominis esse digestum* (*Ep.* xxx. 3); and that the Lord's Prayer contains many and great *sacramenta* (*de Dom. Orat.* 9); where 'doctrine' seems to be the meaning. In baptism, water and the Spirit are each of them called a *sacramentum*; and, as distinct from heretical baptism, those who receive the Church's baptism *utroque sacramento nascuntur* (*Ep.* lxxiii. 21). Immediately afterwards he uses *baptismi sacramentum* of the whole rite. So also of the eucharist he says: *Item in sacerdote Melchisedech sacrificii dominici sacramentum præfiguratum videmus* (*Ep.* lxiii. 3). He calls the consecrated wine *sacramentum calicis* * (*de Lapsis*, xxv.); and he appears to call the whole rite *sacramentum crucis*, when he says, *de sacramento crucis et cibum sumis et potum* (*de Zelo et Livore*, xvii.). On Cyprian's use of *sacramentum*, see an important note by E. W. Watson in *Studia Biblica*, iv. p. 253.

Augustine says that the bread and wine *ideo dicuntur sacramenta, quia in eis aliud videtur, aliud intelligitur* (*Serm.* 272). And again that *Signa cum ad res divinas pertinent, sacramenta appelantur* (*Ep.* cxxxviii.). But there must be resemblance between the two: *si enim sacramenta quamdam similitudinem earum rerum quarum sacramenta sunt non haberent, omnino sacramenta non essent* (*Ep.* xcviii.). Sacraments are *verba visibilia, sacrosancta quidem, veruntamen mutabilia et temporalia* (*con. Faustum*, xix. 16). *Accedit verbum ad elementum et fit sacramentum, etiam ipsum tanquam visibile verbum* (*in Joh. Tract.* 80). In one place he enumerates baptism, unction, the eucharist, and imposition of hands as sacraments† (*de Bapt. con. Don.* v. 28); in another he asks, *Quis novit Dei omnia sacramenta? Quid ait Apostolus? Si sciero omnia sacramenta, si habeam omnem prophetiam* (*Serm. ad Cæsar. eccles. plebem*, 3). This last passage is specially interesting, because in Vulg. the word is not used [though Aug. testifies that Old Lat. read *sacramenta*]; it has, *si habuero prophetiam et noverim mysteria omnia* (1 Co 13^{2}).

The general outcome is on the whole this, that the word *sacramentum* had two main uses, one very vague, and the other fairly definite. On the one hand, it might be used of anything, whether word, statement, or fact, which expressed

* In harmony with this idea Rabanus Maurus (*de Cler. institutione*, i. 24, 31; Migne, *Pat. Lat.* cvii. 316) makes baptism, unction, the body, and the blood of the Lord to be four sacraments, expressly counting the body and the blood as two. Paschasius Radbertus is said to do the same; but he speaks of *sacramentum* (not -*ta*) *corporis et sanguinis* (*de Corp. et Sang. Dom.* iii. 2, 4; Migne, cxx. 1275).

† Similarly in a passage which was quoted almost *verbatim* at the beginning of Art. 26 (=25) in the Articles of 1553: *Sacramentis numero paucissimis, observatione facillimis, significatione præstantissimis, societatem novi populi colligavit* [Christus], *sicuti est baptismus Trinitatis nomine consecratus, communicatio corporis et sanguinis ipsius, et si quid aliud in scripturis canonicis commendatur* (*Ep.* 54; cf. *de Doct. Chr.* iii. 9).

or implied religious truth. On the other, it was applied to certain Christian rites, not fixed in number, but understood to be few, of which the chief were baptism and the eucharist. No rite had a better claim to be called a sacrament than these two, which fully realized the ideas connoted by the term, and were instituted by the Lord Himself. But there were other rites, mentioned in Scripture and sanctioned by the Church, to which the term might rightly be given; and the rite which was commonly placed side by side with these two as being of almost equal rank was unction or chrism, which is generally applicable to all Christians and has at least the authority of apostolic tradition.

The number three was no doubt attractive; but still more so the number seven; and it is remarkable that a list of seven sacraments does not seem to have been made earlier than the 12th cent., when first Gregory of Bergamo (*de Euchar.* 14), and then Peter Lombard (*Sent.* IV. ii. 1) fix on this limit. It was adopted by Thomas Aquinas and stereotyped by the Council of Trent. But it is neither scriptural nor logical. Our choice lies between two and an indefinite number.* Scripture plainly marks out two. They were instituted by Christ, and He Himself ordained the outward visible signs for them. In whatever sense Christ may be supposed to have instituted any of the other five,—confirmation, penance, unction, orders, and matrimony,—He ordered no special sign for them; and it is rash to say more than that they are among the more important of the many rites to which the name of sacrament may be given.† For a discussion of any one of the seven see the separate articles in the dictionaries. But with regard to matrimony it may be here pointed out that the Vulgate rendering of Eph 5^{32} *sacramentum hoc magnum est*, had considerable influence in causing marriage to be regarded as a sacrament.

There is a difference between the two great sacraments of the Gospel, in that baptism may be received once only, and the eucharist daily. The one confers an indelible character; the other does not. The same difference divides the other five. Confirmation and orders resemble baptism. Once baptized, always baptized; once confirmed, always confirmed; once a priest, always a priest. No one may have these rites repeated for himself; nor is there any need of repetition. But penance and unction admit of repetition. Matrimony belongs partly to the one class and partly to the other. No repetition of the rite is admissible between the same two parties; but when death has removed one, the other is free to have the rite repeated. Augustine writes thus of baptism and orders: *utrumque enim sacramentum est; et quadam consecratione utrumque homini datur: illud, cum baptizatur, istud, cum ordinatur: ideoque in Catholica utrumque non licet iterari* (*Con. ep. Parmen.* ii. 28). With regard to matrimony he says that its benefits are threefold, *fides, proles, sacramentum*; and he explains the last, *ut conjugium non separetur, et dimissus aut dimissa nec causa prolis alteri conjungatur* (*de Gen.* ix. 12: cf. *con. Faust.* xix. 26; *de Nupt. et Concup.* i. 11). See, further, Harnack, *Hist. of Dogma* [Eng. tr.], vi. 201 ff.

* Hugo de St. Victore, following the Augustinian definition of a sacrament as *rei sacræ signum*, enumerates some twenty or thirty lesser sacraments, as the ritual use of holy water, of ashes, of palm-branches, of the paschal candle, of bells, and of curtains; also certain acts, as making the sign of the cross, bowing the head or the knee; and certain utterances, as *Dominus vobiscum*, *Alleluia*, the recitation of the *De profundis*, the *Jubilate*, the Creed, etc. (*de Sacramentis*, II. ix. 1–9; Migne, *Pat. Lat.* clxxvi. 471).

† The anointing of a king, the washing of the saints' feet, and the salt given in certain Latin rites to catechumens, have all been called 'sacraments,' *e.g.* in the Gelasian Sacramentary is a prayer *ut hæc creatura salis in nomine Trinitatis efficiatur salutare sacramentum.*

The question, whether there were sacraments under the OT, is, like the question of the number of sacraments under the NT, to a large extent a question of definition. What is meant by a sacrament? Definitions which exclude all but baptism and the eucharist of course exclude all OT rites. But those who, with Augustine, regard sacraments as essential to the life of a religious community must allow sacraments to the Jewish Church. Yet if, as he holds, the sacramental character of marriage consists in its indissolubility, then marriage, which is a sacrament under the Christian dispensation, was not a sacrament under the Jewish, which allowed divorce. The sacrifices and other rites were sacraments to the Jews, necessary then, but superfluous now. The difference is this: *sacramenta Novi Testamenti dant salutem; sacramenta Veteris Testamenti promiserunt Salvatorem. . . . Mutata sunt sacramenta; facta sunt faciliora, pauciora, salubriora, feliciora* (*in Ps.* lxxiii. 2). Both, however, tell of the passion and resurrection of Christ, the one by promising, the other by commemorating (*con. Faust.* xix. 16).

LITERATURE.—Juenin (French Oratorian), *Commentarius Historicus et Dogmaticus de Sacramentis*, Lyons, 1717; Chardon, *Histoire des Sacrements*, Paris, 1745; Hahn (Protestant), *Doctrinæ Romanæ de Numero Sacramentorum septenario rationes historicæ*, Breslau, 1859, and *Die Lehre von den Sacramenten*, 1864. Most comm. on the XXXIX Articles discuss the question and quote literature; also most Theological Dictionaries.

A. PLUMMER.

SACRIFICE.—

A. SACRIFICE IN OT TIMES.
i. Definition and Name.
ii. The Origin of Sacrifice.
iii. Semitic Sacrifice in the pre-Mosaic period.
iv. Sacrifice in ancient Israel.
v. The Prophets as reformers of Sacrificial worship.
vi. The Sacrificial system of the Priestly Code: 1. Forms of Sacrifice; 2. Efficacy of the Bloody Sacrifices.
vii. Sacrifice in Judaistic practice and theory.
B. SACRIFICIAL DOCTRINE OF NT.
i. Appreciation of OT Sacrifices.
ii. The perfect Sacrifice of the New Covenant.
iii. The Sacrifices of the Christian life.
Literature.

A. *SACRIFICE IN OT TIMES.*

i. DEFINITION AND NAME.—The rites which are comprehended under the name of Sacrifice, while exhibiting many forms and embodying an equal complexity of ideas, yet display certain constant features which invest them with a character of unity. Four notes will serve to elucidate their place and function in distinction from other manifestations of the religious life.

(*a*) Sacrifice belongs to the class of specifically religious acts, known as cultus or worship, by which man seeks to draw near to God. When religion is permeated by intense moral earnestness, greater importance is ascribed to character and conduct than to worship, yet even in the perfectly ethical religion of Christianity the cultus has survived as at once a cherished privilege and a sacred obligation. In those religions in which the ethical interest is weak or absent, the paramount interest attaches to the appropriateness and impressiveness of the ceremonial approach to the Deity. And among the elements of the cultus, by the consent of antiquity, the rite of sacrifice excelled and overshadowed all other ordinances in the efficacy of its appeal to the object of worship.—(*b*) Sacrifice is distinguished from other ordinances of worship in that it takes the form of the rendering to God of a material oblation. The elements of worship are at bottom two—forms which express the condescension of God to man, and forms which express the appeal of man to God. Of these the first has its familiar example in the proclamation

of the word of God, the second in prayer. And with prayer sacrifice manifestly has a close affinity. To the universal religious instinct of antiquity, however, it seemed that the spiritual offering of aspiration and petition was lacking in weight and efficacy. There was therefore associated with it, and so prominently as to eclipse it, the sacred rite in which the worshippers made over to God or shared with Him material things of a kind which ministered to human wants.—(*c*) Sacrifice is distinguished from other acts in which material things are consecrated to the service of God by the circumstance that the sacrifice is consumed in the service. The spirit of religious devotion finds many ways of expressing itself—*e.g.* in the consecration of buildings for worship, in gifts of lands, in personal service, and to such acts the term sacrifice may be popularly extended; but in strict usage it is desirable to confine it to the class of oblations which not only spring from self-abnegation but also perish in the using.—(*d*) The effect of sacrifice, in the intention of the worshippers, is by pleasing the Deity to enjoy communion with Him, and through union with Him to gain deliverance from threatened evil and possession of coveted good. This formula roughly expresses the end of religion, and, in view of the ancient and commonly accorded position of sacrifice as the staple religious observance, it follows that communion with a Divine being, with the security involved in such communion, must also be the end generally contemplated in sacrificial practice.

In the definition of sacrifice, an attempt has usually been made to formulate the contemplated end more narrowly. 'A sacrifice properly so called,' to quote one of the older examples, 'is the solemn infliction of death on a living creature, generally by effusion of its blood, in a way of religious worship, and the presenting of this act to the Deity, as a supplication for the pardon of sin, and a supposed means of compensation for the insult and injury thereby offered to His majesty and government' (Pye Smith, *Sacrifice and Priesthood*[3], p. 3). The fault of this definition is that it is framed with reference to the single class of piacular sacrifices, and further, that it makes the questionable assumption that the piacular sacrifices consistently embodied the idea that the slaughter of the victim furnished a satisfaction to outraged Divine justice. Among writers of the anthropological school, on the other hand, the specific effect of sacrifice is often defined as being to remove from the worshipper restrictions or taboos, and to invest him with a character of sanctity. Its efficacy, in short, is conceived as being of a magical kind, —the persons or things hallowed being, as it were, charged with an energy of physical holiness, and thereby fitted to move and act in the religious sphere. In this sense the following definition has been given in a recent monograph:—'Sacrifice is a religious act which, by the consecration of a victim, modifies the condition of the moral agent who performs it, or of certain objects with which it is concerned' (Hubert et Mauss, *Essai sur le Sacr.* p. 41). Natural, however, and widely vouched for as is the idea that the victim imparts a character or an infection of sanctity, the interpretation of the *modus operandi* of the rite has fluctuated too widely to justify us in treating the above conception as vital to the idea of sacrifice. The only constant element has been the belief that, however operating, it pleased the object of worship and secured Divine favour.

Summing up, then, we define sacrifice as an act, belonging to the sphere of worship, in which a material oblation is presented to the Deity and consumed in His service, and which has as its object to secure through communion with a Divine being the boon of His favour.

The *names* used to describe the rite do not suggest a definition, but serve to emphasize certain of the elements which have been noted. *Sacrificium* indicates that it is an act within the sphere of holy things, or in the region of the cultus, while the appropriation of such a general term to the particular ordinance illustrates what has been said of its central position in pre-Christian worship. The group of words derived from *offerre* (oblation, offering, Germ. *Opfer*), connect themselves with the ritualistic act of the presentation of the victim, and also adumbrate the interpretation of sacrifice as a gift (cf. *προσφορά*). *θυσία* indicates that the typical form involved the slaughter of a victim.

Sacrifice is commonly referred to in OT by specifying the two leading varieties—viz. the Burnt-offering (עֹלָה), and the Sacrificial Feast (שֶׁלֶם). There are, however, two terms, which have a generic as well as a specific meaning. The מִנְחָה (a gift) was used in the older period as inclusive both of bloody and unbloody offerings (Gn 4[4. 5]), but in P and later prophetic literature it has been appropriated to the particular and subordinate class of cereal offerings (Lv 2). The generic term of the later period is הִקְרִיב קָרְבָּן to bring near, present, Ezk 20[28] 40[43], Lv 1[2ff.]). Another term which comes near to a generic significance is אִשֶּׁה, an offering made by fire. It is used not only of animal offerings, but of the cereal offering (Lv 2[11]), and even of the shewbread which was not consumed by fire, but became the portion of the priests (24[7. 9]). In NT *θυσία* is often used generically (Mt 9[13], Mk 9[49] etc.). Elsewhere *θυσία* is bracketed with another term to give a comprehensive description of sacrifice—*δῶρά τε καὶ θυσίαι* (unbloody and bloody offerings, He 5[1] 8[3]), *θυσίαι καὶ προσφοραί* (the same in inverted order, He 10[5]). The idea is also expressed by enumerating four varieties (10[4]).

In AV the term 'sacrifice' is of frequent occurrence, being inserted into the title of many of the varieties of offering which have a special Heb. designation (see art. OFFERING). In RV the usual practice is to employ it only where the Heb. text has זֶבַח or a derivative, thus giving it the connotation of the sacrificial feast, while 'oblation' is appropriated to offerings of a different type. Exceptionally RV retains it as translation of נֶזֶר (Ps 118[27]), and of מִנְחָה (141[2]). In NT it renders *θυσία* and *θύειν*, and is sometimes distinguished from the 'offering' as the bloody from the unbloody.

ii. THE ORIGIN OF SACRIFICE.—The controversies in which this subject has been so fruitful have passed through two phases. In the earlier period the keenly debated issue was whether the institution was of Divine appointment, or merely devised by man as an instrument for satisfying the wants of his spiritual nature. In recent times the human origin has usually been assumed, but only as a fresh starting-point for the discussion of rival theories as to the significance originally attached to the rite, its primitive form, and the stages in the evolution of sacrificial ritual.

A. *The theory that Sacrifice was instituted by Divine authority*, while strongly contended for by many Reformed theologians, cannot be sustained even on the basis of the biblical narrative. The argument on which chief reliance was placed was that supplied in the account of Abel's sacrifice (Gn 4[3-5]), and the apostolic reference to the reason of its acceptance by God (He 11[4]). There is, it is admitted, no record of a Divine enactment, but Divine sanction was known to support it from the period of Abel's sacrifice; and the hint that by faith Abel offered a more acceptable sacrifice than Cain, it is held, justifies us in concluding upon a Divine origin. For faith necessarily implies that there must have been a previous revelation touching the ordinance: a positive enactment is presupposed as its object, since without such it must have been, not faith but superstition. But it is at least as natural a view of the matter that Abel's faith was a venture of trust called forth by a general assurance of the Divine holiness and mercy. The real spring, perhaps, of the zeal on this side of the controversy is disclosed in the argument that a human origin is precluded by the apostolic condemnation of will-worship (*ἐθελοθρησκία*, Col 2[23]), *i.e.* of the usurpation by the creature of the Divine prerogative in the sphere of holy things. Concede that sacrifice, the distinctive feature of OT worship, was of human devising and yet acceptable to God, and it became impossible to make good against Roman, Lutheran, and Anglican practice that no festivals or rites were lawful unless expressly ordained in Scripture. As the force of this dogmatic prepossession has considerably abated, it is easy to admit that the 'will-worship' condemned by St. Paul did not include usages shaped by piety and discovered in experience to be for spiritual profit.

For a complete statement of the arguments for a Divine origin, with accompanying refutations, reference may be made to Spencer, *de Ratione et Origine Sacrificiorum*, iv. 2. The subject is also very fully discussed by Fairbairn (*Typology of Scripture*, i. 286 ff.), who advances the additional argument that in making for our first parents 'coats of skins' (Gn 3[21]) God prompted and authorized the rite which serves as a covering of the soul. His position is, however, a mediating one, as he holds that, assuming even that it was merely suggested by the self-revelation of God, and afterwards approved, its essentially Divine origin may, apart from a positive enactment, be maintained.

In later times the case for the human origin has been strengthened. Not only does J manifestly treat it as the natural, self-evident mode of worship, but P ignores its existence altogether in pre-Mosaic times. In view of this conflicting tradition, and still more because of modified conceptions as to the range of the authoritative in Scripture, there has been a growing indisposition to use the scriptural material as a basis for a dogmatic pronouncement. The theory of a Divine institution, it should be further said, stands or falls with the theory of a primitive revelation, and this theory has even in theological schools been very generally abandoned. The only sense in which the Divine origin can be held is that, by creating man for religion, God is the author of the institution in which the religious sentiment found ancient and universal expression.

B. *The theories which ascribe to sacrifice a human origin* may

here be briefly outlined, inasmuch as, while operating mainly with general anthropological material, they seek confirmation to some extent in the biblical sacrificial system. These theories may be best grasped in accordance with the views which they presuppose as to the primitive form of religion, and by which, it may be added, they must mainly be judged.

(1) In the first place, we meet with two theories which rest on the assumption that the religion of primitive man was a monotheism. Either by way of intuition, or as the result of reflexion on the world and man, it is supposed that the human mind had acquired a knowledge at least of the unity and of the cardinal attributes of God. Under the impression of this knowledge man may be supposed to have gone on to shape sacrificial rites, and that from either of two motives. (*a*) *The Expiatory theory* is to the effect that man, conscious of sin and of the punishment which it merits, substituted an animal victim which should endure the penalty due to himself, and so make his peace with God. This interpretation of the rite, it is true, has usually been identified with the advocacy of a Divine institution, but it at least holds its place in the popular mind—apart from any question of origin—as furnishing the explanation of the age-long searching after God through the ritual of the slaughtered victim and the smoking altar.—(*b*) *The Homage theory of Sacrifice* has been more favoured by those writers who regard the institution as a natural outgrowth from a primitive monotheism. On this view man was impelled to seek closer communion with God, not out of a sense of guilt, but rather out of a desire to acknowledge his dependence and profess his obedience. To give expression to these devout sentiments he fell back on the language which is more powerful than speech—the language of action (Warburton, *Div. Leg.* iv. 4). 'To such men (Cain and Abel) there came thoughts of one who is ruling them as they rule the sheep, who in some strange way makes the seeds grow which they put into the ground. . . . How shall they confess Him, and manifest their subjection? Speech, thanksgiving are not the most childlike way of testifying homage. Acts go before words' (Maurice, *Sacrifice*, p. 6).

The fundamental objection to the above two theories is that they attribute to primitive man a theology which it is hard to associate with the childhood of the race. The Expiatory theory not only presupposes a primitive knowledge of God transcending the thoughts of childhood, but it credits man with a sense of sin, and with a valuation of death as the wages of sin, which belong to a later period of spiritual development. Moreover, the theory conflicts with the preponderantly joyous character of early sacrifice. The Homage theory is attractive to spiritual and philosophical minds when seeking a justification for sacrifice, but can hardly be supposed to have originated it.

(2) A second group of theories is connected with the assumption that the deities of primitive man were beings of a low anthropomorphic order—whether nature-spirits, or ancestral ghosts, or fetishes. From this point of view it naturally seems that the worshipper has somewhat to offer which his Deity needs and will gratefully accept. How man ministers to this need, and how his ministering proves effectual, may be conceived in various ways suggested by examination of the possible motives.

(*a*) *The Gift theory* has it that the offerings were viewed as presents, and that the offerer reckoned on their being received with pleasure and gratitude. A chief or a king is approached with gifts, and the gods expect the same. The currency of this interpretation in classical antiquity is vouched for by Cicero. 'Let not the impious dare to appease the gods with gifts. Let them hearken to Plato, who warns them that there can be no doubt of what God's disposition toward them will be, since even a good man will refuse to accept presents from the wicked' (*de Leg.* ii. 16). In the older literature it is maintained by Spencer, who thinks it self-evident that this was the idea cherished by man in his primitive simplicity (ii. 762). Tylor and Herbert Spencer, though differing as to the primitive object of worship, find the origin of sacrifice in the idea of a gift. According to the latter, 'the origin of the practice is to be found in the custom of leaving food and drink at the graves of the dead, and as the ancestral spirit rose to divine rank the refreshments placed for the dead developed into sacrifices' (*Principles of Sociology*, § 139 ff.). Among the older writers it was commonly held that such an account of the origin of sacrifice could not be accepted in view of the place which it fills in the system of revelation (Bähr, *Symbolik*, i. p. 276); but within the last generation it has come to be regarded as by no means axiomatic that value implies dignity of origin. A more forcible objection is that the blood, which figures so prominently in sacrificial ritual, can scarcely have been selected as a desirable gift. And this criticism is effective in so far as it compels the admission that the whole system of sacrifice has not been shaped by the idea of the gift. There is, besides, reason for holding that the fundamental conception, while akin to that already stated, is more definite and suggestive.

(*b*) *The Table-bond theory* exchanges the general conception of a gift for that of a meal of which the Deity partakes in company with the worshippers. The germ of the theory is to be found in Sykes, who traced the efficacy of sacrifice, which is commonly a joint-meal, to the fact that 'eating and drinking together were the known ordinary symbols of friendship, and were the usual rites of engaging in covenants and leagues' (*Nature of Sacrifices*, p. 75). On this view sacrifice has more virtue than a mere gift; it knits the god and the worshippers together by the bonds created by the interchange of hospitality. In the hands of W. R. Smith (*RS* p. 269 ff.) the theory was developed by the addition that the Deity was united to the worshippers, not merely because of His gratification, but because a common meal physically unites those who partake of it. Whether this latter conception of the *modus operandi* of the meal be primitive is open to doubt, but in view of the materials and form of early sacrifice the conclusion seems irresistible that the original idea of the worshippers was to gratify their God, and strengthen their position in His favour, by joining with Him in the repast.

(*c*) *The theory of a materialistic sacramental communion* is a special development of the last. The hypothesis starts from the observation that at certain stages of civilization religion takes the form of animal-worship, or of the reverence for animals which are believed to share along with man in the Divine nature. At this stage, also, it happens that the sacred animal, which is commonly proscribed as food, is on solemn occasions made to furnish the material of a sacrificial meal. In other words, there is occasionally permitted what has been bluntly described as 'eating the god' (Frazer, *Golden Bough*). The motive for this is suggested by a widespread idea of physical virtue. In eating an animal or a human being the savage is supposed to incorporate 'not only the physical, but even the moral and intellectual qualities which were characteristic of that animal or man.' Similarly it was easy to believe that, if the Divine life resided in a group of sacred animals, a particle of the precious deposit would be distributed among all the recipients, and incorporated with their individual life (*RS*[2] p. 313). As to whether we may regard as primitive the totemistic conception of the Divine-human affinity of animals, and of the assimilation of the Divine life through eating the totem, there is grave reason for doubt. The totemistic theory of the origin of worship has been widely propagated through the brilliant and learned monograph of W. R. Smith (*Journ. Philol.* ix. 75 ff.), and its fascinating exposition by Jevons (*Introduction to the History of Religion*, 1896); but the main body of English anthropologists refuse to regard it as primitive, while in France the hypothesis has been subjected to close and learned criticism (Marillier, 'La place du Totemisme dans l'évolution religieuse,' in *Rev. de l'Hist. des Religions*, 1897–98). Totemism seems most intelligible when viewed as formed under the play of savage thought or misconception, and as intruding upon and overrunning earlier forms of worship which found a god in nature or the spirits of men.

The theories above mentioned assume that sacrifice was directly called into existence by the religious idea. Another possibility is that the slaughtering of animals or men came to awaken awe and misgivings in the breast of the savage, and that he sought to reassure himself by a procedure which invested such acts with a religious character and sanction.

Amid this mass of speculation the most certain conclusion seems to be that sacrifice originated in childlike ideas of God, and that the fundamental motive was to gratify Him by giving or sharing with Him a meal.

iii. SEMITIC SACRIFICE IN THE PRE-MOSAIC PERIOD.—For the period between the dim region of origins and the consolidation of Israel as a nation a certain amount of material is professedly contributed in the patriarchal narratives of J. The representation given is that sacrifice originated in the first family when the bloody offering of Abel was accepted (Gn 4^4); that Noah offered burnt-offerings after his deliverance (8^{20}); and that by Abraham and his line it was practised under a variety of forms and with some diversity of ritual. The chief occasions were times of meeting with God, and other solemn moments of life: the kinds of offering in vogue were the Peace-offering (Gn 31^{54}), the Burnt-offering (22^{13}), the Covenant Sacrifice ($15^{7ff.}$), and the Libation (28^{18}); the sacrificial material consisted of clean beasts and fowls (8^{20}), especially cattle, goats, sheep, and pigeons (15^9). Human sacrifice, it is made known to Abraham, is not required by God ($22^{1ff.}$). It is also recognized that sacrifice is practised outside the pale of the chosen line (Ex 18^{12}, cf. Nu $23^{1ff.}$).

That the kinds of sacrifice thus distinguished, the material of sacrifice, and other features, correspond to the usage of an early period in the history of Israel is quite certain; but the references do not carry us back to the earliest phases in the evolution of Semitic sacrifice. Between the primitive form of sacrifice and the comparatively complex and elevated cultus mirrored in these narratives there lies a course of development on which attention has been recently focussed owing to the researches of Wellhausen (*Reste arabischen Heidenthums*) and of W. R. Smith (*RS*). For the re-discovery of the stages and factors of this de-

velopment, reliance is placed on the survivals from heathen Arabia, on the vestiges of Phœnician and other Semitic cults, and especially on the gift of divination which wrests from the phenomena of the matured institution a confession as to the course of its earlier life-history. The special features of Smith's treatment are his insistence on the connexion of primitive sacrifice with totemism, and his scheme showing the derivation of the varieties of sacrifice from the alleged primitive form, while he also supplements Wellhausen's elucidation of the growth of sacrificial ritual and the progressive modification of sacrificial ideas. This reconstructed chapter of history may be outlined as follows :—

(*a*) *Evolution of the varieties of Semitic Sacrifice.*—The original point of departure, as we have already seen, is, according to Smith, the sacramental meal, at which an animal was devoured which was akin both to the god and his worshippers, and which in virtue of its sacred properties served as a cement to bind together in closer union the Divine and the human sharers of the repast (*RS*[2] 313). On this followed a process of differentiation, giving rise on the one hand to the Sacrificial Feast, on the other to the holocaust. The distinctions between the original sacramental meal and the Sacrificial Feast are two : the former occurs at rare intervals and the flesh is deemed most holy, the latter occurs frequently and the flesh is in use as an ordinary article of diet. The transition is explained on the one hand by the cessation of the belief in the affinity of animals to man, on the other by times of scarcity and a growing taste for animal food. Less obvious is it why the primitive sacrifice, which was essentially a joint-meal, should have developed along a second line into a holocaust. The nexus is supplied by the following train of speculation. So long as the victim was a sacred animal there was but one type of sacrifice—the sacramental meal. When totemistic modes of thought disappeared, and domestic animals supplied the sacrificial material, the victim, since it was no longer deemed to be kin, no longer fulfilled the condition necessary to unite the god and his worshippers. The only victim that fulfilled the condition of being akin to worshippers and worshipped was a human victim, and so on solemn occasions recourse was had to human sacrifices. The eating of human flesh was, however, repugnant to natural feeling, and the human victim was therefore offered as a holocaust. And, naturally enough, when an animal came to be substituted for a human victim the holocaust persisted as the appropriate form (Lect. x.). By this account the evolution is carried forward to the point represented in the beginnings of Hebrew history—where the Sacrificial Feast and the Burnt-offering exist side by side.

(*b*) *Development of Sacrificial Ritual.*—The oldest Semitic form of ritual, it is supposed, is preserved in a description by Nilus of a Saracen sacrifice. 'The camel chosen as the victim is bound upon a rude altar of stones piled together, and the leader of the band, after inflicting the first wound, in all haste drinks of the blood that gushes forth. Forthwith the whole company fall on the victim with their swords, hacking off pieces of the quivering flesh and devouring them raw, with such wild haste that in a short interval the entire camel, body and bones, skin, blood, and entrails, is wholly devoured' (*RS*[2] p. 338). In this savage rite we see the first stage of usages which were to undergo many modifications before reaching familiar shape.—(1) *The manipulation of the blood,* so important in sacrificial ritual, here begins in the form that the worshippers lap it as it flows, and the god's portion runs out upon the stones. Later the repulsive draught is eschewed, and they are content to be smeared with it—a portion being sprinkled for the god upon the altar or running into a gutter, while some is sprinkled upon the worshippers. This double sprinkling survived to historic times in the Covenant-sacrifice. Ordinarily, however, the whole of the blood was treated as the god's portion, and was conveyed to him on the altar in peace-offerings and burnt-offerings, and also in the later piacular sacrifices.—(2) *Conveyance of other portions to the god.* Assuming that the above-mentioned rite is primitive, the god originally received nothing save a share of the effused blood. Gradually, however, other portions, as fat and entrails, were assigned to him, and the question emerged as to how they were to be conveyed to him. In the case of libations of blood or wine, they could be supposed to reach him by absorption in the ground, while fat was seen to melt, but the solid ingredients presented a difficulty. An early idea was to expose them, and allow them to reach their destination through being devoured by wild beasts. Next, the use of fire came in—originally, as Smith thinks, simply to get rid of the remanent portions, but afterwards as the means of carrying into the sphere of the gods the sublimated essence or the sweet savour of the meal. The usage in which, while the blood is poured out on the altar, the essence of the offering ascends in fire from the altar, is that which has been firmly established at the dawn of Hebrew history (Wellhausen, *op. cit.* 110 ff., 'Opfer u. Gaben'; *RS*[2], Lect. ix.).—(3) *Modifications of the human meal.* Like the drinking of the warm blood, the eating of the raw flesh had to yield in the course of time to more refined methods. With the appearance of the Burnt-offering it went partially out of use, while in the Sacrificial Feast it appears to have been at first boiled, at a later period roasted.—(4) *Growth of opinion as to the significance of Sacrifice.* The primitive interpretation of the rite as cementing the religious relationship through the eating of the sacred animal disappeared when the people reached the pastoral stage, although the idea lingered that food of any kind had a uniting virtue, and the illicit mystic forms of cultus which continued to be practised to some extent embodied the original idea. A new interpretation gained ground with the rise of the institution of property. The worshipper now had somewhat whereof he was absolute disposer, not joint-trustee along with the Deity, and it had thus become possible for him to confer on the latter a favour by the bestowal of what the worshipper was personally entitled to enjoy. In this way the Gift theory, which is imbedded in so many terms of the sacrificial vocabulary, came into existence. The institution of property, in fact, from the first exercised an influence that on the whole has worked for religious deterioration. At a later stage the gift was understood to be in some sense a substitute for the worshipper.

The Wellhausen-Smith contribution to the evolutionary account of Semitic sacrifice is a brilliant piece of work which has profoundly influenced research in cognate fields. But the attractiveness of the ingenious combinations, supported as they are by vast and *recherché* erudition, necessitates a reminder of the extremely speculative and precarious character of many of the positions. The theory credited to Semitic heathenism in its primitive stage, as already pointed out, is highly problematical. The construction in question postulates the idea of a communion between the god and the worshippers due to their assimilating the same food, but it cannot be held to be proved that this natural enough idea sprang ultimately from a theory that the sacrifice was efficacious because the victim was akin to both. Further, if the god and his votaries were already kin, it is not clear that their union could be more closely cemented by eating an animal which imported into the union no more than was already found in it. As regards the genealogical scheme, while Smith makes the holocaust a late derivative, and by a complicated process, from the sacramental meal, the truth is that the two types are always found existing side by side—among the Phœnicians as well as among the Hebrews; and, so far as historical evidence goes, there is no strong reason for according priority to either (Hubert et Mauss, p. 32 ff.). A weakness of Smith's position is that his exposition of primitive Semitic ideas is largely based on late Arab practice; and the next stage must be to test his speculations by the results of the researches now being actively prosecuted in the older field of Babylonian and Assyrian worship (Zimmern, *Beiträge zur Kennt. der bab. Relig.*).

iv. Sacrifice in Ancient Israel.—From the speculative field of prehistoric evolution we advance to the period which extends from the Exodus to the rise of the 8th cent. prophets. The question which encounters us on the threshold is whether, and to what extent, Moses organized a system of sacrificial worship. The Pentateuch, in its main body, represents the work of Moses in this department as epoch-making and final. The Priestly Narrative, in the first place, makes no mention of a use of sacrifice anterior to Moses, and thus suggests, not indeed that it was not previously practised, but that it had then no place in the religion of the chosen line, and that it had no Divine sanction. In the next place it ascribes to Moses, as the instrument of God, an elaborate code which precisely, and with an aspect of finality, determines 'the when, the where, the by whom, and in a very special manner the how' of sacrifice (Wellh. *Hist. Isr.* p. 52). But the representation is in both particulars unhistorical. The use of sacrifice in primitive Israel, antecedently more than probable, is vouched for by independent tradition. The promulgation by Moses of an elaborate sacrificial code, which treats ritualistic correctness of detail as of paramount importance, is in itself improbable, and is inconsistent with the highly flexible practice

under the Judges and the early monarchy, as well as with the prophetic conceptions of the nature of the Mosaic legislation (see below). It is indeed difficult to believe that Moses left no impress upon the forms of the religious life of the people which remembered him not only as emancipator, but as prophet (Dt 34^{10}), and it may well be supposed that he stands for an early stage in the evolution of the institution which culminated in the system of the Priestly Code; but it would be a hopeless task to try to disengage the Mosaic element in the archaic usages which P certainly embodies. In these circumstances it is desirable to base the account of ancient Heb. sacrifice on another group of sources. Foremost among these is JE, whose patriarchal narratives illustrate a comparatively early cycle of ideas, and the Book of the Covenant (Ex 20^{24}–23^{19}), which chronicles or corrects certain features of ritual practised down to the 9th century. In addition, great value attaches to the incidental references in Judges, in the books of Samuel, and in the early Prophets.

(1) *The Sacrificial material* consisted of the agricultural produce of Canaan, animal (Ex 22^{30}), cereal, and liquid (v.^{29}). The victims included—of large cattle, the old and young of the ox-kind; of small cattle, sheep and lambs, goats and kids. Of birds, the pigeon might be used in the Burnt-offering. Wild animals and fish, which figure in the Babylonian ritual, were not offered. The blood and the fat were specially appropriated to Jehovah, and of animal products presented to Him we hear of wool (Hos 2^5), but not of the libation of milk. Meal, which was baked into cakes (Jg 6^{19}, Am 5^{22}), was the common form of the cereal offering. The valuable products of oil (Gn 28^{18}, Mic 6^7) and wine (1 S 1^{24}, Am 2^8) were ingredients of the sacrificial meal, and were doubtless also offered in the form of a libation. The sacrificial material of the Carthaginians agrees with this, except that their code allowed many species of birds and also milk (*CIS* i. 237).

(2) *The varieties of sacrifice* were of two types—that in which the offering was wholly devoted to God, and that in which He received a portion and the worshippers feasted on the remainder. Of the former use the typical example is the Burnt-offering, of the latter the Sacrificial Feast (Ex 10^{25} 18^{12} 20^{24}); but there are other kinds of offering that have to be described which bear distinct names either because of the peculiarity of the ritual, or of the special end which they were designed to serve.

(*a*) *The Sacrificial Feast* was probably the oldest form, was in early times by far the most common, and gave satisfaction to normal states of religious feeling.

The names by which this type of offering is distinguished in RV are *Sacrifice* and *Peace-offering*. 'Sacrifice' (זֶבַח) is sometimes contrasted with the old generic name (מִנְחָה 1 S 2^{29}), but oftener with the Burnt-offering (Ex 10^{25}, 1 S 6^{15}), and in both cases it is 'the general name for all sacrifices eaten at feasts' (*Oxf. Heb. Lex. s.* זֶבַח). The sacrifice in the narrower sense is synonymous with the Peace-offering (שֶׁלֶם), which is similarly used to designate the division of offerings which were divided between God and man (Ex 20^{24}, Am 5^{22}). The original meaning of the שֶׁלֶם is obscure. The interpretation of our versions rendered by Peace-offering (LXX *θυσία εἰρηνική*) conceives it as the sacrifice offered when friendly relations existed towards God (שָׁלֵם, 'to be whole *or* at one')—in contradistinction to the piacular sacrifices which presupposed estrangement. *Heilsopfer* is somewhat similar in idea. An alternative rendering derives it from שָׁלַם 'to make whole,' 'make restitution,' in which case it would be originally an offering of reparation (*Erstattungsopfer*), and by an intelligible transition a payment of vows or thank-offering (Luther).

The occasion of the **Peace-offering** was some such event as prompts human beings to come together in a festive spirit. Even in the modern world the joyful event provokes demonstrations and rejoicings which are felt to have their fittest culmination in the banquet, and the Peace-offering was simply the form taken by the festal banquet in an age thoroughly permeated by the religious spirit. The opportunity for such celebrations is given, not only in the life of the nation and of the community, but in that of the kindred stock and of the family. In the national life such occasions for rejoicing occurred in the successful conclusion of a campaign (1 S 11^{15}, cf. Jg 16^{23}), in the cessation of a visitation of famine or pestilence (2 S 24^{25}), and in the accession of a king to his throne (1 K 1^{19}). In the last case, and also at the dedication of the temple, the provision naturally was on the most magnificent scale (1 K 8^{63}). The smaller unit of the local community had its special occasion for rejoicing in the events of the agricultural year: firstlings and first-fruits supplied the material of a sacrificial meal (Ex $22^{29\text{-}31}$). The visit of a notable prophet to a town also suggested the recognition of the privilege by a sacrificial feast (1 S 16^5). The sept or larger family professed and strengthened its kinship by an annual reunion which took the form of the sacred banquet (20^6). Similarly, family religion found occasional expression in the pilgrimage of man and wife to a local sanctuary, where they ate and drank before the Lord (1 S 1^3). Other events in this sphere which were similarly hallowed were the departure on a momentous journey (Gn 31^{54}), the arrival of a guest of consequence ($18^{1\text{-}8}$), the embarkation on a new career (1 K 19^{21}). In general it served to keep alive the sense of dependence on God for protection and the natural blessings of life, while it had the social value of promoting the solidarity of the nation and of its component parts.

(1) *A course of preparation* was required before taking part in the sacred observance (1 S 16^5). A period of continence was ordained (21^5, cf. Ex $19^{10.\ 14}$); and lustrations and a change of garments constituted the physical holiness which was deemed seemly and necessary in approaching the Deity (Gn 35^2, Ex $19^{10\text{ff.}}$). Naturally, also, it was made the occasion for the display of finery and ornaments (Hos 2^{13}). There was recognized, however, the necessity of a more spiritual preparation in which the heart was touched, or even renewed by God (1 S 10^9). (2) *The ritual* necessarily varied with the material. In the case of the animal sacrifice, the blood and the fat were appropriated to God (1 S 2^{16}), and were consumed on the altar. To lessen the temptation to sacrilege, it was provided that the fat should be given to God immediately after the slaughtering (Ex 23^{18}). The accompanying offering consisted of unleavened bread (*ib.*). The remaining portions were divided between the priests and the offerers. The sin of the sons of Eli was that, instead of taking the share allowed by ancient custom, they dipped with a rapacious flesh-hook into the cauldron, and also that they encroached on the Divine portion by claiming their share before the fat had been conveyed to God (1 S $2^{12\text{ff.}}$). At this stage the sacrificial flesh was boiled, and it is represented as an objectionable innovation that the priests demanded their portion raw with a view to its being roasted. The custom of boiling the flesh is also commemorated in the prohibition of seething a kid in its mother's milk (Ex 23^{19})—which probably had its origin, not so much in a feeling that the practice was of the nature of an outrage, as in heathen associations connected with the sacrificial use of milk. (3) *The religious efficacy* of the Sacrificial Feast was doubtless differently interpreted according to the degree of spiritual enlightenment. The popular idea probably was that God was entertained at a feast, in which He received His portion in the form of fire-food, and that the honour and gratification thus afforded Him rendered Him well disposed to the

worshippers. The offering would thus be considered efficacious as bringing the response which is naturally elicited by a gift or service. The command, 'none shall appear before me empty-handed' (Ex 23^{15} 34^{20}), suggests that the practice of approaching a monarch with gifts was regarded as typical of the approach to Jehovah with offerings. The use of מִנְחָה (gift) in a comprehensive sense points to the same interpretation. With this, doubtless, was also associated the conviction that by eating and drinking along with Jehovah friendly relations were both expressed and strengthened. That the sacred life-blood of the animal was conceived as cementing the union by constituting a physical tie is more problematical (Schultz, *AJTh*, 1900, p. 269). But these interpretations were beginning to be challenged. The higher theology excluded the idea of God as a fellow-guest. A striking saying, ascribed to Samuel, declares offerings worthless without obedience (1 S 15^{22}).

(*b*) The **Burnt-offering,** עֹלָה (LXX ὁλοκαύτωμα, ὁλοκαύτωσις, ὁλοκάρτωμα, ὁλοκάρτωσις), 'that which ascends,' is so called either as that which is elevated to the altar (Knobel, Oehler, Nowack), or which ascends in flame (Bähr, Keil, Delitzsch). It is usually synonymous with 'the whole Burnt-offering,' though originally the distinction may have obtained that the portion of any bloody sacrifice consumed on the altar was designated the עֹלָה, while only the Burnt-offering consisting of an entire victim was a כָּלִיל (Nowack, *Arch.* ii. 215).

If the bright side of human experience, which gives birth to joy and hope, had its characteristic rite in the Peace-offering, the Burnt-offering answered to the mood in which the predominant feeling is grief, apprehension, or awe. In certain situations, of course, there is a combination of joyousness and solemnity, of hope and fear—as at the coronation of a monarch, or the conclusion of a national covenant with God, and in such cases the double aspect has its expression in the combination of the two types of offering (1 S 10^{8}, Ex 24^{5}). But on occasions of extraordinary solemnity or gravity the Burnt-offering stood alone. The deliverance from the Flood, accompanied as it may be supposed to have been by overwhelming awe at the sweep of God's devastating judgment, was marked by the sacrifice of the Burnt-offering (Gn 8^{20}). Similarly on the occasion of a theophany, when the sense of privilege is overborne by the sense of danger in the presence of Jehovah, the Burnt-offering is the appropriate rite (Gn 22^{13}, Jg 13^{16}). At the beginning of a war, when the danger and the dubious issue are keenly realized, it alone bespeaks the Divine aid; nor does the leader of the host embark without this appointed service on his hazardous enterprise (Jg 6^{26}). It would even seem that in perplexity it was used with the divinatory purpose, which in Babylonia had been one of the principal uses (Jg $6^{17ff.}$). When one was driven to extremity by the hatred of a powerful opponent, it might be offered in the hope of God interposing to change his heart (1 S 26^{19}). In time of peril it might be promised by way of vow on condition of success (Jg 11). It has indeed been alleged that in periods of national calamity it was not offered—the idea being that this was useless so long as the wrath of Jehovah was fierce against king or people; but this view rests upon an incident in the life of David (2 S 24^{13}) when acting under prophetic guidance, and cannot well be supposed to represent the prevalent belief. (1) *The sacrificial material* had consisted, from very early times, in one or other of the following: the ox-kind, the goat, the sheep, the turtle-dove, and the young pigeon (Gn 15^{9}). (2) *The ritual* of the Burnt-offering exhibits survivals of ancient usage. Though the usual custom now was to slay the victim beside the altar, there are traces of an older practice of slaying it upon the altar (Gn 22^{9}, cf. 1 S 14^{33}). The ritual of Gideon is peculiar: the flesh of the kid is boiled, it is then put in a basket along with unleavened cakes and placed on the altar, while the broth is poured either over it or on the ground (Jg $6^{19.\ 20}$). The token of acceptance is its consumption by fire. In the later period the broth played no part, the flesh being consumed raw upon the altar.

(3) *The significance* of the Burnt-offering is suggested by what has been said of its occasions. Its object was to secure protection against threatened danger, success in the hazardous conflict, deliverance from the sore calamity; and if in some instances it has the appearance of a thank-offering after deliverance, the dominant thought may still have been that security was sought against a recurrence of the judgment. Further, it is clear that the idea was to ensure safety by performing an act which was acceptable to God, and thus dispose Him to maintain the worshippers' cause. The intention was not invariably to propitiate God in the sense of altering His attitude from hostility to clemency; the sacrifices of Abraham and of David are rendered when God is already at peace with them, but they were always at least propitiatory in the secondary sense that they were designed to prevent God from changing His attitude of clemency into an attitude of hostility. As to how they were supposed to influence God we cannot very confidently speak. The old Hebrew idea was that the food actually reached God in the form of the fragrant fire-distilled essence, and thus gratified Him as an agreeable gift (Gn 8^{21}). In this point of view it was more efficacious than the Peace-offering, inasmuch as it paid to God greater honour, and made Him a more costly gift. The story of the sacrifice of Isaac suggests the theory that the animal was substituted for a human victim, but it does not say that Isaac was to die for Abraham, and it therefore does not involve the idea that the animal victim was understood to bear the penalty due to the sin of the offerer. On this view, the animal victim represented only the substitution of the less valuable for the more valuable gift. As in the case of the Peace-offering, it is certain that the reflexion which was rooted in the higher faith gradually worked its way to a nobler conception than that of gratifying God by the delights of a repast. Old forms of expression, such as 'sweet savour' and 'bread of God,' continued to be used even when it had come to be realized that the quality which pleased God was the piety which prepared the fire-food.

Human Sacrifices, of which OT contains some record, come under the category of the Burnt-offering. That they occurred in the heathen stage through which the progenitors of the Hebrews passed in prehistoric times, can hardly be questioned. The practice prevailed throughout Semitic heathendom; it is abundantly vouched for among the Arabs and the Carthaginians, and it was in use among the Moabites (2 K 3^{27}). The story of the sacrifice of Isaac (Gn 22^{11}) clearly implies that the custom had been deeply rooted in the past; the history of Jephthah furnishes an indubitable instance from the period of the Judges (Jg $11^{34ff.}$); and its persistence down to a late period may be collected from various prophetic references (Mic 6^{7}, Jer 7^{31}, Ezk 20^{26} 23^{37}). The main point in dispute is whether 'human sacrifices were an essential element of the Mosaic cultus' (Ghillany), or whether they 'were excluded from the legitimate worship of Jehovah' (Oehler). The argument for the legitimacy of the practice would be considerably stronger if we could regard as human sacrifices the slaying of Zebah and Zalmunna by Gideon (Jg $8^{18ff.}$), and of Agag by Samuel (1 S 15^{33}, cf. 2 S 21^{9}); but these acts may be assigned to the different category of executions. In the case of Jephthah it is hard to suppose that he expected other than a human being to come forth to meet him, and the most that can be said is that the narrative seems to recognize in the issue a merited punishment. The manifest moral of the sacrifice of Isaac is that the practice was 'an alien element repudiated by conscious Jahwism' (Holzinger on Gn 22^{14-20}). As to the commandment of Ex 22^{29},—'the firstborn of thy sons shalt thou give unto me,'—it is an exegetical possibility that the words point to human sacrifice; but as a normal demand of OT religion, and indeed of any sane religion, it is inconceivable (see art. PRIESTS AND LEVITES, p. 70^{b}).

(*c*) *The Covenant-sacrifice* is closely related to the Peace-offering, although it may be considered to be intermediate between the עֹלָה and the זֶבַח. The peculiarity lies partly in the specific object,—which is to seal a compact, partly in the ritual. According to antique practice the formation of a covenant or an alliance was sealed by a variety of rites. One form is the sprinkling of each party with the other's blood, or the commingling of the blood of both by smearing it upon stones. In a second form animal blood is employed. Another is the partition of a carcase, with the passage of the covenanting parties between the divided parts. Of the latter custom there is an evident trace in 1 S 11[7]. After being chosen as king, Saul 'took a yoke of oxen and cut them in pieces, and sent them throughout all the borders of Israel.' In the text it is interpreted as a threat of a like fate being visited upon rebels; but the form, which is reminiscent of the passage through a sundered victim, rather conveys an invitation to the tribes to join with him in a covenant. The form is also recognizable in the ritual employed in God's covenant with Abraham (Gn 15). A heifer, a ram, and a she-goat are sundered in twain; and after nightfall a flaming torch, which clearly represents God in its action, passes between the divided pieces. Another noteworthy feature of the narrative is that at first birds of prey descend upon the carcase and are driven away—not improbably a deliberate repudiation of the ancient practice of exposing the god's portion to be consumed by wild creatures (v.[11]). The second important instance of the Covenant-sacrifice connects itself with the usage of cementing an alliance by an interchange of blood. At the making of the covenant between Jehovah and His emancipated people, Burnt-offerings and Peace-offerings are sacrificed; and in connexion with the burnt-offering, as it would seem, Moses pours half of the blood upon the altar for God, while the other half is sprinkled on the people (Ex 24[6. 8]). In this type of sacrifice a different idea from that of propitiating God by a gift is clearly preserved —that, viz., of the establishment of communion of life through assimilation of the same blood.

(*d*) *Vegetable offerings* were later in origin, and in less repute, but must have formed an important division of the offerings at the sanctuaries. Meal, baked into cakes, was doubtless a common form of offering (Jg 6[19], 1 S 1[24]). The most interesting example of this class is the SHEWBREAD (לֶחֶם הַפָּנִים, ἄρτοι ἐνώπιοι, προκείμενοι (τῆς) προθέσεως, τοῦ προσώπου, τῆς προσφορᾶς) (Ex 25[30], cf. Lv 24[5ff.]). This offering, even as regards the number of the loaves, is anticipated in the far older Babylonian ritual (Zimmern, *Beiträge*). The ritual in the first stage followed the method of exposure—the bread being laid out on a table in the sanctuary; but the Divine portion is conveyed to the Deity in the end by being allotted to the priests. The vegetable offerings, it should be added, were often associated with animal offerings. The Book of the Covenant prohibits the use of leavened bread in connexion with the Sacrificial Feast (Ex 23[18]).

(*e*) *The Libation* was originally a libation of blood, possibly at a later stage of milk and of water (1 S 7[6], 2 S 23[16] preserve a recollection of the latter), but in the historical period the chief material is oil, which also naturally went along with the cereal offerings. The rarity of the mention of the libation of wine, which was certainly in use, is not improbably connected with the incongruity to more elevated thought of the idea of offering to God a festal banquet, and also with official opposition to the excesses to which the prominence of this element led (1 S 1[14]). There could not be wanting an instinct that the libation of wine was most in harmony with the unethical genius of heathendom.

v. THE PROPHETS AS REFORMERS OF SACRIFICIAL WORSHIP. — The sacrificial system of ancient Israel was the result of a long and complex formative process. A remote heathen past supplied the rudimentary forms, and these had undergone modification under the influence of a progressive civilization, and of the early stages of a gradual revelation. The system of ordinances thus historically given was now to be subjected to a testing ordeal. The knowledge of God and of His will, which had been conveyed through His dealings with Israel, and which had been understood in essence by Moses, attained to great clearness and consistency in the consciousness of the 8th century prophets; and, possessed as they were by this knowledge, they were compelled to examine in its light the past and the future of the people, and to sit in judgment on all the present doings of the house of Israel. In particular, they could not but ask whether the sacrificial cult, which to popular thinking was all but coextensive with religion, was needed and justified in view of the better knowledge of God. As a fact this was a subject which bulked largely in their teaching; it supplied the occasion of much of their strongest invective; and so unqualified was their denunciation that it is a debatable question whether they proposed the abolition of all sacrificial worship, or only its reform.

That the religious ideal of the prophets involved the abolition of sacrifice, as affirmed by various modern writers, is a thesis which rests on a partial view of the evidence. 'Their opposition to sacrifice,' says Kayser, 'was founded on principle, and the real significance of their language is: "No offering, but love and right knowledge of God"' (*Alttest. Theol.*[2] p. 156). This, it is held, is the natural sense of a group of passages which represent God as declining offerings, as sated with them, and even loathing them. 'To what purpose is the multitude of your sacrifices to me? I delight not in the blood of bullocks, or of lambs, or of he-goats. Bring no more vain oblations' (Is 1[11ff.], cf. Am 5[21-25], Hos 6[4-6], Mic 6[6ff.]). But such expressions may as naturally be understood of a conditional as of an absolute rejection of sacrifice. The people addressed was a sinful nation, persisting in its sins, and the repudiation of offerings at its hand by no means implied that sacrifice would be equally unacceptable at the hand of a penitent and regenerate people (cf. Smend, *Alttest. Theol.* p. 168). And the view that the repudiation is merely conditional is borne out by hints that accompany the more extensive prophetic prospects. Thus, Hosea looks forward to the cessation of sacrifice as a national punishment or calamity (3[4] 9[1ff.]); Isaiah predicts that the Egyptians will bring sacrifice and oblation to Jehovah (19[21]), while Jeremiah very emphatically includes sacrifices in the purified worship of the future (33[18] 17[26]). In short, those who regard the prophets as abolitionists make a mistake which is common in studying polemics —viz. of misconceiving an attack on abuses as an attack on the institution which they have infected.

A second argument adduced is that the prophets lay great stress on the fact that in the Mosaic period sacrifice was neither rendered nor ordained (Am 5[25], Jer 7[21. 22]), whereby they are supposed to claim for a policy of abolition the sanction of a sacred period of antiquity. These remarkable passages are of great weight in the controversy as to the Mosaic contribution to sacrificial legislation, but in the present connexion they are not convincing. That Israel did not sacrifice during its wanderings (Am 5[25]) was not necessarily an argument for cessation, but might equally have in view to win the people to a doctrine which certainly was included in the prophetic programme—viz. that the place of sacrifice in worship was not the all-important, or even pre-eminent, one that was commonly supposed.

The prophetic programme of reform in this field embraced both sacrificial practice and sacrificial theory. (1) Among the practical reforms the foremost place belonged to (*a*) *the prohibition of heathen sacrifices* — *i.e.* those offered to other gods, to idols (Hos 11[2], Jer 11[12]), to the dead (Ps 106[28]), and to sacred animals (Ezk 8[10]). In connexion with these the practice of kissing the idol is noticed (Hos 13[2]). To the class of heathen sacrifices we may also refer those mystic rites in which the victim was an unclean or repulsive creature (the swine Is 65[4], the mouse 66[17]), and which may have been an underground survival from a very early cult (*RS*[2] p. 357 ff.). (*b*) *The prohibition of certain kinds of sacrifice* is also enforced—notably human sacrifices (Ezk 20[31]). It is, moreover, difficult to resist the impression, in view of the disparaging references to the number and costliness of the offerings (Is 1[11], Mic 6[7], Am 4[4], Ezk 20[28]), that the school preferred fewer kinds and greater simplicity. In particular, antagonism to the Sacrificial Feast is strongly suggested by (*c*) *condemnation of the excesses which connected themselves with the sacrificial cult.* The sacrifices of this type naturally gave occasion for revelry, and even for drunken and licentious orgies (Hos 4[13], Am 2[7]), and thus an institution conceived to honour God became a main instrument in promoting a national corruption, which called down the vengeance of Heaven. While, therefore, we cannot regard the prophets as against sacrifice in principle, it is at least a probable view, in consideration of the organic connexion of the sacrificial meal with the indulgence of fleshly lusts, that they meant to discountenance the Peace-offering as the main source of evil, and laboured to enhance the credit of those other varieties which precluded its characteristic temptations.

(2) It was, however, on the theoretical side that the prophetical protest went deepest, and most loudly challenged the existing order. (*a*) It demanded a revision of the popular estimate of the place of the cultus in religion, and in a minor degree of the place of sacrifice in the cultus. The current

conception was that religious ordinances were the grand means of pleasing God, and to this the prophets sharply opposed the doctrine that in God's view ceremonies are unimportant in comparison with morality. Latent in Mosaism, this view found striking expression in a saying already quoted—'to obey is better than sacrifice, and to hearken than the fat of rams,' 1 S 15^{22}. It is the main burden of the prophecy of Amos, and finds its classic expression in the 'what doth the Lord require of thee?' of Micah ($6^{6ff.}$, cf. Hos 6^{6}, Pr 17^{1} 21^{3}). The secondary importance of the cultus, in fact, was the obvious consequence of the soteriology of the prophets. According to their teaching it was only on condition of righteousness, after backsliding on condition of repentance and amendment, that the Divine favour could be ensured; failing the fulfilment of this condition, ceremonial religion only provoked the Divine anger; and it was therefore out of the question to treat the two as of co-ordinate rank. And, further, even within the sphere of the cultus it is not granted that it is the all-important form of 'service.' Hosea attaches high importance to the teaching function of the priests (4^{6}), while in more than one passage preference is manifestly exhibited for the exercises of prayer ('calves of the lips,' Hos 14^{2}) and for sacred song (Ps 27^{6}).

(*b*) *The significance of sacrifice* for the prophets remains to be considered. With the cultus thus depreciated, and the pre-eminence of sacrifice in the cultus challenged, in what sense was it possible to maintain its efficacy? After what has been already said, it is inconceivable that they supposed it to be acceptable to God in the capacity of a gift. The God who claimed the whole life for duty was not likely to be influenced by a present or a meal. And from the point of view of their high theology the Gift-theory fell to the ground as untenable, even ridiculous. In the first place, God did not experience the wants which the offerings supplied; in the second place, even if He did, the offerings were already God's property, not man's to present (condensed in Ps 50^{10}). If sacrifice had any efficacy at all, it needed another explanation for those who had realized the true God. This it possessed as a vehicle for the expression of the sentiments, and for the revelation of the spirit of the life, of those who sincerely served or sought God. Its efficacy, in short, was neither more nor less than that of prayer, which, on its part, is of value not as an act considered in itself, but in virtue of the aspirations and the sincerity which find voice in it. That in the prophetic valuation the function of sacrifice was identical with that of prayer, cannot indeed be conclusively proved, but it is the view which best harmonizes with their religious theory; and it derives confirmation from several considerations. In the patriarchal narratives, which embody a measure of the prophetic spirit, it is usually associated closely with the prayer of adoration and petition, suggesting that the spoken word serves the purpose of making the action articulate. In the case of the sacrifice of Abel, again, the ground of acceptance manifestly was the disposition of the worshipper, which disposition prayer equally with sacrifice would have served to bring to expression. Especially significant is the fact that in certain passages the offering of words is demanded (Hos 14^{2}) — the implication being that they served the same purpose as sacrifice in making the appeal of prayer to God, and that they were preferable in that they were less likely to foster evil practices and to encourage superstition.

The Deuteronomic Reformation made the influence of the prophetic school to tell along another line on the development of the sacrificial system. The suppression of the local sanctuaries, and the consolidation of worship in Jerusalem, which had its spring in prophetic inspiration, had far-reaching consequences. One immediate consequence was to detach sacrifice from the everyday life of the people, and to reduce it in the main to an element in the worship in which national religion found expression. Naturally also the Sacrificial Feast ceased to be as practicable as when it had been observed in their several districts by the smaller units of the family and the clan, and it tended to give place to the type of the holocaust in which the people looked on at the consumption of the offerings in the service of God, whether directly or by His priests. With the decay of the Sacrificial Feast, moreover, the spirit of worship was altered—the joy of the table being swallowed up in a deepening sense of the solemnity of the collective worship, and of the more imposing rites to which it gave prominence (Wellh. *Proleg.* Eng. tr. p. 76 ff.; Nowack, *Arch.* ii.).

Sacrifice in Deuteronomy.—While in general Deut. reflects the prophetic doctrine of the superiority of morality to ceremony, it is far from representing the abolitionist standpoint ascribed to Amos. Its list of offerings includes burnt-offerings, peace-offerings, heave-offerings, votive-offerings, free-will offerings, first-fruits, while it prohibits human sacrifices (18^{10}), the drinking of blood (12^{23}), hair-offerings and mutilations (14^{1}). Among its leading interests are to conserve somewhat of the joyous character of sacrifice in spite of the centralization of worship (12^{7}), and to ensure a sufficient portion to the priests from the sacrifices, —in the case of animal offerings the shoulder, two cheeks, and the maw (18^{3}). The animal victim, it is also emphasized, must be without blemish (17^{1}). The sacrifice in expiation of an uncertain murder (21^{9}) is interesting for its peculiar ritual, manifestly antique, while it is obviously excepted from the centralization of the worship.

vi. The Sacrificial System of the Priestly Code.—With the downfall of the kingdom of Judah, involving the destruction of the Temple and the deportation of the people, Hosea's prediction of the cessation of sacrificial worship was fulfilled. Whatever relief individuals might thereafter find in recurrence to simple forms of offering, or by conforming to heathenism, the nation as such, broken as it was and dispersed, was deprived of the stated means of communion with God. Yet the visitation which had thus overwhelmed Judah, and reduced its institutions to ruins, was not interpreted by its religious leaders as a Divine condemnation of its system of worship. The writings of Ezekiel bear testimony to the hopes of a great prophet touching the restoration of the Temple and its solemn ordinances. The priests who escaped into exile carried with them a minute knowledge of the Temple services, possibly also written summaries of the rules that had governed the elaborate system of offerings and ritual; and it may well be believed that, ere the Temple with its solemn rites faded from living memory, it was realized to be a pious duty to compile a faithful record of the ancient sanctities and glories. Cherished as a monument of the past, this record naturally became, in the prospect of a new national existence, the basis of a practical religious programme. The dream of restoring the old worship on the old sacred ground, in a second Temple of Jerusalem, was one which must have irresistibly appealed to the pious exile. But restoration did not preclude adaptation and amendment. Novel circumstances, foreign impressions, deeper reflexion, required that the legacy from the past should be handled with freedom as well as with piety. The result of the two factors—obscure as was the process—was the Priestly Code, which was adopted as authoritative at the Reformation under Ezra, *c.* 444, and which thenceforward regulated Jewish worship and gave its characteristic note to Jewish religion. The sacrificial system described in this

code (Leviticus, Ex 25–31. 35–40, Nu 1–10. 15–19. 25–36) we have now to analyze.

1. *Forms of Sacrifice.*—The arrangement of the complicated enactments of the code has been attempted in different ways, but the more satisfactory method is to adopt as the leading clue the distinction of kinds and varieties. The classification of the Levitical sacrifices may, however, be carried out from different points of view.

The main principle of division has been sought in the distinction of the *subjects* on behalf of whom sacrifices were offered.

It is on this principle that Maimonides bases his interesting and instructive summary of the sacrificial laws (*Præfatio in quintam Misnæ partem*, iii. 1 ff.). The varieties, he premises, may all be reduced to four groups—the Sin-offering, the Guilt-offering, the Burnt-offering, and the Peace-offering; and the victims were of five species—sheep, cattle, goats, young pigeons, and turtle-doves. In reference to the subjects, his classification (slightly transposed) is as follows:—

1. Sacrifices offered on behalf of the whole congregation:—(*a*) in the exercise of its ordinary religious duty, under a stated ritual, and tied to stated occasions (Sabbath, New Moon, Feasts); (*b*) on the occasion of some collective or public transgression.

2. Sacrifices offered on behalf of the individual:—(*a*) in virtue of his connexion with the theocratic community as an official or ordinary member, *e.g.* the Passover; (*b*) on a special occasion—*e.g.* a sin of word or deed, a bodily accident, a misfortune in business, the end of a fixed period, the obligation of a vow.

The Levitical sacrifices have also been classified with reference to the different *ends* which they served in the approach to the Deity.

The usual division from this point of view is into *honorific*, designed to render due homage to God, and *piacular* or *expiatory*, designed to make atonement for sin—to which, since W. R. Smith's work, it has been usual to add sacrifices of *communion*. The distinction which Oehler lays at the basis of his discussion is expressed by him (*Theology of OT*, Eng. tr. p. 423) as follows:—'We refer the four kinds of offering to two higher classes—those which assume that the covenant relation is on the whole undisturbed (Peace-offerings), and those that are meant to do away with a disturbance which has entered into this relation, and again to restore the right relation (of the people or of separate individuals) to God' (Burnt-, Sin-, and Guilt-offerings).

The division founded on the distinctions of the sacrificial *material* — animal, vegetable, or liquid—is the most obvious, and may be followed here as of adequate importance, while not prejudging the difficult question of the purpose of sacrifice.

(i.) *Animal sacrifices* are by far the most important, and in P it appears that a re-valuation has taken place of the two ancient types. The Peace-offering of which the worshippers claimed a large share is overshadowed by the Burnt-offering, with which are now associated two kindred sacrifices—the Sin-offering and the Guilt-offering, falling to God and His ministers.

(*a*) **The Burnt-offering** (עֹלָה Lv 1, Ex 29^{38-42}, Nu $28^{3ff.}$, Lv $6^{8ff.}$), which stands at the head of the group, owes its position to the fact that its purpose was the most general, that the victims were of pre-eminent value, and that at this stage it was regarded as most perfectly embodying the sacrificial idea (Knobel-Dillmann on Lv 1[3]). (1) *The victims* were the ox-kind, sheep, goats, turtle-doves, or young pigeons,—in the case of the animals it was prescribed that the victim should be a male, as the more valuable, and without blemish (1^{3}, for a list of blemishes cf. $23^{22ff.}$). (2) *The ritual* to be observed includes the following points in the case of the animal victims:—(*a*) *Action of the offerer*—imposition of hands (Lv 1^{4}), slaughter of the victim at the door of the tabernacle, to the north of the altar (vv.$^{3.11}$), flaying and cutting up the carcase (v.^{6}), washing of the entrails and legs (v.^{9}). (*b*) *Action of the priest*—manipulation of the blood which is sprinkled about the altar (v.^{5}), disposition of the pieces upon the wood of the altar (v.^{8}), burning the offering (v.^{9}). The dove was killed by the priest, and its crop and feathers were flung aside as unsuitable (v.$^{14ff.}$). In the above ritual the occasion presupposed is a private sacrifice, which might be rendered as the result of a vow or spontaneously (22^{18}). (3) *The occasions* of this sacrifice were in the main connected with the collective worship, of which it formed the chief element. The daily services of the temple consisted of the continual Burnt-offering (עֹלַת תָּמִיד), wherein a he-lamb was offered every morning and evening, accompanied by cereal oblations and by libations (Ex $30^{38ff.}$, Nu 28^{1-8}). On holy days it was celebrated on a magnified scale: on the Sabbath two pairs of lambs were offered (Nu $28^{9.10}$); at the New Moon, at the Passover, and at the Feast of Weeks it consisted of two bullocks, a ram, and seven he-lambs, with corresponding increase of the concomitant offerings (v.$^{11ff.}$).—*The purpose of the Burnt-offering* may be so far understood from its use as the constant element in the organized worship of the community. It was not connected with any particular form of transgression, but was appropriate as the means of approach to God of a people, or of individual persons, sensible of God's majesty and holiness, and of their standing in His sight. The effects are described from three points of view—that it is a 'savour of rest-giving' (*i.e.* acceptable) to God (רֵיחַ־נִיחוֹחַ Lv 1^{9}), that it surrounds the worshipper with a 'covering' (לְכַפֵּר עָלָיו 1^{4}), and that it cleanses from ceremonial impurity (14^{20}). On this point see PROPITIATION, § 4.

The later period of the monarchy was a period of national calamities, culminating in ruin and exile, which were interpreted by the prophets as a judgment upon national sin. Under these conditions there was naturally a strong disposition to strengthen the nation's interest with Jehovah by the multiplication of solemn sacrifices, and during the Exile future safety might well seem to lie in the development of the system of bloody sacrifices. It is thus that the fact has been plausibly accounted for that two kinds of sacrifice, which occur only in name in the earlier history, figure in Ezekiel somewhat prominently, while in P they almost rival in importance the Burnt-offering. These are the Sin-offering and the Guilt-offering (AV Trespass-offering).

(*b*) **The Sin-offering** (חַטָּאת, LXX [τὸ] *περὶ* or *ὑπὲρ ἁμαρτίας*) is mentioned 2 K 12^{17}, but there signifies presents or fines paid to the priests. In Ezekiel the special occasions on which it is prescribed are the dedication of the altar ($43^{19ff.}$), the annual cleansing of the sanctuary (45^{17-19}), the consecration of prince and people on festal occasions, including Passover week ($45^{22.23}$), and the return of a priest to duty after purification (44^{2}). In the ritual the outstanding features are the sprinkling of the blood of the victim on the doorposts of the temple (45^{19}) and on the four horns of the altar (43^{20}), and the burning of the carcase without the sanctuary (v.^{21}). The regulations of P may be thus summarized:—(1) *Beneficiaries and appropriate victims.* For a ruler the suitable offering was a he-goat (Lv 4^{25}), for an ordinary person a she-goat (4^{29}), a ewe-lamb (4^{32}), a turtle dove or young pigeon ($5^{7ff.}$), or a cereal offering (5^{11}); for priests (4^{3}), Levites at their installation (Nu 8^{8}), and for the whole congregation (Lv 4^{14}), a bullock, for the latter also a he-goat (Nu 15^{24}). On the Day of Atonement a bullock was offered for the high priest, and two he-goats for the congregation (Lv $16^{3ff.}$). (2) *The ritual* included the following acts: (*a*) imposition of hands, and slaughter of the victim by the offerer (4^{4}) or the representatives of the congregation (v.^{15}); (*b*) manipulation of the blood, which was sprinkled before the veil, smeared on the horns of the altar, and poured out at the base (v.^{7}); (*c*) disposal of the carcase, whereof the choice and fat portions were burnt on the altar, while the skin, entrails, and (in some cases) the ordinary flesh were burned without the camp (v.$^{8ff.}$). The remaining flesh was not burnt, but fell to the priests, when the offering did not concern themselves (5^{13} $10^{16ff.}$). (3) *The object* of the sacrifice is otherwise conceived than in Ezekiel. With the latter it mainly appears as a service of consecration for holy places, in P it is designed for the 'covering' of minor offences (Lv 5^{1-6}), the removal of ceremonial uncleanness ($12^{6.8ff.}$), and atonement for sins of ignorance (בִּשְׁגָגָה $4^{2.22.27}$). By the last it might be understood, either that the wrong-doer was ignorant of the law, or that he acted in forgetfulness of the law. (4) As to the *effect* of the sacrifice, it is declared that a 'covering' takes place and the sin is forgiven ($4^{26.35}$).

(*c*) **The Guilt-offering,** AV Trespass-offering (אָשָׁם [LXX τὸ *ὑπὲρ ἀγνοίας*, τὸ *τῆς πλημμελείας*, ἡ *πλημμέλεια*], 'offence,' then reparation made for the same), occurs in this general sense in the older history (1 S $6^{3ff.}$, 2 K 12^{17}). The allusions to it in Ezekiel are incidental, and show that in his time it had already gained a footing, and that its special character was generally understood (40^{39} 42^{13} 44^{29} 46^{20}).—*The occasion* of the Guilt-offering, according to P, is unwitting trespass against the ordinances of God, in respect either of holy things (Lv 5^{15}) or of the rights of property ($6^{1ff.}$). The special feature of the regulations is that reparation is demanded for the trespass, with the addition of a fine, one-fifth of the value of the thing to be restored, which goes to the priest (5^{16}). Where the injury is a private wrong, restitution is made to the injured party, failing whom or his heirs it goes to the priest (Nu $5^{5ff.}$).—*The victim* is usually a ram (5^{8}), and *the ritual* is similar to that of the Sin-offering (Lv 7^{7}). The 'covering' of the trespass and the forgiveness of the offender follow upon the acceptance of the offering (6^{7}).

The distinction of the Sin-offering and the Guilt-offering has been felt to be a matter of some diffi-

culty, aggravated by the fact that the latter was wrongly supposed to be in view in Lv 5[1-13]. The principal views which have been held are—(1) that the Sin-offering was for sins of omission, the Guilt-offering for sins of commission; (2) that the former operated objectively by averting punishment, the latter subjectively by appeasing the conscience; (3) that the former was offered because of open, the latter because of secret sins. Unmistakably, however, the specific feature of the Guilt-offering is the preliminary act of restitution; and its occasion would thus seem to be those cases where the sin which had been committed allowed of an act of reparation. The Sin-offering was required in cases where the harm done could not be undone or measured. The designation of the suffering Servant as a Guilt-offering (Is 53[10], not 'offering for sin') indicates that the highest degree of efficacy was ascribed to this form of offering.

In the ritual of the Day of Atonement the bloody sacrifices were combined in an impressive way, and invested with peculiar features.

(*d*) **The Peace-offering** (זֶבַח שְׁלָמִים, זֶבַח, LXX εἰρηνικὴ [θυσία], σωτήριον) is brought under fixed regulations. In Lv 7[11ff.] three varieties are distinguished — (1) *thank-offerings* (זֶבַח תּוֹדָה), (2) *votive offerings* (זֶבַח נֶדֶר), and (3) *free-will offerings* (זֶבַח נְדָבָה). The view of Hengstenberg, that the thank-offering is an alternative generic name, equivalent to peace-offering, and that the votive offering and the free-will offering are the species, is inconsistent with the fact that a different treatment of the sacrificial flesh is prescribed for (1) as compared with (2) and (3). As to the distinction of the three varieties, the most satisfactory explanation is that which interprets the thank-offering as a response to experienced acts of Divine goodness, while the votive offering and the free-will offering are connected with expectation of benefit and supplicatory prayer. The first, in short, was contemplated only after blessings received, while the last two were decided on when some special blessing was still awaited at the hand of God. The supplicatory pair, again, were distinguished in this way, that the free-will offering was presented in support of the prayer, while the votive offering was promised as conditional on the granting of the boon. 'The latter did not need to be presented if the prayer was not granted, the former had already been presented, even if the request continued unfulfilled' (Kurtz, *Sac. Worship*, Eng. tr. p. 262).—(*a*) *The victims* are the same as in the holocaust—oxen, sheep, and goats, but not pigeons. It was accompanied by a cereal offering mingled with oil (Lv 7[12]). In view of the less solemn character of this offering, the regulations as to quality are relaxed: the female animal is allowed as well as the more valuable male (Lv 3[6]), and for the free-will offering the principle of the unblemished character is not rigidly insisted on (22[23]). (*b*) *The ritual* corresponded in its first stages with that of the Burnt-offering and the Guilt-offering. The imposition of hands, the killing of the victim, and the sprinkling of blood upon the altar are common to it with the holocausts. (*c*) *The distribution of the sacrifice* includes God's portion—consisting of fat pieces (3[3ff.]), the priest's portion—consisting of the breast (חָזֶה) and the right fore-leg (שׁוֹק הַיָּמִין 7[30. 32]), while the worshipper received the residue. The parts assigned to the priest were handled in a peculiar way, on account of which they are described as the breast of the wave-offering, and the thigh of the heave-offering (Ex 29[27]). The ceremony of **the wave-offering** (תְּנוּפָה) consisted in moving the portion backwards and forwards in the line of the altar, with a motion somewhat similar to that of a saw (Is 10[15]). 'The swinging in a forward direction,' says Oehler, 'was a declaration in action that it properly belonged to Him; whilst the movement back again denoted that God on His part returned the gift, and assigned it as His own present to the priest' (*l.c.* ii. 6). The handling of **the heave-offering** (תְּרוּמָה) is interpreted in a similar way by Kurtz, following the Jewish tradition, as a symbolical act, whereby the offering was presented to God by being lifted upward (*l.c.* p. 269 ff.); but according to most moderns heaving was not an act of worship, but only the preliminary act of detaching a portion from the rest of the carcase for consecration (see OFFER, § 5). In any case it is certain that the mode of viewing the waving must soon have extended to the heaving, and made it equally a religious ceremony and a vehicle of ideas of consecration. The breast which was waved fell to Aaron and his sons (Lv 7[31]), the heave-shoulder to the officiating priest (7[33]). (*d*) *The portion of the worshippers* was enjoyed at a sacrificial meal. In the case of the thank-offering the whole had to be consumed on the day of the sacrifice (Lv 7[15]), while the feast furnished by the two other varieties might be extended over the second day (v.[16]). At the end of the fixed time the remnants were burned with fire without the camp. (*e*) *The effect* of the Peace-offering is only referred to in a general way: it is a 'savour of rest-giving' unto the Lord, *i.e.* acceptable to God (Lv 3[5]).

On a review of the regulations which have thus been sketched, it appears that the following distinctions may be drawn:—(1) In respect of destination, the Peace-offering stands by itself as a sacrificial meal, while the remaining three are conveyed entire to God or to God and His ministers. (2) In respect of ritual, certain acts are common to all—the imposition of hands, the sprinkling of blood on the altar, the burning of the fat portions, but the other portions are either burned on the altar (Burnt-offering) or outside the sanctuary (Sin-offering and Guilt-offering). (3) In respect of occasion, two were elements of normal public worship (Burnt-offering and Peace-offering), two presupposed exceptional relations between God on the one hand and the community or the individual on the other (Sin-offering and Guilt-offering). It is indeed too much to say that in connexion with the former the sacrificer always stood upon the ground of salvation, in connexion with the latter he had fallen from a state of grace. The use of the Sin-offering in the matter of the consecration of temple buildings and furniture does not suggest the rupture of covenant relations, nor does it appear that the sacrificer of a Guilt-offering had fallen from a state of grace more surely than any ordinary member of the community. He was probably a man of unusual sanctity and tenderness of conscience, and the point was, not that his sin was particularly heinous, but only that it was particularly definite. Moreover, it was only on the assumption that he was still 'in a state of grace' that he was allowed to sacrifice at all: for the sins which led God to cast men off no sacrifice was accepted. The view, in short, that there were two classes of sacrifices contemplating respectively the pardoned and the unpardoned is much less tenable than the view that all four were at one in contemplating the community as being in a state of guilt, and requiring to be constantly reconciled to God. They have, in fact, become—not excepting the Peace-offering in its later interpretation—piacular sacrifices which dispose God to mercy, procure the forgiveness of sin, and avert punishment. Behind this lies the question as to the ground of its efficacy, or the *modus operandi*, which in view of its importance will be treated in a separate section.

(ii.) *Vegetable offerings* consisted of the produce of the tilled field and of the vineyard, but not of garden-herbs or the fruits of the orchard. They were sometimes an accompaniment of the bloody sacrifice, sometimes independent.

The Meal- (AV **Meat-**) **offering** (vol. iii. p. 309) (מִנְחָה of P, LXX θυσία) was a preparation of flour and other ingredients. In the older practice the quantities probably varied, and features of the later practice which have been noted are the fixing of the measure (Ezk 46[5. 7. 11. 14]), the prohibition of leavened bread and honey (Lv 2[11]), and the substitution for ordinary meal of a fine sort of flour (Wellh. *l.c.* p. 441). (1) Among *the independent Meal-offerings* we place the list in Lv 2, although it has been strongly contended, chiefly on dogmatic grounds, that a bleeding sacrifice is presupposed as a basis (see review of opinions in Kurtz, p. 304 ff.). (*a*) *Varieties* are distinguished according to the different processes used in preparing the flour, viz. kneading it with oil, baking it in an oven, a baking-pan, or a frying-pan, and bruising ears of corn. (*b*) Other *ingredients* added were, in all cases salt (2[13]), in most cases oil, in one case incense (v.[15]). Under stress of poverty a cereal oblation might also be presented as a Sin-offering, but without oil or incense (5[11ff.]). (*c*) *The ritual* resembled that of the Sin-offering so far as consistent with the difference of material—a portion being consumed by fire on the altar, while the remainder fell to the priests (Lv 6[14ff.]). (*d*) *The effects* of covering sin, and delivering from its consequences, are ascribed to it in common with the Sin-offering (5[13], but see PROPITIATION, § 11 *g*). Special effects which are attributed to it are such as the insurance of the reliability of the trial by ordeal (Nu 5[11ff.]), where oil and incense are excluded.

(2) As a *concomitant of the animal sacrifices* the Meal-offering had a prominent place in the sacrificial system. It was indeed laid down that no Burnt-offering or Peace-offering was legitimate without the cereal oblation (Nu 15. 28. 29). In the public worship of common days and festivals it bore a stated propor-

tion to the number and material of the burnt-offerings (Nu $15^{1ff.}$). Occasions where the material and the ritual undergo modification are the consecration of the priests (Lv 8^{26}), the presentation of a thank-offering (7^{12}), and the sacrifices of the Nazirite (Nu 6^{17}).

The Shewbread is regulated by a minute ritual (Lv $24^{5ff.}$), specifying the material, the number and size of the cakes, the manner of their arrangement on the table, and the use of incense (v.7). The sacrosanct character of the offering, of which part fell to the priests, is emphasized, and it seems to have the special significance of recalling to God the terms of His covenant (v.7). See, further, art. SHEWBREAD.

(iii.) *Drink-offerings and Incense-offerings.*—The libation (נֶסֶךְ, LXX σπονδή) appears at this stage only as an accompaniment or element of another kind of offering.

We have already met with oil as an ingredient of sacrificial cakes. Ezek. ($46^{5ff.}$ 46^{14}) and P (Numb.) fix the quantity, though with variations, required in consideration of the number and quality of the victims. Neither in this case nor in that of wine (Nu 18) is anything said of the manipulation of the Drink-offering. The oil was probably used in part for kneading, in part treated as a libation. The wine was probably poured into a gutter, whence it drained into the ground.

On *the Incense-offering* (קְטֹרֶת סַמִּים, LXX θυμίαμα, קְטֹרֶת סַמִּים) see art. INCENSE; and on other forms which would fall to be noticed here, see FIRST-FRUITS, TITHE, and art. PRIESTS AND LEVITES, *passim*.

2. *The Efficacy of the Bloody Sacrifices* is of such importance, and has figured so largely in the history of theology, as to call for separate treatment. The questions that have to be discussed are two—(1) the nature of the benefits which were conceived to flow from the sacrificial worship; (2) the manner in which the offerings were conceived to operate so as to procure the desiderated boons.

(1) *The Benefits procured by sacrifice.*—These fall into two classes, which, to our thinking, are very clearly distinguished. In one group of cases the purpose is the cancelling of guilt, in the other the removal of ceremonial uncleanness. In other words, sacrifice has both a moral and a physical occasion.

(*a*) *The Expiation of guilt* is the leading purpose of the Levitical sacrifices. Their office is to cover or make atonement for sin. The word employed to describe this specific effect is כִּפֶּר. This efficacy is connected with all four kinds of principal offerings: the objects of the covering are persons and sins, the covering takes place before God, and it stands in a specially close relation to the sprinkling of the blood and the burning of the sacrificial flesh (Lv 1^{4} etc.). The view that the main purpose of the Levitical sacrifices was the obliteration of guilt has, however, been traversed by Ritschl, who finds the necessity for the covering, not in the moral but in the natural attributes of God, not in the sinfulness but in the creaturely condition of man (*Lehre von der Rechtfertigung u. Versöhnung*, Bd. ii.).

כִּפֶּר, originally to cover, then to expiate—either as pleasing God by covering His table, or by hiding from His sight (cf. old Babylonian sacrificial term *kippuru*, 'to wash away, atone,' Zimmern, *op. cit.*, Vorwort). But from what, according to Ritschl, does sacrifice hide? Throughout the OT there is evidence for the belief that to see or meet with God involved destruction (Gn 32^{30} Jacob, Jg 6^{23} Gideon, 13^{22} Manoah), and this being so it was necessary to take measures for self-protection. This was found in sacrifice. 'From the majesty of God *per se* the destruction follows of those who come before His face as perishable creatures—provided that their life is not preserved of divine grace' (p. 203 ff.). To the common view, which makes the sacrifice an atonement for sin, Ritschl objects that it is incredible that God would have prescribed for His covenant people a system which presupposed that they were to be permanently under His wrath. But we have no analysis of the consciousness of those witnessing a theophany which makes it clear that it was the mere presence of God, not of God as holy, that led the Israelite to expect death. In the later period at all events, when the holiness of God and the prevalence and heinousness of sin had been so profoundly realized, it is impossible to doubt that what invested the approach to God with its character of peril was above all the consciousness of the contrast between Divine holiness and human guilt. The strength of this penitential feeling no doubt varied in the case of different offerings, as well as with different worshippers, but it could never be wholly absent from the educated theocratic conscience. See, further, art. PROPITIATION, esp. § 17.

(*b*) *Purification from physical uncleanness*, as a condition of re-entering the religious life of the community, is also an important function of sacrifice. The circumstances constituting this ceremonial uncleanness are mainly three—participation in the processes of sexual life, contact with a corpse, and recovery from leprosy.

(*α*) As regards the first category, there were degrees of uncleanness, and the major degree, which entailed a sacrificial purification, attached only to morbid sexual conditions and to the position of a woman after child-bearing (Lv 15. $12^{2ff.}$). The sacrifices prescribed for the purification of a mother were a lamb for a Burnt-offering and a dove for a Sin-offering.

(*β*) The defilement diffused by *a dead body* was intense, long-sustained, and removed in a peculiar way (Nu $19^{16.\ 18}$ 31^{19}).

The Sacrifice of the Red Heifer (Nu $19^{1ff.}$), which was appropriated to purify from this form of defilement, presents certain curious features of ritual. The victim is a red heifer without spot (v.2). The use of the blood is confined to sprinkling seven times towards the sanctuary. With the Sin-offering it has a certain affinity, but in this case the whole of the carcase—skin, flesh, blood, and dung, mixed with fragrant ingredients—is burned without the camp. The extraordinary feature of the offering, however, is that the main purpose is the procuring and reservation of the ashes (v.9). These gave its virtue to the holy water which was sprinkled on the third day on those contaminated by the neighbourhood of the dead, and this procured them purification on the seventh day (v.12). For a discussion of the symbolism see Kurtz, p. 422 ff.; for the evolutionary aspect, *RS*^{2} pp. 351, 354, 376. See, further, art. RED HEIFER.

(*γ*) The recovery of a *leper* was marked by two series of rites (Lv 14^{1-32}). In the first stage one bird was killed over a vessel of running water, and another, after being dipped in the coloured water, was allowed to escape (vv.6. 7). In the second stage the man offered a Guilt-offering, a Sin-offering, and a Burnt-offering (vv.13. 31)—with the peculiar provision that blood from the Guilt-offering was smeared on the right ear, the right thumb, and the right great toe of the offerer (v.14). The same rite was observed for the purification of houses infected in some such way as is typified to us by 'dry-rot' ($14^{33ff.}$; see art. LEPROSY).

In the matter of these purificatory rites, two outstanding facts have to be explained—the temporary isolation of persons and families under certain physical or pathological conditions, and the association of sacrifices of an expiatory kind with their readmission to the life of the community. The temporary isolation has its manifest explanation in a regard to the health of the community, which recognized permanent sources of danger in the sexual life as well as in leprosy and the death-bed. Less apparent is it why the same kinds of sacrifice which expiated guilt should have been required in connexion with events with no moral complexion—such as the natural calamity of disease, and the joyous event of birth. But the matter becomes partially intelligible when we recall the doctrine, widely operative in OT, as to the strictly retributive character of natural evils. When sickness was interpreted as a judgment because of open or secret sin, when death, especially premature or sudden death, was similarly construed, the obvious procedure was to approach God with a remembrance of the procuring cause, and to make atonement for the guilt. Nor is it difficult to bring child-bearing within the same sphere of ideas. The pangs of child-birth were naturally regarded from this standpoint as penal: in J they were interpreted as a punishment expressly inflicted because of woman's share in the primal sin (Gn 3^{16}); and it is quite intelligible that on restoration to the fellowship of her people the mother's sacrifice should be directed to cancel the guilt in which her sufferings were believed to have their spring. See, further, art. UNCLEAN, UNCLEANNESS.

(*c*) *The Consecration of persons and things for sacred uses* appears as a further prominent function of the Levitical Sacrifices. The ceremonies at the consecration of the priests have been discussed elsewhere (see PRIESTS AND LEVITES, pp. 70 f., 83).

The consecration of the temple-furniture by means of sacrifice, esp. the Sin-offering, is a prominent feature in the ordinances of Ezekiel ($43^{25ff.}$). In Exodus minute instructions are given as to the consecration of the tabernacle in all its parts by means of holy oil ($30^{22ff.}$ 40^{1-15}, cf. Lv $8^{10.\ 11}$). The idea of giving to a building and to its furniture the character of physical holiness was certainly antique, and even yet maintains its ground in opposition to the view that the only character which consecration can confer on material objects is reservation for religious uses. It had its

roots in the conception that God is merely a visitor on earth, and that He can only appear in those places which have been detached from the earthly sphere, and which have acquired certain of the characters of His heavenly home (Jn $4^{20.\ 21}$).

(2) *The Sacrificial Theory of the Levitical legislation.*—The theory has been the subject of keen and prolonged controversy. That the sacrificial worship was ordained as a means of grace, and indeed as a condition of pardon and communion, is evident; but we have further to ask what was the precise function ascribed to sacrifice in the legal economy. And at this stage, it may be confidently premised, the sacrificial theory has shed the anthropopathic ideas which operated in the earlier ages. If the ritual embodied forms and phrases descending from the period of religious childhood, the crude ideas which first shaped them had been outgrown and forgotten. The theology of the prophets had too deeply saturated the religious thought of Israel to make it possible for any but an elevated doctrine to gain official recognition. The gift-theory of Spencer, as Bähr observed, is involved in insurmountable difficulties if the attempt is made to prove its vitality and persistence in an age whose consciousness was dominated by the unity and spirituality of God (*Symbolik*, ii. 275). Equally does the same objection press against the view that the sacrifice may still have been construed as a gratifying meal; while it is generally admitted that the theory of a communion physically mediated by the sacrificial feast, whatever part it may have previously played, was now quite outside the horizon of Israel's religious teachers. Another theory, which has also had some vogue, may be summarily set aside as belonging to a plane of thought incompatible with the deeply religious spirit of the Pentateuch. This is the view which reduces the system to the level of police regulations by interpreting the sacrifices as essentially fines, and as primarily designed to punish and check wrongdoing. The explanations of the Levitical sacrificial theory which have so far survived in the controversial struggle operate with higher forms of thought. These explanations vary not a little in detail, but substantially they may be reduced to three types according as they seek to elucidate the subject with the help of the three Christian categories of substitutionary satisfaction, prayer, and sacrament. In addition, there is a widely diffused opinion that either no sacrificial theory is propounded, or that it is not consistently carried through in the later legislation.

(i.) *The theory of a Penal Substitution* is entitled to precedence, not only on historical grounds, but also because of the *primâ facie* support which it has in the biblical evidence. The salient points of the theory may be summarized as follows—(1) as a sinner the offerer was under the wrath of God, and his life was forfeited; (2) by a gracious provision he was permitted to substitute an immaculate victim, to which his guilt was transferred, and which was put to death in his stead; (3) the vicarious death of the victim was accepted by God, who, on the ground of the satisfaction offered Him, received the worshipper to peace and fellowship. As to a fourth point—wherein the ground of the satisfaction lay—opinion has differed within the school. The usual Protestant view has been that the ultimate ground of the sinner's acceptance was the sacrifice of Christ which the victims typified, and even that reflective minds might have risen at the OT stage to a realization of this real ground of forgiveness with which their typical ritual brought them into touch. Others held that the sacrifices had *per se* a true expiatory efficacy in relation to the sins of the offerers (see Outram, p. 248 ff.; Fairbairn, ii. p. 304).

The essential feature of this theory, then, is that the death of the animal victim was of the nature of a vicarious punishment—*i.e.* 'some evil inflicted on one party in order to expiate the guilt of another, in the sense of delivering the guilty from punishment, and procuring the forgiveness of sin' (Outram, *ib.*). The evidence on which chief reliance is placed is contained in the ritual of the Day of Atonement (see AZAZEL). In this ceremony it is distinctly stated that the high priest confesses the iniquities of the children of Israel over the scapegoat, that the goat carries their iniquities away into the desert, and that he who lets the goat go incurs defilement (Lv $16^{20ff.}$). In the case of the Sin-offering there is a similar contamination conveyed by the victim (v.^{28}), and, although the transference of guilt is not expressly mentioned, it is argued that this offering is clearly governed by the same ideas. Further, it is contended that the acts common to the ritual of all of the bloody sacrifices are expressions of the substitutionary idea. (*a*) The immaculate quality of the victim fitted it to take the place of the guilty; (*b*) the imposition of hands had the significance of setting it apart as a substitute, or imputing to it the sinner's guilt, or both; (*c*) the slaughter of the victim was the carrying out of the penal substitution; (*d*) the sprinkling of the blood on the altar attested to God that an animal had been slain as an atoning sacrifice; (*e*) the consumption by fire had the significance, on the older view, of the consignment of the substitute to eternal fire,—on the newer, of bringing the transaction before the mind of God (Kurtz, pp. 123–149; Fairbairn, ii. p. 302 ff.; Cave, p. 123 ff.). In the judgment of most modern scholars, the theory in question is untenable, and for the following reasons: (*α*) the death of the victim cannot have been vicarious, since sacrifice was not allowed for sins which merited death (Nu 15^{30}), only for venial transgressions; (*β*) a cereal offering might also atone (Lv 5^{11-13}), and in this case there could be no idea of a penal substitution; (*γ*) the victim was slain by the offerer, but on the theory in question should have been put to death by the priest as God's representative; (*δ*) the assumption that the imposition of hands involved a transmission of guilt is inconsistent, not only with other references to this practice, but with the fact that the sacrificial flesh was treated as most holy, and might be eaten by the priest; (*ε*) the central act of the sacrifice was, not the act of slaughtering, but the manipulation of the blood, which was viewed as the seat of the animal soul, or as a life which was presented to God (Dillmann, *Alttest. Theol.* p. 468. On the Imposition of Hands, see Driver's note in *Priesthood and Sacrifice*, p. 39).

Of the above arguments, at least (*α*), (*γ*), and (*δ*) are of undeniable weight; but how much do they prove? Simply this, that the idea of penal substitution is not one which has been consistently transfused throughout the entire sacrificial system. The various kinds of animal sacrifice, with their common element of ritual, are certainly not the creation of one man, or of one school, by whom they were shaped with a single eye to making them the vehicle of a particular sacrificial theory. The sacrificial system of P clearly embodies a large inheritance of forms and usages which had been created by earlier modes of thought, and the legislators did not feel called upon to recast every rite in a spirit of doctrinaire consistency. But when this has been said the possibility still remains that the sacrificial forms of most recent growth, and the most likely therefore to reveal the ideas of the compilers, embody the idea of propitiation through penal substitution. In the case of the sacrifice on the Day of Atonement, as we have seen, there is a transference of guilt, and the conclusion is drawn that the flesh becomes unclean; in the case of the Sin-offering as much is suggested; and it is a reasonable view that the interpretation thus given was meant to supply a key to the less articulate language of the other bloody sacrifices. The *locus classicus*, Lv 17^{11}, is not sufficiently definite to serve as a ground for rejecting the view. Moreover, the presuppositions of such a sacrificial theory were already recognized in OT religion. That sin is universally prevalent, that it provokes the Divine anger, and that its due recompense is suffering and death, had long been axiomatic in the higher teaching, and had been impressed upon the popular mind by numerous examples of public and private judgments. Further, the prophets had been wont to describe the judgments of God upon the nations as sacrifices, and it was a familiar enough idea that the consummated sacrifice was one in which the vengeance of God was fully wreaked upon a people in the carnage of a battlefield, or in the atrocities of the sacked city.

On the prophetic view, indeed, as has been maintained, there were only two possible modes of Divine reaction against sin—viz. the execution of the destroying purpose, or forgiveness on the ground of repentance and reformation. But there was a third possible development of thought. The sacrificial system was maintained, and even grew in honour, and it was an obvious reflexion that, in place of the consummated sacrifice of destruction spoken of by the prophets, God accepted as a surrogate the sacrifice of animal victims. That the idea of substitution was already familiar appears from Gn 22^{13} (offering of a ram in place of Isaac), and at a late stage the vicarious idea is used to explain the sufferings of the righteous Servant of Jehovah (Is 53). And given the doctrine that sin entailed death, and that one being might suffer in room of another, it was a highly natural, if not an inevitable step, to go on to suppose that the rite of sacrifice combined the two ideas, and that the slain victim bore the penalty due to the sinner.

(ii.) *The Prayer-theory* may serve to designate the group of interpretations which rest on the fundamental idea that the efficacy attached to sacrifice was due to the fact that it symbolized the religious sentiments which are the condition of acceptance with God. While on the former view the victim is held to take the place of the offerer in bearing the doom which he has merited, on this view it is held to be the mere vehicle for the expression of his devout sentiments and longings. The purpose of the sacrifice, as with prayer, is to serve as an index of what is in the worshipper's heart, and its virtue is exhausted in bringing this before God. Further, as prayer is of various kinds, so different writers have given to sacrifice varying interpretations corresponding to these kinds: by Philo, *e.g.*, it is construed as chiefly expressive of spiritual aspiration, corresponding to the prayer of supplication; for Bähr it has the function of expressing hatred of sin and self-surrender to God, corresponding to the prayer of confession and supplication; while Maurice also emphasizes the note which corresponds to the prayer of adoration.

The views of Bähr, though he adopts a different rubric, belong to this type. He finds the key of the system in Lv 17^{11}—'the soul placing itself at the disposal of God in order to receive the gift of true life in sanctification' (p. 211). From this point of view the ritual undergoes a new interpretation. A valuable and unblemished victim is selected as symbolical of the excellence and purity to which the offerer aspires; the death is necessary only in order to procure a life which may be offered to God; the sprinkling of the altar is the presentation of the life, still resident in the blood, to God. A simpler version of the theory is given by Oehler, who emphasizes the vital point in saying that 'the self-surrender of the person sacrificing was accomplished vicariously in the offering' (p. 632); and the discussions of Maurice centre round the same idea (p. 67 ff., 'The Legal Sacrifices'). Schultz holds that the Priestly Code was strongly dominated by the teaching of the prophets, and that the significance of all kinds of offerings was simply that which belongs to genuine worship. The Burnt-offerings and the Peace-offerings were a mode of adoration, while 'the ground of purification in the Sin-offering (and the Guilt-offering) is that God accepts the sacrifice, and that man in this offering, enjoined by God as the embodied prayer of a penitent, expresses his confession, his regret, his petition for forgiveness' (*Amer. Journ. Theol.* 1900, p. 310).

The exegetical arguments by which this view has been supported are of no great cogency. Lv 17^{11}, on which Bähr places such reliance, is at the most a contribution, though this doubtfully, to the view that the atoning element was the pure life which was offered, not the death through which it passed. In any case it does not give expression to the characteristic idea of the symbolical theory. 'It is never said in any manner of circumlocution that the blood of the animal slain atones for the offerer by symbolically representing the soul of the offerer' (Cave, p. 250). The inarticulate evidence of the ritual is no more favourable. It is true that it can be so interpreted as to fall in with the theory, but no part of the rites or appended commentary speaks so strongly for the theory as do the sacrifices of atonement for the idea of vicarious punishment. A further objection which has been pressed by Kurtz and others is, that it is alien to the spirit of revealed religion as the religion of grace, inasmuch as it grounds the acceptance of the sinner upon his own worthiness, or at least on the worth of his sentiments and resolutions. This, however, is indecisive: to say that prayer alone is efficacious is not to say that it is meritorious. Weightier is the objection, that on the Prayer-theory correct ritual could not claim the paramount importance which it possesses in the Priestly Code. Further, the view could never be popular that sacrifice had no efficacy other than that of a vehicle for the expression of the spirit of worship; and the Priestly Code, which has all the character of a popular religion, may well be supposed to have taken account of the common need, and to have supplemented the spiritualized thought of the prophets on the subject of sacrifice with a theory which made the offering an objective, an independent, and as such a deeply efficacious ground of obtaining or preserving the favour of God.

(iii.) *The Sacramental* idea has also been widely used to elucidate the sacrificial theory of the Pentateuch. But to describe the sacrifices as of the nature of sacraments does not supply a definite theory as to the real questions at issue. The category called in to explain the problem is itself ambiguous, and when it has been accepted it has still to be explained whether the efficacy of a sacrament is understood in the Roman or the Zwinglian sense, or in accordance with an intermediate type of doctrine.

Thus a Protestant theologian claims for the sacrifices that they possess the sacramental notes; they were signs of spiritual realities: they not only represented but sealed and applied spiritual blessings, and their efficacy was proportioned to faith (Scott, *Sacrifice*, p. 288). Similarly, a Roman Catholic divine teaches that there were certain Mosaic ceremonies to which something of a sacramental character attached, notably the Passover, which corresponded to the Eucharist, the purificatory rites, which corresponded to the sacrament of penance, and the consecratory sacrifices, which corresponded to the sacrament of ordination (Hunter, *Dogmat. Theol.* iii. 172). But this means only that they have agreed to use the same name, not that they are at one as to the theory of the *modus operandi*—which is the point in dispute—of the OT sacrifices. That the use of the sacramental rubric, so far from introducing us to a definite theory, rather serves to obscure the issues, appears from the fact that it is adopted by writers who differ *toto cœlo* as to the rationale of sacrifice. 'The acceptance of the sacrifice by Jehovah,' says Bähr, 'and His gift of sanctification to the worshipper, gives to the sacrifice the character of a sacramental act' (ii. p. 211). At the same time Cave, who devotes considerable space to the refutation of Bähr's distinctive positions, discusses the nature, the method, the extent, and the efficacy of the Mosaic atonement under a title which affirms that the Mosaic sacrifices had 'a sacramental significance' (p. 138 ff.). Yet again the sacramental title has been claimed by Robertson Smith for the idea, which is not alleged to be consciously present in the Priestly Code, that the union of the worshippers with their God was cemented by the physical bond of a common meal.

Reasons might, indeed, be given for resting satisfied with the Sacramental interpretation—as that it does justice to the element of mystery, or that it contributes a formula in which those may rest who think the controversy fruitless. But an independent theory it is not, and when closely examined is found to branch off either into the Prayer-theory, or into some modification of the doctrine of an objective atonement, which has its chief illustration in the theory of penal substitution.

(iv.) There remains *the view that no sacrificial theory underlay the Levitical code.* The earlier ideas, which attached themselves to the efficacy of a gift or of a uniting meal, had been discredited in the course of religious progress, and the legislation, it is supposed, had nothing definite to put in their place.

'A precise answer to the question how the sacrificial worship influenced God, men were unable to give.' What was certain was that it was of Divine appointment; for the rest it was a mystery. 'When, in the blood of the Sin-offering, the tie between God and His people was renewed, what was felt was the weird influence of the incomprehensible' (Smend, p. 324).

The impression made by the code, however, rather is that the matter was so well understood as not to require explanation, than that it was so mysterious as to be incapable of explanation (cf. Lv 17[11]). It seems, besides, improbable, in view of the share that the mind invariably claims in religion, and of the fact that every preceding phase had its accompaniment of illuminating idea, that at the culminating stage thought abnegated its function, and took refuge in the category of mystery. More likely is it that the step deemed by Holtzmann inevitable at a later stage was already taken, and that the chaos of confused ideas resulting from the discredit of old views was averted by the assertion of the substitutionary idea—'the most external, indeed, but also the simplest, the most generally intelligible, and the readiest answer, to the question as to the nature of expiation' (*Neutest. Theol.* i. p. 68).

vii. Sacrifice in Judaistic Practice and Doctrine.—The authority of the Pentateuch ensured for its sacrificial legislation a prominent place in the religious life of the Jewish people subsequent to the Exile. By the destruction of the Second Temple, a revolutionary blow was subsequently struck at the sacrificial system, inasmuch as offerings could no longer be presented at the place and in the manner appointed by God. In the necessarily brief sketch of this part of the subject, we confine our attention to the two points of outstanding interest—the theory of sacrifice prevalent in the Jewish schools before the rise of Christianity, and the way in which Judaistic thought, after the destruction of Jerusalem, accommodated itself to the suspension of its sacrificial cult.

1. *The old Jewish theory of sacrifice*, could we be confident of recovering it, would possess priceless interest as helping to elucidate the sacrificial ideas of those who, like St. Paul, passed through the school of the synagogue. Unfortunately, the date of the material collected by Weber (*Jüd. Theol.*[2] 38 ff.), and utilized by Pfleiderer and Holtzmann, is somewhat uncertain; and it is always open to doubt whether a dictum is not a product of later Talmudic reflexion. The ideas and tendencies most satisfactorily vouched for may be thus summarized:—

(*a*) Sacrificial worship was not regarded as of pre-eminent importance, but was co-ordinated, as a condition of pleasing God, with knowledge of the Law, and with the performance of good deeds. That a higher valuation of sacrifice did not obtain was due partly to prophetic influence, partly to the later developments of the religious life. The temple had now its complement and competitor in the synagogue, which was the sphere of the larger part of religious activity, as being the ordinary place of worship; and, as the exposition of Scripture and tradition was the most prominent element in the worship of the synagogue, the Rabbi and the scribe tended to overshadow the priest in popular estimation. Thus a dictum ascribed to the period of the Second Temple has it that an ignorant high priest is inferior to the wise man, even though the latter be a 'bastard' (Weber, p. 38).

(*b*) Recognition is accorded to a class of acts serving a function similar to animal sacrifices, but belonging to a higher order. To this category belong the merits of the forefathers. The merits of Abraham, in particular, served to cover the sins of his posterity. Suffering especially had expiatory quality. By penal and disciplinary sufferings, and above all by death, atonement was made for sin. A much higher degree of efficacy attached to the sufferings and death of the righteous, as foreshadowed in Is 53. The death of the righteous is expressly compared, in point of efficacy, to the Day of Atonement (*Pesikta*, 174*b*). The trial of Abraham, the lamentations of Jeremiah, all the dolour of the prophets, and all the anguish of the martyrs, constituted a ground for the forgiveness of sin in Israel. Even the penal sufferings inflicted by God upon the Egyptians and other hereditary foes of Israel have the character of a ransom for the chosen people (Weber, p. 326 ff.; cf. Holtzmann, *Neutest. Theol.* i. p. 64 ff.).

(*c*) Interpretation of sacrifice in the sense of substitution. The rise of ideas of substitution with imputation of guilt and merit has been indicated in the previous section. If, as is probable, these were already associated with the sacrificial system, it can be readily understood how they were extended to explain the merits and the sufferings of the fathers. If, on the other hand, they originated independently, it cannot be doubted that at this period they profoundly influenced the sacrificial theory. From the belief in the vicariousness of the death of the righteous, it was an easy, an inevitable transition, to belief in the substitution of the animal victim. The idea of penal substitution supplied an intelligible popular answer to the question, which could not fail to be raised, as to why and how sacrifice procured the favour of God; and although express statements of the idea are few (2 Mac 7[37], 4 Mac 6[29]), the evidence points to this mode of thought having become current. 'Everything pressed towards the assumption that the offering of a life, substituted for sinners according to God's appointment, cancelled the death penalty which they had incurred, and that consequently the offered blood of the sacrificial victims expiated sin as a surrogate for the life of the guilty' (Holtzmann, p. 68). The Philonic interpretation of sacrifice as symbolic of self-sacrifice was too philosophical and gave too little religious assurance for general acceptance.

During the period in question, the sacrificial regulations were observed with the utmost scrupulosity, and with all due pomp and solemnity. But at the same time a process was going on which was loosening the hold of sacrifice upon the Jewish mind, and in which the conviction was already finding half-articulate expression, that it was not a complete provision, and even that it was not vital to the communion of the people with God. Had no such loosening taken place, it is difficult to conceive how faith in God could have survived the blow which at one and the same time robbed the Jews of their fatherland and their organized national worship. A living belief in the necessity would naturally have issued, when sacrifice became impossible, in apostasy to heathenism.

Of sacrificial practice at the close of the period some glimpses are given in NT. Allusion is made to the sacrifice of the minor Burnt-offering at the presentation of Jesus (Lk 2[24]), the sacrifice of the Passover (Mk 14[12]), the union in sacrifice of a Galilæan group (Lk 13[1]), the offering after recovery from leprosy (Mt 8[4]), the votive offering (Ac 21[26]), and money offerings (Lk 21[4]). Josephus gives a somewhat minute account of the sacrificial system for the information of the Gentile world (*Ant. passim*), leaving the impression that it was thoroughly normative for contemporary practice. The intermission of the sacrifice offered for Cæsar's prosperity marked the beginning of the Jewish war (*BJ* II. xvii. 2). The seizure by John of the store of wine and oil, used in the Burnt-offerings, and their distribution among the multitude, made the Roman conquest, he thinks, only a merited counterpart of the doom of Sodom (v. xiii. 6).

2. *Readjustment of Judaistic thought with the cessation of sacrifice.*—To the new conditions created by the destruction of the Temple, theology accommodated itself by the theory that other observances were accepted as a substitute for sacrificial worship. The study of the Law took the place of the rites of the altar, and even took over the characteristic designation of the latter (עֲבוֹדָה). The knowledge of the Law, it was taught, was more valuable in the sight of God than the continual Burnt-offering, and even than the building of the sanctuary (*Megilla* 3*b*, 16*b*). In particular, it was held that the duty of offering the legal sacrifices had been superseded by the duty of studying the laws relating to the subject (*Pesikta* 60*b*). The other observance which is treated as an equivalent for the abolished service is Prayer, in accordance with which a parallelism was worked out between the order of the daily sacrifices and the order of daily prayers, and also between the varieties of sacrifice and the different kinds of prayer (Weber, p. 38 ff.).

It was also natural that the idea of the merits of the righteous, especially of pious sufferers, should continue to gain in significance and emphasis. The destruction of Jerusalem comprehended an unparalleled tale of horrors, and involved in suffering and death many innocent and right-

eous persons; and it might well be believed that this was a consummated sacrifice whereby full atonement had been made for national sin (Weber, p. 323 f.).

B. *THE SACRIFICIAL DOCTRINE OF NT.*

It is open to question whether in an undisturbed course of development sacrifice would have maintained its place in the religion either of the Jewish or of the Græco-Roman world. On the one hand, it possessed many features which justified its position as the central religious rite—it lent itself to imposing ceremonial, it was peculiarly fitted to thrill the physical nature of the worshippers, it satisfied the instinct which prompts men to give to God what costs them something, it supplied an external ground of confidence, and it was hallowed by its immemorial antiquity. But, on the other hand, it was menaced by more than one factor in the higher civilization of the ancient world. On the æsthetic side there must have been some considerable feeling to the effect that the public slaughter of cattle, especially with such accompaniments as were observed at Roman festivals, could not be retained in a period of advancing refinement as the appropriate form of worship. Still more, the conceptions of God prevalent in the Stoic and Platonic schools raised the question as to whether animal offerings were really acceptable to God, while the scepticism of others turned upon the system the shafts of ridicule. The Jewish Church, in its turn, contained within it, in the prophetical teaching, a set of principles which at least involved the conclusion that sacrifice was unnecessary, from which it was no long step to the position that it should be discontinued. But, whatever the issue might have been in the natural progress of refinement and theological reflexion, the question was settled both for the Jewish and the Gentile world by two extraordinary events. The destruction of Jerusalem, as we have seen, brought about the abolition of sacrifice in one way, and in another Christianity destroyed the system in the name of a higher fulfilment.

i. NT APPRECIATION OF THE OT SACRIFICES.—The teaching of Jesus on this subject, as recorded in the Synoptic report, has two outstanding features: (1) the recognition of the Divine authority of the sacrificial law, and of its binding character upon the Jews; (2) the accentuation of the prophetic doctrine of the pre-eminence of the moral over the ceremonial. He assumes that His hearers offer sacrifice (Mt 5^{24}), and He enjoins a recovered leper to make the offering required in the Law (8^{4}). Did He Himself join in the sacrificial worship? He whose presentation as an infant was accompanied by a Burnt-offering, whose death was preceded by the celebration of the Passover, and who made it a maxim to conform to the laws of the Jewish Church even when knowing Himself unbound by them, certainly did not hold aloof from the temple-worship of which sacrifice was the central act. With equal certainty we may assume that it was only as an element of collective worship that sacrifice was used by Him. But, while at this stage sanctioning sacrifice, He adopts the saying of Hosea that 'God will have mercy and not sacrifice' (Mt 9^{13} 12^{7}), and accounts the scribe who gives a similar valuation as not far from the kingdom of God (Mk 12^{33}). The second prophetic axiom, that sacrifice is worthless with unrepented sin in the background, finds utterance in Mt $5^{23.\ 24}$. Had this been all the evidence, it could have been held, and with greater confidence than in the case of the prophets, that Jesus contemplated the continuance of sacrifice as a subordinate element in the religious life. The abolition is involved in the announcement of the establishment of a new covenant (Mt 26^{28}, Mk 14^{24}, Lk 22^{20}), with the implication of the disappearance of the old economy and all its sacrifices.

The direct references of St. Paul to the subject are not numerous. The observance of the sacrificial law was still maintained to some extent among the Jewish Christians, and the apostle on one occasion associated himself with four men who went through a purification ending in offering (Ac 21^{26}). In 1 Co 10^{18} he speaks as if the purpose and significance of one kind of sacrifice were well understood: it was designed to establish communion or fellowship with God, it might be with demons, and of the worshippers one with another, through the medium of the sacrificial meal. The principal aspect in which the OT sacrifices presented themselves to him was the typical. In themselves they belonged to the beggarly elements, but they pointed forward to a satisfying and enduring ground of reconciliation with God.

The Epistle to the Hebrews contains an express and full discussion of OT sacrifice. As kinds it distinguishes gifts and sacrifices—*i.e.* unbloody and bloody offerings, and regards the sacrifices of the Day of Atonement as the crown of the system. The purpose was deliverance from sin (5^{1}), the beneficiaries were priests and people, but the contemplated end was not fully attained. That they were ineffectual for the purpose in hand was proved from the restricted scope of their claim ('sins of ignorance,' 97), from the imperfections and burdened consciences of the worshippers ($10^{2.\ 3}$), from the necessity of the repetition of the offerings (v.^{2}), and from explicit declarations of God (v.^{5}). The conclusion is that they accomplished only a bodily or ceremonial purification (9^{13}), and that, as merely typical of a real salvation, they were a transitory provision (10^{1}). In so far as blessing flowed from them in the old dispensation it was attached to the faith accompanying them (11^{4}).

In general we should distinguish two stages in the thought of the apostles on this subject. In the pre-Christian stage they had believed in the full efficacy of the Levitical sacrifices, and in the Christian they regarded them as chiefly valuable because of their witness to their own inadequacy, and to the complementary work of Christ.

ii. THE PERFECT SACRIFICE OF THE NEW COVENANT.—It was, then, axiomatic for the NT writers that the system of OT sacrifices had been abolished by Christ. This conclusion was not, however, founded on the belief that sacrifice was a superfluous rite, but on the conviction that the OT sacrifices, which had possessed some value relative to their time, had been superseded by a sacrifice of a nobler nature and of absolutely certain efficacy. This was the sacrifice offered up by Christ. In the NT doctrine of Christ's sacrifice, now, we may distinguish five points, on three of which the testimony is unmistakable, while the other two are left in some obscurity. The points on which the teaching is clear are (1) the sacrificial character of Christ's death, (2) the blessings which proceed and flow from it, (3) the conditions on which these are appropriated. The debatable ground is reached when it is attempted to fix the NT conception of (4) the nature or material of Christ's offering, and (5) the manner in which it operated towards God as the procuring cause of the blessings of redemption.

(1) *The interpretation of Christ's death as a sacrifice* is imbedded in every important type of the NT teaching (Ritschl, ii. p. 161; Cave, p. 284). The silence of St. James and St. Jude raises no presumption against the idea being part of the common stock of Apostolic doctrine. It has been denied that St. Paul adopts the category (Schmidt, *Die paul. Christologie*, p. 84), but the denial rests on dogmatic rather than on exegetical grounds (Ritschl, ii. p. 161). The interpretation was given by Jesus in connecting His death with the Sinaitic sacrifice of the Covenant (Mt 26^{28}, Mk 14^{24}, 1 Co 11^{25}), and it is expanded and presented by the apostles under various points of view.

The evidence for the Apostolic construction is as follows:—(*a*) It is expressly stated that Christ was offered as a sacrifice —προσφορά (Eph 5^{2}, He 9^{14}), θυσία (Eph 5^{2}, He 9^{26}). (*b*) A saving efficacy is ascribed to the blood or the cross of Christ, and in these cases the thought clearly points to the forms of the altar (Ro 3^{25} 5^{9}, 1 Co 10^{16}, Eph 1^{7} 2^{13}, Col 1^{20}, He $9^{12.\ 14}$, 1 P $1^{2.\ 19}$, 1 Jn 1^{7} $5^{6.\ 8}$, Rev 1^{5}). (*c*) The correspondence is worked out between Christ's death and the different OT sacrifices—esp. the Sin-offering (Ro 8^{3}, He 13^{11}, 1 P 3^{18}), the Covenant-sacrifice (He 9^{15-22}), the sacrifices of the Day of Atonement (He 2^{17} $9^{12ff.}$), and the Passover (1 Co 5^{7}). (*d*) The distinctive acts of the OT sacrificial ritual are shown to have been repeated in the experience of Christ—the slaying of the immaculate victim (Rev 5^{6} 13^{8}), the sprinkling of the blood, both in the sanctuary as in the sin-offering (He $9^{13ff.}$) and upon the people as in the Covenant-sacrifice (1 P 1^{2}), and the destruction of the victim, as in the case of the Sin-offering, without the gate (He 13^{13}) (Ritschl, ii. p. 157 ff.; Sanday-Headlam, *Romans*, p. 91). (*e*) The specific effect of sacrifice—expiation or pardon of sin—being ascribed to Christ's death, points in the same direction (*ib.*).

Nor for the apostolic age was the description of Christ's death as a sacrifice of the nature of a mere illustration. The apostles held it to be a sacrifice

in the most literal sense of the word, and it is not difficult to appreciate various reasons why they clung to, and even gloried in, this interpretation of the death. It was not merely that they received it with the impress of Christ's own authority. It provided them with their best defence against a popular calumny: without altar and offering Christianity lent colour to the suspicion that it was at bottom irreligious if not atheistic, and the one effective means of removing the natural prejudice was to show that it embodied the doctrine of a literal and necessary sacrifice. Further, it solved to their own minds the speculative difficulty arising out of the death of Christ. Judged by acknowledged canons, His crucifixion had the aspect of a retributive judgment,—at the least, of a repudiation of His mission by God; but this explanation, in view of their faith in Christ and the event of the resurrection, was an impossibility. On the other hand, it was not intellectually satisfying to treat it as a mere mystery, and to point to the fact that it had been foretold by the prophets. The needed intellectual relief was found in bringing it under the category of the victim-death which God had of old appointed, not as the punishment of the victim's sin, but as a means of blessing to others. Above all, the sacrificial interpretation met a religious want — the need, all but universally felt, of a ground of confidence external to self on which to rest in approaching the majesty and holiness of God.

(2) *The benefits procured by Christ's sacrifice* are coextensive with the blessings of the gospel, and may be distinguished as primary and derivative. The primary effects are that it sets man in a new relation, on the one hand to God, on the other to sin. By St. Paul special prominence is given to the new relationship which it establishes between God and the sinner; on this ground the sinner is justified or accepted as righteous (δικαίωσις, Ro $3^{24\text{-}26}$), adopted (υἱοθεσία, 8^{15}), and placed on a footing of reconciliation (καταλλαγή, 5^{11}). Elsewhere the emphasis is laid rather on its efficacy in procuring the forgiveness of sin, *i.e.* in saving from the penal consequences which otherwise the curse of the broken law inevitably entails. It is upon this aspect that Christ fastens our attention in speaking of His Covenant-sacrifice (ἄφεσις τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν, Mt 26^{28}); the idea of cancelling guilt, of which a vital moment is liability to punishment, is associated with Christ's sacrifice in He 2^{17}, 1 Jn 2^{2} (ἱλάσκεσθαι with ἁμαρτίας as object, and so 'to expiate'); and the redemption series of terms (λύτρον, ἀπολύτρωσις, ἐξαγοράζειν), while comprehensive of all the aspects of spiritual deliverance in Christ, has special reference to emancipation from the curse of sin or its merited penalties (Eph 1^{7}, Col 1^{14}). Upon these fundamental boons of peace with God and forgiveness follow, in the order of grace, the gifts of the Spirit as the energy of sanctification (Gal $5^{22\text{ff.}}$), and as the spring of boundless consolations — viz. peace, joy, hope, assurance, with their fruits (Ro $5^{1\text{ff.}}$), while the consummation is reached in the heavenly inheritance that is the meet portion of the sons of God (Ro 8^{17}). In brief, the sacrifice of Christ is represented as the ground of all filial communion with God, as the condition of pardon, as the source of all noble endeavour and true comfort in the life which now is, and as our one warrant for confidence as to the world to come.

(3) *The conditions on which the blessings are procured*, on which the hypothetical becomes actual, are REPENTANCE (μετάνοια) and FAITH (πίστις). As to the necessity of these conditions the NT writers speak with one voice. Even St. James must have considered faith of vital importance, since otherwise he need not have become a Christian at all. The one question in regard to which the teaching is somewhat fluid is as to the precise object of the faith which unlocks the treasury of redemption. In Hebrews the conception is very general—the object is God and His promises. In the Pauline theology it is brought into the most intimate connexion with Christ, and includes belief in Him as Messiah, crucified Saviour, and risen Lord (Ro 4^{24} 10^{9}, 1 Th 4^{14}), issuing in union with the crucified and exalted Christ in trust and self-surrender (Gal 2^{20}).

(4) *The nature of Christ's offering*, and (5) *The mode of its operation*, are two questions which are so closely inter-connected that they may best be discussed in conjunction. So far we have been dealing with the facts of the Atonement as to which the biblical teaching is full and express. These data are, to adopt an old formula—the disease, sin; the remedy, Christ's sacrifice; the application of the remedy, salvation here and hereafter on the ground of repentance and faith But the medical analogy suggests that the remedy may cure the disease, while yet it may be obscure to the patient wherein precisely the virtue of the curative agent lay, and how it affected his system so as to overcome the disease. Similarly, theology has its questionings, which the NT teaching does not unmistakably answer, as to the precise 'what' of Christ's offering, and as to 'the principle on which the forgiveness of sins is connected with its sacrificial quality' (Ritschl, ii. p. 185).

(*α*) The references of *Christ* to His own death, while representing it as conditioning the highest blessings, do not elucidate the connexion between the work and its effects.

The passage in which Christ speaks of Himself as come 'to give his life a ransom for many' (Mk $10^{42\text{-}45}$, Mt 20^{28}), has been supposed to contain *in nuce* the solution of the problems of the Atonement. A ransom implies captives (sinners), a hostile power which holds them in thrall (God as the representative and vindicator of the outraged moral law), operation of the ransom (the death of Christ accepted as a substitute for that of sinners), specific effect (deliverance of sinners from the penalties of sin). This elaboration has, however, been challenged at almost every point. It is maintained by Ritschl that the key-word of the passage is erroneously rendered 'ransom,' that as the equivalent of כִּפֶּר it has the significance of a protective covering, and that the way in which it operates to protect us is by stimulating us to self-denying imitation of Christ (*Rechtf. u. Vers.* ii. 85). Wendt adheres to the ransom idea, but maintains that the specific effect is to deliver from bondage to suffering and death, and that it accomplishes this by teaching us to adopt Christ's sanguine valuation of these evils (*Lehre Jesu*, ii. 237). According to Beyschlag, the evil from which it was to emancipate was worldly ambition and similar forms of sin, which could not survive the ruin of earthly hopes in the tragedy of the Cross (*Neutest. Theol.* i. 153). The error of this group of interpretations lies in disconnecting Christ's death from the immediate specific effect of expiation or the forgiveness of sin, while the older interpretation unduly exploited the metaphor. All that the passage teaches is that the death of Christ was the means of effecting a redemption from sin (ἀπολύτρωσις) which accrues to the benefit of many. The institution of the Lord's Supper supplies an important reference to our Lord's death:—'This is my blood of the new Covenant, which is shed for many' (Mk 14^{24}); 'this cup is the new Covenant in my blood' (1 Co 11^{25}), to which St. Matthew adds the definition of the specific effect—'for the remission of sins' (26^{28}). These words are important as comparing the death of Christ to the Covenant-sacrifice which accompanied the giving of the Law at Sinai (Ex $24^{3\text{-}8}$), and as suggesting that it resembles the latter in its operation and effect. As to the effect of both sacrifices there is not much room for doubt. The Covenant-sacrifice of Sinai ratified the legal covenant between God and His people, the Covenant-sacrifice of Calvary established the Covenant of grace foretold in Jer 31^{31}, in which the cardinal boon, as specified in St. Matthew's addition, is the remission of sins. As to the manner of its efficacy we are hampered by the uncertainty as to how the sprinkling of the people with blood in the Sinaitic sacrifice operated, or was understood to have operated, in establishing the Old Covenant. According to the traditional view, the blood of the animal victims, slain in room of the guilty people, and sprinkled on them, was accepted as atoning for their guilt, and hallowed them for entrance on their new relation with God. Again, it has been supposed that the fundamental idea was that the victim represented the two parties in the Covenant, and the killing of it meant that so far as the Covenant was concerned they had no longer will or life, *i.e.* the Covenant was immutable

(Westcott, *Hebrews*, p. 301). Yet again it has been interpreted as of the nature of a honorific gift which as such was acceptable to God (Wendt, *op. cit.* ii. 237). And once more, recurring to the evolutionary account, we might utilize the idea that by sharing the blood God and His people were knit into a close physical union and communion. Corresponding to these accounts the sacrifice of Christ would be necessarily interpreted as efficacious as a penal substitution, as an act declaratory of the immutability of God's gracious purpose, as an acceptable gift of perfect obedience, and as a sacramental act uniting God and man. It thus appears that the conception of the death as a Covenant-sacrifice does not itself yield a theory, but only supplies a form which can be utilized to illustrate a theory otherwise grounded. Probably Christ's meaning was simpler than any that has been specified, viz. that it was God's plan to seal a covenant by a sacrifice, and that, like the Old, the New Covenant, which provided for the remission of sins, had a sign of its origin and validity in the shedding and sprinkling of blood.

(*b*) The *Pauline Epistles* bring us closer to the familiar theological issues. In view of his speculative interests, it is antecedently probable that St. Paul had reflected on the problems which have proved so fascinating to later Christian thought, while his rabbinical training must have left a deposit of answers to similar questions touching OT sacrifice. As a fact, he makes a large contribution to a theory of the Atonement.

(*α*) The element of Christ's sacrifice to which decisive importance attaches is the death upon the cross. So vital is this that the gospel may be summarily described as the message of the cross (1 Co 1^{18}). It is in the death of the Son (Ro 5^{10}), in His cross, in the blood of His cross (Col 1^{20}), that the procuring cause is found of the blessings of redemption. It is obviously true that St. Paul recognizes other elements without which the death would have had no significance. Especially does it derive its value from the dignity of the person of Him who was Messiah, declared to be the Son of God in the resurrection, and who is now exalted (Ro 1^{4}, Col $1^{14ff.}$). But it was not simply as obedient (Ro 5^{19}, Ph 2^{8}), it was as the obedient One who was slain, and whose blood was spilt, that He had power and prevailed (Ro 3^{25}). 'It is upon the moment of death that the grounding of salvation is exclusively concentrated' (Holtzmann, *Neutest. Theol.* ii. p. 111).

(*β*) The sacrifice of Christ had the significance of the death of an innocent victim in the room of the guilty. It is vain to deny that St. Paul freely employs the category of substitution, involving the conception of the imputation or transference of moral qualities. He does not, indeed, expressly say that Christ died in our stead (*ἀντί*): the phrase is 'on our behalf' (*ὑπέρ*, Ro 5^{8} 8^{32}, 1 Th 5^{10} etc.), or 'on account of our sins' (*διά*, Ro 4^{25}; *περί*, 1 Co 15^{3}). But the idea of an exchange of parts as betwixt Christ and man is unmistakable. Christ suffers death, which is the penalty of our sins, not of His own; man is the recipient of a righteousness which he has not built up, but which is won for him by Christ (2 Co 5^{21}). From his reference to Christ as a means of propitiation (*ἱλαστήριον*, Ro 3^{25}) it is probable that the apostle conceived of Christ as expiating guilt through the vicarious endurance of its characteristic penalty. It does not, indeed, follow that he conceived of Christ as becoming the object of the Father's wrath, and construed the cross as having the quality of a punishment inflicted upon Christ and recognized as such, or the content of an equivalent of the misery of the lost (Pfleiderer, *Paulinismus*, p. 92 ff.).

(*γ*) The necessity of Christ's sacrifice had its ground in the Divine justice. The economy of grace, which includes the Atonement, is indeed derived, as its ultimate spring, from the love of God (Ro 5^{6-10} $8^{32.39}$); but the justice of God had a voice in the shaping and developing of the economy. The atoning sacrifice was necessary in order 'that God might be just' as well as 'the justifier of them that believe' (Ro 3^{26}). But this answer only opens up new vistas of questionings. Why was Christ's vicarious death demanded by God in virtue of His justice? We may safely say that neither the Grotian theory—to prevent the spread of sinful disorder by an example of punishment, nor even the orthodox view—because Divine justice by its very nature insists on punishment or satisfaction, lay within the apostle's horizon. The ground of the necessity was something more positive, viz. that God, whose word could not be broken, had enacted and provided in Scripture that sin would be punished with death. According to Pfleiderer, this is one of the instances of the contradictions of Paulinism. The Law, which the apostle pronounced to be temporary and now abrogated, is here utilized to lay the foundation of the doctrine of the Atonement (*op. cit.* p. 103). But the proclamation of death as the wages of sin is not confined to the Law; it goes back to the patriarchal and earlier times (Gn 3^{3}), in which St. Paul always recognized an anticipation of the religious conditions of the age of the gospel.

(*δ*) The sacrificial death of Christ was an event which broke the power of sin as the dominant principle of humanity. It does not exhaust St. Paul's teaching as to the mode of its efficacy to say that, on the ground of the sacrifice, God accepts and sanctifies the sinner. He also teaches that in the death of Christ there took place a death of mankind to sin, 'If one died for all, then all died' (2 Co 5^{14}, cf. Ro 8^{3}). Humanity was then in a manner comprehended in Him, and, although the realization was to be partial and gradual, contemporaneously with His death it died in principle to the old order in which the flesh held the nobler elements in thrall. Christ routed sin in the sphere of human nature, and a new humanity was thus potentially created. While insufficiently recognizing the forensic aspect of Christ's work, Weizsäcker justly observes: 'it consists not only with his doctrine of the Person of Christ, but also with the several modes of thought of the great apostle, that Christ's work in death appears to him under this highest view-point of the destruction of a world and its power through a higher power and order, and that this distinction should take place in its own province, so that flesh is vanquished in the flesh, law through law, death through death' (*Apost. Zeitalt.* p. 140).

(*c*) The *Epistle to the Hebrews*, though dealing very fully with the sacrifice of Christ, chiefly dwells on its parallelism to the Levitical sacrifices in respect of the ritualistic acts of the manipulation of the blood, and its superiority as regards its range and efficacy. There are, however, two points at which it propounds or develops a reflexion which is of far-reaching importance in the field of speculation. The first relates to the question as to the precise nature of Christ's offering, or the element which gave it its atoning value. In common with the apostles, the writer fixes our attention closely on the event of the bodily death as that which constitutes Christ the sin-bearer (9^{28}) and the instrument of our sanctification (10^{10}). But behind this lay the question wherein the sacrificial value of the death consisted. Was the material of the sacrifice the sum of the physical anguish, and of the accompanying distress of spirit, which immediately preceded death, and especially of the agony, the humiliation, and the dissolution of the final event? Or was it the spirit of self-sacrificing love which prompted Jesus to lay down His life? In other words, was the sacrifice of Christ efficacious in virtue of its quality of a suffering unto death, or in virtue of its quality of an obedience unto death? Already St. Paul, in whose scheme of thought it was of vital consequence that Christ suffered the physical consequences due to human sin, had given expression to the thought that an element of fundamental value was the obedience of Christ. That we are justified by His blood, and that we are justified by His obedience, are parallel conceptions (Ro $5^{9.19}$). This conception, which with St. Paul comes in somewhat incidentally, is very directly stated in He $10^{5.9}$ 'Sacrifices and offerings and whole burnt-offerings and sacrifices for sin thou wouldest not; then hath he said, Lo, I am come to do thy will' (vv.$^{8.9}$). Here the contrast between the Levitical sacrifices and the sacrifice of Christ is developed in a peculiarly suggestive way. It does not consist in this, that in the former case animal victims are slain, in the latter a victim of pre-eminent dignity, but in the circumstance that in the one case the offering is a material, in the other a spiritual oblation.

The second important passage is that in which the writer develops the parallel to the action of the high priest in the sanctuary on the Day of Atonement. Even as the high priest entered the Holy of Holies, bearing with him sacrificial blood, which he offered for himself and the people (9^{7}), so Christ entered heavenly places 'through his own blood,' or to present His sacrifice before God ($9^{11ff.}$ v.^{23}). From this representation it would appear that the vital moment of the sacrificial act was the presentation of His blood. And as it may be maintained that the object in presenting the blood was, not to bring into God's presence evidence of the consummation of the death, but to offer that which the OT described as the seat of life, it would follow that the quality of satisfying God attached to Christ's offering of a stainless soul or a perfected obedience. The issue may be more sharply defined thus: Was the satisfaction rendered by Christ the death to which He voluntarily submitted, or was

it the lifelong obedience which found in the death its last and most signal expression? To many minds the thought embodied in the second alternative has brought welcome intellectual relief. For the hard saying that God could be satisfied only by the death of His Son it substitutes the reasonable and even natural idea that the filial obedience manifested in the whole life of Jesus —in His inner life, and His ministry of teaching and beneficence, as well as in His faithfulness unto death—constituted the offering with which God was well pleased, and which brought humanity into a new relation to God.

While suggesting the higher conception of the nature of Christ's offering, the Epistle does not free itself from the idea that the physical event of death came into account as something additional to the obedience. It accepts the principle that 'apart from shedding of blood there is no remission' (9^{22}), and indeed knows nothing of a sacrifice which does not involve suffering and death as an essential element of it (9^{26}). The following utterance seems to come near to the eventual teaching of the Epistle. 'It has been said that Christ's perfect sacrifice is wholly inward, of the heart. But is it not essential to sacrifice that it should be the outward act by which the inward intention is realized, is pledged, is sealed? The inward self-dedication only becomes sacrificial when it has discovered the appropriate offering by which it can verify itself. Only through attaining this expression, in outward realization, does the language of sacrifice apply to it' (Scott Holland in *Priesthood and Sacrifice*, p. 85).

(*d*) In the *Johannine writings* the centre of gravity shifts from the Atonement to the Incarnation. In the Pauline theology the capital theme is the sinner's acceptance and pardon on the ground of Christ's atoning sacrifice; in the Johannine it is the possession of eternal life in intimate and vitalizing union with the Word made flesh. The keynote of the one is reconciliation,—of the other, communion. It is indeed a difference of emphasis, not of inclusion and exclusion. As St. Paul also experienced and chronicled the inspiration and spiritual energy enjoyed in mystic communion with the exalted Christ, so the Johannine writings also embody numerous references to the importance of Christ's sacrificial death. They preserve the Baptist's testimony to Christ as the lamb-victim, whether the Paschal lamb or the suffering Servant of Jehovah (Is 53^{11}), that takes away the sin of the world (Jn 1^{29}); His work is paralleled, as in Hebrews, to that of the high priest on the Day of Atonement (17^{19}); and His death, which is conceived as a Sin-offering, has manifestly expiatory value (*ἱλασμὸς περὶ ἁμαρτιῶν*, 1 Jn 2^{2}, cf. 4^{10}). But the group of ideas connected with the Atonement is felt to be accepted and reproduced as part of the common stock of Christian beliefs, rather than to have been assimilated and developed under the progressive guidance of the Spirit of truth.

It has sometimes been affirmed that St. John unfolds a new theory of redemption. Not by dying, but by shedding abroad a revelation of God and true life from His Divine-human person, did Christ come to drive away darkness and sin (cf. Holtzmann, ii. 474). In other words, his soteriological theory was Greek—that sin is ignorance, and its remedy light. But his being possessed with the marvel of the Incarnation was not incompatible with the loyal acceptance which he intimates of the general belief as to the significance of Christ's death. In Roman Catholic and Anglican theology there is a similar insistence on the pre-eminence of the Incarnation dogma, coupled with a certain reserve, but assuredly no want of faith, in regard to the Atonement.

Such being the perspective of the Johannine theology, there is not much ground for expecting answers to questions raised in the theory of the Atonement. It accentuates by preference moral aspects of the Atonement, but without entitling us to infer that Christ's sacrifice only influences God indirectly through the change which it previously produces in believers. As examples of its moral influence may be noted that in the Capernaum discourse Christ views His death as the preliminary to giving His flesh for the life of the world (6^{51}), and that at a later period it is spoken of as destined to exercise an irresistible magnetism (12^{32}). But that its influence was not in the first instance merely subjective, appears from the fact that it is represented as a transaction in which Satan joined issue in decisive conflict, was beaten back, and in consequence was shorn of his power (16^{11} 12^{31}). And with this direct transcendental effect clearly predicated, it becomes the more probable that in the Johannine teaching the sacrifice of Christ, when likened to an expiatory or propitiatory sacrifice, was understood to have an effect upon God unconditioned by its after-fruits in human experience.

To sum up, we find that the NT writers are unanimous and distinct as to the saving significance of Christ's sacrifice, as to the blessings which flow from it, and as to the conditions on which these are appropriated. As regards the precise nature of the offering, and its mode of working, our Lord says nothing definite. St. Paul certainly holds the satisfaction of Divine justice through a vicarious death; the Ep. to the Hebrews emphasizes the germinal thought that the offering was the obedience or spiritual perfection of Christ; St. John's record chiefly confines itself to its moral bearings. Upon the points in question, indeed, they have more to teach if we could handle the key. To their thinking, and to that of their readers, these points were elucidated by describing Christ's death as a sacrifice, especially a Sin-offering; but, as we cannot say with confidence what was the accepted theory of the significance of sacrifice, the elucidation has in its turn become a problem. From this condition of mingled certainty and uncertainty several inferences may fairly be drawn. In the first place, it may be surmised that the sacrificial category, while emphasizing certain vital aspects, was inadequate to the expression of the full significance of the work of Christ, and that the old sacrificial doctrine was providentially left in obscurity at those points where it was least adequate. In close connexion with this it may also be suggested that there was a design not to bind up the work of Christ so intimately with the interpretation of an obsolescent institution as to prevent its receiving fresh illumination from other fields of human life. From this would follow, further, a commission to theology not to regard itself as bound by the fragmentary NT data for a theory of the Atonement, but to reinterpret by its own thought the nature, the grounds of the necessity, and the mode of efficacy of the sacrifice of Christ. In the exercise of this commission modern theology has very generally become penetrated by the conviction that the sacrifice of Christ is too narrowly interpreted of His death, and that the atoning efficacy attaches to the whole life, in which active and passive obedience are interwoven as warp and woof. Meanwhile the uncertainty which attaches to certain stages of the process only throws into bolder relief the apostolic certitude as to the fact that God was in Christ reconciling the world to Himself.

iii. THE SACRIFICES OF THE CHRISTIAN LIFE. —The NT doctrine is that Christ offered a sacrifice which established peace with God, and which procures the forgiveness of sins. But with this the conception of offering was not wholly detached from the sphere of human service; on the contrary, a place is reserved for human offerings of a complementary or secondary kind.

(*a*) The graces and the activities of the Christian life have a sacrificial character. In the Prophets it was a frequent thought that the forms and expressions of the devout life—the broken spirit, the voice of adoration and aspiration—were

sacrifices of peculiar value; and such spiritual exercises continued to be described as oblations. The NT doctrine of the priesthood of believers also involved the idea that they had somewhat to offer. The material of such offerings is the Christian personality (Ro 15[16], cf. Jude [24]), or the body regarded as the instrument of Christian service (Ro 12[1]), or the exercises and activities of the Christian life (1 P 2[5]), including prayer (He 13[15]), beneficent deeds (v.[16]), money gifts (Ph 4[18]), or the graces in which service has its spring (faith, Ph 2[17]) (Cave, p. 406 ff., who treats this subject very fully and suggestively). The immediate effect attributed to these offerings is that they are pleasing to God (Ro 12[1]), are to Him as the odour of a sweet smell (Ph 4[18]).

But the further question arises whether God, as pleased with these sacrifices, and on the ground of the offerings, bestows upon the Christian any special corresponding blessing. It may safely be said that they are not regarded as expiatory: only faith comes into account as connected with the forgiveness of sin, and then as the mere condition of obtaining the boon of which the real ground is the sacrifice of Christ. But certain of the offerings specified have at least a purificatory virtue—faith which overcomes the world, and hope which purifies. As regards forms of Christian service, it is antecedently probable that they were regarded as procuring certain benefits. To call an act a sacrifice, was clearly to imply that a benefit followed; and to say that God was well pleased, was equally to imply that He would practically manifest His approbation. From the NT standpoint, indeed, the motive for rendering spiritual sacrifices is gratitude to God for His inexpressible magnanimity; but it does not thence follow that they do not receive a rich Divine recognition. In the parable of the Unjust Steward it is taught that wealth might be so used as to procure an abundant entrance into the everlasting habitations (Lk 16[1ff.]), and it is no unfamiliar thought of the apostle of grace that God will specially reward the work and labour of love.

But what is the precise nature of the Divine response to the offerings of service? The current reply is that in the present it takes the form of inward enrichment and growth in grace, and that in the world to come it will be manifested in a distinction of degrees of glory. But it may be doubted if this exhausts the NT conception of the efficacy of the secondary sacrifices. The life that utters itself in the forms of sacrifice would appear to evoke a response additional to strengthening grace, which is of the nature of a special providential discipline or blessing, and which, resting on the individual or even the house, makes generally for their protection and well-being (Mt 6[33]). So St. Paul, after specifying the acceptable sacrifices of the Philippians, concludes that God will supply all their need (Phil 4[19]).

An expiatory character might appear to be ascribed to one class of spiritual sacrifices, viz. the sufferings of the saints. 'I rejoice in my sufferings on your behalf,' says the apostle, 'and fill up what is lacking of the afflictions of Christ in my flesh on behalf of his body, which is the Church' (Col 1[24]). By some Rom. Cath. exegetes it has been argued that the afflictions of the saints are regarded as combined with the passion of Christ to constitute the satisfaction on the ground of which God pardons sin. But while the apostle affirms that his sufferings are for the good of the Church, he does not say that it is as propitiatory, and the mode of conveying benefit may well have been that, by the apostolic example of patient obedience, the body was edified. But how do they fill up what was lacking of Christ's sufferings? The idea may either be that the apostle desired to approximate to the standard of Christ's sufferings (Weiss), or that he desired to endure his share of the sufferings which Christ, through His Church-body, has yet to suffer (Alford, *in loc.*). See also Lightfoot and Abbott.

(*b*) The worship of the Church embodies a sacrificial element; but this is not to be identified with the Eucharist, nor can the latter be scripturally interpreted as having the character of a propitiatory sacrifice. To say that worship is sacrificial is to repeat what has already been said of the NT spiritual sacrifices. The faith and hope and love which find expression in praise and prayer, the money gifts which are devoted to the work of Christ, are declared by the apostles to have this character. Specially is the celebration of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, evoking, as it does, faith and hope and the sentiment of gratitude, the occasion of the presentation of spiritual offerings. The special question is whether the Eucharist is a sacrifice in a peculiar specific sense, and if so, what is its precise character and efficacy. The question as to whether it may be called a sacrifice is not of vital importance. It may easily be brought within the compass of our working definition. 'In a certain loose sense the Lord's Supper may be called a sacrifice, inasmuch as it was deliberately associated by its founder with the sacrificial rites of the OT' (Cave, p. 439). The really important issues are raised by the Roman doctrine, which interprets it as continuous with the atoning sacrifice of Christ, and as therefore possessing a propitiatory character.

'By the consecration of the bread and of the wine a conversion is made of the whole substance of the bread into the substance of the body of Christ our Lord, and of the whole substance of the wine into the substance of His blood' (Dec. Conc. Trident., Sess. xiii. cap. 4). 'Forasmuch as, in this Divine sacrifice, which is celebrated in the Mass, that same Christ is contained and immolated in an unbloody manner who once offered Himself in a bloody manner on the altar of the Cross, the holy Synod teaches that this sacrifice is truly propitiatory, and that by means thereof this is effected—that we obtain mercy and find grace if we draw nigh contrite and penitent,' etc. (Twenty-second sess. cap. 2). 'Wherefore, not only for the sins, etc., of the faithful who are living, but also for those who are departed in Christ, and not yet fully purified, it is rightly offered' (*ib.*). At the same time, it is held that propitiation is not the only, or even the principal, fruit (canon 5 of thirteenth sess.).

It would be out of place to develop the general objections to this view, which involves the grave religious defect of suggesting that salvation rests on an incomplete and therefore insecure foundation. The relevant objections are that the tenet of transubstantiation, which is the presupposition of the theory, has no scriptural warrant, while the interpretation of the Eucharist as a perpetual propitiatory offering is inconsistent with the NT teaching that the sacrifice of Christ was expiatory, and was offered once for all (Ro 6[10], He 7[27] 9[12. 26-28] 10[10. 12. 14], 1 P 3[18]).

According to a modified view, the Eucharist is a perpetuation of Christ's sacrifice, but not of the propitiatory sacrifice which He offered on Calvary. Attention is here transferred to the sacrifice which Christ presented, and continues to present, in the heavenly sanctuary (He 8[1-3]), and it is maintained that in the Eucharist the Church presents an offering which is organically connected with the ceaseless offering of her Head.

'The offering of our Heavenly High Priest,' to quote an important statement of this view, 'includes in it a present and eternal offering of His life in heaven.' But the duty of the Church is to repeat and represent the life of her Head in another and higher world; and in the Eucharist she 'appropriates and reproduces the priestly offering of Him in whom she lives. As our Lord's offering of Himself never ends or can end, so in that offering His people, organically united to Him, one with Him, must be offered, and must offer themselves; and this they do in the expressive and touching symbols of the Eucharist' (Milligan, *Heavenly Priesthood*, p. 266).

On this view, then, the Eucharist is a sacrifice which not only represents, but also, as a consequence of Christ's union with the Church, forms a part of the offering made by Christ to God. It is commended on the ground that it satisfies the legitimate demand for a perpetual oblation which is unscripturally ministered to in the sacri-

fice of the Mass. But the scriptural evidence is in conflict with its cardinal positions. The offering of Christ, which is the ground of our salvation, was, according to passages already quoted, one which does not need to be repeated, and we are therefore forced to seek it within the compass of Christ's earthly life — either in His death or in His obedience unto death. It is said, indeed, that that which is unchangeable and everlasting is not repeated, but it is hardly disputable that what was present to the mind of the writer to the Hebrews was the contrast of the ever-renewed to the completed, not to the never-ending offering. Nor was it declared in the words of institution that the special purpose of the Eucharist was to furnish the Church with an ordinance which should be a counterpart, and even a part, of the activities of Christ's heavenly priesthood. Rather is it brought into close relation with the obedience unto death which preceded His entrance into glory.

On the whole, it may be concluded that, while the Eucharist, more than other means of grace, has the form of a sacrifice, it is at bottom, like them, only the occasion of sacrifice, *i.e.* of the presentation to God of spiritual offerings. Whether the outward act be prayer, or praise, or the Eucharist, the offerings therein rendered to God are the faith, the penitence, and the self-surrender to which it gives expression, and which are sustained by the rite.

The Typology of Sacrifice, which has been incidentally touched on, requires more direct consideration at the close of this study, in which we have seen the sacrificial worship of the earlier dispensation disappear in the sacrifices of the New Covenant. From the typological point of view, the Levitical sacrifices come under the category of prediction. They differed from the predictions proper in form,—being enshrined not in word but in institution and rite,—but they served the same end of testifying beforehand to the person, the life, and the work of Christ, and to the contents and conditions of His salvation. In the older works the study of sacrifice as prediction and fulfilment was assiduously prosecuted as at once affording the deepest gratification to the believer, and furnishing a weapon of distinct apologetic value. In labouring at this task, Christian piety gave free play to fancy, and every feature of the OT ritual became eloquent of the unspeakable riches of Christ. Dogmatic prepossessions also supervened to dominate the discussion; and, while the Romanist discovered in the Levitical system a foreshadowing and corroboration of the distinctive sacerdotal and sacramentarian tenets of his communion, the Protestant found in it an equally good witness for every fundamental article of the evangelical system of doctrine (Fairbairn, *Typology of Scripture*).

The luminous and thorough monograph of Principal Cave is distinguished, in its treatment of the typical aspect of sacrifice, by great sobriety of judgment. A type is defined as an enacted prophecy, and three essential notes are distinguished: it adumbrates something; it adumbrates some future thing, and it is specially designed by God to adumbrate that future thing (p. 158). The sacrificial practice he divides into two branches —that which was concerned with atonement, and that which was concerned with the presentation of the offering. And to these types respectively correspond, as their antitypes, the death of Christ and our spiritual sacrifices. 'The atonement by blood has its antitype in the atonement made by Jesus. In the activities and passivities of the Christian life are to be found the antitype of the Mosaic injunctions other than those concerning the methods of atonement, the high priesthood, and the tabernacle' (p. 419, cf. 406 ff.).

The precedent for treating the OT sacrifices typologically, *i.e.* as predictive in character and design, is set in the NT. As certainly as reliance is placed on fulfilments of OT verbal predictions is use made of antitypal fulfilments to attest the Messiahship and the redemptive mission of Jesus. But while the OT sacrifices are thus accorded the dignity of OT predictions, they must also share in the consequences of the altered view as to the precise nature and scope of prophecy viewed as prediction. What has become increasingly clear is that OT prophecy does not consist of chapters of detailed history written before the event. Prophetism was in essence faith in God as the righteous Governor of the world and the gracious Guardian of His people, and on the basis of this faith it cherished a confident expectation of the realization on earth of a kingdom of righteousness by the instrumentality of a divinely commissioned King, who should through suffering establish His dominion (Bruce, *Apolog.*[2] p. 257 ff.). Similarly, the typical element in the Levitical code cannot be regarded as coextensive with its multifarious forms and ritualistic acts. The Pentateuchal code of sacrifice is not a mystical version of the Christian religion, whose every form and rite was shaped by a design to show forth the story of our Lord's passion, or to elucidate the 'activities and the passivities' of the Christian life. The witness which it bears to Christ is less voluminous, but not necessarily less weighty. The OT sacrifices expressed a need which Christ satisfies, and embodied a faith which Christ justifies. The need to which they gave utterance was that felt by the human heart for some ground of religious confidence external to itself; and this, which the animal victim only seemed to supply, is fully met in the Christian conviction that sin is forgiven, in some real deep sense, for Christ's sake. The faith which they declared was that God had provided a means by which man could enter into communion with God, and the great expectation which they expressed has its realization in the filial relations with God into which the Christian is brought by Christ. Yet once more, the institution embodied the conviction, which was also a prediction, that the sovereign boon of union with God is not won without labour and cost. The victim was slain, the offerer denied himself for God. And this principle only attained to a fuller and deeper realization when, on the one hand, Christ died that He might bring men to God and reign in human hearts; and when, on the other, it was seen that self-sacrifice is the ritual of the lives that He moulds.

LITERATURE.—Mishna סדר קדש (*Rerum sanctarum ordo*), esp. זבחים (*de Sacrificiis*), ed. Surenhusius, vol. iii., Amsterdam, 1702; Philo, *de Victimis* (Yonge's tr. 1855, vol. iii.); Outram, *de Sacrificiis*, London, 1677; Spencer, *de legibus Hebræorum ritualibus* (lib. iii. 'de ratione et origine Sacrificiorum'), Cantab. 1727; Sykes, *Essay on the Nature, etc., of Sacrifices*, London, 1748; Davison, *Origin and Extent of Primitive Sacrifice*, London, 1825; Bähr, *Symbolik des Mosaischen Cultus*, Heidelberg, 1837; Kurtz, *Der AT Opfercultus* (Eng. tr.), Edin. 1865; Oehler, *Theol. des AT* (Eng. tr.), Edin. 1882; Fairbairn, *The Typology of Scripture*, Edin. 1847; Cave, *Script. Doct. of Sacrifice*, Edin. 1877; Wellhausen, *Proleg. zur Gesch. Isr.* 1883 (Eng. tr. with additions, Edin. 1885); Nowack, *Lehrb. der hebräischen Archäologie*, bd. ii., Freiburg, 1894; Benzinger, *Heb. Arch.*, Freiburg, 1895; Riehm, *Alttest. Theol.*, Halle, 1889, p. 114 f.; Smend, *Lehrb. der Alttest. Religionsgeschichte*[2], Freiburg, 1899, §§ 9, 17.

For discussion of special points the following reffs. may be given: Stade, *ZATW*, 1894 (sacrifices of Cain and Abel); Kamphausen, *Das Verhältniss des Menschenopfers zur israel. Religion*, Bonn, 1896; Trumbull, *The Blood Covenant*, New York, 1885; Wilcken, *Ueber das Haaropfer*, Amsterdam, 1886; Riehm, 'Ueber das Schuldopfer,' in *SK*, 1854, i. p. 93 ff.; Rinck, *ib.* 1855, ii. p. 369 ff.; H. Schultz, 'Significance of Sacrifice in OT,' in *AJT*, April 1900. The theological aspects are prominent in the following: Warburton, *Divine Legation of Moses*, London, 1738; Magee, *Script. Doct. of Atonement and Sacrifice*, London, 1812; Payne Smith, *Powers and Duties of the Priesthood*, London, 1868; Maurice, *The Doctrine of Sacrifice*, London, 1879; Jowett in *Epp. to Thessal.* etc.[3] ii. 550, London, 1894; Delitzsch, *Com. on Heb.* (Eng. tr.), Edin. 1868; A. B. Davidson, *Com. on Heb.*, Edin. 1882; Milligan, *The Ascension and Heavenly Priesthood of our Lord*, London, 1892; *Priesthood and Sacrifice* (Report of Discussion at Oxford), ed. Sanday, London, 1900; Scott, *Sacrifice: its Prophecy and Fulfilment*, Edin. 1894; Baxter, *Sanctuary and Sacrifice*, London, 1895; Moberly, *Atonement and Personality*, London, 1901.

The discussion of the origin and evolution of Semitic sacrifice is dominated by Wellhausen, *Skizzen u. Vorarbeiten, Reste arab. Heidenthums*[2], Berlin, 1897, and esp. W. R. Smith, *RS*[2], London, 1894, examined by Marillier in *Rev. de l'hist. des Rel.* (1897–98); Hubert et Mauss, 'Essai sur le nature et la fonction du sacrifice,' in *L'Année Sociologique* for 1897–98, Paris. For the place of sacrifice in the heathen religions see de la Saussaye, *Lehrb. der Religionsgeschichte*, Freiburg, 1887; Tiele, *Geschichte der Rel. im Alterthum*, Gotha, 1895; Jevons, *An Introduction to the History of Religion*, London, 1896; Tylor, *Primitive Culture*[3], London, 1891; H. Spencer, *Principles of Sociology*, London, 1876; Lubbock, *Origin of Civilization*[5], London, 1889; Frazer, *The Golden Bough*[2], London, 1900; Zimmern, *Beiträge zur Kenntniss der babylon. Religion*, Leipzig, 1896; Nägelsbach, *Homerische Theologie*[3], Nürnberg, 1884; Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, Oxford, 1896; Fowler, *The Roman Festivals of the Period of the Republic*, London, 1899.

W. P. PATERSON.

SADDUCEES.—

i. Origin and History of the Sadducees.
ii. Derivation of the name 'Sadducee.'
iii. Their opposition to the Pharisees.
  (*a*) Controversies as to the Law: (1) Criminal Law, (2) questions of Ritual, (3) the Feasts.
  (*b*) Doctrinal differences: (1) as to the resurrection of the body, and future retribution; (2) as to the existence of angels and spirits; (3) as to 'fate' and free will, and Divine providence.
iv. The Sadducees and Jesus.

i. ORIGIN AND HISTORY OF THE SADDUCEES (cf. art. PHARISEES, § i.).—The Sadducees were the spiritual descendants of the priestly party in Jerusalem, which, towards the close of the Greek period of Israel's history, was anxious to Hellenize the Palestinian Jews. The Maccabæan rising (see art. MACCABEES), which was caused by the attempt of Antiochus Epiphanes to accomplish this by violence, taught these Hellenizers the folly of tampering with the national religion; while the success of Judas Maccabæus and his brothers in asserting the nation's political independence deprived them of office and power. Their descendants, however, speedily accommodated themselves to the new order of things, which was in many respects after their mind. The Maccabæan rising had ended otherwise than was hoped when it began. In the course of the struggle for national independence the Maccabee brothers were compelled to enter into alliances with foreign princes, to receive honours and dignities from them, and in general to maintain their cause by the use of purely secular means. The Jewish State which they set up was not essentially different from the secular States around them. This led to a new development of parties among the Jews. The HASIDÆANS, who had withdrawn from the struggle with the Syrians, when religious freedom was granted, grew both in numbers and in strictness, and came to be known as the *Pharisees*. Their great concern was, not that the nation should be politically independent, but that it should be secured against the intrusion of all foreign elements by the most scrupulous observance of the Law. And they now found themselves face to face, not with foreign rulers, but with native princes, who, while thoroughly orthodox in the faith, were indifferent to what they conceived to be the interests of religion, and from whom they accordingly became increasingly estranged.

The successors of the Hellenizers, on the other hand, were in full sympathy with the secular policy of the Hasmonæan princes, and, unlike the Pharisees, took no exception to the illegitimacy of their high priesthood. They entered the service of the new princes as soldiers and diplomatists, and, drawing around them the leading adherents of the new dynasty, formed the party, to which was given their family name of Zadokites or *Sadducees*. Taught by experience, this party made no violent attempts to introduce Greek customs; but they were a purely political party: their main interest was in the Jewish State as an independent State, and not, like that of the Pharisees, in the legal purity of the Jews as a religious community. The tension between the Hasmonæans and the Pharisees at last became so keen that John Hyrcanus broke decisively with the latter, and openly proclaimed himself on the side of the Sadducees.

From their first appearance in history as a distinct party (during the reign of John Hyrcanus, B.C. 135–105), the Sadducees were the devoted adherents of the Hasmonæan princes. Under Aristobulus I. and Alexander Jannæus, the immediate successors of John Hyrcanus, their party was supreme. Under Alexandra Salome the Pharisees were for a short time in possession of power; but when Aristobulus II. became king the Sadducees once more came to the front. They supported him in his conflict with Hyrcanus II., Antipater, and the Romans, and they also stood by him and his two sons, Alexander and Antigonus, in their attempts to restore the Hasmonæan dynasty. But the day of their political power was now past. Their numbers were also considerably reduced. When Pompey captured Jerusalem (B.C. 63) he executed many of their leaders, as did also Herod (B.C. 37). Herod further diminished their influence by appointing and removing high priests according to his own pleasure, and by filling the Sanhedrin with his own creatures. When Judæa, after the deposition of Archelaus, came under the direct rule of the Romans, the Sadducees, who now included the families raised to the dignity of the high priesthood by Herod, again attained a measure of power through their preponderance in the Sanhedrin, to which the Romans committed the internal government of the country, reserving to themselves, however, not only the control of all military matters and the levying of customs, but also the confirmation and execution of all capital sentences. Matters remained thus down to the troubled days that preceded the destruction of Jerusalem, except during the short reign of Agrippa I. (A.D. 41–44), who favoured the Pharisees. But the latter were the real possessors of power; for, in order to render themselves tolerable to the people, the Sadducees were compelled to act in most matters in accordance with Pharisaic principles. And when Jerusalem was destroyed and Israel ceased to exist as a nation, they speedily disappeared entirely from history.

According to Josephus (*Ant.* XIII. x. 6, XVIII. i. 4), the Sadducees were a small minority of the Jews, which included only the rich and those of the highest dignity. This is almost equivalent to identifying them with the priestly aristocracy and their adherents. During the second half of the Persian and the whole of the Greek domination of Israel, the high priests were the civil as well as the religious heads of the Jewish community in Judæa, and, theirs being the only hereditary office among the Jews since the downfall of the Davidic monarchy, they and their families formed a kind of sacerdotal nobility (cf. Jos. *Vita*, 1). We are expressly told in Josephus (*Ant.* XX. ix. 1) and in Ac 5[17] (cf. 4[1] 23[1ff.]), that in NT times some at least of the high priests were Sadducees. It was these chief priests with their families and adherents that formed the Sadducean party. This party, however, was not a priestly party in the sense that the priests generally necessarily belonged to it: some of these (*e.g.* Josephus, *Vita*, 1 f.; see also *Vita*, 39; Taylor's *Sayings of the Jewish Fathers*[2], ii. 10, iii. 2) were Pharisees (cf. Jn 1[19. 24]). Nor did it, as a rule, stand up for the special interests of the priests. The opposition between the Pharisees and the Sadducees was not an opposition between the strict legalists and the priests, but between the former and the chief priests and their adherents (cf. Schürer, *GJV*[3] ii. 406 f.).

ii. DERIVATION OF THE NAME 'SADDUCEES.'—The name 'Sadducees' (צְדוּקִים, sing. צָדוֹק, Σαδδουκαῖοι) is now almost universally derived from the proper name *Zadok*. The derivation, favoured by many of the Fathers and by a few moderns (*e.g.* Derenbourg, Stanley, and Edersheim), from the adj. צַדִּיק, according to which the Sadducees were the *righteous*, so called either because, in opposition to the Pharisees, they adhered to the written law, or because of their severity as judges,

must be abandoned, owing to the impossibility of accounting for the change of *i* into *u* (see especially Montet, *Essai sur les origines des partis saducéen et pharisien*, 53 ff.). From which Zadok, however, did they derive their name? According to *Aboth de- Rabbi Nathan*, from a disciple of Antigonus of Socho.

'Antigonus of Socho received from Shime'on ha-Çaddiq. He used to say, Be not as slaves that serve the Rab on the terms of receiving recompense; but be as slaves that serve the Rab not on the terms of receiving recompense; and let the fear of Heaven be upon you; that your reward may be doubled for the time to come. Antigonus of Socho had two disciples, who repeated his words; and they repeated them to (their) disciples, and their disciples to their disciples. They arose and refined after them, and said, What did our fathers imagine, in saying that a labourer might do work all the day and not receive his reward at evening? Nay, but if our fathers knew that there was the world to come, and that there was a revival of the dead, they would not have spoken thus. They arose and separated from the Thorah; and two sects were formed from them, *Çadukin* and *Baithusin*; Çadukin after the name of Çadok, Baithusin after the name of Baithos' (Taylor, *l.c.* 112 f.).

This legend, though adopted by Ewald (*GVI*[3] iv. 357), is of no historical value. It is first found in a document of late origin; it is plainly wrong in what it says of the Boethusians, who derived their name from Boethus, the father of Simon, whose daughter, Mariamne, Herod married, and whom he raised to the high priesthood (*Ant.* XV. ix. 3; cf. XVII. iv. 2, XVIII. v. 1, XIX. vi. 2); it is also mistaken in asserting that the Sadducees rejected the Law, and in making the denial of a resurrection of the dead their primary and fundamental characteristic. We must therefore either derive the name 'Sadducee' from an unknown Zadok, an influential member or head of the party at an epoch which it is impossible to determine (Montet, *l.c.* 59), or from Zadok, who was priest in Jerusalem in the days of David and Solomon (1 K $1^{8.\ 26.\ 32ff.}$ 2^{35}; cf. 4^{4}, 1 Ch 29^{22}), and whose descendants held the same office down to the Exile. The latter derivation is generally regarded, not indeed as thoroughly established, but as the most probable. In his ideal picture of the future theocracy, Ezekiel (40^{46} 43^{19} 44^{15} 48^{11}; in all these passages the LXX has the form Σαδδούκ) admits only the 'sons of Zadok' to the right of officiating as priests in the new temple at Jerusalem. Though after the return from the Exile this rule was not strictly carried out, the 'sons of Zadok' formed the main body of the post-exilic priesthood; and more especially it was from among them that the chief priests down to the close of the Greek period were drawn (see art. PRIESTS AND LEVITES, p. 96[a]). In the absence, therefore, of more specific information, it is assumed that the family name 'Zadokites' or 'Sadducees' was given, probably by their enemies, to the sacerdotal aristocratic party, which included not only the chief families of the legitimate line, but also the adherents of the Hasmonæan princes, and, in NT times, the families raised to the high priestly dignity by Herod and his successors.*

This derivation of the name 'Sadducees' is not inconsistent with what we know of the behaviour of many of these 'sons of Zadok.' As early as the time of Ezra and Nehemiah, not only did many of the common priests intermarry with the Gentiles among whom they lived (Ezr 9^{2}), but Eliashib, the high priest, and members of his family, entered freely into alliances with the neighbouring aristocracy and with the Persian officials (Neh $13^{4ff.\ 28}$). They were evidently more concerned for their own privileges than for the reformation so dear to the heart of Ezra and Nehemiah. The position of the high priests as civil heads, under the Persian or Greek governors, of the community in Judæa, almost inevitably led to their gradual secularization. They were necessarily brought into close contact with their Gentile rulers; and their political interests tended to thrust their religious interests into the background. There were doubtless some of these high priests who remembered what was due to their position as the servants of Jehovah, but the temptation to forget must have been very great. Towards the close of the Greek period many of the chief priestly families were entirely secularized; they felt no interest in what was distinctively characteristic of the Jewish religion; for the sake of their own personal enjoyment and advancement they were willing, and indeed eager, to adopt the manners and customs of their Gentile masters. 'The high priests regarded their sacred office only as a pedestal of worldly power' (Wellhausen, *IJG*[3] 248). There is nothing, therefore, improbable in the supposition that the aristocratic priestly party, whose interests were mainly political, and of which they formed from the beginning a considerable part, came to be known by their family name.

iii. THEIR OPPOSITION TO THE PHARISEES.—Though the Sadducees were the priestly nobility and the Pharisees were drawn mainly from the ranks of the common people, the opposition between them was not a mere opposition between two different classes of society. Nor was it merely a question as to the laxer or stricter interpretation and observance of the Law. It was an opposition of principles, of dispositions, and of theories of life (Wellhausen, *l.c.* 295). The Pharisees were, in their own peculiar way, intensely religious; their great desire was to mould their fellow-countrymen into a 'holy' nation by means of the Law; they looked forward to a future, in which their hopes were sure to be realized, and could therefore meanwhile endure the foreign dominion, provided it allowed them perfect religious freedom. The Sadducees, on the other hand, were largely indifferent to religion, except in so far as it was a matter of custom; their great care was for the State as a purely secular State; they were satisfied with the present, so far as it permitted them to live in comfort and splendour. The acute opposition between the two parties first manifested itself in the political sphere, in the struggle for power during the reign of John Hyrcanus and his successors. When the Hasmonæan dynasty fell, the animosity still continued; but to a large extent it necessarily ceased to be political, and concentrated itself upon questions as to the Law, matters of ritual, and doctrine.

(*a*) *Controversies as to the Law.*—The Sadducees refused to acknowledge the binding force of the oral law, the 'tradition of the elders' (Mt 15^{2}, Mk 7^{3}), to which the Pharisees attached supreme importance. They held that only the written law of Moses was binding (*Ant.* XIII. x. 6, XVIII. i. 4); and although, as judges, and in order to maintain their position against the Pharisees, they must have had their own exegetical tradition, they did not regard themselves as absolutely bound even by it; they held it praiseworthy to dispute with their teachers (*Ant.* XVIII. i. 4). It is incorrect, however, to represent them as acknowledging only the Pentateuch and as rejecting the rest of the OT. They also doubtless agreed with the Pharisees on many points settled by the oral law; only, unlike the Pharisees, they did not regard it as binding (cf. Taylor, *Sayings of Jewish Fathers*[2], p. 115).

* It is not claimed for this derivation of the name 'Sadducee,' which was first suggested by Geiger, that it is more than probable. Montet (*l.c.* 51 f.) argues against it that there is not a single trace in post-exilic literature of this close connexion between the Sadducees and the Zadokites, and that this unanimous silence is fatal to the hypothesis. Kuenen, whom he cites (p. 59 f.) as holding substantially his own view, afterwards changed his opinion. 'The name "Sadducees," which the priestly nobility of Jerusalem received later, I now also identify with Zadokites. In the not unjustifiable reaction against Geiger's exaggeration I went too far' (*Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Biblischen Wissenschaft*, 496).

In addition to, and partly in consequence of, this fundamental difference between the two parties, there were differences as to individual legal questions. (1) *Criminal Law.* As judges, the Sadducees were more severe than the Pharisees (*Ant.* xx. ix. 1; cf. xiii. x. 6). They interpreted literally the *lex talionis* (Ex 21^{24}, Dt 19^{21}), whereas the Pharisees mitigated its severity by accepting as punishment a money payment. They also interpreted literally Dt 25^{9} ('spit in his face'); the Pharisees said it was enough to spit before the offending person. As regards Ex $21^{28ff.\ 35f.}$ they went beyond the requirement of the Law in exacting compensation not only for the damage done by one's ox or ass, but also for that done by one's servants. They were less severe, however, than the Pharisees in punishing false witnesses. According to Dt $19^{16ff.}$ a false witness was to suffer the punishment which he hoped to see inflicted on the person falsely accused by him. The Sadducees held that this punishment should be inflicted on him only if the falsely accused person had been punished; the Pharisees demanded his punishment, provided sentence had been pronounced on the accused, whether the sentence was executed or not.

(2) *Questions of Ritual.* The Pharisees laid the greatest stress on the cleanness of the vessels used, and on the various actions being performed in due succession and with strict legal correctness. According to them, all the vessels of the temple had to be purified at the close of each feast; the scriptures were so precious that they could be written only on the skins of clean animals, and any one who touched the sacred rolls was thereby rendered unclean; in accordance with Lv 16^{13} they insisted, in opposition to the Sadducees, that on the Day of Atonement the high priest should not kindle the incense till after he had entered the Holy of Holies; at a Feast of Tabernacles, Alexander Jannæus was attacked by the people, the majority of whom by that time favoured the Pharisees, because, as high priest, he poured the water of libation upon the ground beside the altar, instead of upon the altar. The Sadducees scoffed at the Pharisaic laws relating to purity: according to Pharisaic principles, the sacred writings were less pure than the books of Homer, contact with which did not defile; the Pharisees, it was said, would even sprinkle the sun in the heavens with lustral water. So far as they laid stress on Levitical purity, it was apparently in the interest of the priesthood. They insisted that the red heifer, from whose ashes the lustral water was prepared (Nu 19^{1-10}), should be burned only by priests who had been thoroughly cleansed from all possible defilement, whereas the Pharisees laid more stress on the act performed by the priest than on the priest himself, whom they even tried to defile by contact with themselves. The Pharisees demanded that the cost of the daily sacrifice, which was offered on behalf of the whole people, should be defrayed out of the temple treasury; while the Sadducees maintained that, the treasure in the temple being in a manner their property, the sacrificial victims should be provided from the free-will offerings of the individuals who took part in the sacrifice.

(3) *As to the Feasts*, the two parties differed in the manner of fixing the date of Pentecost. According to Lv $23^{11.\ 15}$ seven full weeks had to be counted from 'the morrow after the sabbath' upon which the priest waved the sheaf of first-fruits before the Lord. The Pharisees followed the traditional interpretation (*e.g.* in the LXX, *ad loc.*; cf. *Ant.* iii. x. 5), that the 'sabbath' meant the first day of the feast, and that consequently Pentecost might fall on any day of the week. The Sadducees (or rather, according to Schürer, *l.c.* 413, the Boethusians, a variety of the Sadducees) held that the 'sabbath' meant the weekly sabbath, and that therefore Pentecost always fell on the first day of the week. They naturally also refused to acknowledge as binding the tradition of the fathers as to the way of observing the sabbath.*

(*b*) *Doctrinal differences.*—(1) According to the NT (Mt 22^{23}, Mk 12^{18}, Lk 20^{27}, Ac $4^{1.\ 2}$ 23^{8}) and Josephus, the Sadducees denied *the resurrection of the body*, to which Josephus adds that they denied also *future rewards and punishments*, and even maintained that the soul perishes with the body (*Ant.* xviii. i. 3 f.; *BJ* ii. viii. 14). The doctrines of a bodily resurrection and of future retribution in the later Jewish sense are not found, till late, in the OT; but it teaches a shadowy existence of souls in Sheol. In opposition to the Pharisees, therefore, the Sadducees held substantially the old Hebrew view, save (if Josephus is to be trusted) as regards continued existence after death. (2) According to Ac 23^{8} they also denied *the existence of angels and spirits, i.e.* of a world of supermundane spirits. Seeing that they accepted the OT, it is difficult to understand their position on this subject. It was probably due to their general indifference to religion and to the rationalistic temper which led to the extreme limit in opposition to the angelology of their adversaries. (3) According to Josephus (*BJ* ii. viii. 14; *Ant.* xiii. v. 9) the Sadducees denied 'fate' altogether; it was impossible for God to commit or to foresee anything evil; the doing of good or evil was left entirely to man's *free choice*; man was the master of his own destiny and the sole author of his own happiness or misery. The Pharisees, on the other hand, made everything dependent on 'fate' and God; still they did not teach an absolute fatalism; it had pleased God that there should be 'a mixture' of the Divine and human elements; there was a co-operation of God in all human actions, good and evil, but the doing of good or evil was to a large extent in man's power (*BJ* ii. viii. 14; *Ant.* xviii. i. 3, xiii. v. 9). 'Properly understood, the real difference between the Pharisees and Sadducees seems to have amounted to this: that the former accentuated God's preordination, the latter man's free-will; and that, while the Pharisees admitted only a partial influence of the human element on what happened, or the co-operation of the human with the Divine, the Sadducees denied all absolute preordination, and made man's choice of evil or good, with its consequences of misery or happiness, to depend entirely on the exercise of free-will and self-determination' (Edersheim, *The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, i. 316 f.). Though Josephus is our only authority for the denial of Divine providence on the part of the Sadducees, there is no good reason to question his substantial accuracy. They felt no need of a Divine providence, but relied entirely on their own resources. 'They claimed nothing from God, nor He from them' (Wellhausen, *l.c.* 295).

iv. The Sadducees and Jesus.—In the NT the Sadducees are mentioned by name only in Mt 3^{7} $16^{1.\ 6.\ 11f.}$ (in the parallel passage, Mk $8^{11ff.}$, they are not mentioned), $22^{23.\ 34}$, Mk 12^{18}, Lk 20^{27}, Ac 4^{1} 5^{17} $23^{6.\ 7.\ 8}$. They are not mentioned by name in St. John's Gospel, where, however, we find the expression 'chief priests and Pharisees' ($7^{32.\ 45}$ $11^{47.\ 57}$ 18^{3}) instead of the 'Pharisees and Sadducees' of Mt and Mk. It was only towards the close of His life that our Saviour came into open conflict with them. They had little influence with the people, especially in religious matters; His criticism was therefore mainly directed against the Pharisees and scribes, the supreme religious authorities, although, according to Mt $16^{6.\ 11}$, He also warned His disciples against the leaven of the Sadducees, meaning, probably, their utterly secular spirit. They, on their part, seem to have ignored Him, until, by driving the money-changers out of the temple (Mt $21^{12f.}$, Mk $11^{15ff.}$, Lk $19^{45f.}$), He interfered with the prerogatives of the Sanhedrin. His acceptance of the Messianic title 'son of David' also filled them with indignation against Him (Mt $21^{15f.}$). They accordingly joined the scribes and Pharisees in opposition to Him, and sought to destroy Him (Mk 11^{18}, Lk 19^{47}), first, however, attempting to discredit Him in the eyes of the people, and to bring down upon Him the vengeance of the Romans, by their questions as to His authority, as to the resurrection, and as to the lawfulness of paying tribute to Cæsar (Mt $21^{23ff.}$ $22^{23ff.}$, Mk $11^{27ff.}$ $12^{18ff.}$, Lk $20^{1ff.\ 19ff.\ 27ff.}$; cf. Jn $11^{47ff.\ 57}$). In the Sanhedrin that tried Him they probably formed the majority, and the 'chief priests,' who presided, belonged to their party. The ostensible ground on which they condemned Him was His claim to be the Messiah; this was blasphemy against God, for which they decreed Him worthy of death (Mt $26^{63ff.}$, Mk $14^{61ff.}$, Lk $22^{66ff.}$). But the Sadducees, at least, were doubtless even more influenced by the fear that a Messianic movement led by Jesus might have disastrous political consequences (cf. Jn $11^{47ff.}$).

After our Lord's Ascension they persisted in their opposition to Him in the person of His disciples (Ac $4^{1ff.}$ $5^{17ff.}$ $23^{1ff.}$). We are not informed that any of them joined the infant Church; for, as we have

* For a full account of these controversies see Montet, *l.c.* 236 ff., where the authorities are given; also Schürer, *l.c.* 412 ff.

seen, the priests, a great company of whom were obedient to the faith (Ac 6^7), were not necessarily of their party. According to Josephus (*Ant.* XX. ix. 1) they were also responsible for the death of James, the 'brother' of our Lord.

LITERATURE.—See literature at end of art. PHARISEES.

D. EATON.

SADDUK (B Σαδδούλουκος, A Σάδδουκος, AV Sadduc), 1 Es 8^2.—Zadok the high priest, ancestor of Ezra (cf. Ezr 7^2).

SADOC.—1. (*Sadoch*) An ancestor of Esdras, 2 Es 1^1=ZADOK of Ezr 7^2. **2.** (Σαδώκ) A descendant of Zerubbabel and ancestor of Jesus, Mt 1^{14}.

SAFFRON (כַּרְכֹּם *karkôm*, κρόκος, *crocus*).—*Kŭrkŭm*, the Arab. form of *karkôm*, is defined in the Arab. dictionaries by *zaʿfarân*, from which the Eng. word *saffron* is derived. Three sorts of plants are known in Arab. by the name *zaʿfarân*:—(1) The genus *Colchicum*, of the order *Liliaceæ*. The three styles of the species of this genus are long, and often orange-coloured, but are not used in medicine or cookery. The corm and seeds are medicinal. (2) *Carthamus tinctorius*, L., the Safflower or Bastard Saffron. This is an annual plant of the order *Compositæ*, 3–5 ft. high, having a head of orange-coloured flowerets as large as a walnut. These flowerets are employed for the same purposes as the true saffron, and, being much cheaper, they are used to adulterate the more costly commodity. They are also used in dyeing. The safflower is cultivated in large quantities near Damascus. (3) The genus *Crocus*, of the order *Iridaceæ*, of which there are eight species in Palestine and Syria, besides the cultivated *C. sativus*, L. The orange-coloured styles and dissected stigmas of all the species of this genus are collected and dried, and used as a colouring material and aromatic in the preparation of food, esp. to impart a yellow tinge to boiled rice. They were formerly employed in medicine as an antispasmodic and emmenagogue. The most abundant of the wild species of crocus is *C. cancellatus*, Herb. Bot. The corms of this are edible, and are collected in considerable quantities, and sold in the streets of Damascus and other Oriental cities. They have a flavour somewhat like that of the chestnut. *Zaʿfarân* is familiarly used for all the above-named plants. On the other hand, *kŭrkŭm* is not commonly used for any. It is the classical name for the *crocus* alone, but not confined to any one species. In the only passage in which *karkôm* occurs (Ca 4^{14}), *i.e.* among a list of cultivated garden aromatics, it prob. refers to *C. sativus*, L.

G. E. POST.

SAHIDIC VERSION.—See EGYPTIAN VERSIONS, vol. i. p. 669b.

SAINT.—This stands in AV for two Heb. words. **1.** קָדוֹשׁ (Aram. קַדִּישׁ in Daniel): (*a*) of *men*, Dt 33^3, Ps 16^3 34^9 106^{16}, Hos 11^{12} † [elsewhere and usually tr. 'holy'; see HOLINESS]; (*b*) of *angels* (a usage now obsolete), Dt 33^2, Job 5^1 15^{15}, Ps $89^{5.7}$, Zec 14^5, Dn 8^{13}; cf. Jude ^{14} and prob. 1 Th 3^{13} † [RV in all except last 'holy one(s),' see Driver on Dn 8^{13}]. **2.** חָסִיד 1 S 2^9, 2 Ch 6^{41}, Pr 2^8+16 t. in Psalms [also tr. 'godly,' 'holy,' 'merciful'; see, more fully, Driver, *Par. Psalter*, 443 f.]. Both these words, with few exceptions (חָסִיד in Ps 4^3 12^1 16^{10}(?) 32^6 86^2, Mic 7^2, 1 S 2^9(?), Pr 2^8, Dt 33^8; קָדוֹשׁ in Ps 106^{16}, but this is hardly an exception), are used in the plural or with a collective noun, *i.e.* of a class. Neither in the OT nor NT is it usual for a righteous man to be called individually 'a saint' or 'the saint.' The reason of this is that a man's standing in relation to God was not regarded as one of isolated consecration or holiness, but as something attaching to him as member of a larger whole, to which the covenant relation in the first instance belonged. In the OT this larger unit was Israel, the holy nation; in the NT the Church, the holy nucleus of redeemed humanity. 'The saints'—'the saints of the Most High,' 'the people of the saints,' or most fully 'the people of the saints of the Most High' (Dn $7^{18.22.25.27}$ 8^{24})—were the members of a holy community, consecrated to a holy life as defined by the covenant on which the relation depends. Such, then, is the general notion expressed by the words קְדוֹשִׁים and חֲסִידִים, and their LXX and NT equivalents, ἅγιοι and ὅσιοι. But there are further distinctions which have to be noted.

"Αγιοι *and* ὅσιοι. While קְדוֹשִׁים is rendered in the LXX by ἅγιοι, חֲסִידִים appears as ὅσιοι. The specific idea of the former is 'the consecrated,' or those in religious covenant with God; of the latter, 'the godly' or 'pious,' those dutiful to the religious relation. While ἅγιος is a very rare word in classical Greek, and was perhaps for that very reason chosen by the LXX, to the exclusion of the usual term ἱερός—so compromised by its use in pagan religion—ὅσιος, on the other hand, largely retains its classical meaning. Thus Plato (*Gorg.* p. 507*b*) says, περὶ μὲν ἀνθρώπους τὰ προσήκοντα πράττων δίκαιος ἂν πράττοι, περὶ δὲ θεοὺς ὅσια; and elsewhere he makes δίκαιος the generic and ὅσιος the specific term (cf. also Xen. *Anab.* II. vi. 25). Accordingly, in the OT, it is objective sanctity that is expressed by οἱ ἅγιοι (=οἱ ἡγιασμένοι=ὁ λαὸς αὐτοῦ in Dt 33^3; cf. Ezr 8^{28} ὑμεῖς ἅγιοι τῷ κυρίῳ); whereas subjective sanctity—response in feeling and conduct to God's חֶסֶד, or graciousness—is usually emphasized in the use of οἱ ὅσιοι (=οἱ ἀγαπῶντες τὸν Κύριον in Ps 96^{10}, where we have also φυλάσσει Κύριος τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν ὁσίων αὐτοῦ, cf. 97^{10}: so μετὰ ὁσίου ὁσιωθήσῃ, καὶ μετὰ ἀνδρὸς τελείου τελειωθήσῃ, καὶ μετὰ ἐκλεκτοῦ ἐκλεκτὸς ἔσῃ, 2 S $22^{26f.}$=Ps 18^{26}, and cf. Dt 33^8). Of course the gracious conduct of 'the godly' is but a realization of the idea of their relation as God's 'consecrated ones'; but it is this their conduct, in dutiful loyalty to the Covenant shown in habitual act, that marks them ὅσιοι (as in Ps 50^5 συναγάγετε αὐτῷ τοὺς ὁσίους αὐτοῦ, τοὺς διατιθεμένους τὴν διαθήκην αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ θυσίαις). This agrees with the fact that ὅσιος sometimes renders words like זָךְ, שָׁהוֹר, תָּם, תָּמִים; and that its normal equivalent חָסִיד is also rendered by ἐλεήμων (Jer 3^{12}, of God), εὐσεβής (Mic 7^2), εὐλαβούμενος (Pr 2^8); while חֲסִידֶיךָ is paraphrased by οἱ υἱοί σου in 2 Ch 6^{41}. Further, *ḥāsîd* is used only of persons; and here one remembers the title *Ḥăsîdîm*, by which the godly called themselves in Maccabæan days; see art. HASIDÆANS. The opposite holds of οἱ ἅγιοι, in which the stress falls on the covenant relation, though at times not without suggestions, in the context, of the practical loyalty thereto of those thus described. These distinctions and contrasts also persist fairly constantly through the later parts of the LXX, including the Psalms of Solomon.

When we reach the NT, the striking thing is the total disappearance of οἱ ὅσιοι as a title of God's own people. In a substantival sense ὅσιος is used only of Jesus as Messiah, and that after Ps 16^{10} (Ac 2^{27} 13^{35}). On the other hand, the prerogative phrase for members of the sacred Society of Israel, οἱ ἅγιοι, is transferred to the members of Christ's Ecclesia, as consecrated to the Messianic Kingdom in keeping with the holy calling of God. It was, in all probability, the overshadowing sense of the privilege of such a status, and of the Divine action as bringing it about, that caused the objective side to obtain such exclusive emphasis as to prevent the term expressive of human devoutness (οἱ ὅσιοι) from emerging as before. Christians stood as men called out or sanctified by electing grace (ἐκλεκτοὶ τοῦ θεοῦ, Col 3^{12}; cf. Eph 1^4 κλητοὶ ἅγιοι, 1 Co 1^2, Ro 1^7), their sainthood determined by their relation to Christ as believers (ἁγίοις κ. πιστοῖς ἐν Χριστῷ, Eph 1^1, Col 1^2; cf. ἐν τοῖς ἡγιασμένοις πίστει τῇ εἰς ἐμέ, Ac 26^{18}), on the basis of His sacrificial death (He $10^{10.14}$), which inaugurated the New Covenant (v.^{29}).

'Saints by effectual calling' is thus the primary sense of 'the saints.' But in all a new spirit or a renewed heart is assumed to exist, the subjective response quickened by the message of so great redemption. All the justified are 'saints,' and as such are marked by true 'repentance from dead works and faith towards God.' But faith towards God in Christ involves devotion to an obedient

walk after Christ's example, 'as befitteth saints' (Eph 5^3); and to this practical aspect of saintship attention is growingly directed as time goes on. St. Paul is constantly calling on his converts to commit themselves, once for all, to conduct 'worthy of the Lord unto all pleasing' (Col 1^{10}). St. Peter keeps before his readers the obligation of saintliness, after the pattern of the Holy Father, and in remembrance of the superlative cost of their initial redemption from their former vain manner of life (1 P $1^{15\text{-}21}$); and he refers women to the example of 'the holy women' in the OT (3^5). In the Apocalypse we read of 'the patience of the saints, those who keep God's precepts and the faith of Jesus' (14^{12}); and are told that 'the fine linen is the righteous deeds (*δικαιώματα*) of the saints' (19^8). And indeed this expectation that fundamental consecration will appear in conduct and character, is a necessary corollary of the belief that the believer as such was 'sealed' a member of the Messianic community by the *Holy* Spirit. Here lay the significance of Christian baptism (1 Co 6^{11}); and St. Paul at least built his whole theory of sanctification upon the abiding presence of the Holy Spirit in the 'saint' as the immanent principle of his new life (Ro $8^{4.\ 14\text{ff.}}$, 1 Th $4^{7.\ 8}$). It is by His energy that the regenerate will wars its warfare against the flesh and attains fuller life (8^{13}); it is in virtue of His indwelling that the saint shall enjoy the final redemption of his whole man, including release from the bondage of bodily corruption ($8^{11.\ 23}$); and the animating impulse of the very life of prayer, whereby saints overcome, and realize full manhood in Christ (Eph $4^{12\text{ff.}}$), is still the self-same Holy Spirit (Ro $8^{26\text{ff.}}$, Eph $3^{16\text{ff.}}$ 4^{30} 6^{18}). See SANCTIFICATION.

LITERATURE.—The material is collected in Trench, *Synonyms of the NT*, and in Cremer, *Bib.-Theol. Lex.*, *s.* *ἅγιος* and *ὅσιος*.

J. V. BARTLET.

SALAMIEL.—An ancestor of Judith, Jth 8^1 (BA Σαλαμιήλ, ℵ Σαμαμιήλ). See SHELUMIEL.

SALAMIS (Σαλαμίς; *Salamis*), the first place visited by Paul and Barnabas on the first missionary journey (Ac 13^5), was, as early as the 6th cent. B.C., one of the most important Greek towns of Cyprus. Under the Persians, it was the seat of one of the many Greek princes of the island; and in Roman times it was a flourishing mercantile town, from which the eastern half of Cyprus was governed. Having been overthrown by an earthquake in the reign of Constantine, it was rebuilt by Constantius, and under the name of Constantia became the capital of Cyprus. From A.D. 367-403 the bishop of Constantia was Epiphanius.

Under the Roman empire the Jews were very numerous in Cyprus; and there must have been a large colony of them at Salamis, with several synagogues. They were no doubt attracted by the facilities for trade afforded by the fine harbour of Salamis, and the farming of the copper mines of Cyprus to Herod the Great (Jos. *Ant.* XVI. iv. 5). The word was preached in Cyprus soon after the martyrdom of Stephen (Ac $11^{19.\ 20}$), and amongst the early converts was Mnason (Ac 21^{16}). Barnabas was a Cypriote (Ac 4^{36}), and so possibly was John Mark, who accompanied Paul and Barnabas to Cyprus. During the suppression of the insurrection of the Jews in the reign of Hadrian, Salamis suffered greatly, and was almost deserted.

Salamis stood on the seashore at the eastern end of the great fertile plain—Salaminia—which stretches westward for many miles between two ranges of mountains. Its harbour was good, and from it the rich products of Cyprus were shipped to Seleucia and the Syrian coast. The harbour is now filled with sand and overgrown with thorns and thistles; and a few broken columns and fragments of mural masonry alone remain to mark the greatness of the ancient city. The site is about 3 miles from the modern *Famagusta*, and not far from it is the Greek monastery of St. Barnabas.

C. W. WILSON.

SALASADAI.—An ancestor of Judith, Jth 8^1 (B Σαρασαδαί, A Σαλασαδαί, ℵ Σαρισαδαί).

SALATHIEL.—**1.** The father of Zerubbabel, 1 Es $5^{5.\ 48.\ 56}$ 6^2 (Σαλαθιήλ, and so in the genealogies of Mt 1^{12} and Lk 3^{27}). See SHEALTIEL and ZERUBBABEL. **2.** Another name of Esdras, 2 Es 3^1 (*Salathiel*).

SALECAH (סַלְכָה; Ἀσελχά, Σελχά, Σεκχαί, Ελχά, Ἀχά; *Salecha*, *Salacha*; AV Salcah, in Dt 3^{10} Salchah).—Salecah, one of the cities of Og (Jos 12^5), was on the eastern boundary of Bashan, to which the kingdom of Og extended (Dt 3^{10}, Jos 13^{11}). Though not specially mentioned, it must have been included in 'all the kingdom of Og, king of Bashan,' which was given to the half tribe of Manasseh (Jos 13^{30}). But in 1 Ch 5^{11} the children of Gad are said to have dwelt 'in the land of Bashan unto Salecah.'

Salecah was held by the Nabatæans under king Aretas (B.C. 9–A.D. 40), whose coins have been found in the ruins. It was an important place in Roman times, and was specially sacred to Allat, the mother of the gods. It is identical with the present *Ṣalkhad*—the *Ṣarkhad* of Abulfeda, who mentions its numerous vineyards, and the *Selcath* of William of Tyre, in whose day it was a strong fortress. The town occupies a commanding position a little south of the last spurs of *Jebel Ḥaurân*, at the point where the great eastern road, that led from Gadara to the Persian Gulf, entered the desert. In the town, now occupied by Druses, there are many of the ancient houses—some almost perfect. The water-supply was, and still is, derived from rain water collected in reservoirs and cisterns. A conical volcanic hill rises to a height of over 300 ft. above the town, and in its crater stands the castle. It was built, or rebuilt, by the Romans, and must afterwards have been restored by the Arabs or the Seljúk Turks, for at the time of the Crusades it was an important fortress. From it the old Roman road can be seen running straight as an arrow over the plain towards Bosra and Gadara, and eastward as it enters the desert on its way to the Persian Gulf (Porter, *Giant Cities of Bashan*, p. 75; Heber-Percy, *A Visit to Bashan and Argob*).

C. W. WILSON.

SALEM (Σάλημος, AV Salum), 1 Es 8^1=Shallum, an ancestor of Ezra (cf. Ezr 7^2); called also SALEMAS (?), 2 Es 1^1.

SALEM (שָׁלֵם, *i.e.* Shalem; Σαλήμ; *Salem*).—**1.** A place of which Melchizedek was king (Gn 14^{18}, He $7^{1.\ 2}$). It was, apparently, near a broad open valley (*ʿēmeḳ*), called 'the vale of Shaveh,' or 'the king's vale' (Gn 14^{17}). Various positions have been assigned to Salem. Josephus and the Jewish commentators identified the town with Jerusalem, and believed Salem to be the ancient name of that city (Jos. *Ant.* I. x. 2, *BJ* VI. x.; Onkelos and all the Targg.). This was also the opinion of the early Christians, for Jerome (*Qu. in Gen.*) writes of Melchizedek as 'king of Salem, which was the old name of Jerusalem,' and he alludes to the same belief in *Ep.* lxxiii. *ad Ev.* § 2. (See also Eus. *Onom.* Ἱερουσαλήμ). Jerome himself, however, identified Salem with a place called *Salumias*, in the Jordan Valley, 8 miles south of Scythopolis, where the ruins of the palace of Melchizedek were shown (*Ep.* lxxiii. *ad Ev.* § 7; *Onom. s.* 'Salem,' 'Aenon'). At this spot there is now an artificial mound (*tell*), and on it the tomb of *Sheikh Salim*. In a frag-

ment preserved by Eusebius (*Præp. Ev.* ix. 22) the meeting of Abram and Melchizedek is said to have taken place in 'Ar-Garizin, that is, Mt. Gerizim. This is probably a tradition derived from the belief, current in the times of Eusebius and Jerome, that Shechem was the Shalem (AV, RVm) of Gn 33[18] (*Onom. s.* 'Salem,' 'Sichem'). This view was advocated by Dean Stanley (*S. and P.* 250). The Samaritan tradition places Salem at *Sâlim*, east of *Nâblus*. Bochart (*Phaleg* ii.) and Ewald (*Gesch.* i. 410) supposed Salem to have been east of Jordan, between Damascus and Sodom.

The most probable view is that Salem was Jerusalem. The arguments in its favour are:—that Jerus. is so called in Ps 76[2] (see below); that Salem as the residence of a priest-king must have been an important and well-known city, and that, if it be not Jerusalem, it is only once mentioned in the OT; the similarity of the names of the two kings Melchizedek and Adonizedek (Jos 10[1], if this and not Adonibezek is the correct reading, see ADONIZEDEK); and the parallel drawn between Melchizedek and the king of the line of David ruling at Jerusalem (Ps 110[4]). In the Tel el-Amarna tablets, which are earlier than the conquest of Palestine by Joshua, Jerusalem appears as *Uru-salim*, that is, according to Sayce [but this interpretation is extremely doubtful], the city of the god Salim, or god of peace. It may be added that Abram's route on his return from Damascus to Hebron might well have passed through Jerus., and that the vale of Shaveh may have been the broad open head of the valley of Hinnom before it contracts and becomes a ravine (*gai*). See, further, Dillm. on Gn 14[17]; Sayce, *HCM* 295 ff., *EHH* 28; Hommel, *AHT* 201.

2. (*ἐν εἰρήνῃ*; *in pace*) There is a general agreement that in Ps 76[2] 'Salem' is Jerusalem. Each of the two names Salem and Zion indicates Jerusalem as the special seat of Divine worship, as Judah and Israel each stand for the whole nation in Ps 76[1] 114[2].

3. The valley of Salem (*τὸν αὐλῶνα Σαλήμ*) is mentioned (Jth 4[4]) as one of the places to which the people of Judæa sent messengers on the approach of Holofernes. Reland suggests (*Pal.* p. 977) that the original Heb. reading was לשלם (=*εἰς αὐλῶνα εἰς Σαλήμ*, 'into the plain to Salem,' that is, into the Jordan Valley (*Αὐλών*) to Salem), and that the Greek translators rendered without the repeated *εἰς*. The place was very possibly that called *Salumias* by Jerome (see above), which was situated not far from the point at which the ancient road from Bethshean to Shechem left the plain of the Jordan and entered the hills.

4. In Jer 41[48][5] the LXX (B) reads Salem for Shiloh. This Salem, if the reading be correct, must have been near Shechem, and possibly at *Sâlim* to the east of *Nâblus*.

C. W. WILSON.

SALEMAS (*Salame, Salemas*, AV Sadamias), 2 Es 1[1]=Shallum, an ancestor of Ezra (cf. Ezr 7[2]); called also Salem, 1 Es 8[1]. There is some doubt as to the nominative of this name in 2 Esdras. It occurs in the genitive, for which Dr. James reads in the text Saleme, with note 'Salemæ A.'

SALIM (*Σαλείμ*; *Salim*).—A town or village named (Jn 3[23]) to indicate the position of Ænon,—the 'springs' in which John was baptizing,—and, presumably, a well-known place. It was on the west side of Jordan (cf. Jn 3[26] with 1[28] and 10[40]), but its site has not yet been determined. Various identifications have been suggested.

(1) Eusebius and Jerome (*Onom. s.* 'Ænon') state that in their day Ænon was shown 8 miles south of Scythopolis, near Salim (*Salumias*), and the Jordan. This Salim is now, apparently, *Tell Ridhghah* (see SALEM), not far from which is a group of fine springs that answer well to the 'many waters' of Ænon. It has been objected to this site that, as it was in Samaria, the Jews would not have gone to it to be baptized. But it is probable, from its position, that Salumias was in the district of Scythopolis—a town of Decapolis, with a large population of Jews noted for their strict performance of all religious observances. See, further, Westcott on Jn 3[23].

(2) Robinson (*BRP* iii. 333) and Conder (*Tent-Work*, i. 91) have proposed *Sâlim*, east of *Nâblus*; but this place is 4 miles from the springs identified with Ænon, and separated from them by a range of hills. It is, too, in the heart of Samaria, and not far from Shechem.

(3) Barclay (*City of the Great King*, 558–570) identifies Ænon with the copious springs in *Wâdy Fârah*, to the N.E. of Jerusalem, and is of opinion that Salim was in the *Wâdy Suleim* near *'Anâta* (Anathoth).

(4) Büsching identifies Salim with *'Ain Karim*, the traditional birthplace of St. John.

(5) Alford (*Gr. Test.* Jn 3[23]) and Riehm (*HWB*, *s.* 'Salim') suppose Salim and Ænon to be Shilhim (LXX *Σελεείμ*) and Ain in the Negeb (Jos 15[32]). But these two places in the southernmost parts of Judah, as yet unidentified, seem to be too far removed from what is known of the scene of the Baptist's labours. C. W. WILSON.

SALIMOTH (B *Σαλειμώθ*, A *Ἀσσαλιμώθ*, due to a wrong division of syllables in the names *Βανί | ασΣαλιμώθ*, AV Assalimoth), 1 Es 8[36]. Called Shelomith, Ezr 8[10].

SALLAI (שַׁלַּי).—**1.** The eponym of a Benjamite family which settled at Jerusalem after the Return, Neh 11[8] (*Σηλεί*). **2.** The name of a priestly family, Neh 12[20] (B א*A om., א[c. a] *Σαλλαί*), called in v.[7] **Sallu.**

SALLU.—**1.** The eponym of a Benjamite family which settled at Jerusalem after the Return, 1 Ch 9[7] (סַלּוּא; B *Σαλώμ*, A *Σαλώ*), Neh 11[7] (סַלָּא; B *Σηλώ*, א[c. a] *Σηλώμ*). **2.** The name of a priestly family, Neh 12[7] (סַלּוּ; B א*A om., א[c. a] *Σαλουαί*), called in v.[20] **Sallai.**

SALLUMUS (*Σάλλουμος*), 1 Es 9[25]=Shallum, Ezr 10[24]; called Salum, 1 Es 5[28].

SALMA.—See SALMON.

SALMAI (שַׁלְמַי).—The eponym of a family of Nethinim, Neh 7[48] (B *Σαλαμεί*, A *Σελμεί*, א *Σαμαεί*), called in Ezr 2[46] **Shamlai** (*Kerê* שַׁמְלַי; *Kethîbh* שַׁלְמַי followed by AV text **Shalmai**; B *Σαμαάν*, A *Σελαμί*), and in 1 Es 5[30] SUBAI.

SALMANASAR (*Salmanasar*).—2 Es 13[40]=SHALMANESER (which see).

SALMON, or SALMA (שַׂלְמוֹן Ru 4[21], שַׂלְמָה Ru 4[20], שַׂלְמָא 1 Ch 2[11 bis. 51. 54], LXX *Σαλμάν* Ru B, 1 Ch 2[11]A; *Σαλμών* Ru A, 1 Ch 2[11] B; *Σαλωμών* 1 Ch 2[51. 54]; NT *Σαλμών* with variant *Σαλά* (א* B Aeth.) in Lk 3[32]).—The father of Boaz and son of Nahshon of the tribe of Judah (Ru 4[20. 21]), and therefore in the direct line of the ancestry of our Lord (Mt 1[4. 5], Lk 3[32]). If the **Salma** of 1 Ch 2[51. 54] is the same person, he was the 'father' or 'founder' of Bethlehem, but it is to be noticed that that Salma is reckoned as one of the sons of Caleb the son of Hur.* From Mt 1[5] we learn that Salmon married Rahab. The Salma of 1 Ch 2[54] had many descend-

* This cannot mean in any case that Salma was literally a son of Caleb.

ants,—Bethlehem and the Netophathites, Atroth-beth-Joab, and half of the Manahathites, the Zorites,—but the text of the verse seems to have been corrupted. Some have wished to distinguish between Salma and Salmon, in order to lengthen the genealogy, but it is scarcely to be conceived that a different person is intended in the two consecutive verses of Ruth (4[20. 21]). As to the genealogy of Christ, Eusebius (*HE* ii. 7) asserts quite distinctly that genealogical tables of various families, such as that of David, were in existence up to the time of the Herods. That this is possible may be gathered from the care exercised at the time of the return from the Babylonish captivity about noting those who 'could not show their fathers' houses, and their seed, whether they were of Israel' (Ezr 2[60], cf. Neh 7[61]).

H. A. REDPATH.

SALMONE (Σαλμώνη; *Salmone*).—The name of a promontory at the N.E. end of Crete, now *Cape Sidero*, on which stood a temple of Athene. The Alexandrian ship in which St. Paul sailed from Myra for Italy, after reaching Cnidus with difficulty, met the full force of the N.W. wind, and could not continue her voyage on the direct track, which passed close to the southern points of Morea. The captain, consequently, determined to alter her course and, when off (κατά) Salmone (Ac 27[7]), to work his way westward under the lee of Crete. The arguments in favour of a N.W. wind, and its influence on the course of the ship, are well stated by Smith of Jordanhill (*Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul*, p. 35). C. W. WILSON.

SALOAS (B Σάλθας, A Σαλόας, AV Talsas, from the Ald.), 1 Es 9[22] = Elasah, Ezr 10[22].

SALOM.—A Greek form (Σαλώμ) of the name SHALLUM (שַׁלּוּם). Its only application in EV is to Salom, the father of Hilkiah, Bar 1[7].

SALOME (Σαλώμη).—**1.** The daughter of Herodias, Mt 14[3-6], Mk 6[17-22]; see HEROD, vol. ii. pp. 355, 360. **2.** A woman present at the crucifixion, Mk 15[40], and afterwards a visitor at the sepulchre, Mk 16[1]. The comparison of the former passage with Mt 27[56] leaves little doubt that she was also the wife of Zebedee, and, if so, she figures in the incident of Mt 20[20-23]. Nothing else is known of her, though there are many conjectures, of which the principal is that she was a sister of Mary, the mother of Jesus. In support of that view may be cited a reading of the Peshiṭta version of Jn 19[25] (cf. also the Jerus. Syr. lectionary), and a presumptive unlikelihood, on account of the similarity of the names, that Mary the wife of Clopas was a sister of the mother of Jesus. James and John would thus be the cousins of Jesus, and the silence of the NT as to so close a relationship becomes significant. 'Many other women' were present at the crucifixion, Mk 15[41]; and amongst these unnamed disciples must probably be sought the sister of Mary, the identification with Salome being precarious in the extreme, and sustained by no real evidence. See, further, art. MARY, vol. iii. p. 278 f. R. W. MOSS.

SALT (מֶלַח, ἅλας, ἅλς). — This mineral (sodium chloride) is in such general use as a condiment to food amongst all civilized nations that it has become a necessity; and undoubtedly it is beneficial in the animal economy as an antiseptic, and a preventive to the development of intestinal worms. Even wild animals feel its necessity as well as domestic cattle; and it is well known that in former times when the bison roamed in immense herds over the plains of North America they made long journeys to the 'salt-licks,' or salinas, for the purpose of licking the ground coated with this mineral. Salt of commerce is one of the most abundant of substances, and is found to a greater or less extent in nearly all countries, especially in England, Germany, Switzerland, and the Austrian Alps; in India, both in the salt range of the Punjab and in the great salt lake of Sambur in Rajputana; in China, and in N. America. In Europe and the British Isles its chief source is the Triassic formation. It is also the most abundant saline ingredient in the waters of the ocean * and of most salt lakes. On the coasts of Spain, Italy, and some other countries, salt of commerce is largely extracted from the oceanic waters by evaporation. Salt is found also in the waters of nearly all rivers.

The chief source of salt in Palestine is, and always has been, the terraced hill, called *Khashm Usdum*, on the south-western shore of the Dead Sea (which see); and this trade is still carried on by the Arabs. Here a cliff of solid rock-salt from 30 to 60 ft. high,† capped by white marl, extends for a distance of nearly 7 miles along the shore of the lake, and affords an inexhaustible supply; while salt is also obtained from pits dug into the sand or slime of the shore, into which the waters of the Dead Sea are admitted and then allowed to evaporate. The abundance of salt was of the greatest use to the Israelites, not only for domestic purposes, but for use in the sacrifices of the temple (Lv 2[13], Ezr 6[9], Mk 9[49]); and so Antiochus the Great, as a reward for the alliance of the Jews in his wars with Ptolemy Philopator, bestowed upon them gifts for their sacrifices, of wine, oil, and other articles, amongst which were 375 medimni of salt.‡ Cf. Ezk 47[11] (RVm), where, in the prophetic description of the ideal future, after the Dead Sea as a whole has been sweetened, the marshes are still reserved for the production of salt.

Salt trade was extensively carried on in ancient times along the caravan routes in Syria, Palestine, and Northern Africa. One of the chief of these was the route from the ports of Phœnicia to the Persian Gulf through Palmyra. The Phœnicians manufactured salt by evaporation from sea-water, and used it for salting fish.

Emblematic Uses of the Term. — Owing to its purifying, sustaining, and antiseptic qualities, salt became an emblem of fidelity and friendship amongst Eastern nations. To have 'eaten of his salt,' and thus partaken of his hospitality, was (and still is) regarded by the Arabs as a token or pledge of eternal amity. So in the Bible it is used as an emblem of the Covenant ('a covenant of salt') between J" and His people (Nu 18[19], 2 Ch 13[5]). In memorable language our Lord applies the expression to His disciples: 'Ye are the salt of the earth' (Mt 5[13]). Again He says: 'Salt is good; but if the salt have lost its saltness, wherewith will ye season it?' and He concludes with the injunction: 'Have salt in yourselves, and have peace one with another' (Mk 9[50]).

Excess of saltness in the ground produces sterility; hence a salt-land becomes emblematic of barrenness and desolation (Dt 29[23], Jer 17[6], Zeph 2[11]); and a city when destroyed was sown with salt, in token that it was never again to be restored. Thus it happened in the case of Shechem when captured by Abimelech (Jg 9[45]).

E. HULL.

SALT, CITY OF (עִיר הַמֶּלַח).—This was one of the cities which fell to the lot of the tribe of Judah, and was situated in the wilderness of

* In the proportion of 28 to 29 grammes per litre.

† Hull, *Mount Seir*, ch. xiv. p. 129; Lartet, *Voyage d'Exploration de la Mer Morte*; Tristram, *Land of Israel*, 326.

‡ Jos. *Ant.* XII. iii. 3. Revenue was raised by a tax on salt, the remission of which was offered the Jews by Demetrius, king of Syria; *ib.* XIII. ii. 3.

Beth-arabah (Jos 15[61. 62]). It was also not far from En-gedi, the site of which we know; hence it may be inferred to have occupied some position on the western shore of the Dead Sea, between En-gedi and *Khashm Usdum* (the salt mountain. See art. SALT). E. HULL.

SALT SEA.—See DEAD SEA.

SALT, VALLEY OF (גֵּיא־מֶלַח). —The scene of memorable victories of David, or of Abishai his lieutenant, over the Edomites (2 S 8[13], 1 Ch 18[12]),* and at a later period of Amaziah over the same hereditary enemies of Judah (2 K 14[7], 2 Ch 25[11]). The position of this valley can scarcely be a matter for doubt, both on account of its historical associations as related in the above passages, and from the position of the salt mountain, *Khashm Usdum*, which rises from the western shore of the Dead Sea. The accounts of the battles would lead to the inference that the position was some valley lying between Jerusalem and Edom of which Petra (Sela) was the capital; and the name indicates the proximity of either the salt mountain or the salt sea. Both the inferences are satisfied by identifying the Valley of Salt with the plain extending from the southern end of the Dead Sea to the foot of the cliffs (the ascent of 'Aḳrabbim), † which cross the valley from side to side and form the southern margin of the Ghor. This plain is of sufficient extent to be the battleground for large armies. See arts. ARABAH and DEAD SEA. E. HULL.

SALTWORT (Job 30[4] RV).—See MALLOWS.

SALU (סָלוּא).—The father of Zimri the Simeonite chief who was slain, along with the Midianitish woman, by Phinehas, Nu 25[14] (B Σαλμών, A Σαλώ, Luc. Σαλώμ), 1 Mac 2[26] (Σαλώμ, hence AV Salom).

SALUM (A Σαλούμ, B om.), 1 Es 5[28] = Shallum, the head of a family of porters (cf. Ezr 2[42]). Called Sallumus, 1 Es 9[25].

SALUTATION (NT ἀσπασμός; 'salute' in OT is expressed by ברך [lit. 'bless'] or שׁאל לשׁלום [lit. 'ask for the peace of'], in NT by ἀσπάζομαι [also tr. in AV 'greet']).—In the modern East some word or act of salutation accompanies all social intercourse, the phrases and gestures being modified according to the occasion and the relationship of the parties. It is against all the courtesies of Oriental life to deliver any message, ask information, or pass to any matter of business, without some form of salutation by which inquiry is made after each other's welfare, and goodwill is expressed. Thus a traveller seeking direction from a peasant by the roadside must first hail him by expressing a wish that his toil may bring an ample reward. Similarly, a purchaser on entering a shop, before mentioning what he wants or engaging in the usual sword-play about the price, must salute the merchant with the wish that the day may prove one of blessing and profit. Remoteness from cities and centres of civilization does not mean ignorance of such etiquette, as the Bedawin of the desert excel in this politeness. No inferiority of position is allowed to excuse the omission of such courtesy: the beggar at the door expects a salutation along with the copper or piece of bread, and, if refused charity, claims that he shall at least be dismissed with a recommendation to the Divine care. Something of formal dignity mingles also with the daily salutations in the family. Some of the chief occasions of salutation are: the birth of a son, a marriage, the meeting of relatives away from home, the return of a friend from a journey, the appeals of the street beggar. Salutations are also offered to the host after partaking of refreshments, upon meeting a fellow-traveller on the road, and on visits of respect to ecclesiastical or government officials.

Oriental salutation, ancient and modern, owes much of its originating motive and distinctiveness of character to the following facts of Oriental life:—

(1) *The strong sense of personal dignity among Orientals.*—In Job 29 there is an enumeration of the elements of Oriental greatness, and a description of the happiness of the man who is met on every side by the reverence, obedience, and loving gratitude of those to whom he has been a benefactor. The same sense of dignity implies a quick recognition of affront, and a strong feeling of indignation when the claim to respect is repudiated. Hence the complaint over the cessation of the wonted reverence in Job 30. The narrative in the Bk. of Esther turns upon the salutation that Mordecai refused to Haman. Christ's Oriental hearers would be deeply stirred by the appeal of the affronted guest (Lk 7[44-46]), and by the list of indignities heaped upon the neglected king (Mt 25[42. 43]). The ancient sculptures and paintings of Assyria and Egypt show the forms of prostration in which gods and kings were saluted and supplicated. Similar formalities are mentioned in the Bible as being employed in ordinary social life (Gn 32[17-20] 33[3], 1 S 25[23-31]). The usual salute of reverence is that of standing erect. Thus children rise to salute their parents (Pr 31[28]); and in the village, when the men are gathered in a room on the occasion of a marriage or funeral, it is customary for all to rise and stand whenever a member of the village or a visitor from the neighbourhood enters the room. There is a weird allusion to this custom in Is 14[9]. The most impressive form of salutation is to kneel, and clasp and kiss the feet. This is done when some favour is sought or influence solicited on behalf of oneself or a friend (2 K 4[27]). When words fail, and there are no more tears to shed, this oratory of silent helplessness seems to say, 'Cast me not away from thy presence' (Ps 51[11]). It is the power of weakness over strength through the confession of weakness.

(2) *The comfort derived from physical health, peace of mind, and family affection.*—With Orientals the summit is always more pleasant than the ascent; work is undertaken in order to the attainment of rest rather than rest enjoyed in order to the renewal of labour. When anything urgent or important has to be done, the early morning is chosen, so that, if possible, rest of mind may be recovered before the evening (Gn 22[3], Jer 7[25]). An Arabic proverb says, 'It is better to have bad news in the morning than news of any kind in the evening.' Hence a fulness of meaning, a sense of needed comfort, in the salutation of peace (שָׁלוֹם, *shālōm*, εἰρήνη), implying both the safety of Divine protection and the restfulness of human friendship (Gn 26[29. 31] 44[17], Ex 4[18], Nu 6[26], Jg 18[6], 1 S 1[17] 20[42] 25[6. 35] 29[7], 1 Ch 12[18], Mk 5[34]). The question of giving and receiving this salutation of peace was one of grave importance to travellers meeting strangers on the road. If the strangers were enemies, they would also be aliens in religion, and unable to call down the blessing of their god upon those who were under the protection of another. Even at the present day, Moslems, Jews,

* Both these passages, judging by the context, evidently refer to the same event, but in the former it is 'the Syrians' who are vanquished, in the latter it is 'the Edomites.' As it is extremely improbable that the Syrians should have been encountered at the southern extremity of the Dead Sea, we must suppose that the latter is the correct account, and that the former is an error due to transcription. (See Driver, *Sam.* 217 f.).

† *'Aḳrabbim* = 'scorpions,' which are found under the stones at this place.

and Christians shrink from bestowing upon each other the salutation of peace. To the Moslem especially it seems heterodox to wish peace to the infidel, and an impertinence to be thus saluted by him. These limitations are left behind in Mt 5^{47}. Hence the directness of the question, 'Art thou for us, or for our adversaries?' (Jos 5^{13}), and the anxious inquiry, 'Is it peace?' (2 K 9^{17-22}). Hence also the abhorrence of deceitful salutation (Ps 28^{3}, Jer 6^{14} 8^{11}, Ezk 13^{10}). The ordinary hail of travellers on the road is the old formula mentioned in Ps 118^{26}, Mt 21^{9} 23^{39}, 'Blessed is he that cometh.' Among relatives and familiar friends the form of salutation after an interval of separation is to kiss on both cheeks, or on each side of the neck. It is the kiss of brotherly love, and is frequently referred to in Scripture (Gn 27^{27} $29^{11.\ 13}$ 31^{55} 33^{4}, Ex 4^{27}, Ps 85^{10}; cf. Ro 16^{16}, 1 Co 16^{20}, 2 Co 13^{12} 'Salute one another with a holy kiss,' similarly 1 Th 5^{26} 'Salute all the brethren with a holy kiss,' and 1 P 5^{14} 'Salute one another with a kiss of love'). In the case of children saluting their parents, scholars their teachers, and servants their masters, the custom is to stand, and, bowing down, to kiss the hand. In Oriental letters the opening sentence frequently begins with the expression, 'After kissing your hands,' as a token of respect. This reverential salutation of kissing the hands is always given to priests, rabbis, and sheikhs of religion. It was the salutation claimed by the Pharisees (Mk 12^{38}). Absalom changed the salutation of respect to that of equal friendship (2 S $15^{5.\ 6}$). There prevails at the present time a compromise of courtesy by which one seizes the hand of a friend in order to give the kiss of veneration, but the other defeats the design by quickly withdrawing his hand as soon as his fingers have been touched. See art. KISS.

In Bible instances of salutation, where one person falls upon the neck of another, the Heb. word for 'neck' (צַוָּאר *ẓavvār*) is used in the *dual* [probably not *plural*] as indicating the two sides that are kissed (Gn 27^{16} 33^{4} 45^{14} 46^{29}, Ca 4^{9}).

In Oriental salutation great attention is paid to asking after each other's health and general welfare, in the course of a call of courtesy or on an occasion of meeting. It is exceedingly trying to a Western, who craves some exchange of thought, to have to answer these repeated inquiries after his health, more especially as every such inquiry begins another circulating decimal of devout commonplaces. It is owing to the prominence given to this matter that the visit of salutation in the Bible is often described as a health-inquiry (1 S 10^{4} 17^{22} 30^{21} RV gives the more general 'salute' instead of 'ask of welfare' in 1 Ch 18^{10}). The union of reverence and affection in salutation is exemplified in Ex 18^{7}, 1 S 20^{41}, 2 S 14^{33}. The salutation of bowing and kissing was employed in the worship of Baal (Job 31^{27}, 1 K 19^{18}).

The injunction, 'Salute no man by the way' (2 K 4^{29}, Lk 10^{4}), referred to the inevitable delay imposed by common courtesy in asking and answering formal inquiries as to health, family, etc. The special responsibility of one sent by another is recognized by the Orientals, and the messenger is saved from the charge of rudeness by a proverb which says, 'The messenger has only to deliver his message.'

(3) *The deep-seated conviction that both blessing and cursing in salutation tend to work out their fulfilment.*—It was of importance to give or to withhold the salutation of peace. The salutation at parting took the form of a benediction (Ru $1^{9.\ 14}$, 1 S 20^{42}, 2 S 19^{39}), and consequently the same word might mean 'rejoice' or 'farewell' (Ph 4^{4}). This form of salutation is exemplified in rich fulness at the close of the Pauline Epistles. When Christ said that the 'peace' He gave was not after the custom of the world, He referred to the emptiness that had come to mark salutations that once expressed a precise meaning and a sincere desire (Lk 24^{36}, Jn 14^{27} 20^{19}). The disciples were told that when they went forth in His name, and invoked the Divine blessing on a house, and were refused admittance and hospitality, then the blessing returned to those who had uttered it. It was their introduction to what has since become a familiar law in the Christian service, that whatever is forfeited for the Lord is found in Him.

G. M. MACKIE.

SALVATION, SAVIOUR.—The purpose of this art. is to give a general survey of the doctrine of salvation as developed within the period covered by the Biblical writings. Of necessity the subject stands in close relations with others treated in the Dictionary, and the reader is therefore recommended to consult, in addition to special articles on such subjects as FAITH, MEDIATOR, REDEEMER, RANSOM, PAROUSIA, etc., the general articles on GOD, HOLY SPIRIT, JESUS CHRIST, MESSIAH, KINGDOM OF GOD, and ESCHATOLOGY. It will be the aim of this article, as far as possible, to avoid unnecessary repetition, and, passing over points of detail, to confine itself to a bird's-eye view of the doctrine as a whole.

i. The Words.
ii. The Idea (in general).
iii. History of the Idea.
  1. In the Old Testament.
  2. Between the Testaments.
  3. In the Teaching of Jesus.
  4. In the New Testament: (*a*) in general; (*b*) St. Paul; (*c*) St. John.
iv. Systematic Statement.
  1. Nature of Salvation: (*a*) temporal and spiritual; (*b*) individual and social; (*c*) present and future.
  2. Conditions of Salvation: (*a*) on the Divine side; (*b*) on the human side.
  3. Extent of Salvation: (*a*) in this life; (*b*) in the life to come; (*c*) in the universe.

i. THE WORDS.—'Salvation' is in OT tr. of a number of words, the principal of which are: יְשׁוּעָה, יֵשַׁע or יְשַׁע, מוֹשָׁעוֹת [only Ps 68^{20} RV 'deliverances'], תְּשׁוּעָה, from the stem יָשַׁע (lit. 'to be broad, spacious'; only found in Niphal and Hiphil, the latter with the meaning 'deliver'); in the NT it is tr. of *σωτηρία*, from *σώζω* 'to save' (less frequently of *τὸ σωτήριον*, neut. of the adj. *σωτήριος*; *e.g.* Lk 2^{30} 3^{6}, Ac 28^{28}, Eph 6^{17}; cf. Tit 2^{11} *ἡ χάρις τοῦ θεοῦ σωτήριος*, 'the grace of God bringing salvation'). Other words translated 'save' in our VSS are in OT חָיָה and חַיָּה (Piel and Hiphil of חָיָה 'to live,' with the meaning 'to keep living,' 'to save alive'; so Gn 12^{12} 19^{19} 45^{7} [RV] 50^{20}, Ex $1^{17.\ 18}$, Nu 22^{33} 31^{15}, Dt 20^{16}, Jos 2^{13} 6^{25}, Jg 8^{19} 21^{14}, 1 S 27^{11}, 1 K 18^{5} 20^{31}, 2 K 7^{4}, Ezk $13^{18.\ 19}$, and esp. Ezk 3^{18} 18^{27}, where the reference is to escape from penalty through repentance); חָצַל (lit. 'to snatch away,' with meaning 'deliver,' by which it is usually rendered both in AV and RV; *e.g.* 1 S 12^{21} and often. The tr. 'save' occurs in AV only 2 S 19^{9}). מָלַט (Piel of unused קָלַט 'to slip away,' 'to escape,' with meaning 'to let *or* cause to escape,' hence 'to deliver'; 1 S 19^{11}, 2 S 19^{5}, 1 K 1^{12}, Job 20^{20}, Jer 48^{6}, and 2 S 19^{9} RV, Jer $51^{6.\ 45}$); שָׁמַר (lit. 'to keep,' 'to preserve'; Job 2^{6}, RV 'spare'). In NT the word 'save' is usually the translation of *σώζω*, but the compound *διασώζω* is rendered 'save' in three instances (Lk 7^{3} RV, where AV renders 'heal,' Ac 27^{43}, 1 P 3^{20}, cf. Ac 23^{24} 'to bring safe'; elsewhere 'escape' Ac 27^{44} 28^{1}, or 'make whole' Mt 14^{36}), and the same is true in one case (2 P 2^{5} AV) of *φυλάσσω* (lit. 'to guard,' 'to preserve,' so RV). The phrase *περιποίησις ψυχῆς* in He 10^{39} is rendered 'saving of the soul' in both versions.

'Saviour' is the tr. in OT of the Hiph. ptcp. (מוֹשִׁיעַ) of יָשַׁע (so Jg $3^{9.\ 15}$, Is 19^{20} 43^{11}, and often); in NT and LXX of *σωτήρ*, from *σώζω*.

ii. THE IDEA. — The root idea in salvation is *deliverance*. In every case some danger or evil is presupposed, in rescue from which salvation consists. Since in primitive times one of the greatest dangers to be feared is defeat in battle, salvation is often used in OT in the sense of 'victory' (*e.g.* Ex 15^2, 1 S 11^{13} RV 'deliverance,' 19^5 RV 'victory,' Ps 20^5 RVm 'victory'), and successful warriors are called 'saviours' (*e.g.* Jg $3^{9.\ 15}$, Neh 9^{27}). But this is only one modification of a much broader usage. Men are said to be saved from trouble (Ps 34^6, Is 33^2, Jer 14^8 30^7; cf. 1 S 10^{19}, Ps $107^{13.\ 19}$), enemies (2 S 3^{18}), violence (2 S 22^3, Ps 59^2 'bloodthirsty men'), reproach (Ps 57^3), exile (Ps 106^{47}, Jer 30^{10} 46^{27}, Zec 8^7), death (Ps 6^4, cf. v.^{5}), sin (Ezk 36^{29}, cf. Ps 130^8, Mt 1^{21}). Since all deliverance comes from God, He is frequently spoken of as 'Saviour' (so esp. in Deutero-Isaiah $43^{3.\ 11}$ $45^{15.\ 21}$ 49^{26} 60^{16} 63^8; but also Jer 14^8, Hos 13^4, 2 S 22^3, Ps 106^{21}). The name 'Saviour' is often applied to God in the Apocrypha (*e.g.* Ad. Est 15^2, Bar 4^{22}, Jth 9^{11}, Wis 16^7, Sir 51^1, 1 Mac 4^{30}; cf. 3 Mac $6^{29.\ 32}$ 7^{16}, Ps-Sol 3^7 8^{39} 16^4 17^3). It is less frequent in NT, being found only in Lk 1^{47}, 1 Ti 1^1 2^3 4^{10}, Tit 1^3 2^{10}, Jude ^{25}. Elsewhere in NT the title is applied only to Jesus Christ (so Lk 2^{11} and often). With the growth of the Messianic idea we find the tendency to use the words 'save' and 'salvation' in a technical theological sense of the deliverance to be brought in with the Messianic age (*e.g.* Jer 23^6) or at the last day (Is 25^9). This usage, which is common in the Apocalyptic literature (*e.g.* Enoch 62^{13} 99^{10}, Apoc. Bar 68^3, 2 Es 8^3; cf. Ps-Sol 10^9 12^7), reappears in NT in such passages as Mt 10^{22} $24^{13.\ 22}$ and parall., Ro 11^{26} 13^{11}, 1 Co 3^{15}, 2 Ti 4^{18} RV, He 9^{28}, 1 P $1^{5.\ 9.\ 10}$. The word is still used, however, in NT as in OT, in the wider sense of deliverance from trouble (so Ja 5^{15} of the healing of the sick, and often in the Gospels). With the deepening sense of moral evil, 'salvation' acquires a more profound ethical and spiritual meaning. It includes deliverance from sin itself as well as from the various evils which are the consequence of sin, and so comes to stand, in the spiritual realm as well as in the temporal, for a present experience as well as for a future expectation. The growth of this deeper meaning will become apparent as we pass to a brief review of the history.

iii. HISTORY OF THE IDEA.—

The Sources.—In the present state of Biblical criticism, any attempt to trace the development of a theological conception must be provisional. As a part of general history, the history of doctrine is dependent for its sources upon the results reached in the wider discipline, and the uncertainty which still obtains as to the date and authorship of many OT passages (*e.g.* Psalms) hinders the theologian in his attempt at constructive statement. On the other hand, the student of doctrine has an advantage over the general historian. For there is an inner logic of ideas which is quite independent of time and place. And it is often possible by the aid of this logic to trace the origin and development of conceptions, even where external evidence as to their history is lacking or uncertain. In the present article the general results of Biblical criticism are presupposed. It is assumed that the idea of salvation has had a history, the broad outlines of which we can trace, and that the record of this history is preserved for us in the Biblical writings, which, together with the contemporaneous Apocryphal and Pseudepigraphical literature, constitute our sources. In what follows we shall give the different steps in the development of the idea in their natural order, even if the particular passages which illustrate a special usage be themselves of later or of uncertain date.

1. *In the Old Testament.*—The most signal instance of the Divine salvation in the early history of Israel, and the one which made the deepest impression on the national memory, was the deliverance from Egypt. The prophetic historian in the Pentateuch (J) relates with triumph how 'J" saved Israel that day out of the hand of the Egyptians; and Israel saw the Egyptians dead upon the seashore' (Ex 14^{30}). The same glorious deliverance is celebrated in Ps 106 (cf. esp. vv.$^{7.\ 8.\ 10}$). In these passages we have the simplest meaning of 'salvation.' It is deliverance from present danger or trouble, more especially from defeat in battle. J" is the Saviour of Israel, because He is the one from whom such deliverance comes. 'J" is my strength and my song,' sings the author of the Song of Moses (Ex 15^2), 'and he is become my salvation.' And the context makes clear the sense in which this salvation is to be understood. 'J" is a man of war, J" is his name' (v.^{3}, cf. the title *J" Sabaoth*, 'J" of Hosts,' *i.e.* according to what is probably the best interpretation, J" the God of the armies of Israel). The use of 'salvation' in this sense of victory in battle is frequent in the OT, esp. in the historical books. In the time of the judges J" raised up 'saviours' in the persons of Othniel (Jg 3^9) and of Ehud (3^{15}). He sent Gideon to save Israel ($6^{14.\ 15}$, cf. vv.$^{36.\ 37}$), and required him to reduce his force to 300 men, lest Israel should say, 'mine own hand hath saved me' (7^2). In the time of their distress at Aphek the people send in haste to fetch the ark from Shiloh, 'that it may come among us and save us out of the hand of our enemies' (1 S 4^3). With the growth of the national life the importance of such deliverance increases. J" made Saul to be king that he might save the people from the Philistines (1 S 9^{16}), and the same is true of David after him (2 S 3^{18} 'By the hand of . . . David I will save . . . Israel out of the hand of the Philistines and out of the hand of all their enemies'; cf. also 2 K 14^{27}). This view of J" as the Saviour of Israel in battle finds classic expression in the Deuteronomic code (Dt 20^{2-4}): 'And it shall be, when ye come nigh unto the battle, that the priest shall approach and speak unto the people, and shall say unto them, Hear, O Israel, ye draw nigh this day unto battle against your enemies: let not your heart faint; fear not, nor tremble, neither be ye affrighted at them; for J" your God is he that goeth with you, to fight for you against your enemies, to save you.'

Side by side with this view of 'salvation' as victory in battle, goes the wider conception of it as deliverance from trouble. J" not only delivers His people from their enemies (2 S 3^{18}), but from all their calamities and distresses (1 S 10^{19}, cf. Ps 107^{13}). He saves the poor man who cries to Him out of all his troubles (Ps 34^6, cf. 37^{39}). His salvation brings with it not merely deliverance, but security and prosperity. This close connexion with prosperity is clearly brought out in such a passage as Ps 118^{25} 'Save now, we beseech thee, O J". O J" . . . send now prosperity' (cf. Ps $106^{4.\ 5}$ 'O visit me with thy salvation: that I may see the prosperity of thy chosen'). In more than one instance the Hebrew words usually translated 'salvation' are rightly rendered in EV 'welfare' (*e.g.* Job 30^{15} יְשׁוּעָה) or 'safety' (*i.e.* security, cf. Job $5^{4.\ 11}$, Pr 11^{14} יֶשַׁע). Especially common is this connotation in connexion with the eschatological use of the word. Cf. Is 61^{10} 'I will greatly rejoice in J", my soul shall be joyful in my God; for he hath clothed me with garments of salvation, he hath covered me with the robe of righteousness.' The salvation in which the redeemed Israel is here represented as rejoicing is the good time of safety and prosperity to be ushered in with the Messianic age. But this is already to anticipate the next meaning.

Thus far we have considered salvation as deliverance from present evil. The conception is both temporal and material. But with the rise of Messianic prophecy * we note a new development. The conception of salvation is still more

* The word 'Messianic' is here used in its broadest sense, to include the doctrine of a future Divine deliverance in all its forms, whether or not it involves the belief in a Messianic king of David's line.

or less external. It involves victory in battle, the defeat of enemies, and worldly prosperity. But this victory is not looked for in the present. There is a preceding judgment to take place, in which unfaithful Israel shall receive from J" the just recompense of her sins. Only after this impending judgment, and then only for the faithful remnant, will J" show Himself as Saviour. We have thus the beginnings of the use of the word in an eschatological sense, as one of the features of the Messianic age. The prominence of the conception varies greatly in the different prophets. In some it is almost overshadowed by the message of doom. In others it is a hope which burns bright and clear. Often judgment and salvation go hand in hand, as in such a passage as Is 35^4 'Your God will come with vengeance . . . he will come and save you.' The Messianic salvation is the theme of many of the Psalms (*e.g.* 53^6 'Oh that the salvation of Israel were come out of Zion! When God bringeth back the captivity of his people, then let Jacob rejoice and let Israel be glad.' Cf. 14^7 $69^{29.\ 35}$ 106^{47} 133^{16}). Especially common is the use of the word in the eschatological sense in the later portions of Isaiah (*e.g.* 25^9 $45^{8.\ 17}$ 46^{13} $49^{6.\ 25}$ 51^6 56^1 61^{10} 62^{11}). From the prophets it passes over into the Apocalyptic books (*e.g.* Ps-Sol 10^9 and often), and reappears in the NT with deepened ethical and spiritual meaning.

Looking more closely at the content of this future salvation, we find that it has many features in common with the salvation already experienced in the past. It is still a time of victory over enemies, of worldly prosperity and joy. But there is a new element which enters into the conception through the experiences of the Exile. Whatever else the future salvation may bring with it, it involves restoration from captivity. Thus Jeremiah, looking forward to the day when God 'will raise up unto David a righteous branch,' who 'shall reign as King and deal wisely and shall execute judgment and justice in the land,' goes on to say that 'in his days Judah shall be saved and Israel shall dwell safely. . . . They shall no more say, As J" liveth, which brought up the children of Israel out of Egypt; but as J" liveth, which brought up and which led the seed of the house of Israel out of the north country, and from all the countries whither I have driven them; and they shall dwell in their own land' (Jer $23^{5\text{-}8}$; cf. $30^{7\text{-}9.\ 18}$ 'Behold, I will turn again the captivity of Jacob's tents,' 31^{11}, and esp. 46^{27} 'Fear not thou, O Jacob my servant, neither be dismayed, O Israel. For, lo, I will save thee from afar, and thy seed from the land of their captivity; and Jacob shall return, and shall be quiet and at ease, and none shall make him afraid'). So Ezekiel looks for a day when God shall save His distressed flock, and gather them under one shepherd, even His servant David ($34^{22.\ 23}$). And Zechariah confidently expects the time when God shall save His people 'from the East country and from the West country,' and shall 'bring them, and they shall dwell in the midst of Jerusalem' ($8^{7.\ 8}$, cf. Is 66^{20}). The return from captivity is the theme of the Psalmist's prayer (106^{47}, cf. 53^6); and in the little hymn which forms the appendix of Is 11 the returned exiles are represented as praising God for His deliverance, and drawing water with joy out of the wells of salvation (12^3).

But the Jerusalem to which the exiles return is not to be in all respects the same as the old. We have emphasized the external features in the Messianic ideal. But we shall greatly misconceive the nature of Israel's hope if we regard it as purely external. The revelation of God's holiness had been too clearly apprehended by the prophets to make them content with any ideal which was not ethical. As the condition of enjoying the future salvation is repentance on Israel's part (Is $1^{19.\ 20}$), so it includes as one of its chief elements the righteousness of the nation (Jer $31^{31\text{-}34}$). The Messianic age is to be a time of justice and judgment and of the pure worship of God. When the Messiah comes, he will be not merely a faithful shepherd (Ezk 34^{23}) but a just judge (Is $11^{3\text{-}5}$), binding up the broken-hearted, setting at liberty the captives, righting the wronged (Is 61^1), but at the same time punishing the guilty (Is 11^4 61^2); in short, realizing the ethical ideal, the failure to attain which had been the cause of all Israel's misfortunes. In the great eschatological passages in prophet and psalmist alike, salvation and righteousness go hand in hand (Is $45^{8.\ 17}$ 46^{13} 51^5 61^{10}, cf. Ps 24^5 71^{15} $132^{9.\ 16}$).

Such being in general the nature of the Messianic salvation, how widely shall we conceive its extent? In many passages indeed the prophetic vision seems bounded by Israel. The old oppressors are to be destroyed in the great judgment of the Day of J" (Is 13. 34. $63^{1\text{-}6}$, Ezk 38. 39, esp. 39^{21}, Zeph $2^{4\text{-}15}$), or, if they survive at all, it is as captives, holding the same menial position which they had once imposed upon Israel (Jl 3^8, cf. Is $61^{5.\ 6}$). Elsewhere, however, the prophetic horizon broadens, and we have the prediction of a day when the knowledge and service of J" shall be shared by those who hitherto have known Him not. Jerusalem is to be the scene not only of a universal dominion, but of a universal worship (Mic $4^{1\text{-}4}$, cf. Is $2^{2\text{-}4}$, Is 60. $66^{19\text{-}21}$, Ps $68^{31.\ 32}$, Zec $8^{22.\ 23}$ $14^{16.\ 17}$). Nay, the time is coming when the Divine worship shall not be confined to Jerusalem. The author of Is 19 associates Egypt and Assyria with Israel as worshippers of the one true God. 'In that day shall there be an altar to J" in the midst of the land of Egypt, and a pillar at the border thereof to J". And it shall be for a sign and for a witness unto J" of hosts in the land of Egypt; for they shall cry unto J" because of the oppressors, and he shall send them a saviour and a defender, and he shall deliver them. And J" shall be known to Egypt, and the Egyptians shall know J" in that day' (vv.$^{19\text{-}21}$, cf. Zeph $3^{9.\ 10}$, Ps 87). This conception of a salvation wider than Israel culminates in the great passage Is $49^{5.\ 6}$. Here we have the sublime conception of Israel not merely as the recipient but as the minister of the Divine salvation. 'And now saith J" that formed me from the womb to be his servant to bring Jacob again to him and that Israel be gathered unto him . . . yea, he saith, It is too light a thing that thou shouldst be my servant to raise up the tribes of Jacob and to restore the preserved of Israel; I will also give thee for a light to the Gentiles that thou mayest be my salvation unto the end of the earth' (cf. Is $45^{21\text{-}24}$ $55^{1\text{-}5}$).

Two features of the prophetic teaching still need special mention, as bearing on the development of the doctrine of salvation. The first is the growing transcendence of the conception; the second, the increasing stress laid upon the individual.

In the earlier prophets the Messianic ideal is essentially earthly. Jeremiah, for example, looks for the re-establishment of the Davidic monarchy, and the restoration of conditions more glorious indeed, but essentially the same as those which preceded the Exile (Jer 23^5 30^9 $33^{17\text{-}22}$). But with the lapse of time we note the tendency to magnify the contrast between the Messianic age and that which it succeeds. The hope of Isaiah (ch. 11) of a renewed nature is taken up by his successors and developed with a great wealth of detail. In the Messianic age the wilderness and the solitary place shall be glad, and the desert shall rejoice and blossom as the rose (Is 35^1). 'The wolf and the lamb shall feed together, and the lion shall eat straw like the ox' (65^1). The voice of weeping shall no more be heard in Jerusalem (65^{19}). There shall be no more darkness or gloom, for the uncertain luminaries of earth shall be superseded by a Divine light ($60^{19.\ 20}$); the years of life shall be greatly extended (25^8); and those Israelites who have passed away in the gloom and despair of the Exile shall rise from their graves to share with their brethren in the Messianic glory (26^{19}, Dn 12^3).

It is not always easy to tell how far the passages which speak of a renewed nature are to be taken literally, and how far they are merely symbolical of the great fertility and prosperity of the Messianic age. But, whatever may be true of individual cases, there can be no doubt that the passages cited prepared the way for that transcendent view of the future which is characteristic of many of the Apocalyptic books. The prophetic hope seemed too great to be realized under existing conditions, and hence could be ushered in only by a complete transformation of the present order of things. The clearest anticipation of this new point of view is given by the unknown author of the last chapters of Isaiah in his doctrine of new heavens and a new earth (65^{17}, cf. 66^{22}). Where such a viewpoint obtains, the Day of J" no longer has its significance, as in the older prophets, as ushering in a new stage of this world's history. It marks the division between two worlds or ages, separating the present period of probation and distress from the final age of fruition and judgment which is to be the scene of Israel's 'everlasting salvation' (Is 45^{17}. Cf. Dn 7^{14}; Targum on Gn 49^{18} (quoted by Cremer, *s.v.* σῴζω): 'My soul waiteth not for the salvation of Gideon the son of Joas, for that is temporal, nor for the salvation of Samson, for it is passing, but for the salvation of the Messiah, the son of David, which through thy word thou hast promised to bring to thy people, the sons of Israel, for this redemption my soul waiteth; for thy redemption, O Jehovah, is an everlasting redemption').

The second feature which demands notice is the increasing stress laid upon the individual. In the earlier history of Israel the conception of salvation had been primarily national, but with the destruction of the nation the attention of the prophets was directed more and more from the people as a

whole to the units which composed it. Jeremiah, and still more Ezekiel, are the prophets of this growing individualism, which appears clearly in such passages as Jer 31[29. 30], Ezk 18. No small part of Messiah's work consists in righting the wrongs of the oppressed, and re-establishing the widow and the fatherless in the rights of which they have been defrauded (Ps 72[4. 13], Is 11[3. 4] 61[1-3]). Under Him, as under a faithful shepherd, all those who have been faithful to J″ during the period of Israel's misfortunes shall be gathered together to form a new commonwealth in which righteousness shall be the controlling feature (Ezk 34, cf. Is 60[21]). This conception of God as the Saviour of the individual finds expression in the Wisdom literature (*e.g.* Job 5[15] 22[29] 26[2], Pr 20[22]), and in many of the Psalms. J″ is the deliverer of the weak and the needy (109[31], cf. 18[27] 72[4. 13]), the Saviour of the meek (76[9] 149[4], cf. Job 22[29]), and of all that put their trust in Him (86[2], cf. 88[1]). The poor man cried, and J″ heard him, and saved him out of all his troubles (34[6]). He saves the upright (37[39. 40]), and such as be of a contrite spirit (34[18]). He hears the cry of them that fear Him, and fulfils their desire (145[19]). Whatever may be the true interpretation of many of the later Psalms, there can be no doubt that their tone was much influenced by this growing individualism. There is a sense of intimacy in relation to God, a confidence, a joy in trust in Him which can only be thus explained. Out of their own experiences in personal communion with God the writers have gained an insight into His tenderness and love which they transfer in thought to the nation. It is no accident that later ages have given an individualistic interpretation to psalms whose reference is clearly national. And if we do right, with many recent interpreters, to understand the suffering servant of Deutero-Isaiah, of Israel the nation, it was surely through some personal experience of affliction gladly borne for another's good that the prophet was raised to his sublime interpretation of the meaning of his people's deeper sufferings.

The crown of this individualism is reached in the doctrine of the resurrection, which unites in an unexpected way the conceptions of individual and of national salvation. In most of the OT, salvation is a conception which has meaning only for this life. There is indeed an existence after death, but it is gloomy and uneventful, without experience of God's mercy and grace. 'In death there is no remembrance of thee (God): in Sheol who shall give thee thanks?' (Ps 6[5]). This earth is the scene of God's salvation, whether present or future; and even the glories of the Messianic age unroll themselves upon this platform, and will be enjoyed by those only who may be alive when the promised deliverance comes.

But with the growing sense of God's greatness and power came the conception that even the realm of the dead was under His control, and that the righteous who had died in distress might still hope after death to see the salvation of God. This hope, which appears in sporadic utterances in the Psalms (*e.g.* 49[15] 73[24. 25]), and finds classic expression in Job 19[25-27] ('I know that my vindicator liveth,' etc.), culminates in the doctrine of individual resurrection, which meets us for the first time in Is 26[19], and is repeated in Dn 12[1-3].

But this growing individualism had a still more important consequence than in extending the range of the Divine salvation. It materially modified the idea of its nature. The conception of salvation with which we have thus far been dealing is, for all its ethical features, more or less external. It is deliverance from *the consequences of sin* rather than from *sin itself*. The prophets call upon men to repent and forsake their sins, that they may become worthy to receive the promised salvation. But with the deepening moral sense there comes the insight that even for repentance itself Divine help is needed, and the cry arises to God for a deliverance which shall include not merely the consequences of sin, but the very sin which has caused them. This new insight finds expression in such a prayer as that of the 51st Psalm: 'Create in me a clean heart, O God; and renew a firm spirit within me. Cast me not away from thy presence; and take not thy Holy Spirit from me. Restore unto me the joy of thy salvation; and uphold me with a willing spirit' (vv.[10-12]). Here the salvation for which the Psalmist prays includes deliverance from sin as one of its elements (cf. Ps 130[7. 8] 'O Israel, hope in J″: for with J″ there is loving-kindness, and with him is plenteous redemption. And he shall redeem Israel from all his iniquities'; cf. Ps 39[8] 79[9]). It is the prophets of individualism, Jeremiah and Ezekiel, who give clearest expression to this idea of salvation as deliverance from sin. 'Behold, the days come, saith J″, that I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel. . . . But this is the covenant which I will make. . . . I will put my law in their inward parts, and in their heart will I write it; and I will be their God, and they shall be my people. And they shall teach no more every man his neighbour, and every man his brother, saying, Know J″: for all men shall know me, from the least of them unto the greatest of them, saith J″; for I will forgive their iniquity, and their sin will I remember no more' (Jer 31[31-34], cf. 33[8]). 'And I will sprinkle clean water upon you, and ye shall be clean: from all your filthiness, and from all your idols, will I cleanse you. A new heart also will I give you, and a new spirit will I put within you: and I will take away the stony heart out of your flesh, and I will give you an heart of flesh. And I will put my spirit within you, and cause you to walk in my statutes, and ye shall keep my judgments, and do them . . . and I will save you from all your uncleannesses' (Ezk 36[25-29], cf. 37[23]). Here we have a conception of salvation which goes deeper than any external deliverance. The great prophet of the Exile carries on the same line of thought. To him the chief blessing of the Messianic age is the forgiveness of sins. It is not Israel whose righteousness deserves the salvation of J″, but J″ who goes out after His erring children, to forgive and redeem them for His name's sake (Is 43[22-25]; cf. 44[22] 33[22. 24] 64[8-9] 65[1. 2], Zec 3[9] 13[1]). In such passages we have a direct preparation for the profound conception of the NT.

2. *Between the Testaments.*—In the Apocalyptic and Pseudepigraphical literature of the Jews we find a further development of the tendencies already noted in the OT. Extending over a period of some three centuries, its earlier portion contemporaneous with the later parts of the OT, its later (*e.g.* Apoc. Baruch, 2 Esdras) with the NT, it bridges the gap between the two in thought as well as in time. This is especially true in connexion with our doctrine. In not a few places indeed 'salvation' is still used in the sense of present deliverance (*e.g.* Jth 8[17], Ep. of Jer 36). In general, however, the use of the word is eschatological. The expected salvation is that of the Messianic age, which, with the lapse of time, is conceived of in more and more transcendent manner. Where the earlier conception of an earthly kingdom still survives, it is usually in the form of a millennium or preliminary period of blessedness, preceding the final triumph which takes place in the other world. Side by side with this growing transcendence we note a further development of individualism. Not only has the

doctrine of the resurrection become a familiar article of faith, but the doctrine of rewards and punishments is extended to the period immediately after death. In some cases the hope of individual reward is associated with large expectations of the triumph of Israel, or extends even beyond this to take in the conversion of the Gentiles. In other cases (as in 2 Esdras) the writer despairs even of the conversion of Israel, and is fain to console himself with the thought that the righteous at least, even if few in number, shall at the last receive a glorious reward. Amid such a wealth and variety of material, we must confine our quotations to a few typical passages, referring the reader for fuller information on points of detail to the books which deal specially with the subject (see Literature at end of article).

In the Apocalyptic picture of the Messianic kingdom, the old and the new, the material and the spiritual, are blended in startling and unexpected combinations. Sometimes we seem to be breathing the atmosphere of the old prophets; at others we are repelled by the artificiality and unreality of the conception. Thus in the earliest portion of the Book of Enoch (1–36, dated by Charles B.C. 170) the picture of the future is crassly material. At the resurrection, the righteous eat of the tree of life (25^{4-6}), and as a result enjoy patriarchal lives (5^9 25^6). The scene of the Messianic kingdom is a purified earth (10^7 16^{22}), with Jerusalem for its centre (25^5). The blessings of the kingdom, in which the converted Gentiles share (10^{21}), are of a sensuous nature. The powers of nature are increased indefinitely. Thus the righteous will beget 1000 children (10^{17}); of all the seed that is sown each measure will bear 10,000 grains, and each measure of olives will yield ten presses of oil (10^{19}, cf. Apoc. Bar 29^5, and note of Charles, p. 54). The author of the Psalms of Solomon (B.C. 70–40), on the other hand, emphasizes the ethical features of the kingdom. He looks for a Messianic king of the lineage of David who shall break in pieces them that rule unjustly (17^{24}). He will be a righteous king, and taught of God (17^{35}), pure from sin, so that he may rule a mighty people (17^{41}). 'He shall purge Jerusalem, and make it holy even as it was in the days of old' (17^{33}). 'He shall not suffer iniquity to lodge in their midst; and none that knoweth wickedness shall dwell with them' (17^{29}). In both of these books the earth is the scene of the Messianic Kingdom and Jerusalem its centre. Elsewhere, however (*e.g.* Enoch 82–90. 91–104. 37–70, Assumption of Moses, Apoc. Baruch), we have a more transcendent view of the future. Thus the author of Enoch 82–90 sees a new Jerusalem taking the place of the old ($90^{28.\ 29}$) and becoming the centre of a new community in which all the members shall be transformed into the image of the righteous Messiah (90^{38}). The author of Enoch 91–104 takes up the prophetic thought of a new heaven and a new earth, but develops it on the former side only (91^{16}). It is not earth but heaven which is to be the abode of the redeemed (104^2). 'Be hopeful,' he cries to his despondent readers, 'for aforetime ye were put to shame through ills and affliction; but soon ye will shine as the stars of heaven, ye will shine and ye will be seen, and the portals of heaven will be opened to you. . . . Be hopeful and cast not away your hope; for ye will have great joy as the angels of heaven. . . . And now fear not, ye righteous, when ye see the sinners growing strong and prospering in their ways, and be not like unto them, and have no companionship with them, but keep afar from their violence; for ye will become companions of the hosts of heaven' ($104^{2.\ 4.\ 6}$). Here we have the sharpest possible contrast between this world and that which is to come. The salvation of which the writer speaks has become purely otherworldly. A similar view-point meets us in the Assumption of Moses (cf. esp. $10^{8.\ 9}$) and in the Slavonic Enoch (Paradise as the abode of the righteous; cf. 8. 9. $42^{3.\ 5}$ 61^3 65^{10}), as well as in portions of the Apocalypse of Baruch (21^{19} 44^{9-15} 51^5 85).

The most striking example of this transcendent conception of salvation is found in the Similitudes of the Book of Enoch (37–70; Charles, B.C. 94–64). In this remarkable writing, which in many respects anticipates most clearly the NT conception of the glorified Christ, the Messiah is conceived of as a strictly supernatural being. Clothed with wisdom and righteousness, he sits on the throne of his glory (45^3) to judge all living beings, whether men or angels (49^1 51^2 55^4 62^3). By the word of his mouth he slays the wicked (62^2). Heaven and earth are transformed ($45^{4.\ 5}$) and made fit for the dwelling of the redeemed community, whose members, clothed with life (62^{16}), resplendent with light (39^7), with faces shining with joy (51^5), become angels in heaven (51^4), and dwell in closest communion with their redeemer (62^{14}), in the glory of his eternal kingdom (49^2).

This passage is specially interesting because it puts the Messianic Kingdom in the world to come. The author knows only one salvation, even the eternal salvation of the new world. In other books, however, we have a different conception. The Messiah's Kingdom, which is of temporary duration, belongs to this world, not to the next. Thus the author of Enoch 91–104 looks for a millennial kingdom of three world-weeks preceding the transformation of nature which ushers in the new world (93^{3-10}). The same idea reappears in the Slavonic Enoch, Baruch, and 2 Esdras. For details see MILLENNIUM, where references and quotations are given. Doubtless this idea was the result of a compromise between the earlier and simpler view of salvation which placed it upon this earth, and that later and more transcendent conception whose growth we have been tracing. Whatever its origin, it was an idea which had wide currency, meeting us not only in Jewish but in early Christian literature as well, and being represented, within the NT itself, by the Millennium of the Apocalypse.

Side by side with this growing transcendence we note a further development of the individualistic tendency. This appears most clearly in connexion with the life after death. The doctrine of the resurrection, which in Isaiah and Daniel is applied to some men only, is further extended. While the older sceptical tendency still survives in Sadduceeism, the belief in a universal resurrection wins more and more adherents. With this change the character of the conception alters. Instead of exhausting its significance in connexion with the Messianic Kingdom as the means of entrance for the righteous upon joys which they could not otherwise enjoy, it becomes the channel of universal retribution. As the righteous rise to be blessed, so the wicked are raised that they may receive the recompense of their sins (beginnings in Dn 12^2; cf. also Enoch 22^{11} $51^{1.\ 2}$, Apoc. Bar 30^{2-5} 50. 51, 2 Es 7^{32-37}; yet note that in many places resurrection is still only of the righteous, *e.g.* Enoch 90^{33} 91^{10} 92^3 100^5, Ps-Sol 3^{16} $14^{2ff.}$ $15^{13ff.}$: cf. on this whole subject Wendt, *Lehre Jesu*, ii. 45–49).

But the moralization of the life after death does not stop here. It extends also to the intermediate state. Little by little, Sheol loses its aspect of colourless monotony. It becomes the scene of preliminary rewards and punishments. It has its compartments where the wicked are kept separate from the righteous—the former in great pain, waiting the eternal judgment; the latter in a bright spot, where there is a spring of water (Enoch $22^{9.\ 11}$; yet note that punishment is only for those who have died and been buried 'without incurring judgment in their lifetime,' ^{10}). In the Similitudes the elect are represented as dwelling in the garden of life (61^{12}, cf. 70^4 60^8 'the garden where the elect and righteous dwell, where my grandfather was taken up, the seventh from Adam'; 60^{23} 'the garden of the righteous'; 77^3 'the garden of righteousness'). This place of preliminary blessedness, at first tenanted only by Enoch and Elijah, afterwards by all the right-

eous (cf. 60[8]), develops into the Paradise of NT times; see PARADISE. Thus side by side with the preliminary blessedness of the millennial kingdom we have the righteous enjoying foretastes of salvation in the life immediately after death.

The effect of this new view of the life after death was inevitably to diminish the relative importance of the final salvation. In those writings which, under Greek influence, developed the idea of immortality (*i.e.* Philo, Wisdom, 4 Maccabees), the doctrine of an intermediate state falls away altogether, and souls are represented as entering upon their final award at death (cf. Wis 3[1-4] 4[7-11], cf. v.[14], 4 Mac 13[16] 5[36] 18[23]). Even where this is not the case, as in Slavonic Enoch, we find the tendency more and more to spiritualize the earlier conceptions. Resurrection is no longer a return to earthly conditions, but, as in 1 Corinthians, the putting on of a new organism fitted to the life of the heavenly kingdom (Enoch 22[8-10]). Paradise is no longer the abode of the righteous in the intermediate state, from which they are raised to enter a higher state of blessedness, but the place of their eternal habitation (Apoc. Bar 51[11], 2 Es 8[52]). Sheol is more and more identified with Gehenna as the place of final punishment of the wicked (Enoch 56[8] 63[10] 99[11] 103[7], 2 Es 8[53]), and loses its character as an intermediate abode of righteous and wicked alike. Thus more and more we note the tendency, which can be paralleled in Christian history, to break down the middle wall between the intermediate and final states, and to make death the real dividing line in human destiny.

A further evidence of the growing individualism is to be found in the definite abandonment, in certain quarters, of the hope of national restoration which had formed so prominent a feature of the prophetic anticipation. This appears most clearly in such late books as Apoc. Baruch and 2 Esdras.* In the earlier literature the national ideal still survives, and in many passages (*e.g.* Ps-Sol 17) finds beautiful expression. Even the hope of Gentile participation in the promised salvation is not without its representation (*e.g.* Enoch 10[21] 90[30], Ps-Sol 17[32-35]). It could not be otherwise with a people whose daily study had been the prophetic literature. But as time goes on and the kingdom does not come, we find men more and more losing sight of the larger aspects of the Divine salvation, and concentrating their thoughts upon the fate of individuals. The present world is abandoned to hopeless corruption (cf. Apoc. Bar 15[8] 21[13]), and the world to come belongs to the righteous, and to them alone (cf. Apoc. Bar 15[8] 24[1. 2], and esp. 2 Es 7[47-61]). When the seer laments the sorrows of the wicked, and the small number of those who shall finally be saved, he is bidden to look away from them, and to consider the righteous, for whom alone God cares. 'For I will rejoice over the few that shall be saved, inasmuch as these are they that have made my glory now to prevail, and of whom my name is named. And I will not grieve over the multitude of them that perish; for these are they which are now like unto vapour and are become as flame and smoke; they are set on fire and burn hotly and are quenched' (2 Es 7[60. 61] Charles' tr. in *Eschatology*, p. 292). Here we have the individualistic theodicy in its most extreme form.

No doubt this growing individualism had its good side. Within the OT itself we have already seen how it deepened the moral insight, and heightened the sense of personal responsibility. We find in the period in question the same stress on individual righteousness. But, on the other hand, we note also the tendency to conceive the whole matter of salvation in a more or less external and legal way. Salvation is the reward which God has promised to those who faithfully keep His law. The more difficult the achievement the greater God's delight in the result. This is specially apparent in the later books (cf. Apoc. Bar 51[7] 'But those who have been saved by their works and to whom the law has been now a hope, and understanding an expectation, and wisdom a confidence, to them wonders will appear in their time'; 14[7], with Charles' note; 2 Es 9[7. 8] 'And every one that shall be saved, and that shall be able to escape by his works and by faith whereby ye have believed, shall be preserved from the said perils, and shall see my salvation in my land and within my borders: for I have sanctified them for me from the beginning'; cf. 7[77] 8[33]). Here we find ourselves in that very atmosphere of work-righteousness which culminates in the Talmud, and against which the Gospel came as a protest.

Summing up the conceptions of salvation which we have met thus far, we find that they are four: (1) salvation in this life, in the sense of deliverance from present danger or trouble, especially from defeat in battle; (2) the salvation of the Messianic Kingdom, to be enjoyed by all the righteous who may be alive at the time, as well as by the risen saints; (3) salvation after death, in the sense of a preliminary foretaste, by the righteous, of the enjoyment of the age to come; (4) the final salvation of the heavenly world, when the present earth has been destroyed, and the period of corruption has come to an end. These different conceptions live on side by side, modifying one another in various ways, shading off into one another by almost imperceptible degrees, the old not displaced by the new, but transformed by it, and that in such subtle and gradual ways that it is often impossible to trace the separate steps of the process. Into such a world of thought, confused, changeful, yet rich with germs of fruitful and inspiring life, Jesus came with His Gospel of salvation.

3. *In the teaching of Jesus.*—The word 'salvation' (σωτηρία) is only twice used by Jesus—once in the conversation with Zacchæus (Lk 19[9] 'To-day is salvation come to this house'), and again in the interview with the woman of Samaria (Jn 4[22] 'Salvation is from the Jews'). But the verb σώζειν occurs frequently in His teaching. Often it is used to denote physical healing (*e.g.* Mt 9[22], Mk 3[4] 5[34] 10[52], Lk 6[9] 8[48. 50] 17[19] 18[42]). Elsewhere it has a broader meaning. Not to mention the well-known passages in John (5[34] 10[9] 12[47]), He spoke of Himself as come 'to seek and to save that which was lost' (Lk 19[10], cf. Mt 18[11], Lk 9[56], both omitted by RV). Of the sinful woman who washed His feet in Simon's house He declared that her faith had saved her (Lk 7[50]), and in more than one passage concerning the future of His Kingdom He uses the word σώζω in the same eschatological sense with which we are already familiar (Mt 10[22] 24[13. 22], cf. Mk 13[13. 20]). Salvation is indeed only the reverse side of that Gospel of the Kingdom which was the burden of His preaching. The two ideas may be used interchangeably, as appears from such passages as Mt 19[24. 25], Mk 10[25. 26], Lk 8[10. 12] 13[23. 28]. If, then, we would understand Jesus' view of salvation, we must take our departure from His idea of the Kingdom.

But here we find ourselves involved in difficulties growing out of the criticism of the sources. These centre mainly about two points—(1) the relation of Jesus' teaching to that of His contemporaries; (2) the relation of His teaching to that of His successors.

(1) We have already noted the purely transcendent and eschatological form which the idea of the Kingdom had assumed

* It seems probable that both of these books in their present form are of composite authorship, the earlier portions, written before the destruction of Jerusalem, retaining the national Messianic hope, the later having definitely abandoned it. For the evidence in detail see Charles' edition of *Baruch*, and his *Eschatology*, p. 283 ff.

in contemporary Judaism. The question arises how far Jesus felt Himself in sympathy with this view. There are passages in the Synoptics, especially in the so-called Apocalypse of Jesus (Mk 13 and parall.), which have marked points of resemblance to the contemporary Apocalypses. The Kingdom is spoken of as purely future—a miraculous state to be ushered in by the Parousia of Jesus, and involving a sudden and complete transformation of the present order of things (cf. Mk 8^{38} 9^{1}, Mt 19^{28}, Lk $20^{35.\ 36}$). What shall we think of these passages? Do they represent the genuine teaching of Jesus? and if so, are we to think of Him, with many recent scholars, as holding a point of view essentially the same as that of His contemporaries? or, following Weiffenbach, Wendt, and others, are we to regard these apocalyptic elements as later additions, derived from Jewish or Jewish-Christian sources, and therefore to be disregarded? or, finally, is it possible, without recourse to the theory of interpolation, so to interpret Jesus' eschatological teaching as to show its harmony with the deeper and more spiritual views elsewhere expressed? This is one class of questions now being actively discussed, a full answer to which seems necessary before it is possible adequately to set forth Jesus' doctrine of salvation.

(2) The other class of questions leads us into the criticism of the Fourth Gospel. Here it is the absence of the idea of the Kingdom which is most striking. In place of the Kingdom, the great gift which Jesus brings is eternal life, which is represented, not, as in the Synoptics, as a blessing to be enjoyed in the future (Mk 10^{30}), but as a present possession (5^{24} $6^{40.\ 47.\ 53}$). When we hear the Christ of the Fourth Gospel saying, 'He that believeth hath eternal life' (6^{47}), we seem to be in a different world from that of the eschatological discourses of the Synoptics. It is the world of a St. Paul, who says, 'If any man is in Christ, he is a new creature' (2 Co 5^{17}); of a St. John, who writes, 'Whosoever shall confess that Jesus is the Son of God, God abideth in him and he in God' (1 Jn 4^{15}). Are we to believe that the same Christ spoke Mt 23 and Jn 14–16; and if so, how is their teaching to be reconciled?

Fortunately, we are not shut up for our view of Jesus' doctrine of salvation to the settlement of either of these disputed questions. There are enough perfectly plain and undisputed passages—apart from these—to give us a clear view of His central teaching. Possibly we may find, if we take our stand upon this more certain ground, that before we have finished we shall have gained light which will help us in the solution of the more difficult problems.

If we would understand our Lord's doctrine of salvation in its epoch-making significance, we must consider its relation to the views of His contemporaries. While it is true that Jesus fed His spirit upon the writings of the OT prophets, and drew thence many truths which His contemporaries had forgotten, it is no less true that He was also a man of His own time, and that His teaching was influenced, not merely negatively but positively, by the development whose main lines we have traced. We may illustrate this by a reference to the two points most prominent in the contemporary view of the kingdom—(*a*) its transcendence, and (*b*) its individualism.

(*a*) We are often tempted, because of the familiar human features in Jesus' teaching, to overlook its transcendent elements. Yet there can be no doubt that our Lord's conception of the Kingdom is distinctly supermundane. Whatever may be the origin of the phrase, 'Kingdom of heaven,' found only in the first evangelist, it cannot be denied that the idea was characteristic of Jesus. The Kingdom of which He is the Messiah belongs to a different and higher order from that which at present obtains. Its blessings are not earthly but heavenly. The evidence for this may be found in all parts of His teaching (cf. His promise, to the persecuted disciples, of reward in heaven, Mt 5^{12}, cf. Lk 10^{20} 'rejoice that your names are written in heaven'; the command to lay up treasures in heaven, Mt 6^{20}, cf. Mt 19^{21}, Mk 10^{21}, Lk 12^{21} 16^{11}; the parable of the Unjust Steward, Lk 16^{1-13}; the indifference which He showed Himself, and which He recommended to His disciples, with reference to this world's goods, Mt 6^{19}; the answer to the Sadducees about the resurrection, Lk 20^{34-36}; the answer to Pilate, Jn 18^{36} 'My Kingdom is not of this world'; as well as such distinctly eschatological passages as Mt 24^{30} 26^{64}). In view of such utterances, sharply contrasting the Kingdom, as belonging to the heavenly world, with all that is earthly, there can be no doubt that Jesus' conception stood in many respects closer to the transcendent views of His contemporaries than to the more earthly ideals of the earlier prophets.

And yet it is at this very point that the originality of Jesus' teaching is most clearly apparent. To the Jews of His day the transcendence of the Kingdom meant its removal from all contact with present life. Just because their ideal was essentially worldly, involving the hope of earthly triumph and prosperity, did they despair of its realization under existing conditions, and refer it wholly to the future. To Jesus, on the other hand, the Kingdom was in a true sense present already (Mt 12^{28}, Lk 11^{19}, cf. Lk 10^{18}, and comments of Holtzmann, *Neutest. Theol.* i. pp. 217, 218; Lk $17^{20.\ 21}$ 'The Kingdom of God is within you,' or, 'in your midst'; also the references to those who are already in the Kingdom, Mt 11^{11}, cf. Lk 7^{28}, Mk 10^{15}, cf. Lk $18^{16.\ 17}$, Mt 23^{13}, and esp. the parables of the Kingdom which represent it as a growth from small beginnings—so the sower, tares, mustard seed, leaven [Mt 13 and parall.], and esp. the seed growing secretly, Mk 4^{26-29}). Its transcendence is the transcendence of a higher spiritual order (Holtzmann, *l.c.* p. 190), which, so far from being inconsistent with earthly conditions, is destined to be realized in and through them. Thus Jesus instructs His disciples to pray for the doing of God's will on earth as it is in heaven (Mt 6^{10}), and declares that wherever men show the qualities and practise the traits which are characteristic of the heavenly world, there the Kingdom is present in germ (compare Mk 10^{14} with Mt 18^{4}).

The explanation of this change is to be found in Jesus' view of God. At no point had contemporary Judaism departed further from the doctrine of the OT. The idea of J″ as a living God, actively interested in human affairs, had given place to a conception purely transcendent. God was thought of as a being remote, inaccessible, mysterious, living in a distant and heavenly world, to be approached only through the mediation of the ceremonial law. In place of this purely transcendent being, Jesus proclaimed a loving Father, profoundly concerned in all that affects His children, watching their affairs with a tender interest, infinitely wise and great indeed, yet infinitely condescending, more ready to give good gifts than earthly fathers to their children (Mt 7^{11}), having a care for His universe so minute and detailed that not a sparrow falls to the ground without His notice (Mt 10^{29}). To Jesus, as to His contemporaries, God was supremely holy; but, unlike them, He did not hesitate to proclaim this holy God as the model for men's imitation (Mt 5^{48}). To Him this world was God's world, and hence, in spite of all its sin and misery, adapted to be the scene of the realization of His heavenly kingdom. It is in view of such conceptions of the relation of God and man that we must understand Jesus' teaching concerning salvation.

To be saved, according to our Lord, means simply to enter upon a life fitted to the children of such a Father—a life whose marks are righteousness, brotherly love, and, above all, trustful dependence upon God; a life only fully to be realized in the future, when the redeemed shall be released from earthly limitations, and enter the new conditions of the resurrection life (Lk 20^{34-36}), yet in a true sense possible even now for all those who, like Him, have learned to know God as their Father, and, through the life of self-denying service, have entered upon a blessedness which no earthly trial or misfortune can disturb.

So we find Jesus speaking of salvation as a present experience. To the sinful woman in the house of Simon He declares that her faith hath saved her, and bids her go in peace (Lk 7^{50}). To Zacchæus He says that this day is salvation come

to his house (Lk 19[9]). Even in the midst of this present life, with its sorrows and persecutions, the children of the Kingdom are constantly receiving good gifts from their heavenly Father (Mt 7[11]). However much they may have given up they receive an hundredfold more (Mk 10[30]). Through prayer they enter into daily communion with God, and receive the strength and help they need. They have the assurance that no evil can befall them when they put their trust in Him (Mt 6[31-34]). For the earthly fellowship which they have sacrificed they receive a spiritual fellowship which is far more satisfying (Mk 10[30] 3[35]). From the bondage of the ceremonial law, with its intolerable yoke, they have entered upon the service of a Master whose burden is light (Mt 11[30]). In the healing of the sick, and especially in the casting out of demons, which is a mark of their Master's ministry, they see the breaking down of Satan's kingdom, and the beginnings, even on earth, of the era of blessedness which is characteristic of the Kingdom of God (Lk 11[20] 10[18]).

It is in view of such a conception that we must understand Jesus' teaching in the eschatological discourses. Whatever may be our solution of the critical difficulties involved (for a full discussion see PAROUSIA), we may without hesitation reject the view of those who see in Jesus' teaching simply the echo of the ideas of contemporary Judaism. Our Lord's view of the Kingdom is so far eschatological that the complete fulfilment of the ideal which He preaches belongs to the future. But the ideal itself, as essentially moral and spiritual, has a present as well as a future application. To Jesus the hope of the Parousia meant the introduction of no new kind of salvation, but only the complete victory of the principles which He had illustrated in His own life, and whose embodiment, imperfect and yet real, in the little band of men whom He had gathered about Him, constituted the beginning of His Kingdom. It is indeed in its combination of present and future elements that the originality of Jesus' doctrine of salvation consists. Wendt has well expressed this in his *Teaching of Jesus* when he says that 'the epoch-making advance made by Jesus in His idea of salvation beyond that of the Psalmists and Prophets, as well as of the Jews of His time, consisted in the fact that He not only conceived the supreme ideal of salvation as purely supermundane and supersensuous,—a heavenly, not an earthly ideal,—but also that because of this determination of the ideal He gained a new view of the present world and of the earthly life—a view according to which it is possible for the devout to have even here and now, not merely a certain *hope* of salvation in the future, but also genuine *experiences* of salvation in the present' (ii. p. 187, Eng. tr., which, however, gives an inadequate rendering of the original, i. p. 241; cf. the whole passage).

In view of such considerations, the Johannine conception of eternal life as a present possession seems no longer foreign to Jesus' teaching. Whatever may be the ultimate decision of criticism as to the origin of the discourses in which the phrase occurs, there can be no doubt that the idea is one which accords well with what we learn from other sources of our Lord's doctrine of salvation. Wendt argues strongly for its genuineness on the ground that it is needed to account for the presence of similar ideas in the apostolic age (*Lehre Jesu*, ii. p. 198). But, even apart from this, some such conception seems required from what we know of Jesus Himself. Holtzmann is certainly not a critic who can be charged with any leaning to conservative views. Yet, speaking of the Synoptic teaching concerning eternal life 'as gift and good of the future age,' he writes (*Neutest. Theol.* i. 222): 'Yet it (*i.e.* eternal life) is not thought of as a merely formal definition which can be filled up with any content which the imagination may choose to give it. On the contrary, it is a possession of the present, already well known, which has been projected into the future. The highest and most intense feeling of existence—a feeling of incomparable power and richness of content (*unvergleichlich kraft-und gehaltvolles Daseinsgefühl*) without the slightest trace of twilight or mortality, of dull, hollow finiteness,—this is Jesus' conception of life and blessedness. Such a thought could be entertained only by one who Himself possessed the thing. In this sense He must have already borne the Kingdom of God as an inner good within Himself, must have known it as already present on the ground of His own experience. And not only so; but wherever His Gospel is preached in the world, wherever the Spirit of God is manifest either in miraculous power or in the hearts of men, wherever, in the sense of the parables, seeds spring up and fruits ripen, there also—with the righteousness which makes out the content of the Kingdom—the Kingdom itself is already present.'

(*b*) But we shall not fully understand the originality of Jesus' doctrine of salvation until we have considered it at the other point where it is most natural to compare it with that of His contemporaries, *i.e.* its individualism. We have already studied the growth of the individualistic tendency in the later Judaism, and seen its effects in subordinating the conception of national to that of individual righteousness, and in extending the doctrine of retribution from this life to that after death. Here, too, we find points of contact in Jesus' teaching. He also insists strongly upon the necessity of individual righteousness. Most of His time is spent in dealing with individual men, and the conditions which He lays down for entrance to His Kingdom are such that each man must fulfil them for himself. So in His view of the life after death Jesus accepts the results of the intermediate development. Sheol has altogether lost its character of colourless monotony. Death involves no interruption in the communion of the individual with God. Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob are even now enjoying a resurrection life with God (Lk 20[37. 38]); Lazarus passes at once from this world into Abraham's bosom (Lk 16[22]); and to the dying thief on the cross the promise is made that this day he shall be with his Master in Paradise (Lk 23[43]).

And yet it is just in His dealing with individual men that the contrast of Jesus' view of salvation to that of His contemporaries is most apparent. To the Pharisees of His day salvation was the reward of righteousness. And the righteous man was he who perfectly conformed his life to the requirements of the ceremonial law. It is difficult for us to appreciate the nature of these demands not only upon a man's good-will, but upon his time and upon his means. As Holtzmann has well shown (*l.c.* i. 132 ff.), it was impossible for a man of moderate means to be righteous in the full legal sense, without sacrificing all hope of worldly prosperity. A rich man might indeed keep the law. A few less blessed with this world's goods—the so-called 'poor' of the later Jewish literature—had the courage to make the needed sacrifice. For the most part men felt the burden too heavy, and were content to live as they could, without part in the hopes and ideals of their religious teachers, despised by them as sinners and outcasts, without share in the Divine favour or interest in the Divine salvation. (Cf. Jn 7[49] 'This multitude which knoweth not the law are accursed,' and especially 2 Es 7[51. 52. 59-61]).

It was exactly to this company of outcasts, the poor and despised in Israel, that Jesus directed His preaching (Lk 4[18. 19], Mt 11[5], Lk 7[22]; cf. the beatitudes of the Sermon on the Mount, Mt 5[3-11] and parall. Lk 6[20-23]). He said of Himself that He was come to seek and to save the lost (Lk 19[10]). He called sinners to repentance (Mk 2[17], Mt 9[13], Lk 5[32]). He declared that there is more joy in heaven over one sinner that repenteth than over ninety and nine just persons that need no repentance (Lk 15[7. 10]). He ate and drank with publicans and sinners (Mk 2[16]), and declared to the self-righteous Pharisees that the publicans and harlots were entering into the Kingdom of heaven before them (Mt 21[31]). He swept away the burdensome requirements of the ceremonial law, and invited men to the service of a Master whose yoke was easy and whose burden was light (Mt 11[29. 30]). He made the conditions of entrance to His kingdom humility, trustfulness, the childlike spirit (Mt 5[3] 18[3. 4]). In place of a God who cared only for a spiritual aristocracy, whose pleasure it was to make hard conditions that He might increase the value of the few who were saved (2 Es 7[59. 60]), He proclaimed a compassionate and loving Father, willing to receive back the returning prodigal upon the first evidence of repentance (Lk 15[20]). He revived the forgotten prophetic doctrine of the Divine forgiveness, and made the chief blessing of His Kingdom to consist in the remission of sins (Mt 26[28], cf. Mk 2[10]).

This is the explanation of the universalism of Jesus. A Gospel for the sinful knows no race limitations. A Messiah who felt Himself specially sent to the lost sheep of the house of Israel (Mt 15^{24}), Jew though He might be, could not turn away from humble penitence, wherever found. The Samaritan (Jn 4^{7}, Lk 17^{16}; cf. 10^{33}), the Syrophœnician (Mk 7^{26}), even the Roman (Mt 8^{10}), shared His blessing and His praise. The teaching of the Fourth Gospel concerning the other sheep not of the Jewish fold (10^{16}), and the hour when men shall no longer worship the Father either in Jerusalem or on Mt. Gerizim (4^{21}), is the legitimate outcome of the principles on which Jesus regularly acted. The Messiah of the Jews showed Himself to be in very truth the Saviour of the world.

There is still another point in which the teaching of Jesus differs radically from that of His contemporaries: this is in the emphasis He lays on the principle of service. Here the individualism of which we have spoken receives its needed complement. Men are saved one by one, each for himself; but they are saved that they may serve. As members of the Kingdom, it is their duty and their privilege to minister to one another's needs. Freely forgiven by the heavenly Father, they also are to forgive one another (Mt 18^{21-35}). He that would be greatest in the Kingdom of Christ must show himself servant of all (Lk 22^{26}, cf. Jn 13^{14}). He that would save his life must be willing to lose it (Mt 16^{25}, Mk 8^{35}, Lk 9^{24}; cf. 17^{33}). We unduly limit this sentence if we understand it simply of the conditions of entrance to the Kingdom. It expresses the law of the Kingdom all the way through, the law, namely, of self-realization through self-sacrifice.

In this connexion we find our Lord reviving another forgotten OT truth. When the great prophet of the Exile first proclaimed the doctrine of salvation through the vicarious sacrifice of the good, he found few hearers (cf. Is 53^{1} 'Who hath believed our report?'). The connexion of salvation with prosperity had been too long and too close to make the new teaching intelligible. In the succeeding centuries it fell altogether into the background. Our Lord reasserts it, and applies it to Himself. He compares Himself to the good shepherd who lays down his life for the sheep (Jn 10^{11}). He declares that He is come to give His life a ransom for many (Mk 10^{45}). He compares His death to a covenant sacrifice, sealing the new relationship between His disciples and God (Mt 26^{28}). The crucifixion and rejection which seemed to His disciples to mark the failure of His mission had no such meaning to Him. They were but a necessary step in His redeeming work. The reproachful word of His enemies had a deeper meaning than they knew. He saved others; Himself He could not save (Mt 27^{42}, Lk 23^{35}, Mk 15^{30}). And the principles which He applies to Himself He extends also to His disciples. Looking forward to their approaching persecutions, He bids them not be dismayed, since if they would enter into His glory they must drink His cup (Mt 20^{23}, cf. 5^{10-12}). Thus suffering and death, which in earlier times had seemed the direct opposite of salvation, are shown by our Lord to have a necessary part to play in bringing it about.

Summing up our Lord's teaching concerning salvation, we may say that it is deliverance from sin through entrance upon a new Divine life. The marks of this life are humility, brotherly service, and filial dependence upon God. In the practice of these traits consists the righteousness of the Kingdom, and in their experience its blessedness. This new Divine life, which is mediated not merely by the teaching and example of Christ but by His sufferings and death, begins here, continues unbroken in the life after death, and will be finally consummated at the Parousia, when the principles of Christ shall be everywhere accepted, and the will of God be done on earth even as it is done in heaven.

4. *In the New Testament.*—The salvation brought by Jesus is the theme of the entire apostolic age. Wherever we turn in the NT, whether it be Acts, Hebrews, St. Paul or St. John, we are conscious of a note of confidence and triumph, as of men possessing a supreme good, in which they not only themselves rejoice, but which they are anxious to share with others. More significant than any change in doctrine is this consciousness of salvation as a glorious fact, dominating and transforming life. None the less is it true that on this common basis we note differences of conception. Not all the disciples grasped the teaching of Jesus with equal clearness. In not a few parts of the NT we find survivals of earlier Jewish ideas and sympathies (*e.g.* Ac 1^{6}, Rev 7^{4-8} etc.). So the degree of theological development varies greatly (cf. the speeches in Acts with Romans). Under the circumstances there is need of discrimination. We shall begin our treatment with a brief survey of the common features of the apostolic teaching, and then pass on to describe the more distinctly theological views of St. Paul and St. John.

(*a*) *In general.*—The central theme of the apostolic preaching is the proclamation of Jesus as Saviour. Cf. Ac $5^{30.\ 31}$ 'The God of our fathers raised up Jesus, whom ye slew, hanging him on a tree. Him did God exalt to be a Prince and a Saviour, to give repentance to Israel, and remission of sins' (cf. Mt 1^{21}, Jn 3^{17}, Ac 2^{21} 4^{12} 13^{23} 15^{11}, Eph 5^{23}, Ph 3^{20}, 2 Ti 1^{10}, Tit 1^{4} 2^{13} 3^{6}, 2 P $1^{1.\ 11}$ 2^{20} $3^{2.\ 18}$, 1 Jn 4^{14}, He 2^{10} Jesus as author of salvation). 'Salvation' has become a technical term which sums up all the blessings brought by the Gospel (cf. Eph 1^{13} 'the Gospel of your salvation'; 1 Co $15^{1.\ 2}$ 'the Gospel . . . by which ye are saved'; Ac 13^{26} 'the word of this salvation'; cf. v.^{47} 16^{17} 'the way of salvation'; 28^{28}, Ro 1^{16} 'the power of God unto salvation'; 10^{10} 'confession unto salvation'; 11^{11}, 2 Co 7^{10} 'repentance unto salvation'; 2 Ti 3^{15} 'able to make wise unto salvation'; He 6^{9} 'things that accompany salvation'; Jude ^{3} 'our common salvation'; Tit 2^{11} 'the grace of God, bringing salvation'; cf. 1 Ti $2^{3.\ 4}$ 'God . . . who would have all men to be saved, and come to a knowledge of the truth'). In contrast to all previous deliverances of God (He $1^{1.\ 2}$), the fulfilment of that for which the OT prophets looked (1 P 1^{10-12}), the earnest of the age which is even now at the door (Ac $2^{16.\ 17}$ the pouring out of the Spirit as fulfilment of the prophecy of Joel), is the great deliverance which God has wrought through His Son. Jesus is not only Saviour; He is the only Saviour. The stone which the builders set at nought has been made head of the corner (Ac 4^{11}). 'And in none other is there salvation; for neither is there any other name under heaven that is given among men, wherein we must be saved' (Ac 4^{12}).

In strict conformity with the teaching of Jesus, salvation is represented primarily as deliverance from sin. Our Lord is called *Jesus* because He 'shall save his people from their sins' (Mt 1^{21}). He 'came into the world to save sinners' (1 Ti 1^{15}). The blessings of His kingdom are repentance (Ac 5^{11} 11^{18}, cf. 20^{21}) and remission of sins (Ac 2^{38}, cf. 3^{19} 5^{31} 10^{43} 13^{38} 26^{18}, and esp. 3^{26} 'Unto you first God, having raised up his Servant, sent him to bless you, in turning away every one of you from your iniquities'). So the Apocalypse begins with a song of praise 'unto him that loveth us, and loosed us from our sins by his blood' (1^{5}). As death is the consequence and penalty of sin, salvation is at the same time deliverance from death

(He 5^{7}, cf. 2^{14}, Ja 5^{20}, cf. 4^{12} 'he who is able to save and to destroy'; 2 Ti 1^{10} 'our Saviour Jesus Christ, who abolished death, and brought life and incorruption to light through the Gospel'), and from the wrath of God, of which death is the judicial consequence (cf. Ro 5^{9} with 1^{32}). More particularly with reference to the individual, in contrast to the cosmic salvation taught by St. Paul (Ro 8^{21}), it is called salvation of the soul (1 P $1^{9.\ 10}$, Ja 1^{21}, He 10^{39}). In its wider relations it is a salvation of the world (Jn 3^{17}, 1 Jn 4^{14}).

Common also to the entire NT is the stress laid upon the sufferings and death of Christ as mediating salvation. The cross which had been such a staggering blow to the disciples' faith at the first (Lk $24^{20.\ 21}$), and which still remained a stumbling-block to Jews and foolishness to Greeks (1 Co 1^{23}), is now seen to have a necessary part to play in Christ's saving work (He $2^{9ff.}$ $5^{8.\ 9}$ 12^{2}, 1 Co 1^{18}, 1 P $1^{18.\ 19}$, Rev 1^{5}, Ac 2^{23} 20^{28}, Lk 24^{26}), and is interpreted in the light of Is 53 (Ac 8^{32}, 1 P $2^{21\text{-}24}$. Cf. also the title 'lamb' in Rev $5^{6.\ 9}$ $7^{9.\ 10}$) as the fulfilment of prophecy (Lk 24^{27}, Ac 3^{18}, 1 Co 15^{3}). As a result of this new view of Christ's death, we find the NT writers without exception rising to a new conception of the meaning of suffering (Ac 5^{41} 9^{16}, 2 Co 1^{6}, Ph $1^{19.\ 28}$, He 5^{9} 13^{13}, 1 P 1^{7}, Ja 1^{2}, Rev 7^{14}), and applying to their own experiences of sorrow and temptation a standard which they have learned from Jesus Christ (1 P 2^{21}, He 13^{13}, 2 Co 1^{6} $4^{8\text{-}11}$; cf. 1 Co $4^{10\text{-}13}$, Col 1^{24}).

If we compare the NT teaching as a whole with that of Jesus, we note a greater stress upon the eschatological element. This is true not only of the Apocalypse and of the early discourses in the Acts, where the Parousia is the centre of interest (cf. Ac $3^{20.\ 21}$), but also of such writings as James (cf. 5^{8} with 1^{12}), Hebrews, and 1 Peter, as well as the Epistles of St. Paul (cf. esp. Thess. and 1 Co 15). In Hebrews the word 'salvation' is used in a purely eschatological sense (*e.g.* He 9^{28} 'Christ, having been once offered up to bear the sins of many, shall appear a second time, apart from sin, to them that wait for him, unto salvation'; cf. 1^{14} 2^{3} 2^{10} 5^{9} 6^{9}). The same is frequently the case in 1 Peter (*e.g.* $1^{5.\ 9.\ 10}$ 'a salvation ready to be revealed at the last time,' 'the end of your faith, even the salvation of your souls,' but cf. 3^{21}), and in the letters of St. Paul (*e.g.* Ro 13^{11} 'Now is salvation nearer to us than when we believed'; cf. 5^{10}, 1 Co 3^{15} 5^{5}, 2 Ti 4^{18}). The early Christians, almost without exception, felt themselves living at the end of the ages (1 Co 10^{11}), and looked at any moment for the return of their Master to set up His heavenly Kingdom (see PAROUSIA). Doubtless the resurrection experiences had much to do with this. The revelation of Jesus in glory, the assurance that He was even now sitting at the right hand of the Father, tended to emphasize the transcendent elements in His teaching, and to magnify the contrast between this present evil age and that which was to come. Thus St. Peter in Acts urges his hearers to save themselves from this crooked generation (Ac 2^{40}), and St. Paul declares that if in this world only Christians have hope in Christ, they are of all men most pitiable (1 Co 15^{19}). The contrast in both these passages, unlike that involved in the Johannine doctrine of the world, of which we shall speak presently, is a temporal one. The time of present distress is set over against that of future glory. At the great day of the Parousia, which is impending, there is to be a transformation of the universe (Ro 8^{21}, 1 Co 7^{31}), new heavens and a new earth (Rev 21^{1}), and believers, with their risen brethren who have gone before (1 Th 4^{15}), shall be clothed with heavenly bodies (1 Co $15^{47\text{-}49}$), and enter upon an existence adapted—as the present cannot be—to the enjoyment and practice of the spiritual life (Ro 8^{23}, cf. v.^{11}).

It is at this point that we note the closest contact with the ideas of contemporary Judaism. Coming to Christianity from an atmosphere charged with the hope of earthly, even if of superhuman prosperity, it was impossible but that the disciples should show some traces of their early training. The letters of St. Paul show us what a struggle it took before Christianity freed itself from the yoke of Jewish legalism. Not dissimilar was the relation to the eschatological ideas of Judaism. The thoughts of the early Christians clothed themselves naturally in imagery taken from the Jewish apocalyptic books. They looked for a heavenly Jerusalem (Rev $21^{2ff.}$, cf. also He 12^{22}, Gal 4^{26}), with its streets of gold and its gates of pearl, and did not resign without a struggle the hope of a millennial Kingdom on earth anticipating and preparing the way for the joys of the heavenly Kingdom (see MILLENNIUM). The Apocalypse introduces us most deeply into this world of Jewish-Christian thought, which, however, has left its traces in other books of the NT (*e.g.* 2 P, Jude), and is not wholly absent even from him who did the most to overcome it—the Apostle Paul (*e.g.* Gal 4^{26}, 2 Co 2^{3}).

And yet it is easy to exaggerate the extent of this influence. In spite of all the points of contact with Judaism, the early Christians lived in a new world. To them as to their Master salvation was a new life (Ac 2^{28}, cf. 3^{15} 11^{18}), entered upon by repentance and faith. It was a life of forgiven sin, of filial trust, of brotherly service, of present communion with Christ. If the full enjoyment of the promised salvation still lay in the future, they were yet not without experience of Christ's present blessing and help. In the miracles of healing and deliverance which characterized the opening days of the Church (Ac 3^{16}); above all, in the presence and power of the Holy Ghost (Ac 2^{16} 4^{31} 10^{44}), they saw the pledge of their Saviour's power and rule. The sanctification without which no man shall see the Lord (He 12^{14}) was not only the ideal, but to a large extent a characteristic of their daily living. The social joys of the Kingdom were anticipated in daily communion with the brethren (Ac $2^{46.\ 47}$). Thus the life experiences of the early Christians, even as revealed in such books as Acts, are truer to the teaching of their Master than a superficial study of the use of such theological terms as 'salvation' and 'kingdom' would seem to indicate. Much more shall we find this the case when we pass to the more developed conceptions of St. Paul and St. John.

(*b*) *St. Paul.*—We have already touched upon the points which the teaching of St. Paul shares with the rest of the NT—the conception of salvation as deliverance from sin, the emphasis upon the mediation of Jesus, and especially upon the significance of His death, the importance given to the eschatological element, the Jewish dress in which many of his ideas are clothed. Some interpreters have indeed carried the relation to Judaism so far as to contend that St. Paul was a chiliast, distinguishing, on the ground of 1 Co $15^{23.\ 24}$, an earlier resurrection of believers from the later and general resurrection (see PAROUSIA). But this view cannot be successfully maintained. So far as the resurrection is concerned, St. Paul's ideas are as far as possible removed from the crass materialism which characterized the thought of many of his contemporaries (cf. 1 Co 15^{37} 'That which thou sowest, thou sowest not that body that shall be,' etc.), and the salvation of the Parousia, which, unlike the coming in Rev 19, introduces the final blessedness of the saints, is only the working out to their full completion of principles and forces already active in this present life. Indeed the conception of salvation as a present experience is characteristic of all St. Paul's teaching, and gives it its chief significance.

To appreciate St. Paul's doctrine of salvation, we must set it against the background of his view of the *flesh*. Whatever be the exact interpretation given to the term; whether, with Holsten, it be understood metaphysically, as implying, on St. Paul's part, a dualistic view of the universe, or, with most interpreters, be regarded simply as the synonym for corrupt human nature, there can be no doubt that, to St. Paul, mankind as a whole is the prey of a power of evil which it cannot resist, and from which it is unable to escape. From Adam downwards all men have sinned, and come short of the glory of God (Ro 3^{23}). Being sinful, they are exposed to the curse of the law, and to the death which is the inevitable consequence and penalty of broken law. The glory of Christ's salvation consists in the fact that it delivers man from this sinful flesh, and so at the same time from the law which is its judge, and the death which is its penal consequence.

Thus salvation, while a single process, involves different elements, and may be looked at from different points of view. In the first place (or, to be more accurate, in the last place), it involves deliverance from death. To St. Paul, as to the other apostles, salvation is so far an eschatological conception, that its full effects will be apparent only at the Parousia. In that great day, when the terrors of the Divine wrath shall be revealed from heaven 'upon every soul of man that worketh evil' (Ro 2^{9}, cf. 1^{18}), Christians shall be safe. The Parousia, which to others is a day of death (2 Th 1^{9} 'who shall suffer punishment, even eternal destruction from the face of the Lord and from the glory of his might'), is to usher them into the pres-

ence of their long-expected Saviour. With the risen saints, who have died before them, they shall be caught up to meet the Lord in the air (1 Th 4^{17}), and, freed from the last trace of the flesh which has hitherto hampered them (1 Co 15^{50-52}), shall enter into the joys of His heavenly kingdom. It is this glorious experience—still in the future—to which St. Paul refers when he uses salvation as an eschatological term (*e.g.* Ro 13^{11}).

But salvation is not merely deliverance from future punishment. It includes also freedom from sin as a present power. Indeed it is this present deliverance which alone makes the future possible. Through union with Christ, the believer has become a new creature (2 Co 5^{17}). He has died to sin (Ro 6^{2}), crucified the flesh, with the passions and the lusts thereof (Gal 5^{24}), and entered upon a new spiritual life of righteousness, peace, and joy (Ro 14^{17}). Already he is a saved man (Ro 8^{24}, 1 Co 1^{18}, 2 Co 2^{15}), reconciled with God (Ro 5^{1}), claiming and receiving the privileges of a son (Ro $8^{14.\ 15}$), rejoicing in daily experiences of a Father's grace, knowing how to glory even in tribulations (Ro 5^{3}), since he has learned that all things work together for good to them that love God (Ro 8^{28}). No doubt he still has his conflict with evil. But the conflict is no longer a discouraging one. Whereas he once felt himself the slave of the flesh, sold under sin (Ro 7^{14}), now he knows himself to be its master. The law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus has made him free from the law of sin and of death (Ro 8^{2}). And the day is coming when, through the transformation of his body, he shall be freed from whatever defiling contact still remains (Ro 8^{23}).

Being freed from sin, the Christian is also free from law. Law has authority only over the sinner; but the man who through union with Christ has entered upon a new life in the spirit is free from law (Ro 6^{14} 7^{6} 10^{4}). He is not only delivered from the fear of its punishment, but—what is more important—he has exchanged the bondage of its requirements for the freedom of the new man in Christ Jesus (Col 2^{14}, Gal $5^{1.\ 13.\ 18}$). In place of the spirit of fear he has received the spirit of adoption, whereby he cries, 'Abba, Father' (Ro 8^{15}). Knowing himself to be heir of all things, he refuses to be entangled again with the beggarly rudiments of ritual prescription under which he was once held in bondage (Gal $4^{3.\ 9}$, Col 2^{20}). As a Christian he lives on a higher plane, and breathes a different atmosphere from that of work-righteousness, however earnest (Ro $3^{20.\ 21}$, Gal 3^{2-7}). Thus the break with legalism, practically begun by Jesus' teaching concerning the childlike spirit, is theoretically completed by the Pauline doctrine of a justification or righteousness by faith instead of by works.

With the mention of faith we touch the heart of St. Paul's doctrine of salvation. We are saved by faith. And faith, to St. Paul, means more than belief. It is more even than trust. It is an act of the will by which the believer so lays hold upon Christ that he actually becomes partaker of His risen and triumphant life (Eph 3^{17}, Gal $3^{26.\ 27}$, Ro 11^{20}, Col $2^{11.\ 12}$ 3^{1-4}; cf. McGiffert, *Apostolic Age*, pp. 141, 142). For the Christ whom St. Paul knows as mediator of salvation is more than man, even the best of men; more even than the Jewish Messiah, great as are his prerogatives. He is a pre-existent Divine Being, coming into the world from a higher realm, and imparting to those who are subject to the law of sin and death the new spiritual vitality without which deliverance is hopeless.

This doctrine of Christ as the incarnation of a pre-existent Divine Being, which is common to St. Paul, the writer to the Hebrews, and St. John, gave Christianity its chief point of contact with contemporary Greek thought, and formed the bridge by which men naturally passed from the latter to the former. But with all recognition of the points of similarity between the Logos doctrine of the Alexandrian philosophers and the NT teaching concerning the pre-existent Christ there is one point of difference, whose importance cannot be overestimated. The interest of the one is cosmological; it grows out of a desire to understand the world. The interest of the other is soteriological; it springs from the need of deliverance from sin. To St. Paul, helpless under the burden of the flesh, finding that, when he would do good, evil is present with him, seeking in vain for a deliverer from his intolerable bondage,—to St. Paul, we repeat, the significance of the heavenly Man, revealed to him in the experience of the Damascus road, consists in the fact that He is a life-giving spirit (1 Co 15^{45}).

We are ready now to understand the significance of the death of Christ. It is the means by which He gains the victory over the flesh and enters upon the new resurrection life. No merely forensic conception can do justice to St. Paul's thought at this point. It is not a matter primarily of guilt or of penalty. In sin he sees a power of evil, working out its own deadly and inevitable fruits. Christ took to Himself this sinful flesh, and let it work out upon Himself its natural consequences. He submitted to death, which is the rightful wages of sin, in its most aggravated and shocking form. In the striking words of Gal 3^{13} He became 'a curse for us: for it is written, Cursed is every one that hangeth on a tree.' But the death, which to an ordinary man would have ended everything, was to Him simply the door through which He passed into the higher life of the heavenly Kingdom. Being sinless, it was impossible for Him to be holden of death. Rising from the grave in newness of life, He opens the way for like escape to all who through faith in Him become partakers of His Divine and heavenly life.

No one can understand the Pauline doctrine of salvation who does not conceive it primarily as present union with the Divine and glorified Christ. What our Lord has once done on the great theatre of the universe, that each individual Christian is to repeat on the lesser stage of his earthly life. He, too, must die to sin (Ro 6^{2}) and rise to righteousness (Ro $6^{5.\ 6}$). He, too, must share the sufferings of Christ (Col 1^{24}), and sit with Him in heavenly places (Eph 2^{6}). The life which he lives is to be no longer his, but that of the Christ who liveth in him (Gal 2^{20}). Old things have passed away, and all things are become new (2 Co 5^{17}). Thus already here and now the Christian anticipates the blessings, whose full realization remains for the Parousia. Nothing can separate him from the love of Christ—neither death nor life, nor angels nor principalities, nor things present nor things to come (Ro $8^{38.\ 39}$). If he die before the Parousia, it matters not. Though to live be Christ, to die is gain, for dying means departing to be with Christ, which is very far better (Ph 1^{23}, cf. 2 Co 5^{8} 'absent from the body, at home with the Lord').

It is clear that from such a point of view the significance of the Parousia is very different from that which it has in Jewish-Christian thought. To St. Paul it is not necessary to wait until the Second Coming before one can enjoy the salvation of Christ. His greatest blessing has been given already. The Spirit who shall one day quicken our mortal bodies already dwells within us as a transforming power (Ro 8^{11}), and the redemption of the body for which we still groan (Ro 8^{23}) will only give free play to spiritual forces, with the working of which we are already familiar. Thus we see that here also, as well as in his doctrine of righteousness by faith, the teaching of the apostle is true to the new insight of the Master.

Two points still need brief mention before we leave the Pauline teaching. These are: (*α*) The emphasis which he lays on the social side of salvation; (*β*) his doctrine of a cosmic salvation.

(*α*) Nothing is more striking, in view of the intense personal independence of St. Paul, than the stress which he lays upon the social side of salvation. This comes out most clearly in his doctrine of the Church—a conception which takes the place in his teaching of the present Kingdom of the parables. Through union with Christ a man is not only joined to his Master as an individual, but becomes a member of His body, the Church (Eph 1^{23}). The new Divine life which he enjoys is shared by his brothers and sisters of the Christian family. The gifts which he receives are for the purpose of ministering to their necessities

(Eph $4^{11.\ 12}$). If he suffers, they suffer with him (1 Co 12^{26}); if he is honoured, they are partakers of his joy (1 Co 12^{26}). The end of all is the building up of the Christian community in the knowledge and love of Christ (Eph $4^{13.\ 16}$), and the reward for which the apostle looks at the Parousia is the presence of his converts among the company of the redeemed, spiritually fitted, because of his ministry, to enter upon the enjoyment of the heavenly kingdom (1 Th 2^{19}, cf. 1 Co 1^{14}).

It is not strange that, holding such views, we see the apostle looking upon all history as a training school for the Divine salvation (Ro 9–11), and hoping for the day when even his fellow-Israelites, who have thus far turned a deaf ear to the message of the Gospel, shall repent and become partakers of its blessings (Ro 11^{26}).

(β) But the apostle's view reaches out beyond this earth, and takes in the universe as a whole. He sees the whole creation groaning and travailing together in pain until now, waiting till it be delivered from the bondage of corruption into the liberty of the glory of the children of God (Ro 8^{21}). He looks upon Christ as the mediator of a salvation truly cosmic, and declares that it is God's purpose 'through him to reconcile all things unto himself, whether things upon the earth or things in the heavens' (Col 1^{20}, cf. Eph 1^{10}). Thus, according to St. Paul, the salvation in which we here share is only part of a great world process whose end shall be a universe redeemed (cf. 1 Co 15^{28}).

The teaching of St. Paul had a profound influence upon his contemporaries. We see its effect most clearly in 1 Peter, which, in spite of the emphasis it lays upon the future (1 P 1^{5}), has the conception of salvation as a present experience (3^{21}, cf. also 1^{23} 2^{16} 4^{1}). And yet it is easy to overestimate it. Other influences were at work in the early Church. The legal conception of religion which characterized the Jew was reinforced by similar conceptions which had their origin on Gentile soil. The view of salvation as freedom from law through the possession of a present spiritual life was not fully adopted even by many who in other respects were profoundly influenced by St. Paul. The letter to the Hebrews is a case in point. Here, as we have seen, the point of view is almost wholly eschatological. Salvation is conceived as a reward promised to those who remain faithful under their present trials, and faith, instead of being vital union with a present Christ, is simply the assurance that God will keep His word (He 11^{1}). In this respect the letter to the Hebrews is typical of the future. When we study the Christianity of the Fathers we find the Gospel often presented as a new law, and salvation, which is wholly future, is the reward promised by God to those who keep it. The doctrine of a mystic union with Christ through faith tends more and more to fall into the background, only to be revived in a sacramentarian form, foreign to the Pauline teaching. This fact must be borne in mind if we would appreciate the full significance of the Johannine conception of salvation.

(*c*) *St. John.*—We have already referred to the problem raised by the passages in the Fourth Gospel which speak of eternal life as a present possession, and given reasons for believing that they truly represent the teaching of Jesus. But however much we may be convinced of the historic foundation of the discourses, there can be no doubt that, in their present form at least, they show traces of the reflexion of the evangelist. The connexion between the Gospel and the Epistle is too close to be overlooked. This connexion is evident in thought as well as in language. In both we have a single conception, clear-cut, uniform, consistent. We have to do with a form of teaching which may be contrasted with other parts of the NT as belonging to a distinct type. In presenting the Johannine teaching, therefore, we follow most recent scholars in using both Gospel and Epistles as sources.

In St. John the conception of salvation as a present spiritual experience reaches its culmination. There are indeed traces of the more common eschatological conception, esp. in the First Epistle (*e.g.* $2^{18.\ 28}$ 3^{2} 4^{17}; cf. Jn 5^{28} $6^{44.\ 54}$ 21^{22}), but they hold a comparatively subordinate place. Salvation is represented, as in the Synoptics, as eternal life. But for this life a man need not wait till the Parousia. It is already the possession of all who believe on Christ. He that hears Christ's word, and believeth Him that sent Him, 'hath eternal life, and cometh not into judgment, but hath passed out of death into life' (5^{24}; cf. vv.$^{39.\ 40}$ 3^{36}, 1 Jn 4^{15} 5^{12}). Christ is represented as the bread of life (6^{48}), of which, if a man eat, he shall live for ever (v.^{51}). He is the resurrection and the life (11^{25}), and whosoever liveth and believeth on Him shall never die (11^{26}). Cf. also the passages which speak of regeneration (Jn 3^{3}, 1 Jn 3^{9} 5^{1}).

When we look more closely into the nature of this new life, we find that it has two main characteristics: it is a life of spiritual insight and of holy affection. These are indicated by the two words 'light' and 'love.'

Like St. Paul, St. John makes the sharpest possible contrast between the sinful world without Christ and the new spiritual society brought into existence by His redemption. To St. John, as to St. Paul, the whole world lieth in the evil one (1 Jn 5^{19}), and the greatest need of man is to be delivered from the bondage of sin (Jn $8^{34\text{-}36}$). But to St. John the characteristic mark of this sinful state is ignorance, and the remedy which is needed is knowledge. It is the truth which must make men free (Jn 8^{32}, cf. 5^{34}). The world lies in darkness (1^{5}). It does not know God and His Christ. It does not apprehend, and therefore will not receive, His message. Into such a world the Logos comes, as light. His influence is as wide as humanity (1^{9}). In the fulness of time He becomes flesh and dwells among men (1^{14}), and they behold His glory, as of the Only-begotten from the Father, full of grace and truth (1^{14}). He declares the God whom no man hath seen at any time (1^{18}). Nay, more, in His own person He clearly manifests Him; for He that hath seen Him hath seen the Father (14^{9}). He is the light of the world (8^{12} 9^{5} 12^{46}), and the condemnation of men consists in the fact that when light was come into the world, they loved darkness better than light, because their works were evil (3^{19}; cf. 12^{36} 'sons of light' as a synonym for the saved). For this is eternal life, to know God, who is Himself light (1 Jn 1^{5}), and Jesus Christ whom He has sent (17^{3}, cf. 1 Jn 5^{20}).

But the redeemed life is not merely a life of knowledge. It is also a life of love. God is love (1 Jn 4^{8}) as well as light, and every one that loveth is begotten of God and knoweth God (1 Jn 4^{7}). The clearest proof of the passage of the disciples from death to life is the presence of a loving spirit (1 Jn 3^{14}, cf. Jn 13^{34}). 'He that saith he is in the light, and hateth his brother, is in the darkness even until now. He that loveth his brother abideth in the light, and there is none occasion of stumbling in him' (1 Jn $2^{9.\ 10}$). The intimacy of the relationships into which men enter through the Christian life is often emphasized. They are children of God (1 Jn $3^{1.\ 2}$). They are Christ's dear friends, to whom, unlike those who are merely servants, He makes known all that He has heard of His Father (Jn 15^{15}). The one commandment which He lays upon them is that they should love one another, even as He has loved them (13^{34}, cf. 15^{17}).

The secret of this new life of light and love is union with Christ. He is the vine, of which the disciples are branches (Jn $15^{1\text{ff.}}$). He is the heavenly bread upon which they feed ($6^{33\text{ff.}\ 48}$). From Him comes that water of life which, when once received, never faileth, but becomes in each man a well of water, springing up unto eternal life (4^{14}, cf. 6^{35}). He is the good shepherd who lays down His life for the sheep (10^{11}); the grain of wheat, which, falling into the ground in apparent death, springs up to bear much fruit (12^{24}). Nor is this mediatorial work confined to His earthly life. If He leaves the disciples at death, it is to return by the Holy Spirit ($14^{16\text{-}18}$), the Paraclete, who shall institute a yet more intimate relation than that which has gone before ($16^{7.\ 12.\ 13}$), bringing to remembrance the things of Christ (14^{26}, cf. 16^{14}), leading the disciples, as they are able to bear it, into all the truth (16^{13}, cf. 1 Jn 5^{7}), becoming the bond through which Christ and the Father are united to them in a communion that shall know no end (cf. 14^{23} with ^{16} $17^{21.\ 23}$, 1 Jn 3^{24}).

If we compare St. John's view of the mediatorial work of Christ with that of St. Paul, we note many points of similarity. To both Christ comes into the world from a pre-existent heavenly life. To both He is the power through whom sin is

overcome, and the redeemed introduced into the spiritual Kingdom of righteousness, of peace, and of joy. In both, His mediatorial work is universal in its extent (cf. Jn 1^{3} 'all things were made through him'; 1^{9} 'the light which lighteth every man'; 10^{16} 'other sheep . . . not of this fold'; 12^{32} 'I, if I be lifted up, will draw all men unto myself'; 4^{42} 'Saviour of the world'). And yet there is a difference of emphasis. St. Paul lays chief stress upon the death of Christ. The earthly life is passed over lightly. Attention is focussed upon the great tragedy of the cross, from which the conquering Saviour issues victorious in the resurrection. To St. John, the death is only an incident in the saving work. It is the incarnation as such which is redemptive. Christ enters into the world as light, and His mere appearance carries with it redeeming or condemning power. To as many as received Him, to them gave He the right to become children of God (1^{12}). Those, on the other hand, who believe not, are condemned already by the mere fact of their unbelief (3^{18}). St. Paul, for all his stress upon present salvation, is a man of historic sense, quick to apprehend, and apt to state, the contrast between the present period of affliction and the glories still to be revealed at the Parousia. To the mystic intuition of St. John, time relations fade away, and we face two contrasted eternities—the world of light and of darkness, of righteousness and of sin, of love and of hate. Against this background of absolute realities there is no longer any place for the apprehension of relative values. Whosoever is begotten of God sinneth not (1 Jn 5^{18}, cf. 3^{6}). They that reject Christ are children of the devil, who from the beginning was a liar and murderer even as they ($8^{42\text{-}44}$). Here the Pauline dualism is carried to the extremest point. The progress, the variety, the shading by which the latter is relieved, are here blotted out in the clear white light of eternity.

Yet the very sharpness of the presentation is the means of reviving forgotten truths. In the rarefied atmosphere of the Johannine Gospel, all traces of Jewish nationalism and materialism vanish. Salvation is indeed conceived as a transcendent good, but, as in the case of Jesus Himself, the transcendence is that of a higher spiritual order. One does not need to wait for the future to enjoy it. Here and now men may become partakers of light and life, of righteousness and love, of peace and joy. The Parousia is conceived less as a single event than as a continuous process (cf. PAROUSIA). Resurrection and judgment are present experiences. Even while in the world, the disciples may enter upon a life which is not of the world. The prayer of the Master is not that they may be taken out of the world, but that they may be kept from the evil (17^{15}).

We have thus completed our historical survey of the Biblical doctrine of salvation. We have seen how through the centuries the conception has been deepened and enriched, as the more external and material elements have more and more given place to those which are moral and spiritual. We have noted the transformation wrought by the life and teaching of Jesus, and seen the central place assigned to His person and work in the thought and experience of His disciples. Amid all varieties of statement—in spite of many survivals of earlier and less spiritual ideas—we have marked the persistence of certain permanent features which warrant us in speaking of a Biblical idea of salvation. It remains to gather these together, and to exhibit them in their relations both to one another and to those which are more transient. This will be the aim of our concluding section.

iv. SYSTEMATIC STATEMENT.—In presenting the Biblical conception of salvation as a whole we have to consider (1) its nature, (2) its conditions, (3) its extent.

1. *Nature of salvation.*—We have seen that in every case the fundamental idea in salvation is deliverance. Our opening statement is as true of the profound utterances of a St. Paul or a St. John as of the simplest passages in the OT, that 'in every case some danger or evil is presupposed, in rescue from which salvation consists.' If, then, we would understand the Biblical conception as a whole, we must recognize clearly what is the great evil from which, according to its teaching, man needs to be delivered. That evil is death. No other term is comprehensive enough to unite the various elements in the Biblical teaching. From the first lines of the OT to the last chapter of the NT, salvation stands for that Divine activity by which God preserves or enriches the life of His children, by delivering them from the multiform dangers and evils which threaten its destruction. The content of the conception varies indeed with the deepening apprehension of what true life means. The dangers become less external, more spiritual; less transient, more permanent; less local, more universal, but the underlying thought abides. We may illustrate at once the permanent elements in the idea and those that are transient by considering the contrast between (*a*) the temporal and the spiritual; (*b*) the individual and the social; (*c*) the present and the future.

(*a*) *Salvation as temporal and spiritual.*—In the earlier portions of the OT 'life' is used in the familiar sense of animal existence. 'Death' means physical destruction, with the loss of all that that entails. When a man dies, he loses everything worth having—home and friends, health and strength, national relationships and responsibilities, the privileges of Divine worship and of Divine communion. We misrepresent the OT conception of Sheol when we speak of the shadowy existence in the under-world as life after death. In the gloomy monotony of the grave the vigour and vitality which gave joy to life are lost. Man exists, indeed, but it is with 'a negative existence, a weakened edition of his former self; his faculties dormant, without strength, memory, consciousness, knowledge, or the energy of any affection. . . . The colour is gone from everything; a washed-out copy is all that is left' (Salmond, *Immortality*[4] (1901), p. 163). It is not strange that, where this view obtains, the great evil to be feared is physical death (Ps $6^{4.5}$), and the supreme blessing to be coveted a long life (Ps 91^{16}). The Divine salvation is found in deliverance from all that threatens or impairs life, all that weakens its vigour or vitality—violence, oppression, captivity, calamity, troubles, and distresses of every kind. The great blessing which God gives is prosperity—a long life and a full one, with one's wife a fruitful vine, and one's children as olive plants about the table (Ps 128). Greatest of all evils to be feared is defeat in battle, since in the stern days with which we have to do it carries with it the loss of all that men count dear, both for the individual and for the nation.

But with the deepening of the moral insight we note the rise of a deeper conception. Life is seen to involve more than outward prosperity. It has an inner spiritual meaning. A man lives, in the full meaning of the word, only when he enters into communion with God in righteousness and love. From this point of view the great evil to be feared is not physical but moral. It is sin which destroys the communion between a man and his Maker. From sin therefore, first of all, a man needs to be delivered. We have seen how this truth comes to expression in the latter portions of the OT. Jesus puts it in the forefront of His teaching, and it has been the distinct note of the Christian Gospel ever since. Salvation is primarily deliverance from sin. It is the restoration of the interrupted communion between the Father and His children through the creation in the latter of a new spiritual life. Once dead in trespasses and sins, they are made alive again through union with the living Christ. Thus it is still death from which men need to be delivered, but it is a death which is spiritual, not physical.

One mark of the contrast between the two views is found in the changed estimate of suffering. To most of the OT, suffering is purely evil. It is a mark of that destruction and decay from which man needs to be delivered. To the NT, it has become a means through which man may enter into a more abundant life. The Christian glories in his weakness. He 'takes pleasure . . . in injuries . . . in persecutions, in distresses, for Christ's sake,' knowing that when he is weak, then is he strong (2 Co $12^{9.10}$).

And yet we must not exaggerate the contrast. We misrepresent the NT teaching if we limit the blessings of the Gospel to the spiritual realm. The outer world as well as the inner is the scene of God's rule. The common physical blessings are not to be despised. Christ healed the sick as well as preached to the poor. The Father whom He proclaimed knows that His children need earthly bread as well as the bread from heaven. St. Paul, for all his contrast between flesh and spirit, recognizes the lawfulness of the physical appetites. The abstinence which he practises and recommends is out of regard for others' consciences, not because of any inherent evil in flesh and wine (Ro 14, cf. 1 Ti 4^4). The physical universe is the scene and instrument of spiritual training. The body is a temple of the Holy Ghost (1 Co 6^{19}). And, however great the change in the future, it is to no disembodied existence that he looks forward, but to a life in which the physical organism, now tainted by sin, shall be exchanged for a new body better adapted for the spiritual life (1 Co $15^{35ff.}$). Nothing is more characteristic of the Biblical view of the future, NT as well as OT, than the extent to which it pictures the heavenly life in imagery suggested by the earthly. The heavenly city, the marriage feast, the many mansions, the tree of life, the crystal river,—these form the setting for spiritual joys. The last scene is not the destruction of the universe, but its transformation and redemption (Ro 8^{21}).

(*b*) *Salvation as individual and social.*—In the earlier portions of the OT, the subject of the Divine salvation is Israel the nation. It is characteristic of primitive society that it has small regard for the individual as such. It is the tribe, the clan, the nation which is the centre of the religious as of the social life. So markedly is this the case that the action of Ruth in leaving her own people to follow her mother-in-law Naomi to Canaan is the cause of wonder, and is made the theme of an entire book. It is only natural, therefore, that we should find the interest of the Biblical writers centring in the fortunes of the people as a whole rather than in the units which compose it. Even where the outlook broadens, and the prophetic vision takes in other peoples, the point of view is still national. It is Egypt and Assyria whom the prophet sees standing with Israel as recipients of the Divine salvation, to whom, as to Israel, J" applies the endearing title, 'my people' (Is $19^{24.\ 25}$). Where this point of view obtains, it is impossible to rise to any true universalism. For a universal religion must be founded in the nature of man as such, and for this there is needed a profound sense of the worth of the individual.

We have seen how this sense awakens in Jeremiah and Ezekiel; how it is deepened by the experiences of the Exile and the Restoration. We have noted the tender and beautiful utterances in which it finds expression in the Psalms, and seen how its later development tended to follow the lines of legal conformity rather than of the filial spirit. The individualism of the Apocalyptic books is the individualism of the law-court or the market-place rather than of the family. Its language is that of bargain and sale, of reward and punishment. There is indeed no theoretical objection to the reception of the Gentiles, if they will adopt the ceremonial law and become Jews. But there is the immense practical difficulty of a condition laid upon strangers which even the children have not been able to bear. If the salvation of God is really to become a universal good, some deeper foundation must be found than that of ceremonial law. It must be grounded in conditions that are vital, not legal.

Such a foundation Jesus laid in His teaching concerning the childlike spirit. Reviving the old prophetic teaching concerning the forgiveness of sins through the mercy and love of God, He laid a basis for His Gospel as broad as humanity. Men are not servants, with whom God deals on terms of law, but sons, whom He is willing to receive, whenever they turn to Him in penitence and faith. Thus the Gospel of Jesus is founded in an intense sense of the worth of the individual. In the family each child has his peculiar place. To Jesus, salvation means the bringing back of the child who has been wandering in the far country into the plenty and peace of the Father's home.

And yet the Gospel of Jesus is a social Gospel. It is a Kingdom which He preaches, not a collection of individuals. His teaching differs from that of His predecessors only in that He makes the conditions of entrance broader, simpler, more catholic —in a word, more human. Whether or not He used the word Church in Mt 16^{18}, there can be no doubt that He intended to found a society which should body forth to the world the principles for which He stood. In this respect the Pauline doctrine of the Church is the legitimate outgrowth of the teaching of Jesus concerning the Kingdom. In the Christian life none liveth to himself and no one dieth to himself (Ro 14^7). The sacramental sign which marks the separation of the believer from the world marks also his entrance into the Christian brotherhood, and the feast by which he shows forth the death of Christ until He come is eaten with his fellow-disciples as a communion meal. The social character of the Christian life is indicated in a thousand unexpected ways, but perhaps nowhere more beautifully than in the Pauline word about the Parousia in 1 Th $4^{15.\ 18}$ 'We that are alive, that are left unto the coming of the Lord, shall in no wise precede them that are fallen asleep . . . wherefore comfort one another with these words.'

(*c*) *Salvation as present and future.*—We have seen that the earliest conception of salvation is *present* deliverance. This must be the case if death ends all. If God do not save while life lasts, He cannot save at all. The conception of national salvation does indeed open the way for a wider perspective. The life of the nation is longer than that of the individual, and God may delay His deliverance more than a single generation and still be in time. Yet the point of view is fundamentally the same. If God's succour is not to be in vain, it must come before the nation utterly perishes. There must be at least a remnant to carry on the national life, a shoot left in the old stock, which may spring up to newness of life (cf. Is 6^{13}).

Yet the experiences of later Jewish history made this contact between present and future increasingly difficult to maintain. The old national prestige seemed gone, never to return. More and more, men despaired of present deliverance and concentrated their thoughts upon the future. The very barrenness of their present experience, the very absence of all evidence of God's present interest and help, served but to enlarge their expectations for the distant day when J" should at last make bare His arm to help. What if individuals died? what if Israel as a nation should perish? God was able even to raise the dead. Some day He would stir the dry bones, and the nation would rise to newness of life (Ezk 37). Nay, He would call back from their graves the very individuals who had passed away, that they might share the joys of the final triumph (Is 26^{19}, Dn 12^2). Thus more and more the conception of salvation becomes eschatological and transcendent. The gap between present and future widens. Between the present time of distress, without experi-

ence of God's redeeming grace, and the future age which brings His great deliverance, there is a great gulf fixed.

This gulf Jesus bridged with His Gospel of a present Kingdom. He restored the older conception of a living God, able and willing to help His children in their daily need. But He saw that the great need was spiritual, not temporal. Conceiving of salvation as deliverance from sin, He taught that such deliverance was possible here and now. Prophet and psalmist before Him had had their intimations of a communion with God possible even in the midst of present trouble and distress. He made this communion a familiar experience. Devout spirits even within the OT, finding outward prosperity too little, had prayed for a clean heart and a contrite spirit; He showed how this prayer could be answered. The influence of the Master is apparent in the new view-point of the disciples. To the Christian believer, whatever his thought of the future, salvation is a present experience, introducing a man into a fellowship with God which no earthly sorrow or misfortune—not even death itself—can interrupt.

And yet here, again, we must beware of exaggeration. However great the emphasis on present deliverance, to Christianity, as to Judaism before it, salvation has its future meaning. We have noted the eschatological element in Jesus' own teaching. We have seen it repeated in that of His disciples. It is present in St. Paul; it is not absent even from St. John. He, too, rejoicing in communion with a present Christ, looks forward to a day when He shall be yet more fully manifested, and believers, seeing Him as He is, shall be transformed into His image (1 Jn 3^2). The very preciousness of the present experience, the very exaltation of the spiritual standard, serve but to deepen the longing for the day when all that now impedes the progress of Christ's Kingdom shall be done away, and God be all in all.

2. *Conditions of salvation.*—These may be considered on the Divine side and on the human.

(*a*) *On the Divine side.*—The ultimate cause of salvation is the Divine mercy. This is the uniform teaching of OT and NT. Whether in the simpler meaning of victory in battle or the more profound conception of spiritual regeneration, salvation is undeserved. God does not treat the Israelites according to their merits, but according to the riches of His grace. They were not more in number than other peoples when He chose them for His own, and delivered them from their captivity in Egypt (Dt 7^7). For His name's sake He saved them, that He might make His mighty power known (Ps 106^8, cf. Jer 14^7). When they forsook Him and wandered from Him, He did not give them up. His love endured in spite of their unfaithfulness (Hosea). He was inquired of by them that asked not for Him, found of them that sought Him not. He spread out His hands all the day unto a rebellious people (Is $65^{1.2}$). Even His judgments are a mark of His love (Am 3^2). Not only the deliverance from enemies, but the repentance which makes it possible is His gift (Ps 51^{10}).

The same conception reappears in the NT. God is not the stern creditor exacting the uttermost farthing, but the loving Father, forgiving His erring children; more ready to give good gifts than earthly parents to their children. The disciples did not choose Christ, but He chose them and appointed them that they should go and bear fruit, and that their fruit should abide (Jn 15^{16}). The more profound and spiritual the conception of salvation, the deeper the conviction that it is undeserved. 'By grace have ye been saved through faith; and that not of yourselves: it is the gift of God' (Eph 2^8).

In many passages indeed, esp. in OT, the Divine mercy is represented as an arbitrary thing. Not only is the deliverance of God contrasted as purely miraculous with all human instrumentalities (cf. 1 S 14^6 'no restraint to J″ to save by many or by few'; Is 59^1 'J″'s hand is not shortened that it cannot save'; 1 S 17^{47} 'J″ saveth not with sword and spear'; Hos 1^7 salvation by J″ contrasted with salvation by bow or by sword, or by battle, etc.; cf. Ex 14^{13} the deliverance from Egypt; Jg 7^2 the defeat of the Midianites by Gideon; Ps 33^{16} 44^6 57^3), but it often seems dependent upon moods of the Divine feeling which man cannot fathom. There are times when J″ may be approached; there are others when no man may draw nigh to Him (Ps 32^6, cf. Is 55^6). When the great waters overflow, prayer cannot reach Him (Ps 32^6?). At such a time the part of wisdom is to wait patiently until His anger be past. But on the whole we find an increasing emphasis upon the permanent character of God's saving purpose. It belongs to God's nature to show mercy. However Israel may change, His purpose towards Israel changes not. So we find increasing recognition of God's use of means. When He would deliver His people from the Philistines or the Midianites, He raises up some man to be their saviour. Even the experiences which seem outside of His control are not really so. The Assyrian boasts of his defeat of Syria and Samaria, saying, 'By the strength of my hand I have done it, and by my wisdom' (Is 10^{13}), and knows not that he is but the rod of J″'s anger, in whose hand as a staff is His indignation (10^5). This broadening view of the Divine Providence becomes strictly universal in the NT. Nothing can separate from the love of Christ (Ro 8^{39}). All things without exception work together for good to them who are called according to God's purpose (Ro 8^{28}). History is a mighty drama, in which each event fills its appointed place, preparing the way for that dispensation of the fulness of the times in which it is God's purpose to sum up all things in Christ (Eph 1^{10}). Even the groanings of the creation in its present distress are but the travail throes of the new universe, that shall be, when the sons of God shall be revealed (Ro 8^{22}).

Among the instruments appointed by God to mediate His salvation, the Jewish law, with its sacrificial system, holds an important place. Through its precepts men were trained in purity and holiness, and in its sacrifices they saw a pledge of God's forgiveness and mercy. To the contemporaries of our Lord it seemed a finality, and the salvation of the Messianic age would but serve to introduce on a larger scale the worship and sacrifices of the heavenly Jerusalem. Christians, following their Master, recognized the law as a Divine institution, but to them its authority was temporary. It was a tutor to bring men to Christ; but after Christ was come it was no longer needed. Its significance might be variously conceived. To the writer to the Hebrews, it had a positive value, as typifying the higher righteousness and the more perfect Atonement of the Gospel. To St. Paul, its significance is chiefly negative. It reveals the futility of any merely legal righteousness, and points men to the better salvation revealed by Christ.

With Christ we reach the centre of the Biblical doctrine of salvation. He is the Saviour *par excellence*, the true Mediator between God and man, the fulfilment of all the promises, the realization of all the hopes of the earlier dispensation. Two distinct lines of preparation meet in Him. There is the hope of the Messiah, a human deliverer through whom God has promised to deliver His people, and to set up on earth His long deferred

kingdom. There is also the expectation of a special intervention of J" Himself; the coming of a day when He shall leave His heavenly dwelling-place and take up His abode in the midst of His people, superseding the lesser radiance of sun and moon and stars by the light and glory of His presence. Jesus is at once Jewish Messiah and God incarnate; Son of Mary, and the Word made flesh.

This is not the place to trace the development of the NT doctrine of Christ (see art. JESUS CHRIST). It is sufficient to say that it runs parallel with the deepening conception of salvation. In Jewish-Christian circles, where the thought of salvation is still framed on the older lines of an external deliverance, it is the Messianic thought which is most prominent. Jesus is a man, approved of God unto men, by mighty works and wonders and signs which God did by Him (Ac 2^{22}), crucified according to the Scriptures (Ac 3^{18}), raised from the dead (Ac 2^{24}), and now waiting in heaven till the time of the restoration of all things (Ac 3^{21}). To St. Paul and St. John, with their deeper conception of salvation as a new spiritual life of righteousness and love, Jesus is a pre-existent Divine being, coming into the world from a higher realm as a quickening and life-giving principle to all who have been made one with Him by faith.

The contrast between these two views may be illustrated in connexion with the view of Christ's death. To the Jewish-Christians, with their more external conception of salvation, it is an arbitrary appointment of God, the necessity of which they recognize, but which they cannot understand. Christ died that the Scripture might be fulfilled. To St. Paul and St. John, the death is a necessary step in that great process through which evil is overcome and the Christian believer made partaker of Christ's risen and glorified life. That we may become like Him and share His nature, it was necessary that He should become like us and share our nature. He must suffer death with us, that we may be raised to life with Him.

The conception of salvation as a new Divine life finds clearest expression in the doctrine of the HOLY SPIRIT (which see). Here, too, we trace a development from the conception of the Spirit as the energy of God coming upon men to fit them for special work in connexion with the Divine kingdom (*e.g.* Jg 11^{29} 13^{25} 14^{6}), to that which sees in Him the immanent God, entering into the life of men through regeneration (Jn 3^{6}), creating in them a higher life of holiness and love (Gal 5^{22}), dwelling within them as an inner spiritual principle (Ro 8^{9}), uniting them with God and with Christ (Ro $8^{9.\ 10}$), leading them into truth (Jn 16^{13}), sanctifying them (Ro 15^{16}), making intercession for them (Ro 8^{26}), more and more transforming them into the image of their Master (Ro 8^{29}), and at last raising them from the grave through the transformation of their mortal bodies into the new glory of the resurrection life (Ro 8^{11}). Where such a view is held, it is easy to see how futile is any thought of human merit. The aspirations which rise toward God, the graces which fit us for His fellowship, are the work of the Spirit. The very life which we live is not our own. It is the gift of God, who worketh within us both to will and to do of His good pleasure (Eph $2^{8.\ 9}$, Ph 2^{13}).

(*b*) *On the human side.*—Yet it would be a mistake to conclude that the Bible knows no human conditions of salvation. The same St. Paul who lays such stress on the Divine activity in salvation urges his readers to work out their own salvation with fear and trembling (Ph 2^{12}). As on the Divine side salvation is a new life created in man, so on the human side it is a life which manifests itself in certain distinctive activities. These may be summed up under the three heads of—(*a*) repentance, (*β*) faith, (*γ*) obedience.

(*a*) The first and indispensable condition of salvation is *repentance* (which see), by which is meant not merely sorrow for sin, but actual forsaking of sin and turning to righteousness. This is as necessary for deliverance from Assyrian oppression as for entrance upon the new life of Christ's Kingdom. God may indeed save men from their sins, but He cannot save them in their sins. We have already noted the deepening estimate of this grace, and seen how from a mere condition of salvation, which a man can achieve for himself without God's help, it comes to be an element in salvation itself—the first step in the process whose end is perfect holiness.

(*β*) *Faith.*—The obverse of repentance is *faith* (which see). Man turns from sin to God, and the means by which he lays hold of the Divine deliverance is faith. Saving faith in the Biblical sense is always more than belief (Ja 2^{19}). It involves an act of the will, and issues in obedience. Yet on this common ground we note a difference of conception. In much of the Bible faith means trust in God's word, together with the activities which follow it. Its object is God's promise rather than His person. Abraham had faith in God—that is, he trusted His promise—and 'he went out, not knowing whither he went' (He 11^{8}). Because of this trust, he shall one day receive his reward; but this reward lies still in the future (He $11^{13.\ 39}$). This is the sense in which faith is used in Hebrews. To St. Paul, on the other hand, faith has a deeper meaning. It is the means of obtaining a present blessing, not a future one. Its object is a person, not a promise. By faith a man lays hold upon Christ as his Saviour, becomes one with Him, partakes of His heavenly life, shares His righteousness, and rises with Him into His eternal Kingdom. It is thus a comprehensive term, which covers the entire human side of that experience whose Divine side is the working of the Holy Spirit.

(*γ*) But repentance and faith are alike vain, save as they issue in *obedience* (which see). This is the all-embracing Biblical virtue. Man's relation to God is such that his righteousness must take this form. The particular content may vary with the growth of the Divine revelation. In OT, for instance, it includes the faithful observance of the ceremonial law with its prescriptions of ritual and sacrifice. Yet even in OT these are subordinate to the eternal principles of justice and mercy (cf. Mic 6^{6-8}). In the NT the law has been done away. The only sacrifice required is the spiritual sacrifice of prayer and praise (He 13^{15}), the offering up of the person in life-service to God (Ro 12^{1}). The burdensome prescriptions of the Levitical ritual have given place to Christ's new commandment of love. Yet this love is no vague or indefinite virtue. It shows itself in the willing acceptance of God's fullest revelation; in discipleship of Christ and membership in His Kingdom. Beginning with faith, it manifests itself in all the social virtues. It rejoices to minister to the needy and oppressed. It does not disdain the gatherings of the saints for prayer and praise, and it finds its public marks in the sacramental signs of baptism and the Eucharist, by which the believer's membership in the body of Christ is openly showed forth.

3. *Extent of salvation.*—It remains to consider the extent of salvation. Here our study has shown a constant enlargement in man's conception of the sweep of God's purpose. We may illustrate this in connexion (*a*) with the present life; (*b*) with the life after death; (*c*) with the universe as a whole.

(*a*) *Salvation in this life.*—We have already noted the growing universalism of the Biblical teaching. At first it is Israel alone for whom God cares. He is J"'s dearly beloved son. Other nations are but God's servants, instruments in His hand through which He accomplishes His saving purpose for Israel. Then the Gentiles also share the blessings of the Messianic deliverance, but it is only by becoming subject to Israel, and adopting the Jewish law and worship. Yet even in OT there are gleams of a conception more truly

catholic. To Isaiah, Egypt and Assyria as well as Israel are chosen of God. The foundation for a true universalism is laid in the prophetic doctrine of the worth of the individual. Jesus makes the conditions of entrance to His Kingdom purely moral and spiritual—repentance, trust, humility, obedience, the childlike spirit. Where these are present, there is a son of God, whether he observe the ceremonial law or not. The practical universalism of Jesus is theoretically completed in the Pauline doctrine of the abrogation of the Jewish law. This was the natural consequence of the new view of redemption. When salvation is regarded as a new Divine life, it is impossible not to recognize the Christianity of those who have received the Holy Spirit, even if they have not been circumcised (Ac 10^{44-48}). To the freedom of the Divine Spirit, like that of the wind, blowing where it listeth, no man may venture to set bounds. The salvation of Israel is still the centre of hope and prayer (Ro 9^{1}), but it is only as part of a process which is as wide as humanity.

With the widening horizon, we note a corresponding change in the depth of the conception. Salvation becomes not only a broader, but a more intensive term; less external, more spiritual; less local, more permanent. It not only affects more men, but it affects them more profoundly. Its subject is the whole man. It reaches soul as well as body. It delivers from sin as well as from suffering. It not only removes causes of evil; it creates forces of good. As nothing is too large, so nothing is too small to fall within the range of its activity. Life and death, things present and things to come, are alike subject to the control of that Christ who is able to save to the uttermost.

This double growth may be well illustrated in connexion with the doctrine of election. At first the Divine choice centres in Israel the nation, or in those heroes or prophets whom God has set apart for special service in connexion with the national deliverance. Then other nations are included in the Divine plan. God chooses Egypt as well as Israel. Cyrus the Persian is His servant, set apart to do a special work in the execution of His redemptive purpose. To the broader view-point of the NT, with its juster estimate of the worth of the individual, election is no longer confined to a few. All Christians are elect, called to be saints (Ro 1^{6}) according to the Divine purpose. And as the range of the Divine choice widens, so its content deepens. Christians are elect unto salvation (2 Th 2^{13}), with all the richness of meaning which the Christian revelation has put into the word. The object of the Divine choice is not merely deliverance from future punishment. Men are called to the Christian life as a whole, with its good works (Eph 2^{10}), its joys and graces, its brotherly service, its missionary zeal, its willingness to spend and be spent, yes, if need be, even to be cast away (Ro 9^{3}), if thereby others may be saved. Thus the individualism of the NT doctrine of election, so far from being a narrowing of the conception, is rather a mark of its true universalism.

(*b*) *In the life after death.*—With the expansion of the conception of salvation in this life, we find the Biblical outlook reaching across the grave, and taking in the life after death. Nothing is a more striking witness to the strength and richness of the Hebrew conception of God than the way in which it succeeded in transforming the pagan conception of Sheol which at the first the Israelites had shared with their contemporaries. We have already traced the steps in this moralization of the life after death, and need not repeat them here. From a gloomy, passionless, joyless existence, Sheol becomes the scene of God's presence and power. It has its garden of life, where the righteous await contentedly the greater joys of the resurrection. Christianity further emphasizes and enriches this conception. Whatever new elements Christ has brought into the thought of God and His salvation are carried over into the life immediately after death. Christ's activity is not merely confined to the living. In the spirit He preaches even in the realm of the dead (1 P 3^{19}). The shifting and uncertain imagery through which the human imagination had endeavoured to picture the nature of 'that undiscovered country' is now reinforced or superseded by a definite conception. To die means to depart and to be with Christ (Ph 1^{23}); to enter into the Father's home, where the elder brother has gone before to prepare a place and a welcome for each returning traveller (Jn 14^{2}). Whatever the joys still remaining at the Parousia, they are not different in kind from those upon the experience of which one enters immediately after death. The highest blessedness of heaven will consist in communion with Christ. 'It is not yet made manifest what we shall be. We know that if he shall be manifested, we shall be like him, for we shall see him even as he is' (1 Jn 3^{2}).

(*c*) The Biblical doctrine of salvation reaches its climax in the conception of a *redemption of the universe.* Foreshadowed in the OT doctrine of new heavens and a new earth, developed in the period between the Testaments in extravagant and non-spiritual forms, it remains an element in the Biblical conception to the last. It is not God's purpose merely to save men out of the world, but to save the world. Whatever is hopelessly evil—whether in nature, man, or spirit—shall at last be utterly destroyed. No foe will longer remain to dispute the authority of Christ or mar the glories of His eternal Kingdom. The last enemy to be destroyed is death (1 Co 15^{26}). Not till then will Christ's saving work be finished, and He restore to the Father the power given to Him, that in the redeemed universe God may be all in all (1 Co 15^{28}). This doctrine of a cosmic salvation, wrought out most fully by St. Paul, but implied also in other parts of the NT, has three main elements: (1) the redemption of physical nature with its destruction of suffering and death; (2) the redemption of mankind with its destruction of sin; (3) the redemption of the angelic world with its destruction of the spiritual forces which now oppose the Kingdom of God. Thus in terms naturally suggested by the thought of his day, but with a vigour and breadth of conception worthy of the largest generalizations of our modern science, the apostle presents the work of Christ in its unity as one great process, running through the ages, reaching out to take in the uttermost bounds of space, penetrating to the profoundest depths of spiritual experience in order to bind together all things in earth and heaven in one universal purpose of salvation (Eph 1, Col 1).

LITERATURE.—The Literature, which is voluminous, is widely scattered, all the more important Commentaries, as well as works on Biblical Theology, contributing directly or indirectly to the subject. For monographs on special phases of the doctrine the reader is referred to the literature given in the special articles on ESCHATOLOGY, FAITH, JUSTIFICATION, PAROUSIA, RANSOM, REDEMPTION, etc. Here only a general survey can be given.

On Salvation in general, cf. Cremer, *Bib.-Theol. Lex. s.* σώζω, σωτήρ, σωτηρία; M'Clintock-Strong, artt. 'Saviour' and 'Salvation'; Herzog, *RE*^{3}, artt. 'Heil' and 'Erlösung'; Ritschl, *Rechtfertigung und Versöhnung*, vol. ii.; Kähler, 'Zur Lehre von der Versöhnung,' in *Dogmatische Zeitfragen*, ii. 1898; Gess, *Christi Person und Werk* (1870); Thomasius, *Christi Person und Werk* (1886); Briggs, 'The Biblical Doctrine of Salvation,' in *Church Union*, N.Y., Jan. 1897.

On the doctrine of Salvation in OT, cf. the Biblical Theologies, esp. Schultz, 5th ed. (p. 562 ff.), Dillmann (p. 411 ff.), Riehm, Smend, Kayser-Marti, Piepenbring (Eng. tr. p. 207 ff.); Briggs, *Messianic Prophecy*; Duhm, *Theologie der Propheten* (1875); Adeney, *The Hebrew Utopia* (1879).

On the period between the Testaments, cf. Gfrörer, *Jahrhundert des Heils*, ii., esp. chs. 8–10; Drummond, *Jewish Messiah* (1877); Stanton, *Jewish and Christian Messiah*; Schürer, *HJP*; Weber, *Jüdische Theologie*^{2}, 1897. Much information may also be obtained from the notes in Charles' editions of Enoch, Secrets of Enoch, Apocalypse of Baruch, and Assumption of Moses, as well as from his *Eschatology, Hebrew, Jewish, and Christian*, 1899.

On the NT doctrine, besides the Biblical Theologies of Weiss, Beyschlag, Reuss, Bovon, Stevens, Gould, and esp. Holtzmann, cf. Klaiber, *Neutest. Lehre von der Sünde und Erlösung* (1836); Wendt, *Lehre Jesu*; Horton, *Teaching of Jesus*; Gilbert,

Revelation of Jesus (1899); Pfleiderer, *Paulinismus*[2]; McGiffert, *Apostolic Age*; Briggs, *Messiah of the Gospels, Messiah of the Apostles*; Stevens, *Pauline Theology, Johannine Theology*; Everett, *Gospel of Paul* (1893); du Bose, *Soteriology of the NT* (1892); Ménégoz, *La Théologie de l'Épître aux Hébreux* (1894), *Le Péché et la Rédemption d'après St. Paul* (1882); Nösgen, *Geschichte der NT Offenbarung* (ii. p. 300 ff.); Cone, *The Gospel and its earliest interpretations* (1893); Baldensperger, *Selbstbewusstsein Jesu*[2] (1892); Titius, *Die Neutest. Lehre von der Seligkeit* (1895); Ménégoz, 'Le Salut d'après l'enseignement de Jésus-Christ,' in *Rev. Chrét.* 1899, ix. pp. 401–421; W. Bousset, *Jesu Predigt in ihrem Gegensatz zum Judentum* (1892); Harnack, *Das Wesen des Christentums* (1900; Eng. tr. 1901).

On special points in connexion with the doctrine, cf. the various monographs on the Kingdom of God by Schnedermann, Schmoller, Issel, J. Weiss, Bruce, Boardman, Toy (*Judaism and Christianity*, pp. 303–371); Schmidt, *Die paulin. Christol. in ihrem Zusammenhang mit der Heilslehre des Apostels dargestellt* (1870); Cremer, *Die paulin. Rechtfertigungslehre im Zusammenhang ihrer gesch. Voraussetzungen* (1900); Wernle, *Der Christ und die Sünde bei Paulus* (1897); Kabisch, *Eschatologie des Paulus* (1893); Teichmann, *Die paulin. Vorstellungen von Auferstehung und Gericht, und ihre Beziehung zur jüd. Apocalyptik* (1896); Schlatter, *Der Glaube im NT*[2] (1895), 'Der biblische Begriff der Gnade' (*Schrift und Geschichte*, pp. 177–217); Riehm, *Der Begriff der Sühne im AT* (1877); Kühl, *Die Heilsbedeutung des Todes Christi* (1890); Seeberg, *Der Tod Christi in seiner Bedeutung für die Erlösung* (1895); E. Cremer, *Die stellvertretende Bedeutung des Todes Christi* (1892); Cave, *Scriptural Doctrine of Sacrifice*[2] (1890); Gunkel, *Die Wirkungen des Heiligen Geistes* (1888); Weinel, *Die Wirkungen des Geistes und der Geister* (1899); M'C. Edgar, *The Gospel of a Risen Saviour* (1892); Milligan, *The Resurrection of our Lord* (1881); Salmond, *The Christian Doctrine of Immortality*, 4th ed. 1901; Schwally, *Das Leben nach dem Tode* (1892); Charles, *Eschatology, Hebrew, Jewish, and Christian* (1899).

W. Adams Brown.

SAMAIAS (Σαμαΐας).—**1.** Shemaiah, one of the chiefs of the Levites in Josiah's reign, 1 Es 1[9] (cf. 2 Ch 35[9]). **2.** 1 Es 8[39] = Shemaiah, of the sons of Adonikam, Ezr 8[13].

SAMARIA.—**1.** שֹׁמְרוֹן, that is, *Shōmĕrôn*, 'watch-mountain'; Σαμάρεια, Σεμερών, Σομερών, Σομηρών, Σωμωρών; Jos. (*Ant.* VIII. xii. 5), Σωμαρείν; Euseb. (*Onom.*), Σεμηρών; *Samaria*) The capital of the kingdom of Israel. The Assyrian, *Samirina* (Ins. of Tiglath-pileser III., Sargon, etc.), and the Greek and Latin forms of the name, come from the Aramaic שֶׁמְרִין. A characteristic derivation of the name is given, in 1 K 16[24] (RV, cf. Jos. *Ant.* VIII. xii. 5), where we are told that Samaria was built by Omri who bought the 'hill of Samaria' from Shemer, and, having fortified it, called the name of the city that he built Shomerôn (*Samaria*) after Shemer. (See discussion of etymology by Stade in *ZATW* v. 165 ff.)

Commanding the roads from Shechem northwards to Esdraelon, and westwards to the coast, and situated within easy reach of the Mediterranean, no better site could have been selected for the fortified capital of the Northern kingdom. The hill ('mountain of Samaria' Am 4[1] 6[1], Sir 50[26]) rises from 300 to 400 feet above the bed of a broad fertile valley (perhaps the 'field of Samaria' Ob [19] RV), and is isolated on all sides but the east, where it is connected with the hills ('mountains of Samaria' Am 3[9], Jer 31[5]) by a low narrow saddle. On three sides it is surrounded and overlooked by hills clothed with olive and vine, but they are beyond the range of catapult and bow, and so were not a source of danger. On the fourth side the hills are low, and the view over them to the west, with the blue waters of the Mediterranean in the distance, is one of exceptional beauty. This charm of position, in a rich 'fat' valley, bordered by vine-clad hills, formed part of that 'glorious beauty' which made Samaria the 'crown of pride of the drunkards of Ephraim' (Is 28[1-4]).

From the 7th year of Omri, Samaria was the capital ('the head of Ephraim' Is 7[9], 'Samaria and her daughters' Ezk 16[53]), and residence of the kings of Israel (1 K 16[29] 20[43] 21[1-18] 22[51], 2 K 1[3] 3[1. 6] 10[36] 13[1. 10] 14[14. 23] 15[8. 13. 14. 17. 23. 27] 17[1], Is 7[9] 10[9], Hos 10[7]); and it was also their burial-place (1 K 16[28] 22[37], 2 K 10[35] 13[9. 13] 14[16]). Samaria is on this account mentioned with or compared with the capital of the Southern kingdom (2 K 21[13], Is 10[10. 11], Ezk 16[51] 23[4], Am 6[1], Mic 1[1. 5]), which was to share its fate. Ezekiel calls it 'the sister' (16[55] 23[33]), and the 'elder sister' of Jerus. (16[46]). The city was surrounded with strong walls (*Ant.* VIII. xiv. 1), and beautified by the kings of Israel. There was a fortified palace, 'the castle of the king's house' (2 K 15[25] RV), with a 'roof-chamber' (2 K 1[2]). This probably stood on the top of the hill, and near or connected with it may have been the ivory palace built by Ahab (1 K 22[39]). There was a Syrian quarter in Samaria (1 K 20[34]); and a city gate (1 K 22[10], 2 K 7[1. 18. 20], 2 Ch 18[9]) and pool (1 K 22[38]) are mentioned.

At Samaria, Ahab received a visit from Jehoshaphat, and, at the entrance of the gate, the two kings sat to hear the prophecy of Micaiah (1 K 22[10], 2 Ch 18[2. 9]). There the 70 sons of Ahab were slain (2 K 10[1. 7]); there Jehu destroyed all that remained unto Ahab (2 K 10[12. 17]); and there, according to one account (2 Ch 22[9], cf. 2 K 9[27]), Ahaziah was killed. It was to Samaria that Joash, after the capture of Jerus., brought the vessels for the service of the temple, and the treasures of the king's house (2 K 14[14], 2 Ch 25[24]); and that Pekah, at least according to 2 Ch 28[8. 9. 15], returned at the head of his army, laden with the spoil of Judah, and accompanied by a long train of captive Jews, who were afterwards released.

Samaria became the religious as well as the political centre of the Northern kingdom. The marriage of Ahab with Jezebel, and the consequent close alliance between the usurping dynasties of Israel and Phœnicia, led to the establishment of the Phœnician worship on a large scale in the capital. Ahab caused a temple and altar to be erected to Baal (1 K 16[32]; *Ant.* IX. vi. 6), and made the Asherah (1 K 16[33], 2 K 13[6] RV). The temple, which was probably of great size, contained 'pillars of Baal,' apparently of wood, which were torn down and burned, and a 'pillar of Baal,' possibly a stone pillar with an effigy of the god on one of its faces, which was broken down when Jehu destroyed the temple after slaughtering the prophets of Baal (2 K 3[2] 10[21. 25-27] [in v.[25] read prob. with Klost. דְּבִיר *adytum* for עִיר 'city']). The Phœnician rites were celebrated with great splendour, and Jezebel, who had slain the prophets of the LORD (1 K 18[13]), fed 450 prophets of Baal and 400 prophets of the Asherah at her table (1 K 18[19] RV). The idolatrous worship was strongly opposed by the prophets of J", some of whom worked and preached in the city. Elisha had a fixed residence in it (2 K 2[25] 5[3] 6[32], cf. v.[24]), and Hosea probably prophesied there. Isaiah (10[9. 11] 36[19]) alludes to the idols, graven images, and gods of Samaria; Hosea (7[1] 8[5. 6] 10[5]), to its wickedness, and to the calf-worship which existed side by side with the worship of Baal; Amos (8[14]), to its sin; and Isaiah (8[4] 9[9]), Hosea (13[16]), Amos (3[12]), Micah (1[6]) foretell the penalties that it would have to suffer for the sins of its people. Jeremiah (23[13]) mentions the prophets of Baal, and Ezekiel (23[4]) can find no fitter symbol for the city than Oholah the harlot.

Soon after Samaria was built, it was probably besieged by Benhadad I., who forced Omri to make 'streets' in the city for the Syrians (1 K 20[34]). During Ahab's reign it successfully resisted a siege by Benhadad II. (1 K 20[1-21]; *Ant.* VIII. xiv. 1, 2). In the reign of Jehoram, after a minor expedition had been thwarted by Elisha (2 K 6[19. 20]; *Ant.* IX. iv. 3), the city was again besieged by Benhadad. On this occasion the garrison and townsmen were reduced to the last extremity (2 K 6[24. 25]), when a panic seized the Syrian army and the siege was raised (2 K 7[1-20]; *Ant.* IX. iv. 4, 5). In the 7th year of Hoshea, Samaria was besieged by Shalmaneser, but it was actually taken, B.C. 722, by his succes-

sor Sargon after the siege had lasted three years (2 K $17^{5.6}$ $18^{9.10.34}$, cf. 21^{13}; *Ant.* IX. xiv. 1; *Inscriptions of Sargon*). The Northern kingdom fell with its capital, and the people were transplanted by the conqueror; but the city was not completely destroyed (Jer 41^{5}). Two years later it rose, in alliance with Hamath, Arpad, and Damascus, against the Assyrians; but the rising collapsed on the overthrow of the king of Hamath (see *Inscriptions*). The transplanted Jews were replaced by foreign colonists (2 K 17^{24}, Ezr 4^{10}) under Assyrian governors, of one of whom the name, Nabu-achi-šu, has been preserved (III. Rawlinson, 34, col. ii. 94 f.). In B.C. 331 Samaria submitted to Alexander, who killed many of its inhabitants, and replaced them by Macedonian colonists. Later it was dismantled by Ptolemy Lagi, afterwards rebuilt, and again destroyed by Demetrius Poliorcetes. The walls must soon have been restored, for it was a 'very strong city' when taken by John Hyrcanus, B.C. 120, after a year's siege (*Ant.* XIII. x. 2, 3; *BJ* I. ii. 7). Hyrcanus is said to have completely destroyed the city by 'bringing streams to drown it'; but this can refer only to that portion of it which lay at the foot of the hill. Samaria was rebuilt by Pompey, who made it a free city, and attached it to the government of Syria (*Ant.* XIV. iv. 4; *BJ* I. vii. 7); and it was further restored and strengthened by Gabinius (*Ant.* XIV. v. 3; *BJ* I. viii. 4). Herod, in pursuance of his commercial policy, which was based on intercourse with the West, and of his plan of covering the country with strongholds garrisoned by Gentile soldiers devoted to his interests, made Samaria a strong fortress. He embellished it, built a temple of great size and magnificence, and settled it with veterans from his army and people from the neighbourhood (*Ant.* XV. viii. 5; *BJ* I. xxi. 2). The city, which is said at this time to have had a circumference of 2½ miles, was re-named Sebaste (Augusta) in honour of Augustus, who had given it to Herod (*Ant.* XV. vii. 3); and this name has survived in the modern *Sebustieh*. At Samaria Herod entertained Agrippa; there he killed his wife Mariamne, and there also he strangled his sons (*Ant.* XV. vii. 5–7, XVI. ii. 1, xi. 7). During the Jewish revolt, Samaria and Herod's soldiers, called *Sebastenes*, went over to the Romans (*Ant.* XVII. x. 3, 9; *BJ* II. iii. 4, iv. 3, xii. 5). Many authorities suppose that the gospel was preached in Samaria (Ac $8^{5.9.14}$); but it is possible that some town in the district of Samaria, of which the name is not specified, is intended (note the absence in v.^{5} of the def. art. in some MSS). Septimius Severus made Samaria a *Colonia*, but it rapidly declined as Shechem (Neapolis) rose to importance, and in the 4th cent. it was already a small town (Euseb. *Onom.*). It was an Episcopal see, and its bishops attended the Councils of Nicæa, Constantinople, and Chalcedon, and the Synod of Jerusalem (A.D. 536). According to Jerome it was the burial-place of Elisha, Obadiah, and St. John the Baptist (*Ep. ad Marcellam, Com. ad Obad.*), and their tombs were shown to pilgrims in the Middle Ages. The Crusaders established a Latin bishopric in Samaria.

The modern village of *Sebustieh* lies at the E. end of the terraced hill of Samaria, which is now partially cultivated and in places covered with olive groves. The old city wall can be traced for most of its course, following irregularly the contour of the hill, and there are remains of the west gate. From this gate a street 50 ft. wide, and lined with columns, of which many still stand, ran along the S. side of the hill to a gate on the E., which has disappeared. To the W. of the village are the columns of a large buried temple; towards the S.W. the columns of a smaller temple; and in a hollow at the foot of the N.E. side of the hill are several shafts of columns that formed part of a quadrangle, perhaps a hippodrome, 622 ft. long and 190 ft. wide. Close to the site of the E. gate are the ruins of the fine cathedral church of St. John, built between A.D. 1150 and 1180, over the traditional tomb of St. John the Baptist. In the neighbourhood of the village are two fine springs, *'Ain Hârîm* and *'Ain Kefr Rûma*, from which small streams flow for a short distance. These streams are, apparently, those utilized by Hyrcanus to undermine the lower portion of the city. (Stanley, *S. and P.* 243–246; G. A. Smith, *HGHL* pp. 346–349; *PEF Mem.* ii. 160, 211–215; Guérin, *Samarie*, ii. 188, etc.).

2. SAMARIA (ἡ Σαμάρεια; *Samaria*) mentioned in 1 Mac 5^{66} cannot be the well-known Samaria, and is apparently an error. The place intended seems to be *Marisa* (Marishah, now *Kh. Mer'ash* near *Beit Jibrin*), a reading found in an ancient Latin version. See Josephus, *Ant.* XII. viii. 6, and 2 Mac 12^{35}.

C. W. WILSON.

SAMARIA, TERRITORY OF (ἡ Σαμαρεῖτις χώρα, Σαμάρεια, Σαμαρία; Jos. χώρα Σαμαρέων; *Samaria*). —At an early period the name of the city was applied to the kingdom of the ten tribes, and as the limits of that kingdom varied (2 K $10^{32.33}$ 15^{29}, 1 Ch 5^{26}), so did those of the territory called Samaria. Thus the 'king of Samaria' (2 K 1^{3}, Hos 10^{7}) is the king, and the 'cities of Samaria' (1 K 13^{32}, 2 K $17^{24.26}$ 23^{19}) the cities, of the Northern kingdom; and the 'mountains of Samaria' (Jer 31^{5}, Am 3^{9}) is simply another term for the hill-country of Ephraim (AV Mt. Ephraim). The name Samaria is used in its extended sense in 1 K 18^{2}, 2 K 17^{28} 23^{18}, 2 Ch 25^{13}, Ezr 4^{17}, Neh 4^{2}, Am 3^{12}.

In the Apocrypha (1 Es $2^{16.25}$, Jth 1^{9} 4^{4}, 1 Mac 3^{10} 5^{66} $10^{30.38}$ $11^{28.34}$, 2 Mac 15^{1}) and in NT (Lk 17^{11}, Jn $4^{4.5.7.9}$, Ac 1^{8} 8^{1} 9^{31}) the name Samaria denotes the central of the three districts—Judæa, Samaria, and Galilee—into which the country west of Jordan was divided. According to Josephus (*BJ* III. iii. 1, 4, 5), Samaria was bounded on the north by Galilee and the territory of the free city of Scythopolis, its most northerly village being Ginæa (*Jenîn*), in the great plain of Esdraelon. It extended S. to the toparchy of Acrabatta, *'Akrâbeh*, and the villages of Anuath, *Kh. 'Aina*, and Borceos, *Berḳît*, which were about 15 Roman miles S. of Shechem, and belonged to Judæa. In the Jordan Valley the boundary ran N. of Sartaba, *Ḳurn Surtaba* (Mishna, *Rosh hash-shana*, ii. 3); and on the west to the N. of Antipatris (Talm. Bab. *Gittin*, 76*a*). It was separated from the sea on the W. by the coast district of Judæa, which stretched N. to Ptolemais (*BJ* III. iii. 5).

Samaria is a land of hills and valleys, with here and there upland plains of great fertility. Carmel and other hills are partially clothed with dense thickets, and, in places, remnants of former forests can still be seen. In the plains and open valleys the rich soil yields abundant harvests of wheat, oats, and maize, whilst on the terraced hillsides the fig, the olive, and the vine bring forth their fruit in due season. Josephus says truly (*BJ* III. iii. 4) that the country was fruitful and well wooded; it abounded in wild fruit and in that produced by cultivation; its water was good, and in consequence of the excellence of its grass the cattle yielded more milk than elsewhere.

Samaria is an open country, and was always at the mercy of hostile invaders. It seems to have offered little resistance to Joshua, and, after the conquest, Canaanites, Midianites, Syrians, Assyrians, Greeks, and Romans overran it with comparative ease. No great battle was fought within its

limits, and the stirring episodes of mountain warfare, so frequent in Judæa, are unknown to its annals. On the other hand, it is remarkable for the number of fortified towns or 'strong places' that guarded its approaches. The open character of Samaria facilitated communication. Great highways of commerce passed through it, and chariots were used at a very early period. Amongst the trade routes were that from the coast, through the remarkable pass between Ebal and Gerizim, to the districts east of Jordan; and those from the Maritime Plain across the hills to Megiddo (*Lejjûn*), and En-gannim (*Jenîn*), and thence to Bashan and Damascus. To these well-travelled roads was due in great measure the close connexion that has always existed between Samaria and the trans-Jordanic regions, and the readiness with which the Jews of the district succumbed to the influence of the surrounding paganism.

After the Assyrians had conquered the kingdom of the ten tribes, they carried away the people to Assyria, and brought men from 'Babylon, and from Cuthah, and from Avva, and from Hamath and Sepharvaim,' and placed them in the 'cities of Samaria' (2 K 17[6. 24. 26]; *Ant.* IX. xiv. 1). At a later date, during the reigns of Esar-haddon and Assur-bani-pal (Osnappar, RV), the number of Assyrian colonists in Samaria was largely increased (Ezr 4[1. 9. 10]). In 2 K 17[29] these colonists are termed 'Samaritans.' Josephus says (*Ant.* IX. xiv. 3, X. ix. 7, XI. iv. 4) that they were called Cuthæans in Hebrew, from Cuthah, the city of their origin, and Samaritans in Greek, from the country to which they were removed; and he regarded the Samaritans of his day as their descendants. The Cuthæans and others brought their national gods with them, an act which was believed to have brought on them the vengeance of the God of the land. One of the captive Jewish priests was consequently sent to teach them 'how they should fear the LORD.' The result appears to have been that they adopted the Jewish ritual, but combined the worship of J" with that of their graven images (2 K 17[25-41]; *Ant.* IX. xiv. 3). Possibly, many of their high places and altars were destroyed during the reforms of Josiah (2 K 23[19], 2 Ch 34[6]).

The Captivity freed the Jews from their old sin of idolatry, and intensified the exclusiveness of the Jewish character. When, therefore, the Jews returned from Babylon, and the Samaritans offered to assist them in rebuilding the walls and temple at Jerusalem, the proffered aid was refused, and the Jews excluded the Samaritans from all participation in their worship. Quarrels naturally arose, and led to a mutual enmity between the two peoples, which was marked by frequent outbursts of active hostility. The Samaritans were generally the aggressors. They attempted to prevent the rebuilding of Jerusalem (Ezr 4[7-24], Neh 4[7-13]; *Ant.* XI. iv. 4); seized Jewish lands, and carried Jews off as slaves (*Ant.* XII. iv. 1). On one occasion they brought the bodies of dead men into the cloisters of the temple (*Ant.* XVIII. ii. 2), and on another they killed Galilæans who were passing through Samaria on the way to Jerusalem. This last outburst gave rise to disputes, which were referred to Rome for settlement (*Ant.* XX. vi. 1–3; *BJ* II. xii. 3–7). The Samaritans were always ready to claim kinship with the Jews when the latter were prosperous (*Ant.* IX. xiv. 3, XI. viii. 6); but at other times they repudiated the relationship, and acknowledged their Assyrian origin (Ezr 4[2]; *Ant.* XI. iv. 3, 9, XII. v. 5). The feeling of the Jews towards their enemies is indicated by the term of reproach, 'Thou art a Samaritan, and hast a devil' (Jn 8[48]); by the words of Jesus son of Sirach (Sir 50[25. 26]); and the mutual hostility explains Christ's command to His disciples not to enter into any city of the Samaritans (Mt 10[5]).

Samaria, after its conquest by Assyria, was ruled by Assyrian, Babylonian, and Persian governors until Syria and Palestine fell to Alexander after the battle of Issus. The Samaritans hastened to proffer aid to the conqueror, and in return were granted, according to Josephus, permission to build a temple on Mt. Gerizim (*Ant.* XI. viii. 4, 6, XIII. iii. 4, ix. 1). In this temple, which, more probably, however, was built by Sanballat during the time of Nehemiah, the Samaritans offered sacrifices after the manner of the Jews. But when Antiochus IV. Epiphanes took Jerus. and desecrated the temple, they were quite ready to address him as god, and ask his permission to call their place of worship the temple of Zeus Hellenius (*Ant.* XII. v. 5). After having more than once changed hands during the struggle between Alexander's successors, Samaria was given by Antiochus III. the Great, as part of the dower of his daughter Cleopatra, to Ptolemy V. Epiphanes (*Ant.* XII. iv. 1). During the reign of the latter's successor, Ptolemy VI. Philometor, the Samaritan colony in Egypt, which owed its origin to the settlement of Samaritans serving in Alexander's army (*Ant.* XI. viii. 6), and to the removal of Samaritans from Palestine to Egypt by Ptolemy I. Soter (*Ant.* XII. i. 1), maintained, in controversy with the Alexandrian Jews, that according to the laws of Moses the temple was to be built on Gerizim and not at Jerus. (*Ant.* XIII iii. 4). Samaria was conquered by John Hyrcanus, who destroyed the temple on Gerizim (*BJ* I. ii. 6, 7); and, after passing to the Romans when Pompey intervened in the quarrel between Hyrcanus II. and his brother, it was given to Herod by Augustus (*Ant.* XV. vii. 3). On Herod's death it was granted to his son Archelaus (*Ant.* XVII. xi. 4; *BJ* II. vi. 3); but, on his banishment, it was added to the province of Syria (*Ant.* XVII. xiii. 5; *BJ* II. viii. 1). In the time of Pilate a large number of Samaritans were killed when on their way to Gerizim, and to Pilate's action on this occasion Josephus ascribes his recall (*Ant.* XVIII. iv. 1, 2).

In the days of our Lord the Samaritans formed an important element in the population; and though they probably had a strong admixture of Jewish blood in their veins (2 K 23[19. 20], 2 Ch 34[6], Ezr 6[21], Jn 4[12]; *Ant.* X. iv. 5), they had not lost their distinctive character as aliens by descent (Lk 17[18], cf. 10[29-37]), and apparently in religion (Jn 4[22]). The gospel appears to have been first preached to the Samaritans by Philip, and with some measure of success (Ac 8[5-25]). But it cannot have been very generally accepted, for the Samaritans more than once came into collision with the Roman emperors and the Christians. Vespasian quelled a threatened rising by slaying 11,600 of them on Mt. Gerizim (*BJ* III. vii. 32); and they were so severely punished by Zeno and Justinian for murdering Christians and destroying churches, that they never afterwards recovered. Benjamin of Tudela, A.D. 1163, found 'Cutheans, who observe the Mosaic law only, and are called Samaritans,' at *Nâblus*, Cæsarea, Ascalon, and Damascus (*Early Travels*, p. 81). They are now represented by a few families at *Nâblus*.

LITERATURE.—Conder, *Tent-Work*, i. 80–109; Stanley, *Sinai and Palestine*, 229–248; G. A. Smith, *HGHL* 321–343; Guérin, *Samarie*; Schürer, *HJP* I. i. 190 f., 280, II. i. 5–8; Baedeker-Socin, *Pal.*[3] 226 ff.; Buhl, *GAP*, 207. C. W. WILSON.

SAMATUS (Σάματος), 1 Es 9[34].—One of the sons of Ezora, corresponding to Shemariah or Shallum in Ezr 10[41. 42].

SAMECH (ס). — The fifteenth letter of the Hebrew alphabet, and as such employed in the 119th Psalm to designate the 15th part, each verse of which begins with this letter. In this Dictionary it is transliterated by *ṣ*.

SAMELLIUS (B Σαμέλλιος, A Σεμ- Σεβ-; AV Semellius), 1 Es $2^{16.\ 17.\ 25.\ 30}$=Shimshai the scribe, cf. Ezr 4^{8} etc.

SAMEUS (B Θαμαῖος, A Σαμαῖος; AV Sameius).—Of the sons of Emmer (1 Es 9^{21}), answering to Shemaiah, of the sons of Harim, Ezr 10^{21}.

SAMGAR-NEBO (סַמְגַּר־נְבוֹ).—An officer of Nebuchadnezzar, who, according to the MT of Jer 39 [Gr. 46]^{3}, took his seat, along with other princes, in the middle gate of Jerusalem after the Chaldæan army had forced its way into the city. If the name (LXX B א Σαμαγώθ, A Εἰσσαμαγάθ) is to be accepted, it may be=*Šumgir-Nabu*, 'be gracious, O Nebo' (Schrader, *COT* ii. 109).* The text has in any case suffered corruption, as is evident, apart from other considerations, from the multitude of variant readings exhibited (cf. Swete, *OT in Greek, ad loc.*) by the LXX. If we retain the name Samgar-nebo, we ought perhaps to drop the first 'Nergal-sharezer,' and read: 'Samgar-nebo the Sar-sechim [a title as yet unexplained], Nebushazban the Rab-saris [cf. v.^{13}] and Nergal-sharezer the Rab-mag' (so Sayce in art. NERGAL-SHAREZER above). Another course is to reject (with Giesebrecht) the name Samgar-nebo entirely, taking סמגר as a dittography of רב מג, and joining נבו to the following, נבושרסכים thus = נְבוּשַׁזְבָּן of v.^{13}. It must be confessed that the means are not yet at our disposal for pronouncing with confidence on the true text. See, for another expedient, art. SARSECHIM. J. A. SELBIE.

SAMLAH (שַׂמְלָה).—An Edomite king, described as 'of Masrekah' (which see), Gn $36^{36f.}$ (B *deest*, A Σαλαμά, *D* Σαμαλά)=1 Ch $1^{47f.}$ (B om., A Σαμαά).

SAMMUS (Σαμμούς, B Σαμμού), 1 Es 9^{43}=Shema, Neh 8^{4}.

SAMOS (Σάμος), one of the most important islands in the Ægæan, is separated from the coast of Ionia by the narrow straits in which the Greeks met the Persian fleet and won the decisive victory of Mycale, B.C. 479. It was the centre of Ionian luxury, art, and science; and, from the moment when it became a member of the Ionic confederacy to the time when it was deprived of its freedom by Vespasian, its history is full of interest. In B.C. 84 it was united to the province of Asia, and in B.C. 17 it was made a free city by Augustus. This was the political status when St. Paul, after passing Chios, touched at Samos (Ac 20^{15} RV) on his return from his third missionary journey. There were many Jewish residents on the island (1 Mac 15^{23}), who obtained numerous privileges when Marcus Agrippa and Herod visited Samos. The latter also made presents to the Samians (*Ant.* XVI. ii. 2, 4; *BJ* I. xxi. 11). Descriptions of the island and its history will be found in Tournefort, *Voyage de Levante*, ii. 103 etc.; Ross, *Reise auf die griech. Inseln*, ii. 139 etc.; Murray, *Handbook to Asia Minor*, etc. pp. 359–361. C. W. WILSON.

SAMOTHRACE (Σαμοθράκη, *i.e.* the Thracian Samos).—An island of considerable size in the Ægæan Sea, to the south of the coast of Thrace, and north-west from the city of Troas. St. Paul and his companions, sailing from Troas, made a straight run, without tacking (see RHEGIUM), across the sea to Samothrace (Ac 16^{11}); and the next day they sailed north to NEAPOLIS, on the Thracian coast, which, according to Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* iv. 23), was about 38 miles from the island, though the actual distance is hardly more than about 20 miles. At the northern end of the island was the town, called by the same name; and here, doubtless, it was that the ship which carried St. Paul cast anchor for the night. Ac 20^{6}, also, probably implies that the ship anchored for a night at Samothrace; but no details are recorded. There was no good harbour at any point round the island, which therefore was difficult of approach (*importuosissima omnium*, as Pliny says); but the ancient Greek sailors always liked to anchor for the night, if convenient or possible (Ac $20^{14.\ 15}$).

Samothrace is a mountainous island; and in the view from the Trojan coast it forms a huge mass behind and towering over the intermediate island of Imbros. Its summit rises to 5240 ft.; and there Homer describes the sea-god Poseidon taking his seat to survey the battle before Troy. In a similar way the island of Samos on the coast of Ionia forms a huge mass rising boldly out of the sea; and the common name Samos is probably due, not to colonization from one to the other, nor to common stock in the inhabitants, but to the character of the islands, each in the distance looking like a single huge mountain.*

Samothrace, being unsuited for a trading centre by its harbourless nature, played little part in Greek history. Its only importance is due to the cult of the mysterious gods called *Cabiri*, who were said to have been worshipped by the original Pelasgian inhabitants of the island (Herod. ii. 51). The Mysteries of the Cabiri rivalled those of Eleusis in reputation and attractiveness during the later centuries of Greek history; and Philip of Macedon was initiated at Samothrace.

W. M. RAMSAY.

SAMPSAMES (אV Σαμψάμης, which is followed by AV and RV; A Σαμψάκης; Lat. VSS *Lampsacus*). —One of the places to which the Romans are said to have written in favour of the Jews, 1 Mac 15^{23}. It is usually identified with *Samsun*, a seaport town on the Black Sea, between Sinope and Trebizond (cf. Ramsay, *Hist. Geog. of Asia Minor*, 273).

SAMSON.—

i. The name.
ii. The narrative.
iii. The sources.
iv. The historical background.
v. Historical importance.
vi. Significance for the history of religion.
vii. Significance for the history of civilization.
viii. Mythological traces.
Literature.

i. THE NAME. — The pronunciation *Samson* is derived from the Vulgate, which follows the LXX Σαμψών, using a vowel older than the *ĕ* of the Heb. שִׁמְשׁוֹן *Shimshôn*. The name is not to be derived from שׁמן, or שׁמם, or שׁמשׁ 'serve' (cf. Moore on Jg 13^{24}), but is formed from שֶׁמֶשׁ 'sun' by means of the denominating ending וֹן; a diminutive sense ='little sun' (cf. the Arab. name *Shumais* in Nöldeke, *ZDMG* xl. p. 166) is less probable than a derivation with the sense 'sunny,' 'sun's man' (cf. Ges.-Kautzsch, *Gram.*^{26} § 86 f. g.). It is natural to think of the Danite city BETH-SHEMESH, which was not far from Samson's birthplace. The name Samson is confined in the OT to the judge (but cf. שִׁמְשַׁי *Shimshai*, Ezr $4^{8f.\ 17.\ 23}$), and is found nowhere but in Jg 13–16, which have him for

* On the similarity of the names *Shamgar* and *Ṣamgar* see Moore, *Judges*, 106.

* Constantine Porphyr. (iii. p. 41, Bonn ed.), Eustathius, and Strabo (pp. 346, 457) say that Σάμος meant 'hill'; and the name was common in the Greek world.

their subject (the Syr. and LXX Luc. wrongly introduce him in 1 S 12^{11}). The same thing is true of the name of his father MANOAH (מָנוֹחַ 'rest,' 'resting-place'), Jg $13^{2ff.}$ 16^{31}; but after the Captivity the inhabitants of Ẓor'ah, Samson's native town, are called (1 Ch 2^{52-54}) MANAHETHITES (הַמָּנַחְתִּי), a circumstance which might imply that Manoaḥ was the *heros eponymos* of a Danite clan, and was only afterwards assigned as father to the judge Samson (cf. the case of JEPHTHAH in Jg 11^{1}).

ii. THE NARRATIVE.—

Ch. 13. The barren wife of the Danite Manoaḥ of Ẓor'ah has a vision of the angel of Jahweh in the form of a man, who promises to her a son who from his mother's womb is to be a 'consecrated one' to God (נְזִיר אֱלֹהִים, see NAZIRITE), and who is to make a commencement of freeing the people from the Philistine yoke. Therefore his mother is to abstain from all intoxicating liquors and guard against everything that defiles; no razor is to come upon the head of the child. At Manoaḥ's prayer the angel appears a second time, and repeats his instructions. Only after he ascends in the flame of the offering presented to Jahweh and disappears, do Manoaḥ and his wife recognize who had been their guest. The boy, when born, is named Samson, and grows up under the blessing of Jahweh.

Ch. 14. Arrived at manhood, Samson, not without opposition from his parents, makes choice of a Philistine girl at Timnah to be his wife. On his way there he kills a lion, and on his return journey eats of the honey which he finds in the carcase. At the wedding feast he makes this the subject of a riddle for the young men, and, when his young wife coaxes him into telling her the solution and betrays it to them, he leaves her in ill humour.

Ch. 15. Having recovered himself, Samson will visit his wife in her parents' house, but finds that she has been given by her father to another. In revenge he destroys the ripe harvest fields of the Philistines by foxes with burning brands. The Philistines retaliate by burning his wife and all her house, an act which Samson again avenges by slaughtering many of them (vv.$^{1-8}$). Having made his escape to the territory of Judah, which, however, owned the Philistine suzerainty, he allows himself, on their menaces, to be handed over by the inhabitants bound, but bursts his bonds and slays a thousand Philistines with the jawbone of an ass. The wearied Samson is revived by Jahweh by means of a spring flowing from the jawbone (vv.$^{9-19}$).

Ch. 16. While Samson is visiting a harlot at Gaza he is betrayed, and his enemies think to seize him in the morning. But he catches up the folding-doors of the city gate, posts and all, and carries them to the top of a mountain by Hebron (vv.$^{1-3}$). His paramour, DELILAH, in the Vale of Sorek is bribed by the Philistines to deliver him over to them: three times he deceives her as to the source of his strength, and bursts the bonds wherewith she has bound him. At last he confesses that his strength lies in his God-consecrated hair, and after he has been shaved while asleep he falls defenceless into the hands of the Philistines. The latter put out his eyes and set him to slaves' work in the prison at Gaza (vv.$^{4-22}$). At the festival in honour of their god DAGON, the conquered foe is to be exhibited as a spectacle to the assembled people. But with the new growth of his hair the blind man feels his strength return, and after praying to Jahweh he pulls down the pillars of the house in which the Philistines are assembled, so that they all perish along with himself in the ruins. His body is buried by his relatives in the family sepulchre. His judgeship had lasted twenty years (vv.$^{23-31}$).

iii. THE SOURCES.—Of all the narratives in the Book of Judges, that about Samson is the only one that is not composed from the two ancient sources which supplied the material of the book—in all probability the Judæan source (J) and the Ephraimitic (E). The attempt to distinguish two sources throughout has only once been made, and that superficially, by von Ortenberg, but cannot be regarded as successful. On the other hand, it has been rightly recognized by van Doorninck (1879) and Stade (1884) that ch. 14 has undergone extensive revision, and Böhme (1885) has proved the same for ch. 13. In both chapters the aim of this revision is religious; the whole personality of Samson is meant to be brought under the religious point of view more than is the case in the particular narratives. Böhme has shown at the same time that ch. 13 bears marks of the source J, and thus the whole Samson history will have to be assigned to this source. That E has no share in it is explained by the circumstance that for the Ephraimitic source the judge who 'began to deliver Israel out of the hands of the Philistines' (13^{5}) was not Samson but Samuel (1 S $7^{2ff.}$). Whether the Samson history, whose scene was the neighbourhood of Judah, had only a local importance such as to prevent its being made use of by E, or whether that history was too repugnant to its theocratic character (cf. Eb. Schrader, who calls E 'the theocratic narrator'), in any case Samuel takes the place of Samson completely in E (1 S 1–7; cf. esp. the birth story in 1 S 1 with Jg 13), whereas in J Samuel plays no part at all as judge and military commander.

But if the Samson story is derived from only one source, yet, apart from the above-mentioned revision, it is not on that account a literary unity in all its parts. On the contrary, the various anecdotes about Samson were originally related separately and only afterwards collected and arranged. Later than any of them, we may assume, is the story of his birth (ch. 13), just as is the case with almost all ancient heroes, even those of them who otherwise appear in the clearest light of history.

Samson is included by the Deuteronomistic redaction, to which the Book of Judges owes its shape, amongst the 'great judges'; but this, it appears, was not done without a considerable amount of weeding out. The concluding formula of the Deuteronomic redaction as to the duration of Samson's judgeship appears already at the end of ch. 15 (v.^{20}), and is then repeated in 16^{31}. This should in all likelihood be explained on the ground that R^{D} closed his history of Samson with ch. 15, and did not admit ch. 16 into his Book of Judges. The reason is easily discovered. Down to the close of ch. 15 Samson is the husband of *one* wife, and love to her along with love to his native land is the motive of all his actions. But in ch. 16 he appears as the slave of sensual passion, caught in the toils of a succession of paramours, to the last of whom he even betrays the secret of the Divine strength that animated him. If this itself must have appeared to the mind of R^{D} quite unworthy of a God-called judge (cf. $2^{16.\ 18f.}$), his fate also was an unfitting one, namely that he should end his life as prisoner and slave of the unbelievers. Hence R^{D} excluded ch. 16 in the same way as ch. 9 (the story of Abimelech). He was indifferent to the circumstance that thus the account of Samson's death disappeared; neither is there any mention of the death of Barak or of Deborah, and only a supplementary allusion to that of Ehud (4^{1}). It was not till the last redaction of Judges that ch. 16 was once more united with the preceding chapters, but the first concluding formula (15^{20}) was still piously allowed to remain. How much of the minor alterations of the old text is to be attributed to this last redaction, cannot be determined.

iv. THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND.—The tribe of Dan, to which Samson belongs, possessed not only *one* tribal territory, but two,—the one west of Jerusalem, situated between Benjamin and Judah; the other in the extreme north, at the lower sources of the Jordan, bordering upon the territory of Naphtali. Samson comes from the southern territory; his native town Ẓor'ah (צָרְעָה), one of the principal places belonging to the tribe (Jos 19^{41}, Jg $18^{2.\ 8.\ 11}$, cf. also Neh 11^{29}), still bears the same name at the present day. It lies on the northern slope of the fertile *Wâdy es-Ṣurar*, through which the railway from Jaffa to Jerusalem now runs, opposite the ancient Beth-shemesh (cf. G. A. Smith, *HGHL* 218 f.). But the question is, whether Samson lived (or is supposed to have lived) *before* or *after* the emigration of the 600 Danites who founded the northern settlement of the tribe. The history of this expedition is given summarily in Jg 1^{34} (to be supplemented by Jos 19^{47} [LXX]), and in full detail in

Jg 17. 18. Since the account of it in the last-mentioned two chapters is preceded by the story of Samson, one might be disposed at first to decide for the former of the above alternatives. But it must not be forgotten that chs. 17–21 are appendices to the Book of Judges, and that their present position tells us nothing about their order in time. When the 600 Danites struck off to the north, their tribe was still contending for its independence, although with little prospect of being able to assert it. The braver and more resolute members of the tribe having taken their departure, the remnant will have abandoned all further struggle and rested content that their foreign lords should leave them in possession of the soil, probably upon condition of paying tribute. But this is the condition of things which we meet with in the story of Samson. The Philistines have penetrated far into the Shephēlah, Timnah (the modern *Tibne* only 4 or 5 miles S.W. of *Ṣor'a*) belongs to them. Between them and the Danites there is no state of war, but unrestricted intercourse, *connubium* and *commercium*—nay, the whole life of the Danites appears to gravitate towards the Philistine cities. The power is entirely in the hands of the Philistines: when Samson gets into trouble with them, his native town cannot shelter him. But even the territory of Judah, to which he flees, offers no security, for it, too, is subject to the Philistines, as its inhabitants (Jg 15^{11}) expressly affirm as a fact generally recognized. Samson's own demeanour is not at all that of an enthusiast for political independence and deliverer of his people from the Philistine yoke. He belongs, on the contrary, to that class amongst his countrymen who are disposed to modern and liberal ideas, and who have no scruple about entering into relations with the Philistines and even connecting themselves with them by marriage. This strange conduct is already excused and explained in Jg 14^{4} as being in obedience to a Divine commission, in order that Samson might find an opportunity of damaging the Philistines. But this verse does not belong to the oldest form of the narrative, and is actually contradicted by other passages. Samson himself offers to the Judahites (15^{11}) the excuse that he had not attacked the Philistines, but simply requited the wrong done to him by them. And in precisely the same fashion he always asserts his innocence to himself and to his enemies (cf. $15^{3.\ 7}$): if they would only leave him in peace, they should be safe from him, so he thinks at least. In the case of all his exploits, then, we have to do not with conscious attempts to deliver Israel, but only with the involuntary uprising of a subject people against the alien and unloved oppressor, with little 'pin-pricks,' each of which is regarded as a heroic deed and greeted with malicious joy. But ten hot-blooded and foolhardy Samsons would not have been able to loosen the chains of Israel's bondage. This was only accomplished when the Philistines, who had ventured to attack the kernel of the Isr. territory, were, after some initial successes (1 S 4), completely beaten by the uprising of Mt. Ephraim (1 S 13) and afterwards of all Israel under the leadership of Saul and David, and driven back within their own narrow territory. By means of these wars Samson's home became once more free, and a permanent possession of Israel. The Samson stories are probably intended, then, to be understood as belonging to the period which immediately preceded the Philistine war of 1 S 4, and are thus, apart from the appendices Jg 17–21, in the right place. That implies at the same time that the tradition, at first oral, embodying them must also go back to the same period. In a later age there was no possibility of their arising.

v. Historical Importance.—According to the scheme of the Book of Judges as its programme is set down by the Deuteronomic redactor in Jg $2^{11ff.}$, Samson was 'raised up' by Jahweh to be 'judge' over all the children of Israel, in order to deliver them from the rule of the Philistines, to which Jahweh had given them over on account of their unfaithfulness (cf. 13^{1}). We saw that in the case of Samson there can be no mention of such deliverance, and just as little of an activity on behalf of, or any judgeship over, the whole of Israel. What we are told of him, at all events, claims nothing more than quite a local importance. We need not wonder, then, that R^{D} left out ch. 16 (see above), but only that he allowed Samson to pass as a 'judge' at all. But this may be explained as due to the example set in the pre-Deuteronomic Book of Judges, the work of R^{JE} (cf. Budde, *Kurzer Hdcom.* x ff., xv f.). The rank of a divinely-sent judge could not be henceforward taken from Samson. His credentials rest especially on ch. 13, the Divine promise and wonderful accomplishment of his birth. We shall have to regard the whole of this chapter as a later addition to the particular Samson narratives which were gathered from the mouth of the people and lie before us in chs. 14–16. As a literary composition, however, that chapter need not be more recent than these others. It is worthy of note that even it still confines the historical importance of Samson within very narrow limits. All that is said of him in v.^{5} is that 'he shall *begin* to deliver Israel out of the hand of the Philistines.'

vi. Significance for the History of Religion.—The glaring contradiction between the Divine call of Samson and his far from exemplary manner of life caused much racking of the brains and much offence to the older theologians. A correct judgment of his personality is possible only when, on the one hand, we leave out of view the Christian standard of morality, and when, on the other, we take into account that Samson was originally not a religious but a popular hero. Still there remains even in the oldest strata of the narratives one religious trait, and it is this which has made it possible to represent him as under theocratic enlightenment. Any endowment beyond the ordinary human standard, or any conduct quite opposed to what is otherwise recognized as the character of a person, is explained in antiquity, and so also in the OT, as due to a superhuman being, a spirit, having taken up its abode in the person. On this account all who are mentally deranged are supposed to be the dwelling-place of a spirit, by whom they are possessed. In this way also the superhuman strength of Samson is explained; and as the Philistines, the enemies of Israel, suffer through his deeds, the spirit which works through him is the spirit of Jahweh, the God of Israel. The last verse of ch. 13 notes the first occasion upon which the spirit of Jahweh moves him, without telling us how this working showed itself. In $14^{6.\ 19}$ 15^{14} 'the spirit of Jahweh came upon him' to enable him to perform the greatest feats of strength. It is noteworthy, however, that this expression is wanting in 14^{8}. This appears to point to a different way of viewing the matter, and, as this same way entirely dominates ch. 16, it may be regarded as the more original. According to Samson's own statement in 16^{17}, which is confirmed by vv.$^{20.\ 28}$, his strength is not a new thing every time, imparted at the moment of need through his being filled with the Divine spirit, but is a constant possession, connected with the hair of his head, on which no razor comes, because from his mother's womb he has been a consecrated one of God, a Nazirite (נָזִיר).

The Nazirate is a religious institution of undoubtedly the highest antiquity; it is named as early as Am $2^{11f.}$, along with prophecy, as one of the special blessings which Jahweh has bestowed upon His people. At the same time it persisted in Israel down to the days when Israel's religion had undergone a great spiritualizing, for not only do we find it in Nu 6 in the legislation of the post-exilic period as a firmly established sacred usage, but we meet with its practice in Jerusalem at the temple even in the time of the Apostle Paul (Ac $21^{23f.}$). But in the OT Samson is the only Nazirite we encounter; for the consecration of Samuel is of quite a different character, and the words 'and there shall no razor come upon his head' in 1 S 1^{11} certainly do not belong to the original text. From the story of Samson, now, we can gather that the essence of the Nazirite vow consisted simply in allowing the hair to grow. At the expiry of the period fixed for the vow the hair was shorn by the priest and cast into the sacrificial flame (Nu 6^{18}, Ac 21^{24}).* Even Samson's lifelong Nazirate (Jg $13^{5.7}$) can scarcely be understood as implying that he is to carry his hair with him down to the grave, but rather that he has it shorn from time to time, and each time consecrates the shorn hair to Jahweh. But, as the Nazirite bears the God-consecrated offering upon his head, he naturally requires to keep his body, which ministers nourishment also to the hair, pure from everything that is repugnant to the Deity. The regulations on this subject will undergo change and enlargement with the times; the prohibition of wine (including, no doubt, all intoxicating liquors) belongs certainly to the oldest state of things, and is witnessed to already in Am 2^{12}. An intoxicated man is possessed by another spirit which disputes God's authority. Samson, indeed, does not impress us as one who practised self-restraint in any direction; his taking food from the carcase of the lion (Jg $14^{8f.}$) is directly opposed to the enactments of Nu $6^{6ff.}$, for the term 'dead body' there certainly includes *a potiori* the carcases of animals. But from these contradictions between the Samson story and the Nazirate law we can only conclude that the story does not proceed throughout on the presupposition of his being under a Nazirite vow. The contradictions must have been early observed, and this explains why what was wanting in the case of Samson himself, namely abstinence from wine and from unclean food, is compensated for in $13^{4.14}$ by attributing this abstinence to his mother for the period of her pregnancy.

According to ch. 16, Samson's strength resides in the unshorn hair of his head, a belief which in the case of the Nazirate is explained by the consecration in virtue of which Jahweh Himself dwells in the hair consecrated to Him. Amos, too, appears to attribute special powers to the Nazirites ($2^{11f.}$), but what is the nature of these we are not told. But the notion that some mysterious power resides in the hair, apart even from such special consecration, is extraordinarily widespread. A large collection of facts directly connected with supposed active and passive bodily powers may be found in J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*^{2}, iii. 390 f. The Sunda Isles of the present day contribute much material to this collection, but so also does Europe of the Middle Ages, especially in the matter of processes against witches. The reader may note also what is said in the same work (i. 370 ff., cf. also p. 31) about letting the hair grow, and about the dangers connected with the cutting of it. The fear of these rises to such a pitch that, for instance, the chief of the Namosi upon the Fiji Islands, every time he had his hair cut, had to devour a man, in order to ward off the dangers which threatened him. We have therefore to do here with convictions diffused over the whole world, and which certainly go back to very early times. Even in Israel they must have been much older than the religion of Jahweh, but they were brought within its scope in the form of the Nazirate. From the story of Samson and from Am $2^{11f.}$ we may infer with some probability that Israel was conscious that the blessing of the Nazirate gave them an advantage over the Philistines and the Canaanites; and if that is so, we must hold that the Nazirate was established in Israel prior to the conquest of Canaan.

vii. SIGNIFICANCE FOR THE HISTORY OF CIVILIZATION.—The story of Samson is specially important from this point of view. Above all, we see from it that the ideal of the country hero was exactly the same in Israel then as it is at the present day. The lion of a village must be first in success with the female sex, first in bodily strength, courage, and fondness for brawling, and first in mother wit. Samson displays the last-named quality in his riddle (ch. 14), in his ever-varied devices against the Philistines, and in the witty fashion in which he ever anew deceives Delilah. Veracity by no means belongs to the list of virtues of the country hero, and as little does faithfulness in love. Excess, or at least enormous capacity in eating and in drinking strong liquors, is amongst the things that may almost be taken for granted. It is strange enough that this trait is not strikingly displayed in Samson. Who knows whether from the store of legends that circulated regarding him there may not have been dropped this or that portion dealing with the subject in question? As to the matter of his enormous bodily strength, every village, or at least every shire, has still its Samson, whose displays of strength, as recorded in popular stories, speedily go, without the calling in of any superhuman causes, beyond what is possible for man. Many of our readers, especially those who have been brought up in the country, will be able to substantiate what we have said. Such conditions of life, which we can still detect everywhere, are the earliest soil of the Samson stories; everything else is only secondary.

We have, further, in ch. 14 a graphic description of the wedding festivities in ancient Israel, the only one which has come down to us. We see from it that on such occasions the proceedings were essentially the same as in the modern East, and, in some important points, even the same as at our own Jewish weddings. There is a seven days' feast (v.^{17}), above all with plenty of eating and drinking of wine (מִשְׁתֶּה), in which the whole community takes part. The thirty companions (v.^{11}), with their head, who is probably meant in 14^{20} and 15^2, are the conductors of the bride (cf. the 'sixty valiant men' of Solomon in Ca 3^7, and the 'friend of the bridegroom' in Jn 3^{29}). They would have to defray the expenses of the wedding, as is still the custom in Syrian villages. Samson and the young wife would, as is also the custom there, be called 'king' and 'queen' during the seven days (cf. Budde, *Kurzer Hdcom.* xvii. p. xvii f.). Samson's riddle is only a small part of the amusements of all kinds—songs, dances, games, stories—with which the seven days were filled up.

Although, however, the practices at Samson's wedding are the same as are usual elsewhere, the same cannot be said of the character of the marriage itself. From $15^{1f.}$ it is plain that the young wife did not go after the marriage to Ẓor'ah to Samson's house, but remained in the house of her parents at Timnah. And even if this might appear to be explained on the ground that Samson, according to 14^{19b}, parted from her in anger instead of personally accompanying her in stately procession to Ẓor'ah (cf. 1^{14}), there is not the slightest hint in $15^{1f.}$ that he purposed subsequently to take her home to Ẓor'ah, but only that he meant to visit her *in her parents' house*. Nor does the kid which he takes with him appear to be an extraordinary present for a special purpose, such as to make up for his anger of 14^{19}, but seems rather to belong to the visit as such. If all this be so, then we have to do with that peculiar ancient form of marriage to which W. R. Smith (*Kinship and Marriage in early Arabia*, pp. 70–76) gave the name *ṣadîḳa* marriage. It answers to the ancient social institution of the matriarchate, under which the wife remains with her relations, the husband visits her there, the children belong to the tribe and the family of the mother. One-sided dissolution of such a marriage and the contracting of another (cf. Jg 15^2) by the woman is also witnessed to amongst the Arabs (*l.c.* p. 65). If Samson's marriage is to be understood in this way, this does not of course imply that at the time when these stories took their rise all marriages in Israel were of the *ṣadîḳa* type. But we learn again from the ancient Arabic materials collected by W. R. Smith, that, even when the later form of marriage had come to prevail, such *ṣadîḳa* marriages were still contracted when the ordinary marriage was not possible, as, for instance, between members of hostile tribes (*l.c.* p. 71 f.). This may be the explanation in the case before us, where a man belonging to the territory of Israel, which was subject to the Philistines, seeks in marriage a girl of the ruling people. We should perhaps adopt a similar interpretation when it is said that Gideon had a concubine in Shechem (Jg 8^{31}), which still belonged to the Canaanites; and when Abimelech, her son, speaks of himself as a Shechemite and not as an Israelite (9^2). If any one thinks it worth while, he may, upon the ground of this ancient social custom, view more mildly even Samson's relation to Delilah in $16^{4ff.}$ It is surprising indeed that at such a marriage the festivities described in ch. 13 should be the same as at the marriages which constitute the man the possessor (בַּעַל) of the woman; but it may well be that different points of view have here become confused.

viii. MYTHOLOGICAL TRACES.—Samson's extraordinary strength, which he displays in a number of feats, led even in olden times to a comparison of him with Hercules, and recently such comparisons have gone the length of vain attempts to count up exactly twelve exploits of Samson. After it came

* How large a part was played by the hair-offering in the life of ancient peoples, especially of the Semites, may be learned from W. R. Smith, *RS*^{2} 325–334, cf. also p. 482 ff.

to be recognized or believed that the Hercules legend is a solar myth, many in our own century proceeded to take the story of Samson also as a sun-myth, and to interpret it so in detail. The derivation of the name שִׁמְשׁוֹן from שֶׁמֶשׁ tells indeed rather against than in favour of this view, for it is not the way with a nature-myth to borrow or even to derive the name of its hero from the cosmical object which it describes. The derivation from *Beth-shemesh* is a much more natural one. But such mythical explanations are not capable of being refuted in detail, because the elements with which they operate are so simple that any one so disposed may find them in any history, and for the most part in opposite ways. At all events, the strength of Samson requires no such explanation; on the contrary, it is explicable, as we saw, by considerations drawn, on the one hand, from the history of civilization, and on the other from religion. And it is equally certain that none of the narrators of the story is conscious that he is handing on a myth; the features of the contemporary history and civilization are very clearly marked. This does not prevent the supposition that mythical traits may have found their way into these popular narratives. Undoubtedly a *topological* [Gunkel, *Genesis*, p. xv, incorrectly gives this the name 'geological'] motive for a legend appears at work in 15^{17}, where the name 'Height of the Jawbone' is to be explained. It is quite remarkable, too, that the fire-brand foxes ($15^{4f.}$) recur in Ovid (*Fasti*, iv. 679 ff.) in the Roman cultus, and are explained (*ib.* 701 ff.) by the act of a mischievous boy which exactly resembles the act of Samson. But, *in this instance* at all events, we have not to do with a solar myth; the reader may be reminded how in Poitou 'the spirit of the corn appears to be conceived in the shape of a fox' (Frazer, *l.c.* ii. 283; cf. the whole chapter entitled 'The corn-spirit'). The attempt to give a continuous mythological interpretation of the story of Samson is therefore to be abandoned, although there are various points in it besides the above which may profitably be examined from this point of view.

LITERATURE.—The Comm. on *Judges*, esp. those of Moore, in *Internat. Crit. Com.* 1895; Budde in *Kurzer Hdcom.* 1897; Nowack in *Hdkomm.* 1900; and the authorities cited in these. The older literature will be found in Winer's excellent art. 'Simson' in his *RWB*^{3}, 1848. K. BUDDE.

SAMUEL (שְׁמוּאֵל, Σαμουήλ).—The meaning 'name of God,' which is now generally accepted, is the only one that can be upheld on philological grounds. The author of the early history of Samuel obviously connects the name with the circumstances of Samuel's birth as if שמואל = שאול מאל (1^{20} 'and she called his name Samuel, *saying*, Because I have asked him of the Lord'); but it is impossible to regard this explanation as giving the actual derivation of the name. As is not infrequently the case in the OT, 'the writer merely expresses an assonance, not an etymology, *i.e.* the name שמואל *recalled* to his mind the word שאול *asked*, though in no sense derived from it' (Driver, *Text of Sam.* p. 13 f.). The derivation 'heard of God' (שְׁמוּעֵ אֵל) is also etymologically improbable.*

The history of Samuel as set forth in the first Book that bears his name contains so many discrepancies not only as regards the history of the period, but also as regards Samuel's character and position, that it is impossible to assign it to a single author. These inconsistencies can be explained only on the theory that we have two accounts of the history of Samuel, which have been combined by a later editor (see following article). In order, therefore, to obtain a clear conception of the life and work of Samuel, it is necessary to treat the two sources separately.

In the earlier of the two documents from which the Books of Samuel are mainly compiled, Samuel first appears in connexion with the election of Saul as king at Gilgal ($9^{1f.}$). He is there described as 'a man of God' (9^{6}), or, more accurately, as a *seer* (רֹאֶה as opposed to נָבִיא a *prophet*, 9^{9}), living in the land of Zuph (probably in the hill-country of Ephraim). The narrative opens somewhat abruptly with the story of Saul's search for the asses of his father. After three days' search Saul is on the point of returning homewards, when he is urged by his servant to consult the man of God living in that district (it is not until v.^{15} that we learn his name). Saul's objection, that the seer will certainly expect a present, is met by the servant producing the fourth part of a shekel. They accordingly enter the city and inquire for the seer, whom they meet on his way to the high place. The meeting, however, was no accidental one, for Samuel had been divinely prepared on the previous day for the coming of the Benjamite stranger, and had been instructed to anoint him to be prince over Israel; for, said Jehovah, 'he shall save my people out of the hands of the Philistines.' Samuel accordingly invites Saul to the sacrificial meal, at which a place had been reserved for him, and on the following morning privately anoints him, and informs him at the same time of his Divine mission to deliver Israel from its oppressors. He adds, further, three signs by which Saul may prove the truth of his words, and bids him do as occasion serves him when these have been fulfilled. The signs are fulfilled, and shortly after Saul's return to his father's house the occasion foretold by Samuel presents itself in connexion with the siege of Jabesh-gilead by Nahash the Ammonite. Saul's prompt and successful action in relieving the besieged city arouses the enthusiasm of his countrymen, who crown him king at Gilgal.

The comparatively subordinate position occupied by Samuel, according to this older narrative, and the limited extent of his influence on the affairs of the nation, stand in striking contrast to the traditional view of his life and work. He is here represented as the seer of a small town, who is consulted in matters of difficulty and perplexity by the inhabitants of the district in which he lives, and who is in charge of the local shrine: beyond this district he is unknown to the rest of Israel. Further, his chief claim to fame lies in the fact that on one occasion only he is chosen by Jehovah as His instrument in carrying out His plans for the deliverance of Israel. Lastly, it is noticeable that he has no voice in the establishment of the monarchy; his interest in the matter apparently ceases with the performance of his part in anointing Saul; nor does he appear to have been consulted in the actual election of the king. It cannot, however, be doubted that this older document has been preserved to us only in a very fragmentary form; and we may infer with considerable probability that it originally contained a longer and fuller account of the life and work of Samuel, which was passed over by the editor in favour of the (from his point of view) more satisfactory account preserved in the later document. The explanation of this selection is furnished by the later document, which is obviously coloured by the views and conceptions of a later age, and as such approximates more closely to the standpoint of the editor who combined the two narratives. It remains, therefore, to examine the narrative of the later document, and to estimate how far we can utilize it for the purpose of supplementing the earlier account.

The later narrative commences with the birth of Samuel, and relates how Hannah, the barren wife of Elkanah, on the occasion of the yearly feast made a solemn vow to the LORD that if He would look upon her affliction and give her a man child, she would dedicate him to the service of the sanctuary. Samuel is born in answer to her prayer, and in due time handed over to the care of Eli, the aged priest at Shiloh. His childhood is thus spent within the precincts of the ancient Israelite shrine,

* In a recent article on 'The Name of Samuel and the Stem שאל' (*JBL*, vol. xix. pt. i.), M. Jastrow, jr., maintains that the first element (שמו) of the compound name *Shĕmû'ēl* should be rendered 'offspring' rather than 'name,' on the analogy of the Assyr. *shumu*, which occurs frequently in the former sense in proper names (*Nebu-shum-ukin*, *Bēl-shum-uṣur*, etc.): he explains *Samuel* therefore as='son of God,' and compares the correlative *Abiel*. There is, however, no evidence to show that the Heb. שֵׁם ever bore this meaning: the passages cited by Jastrow in favour of it readily admit of the usual signification.

where 'he ministered to the LORD before Eli the priest' (2^{11}), and 'grew in favour both with the LORD and also with men' (2^{26}). But the sons of Eli, who in the natural course of events would have succeeded their father, proved unworthy of their sacred office, and provoked the wrath of Jehovah by their abuse of their priestly privileges. In consequence of their sin the destruction of the house of Eli is decreed by Jehovah, who announces His purpose to the youthful Samuel in a vision of the night. The favour of Jehovah, however, which is openly displayed towards the latter, makes it apparent that he has been chosen to succeed to the priestly office, and all Israel recognized 'that he was established to be a prophet of the LORD': for through his agency the word of the LORD was revealed to all Israel (3^{20}–4^{1a}). In the history of the defeat of Israel at Aphek, and of the capture and restoration of the ark by the Philistines (4^{2}–7^{1}), there is no mention of Samuel, who is suddenly reintroduced some time after the return of the ark, in the character of a 'judge,' rather than in that of a 'prophet' or 'priest' (7$^{2f.}$). Like a second Moses, he is represented as exhorting the people to turn from their idolatrous practices and to serve Jehovah alone. The people hearken to his words, and in order to confirm their resolution he summons a national assembly at Mizpah, where they make public confession of their sins. The purpose of this gathering, however, is misunderstood by the Philistines, who at once collect their forces to meet what appears to them as a national uprising. Dismayed by the approach of their hereditary enemies, the Israelites beseech Samuel to intercede with Jehovah on their behalf. In answer to Samuel's prayer, Jehovah sends a violent thunderstorm, which scatters the Philistines, and renders them an easy prey to the pursuing Israelites. To commemorate their deliverance, Samuel sets up a great stone and calls the name of it Eben-ezer, or 'stone of help.' According to the writer, this victory marks the downfall of the Philistine domination; for from that time onwards the Philistines 'came no more within the border of Israel,' while the cities 'which they had taken from Israel were restored from Ekron even unto Gath' (7^{14}). In the peaceful times that followed, Samuel is represented as administrating justice throughout Israel by means of a yearly circuit of the chief sanctuaries on the west of Jordan—Beth-el, Gilgal, and Mizpah. As his years increase, he naturally associates his sons with himself in the office of judge; but, like the sons of Eli, they 'walked not in the ways' of their father. For this reason, and also because they desire 'to be like all the nations,' the people demand that a king should be set over them. Their request is viewed with disfavour by Samuel, who plainly regards it as an act of rebellion against Jehovah. But, in compliance with the Divine command, he first sets clearly before them the treatment they may expect at the hands of a king, and then, as they still persist in their demand, takes steps to grant it. For this purpose he once more summons the people to Mizpah, and, after pointing out their ingratitude, directs that lots should be cast for the king: the choice falls on Saul the son of Kish, of the tribe of Benjamin (8^{21}). Samuel now realizes that his life's work is at an end, and in a solemn farewell speech he first bids the people attest the justice of his rule, and then, by means of a brief survey of the national history, warns them against disobeying the word of Jehovah. His exhortation is rendered the more impressive by a miraculous thunderstorm, which frightens the people into a confession of their sin in asking for a king. Their fears are allayed by Samuel, who assures them of Jehovah's favour if they will serve Him truly.

The election of Saul as king, and the consequent establishment of the monarchy, seem to form a fitting conclusion to the work of the last Israelite 'judge'; but the last days of Samuel were destined to be embittered by the foolish action of the king whom he had been chiefly instrumental in appointing. In accordance with the command of Jehovah as announced by Samuel, Saul wages a war of extermination against the Amalekites, but, in deference to the wishes of his people, spares Agag the king and the best of the spoil. Samuel is divinely informed of the king's action, and openly taxes him with disobeying the commands of Jehovah. Saul seeks to palliate his offence, but Samuel ignores his excuses and announces his rejection. He thereupon confesses his sin, and begs for forgiveness; but Samuel merely reiterates his sentence, interpreting the rending of his cloak by Saul as a sign that the latter's kingdom has been 'rent' from him. In response, however, to Saul's appeal, he consents to honour him once more before the people by joining with him in the worship of Jehovah. He then slays Agag with his own hands, and departs to his house at Ramah. This incident marks the close of Samuel's public life; for 'he came no more to see Saul until the day of his death,' but remained in seclusion at Ramah (see art. RAMAH), where he died and was buried.

The above sketch of the contents of the later document shows clearly that the writer regarded Samuel as exercising a far wider sphere of influence than the unknown seer of the earlier narrative. The position, indeed, which he assigns to Samuel is that of a second Moses, who rules over the people as the representative of Jehovah, and whose mission it is to win the people from their apostasy to the service of the only true God. Further, he depicts him as exercising the office of a 'judge' (in the sense in which that term is employed in the pre-Deuteronomic Book of Judges (2^{6}–16^{31})), and delivering Israel from the hands of their Philistine oppressors: thus Israel's desire for a king can only be explained as an act of rebellion against Jehovah.

The contrast between the two representations of Samuel is very marked, and at first sight it would appear as if the one must necessarily exclude the other. But though there can be no doubt as to the greater historical value of the earlier narrative, which bears all the marks of a high antiquity, it by no means follows that the later narrative must be rejected as unhistorical. For it must be remembered (1) that the later is not founded on, but is clearly *independent* of, the earlier narrative; and (2) that the view which is taken of the standpoint of the later author does not of necessity affect the general truth of his narrative. Hence, though the earlier narrative contains no account of Samuel's childhood, of his connexion with Eli at Shiloh, and of his intercession on behalf of the people, we have no grounds for regarding these *facts* as other than historical. It cannot be doubted, however, that the *form* in which they have been preserved to us has been largely coloured by the later 'prophetic' point of view. Interpreted by this later standpoint, the establishment of the monarchy, or rather the election of David's predecessor as king, has little to recommend it, and is not unnaturally described as one of many acts of apostasy on the part of ancient Israel. For the purpose of this narrative, it must be remembered, is *religious*; and it does not lie within the writer's scope to estimate the importance of this event in the *political* history of the nation. His interest rather centres in the person of Samuel the prophet, and there is on this account a marked tendency to magnify his office and to overestimate his influence. The extent to which this tendency has affected the narrative is illustrated in a very striking manner by the story of Samuel's intercession on behalf of the people at Mizpah (7$^{2ff.}$). That Samuel did intercede for the people may be inferred from Jer 15^{1}; but that his intercession was followed by the subjugation of the Philistines (7^{13}) cannot be reconciled with the subsequent history (see the account of Saul's campaign against the Philistines 13^{1}–14^{46}, and especially 14^{52} 'and there was sore war against the Philistines all the days of Saul'). In like manner, we may conclude that the representation of Samuel as a 'prophet,' and his aversion to the monarchy, reflect the point of view of a later age, and have but little foundation in fact. Looking back over the past history of Israel, the writer clearly regards Samuel as the last of the old order of judges, and also as the forerunner of the new order of prophets. That his estimate in the main is a correct one cannot be denied: it is clear, however, that it has largely influenced his portrayal of Samuel's life and work.

In conclusion, it may be pointed out that the account of the anointing of David by Samuel (16$^{1-13}$), and the second explanation of the proverb, 'Is Saul also among the prophets?' (19$^{18-24}$), can only be regarded as late and unhistorical (see below, p. 386 f.). They illustrate that tendency to increase the importance of the heroes of the nation, and to connect them with the beginnings of later institutions, which in later times became especially characteristic of Jewish writings.

J. F. STENNING.

SAMUEL, I. AND II.—

i. Title.
ii. Contents.
iii. Sources and Date
iv. Analysis.
Literature.

i. TITLE.—The two Books of Samuel, like the two Books of Kings, formed originally in the

Hebrew Canon a single book called שמואל (Samuel).* The LXX translators, however, regarded the Book of Samuel and the Book of Kings as a complete history of the two kingdoms of Israel and Judah, and divided them into four books, which they entitled 'Books of the kingdoms' (*βίβλοι βασιλειῶν*). The same division was followed by Jerome in the Vulgate, but the title was changed to 'Books of the Kings' (*Libri Regum*). The compromise which now obtains in printed Hebrew Bibles, viz. the division of the books into four in accordance with the LXX and Vulgate, and the retention of the Hebrew titles for each pair, was first adopted in Daniel Bomberg's printed edition of 1516.

The selection of the title is due to the fact that the opening chapters deal mainly with the history of Samuel, who still plays an important rôle in those that follow: the prominent part taken by him in the establishment of the monarchy may also have contributed to the choice of his name for the history of the period which is chiefly concerned with the reigns of Saul and David.

ii. CONTENTS.—In their present form the two Books of Samuel fall most naturally into four main sections: (*a*) I 1–15 Samuel and the establishment of the monarchy; (*b*) I 16–II 8 Saul and David; (*c*) II 9–20 David; (*d*) II 21–24 an Appendix. That this arrangement corresponds to the intention of a later editor is made evident by the three concluding summaries by which the various stages of the narratives are marked off, viz. I 14^{47-51}, II 8 (of which 3^{2-5} 5^{13-16} originally formed part), and II 20^{23-26}. Since, however, I 15 (the rejection of Saul and of his kingdom) was clearly intended to conclude the history of Saul's reign, it seems better to attach that chapter to the first, rather than to treat it as introductory to the second section.

The four main sections admit of the following subdivisions, which bring out more clearly the course of the history which they contain:—

(*a*) I 1–15 From the birth of Samuel till the rejection of Saul.
- (1) 1^{1}–7^{1} Samuel's birth and childhood and the misdeeds of the house of Eli; Samuel succeeds to the office of Eli (1^{1}–4^{1a}): the downfall of the latter's house, and the capture of the ark by the Philistines (4^{1b}–7^{1}).
- (2) 7^{2}–15^{35} Samuel as judge over Israel delivers them from their Philistine oppressors: in answer to the request of the people (ch. 8), and, through the agency of Samuel (ch. 9 f.), Saul after defeating the Ammonites (ch. 11) is made king. Samuel lays down his office (ch. 12), and Saul carries on a successful war with the Philistines (chs. 13. 14). After defeating Amalek, Saul is informed by Samuel that Jehovah has rejected him because of his disobedience, and will give his kingdom to another (ch. 15).

(*b*) I 16–II 8 From the first appearance of David till he is firmly established on the throne of Israel and Judah.
- (1) I 16–31 History of David during the reign of Saul. He is secretly anointed by Samuel, and enters the service of Saul (ch. 16). By his success as a warrior he endears himself both to the royal family and to the people, but excites the jealousy of the king, whose attempts on his life compel him to flee from the court (17–22). Saul tries in vain to capture David at the head of his band of outlaws (23–26). The latter finally becomes a vassal of the Philistine king (chs. 27. 29. 30), while Saul is once more engaged in war with the Philistines, and, after a vain attempt to obtain a Divine oracle (ch. 28), perishes with his sons at the battle of Mt. Gilboa (ch. 31).
- (2) II 1–8 David's lament over Saul and Jonathan (ch. 1). In the civil war which ensues between David and the house of Saul, the former proves victorious, and finally becomes king over Israel and Judah (2–5^{5}). He captures Jerusalem, and succeeds in throwing off the Philistine yoke (ch. 5). The ark is brought to the capital (ch. 6), and the permanency of the Davidic dynasty assured (ch. 7). Concluding summary of David's reign (ch. 8).

(*c*) II 9–20 Further history of David's reign.
- (1) 9–12 David's kindness to Meribbaal, the son of Jonathan (ch. 9): the war with Ammon, and David's great sin (10–12).
- (2) 13–20 Absalom's rebellion (13–19), and the revolt of Sheba (ch. 20).

(*d*) II 21–24 The Appendix, consisting of—
- (1) historical incidents: the Gibeonites and the house of Saul (21^{1-14}); exploits and lists of David's heroes (21^{15-22} 23^{8-39}); the census (ch. 24).
- (2) poetical fragments: a psalm of David (ch. 22), and David's 'Last Words' (23^{1-7}).

The history set forth in these books extends roughly over a period of a hundred years, during which Israel gradually emerged from the condition of national disintegration and anarchy, described in the Book of Judges, and acquired a definite national existence. The establishment of the monarchy was at once the external sign of the union which was effected between the hitherto scattered tribes, and the means by which it was brought about. Hence the main interest of the history naturally centres round the persons of Samuel, Saul, and David, who were the principal agents in the work of consolidating the kingdom.

iii. SOURCES AND DATE.—The Books of Samuel in their present form afford a striking illustration of the methods of Hebrew composition. An examination of their contents at once reveals the fact that their author, after the manner of Hebrew historians, has made use of previously existing documents, which, though covering the same ground, yet present the materials at their disposal in very different forms. The principle which he has followed in the compilation of his work is very similar to that with which we are already acquainted in those parts of the HEXATEUCH where J and E have been united by a later editor (R^{JE}) into a composite whole. In the present case we have also two narratives which together form the main bulk of the history. These narratives, however, are so obviously *independent* of one another, and so clearly distinguished by their different *point of view*, that there is now considerable unanimity among critics with regard to their respective contents. Moreover, throughout the main section of the Books of Samuel, the editor or redactor has made but little effort to harmonize the varying accounts of the incidents which he relates, and has contented himself, for the most part, with reproducing in a twofold form the leading events in the history of Saul and David. Hence arises that *duplication of incidents* which is especially characteristic of the composition of the greater part of the history from I 7–II 8. Thus we find *two independent* accounts of the choice of Saul as king and of his rejection. In like manner the compiler has preserved to us a double account of David's introduction to Saul, and of his flight from court; of the sparing of Saul's life by David, and of the latter's flight to the Philistines; and, lastly, of the death of Saul.

In nearly all these cases (to which others might be added) both accounts have been preserved almost entire, and the redactor has not attempted to connect them by other than the slightest of links: in a few instances, however, he would seem to have shortened or condensed the one narrative while transcribing the other in full; in no case has he welded the two together in such a manner as to render analysis impossible.

It remains, therefore, to investigate these two sources, and to consider their probable origin and source. In this connexion our chief if not our only guide is the *difference in point of view*; but this, as we have said, is so clearly marked that we have no difficulty in determining the relative ages of the two narratives. On the one hand, in what

* This is shown by the presence of the concluding notes of the Massora at the end of 2 Samuel. Further, Origen, who is cited by Eusebius (*HE* vi. 25), attests the same fact: *βασιλειῶν πρώτη, δευτέρα, παρ' αὐτοῖς ἓν, Σαμουήλ, ὁ θεόκλητος*; and, similarly, Jerome (*Prol. Gal.*) mentions *Samuel, quem nos regnorum primum et secundum dicimus*, as the third of the prophetic books.

we may provisionally call the *older* narrative, we have a simple, straightforward history, which, from its graphic style, and its vivid description, as well as from its *religious* conceptions, manifestly belongs to a period of great antiquity. In other words, we have a natural representation of the state of society and of religion which existed in the early days of the monarchy, closely akin to that which we find in the earlier portions of the Book of Judges. The *later* narrative throughout is obviously coloured by the religious teaching of a later age, and the standard by which the various incidents are judged is that of a period subsequent to the prophetic teaching of the 8th century.

Kuenen (*Hist.-Krit. Einleitung*, I. ii. p. 46 f.) and Wellhausen (*Composition*, p. 238 f.), who are followed, at least as regards 1 S 7. 8. $10^{17ff.}$ 12, by Löhr, held that this later narrative was derived from a Deuteronomic source; but Cornill and Budde have shown conclusively that it is marked, at any rate in part, by a close affinity to E. The great similarity of this narrative, both in language and style, to the E of the Hexateuch, has led these critics to regard it as a continuation of that source. Budde, indeed, goes further, and assigns the earlier narrative to the older source J, supposing that the two sources were welded together by R^{JE}, and afterwards edited by a Deuteronomic redactor. Antecedently, no doubt, this theory, which presupposes that the Hexateuchal sources J and E did not cease with the conquest of Canaan, but continued the history down to a later date, if not to their own day, has much to commend it (see Moore, *Judges*, p. xxv f.), but a closer examination of the resemblances between these two narratives and the Hexateuchal sources does not establish their *identity*.

The question at issue may be briefly described as follows:—Excluding for the time being 2 S 9–24 (see *Analysis*), we find that the main bulk of the history contained in 1 S 1^1–2 S 8 has been preserved in a double series of narratives, which practically cover the same ground. These two narratives are obviously independent of one another, and are clearly distinguished by their *point of view*, and in part also by their *literary style*. The latter feature, however, is more especially prominent in the first incident (the election of Saul, 7–12), which is preserved in common by both narratives. Here, as Cornill and Budde have shown (see, however, Löhr, p. xxii f.), the later narrative (7. 8. $10^{17ff.}$ 12) presents noticeable affinities with E, and has accordingly been assigned by them to that source. But it is to be noted (1) that this resemblance to E is by no means so strongly marked in the latter portions of the history, which present the same point of view, and clearly belong to the same source as ch. 7 f.; and (2) that the affinity does not exclude non-Elohistic features, notably the aversion of Samuel to the monarchy. Budde, to a certain extent, evades the latter difficulty by assigning the larger portion of the later narrative to a later recension of E (E_2), which, as he rightly recognizes, has been largely influenced by the prophetic teaching of the 8th cent., more especially by Hosea. It is clear that both Cornill and Budde go too far in *identifying* the later narrative with E. That it is nearly related to E in language and thought cannot be denied, but at the most we can only conjecture that its author (or authors, for in the later narrative we can distinguish certainly two hands) belonged to the school of E, and that in writing the histories of Saul and David he was animated by a similar spirit and similar ideas. Budde's identification of the older narrative with J is closely connected with his view of the source of the later narrative. The points of contact are not so strongly marked; but if we are right in regarding the later narrative as the work of a follower of E, we may assume with considerable probability that the older narrative was composed by a writer belonging to the school of J.

The older narrative may be assigned approximately to the 9th cent., while the earlier stratum of E (Budde's E_1), which, though old, yet treats the history from a more subjective standpoint, dates probably from the following century. The later stratum (or strata) of E (E_2) has, as we have seen, been influenced by the teaching of the prophets of the 8th cent., and will belong to the end of the 8th or to the beginning of the 7th cent. As in the Hexateuch and in Judges, these sources were combined and welded together by a later editor (R^{JE}), who has, however, carried out his work in a less thorough manner. His work is in any case prior to the reforms of Josiah (B.C. 621) and to the influence of Deuteronomy, and must be placed in the 7th cent. The present form of the Books of Samuel is largely due to an author of the Deuteronomic school, whose hand may be clearly traced in the concluding summaries (I 14^{47-51}, II 8), and in various chronological notices (I 7^2 13^1, II $2^{10a.\ 11}$ $5^{4.\ 5}$). To him also we probably owe I 2^{27-36} and II 7, while he has expanded other passages (mainly belonging to E_2) which lent themselves to this treatment, *e.g.* I 3. 12, II 8. $12^{10f.}$. Lastly, he appears to have omitted II 9–20 as incompatible with his view of the history (compare the very similar action in the Book of Judges *), though these chapters undoubtedly belong to the older narrative of J. The older work of JE, however, was not entirely superseded by the later recension; hence a later editor of the 5th or 4th cent. was able to utilize the earlier form of the two books, and, as might be expected, restored those parts of JE which D had excluded. He not improbably also transposed II 3^{2-5} 5^{13-16} from their original position after II 8^{14}. The obviously late insertions I 16^{1-13} $17^{12.\ 13}$ 19^{18-24} 21^{11-16} may have been added at this time, or possibly even later. Finally, the Appendix (II 21–24), a collection of miscellaneous fragments belonging to different periods, and the Song of Hannah (I 2^{1-10}), were added after the separation of the Books of Samuel from the Books of Kings.

Though we do not accept Budde's identification of the older and later narratives with J and E of the Hexateuch, we have retained these symbols as representing approximately the age and characteristics of the two sources from which the history of these books is derived. Apart from minor interpolations and additions, the parts belonging to the respective sources are as follows:—

J I 9^1–$10^{7.\ 9-16}$ $11^{1-11.\ 15}$ $13^{1-7a.\ 15b-18}$ $14^{1-46.\ 52}$ 16^{14-23} $18^{5.\ 6\ (partly)-11.\ 20-30}$ $20^{1-10.\ 18-39.\ 42b}$ $22^{1-4.\ 6-18.\ 20-23}$ 23^{1-14a} 26. 27. 29–31, II $1^{1-4.\ 11.\ 12.\ 17-27}$ $2^{1-9.\ 10b.\ 12-32}$ 3. 4. $5^{1-3.\ 6-10.\ 17-25}$ 6. 9–11. $12^{1-9.\ 13-31}$ 13^1–20^{22}.

J_2 I 10^8 $13^{7b-15a.\ 19-22}$.

E I 1^{1-28} $2^{11-22a.\ 23-26}$ 3^1–4^{1a} (all E_2) 4^{1b}–7^1 7^2–8^{22} (E_2) 10^{17-24} (E_2) 12. (E_2) 15^{2-34} $17^{1-11.\ 14-58}$ $18^{1-4.\ 13-19}$ $19^{1.\ 4-6.\ 8-17}$ 21^{1-9} 22^{19} 23^{19}–24^{19} 25. 28, II $1^{6-10.\ 13-16}$ 7.

R^{JE} I 10^{25-27} 11^{12-14} 15^1 18^{21b} $19^{2.\ 3.\ 7}$ $20^{11-17.\ 40-42a}$ 22^{10} (last cl.) 23^{14b-18} 24^{16} (in part) $^{20-22a}$, II 1^5.

R^D I 4^{18} (last cl.) 7^2 (in part) 13^1 14^{47-51} 28^3, II $2^{10a.\ 11}$ $5^{4.\ 5}$ 8 (based in part on older materials) 12^{10-12}.

Additions of the latest editor, I $4^{15.\ 22}$ $6^{11b.\ 15.\ 17.\ 18.\ 19}$ (the larger number) 11^{8b} 15^4 (last ed.) 24^{14} 30^5, II 3^{30} $5^{6.}$ (last cl.) $^{7b.\ 8b}$ 15^{24} (in part) 20^{23-26}.

* The Deuteronomic redactor of the Book of Judges omitted 1_{-25} 9. 17–21, perhaps also ch. 16 (see SAMSON, p. 378b).

Latest additions, I $2^{1-10.\ 22b}$ 16^{1-13} $17^{12.\ 13}$ 19^{18-24} 21^{10-15} 22^{5}, II 14^{26}, and the Appendix 21–24.

iv. ANALYSIS.—(*a*) I 1–15.—From the birth of Samuel to the rejection of Saul.

(1) 1^{1}–4^{1a} (E_2). Early history of Samuel, including the history of Eli and his house, and the announcement of its downfall.

These chapters serve as an introduction to 4^{1}–7^{1}, and appear to be somewhat later than that section. From their representation (1) of Samuel and his office, and (2) of Israel's subjection to the Philistines, it is clear that they both belong to E, though probably to different strata. The Song of Hannah (2^{1-10}) is undoubtedly a very late addition: (*a*) the Song is probably a triumphal ode composed on the occasion of some national success (vv.4. 10); (*b*) there is no special reference to the circumstances of Hannah—the fact of its being attributed to her is due probably to a misconception of the metaphor employed in v.^{5b}; (*c*) a comparison with the LXX text of 2^{11a} (= Heb. 1^{28b}) shows that the Song was inserted at a different place in that version (see Driver on 1 S 1^{28}). Another insertion is 2^{22b} (from *and how that*); it is out of place after vv.12-17, and is omitted by the LXX (note the use of היכל instead of אהל). The announcement of the anonymous prophet (2^{27-36}) cannot also in its present form belong to the original narrative: (*a*) the text, especially of vv.$^{31-33}$ (LXX omits v.^{31b} and ^{32a}), is in great disorder and unintelligible; (*b*) the establishment of the monarchy is presupposed v.^{35}; (*c*) v.^{36} clearly dates from the period after Josiah's reformation, and presupposes the central sanctuary at Jerusalem (Oort, *ThT* xviii. p. 309 f.); (*d*) the 'faithful priest' of v.^{35} is not Samuel, as we might expect from ch. 3, but Zadok, who superseded Abiathar, the grandson of Eli, under Solomon (1 K 2^{26}). The passage, which has obviously been expanded by the Deuteronomic editor, probably foretold the destruction of Eli's house, and the succession of Samuel.

(2) 4^{1b}–7^{1} (E). The defeat of Israel by the Philistines at Aphek and its results, viz. the death of Eli and the capture of the ark; further history of the ark and its restoration.

In these chapters, which form a closely connected whole, it is noticeable (1) that the main interest centres in the history of the ark; (2) that Samuel is never even mentioned; (3) that the destruction of the house of Eli, which forms the real sequel to 1^{1}–4^{1a}, is treated merely as a side issue of the defeat. On these grounds it has been argued with some force that this section is independent of the chapters that precede; the latter were probably added with a view to supplementing the undoubtedly old account of the fall of the house of Eli, and of the capture of the ark. The original beginning of the section (4^{1b}) is to be restored from the LXX (καὶ ἐγενήθη ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις καὶ συναθροίζονται ἀλλόφυλοι εἰς πόλεμον ἐπὶ Ἰσραήλ); $4^{15.\ 18}$ (last clause) and ^{22} are rejected by most critics as redactional glosses. For the additions of the LXX in 5^{6} 6^{1}, and its various readings in $6^{4.\ 5}$, see Driver, *Heb. Text of Sam.* p. 47 f.: unless we accept the readings of the LXX, 6^{5a} (to *the land*) must be rejected as a gloss; while ^{11b} (from *with the mice*) $15.\ 17.\ 18a$ (to *villages*) ^{19} (*fifty thousand men*) will likewise be later insertions.

(3) 7^{2-17} (E_2). Samuel as judge; the rout of the Philistines at Mizpah; summary of Samuel's judicial activity.

The position here occupied by Samuel is that of a judge (שֹׁפֵט), in the sense in which that term is used in the pre-Deuteronomic Book of Judges (2^{6}–16^{31}; see Moore, *Judges*, p. xxii f.). At his command the people put away their 'strange gods,' and assemble for repentance and fasting at Mizpah; in answer to his prayers on their behalf, the Philistines are miraculously defeated; and so complete is their defeat, that 'they came no more within the borders of Israel.' The section thus gives a similar representation of the position of Samuel and of Israel's political condition to that of the *later* (E_2) of the two accounts of the choice of Saul as king (8. 10^{17-24} 12), to which it serves as an introduction. To RD is probably to be assigned the chronological note (*for it was 20 years*) in v.^{2}, the name Ebenezer in v.^{12}, and the statement as to Samuel's judicial work in v.^{15}. Ebenezer, as we know from 4^{1} 5^{1}, was the scene not of Israel's victory, but of its defeat. For the linguistic resemblances to the redaction of Judges, see Driver, *LOT*^{6} p. 177 f. It seems probable that the present section has been inserted here in place of an earlier account; for, as Driver points out (*ib.* p. 174), 'the existing narrative does not explain (1) how the Philistines reached Gibeah (10^{5} etc.) and secured the ascendency implied ($13^{19f.}$), or (2) how Shiloh suddenly disappears from history, and the priesthood located there reappears shortly afterwards at Nob (ch. 22). That some signal disaster befell Shiloh may be inferred with certainty from the allusion in Jer 7^{14} 26^{6} (cf. Ps 78^{60}).' See art. SHILOH.

(4) 8–12. The twofold account of the circumstances that led to the election of Saul as king.

The older narrative of J (9^{1}–$10^{16.\ 27b\ (LXX)}$–$11^{11.\ 15}$) describes how Saul, the son of Kish, of the tribe of Benjamin, in his search for his father's asses, is persuaded by his servant to consult a seer living in the district to which they had wandered. The seer is none other than Samuel, who had previously been warned by Jehovah to expect the Benjamite stranger; and had been instructed to anoint him as king, that he might deliver Israel from the Philistines: 'For,' says Jehovah, 'I have seen the oppression of my people (LXX), because their cry has come unto me' (9^{16}). On the following day Samuel anoints Saul, and assures him of his Divine call by means of three signs: he further bids him do as occasion serves him after the fulfilment of the signs; for God is with him (10^{7}). About a month later ($10^{27b\ LXX}$), the town of Jabesh-gilead is besieged by Nahash the Ammonite, and messengers are despatched 'unto all the borders of Israel' to obtain assistance. In the course of their journey they reach Gibeah in Benjamin, and there, as elsewhere, make known their errand. On learning the sad plight of his countrymen, Saul is at once seized with the spirit of God, and promptly takes measures to relieve the besieged city. By means of a forced march he surprises the Ammonites, and delivers Jabesh-gilead and is thereupon installed as king at Gilgal (11^{15}).

The narrative of E (E_2) (8. 10^{17-24} 12) offers a very different explanation of the manner in which Saul became king. After the signal defeat of the Philistines, described in ch. 7, Samuel continues to *judge* Israel in peace and quietness until compelled by old age to delegate his authority to his sons. But the latter prove unworthy of their high office, and the people therefore demand that a king should be set over them after the manner of the neighbouring nations. The request is viewed with disfavour by Samuel, who characterizes it as rebellion against Jehovah. At the bidding of Jehovah, however, he first sets before the people 'the manner of the king that shall reign over them' (ch. 8), and then proceeds to carry out the election of a king by lot at Mizpah (10^{17-24}). The account concludes with the farewell speech of Samuel, in which he solemnly lays down his office, and hands over the reins of government to Saul (ch. 12).

The two narratives which are here combined are thus not only *complete* in themselves* and *independent* of one another, but also *mutually contradictory*. In the earlier narrative (1) Samuel is a *seer* living in a certain district, who is unknown to the rest of Israel; (2) he is employed as the instrument of Jehovah's purpose on *one* occasion only; after his interview with Saul everything is left to the working of the Divine spirit in the latter; (3) Israel is oppressed by the Philistines, and cries to Jehovah for a deliverer (9^{16}); (4) the establishment of the monarchy is the means chosen by Jehovah for the deliverance of His people: Samuel's attitude towards it is merely that of an onlooker. In contrast to this representation we find in the later narrative (1) that Samuel is the *judge* of *all* Israel, who rules over the people as the representative of Jehovah; (2) that in accordance with this position he hands over the reins of government to the newly-elected king; (3) that the *external* condition of Israel is entirely favourable: the Philistines had been finally subdued by Samuel (ch. 7); (4) that the request for a king is regarded as an act of apostasy: it is due to the desire to be like other nations, and is displeasing both to Jehovah and to Samuel.

The redactor has made but little effort to reconcile these conflicting accounts, but his hand may be traced in 10^{25-27a} and 11^{12-14}, according to which the ceremony at Gilgal is represented as a *renewal* of Saul's former election at Mizpah: $10^{25.\ 26a}$ refer back to ch. 8, and place Saul once more at Gibeah, while vv.^{26b}.

* In the narrative of J it is noticeable that the name of the town in which Samuel the seer lived is never mentioned. It is probable (so Budde, but see above, p. 198a) that the name was omitted just because it was *not* Ramah, the house of Samuel the judge (7^{17} etc.). Since also the identity of Samuel with the seer is not made clear till 9^{14}, it seems probable that the redactor has omitted a notice which both introduced Samuel and made known the name of his native town. In E there is no account of the anointing of Saul (cf. 12^{3} 'his anointing'): this was probably omitted because of the already existing account in J (10^{1}). The narrative probably also contained some notice of the confirmation of the choice of Saul as king after 10^{24}, which was omitted by the redactor in view of $13^{14.\ 15}$.

27^{a} with their sequel in 11^{12-14} are intended to explain why Saul is not recognized as king in ch. 11, and why it was necessary to *renew* the kingdom. But the warriors 'whose hearts God had touched,' and who accompanied Saul to his home, presumably as a bodyguard, do not appear in ch. 11. Again, the 'sons of worthlessness' who refuse to acknowledge Saul, and by their action, according to the view of the redactor, prevent him from assuming the kingly office, are apparently so few in number that they can be threatened with death in $11^{12.\ 13}$; yet it is presumably on their account that the election of Saul requires confirmation. Further, these verses conflict also with the later narrative of E; for 'the manner of the kingdom' (10^{25}) is obviously the same as 'the manner of the king' ($8^{9.\ 11}$), and not, as the redactor evidently implies, a codified system of laws to be observed by people and king alike. Lastly, the present position of Samuel's resignation (ch. 12), which would naturally follow after 10^{24}, may also be ascribed to the redactor. Minor additions due to the same hand are 8^{22b}, 9^{2b} 'from his shoulders and upward he was higher than any of the people' (introduced from 10^{23b}), and the explanatory note 9^{9}: on 10^{8} see ch. 13. The linguistic resemblances of the later of these two narratives, partly with E (esp. Jos 24), partly with the redaction of Judges, are very marked (see Driver, *LOT*[6] p. 177 f.). With this agrees the strong disapproval of the monarchy, which, as Budde has shown, is expressed in language that has many affinities with Hosea (see Budde, *Richter u. Sam.* p. 184 f.). That the narrative is, however, pre-Deuteronomic, is shown (1) by the manner in which the author of Dt 17^{14-20} (the law of the king) is influenced by this narrative (see Driver, *Deut.* p. 213), and (2) by the reference in Jer 15^{1} to Samuel's *intercession* on behalf of the people—a fact which is recorded only in chs. 7 and 12. Traces of Deuteronomic expansion are to be found in 12^{9} (וַיִּמְכֹּר אֹתָם בְּיַד), v.[11] (אֹיְבֵיהֶם מִסָּבִיב), v.[14f.] (יְיָ׳ קָרָה אֶת־פִּי): to the Deuteronomic redactor must also be assigned the mention of Samuel by himself (12^{11}), and the mention of the invasion of Nahash (12^{12}) as the motive for the demand for a king; this disagrees with $8^{4f.}$, and further presupposes a knowledge of the earlier narrative (ch. 11). The similarity both in *language* and in *point of view* between the later of these two narratives (E) and the redaction of the Book of Judges has been already referred to, and shown to agree with the probable origin of that narrative. Both works are pre-Deuteronomic, and interpret history from the point of view of Hosea and the prophets rather than from that of Jeremiah and the Deuteronomist: the formula which is especially characteristic of Judges (cf. Jg 12^{7} $10^{2.\ 3}$ etc.) is applied to Eli (4^{18}), and in a modified form to Samuel (7^{15}), while the use of the word 'judge' is entirely analogous to its sense in Judges. Further, as Moore (*Judges*, p. xxiii f.) has pointed out, 'Samuel's speech (ch. 12), which contains a retrospect of the period of the judges (vv.[7-11]), and solemn words of warning for the future under the newly-established kingdom, is precisely the conclusion which we desire for the book of the Histories of the Judges, corresponding admirably to the parting discourse of Joshua (Jos 24) at the close of the period of the conquest' (so Graf, *Gesch. Büch.* p. 97 f., Budde, Driver). We may thus assume with considerable probability that these chapters originally formed part of E's history of the Judges, and that they were afterwards excerpted by RJE as forming a suitable introduction to the history of the monarchy.

(5) 13. 14 (J with the exception of $13^{7b-15a.\ 19-22}$ (J_2) 14^{47-51} (R^{D})). Saul's struggle with the Philistines. These chapters describe the revolt of the Israelites under Saul against their Philistine oppressors. The signal for revolt is given by Jonathan, who destroys the pillar (?) of the Philistines at Gibeah (see GIBEAH); the Philistines, who had doubtless heard of Saul's election as king, at once assemble their forces at Michmash on the N. side of the Wâdy Suweinît over against Geba (see GEBA and GIBEAH). Alarmed by the size of the Philistine army, the followers of Saul, who had retreated to Gibeah, gradually melt away until only six hundred are left (13^{15b}); the Philistines in the meantime overrun the country in three directions. Jonathan once more takes the initiative, and by a bold stroke succeeds in overcoming the Philistine garrison at Michmash (14^{1-14}). This success is at once followed by a general attack in which Saul completes the rout of the Philistines. Jonathan unwittingly disobeys the command of his father by eating food, and is with difficulty rescued by the people from death. Apparently Saul was not in a position to follow up his victory, but suffered the Philistines to retreat to their own land (v.[46]). The section concludes with the remark that 'there was sore war against the Philistines all the days of Saul.'

These chapters form the continuation of the earlier narrative (J) contained in 9^{1}–$10^{16.\ 27b}$–$11^{11.\ 15}$, showing how Saul carried out the object for which he was appointed (9^{16}). That they do not form the *immediate* sequel of those chapters is evident. From the description of Saul in ch. $9^{1f.}$ we should not expect to find him described as the father of a full-grown warrior such as Jonathan is here represented to be, and, further, the introduction of Jonathan (13^{2}) is very sudden. Presumably, therefore, the redactor has omitted the intervening narrative (possibly in favour of ch. 12), unless we suppose, with Kuenen (*Ond.*[2] p. 51), that he has here incorporated a still earlier account of Saul's campaign. To the Deuteronomic redactor must be assigned the chronological notice in 13^{1} (LXX omits) and the concluding summary of Saul's reign 14^{47-51}. In *form* the latter passage displays a marked resemblance to the framework of Judges, and, as its *contents* show, is clearly a late insertion. The victories (LXX) here ascribed to Saul (v.[47]) are borrowed from the similar summary of David's reign in 2 S 8: apart from the campaign against Nahash (ch. 11) and against the Amalekites (ch. 15), Saul's reign was spent in constant warfare with the Philistines. In the view of RD the account of Saul's reign finishes here, and is followed by that of the history of David. The most probable view of the account of Saul's rejection preserved in 10^{8} 13^{7b-15a} is that of Budde and H. P. Smith (*Samuel*, p. xxi), who regard it as a later addition inserted in the narrative of J before the union of J and E. On the one hand, the verses cannot belong to the original narrative: for (1) 10^{8} interrupts 10^{7} and 9, and the proper sequel of 13^{7a} is 13^{15b}; (2) they do not agree with the facts narrated. The command to wait seven days (10^{8}) is clearly inconsistent with the exhortation of 10^{7}; nor does the narrative of $13^{7bf.}$ in any way establish Saul's disobedience, seeing that he waited the prescribed number of days. Again, after 13^{1-7a} we expect to find some account of Saul's retreat from Michmash to Gibeah, rather than an interview with Samuel at Gilgal, necessitating a journey to and from that place, for which there would be but little opportunity ('to Gilgal' in v.[4] is no doubt an addition, cf. $7^{7b.\ 15a}$ (LXX)). On the other hand, according to the view of the interpolator, the meeting of Samuel and Saul, described in $13^{8f.}$, is the *first* after 10^{8} hence we may conclude, with Wellhausen (*Hist.* 257 f.), that these verses are earlier than 11^{12-14}, *i.e.* than the union of J and E.

13^{9-22} may be assigned to the same hand as vv.$^{7b-15a}$: they interrupt the connexion, and appear to be somewhat exaggerated; the text is very corrupt.

(6) Ch. 15 (E). The rejection of Saul. The new king is bidden by Samuel to exterminate the Amalekites; but he and the people spare Agag the king and the best of the spoil, and Samuel is therefore commanded to announce to him the Divine sentence of rejection. The king endeavours to minimize his fault, but in vain. The sentence is pronounced, and Samuel himself slays the Amalekite king.

The chapter clearly forms the sequel of 7. 8. $10^{17ff.}$ 12, describing the test to which Saul was subjected, and his failure to endure it. Samuel once more appears as the representative of Jehovah, to whose word the king has to submit, while the style and language display a close affinity with the later narrative. It cannot, however, be denied that this chapter, as opposed to 7 ff., is characterized by a somewhat different *tone*: the author, in presenting his account of Saul's rejection, has made it subservient to the prophetic lesson (Jer 7^{21-26}) which he wishes to inculcate, viz. that obedience is better than sacrifice. This desire to explain how Saul, who had been Divinely chosen, could be rejected by Jehovah, has, it would seem, led him to reconstruct and expand the narrative in a form which is scarcely consonant with the actual facts (note 'the theoretical *motive* assigned for the expedition vv.$^{2.\ 6}$, and the supreme importance attached to the *principle* actuating Saul in his conduct of it v.$^{10ff.}$,' Driver, *LOT*[6] p. 178). But, though we cannot accept his treatment of the subject, there is no reason to doubt the genuineness of his facts, viz. the campaign against Amalek, the sacrifice of Agag, and the breach between Samuel and Saul. The view expressed by Wellhausen and others, that this chapter holds 'an intermediate position between the two streams of narrative already considered,' is true only to the extent that it is to be assigned to the early stratum of E (Budde's E_1). The reference to the anointing of Saul by Samuel is probably due to the redactor, and cannot be adduced as proving that the writer of ch. 15 was acquainted with 9^{1} etc.

(*b*) I 16–II 8. Saul and David.

(1) 16^{1}–18^{5}. David's introduction to Saul.

The anointing of David by Samuel at the house of his father 16^{1-13} (a late addition); J's narrative of David's introduction to Saul (16^{14-23}); E's account of the same (17^{1}–18^{5}).

At first sight the section 16^{1-13}, of which $17^{12.\ 13}$ is probably a fragment, would seem, like $17^{1f.}$, to belong to the series E, but a comparison of these two sections shows that the former is not presupposed by the latter: according to 17^{14} Jesse has only *four* sons, in 16^{10} he has *eight*; again, 17^{24} makes it evident that David's brothers had no knowledge of his having been anointed (compare also the later history of David's persecution by Saul, in which Saul alone is regarded as the anointed of Jehovah). On the other hand, the influence of $17^{1f.}$ is apparent in $16^{11.\ 12}$ (cf. 17^{42}) as well as in the general point of view. Further, the

incident is hardly consistent in itself; Samuel's fear of Saul does not agree with the character of the latter as portrayed in ch. 15, and he so far forgets it in v.$^{6f.}$ as to speak openly of his mission; similarly, the sacrifice, which he alleges as the cause of his coming, is never performed. The suggestion of Budde, that the section is an unskilful imitation of $10^{1f.}$, inserted for the purpose of showing that David also was Divinely consecrated, is probably correct (cf. Wellh. *Hist.* p. 269 f.); to the same hand is probably due the gloss 16^{19} (אֲשֶׁר בַּצֹּאן *which is with the sheep*).

In the earlier narrative of David's introduction to Saul he is described as a skilful musician, as 'a mighty man of valour, and a man of war, and prudent in speech, and a comely person, and the Lord is with him' (16^{18}); he is invited by Saul to his court that he may drive away the 'evil spirit from the Lord' by his playing, and is given the office of king's armour-bearer.

According to the later narrative, during one of the many engagements with the Philistines, the army of Israel is defied for forty days by the giant Goliath of Gath. Despite Saul's promises, no one will venture to engage the Philistine in single combat, until David, the youngest son of Jesse, a Bethlehemite, who had been sent from the sheepfold on an errand to his brethren in the army, expresses his willingness to accept his challenge. Saul at first seeks to dissuade him on the score of his youth, but afterwards gives his consent, and offers the loan of his armour. After a vain attempt to wear the armour, David goes forth to the encounter armed only with his shepherd's sling. It is not until the combat has been brought to a successful conclusion that Saul, on inquiry, ascertains the parentage of the youthful hero; Jonathan, the king's son, is seized with a great affection for the shepherd lad, while the king insists on his remaining at court (17^{1}–18^{5}).

It is impossible to reconcile these two accounts, which differ in every essential feature. In the earlier account David is of mature age, an experienced warrior, and a player of some renown; he is brought to court on account of his musical skill, and is attached to Saul's person as his armour-bearer; lastly, Saul is well acquainted with his parentage. In the later account David is but a shepherd lad, unused to warlike weapons; he attracts Saul's attention by his bravery in meeting Goliath; Saul does not learn his name and parentage until after the duel. The phenomenon is the same as that which confronts us in chs. 7–12. Here RJE has attempted to harmonize the two narratives by 17^{15a} ('now David went to and fro from Saul'), which does not agree with $16^{14f.}$ (according to which David receives a permanent office at court), nor with $17^{17f.}$ (which describes him as living at Bethlehem with his father).

It is, however, noticeable that in the LXX (B) $17^{12\text{-}31.\ 38b.\ 41.\ 48b.\ 50.\ 55}$–$18^{6a}$ are omitted. Wellhausen formerly held that this shorter text was the more original, and this view is still maintained by Cornill, Stade, W. R. Smith, and H. P. Smith; but most critics agree 'that the translators—or more probably, perhaps, the scribe of the Heb. MS used by them—omitted the verses in question from harmonistic motives, without, however, entirely * securing the end desired' (Driver, *Heb. Text of Samuel*, p. 116; similarly Wellhausen and Cheyne). Thus, according to 17^{33}, David is still but a youth (not the full-grown warrior of 16^{18}), while vv.$^{34ff.}$ describe him as a shepherd lad, unacquainted with the use of armour (as opposed to 16^{21b}). Further, it is inconceivable that discrepancies such as those described above should have been introduced into the text after the union of J and E, nor do the style and language of the sections omitted by the LXX support a late date.

The shorter, simpler account of David's introduction to Saul given in J ($16^{14\text{-}23}$) is obviously more in accordance with the actual facts; it forms a fitting sequel to 14^{52}, and aptly illustrates the statement 'that whenever Saul saw any mighty man, or any valiant man, he took him unto him.' The account preserved in E seems to be derived rather from popular tradition than from actual history; for we learn from 2 S 21^{19} that *not* David but Elhanan slew 'Goliath the Gittite, the staff of whose spear was like a weaver's beam.' Later tradition, therefore, has transferred the exploit of the warrior to his royal master; the reading of 1 Ch 20^{5} is clearly due to a harmonizer (see Driver, *Samuel*, p. 272).

(2) $18^{5\text{-}30}$ (J and E combined). David's life at Saul's court, and Saul's growing jealousy of him.

It is clear that in this section also we have two accounts combined, though it is not easy to distinguish the various parts. The narrative as a whole seems drawn from the older source, and forms the continuation of $16^{14f.}$ David is here represented as a well-known warrior and leader, and not as the youthful hero of $17^{1f.}$. The song (v.^{7}) was probably treated by both sources as the immediate cause of Saul's jealousy, but, whereas the second introduction in v.^{6a} (*when David returned from the slaughter of the Philistine*) connects it with the Goliath incident, we require some further exploit as the occasion of the song in the older narrative; probably the first introduction in v.^{6} (*as they came*) is a fragment of this notice. Vv.$^{9\text{-}11}$, the evil spirit from God, connects these verses with $16^{14f.}$; but vv.$^{13\text{-}16}$ and vv.$^{17\text{-}19}$ must be assigned to the later narrative. In vv.$^{13\text{-}16}$ we have a parallel account to that of v.^{5} (belonging to the older narrative), while vv.$^{17\text{-}19}$ clearly refer back to 17^{25}, according to which Saul was bound to receive David into his family: this is ignored by the older narrative, vv.$^{20\text{-}30}$, which knows nothing of David's betrothal to Merab (cf. v.^{23}, where David seems to regard an alliance with the royal family as beyond the bounds of possibility). Further, since the later narrative must have contained an account of David's marriage with Michal, it is probable that the redactor has treated his sources more freely than usual, and omitted part of E's narrative; v.^{21b} is obviously an attempt on his part to harmonize the two accounts of David's betrothal.

The LXX (B) makes considerable omissions in this chapter also, viz. vv.$^{5.\ 6a.\ 8b.\ 10.\ 11.\ 12b.\ 17\text{-}19.\ 21b.\ 26b.\ 29b}$, and the majority of critics accept this shorter version as representing the original text (Wellh., Kuenen, Driver). As Driver (*Notes on Sam.* p. 120 f.) points out, 'the sequence of events is clearer; and the gradual growth of Saul's enmity towards David is distinctly marked' (cf. vv.$^{12a.\ 15.\ 29}$); further, the section then forms a connected whole, and nearly all the additional passages in the MT admit of satisfactory explanation. The fact, however, that throughout this portion of the Books of Samuel we are confronted with two accounts of the same incidents, makes it more probable that the LXX omissions here, as in ch. 17, are due to a harmonizer; further, we may argue (with Budde) that it is inconsistent to reject the (unsuccessful) recension of the LXX in ch. 17, and to adopt its more successful attempt in ch. 18. (For a fuller statement see DAVID).

(3) 19 (E). 20 (J). Outbreak of Saul's hostility towards David; David's flight.

Later account of Jonathan's intervention on behalf of his friend ($19^{1\text{-}7}$); the spear-throwing (vv.$^{8\text{-}10}$); with the assistance of his wife Michal, David escapes from his house (vv.$^{11\text{-}17}$); David's flight to Ramah (vv.$^{18\text{-}24}$); earlier account of Jonathan's intervention ($20^{1\text{-}42}$).

These two chapters consist of several short sections, in which are set forth various incidents illustrating Saul's enmity towards David on the one hand, and on the other the affection displayed towards him by Jonathan and Michal. The redactor has apparently expanded the account of E in $19^{2.\ 3.\ 7}$, which are inconsistent in themselves, and are clearly influenced by the fuller account of J in ch. 20. Vv.$^{8\text{-}10}$ give E's account of the spear-throwing, which differs but little from that of J in $18^{10f.}$; vv.$^{11\text{-}17}$ have been rejected by Wellhausen, Stade, and Cornill on the ground of internal improbability, but the passage both in language and tone bears all the marks of E, and forms a suitable continuation of what precedes (for another view see H. P. Smith, *Samuel*, p. 178 f.). Vv.$^{18\text{-}24}$, which offer a second explanation of the proverb, Is Saul also among the prophets? are rejected by nearly all critics as a late interpolation, similar to that in $16^{1\text{-}13}$. The grounds for this view are, briefly, (1) that an entirely different and, as it would seem, more genuine account has been already given in $10^{10f.}$; (2) that David would most naturally flee southwards to Nob (cf. 21^{1}), and not to Ramah in the north; (3) according to 15^{35} a further meeting between Saul and Samuel is excluded. (1) is decisive against these verses belonging to the earlier narrative, while (2) and (3) equally exclude E as their source, though the position occupied by Samuel, as well as the place (Ramah), seem to argue for that narrative; the words 'from Naioth in Ramah' (20^{1a}) naturally form part of the preceding account. Ch. 20 describes at length the attempt made by Jonathan to reconcile his father to David, and the means by which he informed the latter of the failure of his efforts. The section, which is obviously old and historical, is probably a duplicate of $19^{1\text{-}7}$, by which it has been displaced; for (1) the situation is the same as that of $19^{1f.}$, and (2) David would not require further proof of Saul's hostility after the unmistakable evidence of $19^{11f.}$. These difficulties, it is true, admit to a certain extent of explanation (cf. Driver, *LOT*^{6} p. 180), but the recurrence of duplicate accounts throughout 1 Samuel renders it probable that we have here a further example of the same phenomenon.

The text is evidently in great disorder, and the passage has probably been considerably expanded by the redactor. Wellhausen is no doubt right in regarding the sign of the arrow as part of the original narrative. This sign, however, would exclude any meeting or conversation between David and Jonathan. Hence we must regard vv.$^{40\text{-}42}$ (*to for ever*) as redactional. Further, vv.$^{11\text{-}17}$ interrupt the main course of the narrative, and reverse the relative positions of Jonathan and David, the latter being regarded as the undoubted successor of Saul; they are probably therefore to be assigned to the redactor (Budde and Kittel ascribe all vv.$^{5\text{-}17}$ to the same hand).

(4) 21 (E). 22 (J). David flees to Nob, where he is received by Ahimelech, who gives him the shew-

* By its omissions B removes the difficulties caused by (1) David's residence in Bethlehem, and (2) Saul's ignorance of David's name and parentage.

bread, and the sword of Goliath (21$^{1-9}$). [David flees to Achish, king of Gath, vv.$^{10-15}$]. David takes refuge in the stronghold (read מְצוּדָה at v.^{4}) of Adullam, whence he sends his parents to Moab (22$^{1-4}$); massacre of the priests at Nob; escape of Abiathar (22$^{6-23}$).

With the exception of 21$^{10-15}$, the two chapters seem to connect quite naturally. But a closer examination makes it plain that the sequel (ch. 22) of the incident narrated in 21$^{1-10}$ belongs to a different source. (1) Doeg the Edomite is differently described in 22^{9}; (2) in ch. 22 emphasis is laid on the fact that Ahimelech had 'inquired of God' on behalf of David (v.$^{14f.}$); 21$^{1f.}$ ignores this fact, and lays more stress on the *sacred* character of the bread given to David and his followers. Of the two accounts the earlier is that contained in 22$^{6-23}$. The later account, of which only part is given in 21$^{1-9}$, doubtless contained some record of the massacre of the priests at Nob; probably Budde is right in regarding 22^{19}, which interrupts the connexion, as part of this later account. To the redactor may be assigned 22^{10b} (Goliath's sword) and 'and a sword' in v.^{13}. The section 21$^{10-15}$ interrupts the main narrative, and presupposes 16$^{1-13}$ and 19$^{18-24}$ (Wellh., Budde); like those passages, it must be regarded as a late insertion. Probably it was designed to take the place of ch. 27 f., and was afterwards retained alongside of it (Kuenen, Budde); to the same hand we must also assign 22^{5} (the prophet Gad, cf. 2 S 24^{11}).

(5) 23–27 (J 23^{1-14a} 26. 27; E 23^{19}–24^{19} 25). David as an outlaw.

David delivers Keilah from the Philistines; then, warned by the oracle, leaves the city before it is besieged by Saul (23$^{1-13}$); he then takes refuge in the wilderness of Ziph, where he is visited by Jonathan (vv.$^{14-18}$); the Ziphites inform Saul of his whereabouts, and the latter seeks to capture him (vv.$^{19-24}$); tidings of a Philistine invasion give David a temporary respite from Saul (vv.$^{25-29}$), who on his return continues the pursuit, and on this occasion falls into David's hands. David, however, spares the king's life, and, in the dialogue that follows, the latter admits that David is more righteous than he is (ch. 24). The incident of Nabal, the wealthy sheepowner of Carmel (ch. 25), separates the two accounts of the sparing of Saul's life by David; for it is generally admitted that ch. 26 merely gives another version of the same occurrence which is narrated in 23$^{19-24}$. As a last resource, David enters the service of Achish, king of Gath, by whom he is assigned Ziklag as a residence: thence he makes a series of raids against the tribes dwelling in the Negeb of Judah, etc. (ch. 27).

The agreement between the two stories narrated in 23$^{1.\ 19-24}$ 24 and ch. 26 in regard to (1) Saul's pursuit of David in the wilderness; (2) the sparing of Saul's life; and (3) the dialogue that ensues, is so great that we can only regard them as different versions of the same incident. The variations only affect the details, and are such as might easily have arisen in two independent narratives. Moreover, as Driver (*LOT*^{6} p. 181) points out, 'if the occasion of ch. 26 was a different one from that of 23$^{19f.}$, it is singular that it contains no allusion, on either David's part or Saul's, to David's having spared Saul's life before.'

Of the two accounts the earlier and more original is undoubtedly that contained in ch. 26 (Kuenen, Wellh., Driver, Stade, H. P. Smith, Löhr). The arguments in favour of this view are clearly stated by Löhr (*Sam.* p. xlv) as follows:—(1) the detailed information supplied as to (*a*) David's companions (26^{6}, contrast 'David and his men,' 24$^{3f.}$), and (*b*) Saul and his camp (26$^{5.\ 7}$); (2) the manner in which Saul falls into David's hands; and more especially the old religious conception underlying 26^{19}. To these we may add (3) the shorter and more genuine reply of Saul (26$^{21.\ 25}$), which appears in a more expanded form in 24$^{17-21}$. Budde, however, who is followed by Cornill, Cheyne, and Kittel, solely on the ground of *linguistic* evidence, contends for the *later* origin of ch. 26; but the expressions cited by him are not sufficiently characteristic to outweigh the arguments given above; further, he ignores the characteristic תְּרוּמָה (26^{12}, cf. Gn 2^{21} 15^{12}; see Löhr, *Sam.* p. xlv; H. P. Smith, *Sam.* p. 230).

The first section of ch. 23 (vv.$^{1-13}$) carries on 22^{2} and belongs to the earlier narrative. V.^{6} is obviously out of place *after* v.^{2}, and is probably a gloss designed to introduce v.^{9b}, while the first question in v.^{11} is repeated by error from v.^{12}.

V.^{14a} properly forms the commencement of ch. 25 (or, according to the view of Budde, etc., of 23$^{19f.}$). Vv.$^{14b-18}$ (the interview between Jonathan and David) are clearly a redactional insertion, similar to 20$^{11-17.\ 40-42a}$. To the redactor must also be assigned 23^{19b} ('in the wood, in the hill of Hachilah, which is on the south of the desert'), which is inconsistent with v.^{22}, and the phrase 24^{16} (*and Saul said, Is this my son David?*) added from 26^{17} for harmonistic purposes.

23$^{25-28}$, which have no parallel in the earlier narrative (ch. 26), contain a local tradition explaining the origin of the name *Sela-hammahlekoth* (prob. = 'The rock of divisions').

The order of 24$^{4-7}$ is apparently at fault; and Gaupp, followed by Cornill and Budde, would rearrange the verses as follows: $^{4a.\ 6.\ 7a.\ 4b.\ 5.\ 7b}$. Possibly the disorder has arisen by interpolation (H. P. Smith, p. 217 f.), and we should omit vv.$^{4b.\ 6}$ (the incident of the skirt). 24^{13} is omitted by Wellh. and Budde as a gloss: the latter also regards vv.$^{20-22a}$ as due to the redactor.

The notice of the death and burial of Samuel (25^{1a}) is clearly a redactional insertion borrowed from 28^{3a}; it is out of place here. The rest of the chapter connects naturally with 23^{28}, and fills up the interval of time required by that verse: it is probable, therefore, that the earlier narrative also contained some account of the incident narrated in 23$^{25-28}$. The present position of ch. 25 is doubtless due to the desire to separate the two accounts (23$^{19-23}$ 24. 26). 25$^{28-31}$ have probably been expanded by the writer from the point of view of his later knowledge.

27^{1} David's decision to take refuge with the Philistines follows quite naturally after ch. 26, and the whole chapter clearly belongs to the earlier narrative with 23^{1-14a} 25. 26: with this agrees its silence as regards any previous visit of David to Gath (21$^{10-15}$), and the oracle of 22^{5}.

(6) 28 (E). 29. 30 (J). The Philistines prepare for battle with Israel (28$^{1.\ 2}$); Saul being unable to obtain a Divine oracle, seeks out a woman with a familiar spirit at Endor, who conjures up Samuel (28$^{3-25}$); in spite of the confidence expressed by Achish, the other Philistine leaders mistrust David's loyalty, and insist on his dismissal (29$^{1-11}$). On his return to Ziklag, David finds that his city has been sacked by the Amalekites; he hastens in pursuit, and recovers all that the Amalekites had taken: the rest of the booty is equally divided among his men, part being sent as a present to 'the elders of Judah' (ch. 30).

28$^{1.\ 2}$ carry on the narrative of ch. 27, which is continued in chs. 29 and 30. 28$^{3-25}$ are usually regarded as out of place. According to 28^{4} the Philistines are already at Shunem (in the plain of Jezreel); but in 29^{1} they are assembled at Aphek in the Sharon valley, and only advance to Jezreel in v.^{11}; similarly the Israelites in 29^{1} are encamped by the spring which is in Jezreel, and presumably only fall back on Gilboa before the advance of the Philistines; whereas in 28^{4} they are encamped at Gilboa.

Budde (who is followed as regards the *order* by Driver) solves the difficulty by placing 28$^{3-25}$ after chs. 29. 30. He further assigns the incident to the same source (J) as the rest of the section, arguing (1) that Samuel is here represented as a seer (9$^{1f.}$), and not as a judge or prophet; (2) that the general contents of the passage agree with the earlier representation, and (3) that it has many points of contact with ch. 14: the undoubted reference in vv.$^{17-19a}$ (to *Philistines*) to ch. 15 he regards as a redactional insertion. Budde's theory, however, fails to give any reason for the present order of these chapters, which admits of a perfectly simple explanation, if we assign 28$^{3-25}$ to the later narrative. In that case the historical introduction in 28^{4} will be parallel to and independent of the similar notices in 28$^{1.\ 2}$ 29$^{1.\ 11}$, and the section as a whole will form the sequel to ch. 15 (Wellh., H. P. Smith). On this view we might retain vv.$^{17-19a}$ (with H. P. Smith), but they are more probably to be regarded as a redactional expansion, suggested by v.^{16}, which points back to 16$^{23b.\ 28}$ (see Löhr, p. xlix). As in the case of ch. 15 (Saul's war of extermination against the Amalekites), a genuine historical incident has been utilized for the purpose of inculcating a *moral* lesson from the prophetic standpoint.

(7) I 31–II 1 (J, except II 1$^{6-10.\ 13-16}$). Death of Saul.

The defeat of Israel on Mt. Gilboa and the death of Saul and his three sons (31$^{1-7}$). The Philistines carry off the bodies of Saul and his sons to Beth-shan, whence they are removed by the inhabitants of Jabesh-gilead (vv.$^{8-13}$). The news of the death of Saul and Jonathan is conveyed to David at Ziklag by a fugitive Amalekite, who describes how he slew Saul (2 S 1$^{1-10}$). David fasts till evening, and then orders the execution of the Amalekite because he had slain 'the Lord's anointed' (vv.$^{11-16}$). The lament of David over Saul and Jonathan (vv.$^{17-27}$).

These chapters contain a double account of the death of Saul. The earlier narrative (J) describes how Saul in despair commits suicide after his armour-bearer has refused to slay him (I 31–II 14): in the later narrative (E) a wandering Amalekite slays him at his request while he is suffering from cramp (or giddiness), though unwounded (II 1$^{6-16}$). It has been conjectured by those who regard the two chapters as belonging to the same source, that the account of the Amalekite is untrue;

but this conflicts with the whole narrative of 1^{6-16}, which conveys no hint of such being the case. It is probable, as Budde infers from 4^{10}, that David himself slew the fugitive who brought him the tidings of Saul's death. This latter passage (4^{10}) knows nothing of the reason assigned for the execution of the messenger in 1^{6-16}, viz. the fact that he had laid hands on 'the Lord's anointed.'

Ch. 31 has been excerpted, with slight variations, by the compiler of Chronicles (1 Ch 10), who has in part preserved a purer text (see Driver, *Notes on Sam.* p. 176 f.). Budde regards II 16 as a redactional insertion, introducing the later narrative; vv.11. 12 belong probably to the earlier narrative; they are out of place in their present context.

II 1^{17-27} the lament of David is avowedly taken from the Book of Jashar (so Jos 10^{12-14}, 1 K $8^{12f.}$ (LXX)), but there is no reason to doubt David's authorship (on the text see Driver, *Notes*, p. 180 f.).

(8) 2–4 (J). The struggle between the house of Saul and the house of David.

David is anointed king of Judah at Hebron (2^{1-4}): he thanks the men of Jabesh-gilead for their kindly action in recovering the bodies of Saul and his sons, and at the same time informs them of his coronation (vv.$^{5-7}$). Meantime Ishbaal, the sole remaining son of Saul, is set on the throne of Israel at Mahanaim by Abner, the captain of the host (vv.$^{8-11}$): then follows the encounter between the troops of Joab and Abner at Gibeon, which results in the defeat of the men of Israel; in his flight Abner is pursued by Asahel, Joab's brother, whom he slays; Asahel's death puts an end to the pursuit (vv.$^{12-26}$). The downfall of the house of Saul is caused by the rupture between Ishbaal and Abner: the latter makes a league with David, to whom he restores his wife Michal; and he further promises to bring all Israel unto him. Abner, however, is treacherously slain by Joab in revenge for the death of Asahel, and is mourned by David and all the people (ch. 3). The assassination of Ishbaal, and the execution of his murderers (ch. 4).

These chapters continue the earlier narrative of I 31 and II 1^{1-4}, the conclusion of which is probably lost. 2^{10a} (to *two years*)[11] (=5^5) are obviously insertions; they interrupt the narrative, and are doubtless part of the chronological scheme of the Deuteronomic editor. 3^{2-6} (a notice of David's family at Hebron) are out of place, and belong properly after 8^{14}: v.1 is continued by v.^{6b}., v.^{6a} concealing the insertion. V.30 is omitted by all critics as a later interpolation. 4^4 is certainly interpolated: probably v.^{4b} should be placed after 9^3 (Wellh., Budde).

(9) 5^1–8^{13} (J, except ch. 7 (E)). David as king of all Israel.

After the death of Ishbaal, David is acknowledged as king by all the tribes of Israel (5^{1-3}). He captures the Jebusite city Jerusalem; takes up his residence there, and fortifies it ($^{6-10}$). Hiram, king of Tyre, aids him in building his palace ($^{11. 12}$). [Notice of David's family ($^{13-16}$)]. The Philistines hear that David has been anointed king over Israel, and immediately attack him, but are twice defeated ($^{17-25}$). The removal of the ark from Baale-judah (=Kiriath-jearim) to Jerusalem is checked by the untoward death of Uzzah: the ark is therefore left at the house of Obed-edom (6^{1-10}). After an interval of three months it is brought up to the city of David in solemn procession, in which David takes part: his action is derided by Michal, who is therefore cursed with barrenness ($^{11-23}$). David proposes to build a house for Jehovah, but is informed by Nathan that this honour is reserved for his son (7^{1-17}). David's prayer (vv.$^{18-29}$). A summary of the wars waged by David (8^{1-14}); his judicial activity (v.^{15}); and a list of his officers (vv.$^{16-18}$).

It is obvious that the war with the Philistines (5^{17-25}) follows immediately after vv.$^{1-3}$, which contain a twofold introduction, viz. vv.$^{1. 2}$ and v.^{3}. The intervening sections (vv.$^{4-16}$) are clearly misplaced: vv.$^{4. 5}$ (cf. 1 K 2^{11}) are omitted by the Chronicler, and are premature: vv.$^{6-9}$ the account of the capture of Jerusalem is undoubtedly old and genuine, but the text is unfortunately very corrupt; Budde would place it after 6^1: vv.$^{11. 12}$ probably belong to the latter part of David's reign, if they are not an addition from 1 K 5 (see S. A. Cook, *AJSL* xvi. 8, p. 151): vv.$^{13-16}$ should be placed like 3^{2-5} after 8^{14}. It is probable that the account given in vv.$^{17-25}$ should be supplemented by the details supplied in 21^{15-22} 23^{8-39} (see below). That vv.$^{17-25}$ do not connect with vv.$^{4-16}$ is shown by the different use of the term 'the hold' (הַמְּצוּדָה) in vv.^{9} and ^{17}: the use of this term here and in 23^{14} supports S. A. Cook's theory (*AJSL* p. 154 f.), that David's encounter with the Philistines *preceded* the incidents in chs. 2–4, and belong to the period 'when he had no army (חיל) or host (צבא), as chs. 8 and 10, but was accompanied only by his "men" or "servants"' (5^{21} $21^{15. 17. 22}$). 6^1, according to Budde, must have introduced some warlike incident, and he therefore prefixes it to 5^{6-12}: the rest of the chapter is old and genuine, though possibly it has been expanded in parts. Ch. 7 is admittedly later than chs. 5 and 6, with which it is clearly connected: the section, it is true, displays certain resemblances both in thought and expression to Deuteronomy, but these are not strongly pronounced; and from the nature of its contents the chapter would easily lend itself to theocratic expansions. Kuenen assigns the chapter to a post-Deuteronomic source on the ground of vv.$^{1b. 13. 22. 23. 24}$; but ^{1b} is omitted by the Chronicler (1 Ch 17^1): v.^{13} is certainly due to the Deuteronomic editor, and vv.$^{22-24}$, from their general character, may well be an expansion. Probably, therefore, Budde is right in assigning the chapter to E.

Ch. 8 forms the concluding survey to the history of David (cf. 1 S 14^{46-51} at the end of the history of Saul): in its present form the chapter represents the work of the Deuteronomic editor, who seems, however, to have made use of the older sources. The wars are first noticed: with the Philistines (v.^{1}), with the Moabites (v.^{2}), with the Aramæans and their allies (vv.$^{3-8}$); then follows an account of the homage paid by the king of Hamath (vv.$^{9. 10}$); [the spoil dedicated by David to Jehovah (vv.$^{11. 12}$)]; the subjugation of Edom (RV *Syria*) (vv.$^{13. 14}$). The notices of David's family at Hebron (3^{2-5}) and at Jerusalem (5^{13-16}) should be inserted here (Wellh., Budde): Budde would also insert $5^{4. 5}$ (RD). The chapter concludes with an account of David's administration (v.^{15}), and a list of his officers (vv.$^{16-18}$).

A fuller account of the two campaigns against the Aramæans is preserved in ch. 10, which has been condensed and slightly altered by RD in vv.$^{3-8}$: he has also inserted vv.$^{9. 10}$ here, transferring them from the end of ch. 10 (see below), to which vv.^{13} and ^{14} properly belong (cf. the similar conclusion ^{6b} and ^{14b}). Vv.$^{11. 12}$ are probably a late insertion. It is remarkable that in ch. 10 the victories over the Aramæans form but two episodes in the war with Ammon; yet this war is ignored in ch. 8, and in its stead (v.^{2}) the subjugation of Moab is described. This fact is not mentioned elsewhere, and seems inconsistent with I $22^{3f.}$: it is far from improbable, therefore, that Moab has been substituted for Ammon in 8^2 (Budde).

(*c*) II 9–20 (J) [and 1 K 1. 2]. Life at David's court, *or* the history of the succession to David's throne.

The events narrated in these chapters are closely connected with, and mutually dependent on, one another: they are further distinguished by unity of plan and conception. The story of Meribbaal (ch. 9) explains the action of Ziba (16^{1-4}) and the speech of the former (19^{24-30}): 10^1–11^1 with 12^{26-31} explain how David became acquainted with Bathsheba, and how he compassed the death of Uriah, while the whole section chs. 10–12 forms the necessary introduction to the final choice of David's successor in 1 K 1. 2. The narrative throughout, by its lifelike touches and its minuteness of detail, as well as by its bright and flowing style, betrays its early origin, and must have been composed soon after the events which it describes.

(1) 9^{1-13}. David on inquiry learns of the existence of Meribbaal (MEPHIBOSHETH), the lame son of Jonathan: for Jonathan's sake he deals kindly with his son, and retains him at court; Saul's estates are restored to his grandson, and Ziba, Saul's servant, appointed to look after them.

Budde would place ch. 24 and 21^{1-19} before this chapter, on the ground that the incident narrated in $21^{1f.}$ is presupposed in ch. 9 and $16^{7f.}$ 19^{28}, and that the census (ch. 24) would naturally take place soon after David's accession. It is difficult, however, on this theory, to explain the present position of 21^{1-14} and 24, and, as Wellhausen has pointed out, the popular and legendary character of these chapters is very different from that of chs. 9–20 (for a fuller discussion of this point see on chs. 21–24). More probable is Budde's view, that 4^{4b} should be placed after v.^{3}.

(2) 10–12. Owing to the insult offered to his ambassadors, war breaks out between David and Ammon: the latter call in the Aramæans to their aid, and prepare to defend their capital. Joab, with the pick of the troops, attacks and defeats the Aramæans, while the rest of the army under

Abishai successfully engage the Ammonites (10^{1-14}). Once more the Aramæans, under Hadadezer, assemble against Israel, but are again defeated, this time by David himself: Joab is then sent to besiege the Ammonite capital (10^{15}–11^{1}; see RABBAH). David remains at Jerusalem, where he commits adultery with Bathsheba, the wife of Uriah the Hittite, one of his warriors. After a vain attempt to conceal the sin, he sends a letter to Joab instructing him to bring about the death of Uriah: his orders are carried out, and David then marries Bathsheba, who bears him a son (ch. 11). The prophet Nathan awakens David to a sense of his guilt by means of a parable, and announces the Divine punishment: the child of Bathsheba dies despite David's penitence; but another son (Solomon) is born (12^{1-25}). Meantime the siege of Rabbah has been drawing to a close, and David in person commands the final assault: the chapter ends with an account of the spoil, and of the punishment inflicted on the inhabitants (12^{26-31}).

Except in the speeches of Nathan, which have probably been expanded, the narrative appears to have been preserved in its original form: after 11^{22} we must restore the longer text of the LXX (see Driver, *Text of Sam.* p. 224) in accordance with vv.19-21: 12^{10-12} are probably due to the Deuteronomic editor, who regarded all the misfortunes of David's house as resulting from his great sin, while the phrase, 'the house of the Lord,' in v.20, seems an anachronism. With regard to the relation of 10^{1}–11^{1} and 12^{26-31} to ch. 8, it is noticeable that (1) according to $10^{6f.}$ the Ammonites hire the services of the Aramæans of Beth-rehob and Zobah, the king of Maacah, and the men of Tob: in $8^{3.4}$ the Ammonites are not mentioned, and there is only an obscure notice of a victory over the Aramæans; (2) in 8^{3} Hadadezer of Beth-rehob (for *son of Rehob*) is mentioned by name as leader of the Aramæans: in $10^{1f.}$ his name is given so abruptly (v.^{16}) that he must, as Budde conjectures, have been mentioned earlier in the original narrative; (3) both accounts describe a second campaign: in 8^{5} the Aramæans of Damascus, in 10^{16} those 'that were beyond the River' came to the assistance of their countrymen. Budde conjectures very plausibly that when the detailed account $10^{1f.}$ was appended, the editor attempted to make the two narratives dissimilar: to this end he omitted the name of Hadadezer in 10^{6}, and substituted Damascus for 'beyond the River' in 8^{5}. By these means he was able to transfer the notices of Tou's homage ($8^{9.10}$) and of the Edomite war ($8^{13.14}$) from the end of ch. 10 to their present position.

(3) 13–20. The rebellion of Absalom, its cause and effects. Amnon, David's firstborn, and presumably his successor, is murdered by command of Absalom for the violation of his half-sister Tamar: Absalom takes refuge with his maternal grandfather the king of Geshur (ch. 13). Joab, by the help of the wise woman of Tekoa, induces the king to consent to Absalom's return: the latter in his turn coerces Joab into bringing about a meeting between himself and the king, which results in the reconciliation of father and son (ch. 14). Absalom now schemes to win the people to his side, and thus secure the throne, and finally sets up the standard of revolt at Hebron. David at once flees eastward from Jerusalem, accompanied by his bodyguard and Ittai the Gittite: he sends back Zadok and Abiathar with the ark to the capital, and arranges that tidings should be brought to him by their two sons: he further persuades Hushai to return, that he may defeat the counsel of Ahithophel (ch. 15). In his flight David learns from Ziba of the disaffection of Meribbaal, and submits to the insults of Shimei the Benjamite (16^{1-14}). Meantime Absalom, following the advice of Ahithophel, takes possession of his father's harem (16^{15-23}). The same adviser further counsels the immediate pursuit of David, but Absalom declares in favour of the waiting policy advised by Hushai (17^{1-14}). The news of his decision is conveyed to David by the two sons of the priests, at the risk of their lives: he at once withdraws across Jordan, and is met at Mahanaim by rich Gileadites with ample supplies for his army (vv.$^{15-29}$). Absalom, who has already crossed the Jordan, is confronted at Mahanaim by David's army under Joab, Abishai, and Ittai. In the battle that ensues David's forces are completely victorious: Absalom in his flight is slain by order of Joab, in direct disobedience to David's command (18^{1-18}): then follows a graphic description of the manner in which the news was conveyed to David (vv.$^{19-33}$). The death of Absalom plunges David into profound grief, from which he is only with great difficulty aroused by Joab: public opinion and the politic message of David to the men of Judah are the chief factors in bringing about the king's return (19^{1-15}). At the passage of the Jordan Shimei asks for pardon and is forgiven; Meribbaal explains how he had been slandered by Ziba; and, lastly, the aged Barzillai refuses the king's invitation to himself, but asks his favour for his son Chimham (vv.$^{16-39}$). The men of Israel are envious of the favour shown to the men of Judah, and a quarrel breaks out (vv.$^{40-43}$). In consequence of this dispute Sheba the Bichrite stirs up Israel to revolt against David. Amasa, the newly-appointed commander, fails to muster the men of Judah quickly enough, and Abishai (or, perhaps, Joab, see art. JOAB in vol. ii. p. 659 note) is sent with all the available troops to stamp out the rebellion. Amasa meets the royal forces by the way, and is treacherously slain by Joab: the two brothers then pursue Sheba northwards to Abel of Beth-maacah, where he is slain, and his head handed over to Joab: the chapter concludes with a repetition of the list of officers given in $8^{16f.}$ (ch. 20).

In this section there are but few passages whose origin has been called in question by the critics: 13^{18a} (to *apparelled*) is probably a misplaced gloss (Wellh.) to v.^{19}: it interrupts the connexion between vv.^{17} and ^{18b}; at the end of the chapter the right order of the verses is clearly $^{37b.\ 37a.\ 38b.\ 39,\ 38a}$ being due to the scribe. 14^{26} is rejected by most as a later addition; Budde omits all vv.$^{25-27}$. 15^{24} appears to have been worked over by a Deuteronomic redactor: 'and all the Levites with him' is certainly due to him, while the phrase 'and Abiathar went up' is out of place; Abiathar must originally have been mentioned alongside of Zadok (cf. v.^{29}): the textual difficulty in v.^{27} may also be due to the same cause (Budde reads, 'See, do thou and Abiathar return'; Wellh. 'unto [Zadok] the high priest, do thou return,' etc.). 18^{18b} (*for he said to remembrance*) conflicts with 14^{27}, and must be rejected as an interpolation, unless with Budde we omit 14^{27}. Lastly, 20^{23-26} are repeated with some variations from $8^{16f.}$, or more probably (see H. P. Smith, *Sam.* p. 327 f.) are original here, and were borrowed by the compiler of ch. 8 for his concluding panegyric. It seems very probable (as Budde suggests) that the author of ch. 8 omitted the following chapters (9–20), because, from his point of view, the family history which they contained did not redound to David's credit, and that they were afterwards restored by a later editor.

The unity of chs. 9–20 (see above) has been admitted by nearly all commentators and critics (Kuenen, Wellhausen, Driver, Budde, Cornill, Kittel, Löhr, etc.), with the exception of Thenius (*Comm.*^{2} p. xiii), who rejected ch. 9 (the incident of Meribbaal) and 10^{1}–11^{1} 12^{26-31} (the Ammonite war) as later redactional additions to the history of David; but, as we have shown above, these sections are necessary to and presupposed by the following narrative. This theory, however, has been revived, in a different form, by S. A. Cook in his analysis of 2 Samuel (*AJSL* (*Hebraica*), p. 155 f.). According to the latter's view, ch. 9 is related to 1 S $20^{15f.}$, and is therefore to be ascribed to an Ephraimite source: while 'the story of David's sin with Bathsheba and the birth of Solomon (11^{2}–12^{25}) has been inserted in the account of a war against Rabbath-ammon of which it was originally independent.' He further argues that this war with Ammon should *follow*, and not precede, the events recorded in chs. 13–20, chiefly on the ground that David's flight to and hospitable reception at Mahanaim * are impossible *after* the sanguinary war recorded ($10^{1f.}$); and places it at the end of David's reign. Absalom's rebellion, he contends, was probably confined to Judah (see Sayce, *Early Hist. of the Hebrews*, p. 429 f.),—the leading men (Amasa and Ahithophel) were both Judæans, and the centre of revolt was at Hebron, the old Judæan capital,—and followed shortly after David had settled in Jerusalem: in like manner the extent of Sheba's revolt, which was really limited to the Bichrites (20^{14} LXX), has been exaggerated so as to include all Israel, and then appended to Absalom's rebellion. As the result of his investigation Cook concludes: '(1) that the union of Judah and Israel under one king did not occur at any early date in David's reign, and (2) that the narratives in 2 Samuel which presuppose any close re-

* Cook ingeniously emends 17^{27} 'and Shobi the son of Nahash' (וְשֹׁבִי בֶן־נָחָשׁ) to 'and Nahash, etc., brought' (וַיָּבִיאוּ נָחָשׁ), thus supplying (according to his view of the chronology) a motive for David's embassy in $10^{1f.}$.

lationship between Judah and Israel (or Benjamin) previous to this union are due to a redactor (RJE?), and, in several cases at least, seem to be derived from an Ephraimite source'

The evidence, however, on which these conclusions are based is obtained in many cases by a very subjective treatment of the text, and cannot be said to outweigh the general impression conveyed by chs. 9–20 as a whole. It is probable that Cook is right in certain cases (especially in the story of Ahithophel 16^{20}–17^{23}) in tracing the difficulties of the narrative to the combination of two sources; but he certainly goes too far when he condemns all the interviews recorded, viz. those with Ziba, Meribbaal, Shimei, and Barzillai, as the work of the redactor.

(*d*) 21–24. The Appendix.

These four chapters contain a number of heterogeneous fragments, viz.: (*a*) the famine in Israel expiated by the death of the sons of Saul at the hands of the Gibeonites (21^{1-14}); (*b*) a series of exploits against the Philistines (21^{15-22}); (*c*) David's Hymn of Triumph after the defeat of his enemies (ch. 22 = Ps 18); (*d*) David's 'Last Words' (23^{1-7}); (*e*) further exploits against the Philistines, and list of David's heroes (23^{8-39}); (*f*) David's census of the people, and its result (ch. 24).

These chapters interrupt the main narrative of chs. 9–20, which is continued in 1 K 1–2, and must therefore have been inserted in their present position after the division of the Books of Samuel and Kings. It is noticeable that (*f*) is closely related in style and manner to (*a*); 24^{1} clearly continues 21^{14}, while both narratives have a similar conclusion (21^{14b} 24^{25b}). The two narratives were apparently first separated by (*b*) and (*c*), the contents of which are very similar, and between these again were inserted the two Psalms chs. 22 and 23^{1-7}.

The incident narrated in $21^{1f.}$ evidently belongs to the beginning of David's reign, and seems to be alluded to by Shimei ($16^{7.8}$) and Meribbaal (19^{28}), but is entirely ignored by ch. 9. Ch. 24 is very similar to 21^{1-14}, of which it is clearly the sequel: in each case the Divine wrath is kindled against the people owing to the action of the king, and they are punished with a plague, vv.[10] and [17] (David's repentance and his prayer) are out of place, and may have been inserted later: Budde arranges the verses as follows: 10. 11b. 12. 13b. 11a. 13a. 13c. 14. 15. 16a. 17. 16b. He (see above) assigns both sections to J, and places them before ch. 9: on his view ch. 24 should precede 21^{1-14}, and he therefore omits 24^{1a} as a Deuteronomic gloss; 21^{2b} he assigns to the redactor, and rejects 21^{7} as a late insertion caused by the displacement of the passage. He suggests that the gloomy nature of their contents caused the sections to be removed by the compiler, and that they were afterwards added by the editor. The character of these and of the other sections is, however, very different from that of chs. 9–20, with which they exhibit no affinity: hence, though 21^{1-14} and ch. 24 undoubtedly contain old traditions, we can only conjecture that they were added by a later hand after the completion of the main narrative. 21^{15-22} and 23^{8-39} likewise contain old material, and belong to the early period of David's reign (see 5^{17-25}): possibly they may be derived from the register of the 'recorder,' as Driver suggests (*LOT*[6] pp. 183, 187). Budde, who regards them as part of the original narrative, places them after 5^{25}: his transposition of 23^{13-17a} to the end of the chapter is probably correct. The two Psalms chs. 22 (= Ps 18) and 23^{1-7} (David's 'Last Words') are admittedly later additions to the book. The Davidic authorship of ch. 22 has been maintained by Ewald, Hitzig, etc., but the internal evidence points to a later author. The 'Last Words' of David are obviously out of place; the majority of critics agree that they are the work of a later hand: the text is in parts very corrupt.

LITERATURE.—For the text see Thenius, *Die Bücher Samuels* (in *Kgf. Exeg. Handb.*), [1]1849, [2]1873, [3](Löhr) 1898; Wellhausen, *Text d. Bücher Sam.* 1871; Driver, *Heb. Text of Sam.* 1890; Klostermann, *Die Bücher Sam. u. der Könige* (in *Kgf. Komm.*), 1887; Keil, *Die Bücher Sam.*[2] 1875; H. P. Smith, *Samuel* (in *Internat. Crit. Comm.*), 1899; Peters, *Beiträge z. Text- u. Literarkritik der Bücher Sam.* 1899. For the critical analysis see especially Wellhausen, *Comp.* 1889, pp. 238–266; Kuenen, *Hist.-Krit. Einleitung* (1890), I. ii. pp. 37–62; Budde, *Richter u. Sam.* 1890, pp. 167–276, and *SBOT* VIII.; Driver, *LOT*[6] (1897), pp. 172–185; Cornill, *Ztschr. f. k. Wissensch. u. k. Leben*, 1885, p. 113 ff., *Königsb. Stud.* 1887, p. 25 ff., *ZATW*, 1890, p. 96 ff., *Einleitung in AT*[4], 1896; Kittel, *SK*, 1892, p. 44 ff., *Gesch. der Hebräer* (1892), ii. p. 22 ff. (Eng. tr.) vol. ii. p. 22 ff.; Cheyne, *Devout Study of Criticism*, pp. 1–126; Stade, *GVI*[4], 1889, i. 197 ff.; Löhr, *Vorbemerkungen* in 3rd ed. of Thenius' *Comm.* (see above); S. A. Cook, *AJSL* (= *Hebraica*), 1900, p. 145 f.; H. A. White, art. DAVID in present work. J. F. STENNING.

SANAAS (B Σαμά, A Σανδας; AV Annaas, 1 Es 5^{23}).—The sons of Sanaas returned from captivity under Zerubbabel to the number of 3330 (B 3301). In Ezr 2^{35}, Neh 7^{38} they are called the children of Senaah. In Neh 3^{3} the name has the article Hassenaah. The numbers given are 3630 (Ezr.), 3930 (Neh.).

SANABASSAR, SANABASSARUS.—See SHESHBAZZAR.

SANASIB (B Σαναβελς, A Ἀνασειβ), 1 Es 5^{24}.—The sons of Jeddu the son of Jesus are mentioned as priests who returned 'among the sons of Sanasib' with Zerubbabel. The name is omitted in the parallel Ezr 2^{36}; the Vulg. probably preserves the correct form *Eliasib*.

SANBALLAT (סַנְבַלַּט, Σαναβαλλάτ, *Sanaballat*).—The name is Assyr. *Sin-ballidh*, 'the Moon-god has vivified.' Sanballat is called a Horonite (Neh $2^{10.19}$ 13^{28}), but the locality meant is uncertain: for conjectures as to it see art. HORONITE. He seems to have held some office in Samaria (Neh 4^{2}) when Nehemiah arrived in Jerus., and, along with Tobiah the Ammonite and Geshem the Arabian, was bitterly opposed to Nehemiah, and did his best to thwart his endeavours to rebuild the walls of the Jewish capital. There was a party inside Jerus. itself which was equally opposed to the Tirshatha, and conspired with Sanballat to hinder Nehemiah by spurious prophecies and other means (Neh 6). One of the party was the high priest Eliashib, whose grandson had married Sanballat's daughter (Neh 13^{28}).

Josephus (*Ant.* XI. vii. 2) transports Sanballat from the reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus to that of Darius Codomannus, the last king of Persia, whose officer he is said to have been in Samaria. His daughter Nikasô was married to Manasseh, the brother of the high priest Jaddua. Manasseh, being threatened with expulsion from the priesthood unless he divorced his wife, fled to Sanballat, who suggested that he should become the high priest of a rival temple on Mt. Gerizim, and promised to secure for him the protection of Darius. Just at this time, however, the invasion of Persia by Alexander the Great took place; Sanballat went over to the conqueror with 7000 men, and induced him to allow the temple on Mount Gerizim to be built. Manasseh became its first high priest, and soon afterwards Sanballat died. The whole story seems to be derived from some apocryphal Jewish account of the origin of the Samaritan temple. A. H. SAYCE.

SANCTIFICATION.—Of the three words for 'holiness' based on the adjective ἅγιος, one only is here really in question, viz. ἁγιασμός. The other two, ἁγιωσύνη, the abstract *quality* (*sanctitudo*), and ἁγιότης, the same concretely and subjectively conceived as a personal quality (*sanctitas*), fall naturally under HOLINESS. But ἁγιασμός, like 'sanctification,' connotes *state*, and that not as native to its subject, but as the outcome of action or process.

There is no need to deal separately and at length with the cognate verbs ἁγιάζειν, ἁγνίζειν. The essential ideas involved have already been discussed under HOLINESS; while what they have to contribute to the idea of sanctification as a process will appear incidentally in the body of this article. In general, however, it may be said (1) that ἁγιάζειν is late Greek and biblical (ἁγνίζειν being classical), and has meanings determined by the several senses of ἅγιος, but all springing from 'to consecrate,' 'to render sacrosanct or appropriated to Divine use' (in contrast to 'profane' or 'open to common use'); whereas the more classical ἁγνίζειν means 'to render pure' (no longer 'unclean,' or hateful in God's sight). (2) Each verb passes through a ritual stage of meaning to reach an ethical or spiritual one. In the case of ἁγνίζειν the two are clearly distinguishable, as in Jn 11^{55}, Ac $21^{24.26}$ 24^{18} on the one hand, and Ja 4^{8}, 1 P 1^{22}, 1 Jn 3^{3} on the other. But there is little even in the latter series

of passages on which to base a doctrine of sanctification. In the case of *ἁγιάζειν* (for Heb. see HOLINESS IN OT, *ad init.* note) the senses are more varied and complex. It means (*a*) to render sacrosanct by ritual methods appointed by God (Ex 28[3] 30[29f.], Mt 23[17. 19], He 9[13]; cf. 1 Co 7[14]), or simply by act of the Divine will (Jer 1[5], Jn 10[36]); (*b*) to hallow ethically, the human spirit or will being directly concerned; (*c*) to realize the state of ethical devotion to the Divine in concrete conduct (Jn 17[19], Rev 22[11]; cf. Mt 6[9]). The second sense, ethical hallowing, has two subdivisions, viz. (i.) vicarious or sacrificial, *e.g.* He 10[10. 29] 13[12], cf. 2[11] 10[14], Eph 5[26], and (ii.) intrinsic, as in Jn 17[17. 19], cf. 1 P 1[2. 22], Ac 20[32] (26[18]), 1 Co 6[11], Ro 15[16]. Intrinsic hallowing itself is either initial, as in 1 Co 6[11], Ac 26[18], or mature, as in 1 Th 5[23]. In all forms the determinative part is played by the Divine (Jn 10[36] 17[17. 19], He 10[10]), yet the human factor is fully recognized (Jn 17[19] *ἁγιάζω ἐμαυτόν*, cf. *ἁγνίζειν* of man in Ja 4[8], 1 P 1[22], 1 Jn 3[3]). The working out of these two, and the element of process involved, will appear in the detailed exposition of *ἁγιασμός* which follows.

A. 'Αγιασμός :—
(i.) Its use outside the NT.
(ii.) Its NT usage.
B. Sanctification as taught in the NT.
By (*a*) Christ.
(*b*) St. Paul.
(*c*) The Epistle to the Hebrews.
(*d*) St. Peter.
(*e*) St. John.
C. Connected Summary.
Literature.

A. 'ΑΓΙΑΣΜΟ'Σ.—(i.) *Its use outside the NT.*—The form of the word, indeed, suggests that emphasis should lie on the process involved. But its actual usage, which is perhaps exclusively Biblical and patristic, does not bear this out. It is true that the LXX shows traces of the active sense; as in Jg 17[3], where A has *ἁγιασμῷ ἡγίασα* for *ἁγιάζουσα ἡγίακα* of B; Sir 7[31] *θυσίαν ἁγιασμοῦ κ. ἀπαρχήν* ('the sacrifice of hallowing' being parallel to 'first-fruits'); Ezk 45[4] *ἔσται αὐτοῖς* (*τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν*) *τόπος εἰς οἴκους ἀφωρισμένους τῷ ἁγιασμῷ αὐτῶν*; 2 Mac 2[17] *τὸ βασίλειον κ. τὸ ἱεράτευμα κ. τὸν ἁγιασμόν*, the covenanted prerogatives of Israel, and 14[36]; *ἅγιε παντὸς ἁγιασμοῦ Κύριε, διατήρησον εἰς αἰῶνα ἀμίαντον τόνδε τὸν προσφάτως κεκαθερισμένον οἶκον.* But in Am 2[11] *ἔλαβον ἐκ τῶν υἱῶν ὑμῶν εἰς προφήτας, κ. ἐκ τῶν νεανίσκων ὑμῶν εἰς ἁγιασμόν* (?='a hallowed thing,' where the Heb. has 'for Nazirites'), the passive sense seems to prevail (cf. 3 Mac 2[18] *τὸν οἶκον τοῦ ἁγιασμοῦ*, 'the House of Sanctification,' contrasted with idol-houses; perhaps also Sir 17[9(10)] *ὄνομα ἁγιασμοῦ αἰνέσουσιν*, on the analogy of Mt 6[9] *ἁγιασθήτω τὸ ὄνομά σου*. So of Messiah it is said, in Ps-Sol 17[33], that 'he shall cleanse Jerusalem with (a state of) sanctification (*ἐν ἁγιασμῷ*), as it was even at the first.' Similarly in the earliest patristic usage; as in 1st Ep. of Clem. xxxv. 2, where, as gifts of God, are named *ζωὴ ἐν ἀθανασίᾳ, λαμπρότης ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ . . . ἐγκράτεια ἐν ἁγιασμῷ*, and xxx. 1, *ἁγία* (*var. lec. ἁγίου*) *οὖν μερὶς ὑπάρχοντες ποιήσωμεν τὰ τοῦ ἁγιασμοῦ πάντα, φεύγοντες καταλαλιάς, κ.τ.λ.* Hence the idea of sanctification as a quality or state sometimes attaches to *ἁγιασμός*, even outside the NT;* while in the NT it will be found to be the prevailing thought in one form or another.

(ii.) *Its NT usage.*—In St. Paul the word occurs eight times, in five distinct passages. In the earliest of these, 1 Th 4[3. 4. 7], it means a state of practical or realized consecration to God's will, conduct conformed to the ideal attitude or standing of the Christian, as 'in Christ.' Such a state is the essence of God's will for man; and it is defined, in one connexion, as the 'state of abstinence (*ἀπέχεσθαι*) from fornication,' the ability of a man to possess (see art. POSSESS) his own vessel in a condition of hallowedness and honour, in contrast to one of lustful passion. For 'God called us not on a basis of unchastity, but in (the status of) hallowedness' (*οὐ . . . ἐπὶ ἀκαθαρσίᾳ ἀλλ' ἐν ἁγιασμῷ*). Similarly in 2 Th 2[13] he says that Christians were chosen of God 'in (the status of) hallowedness due to the Spirit, and faith based on the Truth' (*ἐν ἁγ. πνεύματος κ. πίστει ἀληθείας*)—where none would doubt that 'faith' means a state of soul. This divinely-determined state is set forth in other but kindred terms, as one wherein the soul is 'sealed' by the Holy Spirit (2 Co 1[22], Eph 1[13]) as something devoted to God. This idea is adopted in 1 P 1[2], along with explicit mention of the objective or sacrificial basis of man's consecration, 'the blood of Christ'—the aspect emphasized in Hebrews (9[10. 14. 28]; cf. 2[11]). In another passage St. Paul himself refers to this more objective side of the state of hallowedness, when, in 1 Co 1[30], he calls Christ as crucified (v.[23]) God's 'wisdom' or secret as regards 'righteousness (justification) and sanctification and redemption.' Here the thought is not of sanctification as a process, but as a status into which a man is brought by God's act on condition of faith; as is seen from 1 Co 6[11] 'Ye were washed clean, ye were sanctified, ye were justified in (virtue of) the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, and in (virtue of) the Spirit of our God.' Every Christian as such has been put into a virtual or implicit state of cleansedness from his sinful past and consecration to God's holy ends, in the same experience of faith which ushers him into the state of justification. These are, indeed, but different aspects of one and the same spiritual fact, and are produced by the same Divine means, both objective and subjective.

The like thought, under the different metaphors of death to sin and life unto God, corresponding to Christ's cross and resurrection, reappears in Ro 6. 'He that hath died hath been justified from sin' (v.[7]); 'be reckoning yourselves to be dead indeed unto sin (purification), but living unto God (consecration) in Christ Jesus' (v.[11]). So saying, St. Paul passes to the practical consequences of the new attitude to sin and to God implied in spiritual union with Christ on the part of the justified. Status or attitude of soul must express itself in moral habit. As formerly it had been lawlessness that had expressed itself through the man's actions, so now he is to let righteousness sway him, with a state of hallowed action as issue (*εἰς ἁγιασμόν*, vv.[19. 22]). Accordingly, the same apostle teaches, in 1 Ti 2[15], that an abiding state of faith, love, and hallowedness of living must characterize the Christian. And the like is taught in He 12[14], which alludes to the pursuit of peace with all men and of the holy habit of living (*ἁγιασμόν*) befitting fellowship with God. In all these cases no stress falls upon process as entering into the state in question; though in some there is a suggestion of it, in the notion of habit or state to be realized in conduct. The idea is that of constant reaffirmation of the underlying attitude of consecration to God's will and ends. But, so far, there is no suggestion of progress; rather of maintenance (see 1 Ti 2[15]) of a sound attitude or condition. Progressive sanctification, a growth from less to more, whether in purity or range, is not contemplated in the word *ἁγιασμός* itself. Yet it is embraced in the scope of apostolic teaching, as we see when we proceed to examine other references to the subject of the Christian life.

B. SANCTIFICATION AS TAUGHT IN THE NT.—(*a*) *By Christ.*—Christ's own teaching on this subject is too ideal or timeless to yield definite results

* Thus Œcumenius on 1 Th 3[13] says, *τοῦτο ἀληθῶς ἁγιασμός, τὸ παντὸς ῥύπου καθαρὸν εἶναι.*

as to the conditions imposed by human frailty upon the realization of Divine sonship. 'Ye shall be perfect as your heavenly Father is perfect' (Mt 5^{48}), is the standard at once of obligation and possibility. But it stands, like the Mosaic precept of which it seems to be the equivalent, 'Ye shall be holy, for I am holy' (Dt 18^{13}), unconditioned by any *how* or *when*.

(*b*) *St. Paul.*—Accordingly it is to St. Paul, the great exponent of the gospel from the experimental or appropriative side, that we have to look for the fullest account of the matter. There is a state possible to Christians, corresponding to the ideal of their calling, in which they can be described as 'unblameable in holiness' (ἀμέμπτους ἐν ἁγιωσύνῃ), and into which they may be brought by the grace of God in this life. Therein they stand hallowed through and through (ὁλοτελεῖς), every part of their being (ὁλόκληρον τὸ πνεῦμα κ. ἡ ψυχὴ κ. τὸ σῶμα) abiding by grace in a condition fit to bear the scrutiny of their Lord's presence without rebuke (ἀμέμπτως ἐν τῇ παρουσίᾳ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χρ. τηρηθείη). Such is the teaching of 1 Th 3^{13} 5^{23}. The fidelity of God to His purpose in calling men to be Christians is pledged to this achievement (5^{24}), though there is no definite time, as measured from the initial hallowing of the spirit in conversion, at which it must needs be accomplished. God, who begins the good work in the soul, also continues to work at its perfecting (ἐπιτελεῖν), right up to the day of Jesus Christ (Ph 1^{6}); and yet, ere that day dawns, Christians may become already 'pure in purpose (εἰλικρινεῖς = Christ's καθαροὶ τῇ καρδίᾳ) and void of offence,' and so remain 'until the day of Christ' (1^{10}). It is this state of realized sanctification of conduct or 'walk,' so as to 'please God,' that St. Paul has constantly in view in exhorting his converts to holy living (*e.g.* 1 Th 4^{1}). This is what he means, at times, by his use of ἁγιασμός. But the conception needs to be carefully guarded and explained by other aspects of his thought. Thus (1) it represents a growth *in* holiness rather than *into* holiness out of something else; (2) it is conceived as realizable by a definitive act of faith—claiming and appropriating its rightful experience by an act of will informed by the living energy of the Holy Spirit—rather than as the cumulative result of a slow, instinctive process after conversion; (3) it is not the same as absolute moral perfection or consummation (τελειοῦσθαι), but is rather the prerequisite to its more rapid and steady realization.

(1) St. Paul (like the NT as a whole) bases the Christian life on an initial and most radical hallowing of the spirit or inmost seat of personality, implicit in justifying faith; and it is in consequence of this that the Christian is styled 'regenerate.' Thus the prime spring of life is renewed; the root impulse or attitude of the *ego* is changed and hallowed; and so the whole man can be regarded as virtually consecrated to God. The outward hallowing of the 'walk' or conduct proceeds on the basis and in the power of this hallowed 'inner man' of the heart. From the first this 'inner man' enjoys the salvation of which consecration to God's will and ends is one aspect. But this salvation needs to work outwards, through the spheres of man's life more closely bound up with his sensuous nature and its false egoism (σάρξ)—the man as ψυχικός, possessed of a number of faculties not yet adjusted to God's ends, but often biassed rather towards selfhood. The whole man, spirit, soul, and body, has to be leavened. This is what St. Paul means when bidding the Philippians 'work out' into realization (κατεργάζεσθε) 'their own salvation,' a salvation already possessed in principle, relying upon the in-working of God for ability so to do (Ph $2^{12f.}$). The end of such actualizing of the partly latent salvation is the image of Christ, just set forth in majestic and moving terms. Conformity to the image of God's Son is the hope of the Christian's calling (Ro 8^{29}), that whereunto tends the intercession of the Holy Spirit immanent in the human spirit (v.$^{26f.}$). Not until this has been realized in fulness can sanctification become perfection: and St. Paul himself repudiates all claim to having attained to this (Ph 3^{12}). Yet in the very same context he ranges himself with the class of 'mature' believers (τέλειοι, 3^{15}), whose settled purpose it is to reach that goal, and for whom the one great rule is, 'walk according to the full extent of your present ideal, and nothing less.' In such persons, as in himself (1 Co 4^{4}), he assumes an habitual enjoyment of a good conscience, the absence of a sense of yielding to sin. Such is the sanctification of Christian maturity, the type of life belonging to those already 'spiritual' as distinguished from 'babes in Christ' (1 Co 3^{1}). The latter are still largely determined by nature, in contrast to grace (σάρκινοι), by 'the flesh,' in its conflict with 'the Spirit' (σαρκικοί, cf. Gal 5^{17}). They have not yet come to realize their own position, its dangers, and the resources at hand in the Spirit, in obedience to whose impulse they are bidden consciously to walk (Gal 5^{16} πνεύματι περιπατεῖτε καὶ ἐπιθυμίαν σαρκὸς οὐ μὴ τελέσητε). To such St. Paul says in remonstrance: 'If it be to the Spirit that you are fain to trace any true life you possess, why do ye not habitually walk in conscious reliance upon His promptings, but rather follow promiscuously the first instinct—whatever that may be, whether of flesh or Spirit? The principle of either sort of action is still within; yet if you yield yourselves definitively to the Spirit, and wait on His illumination, as He reveals the things of Christ, the flesh will be practically neutralized and not affect your walk, which shall then be ever "in the Spirit," relative to your degree of enlightenment' (Gal $5^{26.\ 15\text{-}25}$).

(2) This conscious self-consecration to the indwelling Spirit, to carry out God's will alone under His prompting, and so to bear only 'the fruit of the Spirit' (Gal $5^{22f.}$), is set forth under various figures, but is uniformly represented as a single act—whether of breaking definitely with sinful habits, or of self-devotion to the Divine sway. 'Let us (once for all) cleanse ourselves (καθαρίσωμεν ἑαυτούς) from all pollution of flesh and spirit, perfecting holiness (ἐπιτελοῦντες ἁγιωσύνην) in the fear of God' (2 Co 7^{1}). 'I beseech you . . . to present (παραστῆσαι) your bodies a living sacrifice, hallowed, acceptable to God, as your spiritual service; and undergo, not a process of conformity to this age, but of transformation in mental renewal, that ye may prove what the will of God is—that good and acceptable and perfect will' (Ro $12^{1f.}$). Here the process of gradual conformity to God's will is represented as following upon a definite self-surrender, in which the virtual or ideal relation to God, implied in trustful acceptance of Christ as 'righteousness and sanctification' to the sinful soul, is consciously realized and reaffirmed. As united to Christ by faith, Christians had 'died to sin,' and their 'old man' (old moral personality) was crucified with Him (Gal 5^{24}) and virtually 'put off'; coincidently they had been 'raised together with Christ,' in the power of a new moral personality, and had virtually 'put on the new man which is in process of renewal unto full insight after the image of Him that created him' (Ro $6^{2\text{-}10}$, Col $3^{9\text{-}11}$, Eph $4^{22\text{-}24}$). But to this, their virtual state, many needed to be awakened, in order to put themselves consciously into the line of the Divine will and working, and no longer ignore the Holy Spirit's inward striving to work out, in realized acts, the consecrated attitude of their inmost being. And such awakening and real consecration—such arming for the fray—was rather a thing of definite decision (expressed by aorists, Ro 13^{14}, Col $1^{9f.}$, Eph $6^{11.\ 13\text{-}16}$) than of vaguely protracted process (expressed by presents).

(3) But such definitive self-surrender is no prelude to a life of effortless passivity. The true attitude once definitively assumed, it is to be reaffirmed in a lifelong process of conscious acts of obedience, the grounds, bearing, and issues of which are now appreciated (Eph $6^{10.\ 18}$). No longer will it be marked by frequent 'grieving of the Spirit,' who has 'sealed' the soul for final redemption, but by a 'filling with the Spirit' (Eph 4^{30} 5^{18}). In such a process the Christian is 'consummating holiness' (ἐπιτελῶν ἁγιωσύνην), being hallowed in fresh ranges of his powers, even as Christ could say, 'For their sakes I hallow myself, that they themselves also may be hallowed by (the) truth' (Jn $17^{19.\ 17}$). Such hallowing has no necessary connexion with purification from sin, but only with realization of the possibilities of devotion to God's will in love. It was here that St. Paul felt himself not yet to have attained or to have been brought to perfection.

(*c*) *The Epistle to the Hebrews.*—It was probably of this positive holiness, resulting from deepened consecration, that the writer to the Hebrews was thinking when he spoke of the Divine discipline of suffering as meant to issue in participation in the Father's holiness (12^{10}). But, on the whole, the objective aspect of sanctification, that of a true covenant-relation established by the offering of the Son's holy will in His life-blood, prevails in this Epistle. In it cleansing, consecration, and perfection* ($9^{13f.}$ $10^{10.\ 14}$), all refer to the initial status of the believer (so Ac 26^{18}, cf. 20^{32}), as one of perfect access to the Father through the perfect sacrifice of the Mediator. The present participle, οἱ ἁγιαζόμενοι, does not refer to progressive sanctification, but expresses a constantly growing class, and so is equivalent to οἱ ἅγιοι (2^{11} 10^{14}).

(*d*) *St. Peter.*—We have seen already how his use of ἐν ἁγιασμῷ πνεύματος refers to the initial consecration wrought and sealed by the Spirit. Similarly in 1 P 1^{22} τὰς ψυχὰς ὑμῶν ἡγνικότες ἐν τῇ

* He 6^{1} ἐπὶ τὴν τελειότητα φερώμεθα is only a seeming exception; for it refers to knowledge, not to personal character.

ὑπακοῇ τῆς ἀληθείας εἰς φιλαδελφίαν ἀνυπόκριτον, ἐκ καρδίας ἀλλήλους ἀγαπήσατε ἐκτενῶς, ἀνα-γεγεννημένοι, κ.τ.λ., the perfect ἠγνικότες (like ἀναγεγεννημένοι) 'refers back to the initial act of consecration, of which their acceptance of baptism was the outward sign. The working out of this . . . remained' (Hort); and it is represented as something to be taken in hand once for all (aorist). With this accords the other pertinent passage, 1 P 1[15f.], though it has but little theoretic significance. Hort takes its imperative, 'become ye holy' (ἅγιοι . . . γενήθητε), to refer to manifestation, not to essence. The thought is, 'show yourselves holy, as you are,' 'show forth in your converse with others the holiness that attaches to your standing as consecrated by the Spirit's touch.' So, too, in 2 P 1[4ff.] believers are conceived to be, through the fulfilment of the precious promises of the gospel, 'sharers in (the) Divine nature,' and separate or hallowed from the corruption of worldly desire. But progress is still requisite in order to ensure the final fruition of their calling and election. They are called diligently to add to their faith virtue, insight, self-control, patience, piety, brotherly affection, and, to crown all, love. These are regarded as fruit, tokens of true knowledge of Christ. Their absence argues dull vision of things divine, and a forgetfulness of a man's initial cleansing from his old sins. Here the fact of progress in the experimental realization of the Divine life within is implied, but little or no theory of its rationale is given. Akin to this, in its practical point of view, seem the words in Rev 22[11] ὁ ἅγιος ἁγιασθήτω ἔτι: for parallelism with ὁ δίκαιος δικαιοσύνην ποιησάτω ἔτι tends to fix its meaning as 'let the saint still (once more) act as a saint.'

(*e*) *St. John.*—In St. John we meet the idea that the regenerate, in virtue of the Divine seed abiding in them, cannot sin habitually (1 Jn 3[9] 5[4. 18], cf. 3[6]). But a progressive purification of life, on the model of Christ's purity and as the conscience is enlightened, is taught (πᾶς ὁ ἔχων τὴν ἐλπίδα ταύτην ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἁγνίζει ἑαυτὸν καθὼς ἐκεῖνος ἁγνός ἐστιν, 3[3]). It does not, however, seem to imply actual sin as a condition of purification: for St. John writes, that his readers may not fall into any single act of sin (ἵνα μὴ ἁμάρτητε, 2[1]). If, then, a man walk in the light of a good conscience illumined by the gospel, it is possible to have unembarrassed fellowship with God, on the abiding basis of the cleansing effected by the atoning blood of Jesus (1[7])—and that in spite of the presence of sin as a latent force within the soul (1[8] ἁμαρτίαν ἔχειν). The initial consecration which brings free access (the παρρησία of He 10[19]) suffices to neutralize sin, in the sense of a nature prone to sin; while the power of the Divine seed may avail, on condition of the will's abiding in Christ, to ward off actual sin, and that indefinitely. Meantime sanctification, in the sense of the effacing of old evil habits and self-consecration to new forms of love, will go forward uninterruptedly on the model of Christ's purity (1 Jn 3[3]).

C. Connected Summary.—In Biblical religion, as elsewhere, the religious conception of holiness precedes the ethical; the idea of special relation to God and His service antedates the idea of intrinsic human goodness. The former is at first conceived as a matter of ritual duly performed, which places the worshipper in a state of objective sanctity. At a certain stage, however, the Divine will became defined in terms largely concerned with morality: henceforth the religious relation or state of holiness could be measured and tested by obedience to such divinely sanctioned forms of human conduct. And as moral action was felt to derive its value from internal volition, religious holiness lost something of its strictly objective character, and became bound up with the subjective state of man's heart or volition. This is the stage, roughly speaking, to which the prophets brought the idea of sanctification in Israel. As, moreover, any striking result in the direction of the Divine will was traced to the action of the Divine Spirit, the loyalty of heart found in Israel was traced to the Spirit of Holiness proceeding from Jehovah. It does not seem, however, that even in the prophets the piety and morality of the ordinary individual were directly traced back to the Spirit. The first suggestion of this profound idea may be found in Ps 51, where the taking away of God's Holy Spirit seems to be regarded as precluding the possibility of the 'clean heart' or 'stedfast spirit,' for which the psalmist supplicates. Yet in one special instance, that of Messiah Himself, the spiritual qualities which mark His consecrated life are traced to the action of the Spirit of Jehovah, Is 11[2]. When we add that an ethical sense by this time attached to holiness in God, and was thence transferred to the holiness incumbent upon His worshippers ('Be ye holy, for I am holy'), we have already all the rudiments of a doctrine of sanctification such as emerges in the NT under the creative influence of Jesus the Christ.

The decisive advance, whereby each individual is sealed as a hallowed member of God's new Israel, appears as early as St. Peter's address on the Day of Pentecost; and not long after, the same apostle sees in the gift of the Spirit to Gentile believers the token of their hallowing also unto God's kingdom. But there is little or no sign that any one before St. Paul saw in the Spirit the very principle of the consecrated life in Christians, alike in its inception and in its development. His thought here was bound up with another most distinctive conception, viz. the mystical indwelling of Christ as the essence of the believer's life. How closely these twin ideas were related may be seen in the great passage, Eph 3[16-19], in which he treats the strengthening of the inner man by the Holy Spirit as the condition of Christ's indwelling, in such wise that the believer is filled with His love, and so with the very fulness of God (cf. Jn 14–17). Here we notice, in passing, that the tenses employed point to the possibility of such an experience being attained at a definite stage subsequent to conversion. It answers to that more conscious and deliberate self-surrender to God's sanctifying grace which we have already recognized, on its human side, in such passages as Ro 12[1]. But we observe in particular the fact that love seems to be to St. Paul (cf. 1 Co 13, Eph 1[4], Col 3[14]), as to St. John, the all-inclusive ethical equivalent of personal holiness, as a state well-pleasing unto God, and indeed participation in His own essential life ('unto all the fulness of God,' cf. 2 P 1[4. 7]).

Thus sanctification begins subjectively as faith (cf. Ac 26[18]), or trustful self-abandonment to God's revealed will; and ends as love. Attitude passes into character, the soul becoming assimilated to its object, the God to whom it is consecrated. This means that Justification, which involves regeneration, is implicit Sanctification; and actual Sanctification means the subjective attitude of the justified become explicit in moral life. Of the relation between the Divine and human factors active in sanctification as a process the NT gives no formal theory—any more than in the case of Faith itself, on which Sanctification, no less than Justification, is made to turn. It, too, begins and ends in faith: St. Paul might well have written ὁ ἅγιος ἐκ πίστεως ζήσεται. But the reality of each factor is strongly affirmed. Man is urged to 'work out' the grace within; yet with an awful sense that God Himself is already at work, prompting

and animating, and so in utter reliance on His mighty initiative. A moral conflict there is, a struggle that taxes the nerves of the soul and exercises all its vigilance; but it is a conflict *of faith* (1 Ti 6^{12}), conducted in reliance upon Divine resources (Christ, and the Holy Spirit ever taking of His things and inspiring the soul), not in self-sufficiency (see Gal 2^{20} in contrast to Ro $10^{2f.}$ 7^{7}–8^{9} 3^{27}). The normal, and not only the intermittent, issue of such a conflict may be victory, and that without prescribed limit. Failure is due to imperfection of receptivity, intermittent 'abiding.' Yet, where this is understood, failure but strengthens for fuller victory, by deepening the sense of dependence; 'for when I am weak, then am I strong' (2 Co 12^{10}).

LITERATURE.—The general literature is much the same as for REGENERATION, the sections in Martensen's *Dogmatics* being specially good and suggestive. Much bearing on our topic will also be found in books on the Holy Spirit, *e.g.* Kuyper, *The Work of the Holy Spirit* (Eng. trans. 1900), and works there cited. Among older treatises, Marshall's *Gospel Mystery of Sanctification* (1690) is a classic. The Methodist doctrine of Holiness as 'Christian Perfection' or 'Perfect Love' has created quite a literature of its own. And in recent times a large literature has arisen, devoted to the experimental side of the subject as placed in relief by the so-called 'Holiness Movement,' of which 'Perfectionism' is one special phase. But such literature is not, as a rule, marked by much exegetical precision, and is apt to confuse the Biblical and dogmatic standpoints. The most scholarly books of this type are those of Prof. H. C. G. Moule of Cambridge, *e.g. Thoughts on Christian Sanctity* and *Outlines of Christian Doctrine*. There is a pamphlet by J. A. Beet, entitled 'Holiness, as understood by the Writers of the Bible' (1880), which examines the passages bearing on Sanctification in a careful and scholarly way. But in few books, save formal Biblical Theologies, is sufficient account taken of the standpoint and emphasis of the several Biblical writers, and in general of the psychological conditions involved in reducing their experimental language to theory.

J. V. BARTLET.

SANCTUARY. — The ideas underlying 'sanctuary,' a sacred or 'holy place' (מִקְדָּשׁ, קֹדֶשׁ — the former, however, is rarely, the latter never, used in OT of the *local* sanctuaries, for which the Canaanite term בָּמָה is regularly employed*), form part of the larger group of ideas associated with 'holy,' 'holiness,' etc., which have been analyzed and discussed in their manifold applications in the article HOLINESS IN OT (vol. ii., see esp. p. 396a). In dealing with early Semitic religion, the term 'sanctuary' is used in a wider and a narrower application. On the one hand, the whole territory in which a particular deity is worshipped was in a sense his sanctuary; in this sense Canaan, 'J"'s land' (Hos 9^{3}), is also His house (8^{1} 9^{15}) and a 'holy land' (Zeph 3^{11}). On the other hand, in every such territory there were particular spots which were regarded as the favourite haunts of the god, at which he had manifested his power in the past, and was supposed to be still peculiarly accessible to his worshippers. Such primitive sanctuaries consisted of imposing natural objects—in particular, mountains, springs of water with the fertile spots around them, a wide-spreading tree with the ground beneath its shade, or more arbitrarily selected spots associated with visible manifestations of the deity (theophanies). When the Hebrews entered Palestine they found the land thickly studded with such local sanctuaries, each of them a centre of Canaanite worship. As the country gradually came under their control, its sacred places became *ipso facto* sanctuaries of the national God, Jahweh. Only a few typical examples can be mentioned here,† reference being made once for all to the special articles on the places named.

* That 'sanctuary' (*mikdāsh*) and 'high place' (*bāmāh*) are synonymous in the older literature is evident from Am 7^{9} and Is 16^{12}. Cf. Ezk $20^{28f.}$ where 'high hill' also appears as a synonym of 'high place.'

† A German scholar, Freiherr von Gall, has recently investigated over *one hundred*, E. and W. of the Jordan, in his monograph on ancient Israelite sanctuaries (*Altisrael. Kultstätten*, 1898).

(*a*) Comparatively limited in number are the instances where *springs* and *wells* are attested as the sites of sanctuaries in our extant literature. The best known are the ancient sanctuary of BEERSHEBA, associated by tradition with Abraham (Gn 21^{31}) and Isaac (26^{33}), and retaining its sanctity to a late date (see below); KADESH (קָדֵשׁ 'holy place'), also named En-mishpat or Judgment-spring (14^{7}), and BEER-LAHAI-ROI ($16^{7.14}$). GIHON, the modern Virgin's fountain, on the west side of the Kidron ravine, was the site of Solomon's consecration, and therefore a sanctuary of repute (1 K $1^{33.39}$); his rival Adonijah assembled his friends by another sacred spot, 'the Serpent stone' (ZOHELETH), which was by En-rogel, the fuller's spring (1 K 1^{9}).

(*b*) More numerous were the *sacred trees*, which played an important part in the religion of the heathen Semites, and are still objects of veneration among the fellahin of Syria, as the pieces of cloth hung on their branches and the fragments of broken pottery underneath amply testify. Abraham's first altar on the soil of Canaan was raised beneath the shade of the terebinth of MOREH (Gn $12^{6.7}$ RVm) at 'the place of Shechem,' an eloquent witness to the extreme antiquity of this oracular sanctuary. Here were buried the objectionable images of Jacob's household (35^{4}); and the same tree, no doubt, is associated with Joshua (Jos $24^{26f.}$) and Abimelech (Jg 9^{6}). Of equal antiquity was another sanctuary, the terebinths of MAMRE at Hebron (Gn 13^{18}). These tree-sanctuaries, indeed, figure with peculiar frequency in the legends of the patriarchs—a fact which is to be interpreted as implying their existence long before the Hebrew conquest. Besides those already noted at Shechem and Hebron, others are found at Beersheba (Gn 21^{33}), at a spot near Bethel (35^{8}), and, from a later period, at Ophrah (Jg $6^{11f. 24}$). The fact that justice was uniformly dispensed under religious sanction and protection implies the presence of a sanctuary at the palm of Deborah (Jg 4^{5})—by several recent scholars identified with the 'oak of weeping' (see ALLON-BACUTH) of Gn 35^{8}—and at Gibeah, where, according to the better Greek text, Saul sat under the tamarisk 'at the high place' (see p. 197b note), apparently to administer justice. Under the monarchy, indeed, these tree-sanctuaries were multiplied indefinitely, as we learn from the vigorous polemics of the later prophets against the 'altars upon every high hill, in all the tops of the mountains, and under every green tree and under every thick oak, the place where they did offer sweet savour to all their idols' (Ezk 6^{13}; cf. Dt 12^{2}, Jer 2^{20} and often, Is 57^{5}).* For the sacred pole or *'ashērah*, which some authorities regard as a substitute for the living tree, see ASHERAH, vol. i. p. 165.

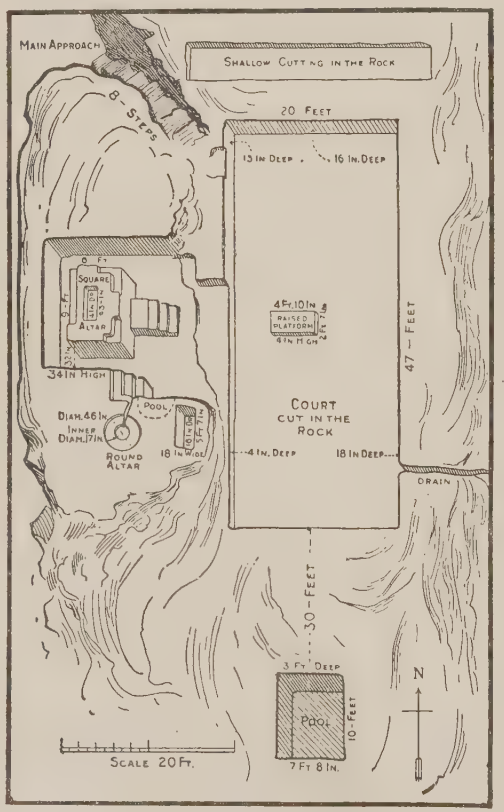
(*c*) The special sanctity of *mountains* and *high hills* was a widespread belief, not confined to the Semites, in the ancient world. The earliest sanctuary of which we have any historical, as distinguished from legendary, record in OT is the mountain sanctuary of HOREB-SINAI, 'the mountain of God' (Ex 3^{1}, cf. 1 K 19^{8}). HERMON, as its name implies, was invested with similar sanctity. Within the limits of Canaan the names of CARMEL (1 K $18^{19ff.}$), the opposing peaks of EBAL and GERIZIM, TABOR (Hos 5^{1}), and the MT. OF OLIVES (2 S 15^{32}) at once suggest themselves. These, after all, are insignificant in number compared with the innumerable 'high places' or *bāmōth* with which the land was studded (see HIGH PLACE, vol. ii. p. 381, for ample reff.). Down to the 7th cent. B.C. the religious customs of the Hebrews required that every town and village should have its local sanctuary, just as in Christian lands every parish has its church. From the interesting narrative 1 S $9^{12ff.}$ 10^{5} we learn that these sanctuaries were situated on the nearest commanding eminence. Where no such eminence was available, the sanctuary, it has been supposed, was erected upon an artificial mound (cf. Jer 7^{31}, 2 K 17^{9}). The usual type, however, of the artificial sanctuary, that is, a sanctuary created by human hands to mark the site of a special Divine manifestation, was the sacred pillar or *mazzēbah* or the sacred stone-circle (גִּלְגָּל) or cromlech (see, for details, PILLAR, vol. iii., and cf. ALTAR, vol. i. p. 75).

Several of the above-mentioned sanctuaries had a more than local reputation. Those of greatest repute in the Northern Kingdom were Bethel, the chief 'royal sanctuary' (מִקְדַּשׁ מַלְכָּה, AV 'the king's chapel,' Am 7^{13}), with its companion sanctuary Dan; Gilgal (Am 4^{4}, Hos 4^{15} etc.); and the far distant Beersheba (Am 5^{5} 8^{14}). A favourite sanctuary was at Gibeon, 'the great high place' (1 K $3^{4ff.}$), where Solomon's inaugural sacrifices were offered. In the period from the conquest to the building of the temple, the presence of the ark gave a special sanctity to the place of its location. Thus there can be no doubt that SHILOH was the principal sanctuary in the time of the judges; a special temple (הֵיכָל) was built for the greater safety of the ark, with the house of Eli as its ministrant priests. Hence the annual religious festival at Shiloh was one of exceptional importance (Jg 21^{19}, 1 S $1^{3.21}$). Whether the important sanctuary at NOB was contemporary with that at Shiloh is uncertain;

* We do not include here the graves of the Hebrew patriarchs and heroes, since it is still a moot point to what extent, if at all, these were places of worship for their descendants.

the first mention of it occurs after the destruction of the latter (1 S 21[1ff.]), but this may be accidental. All the sacred places of the South, however, were soon eclipsed by the royal sanctuary at Jerusalem, raised on the spot consecrated by the theophany at the threshing-floor of Araunah (2 S 24[18. 25], 2 Ch 3[1]).

Round these ancient shrines centred the religious life of the Hebrews in early times. Hither they flocked as the annual festivals came round, at the recurring new moons and sabbaths, to offer their tithes, their first-fruits, and their sacrifices. Unfortunately, we can only partially reconstruct either the equipment of these sanctuaries or the ceremonies which characterized the worship of antiquity, with its sacrificial meal and the joyous intercourse of the sacral community. Without unnecessarily repeating the facts already given in the article HIGH PLACE (§ iv. vol. ii. p. 382), we may note the indispensable altar with its almost universal adjuncts, the sacred pillar (*maṣṣēbah*) and the sacred pole (*'ashērah*), the hall (לִשְׁכָּה 1 S 9[22]) or halls in which the sacrificial feast was held, a temple or shrine (בַּיִת בָּמוֹת 1 K 12[31] and elsewhere) for the protection of the sacred images which formed part of the equipment of some sanctuaries at least, such as the mysterious EPHOD and the almost equally mysterious TERAPHIM (see commentaries on Hos 3[4]).



PLAN OF HIGH PLACE, PETRA.

The recent discovery of what must have been the royal sanctuary of Edom, close to the ruins of Petra, affords very material aid in the reconstruction above desiderated. Near the summit of a mountain overlooking Petra * were found two rock-cut 'obelisk-like columns,' about 18 ft. in height, and some 100 ft. apart, clearly the *mazzēbahs* of OT. On the actual summit was a large court, 47 ft. by 20, hewn in the rock to the depth in parts of 18 in., and approached from below by a stair cut in the rock. Near the centre of the court sufficient rock has been left to form a raised platform 5 ft. by 2½, and 4 in. in height. It has been suggested that here the worshipper stood whose victim was being offered, the rest of the worshippers standing in the surrounding court. On the west of the latter, facing the raised platform, stands the altar, 9 ft. by 6, in height 3 ft., cut free on all sides from the surrounding rock, and furnished on the side towards the court with a short flight of four steps. On the topmost step, which is considerably the largest, stood the officiating priest. In the centre of the upper surface of the altar a rectangular depression has been hewn out to serve as the altar-hearth. Immediately to the south of the altar, and approached from it by steps, the rock presents a flat surface with two large 'circular and concentric' cups hewn out with vertical sides, the larger 3 ft. 10 in., the smaller 1 ft. 5 in. in diameter. Here the sacrifices may have been prepared, as a conduit leading from the lower cup seems to have served to carry away the blood of the victims. For further details reference must be made to the articles cited, both of which are illustrated by photographs and drawings.

* The following is based on an article by Professor Robinson of Chicago (who, though not the first to visit the site, was the first to realize its importance, April 1900), entitled 'The High Place at Petra in Edom,' in the *Biblical World*, Jan. 1901; and on an earlier article by Professor Ives Curtiss (who visited the site in July 1900) in *PEFSt*, Oct. 1900.

From the time when the Hebrews served themselves heirs to the sanctuaries of Canaan, the worship of J″ was there celebrated for several centuries with the full approval of Israel's religious guides (see 1 S 7[17], 1 K 3[4] 18[30] and oft.). Such local worship is alone contemplated in the oldest Hebrew legislation ('in every place where I record my name I will come unto thee and I will bless thee,' Ex 20[24]). But by this multiplicity of sanctuaries the religion of J″ was exposed to two great dangers, against which the prophets of the 8th century repeatedly utter the most solemn warnings. In the first place, there was an ever-increasing admixture of heathen Canaanite elements with the purer and more spiritual elements of the true Hebrew cultus, until Hosea could truthfully declare that the worship of J″ had practically degenerated into idolatry (13[2]) and its ministrants into idol-priests (see CHEMARIM). In the second place, the native religion, with its multiplicity of local Baalim, exerted a baneful influence on the Mosaic doctrine of the unity of J″. The Northern Kingdom came to an end before a reformation could be effected. In the South, thanks to the unique position of its royal sanctuary and the comparative purity of the cultus as there practised, this twofold danger was not felt to quite the same extent. Yet the destruction of Samaria, the strongest possible proof of the Divine commission of her prophets, could not fail to make a profound impression on the best religious spirits of the South, while, at the same time, the greatly enhanced importance of the temple at Jerusalem would gradually tend to diminish the popularity and prestige of the local sanctuaries. Whether Hezekiah really made the attempt at centralization with which he is credited (2 K 18[4]) must be left an open question. The reform, at the best, was shortlived. Not till the far-reaching reformation of Josiah, under the immediate inspiration of Deuteronomy (B.C. 622–621), were effective measures taken for the destruction of the local sanctuaries and the deportation of their priests to Jerusalem (2 K 23). The losses as well as the gains of so drastic a measure of reform have been set forth under the article HIGH PLACE (with which compare DEUTERONOMY, JOSIAH). In the Priestly document (P) the battle has long been won, and scarcely an echo remains. The law and practice of one central sanctuary are transferred to the period of the desert wanderings (see TABERNACLE), an unhistorical presentation of the religious history of the Hebrews which dominates the whole subsequent literature, and has prevailed to our own day.

In what has been said up to this point, the purely religious aspect of the ancient sanctuaries has been properly kept in the foreground. But, in early times at least, these sanctuaries were also the seats of justice (*θέμις*), of which their priests

were the administrators. In general, where the consuetudinary law of the clan or tribe proved inadequate, a fresh *torah* or Divine and authoritative decision was sought from J"'s representatives at the nearest sanctuary of repute. The extant law-codes, further, make provision for the interposition in specified cases of the priests of the local sanctuaries in their judicial capacity — whence their peculiar title Elohim (see אֱלֹהִים in *Oxf. Heb. Lex.*), though some of the passages in question (Ex 21[6] 22[8f.] [Heb. 7f.]; cf. 18[15ff.], 1 S 2[25]) are of doubtful interpretation. More explicit are the recommendations of Deut. regulating the procedure of the supreme court at the central sanctuary (Dt 17[8f.]). Passing from the law-codes to the history, we find, as has been pointed out above, repeated evidence of the leaders of the people dispensing justice at the various sanctuaries, *e.g.* Moses at En-mishpat or Kadesh (see LAW IN OT, vol. iii. p. 67[a]), Deborah, Samuel,—whose circuit included Bethel, Gilgal, and Mizpah, all notable sanctuaries (1 S 7[16]),—and Saul (reff. above).

Every primitive sanctuary, further, in virtue of its inviolability as the abode of deity, was an asylum or place of refuge. This right of asylum is expressly recognized in the oldest legislation, only cases of premeditated murder being excluded (Ex 21[13. 14]; see GOEL, vol. ii. p. 223 f.; ALTAR, vol. i. p. 77[a]). The later institution of cities of refuge (see REFUGE) was the necessary corollary of the destruction of the local sanctuaries.

For the so-called 'shekel of the sanctuary,' see MONEY (vol. iii. p. 422). A. R. S. KENNEDY.

SAND (חוֹל, ἄμμος) consists of an aggregate of incoherent grains of silex, generally mixed with others of different mineral substances, such as mica, felspar, and gems. It was a familiar object with writers of the Bible, and is therefore used emblematically, the expression 'as the sand which is by the seashore' being found in several passages (Gn 22[17], Jos 11[4], 1 S 13[5], 1 K 4[20] etc.). The reference is to the line of sandhills along the coast of the Mediterranean (see SEA (GREAT)) and Lower Egypt (Ex 2[12]).

In the following passages the word is used to represent — (1) *Numberlessness, vastness:* the descendants of Abraham (Gn 22[17], Jer 33[22], Ro 9[27], He 11[12]); the store of corn gathered by Joseph in Egypt (Gn 41[49]); the nations of Canaan (Jos 11[4]); the Philistines (1 S 13[5]); the Israelites (2 S 17[11], 1 K 4[20], Is 10[22] 48[19]); the captives of the Chaldæans (Hab 1[9]); Solomon's largeness of heart, *i.e.* wisdom (1 K 4[29] [Heb. 5[9]]); (2) *heaviness* (Job 6[3], Pr 27[3]); (3) *an insecure foundation* (Mt 7[26]).

E. HULL.

SANDAL.—See DRESS, vol. i. p. 627.

SAND FLIES (RVm of Ex 8[16] and Wis 19[10]).—See LICE.

SAND LIZARD.—See SNAIL.

SANHEDRIN.—

i. The name and its history.
ii. Origin and history of the institution.
iii. Place of meeting.
iv. Composition, and qualifications for membership.
v. The president.
vi. Functions and procedure.
vii. Latest history.
Literature.

i. THE NAME AND ITS HISTORY.—*Sanhedrin* (*i.e.* *συνέδριον*) was the name applied to the highest court of justice and supreme council at Jerusalem, and in a wider sense also to lower courts of justice. In the Jewish tradition-literature this designation, borrowed from the Greek, alternates with the post-biblical Heb. בית דין, Aram. בי דינא. The Hebrew-Aramaic form סַנְהֶדְרִין (we find also the punctuation סַנְהֶדְרִין) sprang from the Greek word, the aspiration of the second vowel (from ἕδρα) becoming audible and being transcribed with ה. The ending -ιον was pronounced as a monosyllable, with elision of the ο, as in other words with the same ending (cf. פלטין = παλάτιον, i.e. *palatium*). The word, however, is found written also without ה (see Levy, *Wörterb. z. den Targumim*, ii. 175; *NHWB* iii. 553*b*). From סנהדרין, which sounded like a Semitic plural, there was even formed a sing. form סַנְהֶדְרִי, which is met with not infrequently. Both forms were treated as feminines. From סַנְהֶדְרִי was formed the plur. סנהדראות.

Owing to the character of the ancient traditions embodied in the Talmudic literature, it cannot be gathered from these when the employment of the Greek word began. In the halachic tradition it makes its appearance as completely naturalized and belonging to the ancient vocabulary of this tradition. The first historical statement in which Josephus employs the word *συνέδριον* has regard to the procedure of the Roman governor of Syria, Gabinius, who abrogated the constitution of the country of the Jews, and divided the latter into five districts, each with a *synedrion* at its head (*Ant.* XIV. v. 4). One of these *synedria* had its seat at Jerusalem, and was of exactly the same rank as the others. But it is not likely that the name first took root on this occasion (B.C. 57), and in consequence of the action of Gabinius. For if the term was first employed in his decree degrading the supreme council of Jerusalem, it would surely not have been retained when, a few years afterwards, the Sanhedrin at Jerusalem regained its dignity; nor, if it had had so hateful an origin, would it have gained the popularity which is conspicuous in its employment in the national tradition, and especially in that connected with religious legislation. But a direct proof of the earlier origin of our loan-word may be drawn from the Alexandrian translation of the Book of Proverbs *συνέδριον* is used pretty frequently: so in 15[17] to reproduce סוֹד in the sense of 'deliberative assembly' (cf. also 11[13] and 3[32], likewise Jer 15[17]). In 26[26] בקהל is rendered by *ἐν συνεδρίοις*. But specially striking are the renderings of 22[10] and 31[23]. In the former of these passages the translator read וישב בית דין for וישבת דין, and rendered accordingly *ὅταν γὰρ καθίσῃ ἐν συνεδρίῳ*, where, however, *συνέδριον* is, as in the language of the Palestinian schools, equivalent to בֵּית דִּין. In the other passage the second half of the verse is rendered *ἡνίκα ἂν καθίσῃ ἐν συνεδρίῳ μετὰ τῶν γερόντων κατοίκων τῆς γῆς*. The addition *ἐν συνεδρίῳ* is plainly occasioned by the mention of the 'elders' of the land, for the members of the Sanhedrin are called זְקֵנִים (*πρεσβύτεροι*), and the Sanhedrin itself (see below) also bears the title *γερουσία*. — Now we do not know when the Book of Proverbs was translated into Greek, but in all probability it is included among the 'other books,' besides the Pentateuch and the Prophets, whose translation into Greek is mentioned in the Prologue to Sirach. In that case the Greek translation of Proverbs would have been in existence as early as B.C. 130, and *συνέδριον* had been then for a long time the common property of the Jewish school speech, into which it must have found its way at the era of the Græco-Syrian supremacy.

ii. ORIGIN AND HISTORY OF THE INSTITUTION. —1. It might be assumed beforehand that the institution which received the Greek title *συνέδριον* in the 2nd cent. B.C. had also an existence of some kind during the earlier centuries of the second temple. It has been suggested that the GREAT SYNAGOGUE (כנסת הגדולה), which in the school tradition (see *Aboth* i. 1) forms the connect-

ing link between the last of the Prophets and the first teachers of the Law who are named in the Greek period, was nothing else than the supreme council of Jerusalem, afterwards called the Sanhedrin. But it is to be noted as a fact that the school tradition itself understands by כנסת הגדולה not an institution persisting for centuries, but that extremely important assembly held under Ezra and Nehemiah (Neh 8–10), which was called the 'great,' just as 1 Mac 14[28] gives the name *συναγωγὴ μεγάλη* to the assembly which nominated Simon hereditary prince and high priest. Of course it is possible that the supreme council of Jerusalem was thought of as the continuation of that great assembly, or, rather, that the great assembly was thought of as the supreme council, the Sanhedrin of the period between the last of the Prophets and the beginning of the Greek domination. Such a conception would make its way all the more readily, seeing that later tradition contracted this period to a few decades. It would also explain the circumstance that in the Roll of Fasts (*Megillat Taanith*) the Sanhedrin is called כנישתא (=כנסת) in the passage cited below. An actual trace of the highest court of justice as it existed in Jerusalem at the close of the Persian period should perhaps be discovered in the description of the college of judges which, according to 2 Ch 19[8], king Jehoshaphat instituted at Jerusalem, and whose functions are specified, having regard to Dt 17[8]. In this description the Chronicler had before his mind's eye the institution as it existed in Jerusalem in his own day.

2. In the records relating to the Greek period we find the supreme council of Jerusalem bearing the designation *γερουσία*. It is so named by Antiochus the Great (*c.* 200 B.C.) at the head of the leading classes of the Jews who are freed from all imposts and taxes (Jos. *Ant.* XII. iii. 3). Antiochus V., in a letter to the Jewish people (B.C. 164), offers greetings *τῇ γερουσίᾳ τῶν Ἰουδαίων* (2 Mac 11[27]). Elsewhere, too, in the narratives of the Maccabæan era there is mention of the *γερουσία*, or we find the first place assigned to the 'elders' (*οἱ πρεσβύτεροι*) of Israel (cf. Schürer, *GJV*[3] ii. 192 [*HJP* II. i. 167]). In the Talmudic tradition the Sanhedrin of the Hasmonæan period is called בית דין של חשמונאי 'house of justice of the Hasmonæans' (*Aboda zara* 36*b*; *Sanhed.* 82*a*). Its history coincides partially with the history of the conflicts between the PHARISEES and SADDUCEES. When John Hyrcanus, towards the end of his reign, shook himself loose from the Pharisees and declared their enactments to be without force (Jos. *Ant.* XVI. xi. 1), he is not likely to have accomplished this without having expelled the Pharisaic members from the Sanhedrin. There came thus into being a 'Sadducean Sanhedrin' (סנהדרין של צדוקים; cf. בית דין של צדוקים of Bab. *Sanhed.* 52*b*), as it is called in a valuable tradition preserved in § 10 of the Roll of Fasts (*Megillat Taanith*) which is of importance for the history of the Sanhedrin. Here it is said that on the 28th of the month Tebet: יתיבא כנישתא על דינא, *i.e.* 'the assembly constituted itself according to the law,' or 'the assembly sat for judgment.' According to the accompanying gloss, which rests beyond doubt on historical tradition, this event, whose memory was thus perpetuated by an anniversary, took place in the reign of Jannæus, and consisted in the expulsion of the Sadducean members from the Sanhedrin, and in the constitution of a new Sanhedrin, whose deliberations were conducted on Pharisaic principles, under the leadership of Simon ben Shetach. But this victory of the Pharisees was soon followed by the bitterest conflicts between them and Alexander Jannæus, and by the consequent supremacy of the Sadducees in the Sanhedrin, which, however, had to yield in turn to that of the Pharisees under Jannæus successor Salome Alexandra.

In the brothers' quarrel amongst the sons of Alexandra, the Sanhedrin must again have played its rôle. This strife led to the intervention of Rome, and not long afterwards to the above-mentioned degradation of the Sanhedrin by Gabinius. This degradation, however, was only transient, and soon we find the Sanhedrin sitting in judgment upon Herod the young son of Antipater (*Ant.* XIV. ix. 4). This memorable judicial sitting was destined to be fateful for the Sanhedrin, those who took part in it falling victims to the bloody revenge of Herod when he came to power (*ib.*). The institution itself Herod allowed to continue. He even utilized the Sanhedrin to get sentence of death passed upon the aged Hyrcanus (*Ant.* XV. vi. 3).

3. During the period of the Roman procurators, which was interrupted for a few years (A.D. 41–44) by the reign of Agrippa I., the Sanhedrin continued to be the supreme authority of the Jewish people. It appears as such in the NT narratives of the trial of Jesus (Mt 26[57], Mk 14[55] 15[1], Lk 22[66], Jn 11[47]), as well as on other occasions in the early days of Christianity (Ac 4[15] 5[22ff.] 6[12ff.] 22[30] 23[1ff.] 24[20]). Jesus Himself once (Mt 5[22]) names the Sanhedrin as the tribunal called on to give judgment in the case of capital offences. In Josephus' record of the events that occurred in the times of the last procurators and during the war against Rome, the Sanhedrin is mentioned sometimes as *συνέδριον* and sometimes as *βουλή*. Or he speaks, as is almost his uniform practice in his autobiography, of the *κοινὸν τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν* (*Vita* 12. 13. 38. 49. 70), or, shortly, *τὸ κοινόν* (*ib.* 52. 60), meaning by this especially the Sanhedrin. It was the latter that during the first years of the war with Rome guided affairs and organized the struggle. But when the Zealots seized the reins of power in the besieged Jerusalem, they no doubt put the Sanhedrin aside. In order to procure a sentence of death upon a man who had incurred their displeasure, the Zealots assembled *ad hoc* a tribunal of 70, in which Josephus (*BJ* IV. v. 4) sees a caricature of the regular court. Amongst the traditions relating to the melancholy events connected with the fall of the Jewish State, we read not only of the destruction of the Temple but of the 'cessation of the Sanhedrin' (*Sota* ix. end; *Echa rabbathi* on La 5[15]). 'With it,' we are told, 'ceased the joyous song of the feasts.'

4. As the Jewish people itself, immediately after the destruction of Jerusalem, began a new life in Palestine under new conditions, so also the Sanhedrin of Jerusalem experienced a kind of resurrection. At Jabneh (Jamnia) an assembly of teachers of the Law constituted itself and regarded itself as the continuation of the Great Sanhedrin. In the first instance a university or academy, but then an assembly which deliberated, which interpreted the laws of the Jewish religion, and thus became really a legislative and judicial body,—this new Sanhedrin, as constituted at Jamnia, had many points of close contact with the old council of Jerusalem. And when Jamnia ceased to be the central point of Jewish scribism, the Sanhedrin migrated—so the tradition expressed it (*Rosh hashana* 31*a b*, upon the authority of R. Jochanan, † 279)—to other places, till it settled down at Tiberias. This notion of the persistence of the Sanhedrin even after the destruction of Jerusalem, and of its continuance in the high schools of Palestine, has largely influenced the traditions about the Sanhedrin. What was true of the new institution was transferred to the ancient one, and the historical picture of the latter was thus essentially changed. Yet it may be assumed, on

the other hand, that faithful adherence to tradition about the ancient Sanhedrin secured the retention in the new body of many peculiarities of the institution as it had existed in its last decades. In this way even the statements about the Sanhedrin preserved in Tannaite tradition and in halachic theory may be treated as historical evidence. It is hard, to be sure, to bring this evidence into harmony with the statements of Josephus and the NT, but all the same it is to these first-named witnesses that we owe our acquaintance with most of the features in the picture we are to draw of the character and activity of the Sanhedrin.

5. In distinction from the lesser courts of justice which were found in all the cities of the Jews' country, the Sanhedrin at Jerusalem was called the Great Sanhedrin (סנהדרין גדולה or סנהדרי גדולה, the same as בית דין גדול). The Mishna (*Sanhed.* i. 6) says on this point: 'There was a great Sanhedrin of 71 members and a little Sanhedrin of 23.' According to the Tannaite Jose b. Chalaftha, well known as a chronologist and a source of historical information, there were in Jerusalem itself, besides the Great Sanhedrin, other two little *synedria.* This statement, which is coupled with information about the activity of the Sanhedrin (Tosefta, *Chagiga* ii. 9, and *Sanhed.* vii. 1; Jerus. *Sanhed.* 19*c*; Bab. *Sanhed.* 88*b*), agrees with the anonymous statement of the Mishna (*Sanhed.* xi. 2) and the Sifrê (on Dt 17^8, § 152).

iii. PLACE OF MEETING.—The seats of the two lesser courts of justice of Jerusalem are specified in the above passages as, respectively, 'the entrance of the Temple mount' [in one version 'the Temple mount'], and 'the entrance of the Temple court' [in one version 'of the Chêl,' *Middoth* ii. 3]. The legend of the destruction of Jerusalem (*Echa rab.* Proœm. n. 23, *ib.* on La 2^2 and 4^{16}; *Ḳohel. rab.* on Ec 3^{16}; Bab. *Gittin* 57*b*) also speaks of the great and the little Sanhedrin.—As the seat of the Great Sanhedrin, the Tannaite tradition (besides the above-cited passages, see Mishna, *Peah* ii. 6, *Eduyoth* vii. 4) names 'the Hall of Hewn Stone' (לשכת הגזית), which, according to *Middoth* v. 4, was on the south side of the great court. This hall served the priests also for the disposing by lot of their functions (Mishna, *Tamid* ii. end; Tosefta, *Yoma* ii. 10; Bab. *Yoma* 25*a*), and as the place for the recitation of the *Shema'* (*Tamid* iv. end).

According to a *baraitha* of the Bab. Talmud (*Yoma* 25*a*) the 'Hall of Hewn Stone' was in the form of a 'great basilica.' But this statement may have arisen from the description of the basilica at Alexandria in which the Sanhedrin there held its sittings (Tos. *Sukka* iv. 6; Bab. *Sukka* 53*b*). Abayi, a Bab. Amora of the 4th cent., inferred from the statements about the use of the Hall of Hewn Stone, that the latter lay half on sacred ground and half outside it. In any case the Hall must be thought of as within the Temple area, and the view of Schürer (*GJV* ^{3} ii. 311) that הגזית means the *ξυστός* and לשכת הגזית the hall by the *Xystus*, and that the latter is identical with the *βουλή* mentioned by Josephus (*BJ* v. iv. 2), cannot hold ground. Josephus gives in this passage the situation of the place where the 'council' (Sanhedrin) held its sittings during the last years of the Jewish State. But, according to a tradition which is to be regarded as in its kernel true, during the last years of Jerusalem the sittings of the Sanhedrin were no longer held in the Hall of Hewn Stone, but were removed from it to a place called the 'trade hall' (חנות, *var. lec.* plur. חנויות 'trade halls'), and from there again to 'Jerusalem' (*Shabbath* 15*a*; *Rosh hashana* 31*a*; *Sanhed.* 41*a*; *Aboda zara* 8*b*). According to this authority the last sittings of the Sanhedrin were held outside the Temple area, in the city itself, and it is to this situation that Josephus' words about the *βουλή* in the neighbourhood of the *ξυστός* refer.

iv. COMPOSITION OF THE COURT.—1. The Great Sanhedrin consisted, according to the above-cited testimony of the Mishna, of 71 members. It is called on that account סנהדרין של שבעים ואחד (*Shebuoth* ii. 2), or בית דין של שבעים ואחד (Jose b. Chalaftha, *l.c.*; cf. also Mishna, *Sanhed.* i. 5; Tos. *Sanhed.* iii. 4). The derivation of this number from that of the 70 elders of Nu 11^{16}, which with Moses amounted to 71, appears to be old (Mishna, *Sanhed.* i. 6; Sifrê on *Numbers*, § 92). It is questionable whether it was this derivation that determined the number of members, or whether the number already established found its sanction by thus going back to the Bible narrative. According to the above-cited statement about the basilica of Alexandria, there was in that city also a Sanhedrin of 71 members. The same number was retained at Jamnia, for, as Simon b. Azzai (before A.D. 150) relates, there were 72 elders present, when Eleazar b. Azarja was associated with Gamaliel II. as president (Mishna, *Zebachim* i. 3; *Yadaim* iii. 5, iv. 2), *i.e.* one more than the usual number. An isolated tradition, from Jehudah b. Ilai, fixes the total membership at 70 (Mishna, *Sanhed.* i. 6; Tos. *Sanhed.* iii. 9), and the Great Sanhedrin is called accordingly ס' של שבעים (Sifrê on *Numbers*, § 92). Josephus likewise chose 70 of the elders of the land to constitute the supreme authority in the province of Galilee, which had been assigned to him (*BJ* II. xx. v); and in the same way the court set up by the Zealots (see above, ii. 3) numbered 70 members. The vacillation of our authorities between the numbers 70 and 71 is no doubt due to the circumstance that the president might be regarded as belonging to the total number or not.

2. We have no positive information as to who composed the Sanhedrin. The halachic tradition on this point must be regarded as theory, derived only in part from the actual condition of things. The members of the Sanhedrin were called זקנים 'elders' (=*πρεσβύτεροι*), a name which gained its special sense from the fact that the Sanhedrin was regarded as an institution set up by Moses when he nominated the 70 elders (Nu 11). It is members of the Sanhedrin that are meant when it is said that the preparing of the high priest for his functions on the Day of Atonement is to be attended to by זקנים מוקני בית דין (*Yoma* i. 3, 5). Again, זָקֵן is doubtless to be taken in its special sense of member of the Sanhedrin, when the epithet הַזָּקֵן is applied to Shammai, Hillel, and Hillel's grandson Gamaliel I. In the NT the members of the Sanhedrin (*πρεσβύτεροι*, or *πρεσ. τοῦ λαοῦ*) are often named along with the chief priests (*ἀρχιερεῖς*) and the scribes (*γραμματεῖς*), for the membership of the Sanhedrin was recruited from these two leading classes (Schürer, *l.c.* p. 200). Josephus, in whose writings the Sanhedrin is frequently called *βουλή*, also calls its members *βουλευταί* (*BJ* II. xvii. 1). This designation probably accounts for one of the halls of the Temple being called לשכת בולוטי 'hall of the *βουλευταί*.'

The same hall afterwards bore the name לשכת פרהדרין 'hall of the *πρόεδροι*' (Mishna, *Yoma* i. 1). This last title, which has been handed down by the Tannaite Jehudah b. Ilai (Bab. *Yoma* 8*b*), is quite worthy of credit, and it supports the suggestion of Schürer that by the *πρόεδροι* should be understood the highest in rank of the members of the Sanhedrin, the 'first ten' of whom we hear under the procurator Festus (*Ant.* xx. viii. 11, *τοὺς πρώτους δέκα*; cf. Schürer, *l.c.* p. 201 f.). Upon the above-cited authority of Jehudah b. Ilai we are told that the *πρόεδροι* were changed every twelve months, so that the rank of 'first ten' was enjoyed by different members of the Sanhedrin every year. If we, further, take into account that the institution of the *πρόεδροι* was of late origin, we can readily understand how the above change of name for the hall also came into use. The circumstance that the 'hall of the *πρόεδροι*' was the private residence of the high priest is not difficult to explain, considering the relation of the high priest to the Sanhedrin. The *βουλευταί*, afterwards the *πρόεδροι*, may have assembled in the house of the high priest (cf. Mt 26^{57}, Mk 14^{53}) before taking their places in the public sitting of the Sanhedrin.

3. Of distinctions of rank within the Sanhedrin we hear nothing, apart from the above-mentioned conjecture. Neither are we aware on what principle the members were nominated or how the Sanhedrin filled up vacancies in its number. Only

two, divergent, statements have come down to us regarding the latter point, and of these one can refer only to the period preceding the destruction of Jerusalem, whereas the other has in view rather the school of Jamnia and its successors. The first statement is found in the above-named narrative of Jose b. Chalaftha, and in an anonymous precept of the Tosefta (*Shekalim*, end), according to which a seat in the Sanhedrin is the last step in the career of judge. Any one who distinguished himself as a judge in his place of residence was advanced to be a member first of the one, then of the other, of the two lesser *synedria* at Jerusalem, and was chosen finally to be a member of the Great Sanhedrin. According to the other statement (Mishna, *Sanhed.* iv. 4; Tos. *Sanhed.* viii. 2), in front of the members of the Sanhedrin sat in three rows the non-ordained scribes, and from among these any vacancies in the membership were filled up, the requisite number being chosen and ordained according to a fixed order. It is plain that these two accounts of the filling up of vacancies relate to different periods of time. In the first, which has in view the period before the destruction of Jerusalem, there is no mention at all of the ordination of the new members, but we find the expression הושיב, which means 'cause to sit,' implying simply that the new member had a seat assigned him in the Sanhedrin. This is quite intelligible, for, according to the view we are considering, those who became members of the Sanhedrin had previously officiated in the lower courts, and were thus ordained already.

4. As to the *qualifications* for membership in the Sanhedrin, the oft-cited narrative of Jose b. Chalaftha gives a list of the personal qualities which the candidate for this high rank must possess. He had to be learned (חכם), humble (עניו; Bab. *Sanhed.* 88*a* שפל ברך), popular with his fellow-men (רוח הבריות נוחה הימנו). In the different versions of the passage there are yet further moral qualities specified. In the ancient exposition of Nu 11[16] (Sifrê, § 92) it is inferred from the word איש ('man') that the members must be perfect men: learned, courageous, strong, and modest. Jochanan, the Palestinian Amora of the 3rd cent., states the qualifications of a member of the Sanhedrin thus: tall stature, learning, dignified bearing, advanced age. Further, in order to be able to meet the demands of his office, he must be acquainted with foreign languages and initiated into the mysteries of the art of magic (Bab. *Sanhed.* 17*b*).

As the high court of justice described in 2 Ch 19[8] consisted of 'Levites, priests, and heads of Israelitish families,' so in the ancient exposition of Dt 17[9] (Sifrê, *ad loc.*, § 15 *ad init.*) it is stated that the court dealing with law cases must have priests and Levites amongst its members, but that even without these it might be legitimately composed. A rule of the Mishna (*Kiddushin* iv. 5) is to the effect that an inquiry as to purity of family descent is not to be carried beyond the Sanhedrin, since no one can be a member of it whose origin is not unquestionable. It is actually prescribed in another rule (*Sanhed.* iv. 2) that judges in criminal cases, including therefore members of the Sanhedrin, are to be only priests, Levites, or Israelites whose daughters may be married by priests.

v. The President of the Sanhedrin.—1. On this point the tradition-literature contains statements which it is difficult or impossible to reconcile with the reports of Josephus and the NT. The last are meagre, indeed, and do not give a distinct picture of the method of procedure in the Sanhedrin and of the action of its president. But from Josephus we learn that in B.C. 47 the Hasmonæan high priest and prince Hyrcanus II. called the Sanhedrin together and directed the procedure in the case of Herod (*Ant.* XIV. ix. 4 f.), and that in A.D. 62 the Sadducean high priest Ananus II. summoned the Sanhedrin, in order to have some sentences of death passed (*ib.* XX. ix. 1). At the trial of Jesus, the high priest Caiaphas appears at the head of the Sanhedrin (Mt 26[57]), as does the high priest Ananias at the trial of St. Paul (Ac 24[1]). Of such a function belonging to the high priest (cf. also 2 Ch 19[11]) there is not the slightest trace in the tradition-literature. On the contrary, it is assumed as an axiom that the Sanhedrin had its own president, making up the number of members to 71 (see above). The simplest designation of the president is ראש בית דין 'head of the house of justice' (*Rosh hashana* ii. 7, iv. 4), which in the later haggadic literature is represented by ראש של סנהדרין (*Pesikta rabbathi*, c. xi. p. 43*b*), ראשי סנהדרין (*Tanchuma*, ed. Buber, i. 175), ראשי סנהדראות (*Esther rab.* on 1[13]). But the title that must be regarded as peculiar to the president is אב בית דין 'father of the house of justice.' As head of the supreme court, the *'Ab Bêth Dîn* is once named after the king (*Yoma* vii. 5), once after the 'prince' (*Taanith* ii. 1), by which last title is meant the head of the State, who, after the usage of the Pentateuch and especially of Ezekiel, is frequently called in the halachic literature נָשִׂיא 'prince'; once it is expressly said, with allusion to Lv 4[22], ואיזהו הנשיא זה המלך (*Horayoth* iii. 3). Now, remarkably enough, the same word נשיא became the title of the president of the Sanhedrin. The sitting arrangements of the Sanhedrin are thus described (Tos. *Sanhed.* viii. 1; Jerus. *Sanhed.* 19*c*): 'The Sanhedrin sat in a semicircle [lit. 'like the half of a circular threshing-floor']; in the middle sat the *Nasi*, and the elders [*i.e.* the members of the Sanhedrin] sat upon his right hand and upon his left.' This statement appears to relate to the Sanhedrin of Jamnia, for it is followed immediately by the reminiscences of a teacher of the Law regarding that Sanhedrin. Eleazar b. Zadok reports: 'When R. Gamaliel [Gamaliel II.] held the presidency at Jamnia, my father and another sat to the right, the others to the left.'

2. It is not till the post-Hadrianic era that the *'Ab Bêth Dîn* appears side by side with the *Nasi* as joint-president. Jochanan († 279) records—doubtless on the basis of trustworthy tradition—that R. Simon b. Gamaliel (the son of Gamaliel II.) was Nasi, while R. Nathan was 'Ab Bêth Dîn (Bab. *Horayoth* 13*b*). This double presidency, to designate which the two titles of the president of the Sanhedrin are utilized, is carried back, in a quite isolated notice of the Mishna (*Chagiga* ii. 2), to the time when the Temple still existed. We are told there of a controversy about a religious law which went on for five generations, always between two teachers of the Law. The five pairs of teachers named (the last pair being Hillel and Shammai) are the same who, according to the Mishna (*Aboth* i. 1), were the bearers of the tradition, and who are once (*Peah* ii. 5) summarily designated, as such, זוגות 'the Pairs.' That these pairs were the most noted teachers of their time, the Pharisaic heads of the schools of the 2nd and 1st cent. B.C., is known to us also from other traditions about most of them. But the above notice, according to which the first of the pairs was always Nasi and the second 'Ab Bêth Dîn, must be regarded as a transferring of later relations to early times. If 'pair' had the meaning attributed to it by the author of the notice, it would be incomprehensible, apart from anything else, why the series of pairs came to an end with Hillel and Shammai. Nevertheless, the 'Pairs' belonged to the leading members of the Sanhedrin, as is witnessed in the case, for instance, of Simon b. Shetach, from other quarters. One of the pairs, Shemayah and Abtalion, is mentioned also by Josephus as belonging to the Sanhedrin (*Ant.* XV. i. 1, where they appear as Pollion and Sameas).

3. Yet another transference of later relations to

early times took place with respect to the title *Nasi*. This title, which from the second half of the 2nd cent. A.D. onwards had become hereditary, was also attributed to the forefathers of its hereditary bearers. It was said (Bab. *Shabbath* 15*a*) that Hillel, his son Simon, Simon's son Gamaliel, and Gamaliel's son Simon, held the position of Nasi during the last century of the second Temple (B.C. 30–A.D. 70); and the appointment of Hillel to be Nasi, *i.e.* president of the Sanhedrin, is described in a narrative emanating from the Tannaite period (Tos. *Pesachim* iv. end; Jerus. *Pesach.* 33*a*; Bab. *Pesach.* 66*a*). Both this narrative and the above chronological notice, apart from the title *Nasi*, have a historical foundation. For, although we hear nothing elsewhere of Hillel's son, we know that Hillel himself, as well as his grandson Gamaliel I. and his great-grandson Simon b. Gamaliel I., were amongst the leading men in Jerusalem. The last named was one of the directors of the war against the Romans, as we learn from Josephus (*BJ* IV. iii. 9; *Vita*, 38), who, moreover, mentions that he was descended from an illustrious family. Hillel and Gamaliel I. are known not only as notable scribes, but also as the founders of institutions and enactments, which prove that they must have played a leading rôle in the supreme court, the Sanhedrin. That Gamaliel I., at whose feet Saul of Tarsus, the future Apostle Paul, sat as a pupil (Ac 22^3), took the lead in the Sanhedrin, may be seen from the well-known narrative of Ac 5^{34-39}. Of course, all this does not prove that Hillel and his successors were presidents of the Sanhedrin. The statements of Josephus and the NT about the presidency of the high priest are too definite to be got over. But, on the other hand, we may not summarily reject the supposition that in a body, composed for the most part of scribes and called on to decide questions which demanded an expert acquaintance with the Law, the heads of the scribal body took the first place side by side with the high priests, who were only exceptionally scribes as well, and that perhaps the Pharisaic heads of schools were even formally invested with a certain rank in the Sanhedrin, approaching closely to that of president.

In this way, as a matter of fact, the title 'father of the house of justice' (*'Ab Bêth Dîn*) may, as has been held by many investigators, have been in use even at a time when the president proper of the Sanhedrin was still the high priest. On closer consideration one cannot escape the impression that neither at the time of the Hasmonæan high priests nor at that of the high priests appointed by Herod and by the Roman procurators, could the Sanhedrin have been without a guidance not identical with the presidency of the high priest. The school traditions regarding the position held by the Pharisaic school heads in the Sanhedrin possess thus a kernel of historical truth, even if they are adapted to later conditions and artificially constructed.

4. Another question is how the term *Nasi*, which is used for the head of the State, could come to be the title of the president of the Sanhedrin. Two hypotheses are possible. (*a*) The title may go back to the time when the high priest who as such presided over the Sanhedrin was also actually prince (נָשִׂיא) or head of the State, *i.e.* to the time of the Hasmonæan rulers. Or (*b*) the title 'prince' may have been given, after the destruction of Jerusalem, to the president of the Sanhedrin at Jamnia, Gamaliel II., in order, as it were, that at least in the naming of the head of the highest authority which had arisen from the ruins of the national independence, there might be preserved a symbol of that independence. The second hypothesis is the more likely, because the first would imply that the title *Nasi* continued unused during more than a whole century until it was revived in the way indicated in the second explanation, after the fall of Jerusalem.

5. The assumption of the title *Nasi* by Gamaliel II. and then by his son Simon was probably connected with the belief that the family of Hillel was descended from the Davidic royal house. There was thus coupled with the title in an esoteric kind of way a recollection of the former princes of the house of David. It was not till the time of Gamaliel II.'s grandson Jehudah I., who was called *Nasi* κατ' ἐξοχήν, that the title became the official designation of the head, recognized even by the Roman government, of the Jews in Palestine, *i.e.* of their patriarch. Its meaning as president of the Sanhedrin then fell into the second place.

vi. FUNCTIONS AND PROCEDURE.—1. The Great Sanhedrin at Jerusalem was primarily the supreme court of justice, which had either the sole right of judgment in certain specially important matters, or was appealed to on questions upon which the lower courts were unable to come to a decision. As to this last point, we learn from the oft-cited report of Jose b. Chalaftha (Tos. *Sanhed.* vii. 1 and parall.) the following: 'When the first competent tribunal failed to come to a finding, the litigant, accompanied by the most distinguished member of this court, betook himself to Jerusalem to submit his case in the first place to the two lesser *synedria* (see above). If neither of these could come to a decision, the question came for final judgment before the Great Sanhedrin.' There can be no doubt that a kernel of historical truth underlies this description of the train of judicial procedure (see also Mishna, *Sanhed.* xi. 2).—In regard to cases reserved for the sole competence of the Great Sanhedrin, the Mishna (*Sanhed.* i. 5) enumerates the following points upon which only the 'tribunal of the seventy-one' was entitled to judge and pronounce a verdict: (1) A process affecting a tribe; (2) the process against a false prophet; (3) a process affecting the high priest; (4) the sending out of the army to a non-compulsory war; (5) the extension of the city of Jerusalem; (6) the extension of the Temple courts; (7) the appointment of *synedria* over the tribes; (8) the judging of a city which had lapsed into idolatry (see Dt $13^{13ff.}$). With reference to the fourth point, it is enacted also amongst the decrees affecting the king, that the latter is to lead the army out to war only upon the authority of a decision of the Great Sanhedrin (Mishna, *Sanhed.* ii. 4). The eight points bear, indeed, a theoretical stamp, and even presuppose the continued existence of the tribes (the first of them has for background the narrative of Jg 20 f.); but, on the other hand, they witness that, even in halachic theory, the Great Sanhedrin figures not merely as a court of justice, but also as the body that was called on to give decisions in State matters and which exercised administrative authority, in the fashion exhibited to us by the statements and narratives, meagre as they are, contained in other sources. A Tannaite rule (Tos. *Sanhed.* iii. 4) prescribes that the installation of a king and of a high priest is to belong only to the tribunal of the seventy-one.

2. Cases affecting life and death came, according to the Mishna (*Sanhed.* i. 4), before the little Sanhedrin (of 23 members). As a matter of fact, in important instances the Great Sanhedrin was called together to pronounce judgment. According to a Tannaite tradition (Jerus. *Sanhed.* 18*a*, 24*b*), the right of judging in matters of life and death was taken from Israel (*i.e.* from the Jewish courts) forty years before the destruction of the Temple. 'Forty' here is a round number and unhistorical, but the circumstance related by this tradition and confirmed by the Gospel accounts of the trial of Jesus is historical, and is connected with the restrictions imposed on the competence of the Jewish courts, and of the Great Sanhedrin in particular, in the time of the Roman procurators.

3. The decisions of the Great Sanhedrin 'from which went forth direction for all Israel,' were of inviolable force, and binding upon all teachers of the Law and all judges. Any one of these who gave a judgment in opposition to its decrees was called a 'rebellious elder' (זקן ממרה), and was condemned by the Great Sanhedrin (*Sanhed.* xi. 2–4). The rules for dealing with occasional errors of the Sanhedrin in giving decisions or in interpreting the Law are casuistically exhibited in the first chapter of the Mishnic tract *Horayoth.*

4. The Great Sanhedrin of Jerusalem sat in the Hall of Hewn Stone (see above, iii.). According to the report of Jose b. Chalaftha, it held its sittings from the time of the offering of the daily morning sacrifice till that of the evening sacrifice (Tos. *Sanhed.* vii. 1, and parall.). On the Sabbath and on feast days no sittings were held, but the members of the Sanhedrin assembled in the school situated on the temple mount (*ib.*; in Bab. *Sanhed.* 88*b*, instead of the 'school' [בית המדרש שבהר בית] it is the place called *Chêl*, where at other times [see above, iii.] one of the two lesser *synedria* held its sittings). The members of the Sanhedrin sat in a semicircle, that they might see one another while deliberating (Mishna, *Sanhed.* iv. 2; Tos. *Sanhed.* viii. 1). 'Two clerks of court (סופרי הדיינין) stood before them, the one to the right and the other to the left, and took down the words of those who gave their voice for acquittal and of those who were for condemnation' (Mishna, *Sanhed.* iv. 2). According to Jehudah b. Ilai (*ib.*) there were three clerks: one took down the votes for acquittal, one those for condemnation, while the third took down both (in order to check the lists of the other two). In the report of Jose b. Chalaftha it is said that, when a question came before the Great Sanhedrin, and the reply could not be given on the ground of a tradition, it was decided by the votes of the majority. As to the mode of deliberating and voting and the distinctions which were observed according to the nature of the subject under consideration, tradition contains a multitude of rules which, it may safely be inferred, are based upon the actual praxis of the Great Sanhedrin of Jerusalem. Some of these rules may be cited:—In questions of civil right and in those affecting the Ceremonial Law, the taking of the vote began with the principal member of the Sanhedrin; in judgments affecting life and death it began 'at the side,' *i.e.* with the younger members, in order that their vote might not be influenced by that of the leaders (Mishna, *Sanhed.* iv. [2; Tos. *Sanhed.* vii. 2). For a judgment affecting life and death an attendance of at least 23 members was required. If the result of the vote showed a majority of only one for 'guilty,' the court had to be increased by two successively till the number of 71 was reached. Only when the full number was present, was a majority of one (36 votes against 35) sufficient to procure a condemnation (Mishna, *Sanhed.* iv. 5).

vii. LATEST HISTORY OF THE SANHEDRIN.—The Great Sanhedrin of Jerusalem, as we have already said, revived, after the fall of Jerusalem, in the schools of Palestine. The activity of the college of scribes, in which the tradition of the Pharisaic schools was perpetuated and underwent vigorous development, attached itself to the work of the defunct supreme court of Jerusalem, and it strengthened its authority by adopting the name and the constitution of the Great Sanhedrin. Down to the 5th cent., *i.e.* down to the cessation of the office of patriarch or Nasi, which was hereditary in the house of Hillel, there existed in the Holy Land an institution which could be regarded as a continuation of the Great Sanhedrin. After Babylon became the one centre of Jewish learning in the time of the Gaons, the name 'Sanhedrin' was given to the most eminent members of the so-called *Kalla* assemblies, the 70 scholars who sat in the first seven rows and who at all events were chosen upon a fixed principle.

Even recent times have witnessed a revival of the name of the ancient Sanhedrin. In the year 1807, at the summons of Napoleon I. there met in Paris an assembly of representatives of Judaism, which at the invitation of the Emperor himself took the name 'Sanhedrin,' and constituted itself upon the traditional model of the Great Sanhedrin of Jerusalem. Apart from a few declarations as to the relation of the Jewish religion to State law and of Jews to non-Jews, this assembly has left no permanent traces.

LITERATURE.—In all accounts of Jewish history at the time of the second temple, as well as in the Histories of NT times, the Sanhedrin is treated of in more or less detail. The sources are the writings of Josephus and the NT on the one hand, and the Jewish tradition-literature on the other. Amongst the latter the name *Sanhedrin* is attached to the tracts of the Mishna and Tosefta dealing with justice and its administration, as well as to the corresponding tracts of the Jerus. and Bab. Talmuds. Of the Literature cited by Schürer (*GJV* 3 ii. 188 f.) the following works and treatises, dealing specially with the Sanhedrin, may be selected for mention: Selden, *de Synedriis et Præfecturis juridicis veterum Ebræorum*, Lond. 1650–55; Sachs, 'Ueber die Zeit der Entstehung des Synhedrins' (in Frankel's *Zeitschrift*, 1845, pp. 301–312); Levy, 'Die Præsidentur im Synedrium' (in Frankel's *Monatsschrift*, 1855); Langen, 'Das jüdische Synedrium und die römische Procuratur in Judäa' (in *Tübinger Theologische Quartalschrift*, 1862, pp. 411–463); Kuenen, 'Ueber die Zusammensetzung des Sanhedrin' (*Gesam. Abhandl. z. bibl. Wissensch.*, Budde's tr. pp. 49–81); D. Hoffmann, 'Der oberste Gerichtshof in der Stadt des Heiligthums' (*Programm des Rabbiner-Seminares zu Berlin* for 1877–78); Jelski, *Die innere Einrichtung des grossen Synedrions zu Jerusalem und ihre Fortsetzung im späteren palästinensischen Lehrhause bis zur Zeit des R. Jehuda ha-Nasi*, Breslau, 1894. Not mentioned by Schürer is a work in Hebrew by the well-known Jakob Reifmann, entitled סנהדרין (61 pages), published at Berditschew in 1888. W. BACHER.

SANSANNAH (סַנְסַנָּה; B Σεθεννάκ, A Σανσάννα; *Sensenna*).—A town in the Negeb (RV 'the South') allotted to Judah (Jos 15[31]). It is not mentioned amongst the towns in the Negeb that belonged to Simeon. But, comparing the list in Jos 15[31] with the parallel lists in Jos 19[5] and 1 Ch 4[31], it will be seen that its place is taken in the one case by Hazar-susah, and in the other by Hazar-susim. There is no indication of its position, a question upon which authorities differ. Tristram identifies it with *Beit Susîn* on the road from Gaza to Egypt; Schwarz (*Heil. Land*, p. 72), with *Simsim* on a height N.E. of Gaza; and Guérin, with *Sûsieh*, E.N.E. of *es-Semû'a* (Eshtemoa). C. W. WILSON.

SAPH (סָף; B Σάφ, A Σεφέ), called in Chronicles **Sippai** (סִפַּי; B Σαφούτ, A Σεφφί).—One of four Philistine champions of whom it is related that they were born to the giant in Gath, and that they were slain by David's heroes (2 S 21[18], 1 Ch 20[4]). There is no difficulty in supposing that he was a son of the Goliath whom David slew, but it is perhaps more natural to understand the term 'the giant' as a collective, making him merely of the same giant stock with Goliath. See GIANT. W. J. BEECHER.

SAPHAT.—1. (B Σαφάγ, A Σαφάτ, AV Sabat) 1 Es 5[34]. His sons are named among the sons of Solomon's servants who returned with Zerubbabel. There is no corresponding name in the lists of Ezr and Neh. **2.** (B* om., A Σαφάτ, B[ab mg] 'Ασάφ) 1 Es 5[9] = Shephatiah, Ezr 2[4].

SAPHATIAS (B Σοφοτίας, A om.), 1 Es 8[34] = Shephatiah (cf. Ezr 8[8]); called Saphat in 5[9].

SAPHUTHI (B Σαφνεί, A Σαφυθί, AV Sapheth)

1 Es 5^{33} = Shephatiah, one of the sons of Solomon's servants, Ezr 2^{57}.

SAPPHIRA (Σαπφείρη).—The wife of Ananias. She fell dead, like her husband, at the rebuke of St. Peter, Ac $5^{1ff.}$. See ANANIAS, No. 7.

SAPPHIRE (Heb. סַפִּיר, LXX σάπφειρος, Vulg. *sapphirus*) is mentioned eleven times in the OT, once in the Apocr. (To 13^{16}), and once in the NT (Rev 21^{19}). It is one of the stones in the high priest's breastplate (Ex 28^{18} 39^{11}), and one of the foundations of the New Jerusalem (Rev 21^{19}), the latter thought arising, no doubt, from Is 54^{11}. It was of considerable value (Job 28^{16}, Ezk 28^{13}). From it was fashioned the throne of Ezekiel's visions (Ezk 1^{26} 10^{1}; cf. also Ex 24^{10}, where the pavement under the feet of the God of Israel is of 'sapphire'). The consistency with which the VSS adhere to a uniform transliteration of the name is remarkable; Ezk 28^{13} is no exception, for although סַפִּיר is here seventh in order, and σάπφειρος fifth, this is due to the Greek following the arrangement of Ex 28^{18}.

The etymology of the Heb. word throws no light on the nature of the stone. Probably סַפִּיר is Semitic, but neither of the roots סבר or שפר tells us anything as to colour or structure. It is, however, difficult to believe that a sapphire was one of the gems in the high priest's breastplate, for this stone is not easy to engrave, the diamond being the only stone that will scratch it. A similar objection might be brought against the *lapis lazuli* [Petrie's identification in STONES (PRECIOUS)], which was not deemed very suitable for engraving because of the hard points in it. But the objection has not quite so much force in this case; the lapis lazuli was sometimes engraved. And there are good reasons for thinking that this is the stone referred to in the Bible. Theophrastus (*Lap.* 23) evidently has in view the deep-blue mineral which is 'usually mottled with white, and contains gold-like specks of iron pyrites,' when he describes the σάπφειρος, ὥσπερ χρυσόπαστος. Pliny (*HN* 37, 119), writing of the *cyanos*, states: *inest ei aliquando et aureus pulvis qualis sappiris*; by the *sappirus* he clearly means the lapis lazuli. And if we identify it with the Heb. סַפִּיר, the requirements of all the biblical passages will be fairly met.

Two varieties of lapis lazuli, a natural and an artificial, were known to the ancients. The former came from Cyprus and Scythia, and was 'a silicate and sulphate of calcium, sodium, and aluminium.' The latter was made in Egypt: it was an alkaline silicate, coloured deep-blue with carbonate of copper; scarabs and signets were made of it, and it was used as a pigment.

If the sapphire of our Bibles does not correspond with the gem now known by this name, it yet remains probable that this gem is once mentioned. RVm suggests *sapphire* in place of *jacinth* (ὑάκινθος) in Rev 21^{20}. Middleton (*Engraved Gems*, p. 132) and King (*Antique Gems*, p. 46) are in favour of the identification. Pliny (*HN* 37, 125) seems at first sight to be against it, for he writes of the *fulgor violaceus* of the *hyacinthos*; but his view is not really adverse, for the less valuable sapphires are amethyst by artificial light. King (pp. 51, 399) quotes the lines of Marbodus as recognizing with astonishing clearness, considering his date, the fact that sapphires, rubies, and Oriental topazes are all of them varieties of the same mineral, namely, the hyacinth—

> 'Three various kinds the skilled as *Hyacinths* name,
> Varying in colour and unlike in fame:
> One, like pomegranate flowers, a fiery blaze:
> And one the yellow citron's hue displays.
> One charms with paley blue the gazer's eye
> Like the mild tint that decks the northern sky.'

The best sapphires are now obtained from Ceylon. The Greeks wore these stones as jewels. A few engraved ones have survived, mainly from the age of imperial Rome, but the gem was too hard to be much used for this purpose. Cf. art. JACINTH in vol. ii.

J. TAYLOR.

SARABIAS (Σαραβίας), 1 Es 9^{48} = Sherebiah, Neh 8^{7}.

SARAH, also (to Gn 17^{15}) **SARAI** ('Sarah' means 'princess,' 1 K 11^{3} *al.*; the meaning of 'Sarai' is doubtful: perhaps [Olsh. *Lehrb.* § 110; Nöldeke, *ZDMG*, 1886, p. 183, 1888, p. 484; König, *Lehrg.* ii. 1, 427] it is an older form of 'Sarah,' formed with the unusual fem. term. *-ay*).*—**1.** The wife of Abraham, first mentioned in Gn 11^{29} (J). Sarai's parentage is not given: according to 20^{12} (E), she was Abraham's half-sister, the daughter of his father, but not the daughter of his mother.† The incidents of her life have already been narrated at some length in connexion with ABRAHAM, HAGAR, ISAAC, and ISHMAEL; so that a *résumé* will be sufficient here. Sarai accompanied Abraham into Canaan (12^{5}), and went down with him into Egypt ($12^{10\text{-}20}$: J): it was on this occasion that, fearing lest her beauty might indirectly cost him his life, Abraham passed her off as his sister, and, being admired before the Pharaoh by his courtiers, she was sent for and taken into his palace. This was in accordance with the custom, described as still prevalent among Oriental princes, of arbitrarily selecting beautiful women to be added to their harems.‡ Abraham's timidity and want of candour might have involved him in serious consequences; but the Pharaoh contented himself with rebuking him for his untruthfulness, and appointing an escort to conduct both him and Sarai out of the country (v.^{20}; cf. 18^{16} 31^{27}).

From 12^{4}, compared with 17^{17}, it appears that Sarai was at this time at least 65 years of age; and it has often been wondered why Abraham should have been in alarm on the ground stated, and why the Pharaoh should have been attracted by her beauty. The difficulty disappears when it is remembered that the statements about Sarai's age belong to a different document (P) from the one (J) which narrates the visit to Egypt: the author of the latter evidently pictured Sarai as still a young woman. (Cf. for similar cases elsewhere in Genesis, vol. ii. pp. 484 (No. 3), 503^{b}, 532^{b}).

Sarai is next mentioned in ch. 16 (J, except vv.$^{1a.\ 3.\ 15f.}$). Being barren (cf. 11^{30}), she induces Abraham to take her handmaid Hagar as a concubine; but when she finds that Hagar 'despises' her, she passionately and unjustly casts the blame upon her husband: 'The wrong done to me be upon thee; J" judge between me and thee.' Abraham, however, declines to interfere; and bids Sarai herself deal with Hagar as she pleases. Her harsh treatment of her handmaid compels Hagar to take flight; and only the voice of J"'s angel induces her to return, and 'submit' herself to her mistress (see, more fully, HAGAR and ISHMAEL).

In the existing text of Genesis, the promise of a son for Sarai is first distinctly given in ch. 17 (P), vv.$^{15\text{-}21}$. Her name is changed to *Sarah* (v.^{15}); she is to be blessed, and a son is to be born to her;

* Found in certain words in the cognate languages. See Olsh. and König, *ll.cc.*; Nöld. *Syr. Gr.* § 83; Wright, *Arab. Gram.* i. § 295, *Comp. Gram.* 133; Dillm. *Aeth. Gram.* 127*c* (cf. § 120*b* β); Barth, *Nominalbildung*, 385. Sayce's doubts (*HCM* 179) are unfounded. The explanation (Jerome and older scholars) 'my princess' is philologically impossible. The LXX gives for *Sarai* Σαρα, and for *Sarah* Σαρρα.

† Cf. MARRIAGE, vol. iii. p. 267^{b}; W. R. Smith, *Kinship*, 162 f. The tradition (Jos. *Ant.* I. vi. 5, *al.*) that she was the same person as ISCAH has no probability: it can only be reconciled artificially with 20^{12}; and had the writer of 11^{29} identified Sarai with Iscah, he would certainly have worded the verse differently.

‡ There is an incident quoted by Ebers in the 'Tale of the Two Brothers' which partly illustrates this; see Petrie's *Egyptian Tales*, 2nd ser., 1895, pp. 53–55.

'she shall become nations' (cf. v.[4] 35[11]); 'kings of peoples shall be from her' (cf. v.[6] 35[11]; and see 36[31]). Abraham 'laughs' in incredulity at the idea of a son being born to him and Sarah in their old age; he fixes his hopes upon Ishmael, but is told that, though Ishmael will become a 'great nation,' the covenant will be established with Isaac (vv.[18-21]). In ch. 18 (J) the promise of a son is again given to Abraham; and when Sarah, overhearing it, 'laughs' inwardly in incredulity, it is repeated to herself (vv.[9-15]). This narrative is in reality not the sequel to the one in ch. 17, but *parallel* to it: 18[9-15] is clearly written without reference to 17[15-21], and the writer is evidently not conscious that a promise of the same kind had already been given.

Ch. 20 (E) describes Sarah's adventure at the court of Abimelech, in Gerar, *i.e.* (Trumbull, Guthe, Dillm., Buhl, p. 89) the Wâdy Jerûr, 70 miles S. of Gaza, and 55 miles S.W. of Beersheba. As before (12[10-20]) in Egypt, Abraham, in fear on account of his own life (v.[11]), passes Sarah off as his sister: Abimelech takes her, but is warned by God in a dream that she is a married woman; like the Pharaoh (12[18f.]), though in stronger terms, he rebukes Abraham for his deceit (v.[9]); Abraham excuses (v.[11]) and defends (v.[12]) himself; and Abimelech then makes reparation, both to Abraham (v.[14f.]) and to Sarah (v.[16]), for the injury he has unwittingly done them. The narrative is in substance remarkably similar to those in 12[10-20] (Abraham and the Pharaoh) and 26[6-11] (Isaac and Abimelech); it can hardly be doubted that all three are variations of the same fundamental theme,—a popular story told of the patriarchs, and attached sometimes to one and sometimes, at different localities, to another (cf. ABIMELECH, vol. i. p. 9[a]; ISAAC, vol. ii. p. 484[b]).

Isaac's birth is narrated in 21[1-7] (vv.[1a. 2a] J; vv.[6. 7] E; vv.[1b. 2b-5] P). The exclamation in v.[6] ('God hath prepared laughter for me; every one that heareth will laugh over me') is meant as a third explanation of the name 'Isaac' (cf. 17[17] in P, 18[12] in J; and see ISAAC, vol. ii. p. 485, No. 8); v.[7] the aged mother gives expression to her joyous surprise at the birth of a son. Two or three years afterwards (21[8]), upon occasion of the family-feast held to celebrate Isaac's weaning, Sarah's jealousy of her handmaid is again aroused; she peremptorily demands the expulsion of both Hagar and Ishmael; and Abraham reluctantly complies (21[9-14]). Ch. 23 (P) relates the death of Sarah (cf. the allusion of J in 24[67b]), at the age of 127 years, in Ḳiriath-arba' (Ḥebron), and the purchase by Abraham of a cave in the field of MACHPELAH, 'in front of' MAMRE, in which to bury her (cf. 25[10] P, 49[31] P). The only other reference in the OT to Sarah is Is 51[2], where she is alluded to as the mother of the chosen race.*

Sarah is a typical but not an ideal character. She is a devoted wife and mother; but, at the same time, like many another woman, imperious, hasty in her judgments, and jealous: wrapt up in her husband and her son, she resents the smallest disparagement, or assumption of superiority, on the part of either Hagar or Ishmael, and does not rest satisfied till she finds herself in her home without a rival.

In NT Sarah is mentioned Ro 4[19] 9[9] (Gn 18[14]), He 11[11] (her faith), 1 P 3[6] (her conjugal 'obedience' to Abraham, calling him 'lord,' Gn 18[12]); and the narrative of Sarah and Hagar, and of their respective children, is treated allegorically, as foreshadowing the freedom of Christians, the 'children of promise,' in Gal 4[21]–5[1] (cf. HAGAR, vol. ii. p. 278).

2. The daughter of Raguel and wife of Tobias, To 3[7. 17] and oft. (LXX Σάρρα). See TOBIT (BOOK OF).

S. R. DRIVER.

SARAIAS.—**1.** (Σαραΐας) 1 Es 5[5], Seraiah, the high priest of Zedekiah's time, father of Jehozadak, and grandfather of Jeshua (cf. 1 Ch 6[14]). **2.** (*Sareus*) 2 Es 1[1], the father of Ezra. It is uncertain whether he is the same person as the AZARAIAS of 1 Es 8[1], where the following ZECHRIAS takes the place of Azaraias of 2 Es 1[1].

SARAMEL, RV **Asaramel** (A Σαραμέλ, ℵV 'Ασαραμέλ; *Asaramel*).—Saramel appears to be a word in the original Heb. or Syr. text of 1 Mac. which the translator did not understand when preparing the existing Gr. version. Nearly all commentators adopt the reading Asaramel. By some, including Luther, it is held to be a place-name, and to have been the spot at which the assembled Jews made Simon Maccabæus 'their leader and high priest' (1 Mac 14[28. 35]). By others various restorations of the Hebrew text have been proposed.—1. (*Wĕ*)*sar-'am-'ēl*, 'and prince of the people of God,' understanding this as a title of Simon. The original *wĕ*, 'and,' is supposed to have been corrupted into *bĕ*, 'in.' This view, first proposed by Wernsdorf (1747), is adopted by Scholz, Grimm, Schürer, Zöckler, Kautzsch, Kraetzschmar, and others. 2. (*Bĕ*)*sha'ar-'am-'ēl*, 'at the gate of the people of God,' or—3. (*Ba*)*ḥăzar-'am-'ēl*, 'in the court of the people of God' (Ewald, *et al.*). 4. A. R. S. Kennedy (*Expos. Times*, Aug. 1900, p. 523 ff.) proposes either (*a*) *ba'ăzār* [*ath Yisra*]*'ēl*, 'in the court of Israel,' which was incorrectly deciphered *ba'azar-ham-'ēl*, the letters ר and ן and ב and ו being very like each other in the older Phœn. characters; or (*b*) *ba'ăzart-'am-'ēl*, 'in an assembly of the people of God.' He prefers the former.

C. W. WILSON.

SARAPH (שָׂרָף; B Σαιά, A Σαράφ).—A descendant of Shelah, 1 Ch 4[22].

SARCHEDONUS.—The form in which the name ESAR-HADDON (which see) appears in To 1[21f.]. The misspelling 'Sarchedonus' of the AV has been retained, surely inadvertently, by the RV. The correct form is 'Sacherdonus' (Bℵ Σαχερδονός, A Σαχερδάν, in v.[22] Σαχερδονοσός).

SARDINE.—At Rev 4[3] AV renders ὅμοιος λίθῳ σαρδίνῳ by 'like a sardine stone.' The reading is that of the TR. It is rightly rejected by modern editors, on the overwhelming authority of ℵAQ, etc., which read σαρδίῳ; RV has 'like a sardius': see, therefore, SARDIUS, below.

SARDIS (Σάρδεις).—The capital of Lydia, when a Lydian kingdom existed before B.C. 549, was one of the greatest and most ancient and famous cities of Asia Minor. It was situated on the northern skirts of Mount Tmolos, at the point where the small river Pactolos issues from a glen in the mountains to join the Hermus, which flows westwards about two or three miles north of Sardis. The acropolis of Sardis was situated on a spur of Tmolos, separated by a depression from the mountains on the south, and rising sharply from the level plain on the north, with the Pactolos washing its western base, and formed an almost impregnable fortress in ancient times. The city, which is naturally the capital of the middle Hermus valley, was still, in the first century after Christ, the metropolis of a group of cities (in the south of the middle Hermus valley and throughout the upper valley), which formed one of the *conventus* into which the province of Asia was divided.

Political circumstances had been as favourable

* In Gn 24[67a] the very strange syntax of the existing Heb. text makes it probable that 'of his mother Sarah' is a gloss.

to it as geographical. It was the residence of a satrap, after the Persians conquered Asia Minor, and the burning of the lower town in 501 by the revolted Ionians excited vehement anger in Darius, as an insult to his government and himself. It surrendered willingly to Alexander the Great in 334, and was made by him an autonomous, self-governing city of the Greek type, electing its own magistrates and striking, presumably, its own coins: the Sardian coins of earlier date were not municipal, but regal, and perhaps satrapal coins,* struck by despotic governors resident at Sardis. After the death of Alexander, in 322, it fell under the authority of Antigonus till 301, when after the battle of Ipsus it passed under the domination of Seleucus, and became the residence of the governor of the western part of the Seleucid empire (called, doubtless, satrap). In 190 the battle of Magnesia set Sardis free; and the Romans incorporated it in the Pergamenian realm (in which there was much greater municipal freedom than under Seleucid rule). The known coinage of the city begins under the Pergamenian kings, and continues under Roman rule in increasing quantities.

The special religion of Sardis was the worship of Cybele, the ruins of whose temple with two columns standing, partly are seen, partly lie buried in the glen of the Pactolos near the river-bank. Her nature and the character of her worship were very similar to those of DIANA at Ephesus.

The necropolis of Sardis, where its chiefs and kings in early times were buried, was a great group of tumuli, some small, some of very large size, about three miles north of the Hermus, on the south side of the Gygæan Lake (Mermere Giol). There, near the shrine of Gygæan Artemis, beside the Lake, the people of the goddess returned at death to their divine mother.

In A.D. 17 Sardis was destroyed by a great earthquake, and Tiberius remitted all its taxes for five years, and contributed ten million sesterces towards rebuilding the city. Eleven other cities, which had been its partners in ruin, and had shared in the emperor's benefaction, and also two later sufferers, joined with it in erecting at Rome a monument in his honour; and a miniature copy of that monument, constructed in A.D. 30 at Puteoli (the harbour for the Eastern and Asian trade at that time), is still preserved.†

While the three cities, Pergamus, Smyrna, and Ephesus, vied for the title of First City of Asia, Sardis, though still a place of importance, was, beyond any other of the prominent cities of Asia, a town of the past, retaining the name of greatness, but decayed from its former estate. The words addressed to it in Rev 3^1 are singularly appropriate to its history: 'I know thy works, that thou hast a name that thou livest, and thou art dead.' The words are, of course, addressed to the Church of Sardis, and must be understood as describing its condition about A.D. 90–100, already decaying from its original high promise; but it seems clear that the writer must have been conscious of the historical parallel, and chose his words so as to express it. When he goes on to say, 'Be thou watchful . . . for I have found no works of thine fulfilled: . . . if therefore thou shalt not watch I will come as a thief, and thou shalt not know what hour I will come upon thee,' one's thoughts are carried back to the two occasions when, through careless watching, the impregnable citadel failed to keep up its reputation and name and to fulfil its works, when the Median soldier in 549 and the Cretan Lagoras in 218* climbed the steep hill and stole unobserved into the acropolis. The very hill itself is in ceaseless decay, washed away to an extraordinary extent by the rains and frosts disintegrating the soil and rock.

These historical parallels were not drawn by the writer of the Apocalypse from literature: the story of the Median and the Cretan was doubtless a household word in Sardis, and the character of the city as failing to keep up its ancient greatness and promise would assuredly be very plain. We may fairly infer that the writer was personally familiar with the place; and speaks from what he had learned by eye and ear in Sardis.

When about A.D. 295 the great province Asia was broken up into several smaller provinces, Sardis once more became the capital of Lydia; and in all the Byzantine lists the bishop of Sardis is mentioned as metropolitan and archbishop of Lydia, and as sixth in order of dignity of all the bishops, European and Asiatic, subject to the patriarch of Constantinople. The acropolis on its lofty hill was of a type suited for the frontier warfare of Arab and Turkish raids, and the fortifications remaining on it are all of a late period. It is uncertain when it passed into the hands of the Turks. Lydia was exposed to frequent raids at the end of the 11th cent., and again after the defeat of Manuel Comnenus in 1176. In 1257 the Emperor Theodore II. encamped at Sardis, but after 1267 the raids of the Turks became bolder and more continuous in the Hermus valley (Pach. ii. p. 313 f.), and they swept the country down to Menemen near the sea. Magnesia and Philadelphia were then the two chief cities of the valley (as they still are), and Sardis was quite a secondary town. In 1306 the Turks were admitted to the Sardian acropolis, but shortly after were expelled (Pach. ii. 403 f.); but this success was only temporary, and there can hardly be any doubt that Sardis had fallen into their hands before 1316, when they took Nymphaion.

In 1402 Sardis was captured and destroyed by Tamerlane, and it has never recovered from that crushing blow. It is now only a ruin, with a tiny village called Sart, while the town is Salikli, about five miles east. Sart is a station on the railway from Smyrna to Philadelphia and Kara Hissar. Three miles south are great hot springs.

The bishopric of Sardis is mentioned in even the latest *Notitiæ*, but probably it ceased to have any real existence soon after 1300. The fourth *Notitia Episcopatuum* in Parthey's collection, p. 132, puts the situation plainly. It mentions Sardis in its ancient place as sixth in dignity, but adds that the bishop of Philadelphia has now been substituted in the place of the Sardian exarchos.† The substitution was later than 1284, when Andronicus Chalaza, bishop of Sardis, evidently an influential dignitary, was expelled from the Council of Adramyttium (Pach. ii. p. 65 f.), and may be dated about 1316. With that change Sardis ceased. History had decided against it, and it was dead.

W. M. RAMSAY.

SARDITES.—See SERED.

SARDIUS.—AV uses this word thrice in the OT (Ex 28^{17} 39^{10}, Ezk 28^{13}) and once in the NT (Rev 21^{10}). In the OT passages RVm has 'or *ruby*.' The Heb. in each case is אֹדֶם: see, therefore, RUBY, above.

At Rev 21^{20} the *σάρδιος* of TR or *σάρδιον* of the

* No coins, however, are known struck at Sardis either by the satraps under Persian rule or by the city as set free by Alexander. Probably Antigonus deprived it of freedom and the right of coinage, and under Seleucid rule it continued in that oppressed condition.

† See *CIL* x. 1624; Rushforth, *Latin Historical Inscr.*, No. 95.

* In 218 Antiochus the Great, after a year's siege, captured Sardis, where his usurping rival Achæus maintained himself.

† This should have been quoted in vol. iii. p. 831 to complete the account of the bishopric of Philadelphia; the relation of *Notitiæ* iv. and xi. is uncertain, but iv. is later.

better MSS is the sixth foundation of the New Jerusalem. Epiphanius (quoted by Alford, *Gr. Test.* iv. 595) derives its name from its resemblance in colour to a salted fish called *sardion*. Theophrastus, with whom King (*Antique Gems*, p. 7) agrees, traces it to the fact that the gem was first imported into Greece from Sardis. Middleton (*Engraved Gems*, p. 143) thinks it comes from a Pers. word meaning 'yellow.' He does not give the word in question, but the *Encyc. Brit.*[9] (art. 'Sardonyx') connects *sard* with the Pers. *sered*, 'yellowish-red.' There does not appear to be any such word: the nearest approach to it is زرد *zerd* = 'yellow.'

The sard is one of the crypto-crystalline gems of the silicon family, identical in chemical composition with the carnelian, but more crystalline, more transparent, and less ruddy. Its colour varies from pale golden-yellow to reddish-orange. Pliny (*HN* 37, 106) justly remarks: *Nec fuit alia gemma apud antiquos usu frequentior.* This was owing to the beauty of the stone, which in the best specimens is brilliantly transparent and very fine in colour, to its toughness, its facility of working, and the high polish of which it is susceptible. It also retains its polish longer than other gems. The finest engravings of ancient times were on sards. Pliny states that the best examples came from Babylon, but that source of supply had failed in his day. Others were obtained from Paros, Assos, India, and Egypt. Theophrastus (*Lap.* 56) speaks of two principal kinds—the *male*, brownish in colour, and the *female*, transparent red: τὸ μὲν διαφανές, ἐρυθρότερον δὲ, καλεῖται θῆλυ· τὸ δὲ διαφανὲς μέν, μελάντερον δὲ, καλεῖται ἄρσεν. Considering how largely this gem was used, not only amongst Greeks and Romans but also for Assyrian cylinders and Phœn. scarabs, it is curious that there should be only one verse in the Bible where it is unquestionably mentioned, and that not as an engraved stone.

J. TAYLOR.

SARDONYX.—The name indicates the structure of the gem, a layer of sard and one of onyx. Pliny (*HN* 37, 86) says: *Sardonyches olim . . . intelligebantur candore in sarda, hoc est veluti carne ungui hominis imposita et utrogue tralucido.* The finest then came from Arabia and India. In the latter country it was found in torrent-beds, some pieces being large enough for sword handles. It is better adapted for cameos than for signets, but was much used by the Romans for both purposes, and it possesses one quality valuable for a seal: wax does not adhere to it. Juvenal twice refers to sardonyx seals—

> 'Arguit ipsorum quos littera gemmaque princeps
> Sardonychum, loculis quæ custoditur eburnis' (*Sat.* xiii. 138),

and

> 'Ideo conducta Paullus agebat
> Sardonyche . . .' (*ib.* vii. 144).

This gem has always been easy to produce artificially, either by joining together layers of different stones or by placing a sard on a red-hot iron, when the surface exposed to the heat becomes of an opaque white colour.

The sardonyx (σαρδόνυξ) is the fifth foundation-stone of the New Jerusalem (Rev 21[20]). RVm gives *sardonyx* as an alternative for *diamond* in translating יַהֲלֹם at Ex 28[18] 39[11], but at Ezk 28[13] RV contents itself with the *diamond* of the text. There is no sufficient reason for supposing that יַהֲלֹם means sardonyx. The *Oxf. Heb. Lex.* is inclined to derive יַהֲלֹם from הלם, and to explain the name as pointing to the hardness of the stone. This would not favour the identification with the sardonyx.

J. TAYLOR.

SAREA.—One of the swift scribes who wrote to the dictation of Ezra (2 Es 14[24]).

SAREPTA.—See ZAREPHATH.

SARGON (סַרְגֹן, Ἀρνά).—Once mentioned in the Bible (Is 20[1]), when it is said that he sent his TARTAN (*turtannu*) or commander-in-chief against Ashdod (B.C. 711). The name had been borne by a famous king of early Babylonia, who founded an empire which extended to the Mediterranean (B.C. 3800); and as Sargon's two predecessors, Tiglath-pileser III. and Shalmaneser IV., had assumed new names after seizing the Assyr. throne, it seems probable that Sargon also was an assumed name. It is written in cuneiform Sar-gina, as if a compound of the Semitic *sar*, 'king,' and the Sumerian *gina*, 'established,' and is accordingly rendered by the Semitic *Sarru-kinu*, 'the established' or 'legitimate monarch'; but the inscriptions of the elder Sargon show that the name is really a corruption of *Sarganu*, 'the strong one' (cf. the biblical Serug).

When Shalmaneser IV. died or was murdered, during the siege of Samaria (B.C. 722), the crown was usurped (on the 12th of the month Tebet) by the Assyr. general Sargon, who claimed descent from a semi-mythical king of Assyria called Belbani. Samaria was captured soon afterwards, and Sargon transported 27,200 of its population into captivity, the city being placed under an Assyr. satrap. Meanwhile Babylon had been seized by the Kaldâ chief, Merodach-baladan, who maintained himself in Chaldæa for 12 years, notwithstanding the defeat of his Elamite allies. In B.C. 720 a certain Ilu-bihdi, also called Yahubihdi, arose at Hamath, and led Arpad, Damascus, and Palestine into revolt. This was easily suppressed, however; Hamath was colonized by 4300 Assyrians, and the Philistines and Egyptians were defeated at Raphia on the borders of Egypt. In B.C. 719 the Minni, east of Ararat, were attacked and defeated, and two years later Sargon gained a great victory over the combined forces of the Hittites of Carchemish and of Mita of the Moschi (Meshech). Carchemish became an Assyrian city, its trade passed into Assyrian hands, and Sargon carried from it to the treasury of Calah 11 talents and 30 manehs of gold and 2100 talents of silver.

In B.C. 716 Sargon was called on to meet a confederacy of the northern nations—Rusas of Ararat or Van, Mita of the Moschi, and many other tribes, the Minni, Tubal, Milid (Malatiyeh), etc. In the course of the campaign he marched into the land of the Medes towards the Caspian Sea, and received tribute from eight of their chiefs. The following year the country of the Minni was overrun, the Minnæan chief Daiukku (Dêiokes) being transported to Hamath, and the Bedâwin of N. Arabia were chastised. In 714 the Minni submitted, and the army of Rusas of Ararat was annihilated. Rusas himself committed suicide. In 713 forty-five Median chiefs, including Arbaku (Arbaces), were made tributary, as well as the kingdom of Ellipi in which the city of Ecbatana was afterwards built. Tubal and Cilicia also submitted, and in 712 Milid was captured and destroyed. In 711 a vassal prince was established at Marqasi (Mer'ash), the capital of Gurgum in N. Syria, and the *turtannu* was sent against Palestine, where a rebellion had broken out. A league had been formed between Merodach-baladan and the princes of the West, including Hezekiah of Judah, but, before the confederates could move, Ashdod, the centre of the revolt, was taken by storm, and Judah, Moab, and Edom paid homage to the conqueror. The turn of Merodach-baladan came in 710–709, when he was driven first from Babylonia

and then from his ancestral city, Bit-Yakin in the marshes, and Sargon was crowned at Babylon. After this he sent a statue of himself to the vassal princes of Cyprus, which was set up at Idalion, and is now in the Berlin Museum. Kummukh, or Comagênê, was annexed to Assyria in 708, and a war was commenced with the Elamites in 707. Sargon had already built his palace of Dur-Sargina (now Khorsabad, but called Sarghûn by the Arabic geographers), about 10 miles N. of Nineveh. He was murdered B.C. 705. A. H. SAYCE.

SARID (שָׂרִיד; B Ἐσεδεκγωλά, Σεδδούκ; A Σαρθίδ, Σαρίδ; *Sarid*).—A border town of Zebulun, situated to the west of Chisloth-tabor (*Iksâl*, Jos 19[10. 12]). Eusebius and Jerome (*Onom. s.* Σαρίθ, *Sarith*) do not identify it. Conder, following the reading Σεδδούκ, and that of the ancient Syriac version, 'Asdod,' reads 'Sadid,' and identifies it with *Tell Shadûd*, an artificial mound with fine springs, on the north side of the great plain of Esdraelon, and about 5 miles to the westward of *Iksâl* (*PEF Mem.* ii. 43, 70). C. W. WILSON.

SAROTHIE (B Σαρωθεί, A Σαρωθιέ), 1 Es 5[34].—His sons are named among the sons of Solomon's servants who returned with Zerubbabel. There is no corresponding name in the lists of Ezra and Nehemiah.

SARSECHIM (שַׂרְסְכִים; BA א Ναβουσαχάρ, Q Ναβουσαράχ, Q[mg] Σαρσαχείμ; Vulg. *Sarsachim*).—One of the princes of the king of Babylon who was present at the taking of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar in the 11th year of Zedekiah, Jer 39 [Gr. 46][3]. He seems to have borne the title of RAB-SARIS, 'chief of the heads *or* princes.' There is much doubt as to the original form of the name, and its meaning is, therefore, likewise obscure. Schrader (*COT* ii. p. 110) merely remarks that the first part of the name is quite clear (שַׂר='king'), and queries the reading. In all probability, testimony to its incorrectness is to be found in the fact that the vocalization is practically the same as that of the Hebrew form of Sennacherib (Sanhērîb, Sarsechîm; cf. Nimrod, Nisroch, etc.). If the first element, *sar*, be regarded as certain, the original form may have been *Sar-iskun*, 'he (the god) has made a king,' that is, provided a successor to the throne. In this case the original form of the name would have been שַׂרְסְכֻן,* which would go back to a time when no vowels whatever were written.† In the present state of our knowledge, however, all identifications of this name must be regarded as tentative and unsatisfactory, presenting, as they do, several difficulties, and being unsupported by the monuments. The Greek forms beginning with Ναβου are probably due to the name *Samgar-nebo*, which precedes. If, however, they have any authority—and sometimes the Greek forms are the more correct (cf. NISROCH)—that of Q Ναβουσαράχ would be the best for comparison, as it resembles very closely the *Nabû-šar-âḫê-šu*, 'Nebo is his brothers' king,' of the inscriptions (Strassmaier, *Inschriften von Nabuchodonosor*, 172, 23;‡ 216, 12,§ and elsewhere). See also artt. NERGAL-SHAREZER and SAMGAR-NEBO. T. G. PINCHES.

* שַׂרְסְכֻן would also be likely.

† As the Greek form *Saracos* shows, the name of *Sin-šarra-iškun* ('Sin has made a king'), the last king of Assyria, could be pronounced without the name of the deity, and would then be the same as the Sar-iskun here suggested, at the same time furnishing an objection, for any one bearing such a name would probably have been regarded as claiming the throne.

‡ *Nabû-šar-âḫê-šu*, son of *Dikta*, and father of *Nabû-mušêtiq-urri*, fifth witness to a contract dated in the 27th year of Nebuchadnezzar.

§ *Nabû-šar-âḫê-šu*, son of *Kinunnâa*, son of *Iddina-Papsukal*, third witness to a contract dated in the 30th year of Nebuchadnezzar.

SATAN (Heb. שָׂטָן, Arab. شَيْطَان, Syr. ܣܛܢܐ Greek σατανᾶς [but in 2 Co 12[7] Σατάν, א*** A** D** EKLP etc.—yet the evidence is doubtful, and the reading Σατανᾶ (genit.) is preferred by Lachm. Tisch.[8] and WH on the authority of א* A* BD* FG Copt. It. Vulg. Orig. Iren. Tert. On the other hand, the reading Σατάν was preferred by Meyer, though there is no analogy to it in the NT, and in the LXX only in 1 K 11[14] 23[25], and Aq. on Job 1[6]. More frequently (especially in the Gospels) the Heb. proper name is simply rendered by ὁ διάβολος, 'the accuser' or 'calumniator.' In Rev 12[10] ὁ κατήγωρ is the equivalent used).—The name and conception of Satan belong to the post-exilian age of Hebrew development. Probably Zec 3[1] is the earliest instance of its appearance in our Canonical literature. On the other hand, the roots of the conception can without difficulty be traced in the writings of pre-exilian and exilian times.

i. PRE-EXILIAN PERIOD.—(1) The Serpent, who tempts Eve and lures man to his doom, is a demon in animal shape, analogous to the Arabic *jinn* which frequently resided in serpents. See art. DEMON and also MAGIC (vol. iii. p. 208, footnote ‡).

(2) The Babylonian *Tiâmat*, the dragon-monster of the great abyss, with whom Marduk, god of light, contended (see art. COSMOGONY), corresponds to the Hebrew Leviathan or Rahab in exilian and post-exilian literature (cf. also Am 9[3]), with whom Jehovah entered into conflict and whom He destroyed. See artt. RAHAB and SEA MONSTER.

(3) The individual subject might be possessed by an 'evil spirit' (1 S 16[14], cf. Jg 9[23]), which drives him to commit acts of violence in opposition to the Divine will. In 1 S 16[14] this 'evil spirit' is placed in opposition to the Spirit of the LORD which departed from Saul upon its advent. This evil spirit, which 'distressed' (בָּעַת) the king, is also spoken of as 'from Jehovah.' Wellhausen draws attention to the curious distinction that, whereas רוּחַ יי is the good spirit, רוּחַ מֵאֵת יי (or רוּחַ * אֱלֹהִים) is a bad spirit. The former expression connotes a closer community of mind and purpose between the Deity and His emissary. For the present, however, it is sufficient to take note that evil, whether it be misfortune or sin, is referred to a Divine causality in accordance with the intense feeling of dependence on God which characterized the ancient Hebrew, 1 S 1[5] 18[10] 19[9] 26[19], 2 S 24[1], 1 K 22[21], Jg 9[23], Is 6[10] 63[17], Ps 51[6] (Max Löhr). In the interesting parallel Jg 9[23] the evil spirit shows itself as a spirit of discord between Abimelech and the Shechemites, just as it exhibited itself in Saul's outbreaks of violent jealousy against David. It is thus somewhat analogous in character to the Homeric Ἄτη, daughter of Zeus. Cf. art. MAGIC in vol. iii. p. 208[a].

(4) In Micaiah's vision the emissary who goes forth to execute Jehovah's behest is a lying spirit (רוּחַ שֶׁקֶר) in the mouth of the prophets who lures Ahab to his doom (1 K 22[22ff.]). It would lead us beyond the limits of our subject if we were to discuss the OT conceptions of Jehovah's character involved in this naïve portrayal of the relation subsisting between God and the lying spirit. On this passage Kittel's remarks may be studied with advantage in his commentary, This narrative in 1 K 22[1-37] forms an almost continuous section following on ch. 20, and there are no sufficient grounds for separating vv.[19-23] or other portions from the narrative as later additions (as Schwally proposes in *ZATW*, 1892, p. 159 ff.; cf. Marti in *SK*, 1892, p. 230).

(5) Of subsidiary significance is the difficult

* אֱלֹהִים is not so distinctive a name for the God of the Hebrews, since it *may* even designate heathen deities.

section Gn 6[1-4], in which supernatural causes are assigned to growing human corruption in the fleshly union of angels and women and the rise of a race of *nephîlîm*. Holzinger (*Commentary on Gen.* p. 67) suggests that it contains a fragment of an old cosmogony with a conflict of higher and lower deities, parallel to the Babylonian. Note the influence of the tradition on the Book of Enoch.

We have sufficiently indicated the roots of the conception of Satan which are to be found in pre-exilian and to a certain extent in exilian literature. The word שָׂטָן occurs in pre-exilian literature in the sense of 'opponent' or 'adversary.' It is thus applied to David by the Philistines (1 S 29[4]), and to Hadad the Edomite whom God raised up as Solomon's adversary (1 K 11[14], cf. a like use in Mt 16[23]). Thus an angel may fulfil this function with good intent (Nu 22[22ff.]).

ii. Post-Exilian (Old Testament) Period.—When we come to post-exilian literature we find the existence of a Satan who is a supernatural adversary of man in an essential sense, whose set purpose it is to work vital injury either to the individual or to the race. The growth of this conception was probably due to the unconscious operation of two tendencies. (1) As the conception of God became freed from the limitations of primitive nationalism and also more ethically exalted, and His sovereignty over the world regarded as universal and transcendent, there gradually arose an inevitable tendency to interpolate mediating angelic agencies between this transcendent Divine sovereign and the world of which He was Lord. (2) By an unconscious logical process an attempt was made to solve the ethical problem of the presence of evil in the world on the one hand and of Divine righteousness and absolute sovereignty on the other. To post-exilian Judaism, as the Books of Psalms and Job clearly testify, it was of supreme moment to vindicate the ways of God to Israel in the presence of dire calamity and persecution. Though the problem of the ultimate origin of evil is not even discussed, evil is ascribed to Satan the opponent of man and, to a certain extent, of God's beneficent purpose. He is a spirit who takes delight in man's misfortune, and is even permitted by God to work his fell designs though they be contrary to the Divine intention. Thus in Zec 3[2] Jehovah is angered against Satan because the latter is not yet satisfied with all the misfortunes that have befallen Jerusalem, but demands further punishment. In the *Book of Job* the righteous sufferer is made the victim of Satan's malicious purpose. We even find ourselves involved in an apparent contradiction: Satan takes his place in the heavenly court among the other sons of God, and gives an account of his acts, and receives his commands from his Divine Lord. But a contrary spirit is manifest in the Divine Sovereign and in His malignant angel. The former desires to see Job's righteous character vindicated; the latter denies its genuineness, and desires to see it subjected to a strain that will wreck it. Here the characteristic traits of Satan's character are clearly visible, implied in his name and illustrated continually in subsequent literature: (*a*) He is the accuser (*διάβολος*) and also (*b*) the tempter (*ὁ πειράζων*) that seeks to entrap piety and work its ruin. It is in this latter rôle that he meets us in 1 Ch 21[1], where he tempts David, whereas in the pre-exilian form of the story (2 S 24[1]) it is God Himself who submits David to the test. We have here an interesting indication that in the time when the Books of Chronicles were written (4th cent. B.C.) the personality of Satan had become distinctly realized. Whereas in the earlier post-exilian writings, Zechariah and Job, the def. article is attached, the form 'Satan' in 1 Ch 21[1] is anarthrous (Smend).

iii. Later Judaism.—The evolution of the Jewish conception of Satan is marked by an ever-growing tendency to a dualism, which, however, always stops short of being absolute through the all-controlling limitations imposed by Hebrew monotheism. The tendency undoubtedly existed, and was probably fostered by Persian influence; for in Persian religion the dualism of good and evil is more accentuated than in any other ancient system. The extent to which Persian ideas moulded the *Book of Tobit* has been recently made the subject of an interesting study by J. H. Moulton (*Expos. Times*, March 1900). This writer confirms the doubts expressed by the author of the present article (see Apollyon) that the Asmodæus of Tobit (or the Ashmedai of the Talmud) is identical with the Aêshma Daeva of the Bundahesh. This identity is confidently asserted by Holtzmann (*Neutest. Theol.* i. p. 53), but it cannot be accepted without stronger evidence.* His main contention, however, that Persian influence largely affected Jewish satanology, we hold to be well founded. Twelve years ago Cheyne contended for a like influence in the realm of Jewish eschatology (*Expos. Times*, ii. 202, 224, 248; *Bampton Lect.* p. 394 ff.). Cf. Kohut, *Jüd. Angel.* p. 62 f.

The demonology of the *Book of Enoch* is developed with remarkable fulness, and presents striking analogies to that of the NT. Charles, in his art. Apocalyptic Literature in the present work (cf. his edition of the Book of Enoch), would place the dates of the different sections between 180 and 64 B.C.† The demons proceeded, according to 16[1], from the giants, who were the offspring of the fallen angels who lusted after the daughters of men. These demons accomplish man's moral ruin until the day of final judgment arrives. Satan, as in the NT, is represented as the ruler of a rival kingdom of evil, which is nevertheless subject to the 'Lord of spirits' (65[6]). We read, moreover, not only of Satan, but also of Satans; and it should be noted that in the *Similitudes* the Satans and the fallen angels are carefully distinguished. The latter fall in the days of Jared according to chs. 1–36 and 91–104, while in ch. 69, where a catalogue of names is given (cf. 6[7]), the functions of the two classes are confused (Charles). Jekûn is the first chief 'who led astray all the children of the angels and brought them down to earth.' The names of other tempters follow. The name of the Satan who led Eve astray is Gâdreel (69[6]). He is third in the hierarchy described in § 3 ff. The Satans are first mentioned in Enoch 40[7], where we read that Fanuel, one of the four chief angels, wards off the Satans and forbids them to appear (as Satan in the Book of Job) in the presence of the Lord of spirits to accuse the dwellers on earth. These Satans belong to a counter-kingdom of evil ruled by a chief called Satan (53[3]). They existed as evil powers before the 'Watchers'‡ fell by corrupting themselves with the daughters of men. The four chief angels, 'Michael, Gabriel, Rafael, and Fanuel will take hold of them on that great day [*i.e.* Judgment Day] and cast them into a burning furnace, that the Lord of spirits may take vengeance on them for their unrighteousness in becoming subject to Satan and leading astray those who dwell on the earth' (54[6]). These Satans, according to 40[7], have the means of access to heaven, which the 'watchers' or other fallen angels did not possess (13[5] 14[5]). They have a threefold function: they tempt to evil (69[4-6]), they accuse the

* This is also the view of Baudissin in *PRE*[3] *sub voce* 'Asmodi.'

† Baldensperger (*Selbstbewusstsein Jesu*[2], pp. 12–19) would place the dates considerably later. So also Schürer; cf. his *GVI*[3] iii. pp. 195, 199–201.

‡ Cf. the *ἐγρήγοροι* of Dn 4[10]; cf. also *Book of Jubilees* and *Testaments of the XII Patriarchs.*

inhabitants of earth (40[7]), and they punish the condemned. In this last character they are called 'angels of punishment' (53[3] 56[1] 62[11] 63[1]) (Charles).

This multiform activity in the kingdom of evil, expressed in multiplied personalities, is a marked feature of the Book of Enoch; and, viewed from this aspect, there is a close resemblance between the demonology of the Book of Enoch and that of the later Judaism expressed in the treatises of the Talmud, to which attention will presently be called.

In the *Apocrypha*, apart from the Book of Tobit, the references to Satan, though significant, are not numerous. As in the Book of Enoch, we are in the presence of a kingdom of demons. Satan, according to the *Book of Sirach*, so takes possession of the ungodly man's soul that when he curses Satan he may be said to curse himself (Sir 21[27]). In the *Book of Wisdom* (2[24]) we see that Satan and the Serpent of Gn 3 are more or less identified. Death entered into the world through the envy of the devil. This identification of the Serpent and Satan is the ever-recurring feature of Judaism and Christianity alike. In the *Book of Baruch* (4[7. 35]) the deities of the heathen are called demons (cf. Dt 32[17], Ps 106[37]), and Israel suffers punishment for sacrificing to them (cf. Rv 9[20]); but of Satan there is no express mention. In the *Book of Tobit*, Asmodi (Asmodæus) may be regarded as the equivalent of Satan in being the chief personification of evil. This demon is conjured by the magical prescription described in ch. 6, viz. burning the heart and liver of a fish with the ashes of incense. In its demonology this book stands apart from the other books of the Apocrypha, but in its ascription of lustful qualities to Asmodæus we find a close parallel to later Jewish conceptions. In the *Psalms of Solomon* we have only a slight reference to the supernatural agency of evil. Ryle and James have noted the simplicity of the religious ideas of this book. There is only one clear allusion to angelology (17[49]). In 4[9] the prosperous man is compared to 'a serpent speaking with the words of transgressors words of deceit to pervert wisdom.' Here Gn 3 is evidently in the mind of the Psalmist. In *Philo Judæus* demons and Satan fall into the background and disappear. His attitude is exhibited in his Treatise on Giants, c. 4, where his rationalizing tendency is manifest. Note his treatment of Ps 77[49] LXX. The sources of evil are found in the flesh and its passions, in self-love and ignorance, rather than in supernatural personalities (see Drummond, vol. ii. pp. 297–305).

Some reference may here be made to the interesting *Book of the Secrets of Enoch* recently brought to light in its Slavonic form by Mr. Morfill. It has been supposed that it was originally composed about the beginning of the Christian era. Here again we note the identification of Satan with the Serpent in Gn 3. We read in 31[3ff.] 'The devil took thought as if wishing to make another world because things were subservient to Adam on earth . . . He became Satan after he left the heavens. His name was formerly Satanail. He conceived designs against Adam in such a manner that he entered and deceived Eve. But he did not touch Adam.' 29[4ff.] graphically portrays how Satanail was hurled from the heights with his angels on the third day of creation: 'One of those in the ranks of the archangels having turned away with the rank below him, entertained an impossible idea that he should make his throne higher than the clouds over the earth, and should be equal in rank to My power. And I hurled him from the heights with his angels. And he was flying in the air continually above the abyss.' Here we have one of the ultimate sources of Milton's conception of Satan's revolt.

The *Jewish ideas* reflected in the *Targums* and *Midrash* present a close resemblance to those just described. The identification of the Serpent with Satan was expressed in Jewish theological writers by the name bestowed on the latter, נָחָשׁ הַקַּדְמוֹן. Thus in *Sifrê* 138*b* the heathen are called the disciples of נָחָשׁ הַקַּדְמוֹנִי who seduced Adam and Eve. In *Bereshith* 29 we find the tradition that *Sammael*, the highest angel that stands before God's throne, caused the Serpent to seduce the woman. Thus Satan and Sammael coalesce into one personality. Sammael, according to *Deut. Rabba* 11, is the angel, the wicked one, chief of all Satans. Here again we observe the same divided personalities as in the Book of Enoch, and Satan appears to be a personified generalization. There is an arch-Satan called Sammael, and there are Satans who are subordinate to him, just as the angels who are subject to God as His attendant ministers. According to *Targ. Jerus.* I. on Gn 3[6] Eve saw, at the moment when the Serpent addressed her, Sammael, 'angel of death,' and became afraid. Envy is made the motive to man's temptation. According to *Sanhedrin* 59, the Serpent was jealous of the services rendered to man by the angels. In *Sota* 9*a* and *Beresh. Rabba* 18, the temptation is ascribed to the motive of lustful jealousy. *Ib.* 24 relates the curious legend that demons held intercourse with Adam and Eve during the first 130 years after the Fall, and other demons (שֵׁדִים, לִילִין, רוּחוֹת, and רוּחִין) were the product of the union. *Bereshith* 42 ascribes the birth of Cain to the union of Satan with Eve (Weber).

Freedom of will is ascribed in the Talmud to man even after the Fall. He can therefore choose either good or evil. The evil impulse in man is designated by the term יֵצֶר הָרַע, which works within him like a leaven (*Berakh.* 17*a*). Satan accomplishes his fell purpose by the instrumentality of the יֵצֶר הָרַע (*Bammidbar rabba* 20, *Baba bathra* 15*a*). Moreover, Satan is not only tempter, but also *accuser*, of whom the individual is continually in dread, since he never knows what is his standing before God, whether he is justified in His sight, or liable to condemnation through Satan's accusations. A similar conception underlies 1 Ti 3[6. 7] and Rev 12[10].—Targums frequently foist Satan into the OT narrative, *e.g.* Targ. Jon. on Ex 32[19] (Lv 9[2]). Eisenmenger, *Ent. Jud.* i. p. 845, quotes rabbinic passages in which the angel who wrestled with Jacob is identified with Sammael. Similarly Belial (Beliar), according to *Ascensio Jesaiæ*, enters into Manasseh and accomplishes the martyrdom of the prophet.

iv. NEW TESTAMENT IDEAS RESPECTING SATAN.—These follow the broad outlines of contemporary Judaism, but are without its grosser and more extravagant elements, and are generally characterized by simplicity. The epithets bestowed on Satan are various. He is apparently identified with **Beelzebub** * (Beelzebul) in Mt 12[26. 27], cf. 10[25];

* Instead of Βεελζεβούλ the better attested form in Mt 10[25] 12[24. 27], Mk 3[22], Lk 11[15. 18] is Βεεζεβούλ (sustained by B and partly by ℵ; see WH). The latter is obviously a corruption of the former, and the former (Βεελζεβούλ) arose out of the OT form adopted by Jerome and Aramaized, *Beelzebub*. How did Βεελζεβούλ arise? About this we have three theories—(1) οἰκοδεσπότης in Mt 10[25] is held to be a rendering based on the Aramaic בַּעֲלָזְבוּל. This may be true in reference to בַּעַל, but that זְבֻל means 'house,' 'dwelling,' is doubtful. In 1 K 8[13] the reading is uncertain; cf. LXX and Wellh. in Bleek's *Einleitung*[4], p. 236. See also Nowack on Hab 3[11]. (2) בעלזבל is regarded as a purposed variation with a contemptuous meaning, 'lord of filth.' זְבֻל (=זְבוּל Syr. *zeblô*) means *stercus*. Cheyne in *Encycl. Bibl.* argues that superstitious Jews would hardly use such an opprobrious epithet against the prince of the demons. Moreover, such a mode of pronouncing the name is not found anywhere but in the NT. (3) More probable is the view of Baudissin (art. 'Beelzebub' in *PRE*[3]) that we have a change of final consonant in popular pronunciation parallel to

but this is doubted by Weiss (*Bib. Theol. of NT*, i. p. 103, footnote). He is usually called διάβολος (a literal rendering of the Hebrew name); sometimes ὁ πονηρός, Mt 13[19. 38], 2 Th 3[3], and perhaps in the Lord's Prayer; ὄφις ἀρχαῖος, Rev 12[9] 20[2]; ὁ ἐχθρός, Mt 13[39]; ὁ τοῦ κόσμου ἄρχων, Jn 14[30] etc.; [ὁ] ἄρχων τῶν δαιμονίων, Mt 12[24]; ὁ ἄρχων τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦ ἀέρος, Eph 2[2].

(*a*) *The Synoptic tradition.*—Jesus felt Himself in the presence of demons belonging to a kingdom of evil ruled over by a supreme personality, Satan or Beelzebub. These personal agencies work every form of physical and moral calamity. They recognize, however, the might of Jesus the Messiah gifted with the power of God to destroy the works of Satan and all his personal subordinates (Mk 1[24. 34] 3[11. 12. 15. 23-27] 6[7], Lk 10[17-20] 11[14-22] 13[32]). Jesus on His side fully recognizes the existence and power of the kingdom of Satan, which resists the establishment of the kingdom of God (Mt 12[26], Mk 3[24]). In the narrative of the Temptation the world is regarded as ruled by Satan (cf. Jn 14[30]); but in the Luke tradition (4[6] (last clause)), Satan, on the other hand, confesses that his authority is not original and fundamental, but is derived (ἐμοὶ παραδέδοται); and this power he is willing to transfer to Jesus upon condition of His allegiance. The narrative illustrates the character of cunning that belongs to Satan as the tempter of mankind (Gn 3[1]), for he quotes Ps 91[11. 12] for his own purposes (Mt 4[6]), and applies the words to the Messiah. Against this subtle deceit Jesus warns His disciples. Satan is eager to sift Simon as wheat (Lk 22[31]), and enters, like a demon, into Judas (v.[3]).

The prevailing belief that physical maladies were due to the direct agency of evil spirits (see DEMON) was recognized by Christ. This demonic power that works physical havoc is under the supreme control of Satan, and is ascribed to him in the case of the afflicted woman (Lk 13[16]). In the expulsion of demons by His disciples Christ sees the overthrow of Satan's power (Lk 10[18], in which utterance our Lord recurs to the well-known passage in Is 14[12f.]). Accordingly the dualistic tendency, to which we have before adverted, is definitely limited by the absolute nature of God's righteous rule, whereby a definite term is set to Satan's sway. Meanwhile the anarchy which prevails works its baleful effects in the rival kingdom which Satan sets up as a *quasi*-god of this world (cf. 2 Co 4[14]). This evil is intellectual and moral as well as physical. The devil takes the seed of the Divine word out of the heart of man (Mk 4[15], Mt 13[19. 39]) and plants the spurious wheat (darnel, ζιζάνια). In other words, to borrow Pauline phraseology, he shows his craft by beclouding the understanding, 'blinding the thoughts of the unbelieving, so that they are unable to behold the gospel light of Christ's glory' (2 Co 4[4]).

(*b*) *Pauline teaching.*—This stands in perfect continuity with that of Jesus reflected in the Synoptic tradition. We are still in the presence of many of the ideas that prevailed in contemporary Judaism, viz. of the *Book of Enoch* in the more remote past; of the *Book of Wisdom*, the *Testaments of the XII Patriarchs*, and of the *Book of Jubilees* in the age that immediately preceded the time when St. Paul wrote; of the *Assumption of Moses* coeval with the time of his literary activity and of the *Apocalypse of Baruch*, which immediately followed it. The apostle's conceptions respecting angelology and demonology have been carefully examined by Everling in a special treatise, and abundantly illustrated from the literature just mentioned.

In the writings of St. Paul we are confronted by an array of supernatural agencies which are not all definitely evil or good, but some of which stand in relative opposition to God (Ritschl, *Rechtfert. u. Vers.*[1] ii. p. 251, quoted by Everling). In Ro 8[38], 1 Co 15[24] we find them designated by the names ἀρχαί, ἐξουσίαι, and δυνάμεις. Here the ἀρχαί are perhaps to be identified with the ἄρχοντες τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου of 1 Co 2[6].* The gods of the heathen are not absolutely non-existent (see DEMON), but have a subordinate potency in heathen *sacra* as θεοὶ καὶ κύριοι (1 Co 8[4-6], cf. 12[2]). These supernatural 'rulers of this world' have a certain wisdom of their own (1 Co 2[6. 8]), to which the eternal wisdom revealed by God's Spirit to simple-minded faith appears to be folly. Such wisdom will be brought to nought (cf. 2 Co 10[5]). To the κύριοι καὶ θεοὶ correspond the στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου, which may be considered to be an abstraction † standing in place of the personal concrete names (cf. ἀρχαί, ἐξουσίαι, θρόνοι, and κυριότητες), or, as Spitta ‡ would interpret the phrase, the στοιχεῖα represent the sphere of their personal activity. These are the κοσμοκράτορες of the dark spiritual world against which the Christian is to arm himself (Eph 6[12]); over which Jesus triumphed in the Cross (Col 2[15], see Lightfoot).

Over all this world of evil energy Satan reigns, and all its collective power for evil is gathered up in his personality. He is the tempter (ὁ πειράζων, 1 Th 3[5], 1 Co 7[5]; cf. Mt 4[1-3] and parallels). Bodily diseases are ascribed to him just as in Lk 13[16]. Indeed, in one remarkable passage, 1 Co 5[4. 5], we even see Satan utilized for the advantage of the individual and the Church. The offender in a solemn Church assembly is to be delivered over to Satan for the destruction of the flesh, in order that the spirit of the sinner may be saved in the day of the Lord's appearing. Satan, as the inflicter of physical malady, is apparently identified with the destroyer, Ex 12[23] (LXX ὁ ὀλεθρεύων, see APOLLYON), Nu 16[21ff.], to which 1 Co 10[10] evidently alludes. Compare also the destroying angel of 2 S 24[16], 2 K 19[35], and also Wis 18[25]. According to Wis 2[24] death entered into the world through the devil, an idea which is closely related to the conception which prevails all through biblical literature, that long life is the reward of the righteous (Ex 20[12] etc.), while the wicked are cut off and their lamp (of life) put out. Thus, according to St. Paul's own belief, surrender to Satan brought death as its ultimate consequence (1 Co 5[5], 2 Co 2[11]); while in Jn 8[44] Satan is ἀνθρωποκτόνος ἀπ' ἀρχῆς (cf. Gn 3[19]). This power Jesus destroyed by death (He 2[14]).

St. Paul ascribed his own physical maladies to Satan's agency. 'The stake (σκόλοψ) in the flesh' he calls 'Satan's messenger' (2 Co 12[7]). The phrase ἐν ἀσθενείᾳ in v.[9] followed by ἐν ἀσθενείαις clearly points to some bodily affliction, probably chronic fever (see Ramsay, *Expositor*, July 1899, pp. 20–23). Here again Satan is made subordinate to God's purposes of grace, and becomes a servant of moral discipline which St. Paul was strengthened to bear, though he prayed frequently to be delivered from it. With this passage and 1 Co 5[4. 5] cf. 1 Ti 1[20].

The apostle, like his contemporaries, did not think of the demons as inhabiting subterranean regions (as the Arabs and ancient Babylonians

others, *e.g.* Bâb el Mandel (for Mandeb).—The theory supported by Riehm is certainly worthy of consideration, that Beelzebub in the time of Christ was understood as בַּעַל דְּבָבָא 'lord of enmity'=διάβολος; see Brockelmann's *Lex. Syr. sub voce*, and cf. Assyr. *bêl dabâbi*. Cf. art. BAALZEBUB.

* Heinrici doubts this, and would prefer to identify the ἄρχοντες here with those of Ac 13[27].

† Identified with οἱ κοσμοκράτορες in *Test. Salam.*; see Everling, p. 70.

‡ *Der Zweite Brief des Petrus*, etc. p. 270.

did). The angels of God had their residence in the higher regions of the heavens; and even Satan and his retinue dwelt, not beneath the earth (their final destination after the last judgment), but in the lower atmospheric realm. Thus in Eph 2^2 Satan is called ὁ ἄρχων τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦ ἀέρος. Cf. Eph 6^{12} 'the wicked host of spirits ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις.' An interesting parallel may be found in the *Testaments of the XII Patr.*, Levi 3, where it is stated that 'he who fears God and loves his neighbours cannot be smitten by the spirit of the air (τοῦ ἀερίου πνεύματος), Beliar.' Other interesting illustrations may be found in Everling's treatise, p. 107 ff. The most significant is from *Ascension of Isaiah* 10^{29} (ed. Charles, pp. 74, 132), in which we read that Jesus descends through all the seven heavens, assuming at each stage the form of the angels which inhabit that special region. At length He comes to the firmament where dwells the 'prince of this world' (cf. 7^9 11^{23}).

Beliar,* the variant of the name Belial (see BELIAL), is apparently identified by St. Paul in 2 Co 6^{15} with Satan; but about this question of identification we have the greatest divergence in the Jewish and early Christian tradition. The subject is discussed in Bousset's learned monograph, *Der Antichrist*, part II. ch. iv., Anhang i. (p. 99 ff.). Belial seems identical with the 'Man of Sin' in 2 Th 2^3 (see MAN OF SIN).

St. Paul follows the Jewish tradition in identifying Satan with the serpent which tempted Eve. This clearly underlies Ro 16^{20} 'The God of peace shall bruise Satan under your feet,' obviously based on Gn 3^{15} (cf. 1 Ti 2^{14}, Rev 12^9 20^2). This view is again apparent in 2 Co $11^{2.3}$, where the apostle speaks of himself as though he were Christ's own παρανύμφιος (שׁוּשְׁבִינָא), to guard the chastity of the Church from the devil's wiles of seduction (on the image, cf. Jn 3^{29}), whereby Satan even transforms himself into an angel of light (v.^{14}).

(*c*) *The Book of Revelation* obviously stands apart from the rest of the New Testament by reason of its strongly-marked Apocalyptic character. Into the recent controversies respecting its original form, suggested by the ingenious theory of Vischer (supported by Harnack's authority), this is not the place to enter. In the Book of Revelation we enter a transcendental region where the world-drama is enacted before us in a series of scenes of conflict between superhuman personalities. It is a πόλεμος ἐν οὐρανῷ between God with His angels of light, and Satan or the dragon, the 'old serpent,' the deceiver of the whole world (12^9), with his hosts of darkness. Chapter 12 has been the subject of much discussion since Gunkel wrote his stimulating treatise, *Schöpfung u. Chaos* (pp. 171–398). At the foundation of the story he sees Babylonian legend thinly veiled. The dragon is Tiâmat, the woman is Damkina, the mother of Marduk (here expressed by Christ). This primitive Babylonian myth was worked up into Jewish apocalyptic, Chaos or the Dragon (Tiâmat) being interpreted as Rome, and the entire legend transferred to the end of the world. But such a theory raises certain difficulties, though some appear to be solved. Bousset (*Antichrist*, Anhang, p. 169) is by no means disposed to agree to the dictum that no essential trait in the narrative is of Christian origin. After the last great overthrow of the Beast and the kings of the earth (Rev 19), Satan is imprisoned in the bottomless pit a thousand years (20^2). After this he is loosed and deceives the nations, but at length is finally cast into the lake of fire and brimstone where the beast and false prophet are (20^{10}, cf. Enoch $54^{5.6}$, 2 P 2^4).

(*d*) In *St. John's Gospel and Epistles* such legendary features disappear. We move in a serener, clearer atmosphere of sharply-marked antitheses. Satan and Christ are mutually opposed. Satan cannot touch him who is born of God and sinneth not (1 Jn 5^{18}). The devil is the ruler of this world, and has nothing in Christ (Jn 14^{30} 16^{11}, cf. 12^{31}). Sin enslaves through the power of the devil (8^{34}); and this bondage is established, as St. John and St. Paul alike taught, through the flesh, which is the organic point of human attachment to the κόσμος. Satan sinned from the beginning (1 Jn 3^8), and was the cause of death (Jn 8^{44}). Falsehood is his special realm (8^{44}). Jesus stands outside the world that is ruled by him (8^{23} $17^{14.16}$), and gradually wins individuals from him into the kingdom of God. First, Christ's own disciples are rescued from Satan's worldly dominion (15^{19} $17^{12.14}$). One only has abandoned himself to the devil to his own ruin (6^{70}). The world is at present in hostility to Jesus and His disciples ($14^{17.19.22}$ $15^{18.19}$ 16^8 17^9, 1 Jn 2^{15-17} etc.), but we are assured of Christ's final conquest of the world (Jn 16^{33}, cf. $17^{21.23}$). For the Son of God was manifested for the express purpose of destroying the works of the devil (1 Jn 3^8). This is in harmony with Christ's own teaching respecting Satan's overthrow reported in Lk 10^{18}. In Jn 16^{11} the judgment and condemnation of the devil are regarded, according to the tense usage which frequently occurs in the NT, as already finally accomplished (κέκριται, cf. 12^{31}). See the eloquent remarks on this passage in the *Pulpit Commentary* by the late Dr. H. R. Reynolds.

v. GENERAL CONCLUSIONS.—From the preceding exposition of the biblical conceptions respecting Satan we clearly see that early Christianity shared in the prevailing Jewish belief in demons and Satan. The attempt has been made by Beyschlag to deny the inference to which the Synoptic narratives lead us, that Jesus accepted the belief in a personal Satan. And with the elimination of a personal Satan he would also erase a belief in demons and angels from the inner consciousness of Christ. 'It is certain that Jesus did not recognize as personal devils the demons in whom the popular Jewish belief saw personal angels of Satan.' 'The form of the representation is undoubtedly personifying, but all the passages are poetic in style.' If language is to be manipulated in this fashion, it is difficult to see why Christ's belief in a personal God may not be eliminated also, or why such a process of evaporation might not be successfully applied to all contemporary literature. Jesus used parabolic language, and His discourses are steeped in similitudes; but when He used a symbol, it was understood to be such, or, if not at once so understood, its actual meaning was nearly always disclosed (Jn 3^{4-8} $4^{10-26.32-34}$ $6^{51f.63}$ $11^{11f.}$, but in 2^{19} the enigma was solved by the close of His earthly career). But to suppose that Jesus persistently and consistently used the ordinary language of angelology and demonology, and even acted in accordance with it, and yet all the time held in secret opinions totally at variance with those of all His fellow-countrymen, and never revealed them by a single hint,—surely this is to invalidate Christ's claims to candour. Yet there is not a particle of evidence adduced by Beyschlag to support his monstrous contention that Jesus did not mean by the words Satan, demon, and angel, what His contemporaries meant and understood Him to mean. See Beyschlag, *NT Theol.* vol. i. pp. 93–95.

Our argument by no means implies that Jesus

* In *Asc. Is.* 4^2 he appears as *Beliar*, and in 7^9 as Sammael. Ges. *Thes.* i. 210 notes the rendering of Belial (Beliar) by *dominus aëris* in Syriac lexicographers. Sense as well as sound (ʿâr corresponds to the ending) contributed to this translation, which accords with tradition respecting Beliar's realm.

shared in all the current conceptions respecting demons. The problem, as we have already indicated, is a complex one. We have to give due place to two considerations: (1) that Christ's sayings and deeds are necessarily coloured by the representative human media through which they are conveyed to us; (2) that the demonology of Christ's belief is scarcely visible in the Fourth Gospel, though His belief in a personal Satan is clearly apparent. There can, however, be no scientific Christology which does not recognize that Christ's humanity was so genuine and complete that He shared in the cosmic presuppositions of His time. His Deity spoke to us through a true humanity. It was veiled and limited during His earthly ministry by those very conditions which He, in His *κένωσις*, voluntarily assumed when 'He took the form of a slave, and being found in the likeness of man, emptied Himself' (Ph 2^7). Now, demonology was a necessary part of the intellectual apparatus of that period. It was the latest phase of that animistic interpretation of the universe which was destined still to survive for centuries until the gradual growth of our inductive methods has substituted for demonology (as formerly understood) a rationally coordinated nexus of physical causality and law. But the ultimate and fundamental truth of angelology and demonology has not been and never can be destroyed by the march of modern science. Behind and beyond the physical nexus of interrelations there must lie *personality* and, moreover, *personalities*. However complex the material conditions, at both ends—nay, even along the entire path—of the intricate windings of the phenomenal chain there must ever live *personal power*. Our whole life rests upon the presupposition of our own individual initiatives of volition operating upon one another in the phenomenal world and modifying its successions and coexistences. That a supreme transcendent and personal (and, to the Christian consciousness, righteous) reason and will is ever present and potent in the entire realm, is a necessary postulate of any intelligible universe. The assumption that other superhuman as well as subordinate agencies are at work, and that some among these are embodiments of evil influence, adds no fundamental difficulty to those which already exist. No moral world is conceivable except as involving interrelations between personalities. Now, it is matter of historic notoriety that some personalities have lived in this world that might be called incarnations of evil influence. The supposition that other and superhuman personalities may also be *foci* of evil moral energy, and operate like ganglionic centres in a nervous system, presents no fundamental difficulty in addition to the difficulties already involved in the problem of evil. That Satan exists as a personal centre of evil influence, physical as well as moral (for the two are closely associated), is the undoubted teaching of the Bible. He is not represented to us as the absolute origin of evil or the only source of it, but as its most potent superhuman representative. See Dorner, *Christliche Glaubenslehre*, § 86, 3, vol. ii. p. 213 ff.

LITERATURE.—In addition to the reff. in the article, see art. 'Teufel' in *PRE*[2] and 'Satan' in Smith's *DB*; also Dorner, *Christliche Glaubenslehre*, Bd. ii. pp. 188–217, and the list of literature on p. 189; Martensen, *Christian Dogmatics*, pp. 186–203; Kaftan, *Dogmatik*, pp. 348 ff. (much to be commended), 478. On *Ecclesiastical* teaching (which does not come within the scope of a Bible Dict.) see esp. Harnack, *Dogmengesch.* (Index, *s.* 'Teufel' and 'Dämonen'); Iren. *adv. Hær.* v. 1. 1; Origen, *c. Celsum*, vii. 17; Nitzsch, *Lehrb. der Evang. Dogm.* p. 333 ff.; Dorner, *ib.* ii. p. 197 ff. Respecting the *Mohammedan* doctrine (based on Jewish), see Hughes, *Dict. of Islam*, *s.v.* 'Devil' (where *Mishkat* i. 3 is cited). Cf. also art. 'Genii,' and on this subject (*Jinn*) E. W. Lane's elaborate note 21 to his Introduction to his translation of the 'Thousand and One (Arabian) Nights.' The Devil was called *Iblîs* (*διάβολος*) and identified with Satan (as in NT). There were also Shaiṭâns (plur.), just as in Jewish belief.—In *Korân* see $21^{63 f.}$ 33^1 (on Satan 'driven forth by stoning,' cf. Palmer's note) $4^{42. 78}$ $5^{92 ff.}$ 7^{26} 12^{42} $14^{26 ff.}$ 19^{45}. Satan is constantly called man's 'open foe.'

OWEN C. WHITEHOUSE.

SATHRABUZANES (Σαθραβουζάνης), 1 Es $6^{3. 7. 27}$ (LXX[26]) 7^1 = Shethar-Bozenai (cf. Ezr $5^{3. 6}$ $6^{6. 13}$).

SATRAP.—See LIEUTENANT.

SATYR.—The Heb. original שָׂעִיר *śā'îr*, plur. שְׂעִירִים *śĕ'îrîm*, is usually tr[d] 'he goat,' its primitive meaning. In two passages (Is 13^{21} 34^{14}) it is tr[d] in AV and RV 'satyr,' RVm 'he goat,' LXX in both *δαιμόνια* = 'demons.' In other two passages (Lv 17^7, 2 Ch 11^{15}) AV renders it 'devils,' RV 'he goats,' RVm 'satyrs,' LXX *μάταια* = 'foolish things.' Probably in all these passages the intention is to refer to some demon of popular superstition believed to have a goat-like form (cf. art. DEMON). The Greek mythology describes the satyr as a creature the upper part of whose body is that of a gross, sensuous man, the lower that of a goat. He is the ravisher of the wood-nymphs, the drunken companion of Bacchus in his revels (Hesiod, fr. 91). The Roman *faun* is similar, and is represented with horns and pointed ears (cf. Verg. *Ecl.* v. 73; Hor. *Ep.* II. ii. 125, *Ars Poet.* 233). Disgustingly realistic statues and paintings of these creatures are to be seen in the Museum at Naples (cf. W. R. Smith, *RS*[1] 113 f.; Bochart, *Hieroz.* ii. 844, iii. 825).

G. E. POST.

SAUL (שָׁאוּל, Σαούλ).—**1.** The first king of Israel. The son of Kish, he belonged to the small but warlike tribe of Benjamin, within which tribe his family had its seat at Gibeah.* During his early years the Philistines had overrun the Southern tribes of Israel, had captured the ark, had destroyed Shiloh, and were so thoroughly masters of Judæa that they maintained an outpost in Benjamin (1 S 13^3). Yet, though the tribes were humbled and separated, they had not entirely lost the sense of belonging to one race or of having a common destiny; and the oppression of the Philistines served to make clear to them that, in order to assert these things, a single leader was an indispensable necessity. To have discovered the unknown Saul, to have recognized his fitness for this task, and to have nerved him for attempting it, is the large service of Samuel, whom every account agrees in connecting with the rise of the new king.

According to one account, the future chief was sent by his father to seek for some strayed asses. Baffled in the search, he turned aside to ask Samuel, an inconspicuous seer in the land of Zuph, for information about their fate. Samuel satisfied this anxiety, but roused in the questioner the conviction of a greater destiny. Commanding him in J'''s name to deliver Israel, he confirmed the message by certain signs, the occurrence of which would serve to remove any hesitation in attempting so grave a task, and bade Saul then wait at home until his opportunity arrived (1 S $9.$ $10^{1-9. 14f.}$). The opportunity was not long delayed. Nahash, a chief of Ammon, besieged Jabesh-gilead, and, when the inhabitants offered to surrender, would grant no milder terms than that their right eyes should be put out. So convinced was he of the helpless condition in which Israel lay, that he even allowed them to send messengers asking help from the tribes west of Jordan, for thus would his glory be increased by the disgrace inflicted on all Israel. The news reached Saul as he was driving his cattle home from the plough. He saw

* Unless Gibeon is confused with Gibeah in 1 Ch $8^{29 f.}$ the clan had once dwelt in Gibeon. Zela is also mentioned (2 S 21^{14}) as the burial-place of Kish, and as the final burial-place of his son.

in his own wrath at the insult the indignation of Israel, and in the incident the very means needed to stir the pride of his people to a strong effort. Slaying the oxen, he sent a species of fiery cross through the South, and, with the hastily-levied force which obeyed the summons, defeated Nahash. The grateful people at Samuel's bidding brought their newly-found leader to the sacred place at Gilgal, and solemnly crowned him as their king before J" (1 S 11, omit vv.[12. 13. 14c]).

The other account represents Samuel as the acknowledged head over Israel, who ruled in Ramah as judge. When the Israelites, dissatisfied with their condition and with the conduct of the judge's sons, desired a king, he at first refused their request, as rejecting God's immediate government in the nation, but at J"'s command consented (1 S 8). A popular assembly was held at Mizpah, where Saul was elected prince by the sacred lot (10[17-24]). A few opposed the election, and Saul withdrew with his supporters to Gibeah. The Nahash incident offered the new king the occasion which justified his election, and silenced all opposing voices. After it the people, convened at Gilgal, renewed the consecration, while Samuel solemnly resigned his office (11[12ff. 12]). This account regarded the kingship not only as a novelty, but as a backward step from the older theocracy, an accommodation to the weakness of the people.

It was impossible for the Philistines to view with indifference Saul's election (however it had been brought about), and not to dread the quickened national life which the victory over Nahash was sure to produce among their subject people. Realizing this, and preparing for the inevitable shock, Saul retained about him a small army. He chose 3000 men, placed one-third of them under his son Jonathan at the home of the clan, but kept the other two-thirds under his own orders near Bethel. Probably he intended to rouse the strong tribe of Ephraim to his support. The impatient courage of Jonathan precipitated the struggle. He struck down the garrison or representative (נְצִיב) which the Philistines had in Benjamin.* The Philistines replied by gathering an army, which they marched up the valley of Aijalon in the direction of Michmash. They thus drove themselves like a wedge between the Northern and Southern tribes. Lest they should cut him off from Benjamin, Saul was forced to fall back, especially since the majority of his troops fled, some into hiding, others across Jordan. The king with the 600 men who still clung to him retired on Gilgal,† in which position he secured a safe base on the transjordanic tribes. He left at the head of the wady and opposite the Philistine position a small outpost under Jonathan, who should watch the movements of the enemy and warn the main body (13[1-7]).

For a time there was hesitation. Probably the Phil. wished to draw the Isr. army from its strong position and from its supports. But the invaders were too proudly confident of their strength. Forming a camp above Michmash, they divided almost their whole force into detachments and sent these northward to forage and to check any rising which Ephraim might attempt (13[16-18. 23]). Jonathan saw his opportunity and seized it. Without delaying to request support from his father, he struck full at the weakened centre, overwhelmed the outpost at Michmash which had been set to watch him, and penetrated to the camp. Thence it would be an easy task to crush the divided detachments in detail. So sudden was the defeat that Saul on hearing the news had no time even to consult the oracle. He followed instantly his son's assault. The Isr. auxiliaries among the enemy deserted. The scattered Philistines were only preserved from utter ruin by the exhaustion of their victors; they streamed back by the same pass by which they had entered, and the South country was for a period free (14[1-46]).

Here it would appear that the independent record of Saul's reign ceased. Here accordingly (14[49ff.]) have been inserted a brief list of his household, and a statement that the struggle between the young kingdom and the Philistines continued during his entire lifetime. Most of the remaining information about the reign is derived from accounts which relate it as introductory to the appearance of David on the stage of Isr. history; and it is only just to the first king's memory to remember that the rest of his life is narrated from the point of view of an introduction to the life of his greater rival. But the king showed his prowess, and turned the new vigour of his realm against other foes than the Philistines. Men long remembered his victory over the Amalekites, partly because the motive of the war had been such a racial and religious antipathy, as the quickened self-consciousness of the young nation was keener to feel (1 S 15). And something of the same feeling must have prompted the king to crush the Gibeonites, that foreign tribe which had been received into the Isr. nation (cf. 2 S 21[1f.]).

About this period, however, Saul lost the support of Samuel, who had done so much to set him on the throne. The accounts differ as to the reason which produced the quarrel. One referred it to the victorious campaign against the Amalekites. These borderers had long troubled the South country of Judah, ravaging it with sudden forays, since the desert offered refuge in defeat or secure retreat with booty. Samuel commanded the king to proclaim a religious war and root them out; and Saul obeying delivered a blow from which the people never again recovered. He spared, however, the best of the spoil, and especially Agag, the captured king. For this disregard of the exact terms of his command Samuel denounced the fall of Saul's house in the very hour of his triumph (1 S 15). The other account dated the strife from the time when Saul had retreated on Gilgal, and was anxiously expecting, with a handful of wavering men, the assault of the Philistines. Samuel had bade him wait there during seven days, with the promise to come down then and offer sacrifice on his behalf. As the prophet's arrival was delayed beyond the set period, and the people were threatening to desert him, the king ventured to sacrifice independently. For this he brought upon himself the prophecy of the fall of his dynasty * (13[8-15a]).

Certainly, Saul through this quarrel was deprived of a restraining and a strengthening influence. The victory, too, at Michmash could not be final, it was only introductory. The Philistines, with their organized force and their strong cities, could better bear such a defeat than the Israelites such a victory. What was required from the young realm was no longer a vigorous rising followed by a momentary effort, but the patient organization of a steady defence. And this, because

* The exact sense of נְצִיב (1 S 13[3]) cannot be considered certain, but in this connexion it is enough to know that it represented in some way the Phil. suzerainty.

† See, however, Wellh. *Comp.* 247 f.; Budde, *Richt. u. Sam.* 191 ff., and W. R. Smith, *OTJC*[2] 134 n., acc. to whom *Gilgal* is an unhistorical interpolation.

* It must always be remembered that there was a theological question debated in these matters. Saul, the heaven-appointed king, failed in his mission and fell on Gilboa. There must therefore have been something in his life which brought upon him the displeasure of J", who would otherwise have given him victory. Thus the Chronicler (1 Ch 10[13]) gives as an additional cause for the king's rejection the fact that he had consulted an evil spirit at Endor; and Josephus (*Ant.* VI. xiv. 9) adds also as a cause that he had destroyed 'Ahimelech the high priest and the city of the high priests.'

it was so novel in Isr. history, must have severely tried the temper of tribes not yet fully weaned from their desert instincts. Intertribal jealousies, further, which played so large a part in that early period (cf. Jg $9^{26ff.}$ 8^{1-3} 12^{1-6} etc.), and which troubled the kingdom even after David's reign had consolidated it (*e.g.* 1 K 12^{16}), could not fail to spring up, especially since the chief belonged to one of the smaller tribes. All these things are enough to account in a sensitive man for the deep melancholy which clouded the king's powers at the very time when those were most needed (1 S 16^{14}).

David's fame as a skilful harp player led to his being brought to the little court, where his music soothed the king's vexed mood. The charm, which made all men whom he met love the future king, laid hold on Saul, and he attached the young man permanently to his person as his armour-bearer (16^{14-23}). By this time the war against Philistia had changed its character. On their side the Philistines, taught by the disaster at Michmash not to despise their foes, and probably considering the subjugation of the barren hill-country scarcely worth the trouble it cost, were content to keep open their trade-route along the coast. On his side Saul recognized the folly of attempting to besiege the five strongly fortified cities in the valley. In the new border warfare which sprang up David soon proved himself an adept, and rose to a trusted position in the army. Recognizing his prowess, Saul gave the young captain his daughter Michal in marriage, and asked as bride gift the present of 100 Phil. foreskins—a gift significant at once of the low culture of the period and the character of the war ($18^{22ff.}$). But the new son-in-law proved dangerously strong. His deeds in the field and the personal magnetism which never forsook him, won him the love of Jonathan and the more perilous applause of the multitude. To the darkened mind of the king it seemed by no means impossible that ambition might prove too strong for gratitude and kinship. By guile and by open force he sought to get David into his hands. Each effort failed: even his daughter deserted him and tricked his messengers, while her husband escaped (ch. 19). After that open rupture David continued to linger in the neighbourhood of the court, while efforts were made, especially by the leal-hearted Jonathan, to heal the breach between Saul and the stoutest of his servants. But this only served to draw upon the prince the suspicion that he had entered into a conspiracy with the son of Jesse to dethrone the king,*—a suspicion which Jonathan was too proud in his integrity even to deny. The proud silence, however, would not appeal to so darkened a mind as Saul's had become. Such a position could not endure. At last David fled to Nob, northward from Jerus., and thence made his way through the country of the Philistines into the familiar South, where his own clan were sure to shelter him (ch. 21).

Saul, 'sitting under the tamarisk-tree at Gibeah,' reproached his own men as traitors because they had not betrayed the plotter, and as fools because they failed to recognize how the first result of setting up this Judahite would be the loss of power and prestige to Benjamin. He forthwith took a fearful vengeance on the priests who had harboured the fugitive, by massacring almost the entire household of Ahimelech at Nob, and then pursued the refugee in his retreat ($22^{6ff.}$).

How far this quarrel was the result of baseless suspicion in the diseased mind of the king, and how far it may have been justified by facts, must always remain uncertain. The fulness of the details which we possess, both over this period and over that in which David was hunted through the Negeb, proves that the hairbreadth escapes of the great king before he came to the throne were a favourite subject with the early historians. But all the accounts were written from a standpoint which regarded David as the divinely appointed king over all Israel. And it is not an impossibility that the active, patriotic mind of the young soldier may have seen the need, if his country were to be delivered, of some stronger hand upon the reins of government at that period. It is also possible that he may have been betrayed into words or acts which wrought with extra power on the morbid mind of Saul.

The first intention of the fugitive seems to have been to settle in a tract still occupied by the Canaanites which lay between Judah and Philistia. It enjoyed the double advantage of lying near the settlements of his own kindred, and of offering the desert for a last retreat. There he might hope to set up an independent principality without going over to the hereditary enemy; and the intermittent war along the western frontier might draw the king's attention away from his escaped captain. Once, therefore, he attempted to settle in a town at Keilah ($23^{1ff.}$). But the district was devoted to the king, and Saul drove him headlong from this refuge. He then betook himself to the pasture country S.E. of Judah and adjoining the Dead Sea. But here also, though he allied himself with the strong clan of the Calebites by his marriage with Abigail, he was unable to maintain himself. Saul's government was powerful enough to expel him even from this corner of the realm (chs. 24–26), and he was finally driven to find refuge under the protection of Achish in Gath (27^{2}). The Philistine princes, recognizing his worth, and especially his aptitude for the border warfare in which he had annoyed themselves, settled the fugitive in Ziklag (v.^{6}), where he might cover their unguarded flank, and keep the 'way of the sea,' the trade-route for Egypt, against the unruly tribes of the desert.

It is a strong proof of the extent to which the kingdom had been consolidated even during these years of war, that Saul was able to drive out of this remote part of his government one who combined with his popularity as captain family ties in that very region. The young realm must also have included much on the eastern side of the Jordan, for the last stand of Saul's house under Ishbosheth was made at Mahanaim (2 S $2^{8f.}$). It now began to creep along the backbone of the hill-country and to aim at overpassing the valley of Jezreel into the Northern tribes. Had this succeeded, it would not only have gained a great accession of strength in linking the Northern tribes more closely with the Southern, it would also have cut the line of communication by which the trade of the Euphrates found its way over Damascus and Philistia to Egypt. This would have meant draining one chief artery of the life-blood in that trading community. (Only on this view of the problem can we understand why the final grapple between the two powers was not fought in the South near the headquarters of them both, but in the comparatively far-off North.)

Threatened in their most vulnerable point, the Philistines roused themselves to action, and marched by Sharon and Megiddo into Esdraelon to clear the threatened route. Saul followed them along the hills, and crossing by En-gannim posted his army on Mt. Gilboa at the opposite side of the valley from Shunem where his adversaries lay.*

* This is undoubtedly the meaning and the sting of 1 S $20^{30f.}$.

* No reference has been made to the other positions occupied by Saul and the Philistines, because, so long as the position of Aphek depends on nothing better than conjecture, all the rest must remain uncertain also. For a careful discussion of

In this position he commanded both Jordan and Esdraelon. This was no longer a guerilla contest, but a grapple of sheer bodily strength between the two kingdoms. Saul realized it, suspected also that the Philistines were too strong for him. His visit to the witch at Endor (ch. 28) both betrayed and increased the agitation with which he faced the battle. Men said he went into the fight knowing what was before him; that the evening before, Samuel, who had first anointed him to lead the armies of Israel, summoned him to a tryst at the grave. So it fell out. The ground on which the fight befell was not such as could protect the Isr. infantry from the dreaded chariots of the enemy. The Philistines crossed the valley and mounted the hill slopes. Saul saw his army routed, his sons slain, and retained only strength enough to command his own death. The Philistines next day found their great enemy dead, consecrated his armour in the temple of the Ashtaroth, and hung his decapitated body in the public square of Bethshan. But gratitude was as strong as hate, for men of Jabesh-gilead crossed the Jordan in the night, took down the body of the prince to whom they owed so much, and buried it on the site of his first victory (ch. 31).

Saul had been called to the task of freeing Israel from the Philistines, for without that freedom no advance was possible for the nation. And what had prompted him to seat himself on the throne had been no personal ambition, but a recognition of this fact, a very call of J". Because they could not fail to recognize this and the excellence of the deed, his people could not fail to reverence his memory, and even he who had fared worst at the king's hands sang his imperishable lament over him (2 S $1^{19ff.}$). Yet Saul had failed in his attempt, and died on Mount Gilboa. How that could be possible was the problem which long puzzled men in Israel. May it not be that they did not look widely enough? For Saul had done his work, despite his failure. No one ever questioned but that the kingdom must continue; he had proved its value too well for that. The only question which still remained was as to the man who should succeed and complete the imperfect task. That some one must, was a foregone conclusion. The first king, though outward circumstances had proved too strong for him, and though he had been unable to resolve the many difficulties which the new condition of affairs raised within Israel itself, had done enough to make the way clear for his successor: Saul died on Gilboa, but he made David possible.

Saul was married to Ahinoam, the daughter of Ahimaaz (1 S 14^{50}). Most of his sons died at his side (31^2); but one at least, Ishbaal or Ishbosheth (which see), escaped from Gilboa to meet a sadder fate (2 S 4^6). A son of Jonathan, Mephibosheth (which see), appears in the history of David (2 S $9^{1ff.}$ $19^{24ff.}$), and from him the Chronicler (1 Ch $9^{40ff.}$) derives a long line of descendants. It was one of Dean Stanley's suggestions which requires nothing except proof, that as Zimri appears in that list, the rebellion of 1 K 16^9 [may have been the last effort of the fallen house to recover its position. Saul also left issue by a subordinate wife (2 S 21^8), for whose fate see RIZPAH.

It is difficult to accept the computation of Ac 13^{21}, which makes the length of this first reign in Israel 40 years. For, within two years of his father's accession, Jonathan was able to lead troops into battle (1 S 13^{1-3}), a fact which argues for Saul an age of 40 years at his 'coronation,' and it is almost impossible to believe that it was a man of 80 years of age who fought at Mount Gilboa. Josephus (*Ant.* x. viii. 4, vi. xiv. 9) gives the length of the reign as 20 years. While this may be merely a guess, it does not present the above difficulties, and agrees with the fact that Ishbaal was 40 years old at his father's death.

the question and a good statement of its difficulty, see Smith, *HGHL* 400 ff., 675, and cf. APHEK, No. 3. It is just possible that Bethshan was the objective of both forces, and that the Philistines sought to relieve, the Israelites to cover, the siege of the town.

See, further, BENJAMIN, DAVID, and the Literature at end of the latter article.

2. Saul of Tarsus. See PAUL.

A. C. WELCH.

SAVARAN.—1 Mac 6^{43} AV. See AVARAN.

SAVE, SAVING.—Both 'save' and 'saving' (from Fr. *sauf*, its force being seen in *sauf mon droit*, 'my right being reserved,' see Skeat, *Etymol. Dict. s.v.*), in the sense of *except*, frequently occur in AV. Thus Ps 18^{31} 'For who is God save the Lord?'; Lk 18^{19} 'None is good, save one, that is God'; Dt 15^4 'Save when there shall be no poor among you'; Ac 20^{23} 'Save that the Holy Ghost witnesseth in every city'; Neh 4^{23} 'None of us put off our clothes, saving that every one put them off for washing'; Ec 5^{11} 'What good is there to the owners thereof, saving (כִּי אִם) the [beholding] of them with their eyes?'

The phrase 'to save one alive' (Gn 12^{12} 50^{20}, Ex $1^{17.\ 18.\ 22}$ etc.) is used synonymously with 'to keep one alive' (Gn $6^{19.\ 20}$ 7^3, Jos 14^{10} etc.), or 'to preserve one alive' (Dt 6^{24}), the Heb. being a causative form of חָיָה 'to be alive.' Cf. Mt 28^{14} Tind. 'If this come to the rulers eares, we wyll pease him, and save you harmeles.'

J. HASTINGS.

SAVIAS (B om., A Σαουίας), 1 Es 8^2 = Uzzi, an ancestor of Ezra; cf. Ezr 7^4.

SAVIOUR.—See SALVATION.

SAVOUR, SAVOURY.—Savour comes from Lat. *sapor* taste (from *sapere* to taste) through the Old Fr. *savour* (mod. *saveur*). It was used first of all, in accordance with its derivation, for the taste or relish of a thing; then it passed to the expression of the kindred sense of smell; and from this it was easily used in the fig. sense of name or reputation. All these uses are found in AV.

(1) *Taste:* Mt 5^{13} || Lk 14^{34} 'If the salt have lost his savour (μωρανθῇ), wherewith shall it be salted?' (ἁλισθήσεται; in Lk ἀρτυθήσεται, EV 'be seasoned'). The tr. in both places is from the Geneva version of 1557. The meaning is probably more than mere taste, rather 'virtue,' its power to make food 'savoury' (see the quotation from Udall's *Erasmus* at the end of this art.).

(2) *Smell:* Jl 2^{20} 'His stink shall come up, and his ill savour shall come up' (עֲשָׁמְנוּ, Cov. 'his fylthy corrupcion,' Gen. 'his corruption'); elsewhere in OT always 'sweet savour' (Heb. רֵיחַ, except Ezr 6^{10} 'sacrifices of sweet savours,' Aram. נִיחוֹחִין). In the Apocrypha εὐωδία is rendered a 'good savour' in 1 Es 1^{12}, a 'sweet savour' in Sir 35^6 38^{11}; other examples of the word are 2 Es 2^{12} 'for an ointment of sweet savour' (*in odorem unguenti*), Sir 39^{14} 'give ye a sweet savour' (εὐωδιάσατε ὀσμήν), 50^{15} 'a sweet-smelling savour' (ὀσμὴν εὐωδίας). In NT εὐωδία is tr. 'sweet savour' in 2 Co 2^{15}, and ὀσμὴ εὐωδίας is tr. 'a sweet-smelling savour' in Eph 5^2 (but in Ph 4^{18} 'an odour of a sweet smell'); elsewhere we find ὀσμή alone, 2 Co 2^{14} 'the savour of his knowledge,' *i.e.* the sweet smell of the knowledge of God (ὀσμὴν τῆς γνώσεως αὐτοῦ); and 2^{16} 'To one we are the savour of death unto death; and to the other the savour of life unto life' (οἷς μὲν, ὀσμὴ θανάτου εἰς θάνατον· οἷς δὲ, ὀσμὴ ζωῆς εἰς ζωήν; edd. insert ἐκ before θανάτου and before ζωῆς, whence RV 'from death . . . from life'). Cf. Mandeville, *Travels* (in 'Macmillan's Lib. of. Eng. Classics,' p. 113), 'And at the foot of that mount is a fair well and a great, that hath odour and savour of all spices'; Jn 12^3 Wyc. 'the hous was fulfillid of the savour of the oynemente'; Jer 48^{11} Cov. 'hir taist remayneth, and hir savoure is not yet

changed'; and the Note to Lv 1[9] in *Matthew's Bible*, 'This *swete odoure* is: the sacryfyce of fayth and of pure affeccyon, in whych God is as delited, as a man is delited in the good savoure of meates, as it is said of Noe, Gen. viii. d.'

(3) Figuratively, *reputation*, Ex 5[21] 'Ye have made our savour to be abhorred (AVm 'to stink') in the eyes of Pharaoh.' Cf. also Gn 34[30], 1 S 13[4], 2 S 10[6], and the Eng. 'to be in (*or* to bring into) bad odour.'

The verb 'to savour' is (1) to taste or smell of, as Pref. to AV, 'Thus to minse the matter, we thought to savour more of curiosity than wisdome.' (2) To seek out by taste or smell, as Cranmer, *Works*, i. 181, 'By this you may soon savour what judgment this man is of.' So in AV Mt 16[23] || Mk 8[33] 'thou savourest not the things that be of God' (*οὐ φρονεῖς*), Vulg. *non sapis*, whence Wyc. 'thou saverist not,' and all following versions till RV, 'thou mindest not.' Cf. Bunyan, *Holy War*, p. 25, 'And that which made him yet the more ignoble . . . was, that he never could savour good, but evil.'

The adj. 'savoury' occurs in AV only in Gn 27[4. 7. 9. 14. 17. 31] of the 'savoury meat' which Isaac loved (Heb. מַטְעַמִּים always plu., from טָעַם to taste). The word is also found in Is 30[24] marg., and accepted into RV text, AV 'clean,' RVm 'salted,' in reference to the provender of oxen and young asses (Heb. בָּלִיל חָמִיץ, *Oxf. Heb. Lex.* 'provender seasoned with salt or a salt herb, rendering it more tasty'). Cf. Udall, *Erasmus' Paraph.* i. 19 (on Mt 5[13]), 'It muste nedes bee a lively and a piththie thynge that can be sufficient to sawce and make savourie the life of all mankynde, being so werishe and unsavourye thorowe the desyres and fond opinions of vayne thynges.' J. HASTINGS.

SAW.—מַגֵּרָה 2 S 12[31], 1 K 7[9], 1 Ch 20[3] [but in this last the correct text is מַגְזֵרוֹת 'axes'], מַשּׂוֹר Is 10[15]; LXX *πρίων*. From 1 K 7[9] it is evident that saws were used for cutting stone. In Syria, at the present time, long smooth blades of iron are used to cut out columns. These have no handles: a heavy piece of wood is fitted to the back of the saw; this is grasped by two men, who draw it backwards and forwards, sand and water being plentifully used. It seems probable, from the marks on the rocks, that the ancient Egyptians used bronze saws with emery for cutting granite (Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt.* ii. p. 254 n.). The ancient Egyptian carpenters in cutting wood drew the saw towards them instead of pushing it from them. In India the same custom prevails. English saws are bought eagerly by the Hindu carpenters, but the English handles are removed, and other handles fixed at the narrow end of the blades. In the NT the verb used is *πρίζω*, He 11[37]. W. CARSLAW.

SCALL.—See MEDICINE, vol. iii. p. 329[b]. Scall is the AV and RV translation of נֶתֶק (Lv 13. 14[54]); Wyc. has 'wem,' Tind. 'burning,' Cov. 'skyrfe,' Gen. 'blacke spot,' Dou. 'spotte,' Bish. 'fret.' The Eng. word is of Scand. origin, and signified primarily baldness (Icel. *skalli*, a bald head), but in Middle Eng. (also spelt *scalde*) it is a scab or eruption, generally of the head. Cf. Chaucer, *Scrivener*, 3—

> 'Under thy longe lockes thou maist have the scalle';

Spenser, *FQ* I. viii. 47—

> 'Her craftie head was altogether bald,
> And, as in hate of honourable eld,
> Was over growne with scurfe and filthy scald';

and Tindale, Lv 21[20] 'Broken handed, or croke backed, or perleyed, or gogeleyed, or maunge, or skaulde'; Dt 28[27] 'And the Lorde will smyte the with the botches of Egipte and the emorodes, scalle, and maungynesse.' J. HASTINGS.

SCANDAL.—In Wis 14[11 marg.] the Gr. *σκάνδαλα* is translated 'scandals' (text 'stumbling-blocks'). See OFFENCE, vol. iii. p. 586[a. b]. The Rhem. version uses 'scandal' as the tr. of *σκάνδαλον* (after Vulg. *scandalum*), in Mt 13[41] 'The Sonne of man shal send his Angels, and they shal gather out of his kingdom al scandals, and them that worke iniquitie'—16[23] 18[7], Ro 14[14]; and the verb 'scandalize' occurs freq. as the tr. of *σκανδαλίζω*, as Mt 5[30] 11[6] 15[12] 18[8], Lk 7[23], Jn 16[1]. J. HASTINGS.

SCAPE-GOAT.—See AZAZEL.

SCARLET.—This word is the equivalent in AV of—**1.** שָׁנִי *shānî*, or הַשָּׁנִי *hashshānî* (the latter in Gn 37[30], Ex 28[5] 35[25. 35] 38[23] 39[1. 3], Jos 2[18. 21], Ca 4[3]). **2.** שָׁנִים *shānîm* (Is 1[18] [with art.], Pr 31[21]). **3.** שְׁנִי־תוֹלָעַת *shĕnî-tôla'ath*, and שְׁנִי־הַתּוֹלָעַת *shĕnî-hattôla-'ath* (Lv 14[4. 6. 49. 51. 52] 19[6]). **4.** תּוֹלַעַת־שָׁנִי *tôla'ath-shānî*, and תּוֹלַעַת־הַשָּׁנִי *tôla'ath-hashshānî* (Ex 25–39 *passim*, Nu 4[8]). **5.** תּוֹלַע *tôla'* (La 4[5]). Once (Jer 4[30]) only is *shānîm* tr[d] AV 'crimson,' RV 'scarlet' (see CRIMSON). In one passage (Is 1[18]) AV and RV tr. *shānîm* 'scarlet' (LXX *φοινικοῦς*), and *tôla'* 'crimson' (LXX *κόκκινος*). **6.** *κόκκινος* (Mt 27[28], He 9[19], Rev 17[3. 4] 18[12. 16]). As our Eng. versions do not rigidly preserve the distinction between crimson and scarlet, we cannot wonder that the ancients did not always do so. *Tôla'* originally signifies the worm or insect, and *shānî* the colour. In point of fact, both colours are produced from the same insect. Sometimes one of the two words is omitted, and sometimes the other, and sometimes both are given. The article is inserted or omitted, without an obvious reason. The creature alluded to, which produces the colour, is the cochineal, a hemipterous insect, *Coccus ilicis*, of which the male in the imago state is winged, and the female wingless. This insect attaches itself to the leaves and twigs of *Quercus coccifera*. An allied species, *Coccus cacti*, is raised on the leaf-like branches of *Cactus Ficus Indica*, Haw., and *C. cochillinifera*, Mill., particularly in the neighbourhood of Nâblûs. The female is oval in form, convex at the upper, flat at the lower surface. She is about the size of half a cherry kernel, but dries up to that of a grain of wheat. The Arab. name of this bug is *kirmiz*, from which the word *crimson* is derived. Other colours besides scarlet and crimson, as purple and violet, are manufactured from the cochineal. See, further, art. COLOURS, *s.* 'Scarlet.'

G. E. POST.

SCEPTRE is AV and RV tr. of **1.** שֵׁבֶט *shēbet*: Gn 49[10] ('The sceptre [LXX *ἄρχων*] shall not depart from Judah,' etc.; on this passage see art. LAWGIVER in vol. iii. p. 83, and SHILOH, below, p. 500 f.), Nu 24[17] ('there shall come forth a star out of Jacob, and a sceptre [LXX *ἄνθρωπος*] shall rise out of Israel,' where sceptre and star [cf., for the latter figure, Is 14[12], Rev 22[16]] are symbolical for a mighty prince*), Ps 45[6 (7)] ('a sceptre [LXX and NT *ῥάβδος*] of equity is the sceptre of thy kingdom,' quoted in He 1[8]), Is 14[5] (‖ מַטֶּה; 'the LORD hath broken the staff of the wicked, the sceptre [LXX *ζυγός*, which is used also for 'staff' immediately before] of the rulers'), Ezk 19[11] ('she [the vine symbolizing Israel] had strong rods for the sceptres of them that bare rule'; cf. v.[14], where, after her destruction, 'there is in her no longer a strong rod to be a sceptre to rule'), Am 1[5. 8] ('I will cut off him that holdeth the sceptre' [LXX here and in the two verses in

* This appears decidedly preferable to the suggestion of Ball (in *SBOT*, on Gn 49[10]) that כּוֹכָב ('star') may here mean, like the Sumerian MULMUL, 'a *lance*, or else a *club*, *mace*, or *maul*, with a spiked head.'

Ezekiel has φυλή, taking *shēbeṭ* in the sense of 'tribe']), Zec 10^{11} ('the sceptre [LXX σκῆπτρον] of Egypt shall depart away'). **2.** שַׁרְבִּיט *sharbîṭ*, used of the golden sceptre [LXX ἡ χρυσῆ ῥάβδος] of Ahasuerus, Est 4^{11} $5^{2\,bis}$ 8^{4} [all]. *Sharbîṭ* is simply an Aramaism for *shēbeṭ* (cf. the insertion of *r* in Darmesek for Dammesek in 1 Ch 18^{5}, and see Siegfried, *Lehrb. d. neuheb. Sprache*, § 18 *c*).

In addition to the above instances, RV in Nu 21^{18} corrects AV 'by direction of the lawgiver' (LXX ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ αὐτῶν) to 'with the sceptre.' The Heb. is בְּמַחֹקֵק ‖ בְּמִשְׁעַנְתָּם 'with their staves.' Similarly RV reads in Ps $60^{7\,(9)}=108^{8\,(9)}$ 'Judah is my sceptre' (same Heb. word) for AV 'Judah is my lawgiver' [LXX βασιλεύς]. See LAWGIVER, *l.c.* It also substitutes 'sceptre' for 'rod' as tr. of *shēbeṭ* in Ps 125^{3} ('the sceptre [LXX ῥάβδος] of wickedness shall not rest upon the lot of the righteous').

'Sceptre' is the appropriate rendering of *shēbeṭ*, when this is associated with a *king* or used absolutely,* in which latter instance it probably always designates a *royal* possession (see Driver, *Expos.* July 1885, p. 13). *Shēbeṭ*, in this sense, may stand either for a short ornamental sceptre such as appears in some representations of the Assyrian king (see illustration above, and the figures in Ball, *Light from the East*, pp. 160, 199^{b}, 217), or for a long staff reaching to the ground, which characterizes some portrayals of the Persian monarchs (see Rawlinson, *Anc. Mon.* iii. 203 ff., who describes the Persian sceptre as a rod about five feet long, ornamented with a ball or apple at its upper end, and tapering at its other extremity almost to a point). Probably both forms of 'sceptre' are in view in Gn 49^{10} (where שֵׁבֶט should prob. be taken as a *royal* emblem), the longer one being represented by the מְחֹקֵק (prop. 'commander's staff') of the second clause, and the shorter one by the שֵׁבֶט of the first clause.* The long sceptre is simply an ornamented **staff**, the short one is a development of the *club* or *mace* (cf. art. ROD, and see figures in Ball, *l.c.* pp. 50, 199^{a}, 217). It is this last-named weapon that is called *shēbeṭ* in 2 S $23^{21}=1$ Ch 11^{23} (AV and RV wrongly 'staff') and Ps 2^{9} 23^{4} (AV and RV less clearly 'rod').

ASSYRIAN KING WITH SCEPTRE (DOG-RIVER INSCRIPTIONS).

The 'golden' (χρύσεον) or 'gold-studded' (χρυσείοις ἥλοισι) sceptre (σκῆπτρον) appears frequently in the pages of Homer in the hands of kings and chiefs (*e.g. Il.* i. 15, 246; *Od.* xi. 91, 569). With such a 'sceptre' Ulysses beats Thersites (*Il.* ii. 265 ff.); a sceptre is put by a herald into the hands of Menelaus when he rises to address the Greeks (*ib.* xxiii. 568, cf. *Od.* ii. 37).

On the difficulty of approaching the presence of the Persian kings referred to in Est 4^{11}, cf. also Herod. iii. 118, 140. J. A. SELBIE.

* In instances like Jg 5^{14} (שֵׁבֶט סֹפֵר) 'baton' would be a very suitable rendering.

* Dillm., Ball, Gunkel, *et al.*, make מְחֹקֵק and שֵׁבֶט synonymous here, and understand *both* to refer to a long 'sceptre' or staff; but this is not required by the parallelism. In Ps 110^{2} מַטֵּה is likewise an emblem of rule, and virtually='sceptre.

SCEVA (Σκευᾶς, *Sceva*), Ac 19[14].—The name (Blass, *ad loc.*) was probably of Latin origin *Scaeva*, but had been assimilated to a Greek form as if derived from σκεῦος; it occurs in an inscription at Miletus (*CIG* ii. 2889. 5). In Ac 19[11-20], in the account of St. Paul's preaching at Ephesus, we are told that God wrought special miracles by the hands of Paul, even handkerchiefs carried from his body were sufficient to heal. But some of the wandering Jewish exorcists tried to exorcize in the name of Jesus, saying, 'I adjure you by Jesus, whom Paul preaches.' Then is recorded the special instance of the seven sons of Sceva, described as a Jewish high priest, who attempted this and failed, the evil spirit answering, 'Jesus I know, and Paul I know, but who are ye?' and the man driving two of them * naked and wounded out of the house. This caused great fear. Many who had used curious arts came confessing what they had done. Many also burnt magical books amounting in value to 50,000 drachmas (about £2000). 'So mightily grew the word of God and prevailed.'

The whole paragraph must be taken together. It represents St. Paul's miracles and spiritual power in contrast to the magical customs which so widely prevailed. Many Jews especially devoted themselves to sorcery, and Ephesus was noted for, amongst other forms of sorcery, the *Ephesia grammata* (see EPHESUS and MAGIC). St. Paul's power and success led to imitation of him. The name of Jesus evidently seemed to have some special efficacy, and so was adopted by the sorcerers, as every other name in turn was adopted (on the power of names see Frazer, *Golden Bough*, i. 403). The discoveries of papyri made in the last few years have enabled us to realize the very large extent to which magical practices prevailed, and the number of magical books which existed. The name of Jehovah in some form is common, and in the following extract from a magical papyrus at Paris the name of Jesus is used. The papyrus is of the 4th cent., and the original cannot be earlier than Hadrian, who is mentioned by name; it is published by C. Wessely, 'Griechische Zauberpapyrus von Paris und London,' in the *Denkschriften der phil.-hist. Classe der kais. Akad. der Wissenschaften in Wien*, vol. xxxvi. (1888) l. 3007 ff.).†

πρὸς δαιμονιζομένους· Πιβηχέως δόκιμον. λαβὼν ἔλαιον ὀμφακίζοντα μετὰ βοτάνης μαστιγίας καὶ λωτομήτρας ἕψει μετὰ γαμψούχου ἀχρωτίστου . . . στήσας ἀντικρυς ὁρκιζε. ἔστιν δὲ ὁ ὁρκισμὸς οὗτος· ὁρκίζω σε κατὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τῶν Ἑβραίων Ἰησοῦ· ιαβα· ιαη· αβραωθ· αια· θαωθ· ελε· ελω· αηω· εου· ιιβαεχ· αβαρμας· ιαβαραου· αβελβελ· λαωα· αβρα· μαρια· βρακιων· πυριφανη· ὁ ἐν μέση ἀρούρης καὶ χιόνος καὶ ὁμίχλης· ταννητις· καταβατω σου ὁ ἄγγελος ὁ ἀπαραίτητος καὶ ἐσκοινέτω τὸν περιτετάμενον δαίμονα τοῦ πλάσματος τούτου ὃ ἔπλασεν ὁ θεὸς ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ ἑαυτοῦ παραδείσῳ [MS παροδευσω] . . . ὁρκίζω σε τὸν σημανθέντα τῷ Ἰσραὴλ ἐν στύλῳ φωτεινῷ καὶ νεφέλῃ ἡμερινῇ κ.τ.λ.

Both the evidence of papyri and the incident recorded in the Acts imply a conviction, even amongst those who did not believe, that there was power, perhaps special power, in the name of Jesus. It would imply a general impression that miracles were wrought in His name, and bears witness to the force and power of Christianity. It is instructive also to notice how from the beginning Christianity is the resolute foe of all magic.

There are a number of critical questions connected with this narrative. First of all there is a question of text. The RV (Codex B) reads: 'And there were seven sons of one Sceva, a Jew, a chief priest, which did this. And the evil spirit answered and said unto them, Jesus I know, and Paul I know; but who are ye? And the man in whom the evil spirit was leaped upon them, and mastered both of them, and prevailed against them, so that they fled out of that house naked and wounded.' D (supported by the margin of the Philoxenian) reads: 'And among those also the sons of one Sceva, a priest, *wished to do the same thing, who had a custom of exorcizing such; and having gone in unto the man possessed with devils, they began to call upon the name, saying: We command thee in Jesus, whom Paul preaches, to come forth.*' According to Ramsay (*Church in the Roman Empire*, p. 153): 'Codex Bezæ here gives a text which is intelligent, consistent, and possible: the accepted text is badly expressed and even self-contradictory.' This opinion seems to be largely followed. To the present writer the text of D is clearly a bad paraphrase, and its growth can be shown. The statement that Sceva was a Jewish high priest seemed (as it is) very curious, and therefore was altered in various ways. D alters ἀρχιερέως into ἱερεως, and omits Ἰουδαίου, so *Gig.* reads 'sacerdotis,' and Cassiodorius explains by 'principis synagogæ.'

Then again in the text of B, while in v.[14] we have seven sons, in v.[16] it is stated that the man 'mastered both of them,' implying only two. *Gig.* therefore substitutes 'duo' for '*septem*,' D leaves out the number altogether, while the majority of later authorities prefer to omit or alter ἀμφοτέρων in v.[16], the Sahidic even putting *eorum septem*. The remaining alterations of D are, as is generally the case, mere inept expansions. The narrative of St. Luke is very much abbreviated, and the paraphrast or translator thought that he could make it more clear, but he does not add a single point which could not be guessed. Even in the few words he does add he manages to introduce the form εἶχαν and the word δαιμονιζόμενον which are not Lukan, and the expression ἐπικαλεῖσθαι τὸ ὄνομα which does not occur unqualified in the NT, and betrays a later age. It may be noted that the word ἀμφοτέρων is undoubtedly Lukan (8 or 9 times in Luke and Acts, 6 times elsewhere in NT). The inconsistency may be difficult, but it is quite inconceivable that any one who had the D text before him should have taken the trouble to insert *septem*. On every principle of textual criticism the text of B must be the original.

The statement that Sceva was a Jewish high priest is undoubtedly difficult, but we have no right therefore to correct it away. Yet in the sense of a member of a high priestly family there must have been many who could claim it, and as Zeller (*Acts of the Apostles*, Eng. tr. ii. p. 59) says: 'It is quite possible that a band of exorcists, giving themselves out for sons or disciples of a Jewish high priest, may have made an experience of the futility of their arts in the person of a lunatic who had heard something of Paul and of Christ.' The difficulty about the discrepancy of numbers is more interesting. St. Luke's narrative is obviously very much shortened; only the necessary statements are made, and only what is essential is given. He never tells us that only two out of the seven were engaged in this incident, and it comes out accidentally in ἀμφοτέρων.* Does not this small point imply that the writer had here a source, almost necessarily a written one, from which he abbreviated his narrative?

It has been suggested that vv.[11-20] have been added to the original work. Hilgenfeld ascribes the passage to R. Ramsay, who has taken a dislike to it, says: 'If there were many such contrasts in the book as between vv.[11-20] and [23-41], I should be a believer in the composite character of the Acts' (*St. Paul the Traveller*, p. 273). It will be interesting, therefore, to examine the language. It will appear that throughout the passage we find characteristic Lukan expressions.

οὐ τὰς τυχούσας, cf. Ac 28[2].
τυγχάνειν, 7 times in Acts and Luke, 6 times elsewhere.
ἐπίστασθαι, 10 t. in Acts, 5 elsewhere.
διὰ χειρός, τῶν χειρῶν, 8 times in Acts.
γνωστόν, 10 t. in Acts, twice in Luke, 3 t. elsewhere.
τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν with acc. 13 t. in Acts, once in Luke.
ἐπιστήτειν, 10 t. in Acts and Luke, 4 elsewhere.
φόβος ἐπέπεσεν, cf. Lk 1[12].
μεγαλύνειν, 5 t. in Acts and Luke, 3 elsewhere.
οἱ πεπιστευκότες, common in Acts.
ἱκανοί, 29 times in Acts and Luke, 12 elsewhere.
τιμή, or τιμαί of price, 5 times in Acts. With v.[20] cf. 6[7] 12[24].

The whole structure of the paragraph is exactly in the manner of the writer of the Acts, with the final clause summing up the whole, while there are indications that here as elsewhere he has reproduced partly in his own words a written narrative, just in the same way as he reproduces the Synoptic narratives in the Gospels with signs of his own phraseology.

Besides the special point touched on above, the historical character of the narrative has been attacked more generally. Ramsay (*St. Paul the Traveller, loc. cit.*) finds in it a vulgarity of tone compared with the great scene at Paphos. This seems to the present writer purely fanciful. Zeller (*op. cit.* ii. 58) says: 'Even from the standpoint of the miraculous faith presented in our book, such an utterly crass and magical representation of the healing power of the apostle has too much that is offensive.' What he particularly objects to is the story of the healing power in the handker-

* But see footnote on next column.

† For this and other information the present writer is indebted to Dr. F. G. Kenyon of the British Museum.

* [In *Expos. Times*, Dec. 1900, p. 144, it is argued by Nestle that ἀμφότεροι, like 'both' in English [see editorial note, *ib.*], may include *more than two*, and is at times equivalent to πάντες. It was also discussed by J. B. Bury in the *Classical Rev.* xi. 393 (1897). There are at least two instances in Papyri: *Brit. Mus. Pap.* 336; *Geneva Pap.* 67].

chiefs of St. Paul, and this is supposed to be a mere parallel to the narrative in Ac 5[14. 15]. The parallel is too distant to have any weight, and here, as elsewhere, we need only remark about the miracles, that even if the handkerchiefs of St. Paul had no healing power it would certainly be believed that they possessed it, and that if the faith of the recipient was a condition of healing it might surely act equally with those who received a handkerchief in the virtue of which they believed. The whole narrative must be criticised and judged from the point of view of the time and place. The remarks of Conybeare and Howson, ch. xiv., who bring out how exactly the story harmonizes with the atmosphere of Ephesus, are much more valuable. 'The character of miracles was not always the same. They were accommodated to the peculiar forms of sin, superstition, and ignorance they were required to oppose. . . . So on this occasion garments were made the means of communicating a healing power to those who were at a distance . . . such effects thus publicly manifested were a signal refutation of the charms and amulets and mystic letters of Ephesus.' A. C. HEADLAM.

SCHISM.—Only 1 Co 12[25] 'That there should be no schism in the body': Gr. *σχίσμα*, which means either lit. a *rent* in a garment (Mt 9[16] = Mk 2[21]) or fig. a division in a community (Jn 7[43] 9[16] 10[19], 1 Co 1[10] 11[18] 12[25]). RV retains 'schism' in 1 Co 12[25], and in the marg. of 11[18] points out that the Gr. is 'schisms' (text 'divisions'). See HERESY, vol. ii. p. 351[a].

SCHOOL.—See EDUCATION.

SCHOOLMASTER.—Only Gal 3[24. 25] AV (Gr. *παιδαγωγός*, which occurs also in 1 Co 4[15] AV 'instructer'; RV in all places 'tutor'). The *παιδαγωγός* (Lat. *pædagogus*) was a person (generally a slave) who had charge of the Greek or Roman boy till he reached manhood. Tindale's translation 'scholemaster' (Wyc. 'maister') is misleading, as the *παιδαγωγός* was not a schoolmaster or teacher (*διδάσκαλος*). Nor is the apostle thinking of one who conducted to school, though no doubt the *παιδαγωγός* might lead the boy to school if he went there. The contrast in Gal. is between the restraint of boyhood and the liberty of manhood. To be under the Law is to be always under the control of a *παιδαγωγός*, to be in Christ is to be free from that irksome restraint.

J. HASTINGS.

SCHOOLS OF THE PROPHETS.—See EDUCATION, vol. i. p. 647[a], and PROPHECY, p. 109[a].

SCIENCE.—This word, as used in AV, means simply *knowledge*. Wyclif (*Works*, iii. 122) renders 1 Co 8[1] 'Science blowes men' (AV 'knowledge puffeth up'). Cf. Barlowe, *Dialoge*, 109, 'There is no truthe, no mercye, nor scyence of god in the yerth'; Golding, *Calvin's Job*, 571, 'Thou shalt not run after witchcrafts, and other vaine sciences'; and Ro 2[20] Rhem. 'Having the forme of science' (AV 'which hast the form of knowledge,' Gr. *τῆς γνώσεως*). The word occurs in AV only Dn 1[4] 'Children . . . understanding science' (יְדְעֵי דַעַת, LXX *γραμματικούς*, Theod. *γιγνώσκοντας γνῶσιν*); and 1 Ti 6[20] 'Avoiding . . . oppositions of science falsely so called' (*ἀντιθέσεις τῆς ψευδωνύμου γνώσεως*, Rhem. 'oppositions of falsely called knowledge'). See KNOWLEDGE and GNOSTICISM.

Science in the modern sense, that is, the discovery and classification of secondary laws, is unknown to the Bible. To the Hebrew mind phenomena were immediately due to the word of Jehovah. See P. Thomson in *Expos.* 2nd ser. vol. i. pp. 161 ff., 241 ff. J. HASTINGS.

SCORPION (עַקְרָב *'aḳrābh*, *σκορπίος*, *scorpio*, Arab. *'aḳrab*). — There has never been any reason to doubt the identity of this animal. It is of the order *Arachnidæ*, resembling in shape a lobster, except that it has a long tail, at the end of which is its venomous sting. Its claws are used for seizing its prey, which it kills with its sting. When the animal runs it holds its tail upward in readiness to strike. It is carnivorous, living on insects and worms. Scorpions swarm under stones and in chinks of walls, and often conceal themselves under beds and mats in houses. Their sting is very painful, frequently causing a night of agony, which nothing but a large dose of morphine will assuage. The wound is dangerous to human life only when in a situation where the swelling obstructs the respiration. Not less than a dozen species are found in Palestine and Syria. The largest is 6 in. long, and black. Others are yellow, brown, white, and red, and variously striped.

The scorpion is frequently mentioned in Scripture. Allusion is made to its residence in the desert (Dt 8[15]). Rehoboam threatens to chastise his contumacious subjects with scorpions (1 K 12[11. 14], 2 Ch 10[11. 14]). This is prob. figurative (see next art.). Again, scorpions are alluded to figuratively with briers and thorns to designate a rebellious people (Ezk 2[6]). The offer of a scorpion instead of an egg (Lk 11[12]) is mentioned in a way that shows the horror which this creature inspired. The figure employed by our Lord in this passage is suggested by the egg-like form of the scorpion when at rest (see Plummer, *ad loc.*). The pain of its sting (Rev 9[5]), the organ that inflicts it (v.[10]), and its venomous quality (v.[3]), are noted. The scorpion is also mentioned in Apocr. (Sir 26[7] 39[30], 4 Mac 11[10]).

G. E. POST.

SCOURGE (שׁוֹט, usually translated 'scourge,' six times [1 K 12[11. 14], 2 Ch 10[11. 14], Pr 26[3], Nah 3[2]] 'whip'; Gr. nouns and verbs *μάστιξ*, *μαστιγόω*, *μαστίζω*; *φραγέλλιον*, *φραγελλόω*; *flagellum*, *flagellare*). — Among the Hebrews the usual mode of corporal punishment, legal and domestic, was that of beating with the rod, just as the bastinado is still the common method in Eastern countries. The only reference to the scourge as an instrument of punishment is found in 1 K 12[11. 14], 2 Ch 10[11. 14]. Rehoboam signalized his accession to the throne by threatening that, whereas his father had chastised the people with whips (or scourges), he would chastise them with scorpions. The scorpion (עַקְרָב) may have been a more terrible kind of weapon in actual use—either a knotted cudgel or a scourge armed with barbed points, just as the Roman *scorpio* was described by Isidore as *virga nodosa et aculeata*. It is possible, however, that the king was only using a lively figure of speech.

Under the Roman system of scourging, the culprit was stripped and tied in a bending posture to a pillar, or stretched on a frame (*divaricatio*), and the punishment was inflicted with a scourge made of leathern thongs weighted with sharp pieces of bone or lead. This is what Horace calls the *horribile flagellum* (*Sat.* I. iii. 119). Jesus was scourged with it by order of Pilate before being led away to be crucified (Mt 27[26], Mk 15[15], Jn 19[1]). He had foreseen and foretold this indignity (Mt 20[19], Mk 10[34], Lk 18[33]). The punishment of scourging usually preceded crucifixion (see references in Swete, *St. Mark*, *ad loc.*). The Porcian law forbade the scourging of Roman citizens; and on one occasion St. Paul, after being actually bound in order to be scourged, escaped the infliction by demanding if it was lawful to scourge a man who was a Roman and uncondemned (Ac 22[24. 25]).

Jesus forewarned His disciples that they would be scourged in the synagogues (Mt 10[17] 23[34]). The Jewish method is fully described in the Mishna.

The scourge consisted of three thongs of leather, and the offender received thirteen stripes on the bare breast and thirteen on each shoulder (*Makkoth* iii. 12). St. Paul records that he five times suffered this punishment at the hands of the Jews (2 Co 11^{24}); and 'others had trial of . . . scourgings' (He 11^{36}).

Legal usages apart, Jesus made a scourge (*φραγέλλιον*) of small cords before cleansing the temple (Jn 2^{15}). Opinion differs as to the use He made of it. Meyer thinks He drove out the animals with it, not the persons; Godet, that 'it was not an instrument but an emblem, a sign of authority and judgment.'

'Scourge' is frequently used in a metaphorical sense. The Canaanites were a scourge (שׁוֹט) in the side of the Israelites (Jos 23^{13}); Eliphaz spoke of hiding from the scourge of the tongue (Job 5^{21}); the plague was the scourge by pre-eminence (Job 9^{23}, Is 10^{26}); and by a fusion of metaphors an invasion was called an overflowing scourge (Is 28^{15}).

For literature see art. CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS.

J. STRACHAN.

SCRABBLE.—1 S 21^{13} only, 'And scrabbled on the doors of the gate' (וַיְתָו,* AVm and RVm 'made marks': the subst. תָּו a mark or signature, esp. in the form of a cross, became the name of the Heb. letter ת; see MARK, § 6). The Eng. word comes from the Geneva version, where the marg. is 'by making markes and toyes.'

Though the same in meaning as 'scribble' (from Lat. *scribere* to write), it has no connexion with that word etymologically. Skeat considers it to be a dialectic form of 'scrapple' (a frequentative of 'scrape'), of which 'scramble' is a nasalized form. Bunyan uses 'scrabble' in the sense of 'scramble' (*PP* p. 116, see Venables' note on p. 467), 'Now, after a while, Little-faith came to himself, and getting up, made shift to scrabble on his way.' The modern word 'scrawl,' says Skeat, 'appears to be nothing but a careless form of "scrabble."'

J. HASTINGS.

SCREECH OWL.—See OWL.

SCRIBES.—i. ORIGIN AND CHARACTERISTICS.—In the time of our Saviour Jewish piety was largely legalistic and formal. The whole life of a pious Jew was strictly regulated by the Law. The Law was God's greatest gift to Israel; it was the complete revelation of His will and the basis of the covenant into which He had entered with them at Sinai; in it God had made known the perfect way of life, binding Himself by its terms to reward both in time and eternity the pious Jew in proportion to his observance of its precepts. The Law was therefore the binding norm both of the religious and the moral life. Religion was not a communion of man with God, but a legally correct walk before God. Love of the Law was the essence of piety; conformity to the Law was the standard and source of all righteousness. The aim and motive of this piety was the hope of reward in the present age and in the age to come (cf. Weber, *Jüd. Theol.* 1 ff.).

This legalistic tendency, which dates at least as far back as Ezra and Nehemiah, called into existence a class of men who specially devoted themselves to the study and exposition of the Law. These were the *ṣōphērîm* or scribes. The earlier scribes, however, must not be identified in all respects with those of NT times. The latter were mainly jurists; the former were men of (sacred) letters: copyists, editors, students, and interpreters of Scripture, and more especially of the Law. Ezra, 'the scribe' *par excellence* according to Jewish tradition, is the great typical form of these earlier scribes or exegetes of the Law (Ezr $7^{6.\ 11.\ 12}$, Neh $8^{1.\ 4.\ 9.\ 13}$ $12^{26.\ 36}$).* He is described as 'a ready scribe in the law of Moses' (Ezr 7^{6}), *i.e.* as a man of letters skilful in the Law, and as having 'set his heart to seek the law of the Lord, and to do it, and to teach in Israel statutes and judgments' (v.^{10}). This description of their activity doubtless applies in the main to Ezra's immediate successors. They occupied themselves in gathering together and elaborating Israel's sacred literature, in interpreting it to the common people, who were largely ignorant of Hebrew, and in making the Law the rule of faith and life.† But down to the Maccabæan period their obedience to the Law was not synonymous with the narrowness of later Judaism (see Wildeboer, *Die Sprüche*, xvi). They were the 'wise,' the 'men of understanding,' the 'just men' of Proverbs and Ecclesiasticus (cf. Sir $6^{33ff.}$ $9^{14ff.}$ $14^{20ff.}$ 38^{24}–39^{15}, Dn $11^{33.\ 35}$ 12^{3}). It would seem from 1 Ch 2^{55} that they tended to form themselves into guilds and families.

Like Ezra himself (Ezr 7^{12} etc.), the scribes were originally found among the priests and Levites (cf. Neh $8^{7.\ 13}$, 2 Ch 34^{13}). But pious 'laymen' also naturally devoted themselves to the professional study of the Law, so that there was gradually formed, alongside of the priests, who were the official interpreters of the Law, a relatively independent class of scribes. During the Greek period this independence developed into opposition, not indeed to the priesthood generally, but to the priestly aristocracy, several of whom fell away to Hellenism and neglected the laws and customs of the fathers. The attempt of Antiochus Epiphanes to suppress the Jewish religion brought matters to a crisis. It increased the scribes' devotion to the Law, and made them more narrow and exclusive. It also greatly increased their reputation among the people as being the leaders of those who were zealous for the Law (cf. 1 Mac $7^{12f.}$ for their connexion with the Hasidæans), and as men who were ready to suffer martyrdom for their faith, 'welcoming death with renown rather than life with pollution' (2 Mac $6^{18\text{-}31}$). The issue of the Maccabee rising in the Hasmonæan State intensified their narrowness and exclusiveness; they became Pharisees. Under John Hyrcanus (Kuenen), or more probably under Alexandra Salome (Wellhausen), their leaders received a seat in the Sanhedrin, as a separate class, alongside of the chief priests and elders. They thus gained a kind of official position, and assumed a new character. From being men of sacred letters, they became mainly jurists. Amid all the changes that followed the downfall of the Hasmonæan dynasty down to the destruction of Jerusalem, although they were never in possession of political power, they were the real leaders of the people, such as we find them in the time of our Saviour.

In the NT they are usually called *γραμματεῖς* ('scribes,' 'men of letters'), occasionally also *νομικοί* ('lawyers') and *νομοδιδάσκαλοι* ('doctors,' 'teachers

* We should probably emend to וַיִּכֶּה, 'and he drummed on (the doors).' So Driver, Budde, Löhr, *et al.*, following the LXX *ἐτυμπάνιζεν* and Vulg. *impingebat*.

* Scribes are mentioned in Jer 8^{8}, where the prophet accuses them of falsifying the Law (cf. Giesebrecht, *ad loc.*). The term *ṣōphēr* occurs frequently in the OT in other significations, *e.g.* Jg 5^{14}, 2 K 25^{19}, 2 Ch 26^{11}, Jer $37^{15.\ 20}$ 52^{25} 'muster-master, an officer who had charge of the enumeration and enrolment of the troops; a kind of adjutant-general' (Moore on Jg 5^{14}); Is 33^{18} the official that rated the tribute or war-tax that had to be paid to the oppressor; Ezr $4^{8f.}$ [עַל־בְּעֵלְטְעָם], Ps 45^{1} [Heb. 2], Jer $36^{26.\ 32}$, Ezk $92.^{3}$ writer; 2 S 8^{17} 20^{25}, 1 K 4^{3}, 2 K 12^{10} [Heb. 11] $18^{18.\ 37}$ 19^{2} $22^{3.\ 8ff.}$, 1 Ch 18^{16} 24^{6} 27^{32}, 2 Ch $34^{15.\ 18.\ 20}$, Est 3^{12} 8^{9}, Is $36^{3.\ 22}$ 37^{2}, Jer $36^{10.\ 12.\ 20.\ 21}$ secretary of the king, secretary of State. In 1 Mac 5^{42} the 'scribes of the people' are also military officers, the 'captains of thousands, and captains of hundreds, and captains of fifties, and captains of tens' of 3^{55}. In Sir 10^{5} 'scribe' probably means prefect of the people. Cf. Deissmann [Eng. tr.], 110 ff.

† The tradition regarding the Great Synagogue, which is said to have fixed the Canon of Scripture, has no historical foundation; see Kuenen, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, 125 ff.; Montet, *Essai sur les origines des partis saducéen et pharisien*, 91 ff. and art. SYNAGOGUE (THE GREAT).

of the law'). These three terms are used almost synonymously (see art. LAWYER).* They practically formed the same party as the Pharisees, though such expressions as 'the scribes of the Pharisees' (Mk 2^{16}) and 'the Pharisees and their scribes' (Lk 5^{30}, cf. Ac 23^{9}) show that some of the scribes were Sadducees (see art. PHARISEES, § ii. (1)). The main seat of their activity was Judæa; but we find them also in Galilee (*e.g.* Lk 5^{17}); and they were probably to be found even in the Diaspora. They were indispensable wherever there was living zeal for the Law. Though any one qualified might be called on by the ruler of the synagogue to read and expound the Scriptures in the synagogues, the scribes, when present, were naturally most frequently invited to do so (cf. Mk 1^{22}).

The scribes were very ambitious of honour (Mt 23^{5-11}, Mk $12^{38f.}$, Lk $11^{43.45}$ 20^{46}), which they demanded more especially from their pupils. 'Let the honour of thy disciple be dear unto thee as the honour of thine associate; and the honour of thine associate as the fear of thy master; and the fear of thy master as the fear of Heaven' (*Aboth* iv. 17 in Taylor, *Sayings of the Jewish Fathers*[2]). The claims of one's teacher were to be preferred to those of one's father, unless the latter were also one of the learned. If one's father and one's teacher had lost anything, or were bearing burdens, or were in captivity, the teacher was to be assisted first (*Baba mezia* ii. 11 in Schürer, *GJV*[3] ii. 317, and Taylor, *op. cit.* 71). The honour which they demanded was freely accorded to them. They enjoyed a great reputation not only among their pupils, but also among the people generally. They were usually addressed as *Rabbi* (רַבִּי, literally 'my lord'; it also meant 'master' in the sense of 'teacher,' Jn 1^{38}),† occasionally also as *Rabban* or *Rabbon* (cf. *Rabboni*, addressed to Christ in Mk 10^{51}, Jn 20^{16}), *father* (=*abba*) and *master* (=teacher, Mt $23^{9.10}$).

ii. FUNCTIONS.—It was mainly, though not exclusively, with the Law that the scribes occupied themselves. In respect of it their functions were threefold: (1) they had theoretically to develop the Law itself; (2) they had to teach the Law to their pupils; and (3) they had to act as judges in the Sanhedrin and in the various local courts.‡

(1) *The theoretical development of the Law.*—Theoretically, the written Law, contained in the Pentateuch, was the absolute norm of life, the religious, civil, and penal code of Israel. The pious Jew was required to observe it in its minutest details. But it was impossible for an average man to do so without special guidance. For this guidance they looked to the scribes. One of their chief functions was to study the exact letter of the Law, to harmonize and develop its various precepts into the minutest details, so as to secure its complete fulfilment, and to show how its precepts were to be observed in daily life. This they did also with the great mass of unwritten legal traditions, which in course of time had grown up alongside of the written Law. Cases, however, were of frequent occurrence, in regard to which both the written Law and tradition were silent, while the changes that were taking place in the national life rendered some of the old enactments highly inconvenient, if not obsolete. How, under these changed conditions, was it possible to live in accordance with the general principles of the Law? How were these new cases to be met? The solution of these difficulties was one of the leading occupations of the scribes. By means of an exegesis which was frequently very artificial, they not only based existing legal tradition more or less directly on the written Law, but also deduced from it rules that would meet the new case; or they met it by giving to some saying or recent custom of the 'wise' the value of fixed legal tradition. They were not satisfied, however, with expounding the Law and tradition so as to meet actually occurring cases. They busied themselves in providing for all conceivable cases that might occur, and especially in making a hedge or fence round the Law, *i.e.* in so expanding the compass of legal precept beyond what was laid down in the Pentateuch and in the oldest form of tradition, that it might be impossible for a man, if he observed all their traditional rules, to be even tempted to transgress the Law.* From being 'exegetes of the Law' the scribes thus became legislators; they not only made the Law more precise, but also introduced into it many innovations, supplementing and, in some cases, abolishing it, by their inferences and traditions. Still they had no intention of innovating; they were great sticklers for antiquity; they only meant to say what was old (cf. Wellhausen, *IJG*[3] 284).

This ever-accumulating mass of legal traditions and of legal determinations was called **Hălăchā.**† It was equally binding with the written Law, the two together constituting the absolute rule of life. It was given by God to Moses at Sinai; Moses delivered it to Joshua, and Joshua to the elders, and the elders to the prophets, and the prophets to the men of the Great Synagogue (*Aboth* i. 1, where Torah=the oral law; cf. Weber, *op. cit.* 88 ff.). It was the authentic interpretation and supplement of the Torah; Jehovah not only taught Moses the Torah, but also its authentic interpretation, or the *lex oralis* (*Pesikta* 38*a*, in Weber, 89). In theory the written Law was the highest norm; but in practice the scribes assigned greater importance to the oral law (cf. Mt $15^{2ff.}$, Mk $7^{5ff.}$). They interpreted the Law by tradition, which was 'the fence to Torah' (*Aboth* iii. 20). 'The Bible was understood by the help of the Halacha, quite as much as the Halacha was based upon the Bible' (W. R. Smith, *op. cit.* 64). It was more necessary to learn and teach tradition than Scripture. The transgression of Rabbinic precepts was sin. Whoever transgressed the words of the wise was worthy of death. 'An offence against the sayings of the scribes is worse than one against those of Scripture' (*Sanh.* xi. 3, quoted in Edersheim, *The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, i. 98; cf. also Weber, *op. cit.* 102 ff.). They nevertheless maintained that tradition was essentially nothing more than the interpretation and more specific determination of the Torah, from which, they alleged, all legal decisions were derived (cf.

* '"Scribe" (Latt. *scriba*) unfortunately lays stress on the etymological sense of the word (γραμματεῖς = סֹפְרִים); "lawyer" (νομικός) is scarcely better; Lc.'s νομοδιδάσκαλος is perhaps the most exact title' (Swete on Mk 1^{22}). Josephus occasionally calls them σοφισταί (*BJ* I. xxxiii. 2, II. xvii. 8, 9). 'The word σοφός, which in earlier times had been applied to one who was skilled in any of the arts of life . . . had come to be applied, if not exclusively, yet at least chiefly, to one who was shrewd with practical wisdom, or who knew the thoughts and sayings of the ancients' (Hatch's *Hibbert Lectures*, 26). Hatch also reminds us (p. 28) that 'by Grammar was meant the study of literature.'

† According to Schürer it was not till after the time of Christ that 'Rabbi' became a *title*; in the Gospels it is not a title, but a respectful form of address.

‡ Cf. *Aboth* i. 1: The men of the Great Synagogue 'said three things: Be deliberate in judgment; and raise up many disciples; and make a fence to the Torah.'

* Cf. W. R. Smith, *OTJC*[1] 61 [[2] 47]; Taylor, *op. cit.* 11: 'to make a fence to the Torah means to impose additional restrictions so as to keep at a safe distance from forbidden ground.' Streane, *The Age of the Maccabees*, 22: 'The term means the prohibition of things innocent in themselves, but bordering too closely for safety on things forbidden.' Weber, *op. cit.* 133, gives the following example: It was forbidden to drink the wine of the Gentiles, because they were never certain that they did not thereby come into contact with idolatry.

† *Hălăchā* means literally 'going,' 'way,' hence fig. 'custom,' 'usage,' 'rule,' esp. one *fixed traditionally, jus a majoribus traditum* (Weber[1], 93); 'Halacha was legal teaching, systematized legal precept . . . the system of rules applying the Pentateuchal law to every case of practice and every detail of life' (W. R. Smith, *op. cit.* 58).

Weber, 96 ff.). Whether an inference or a custom should become a binding *hălāchā* was determined by the majority of those distinguished for learning. It was thus also that they decided the differences between the rival schools of Hillel and Shammai. Theoretically, the *hălāchôth* were unchangeable; but for various reasons it was impossible to maintain this principle in practice. But a *hălāchā* could be changed or abolished only with the consent of a majority of the Wise. 'One Sanhedrin cannot abrogate the decision of another Sanhedrin, unless it be superior in wisdom and in number' (*Eduyoth* i. 5, quoted in Montet, *op. cit.* 231).

As expositors and guardians of the Law the scribes occupied themselves mainly with precepts regarding sacrifices, the festival celebrations, the observance of the Sabbath, the payments to be made to the priests and the temple, and more especially with those relating to levitical purity in the matter of foods, purifications, etc. They laid the greatest stress on these ascetic elements because they thereby kept Israel separate from the Gentiles. 'Their ideal was not righteousness, but holiness' (Wellhausen, *op. cit.* 150). The marks of a religious Jew were fasting (cf. Lk 18^{12}), almsgiving (Mt $6^{1ff.}$), and prayer, as the fulfilment of statutory duties (cf. Mt $6^{5ff.}$; *Aboth* ii. 17: 'be careful in reading the *Shĕma'*,' *i.e.* Dt 6^{4-9}). Really ethical duties were assigned a subordinate place (Mt $15^{4ff.}$, Mk $7^{8ff.}$, Mt $23^{23ff.}$). A distinction was drawn between greater and lesser commandments; but they were enjoined 'to be attentive to a light precept as to a grave' (*Aboth* ii. 1). Great stress was laid on the idea of reward (*Aboth* iv. 13 ff.: 'whosoever fulfils the Torah in poverty will at length fulfil it in wealth'; 'if thou labourest in the Torah, He hath much reward to give unto thee'; 'he who performs one precept has gotten to himself one advocate; and he who commits one transgression has gotten to himself one accuser.' Cf. v. 11 ff., where seven kinds of punishment are shown to come on account of seven main transgressions, such as dearth from failure to tithe).

Piety was thus reduced to an external and mechanical formalism. Nothing was of value, if not strictly regulated by an external law; no room was left for moral originality or spontaneity; uniformity and formal exactness were all-important. Life under the Law was felt to be a heavy burden; the scribes themselves had to devise methods whereby to evade some of their own precepts (Lk 11^{46}, Mt $23^{16ff.}$). Instead of proving a help to men in their moral and religious life, the Law had become a means whereby access to God was cut off (Lk 11^{52}).*

(2) *The teaching of the Law.*—With a view to 'raising up many disciples' (*Aboth* i. 1), the more famous rabbins gathered round them studious young men, to whom they expounded the Law (cf. Josephus, *Ant.* XVII. vi. 2, *BJ* I. xxxiii. 2). Seeing that the oral law was the main theme of their instruction, their teaching consisted in a constant repetition of its numerous precepts, so that their pupils might have them imprinted on their memory. They also put concrete cases, real or imaginary, before their pupils, in order to train them in the application of legal principles. Their pupils were also allowed to put questions to them, and to attend the disputations which they held among themselves over difficult questions. The pupils had only two duties: (*a*) to retain everything faithfully in their memory, and (*b*) never to teach otherwise, even in expression, than they had been taught by their master (cf. *Aboth* v. 18, of the four characters in scholars, 'quick to hear, and slow to forget, is wise'; iii. 12, 'when a scholar of the wise sits and studies, and has forgotten a word of his Mishna, they account it unto him as if he were guilty of death'; ii. 10, 'Eliezer ben Hyrcanus is a plastered cistern, which loseth not a drop'). Both teachers and pupils adhered rigidly to tradition. On any subject whatever, the fact that the rabbis had said so and so was decisive (cf. Mk 9^{11}).

Both for the disputations of the scribes among themselves and for the instruction of their pupils there were special academies (*beth hammidrash*), distinct from the synagogues. In Jerusalem their lectures were delivered also in the temple (cf. Lk 2^{46}, Mt 21^{23} 26^{55}, Mk 14^{49}, Lk 20^{1} 21^{37}, Jn 18^{20}), *i.e.* in the outer court. The scholars sat on the ground, the teachers on a raised bench (cf. Lk 2^{46}, Ac 22^{3}, Mt 26^{55}, *Aboth* i. 4, v. 21).

(3) *As judges.*—Although in NT times a professional knowledge of the Law was not requisite on the part of a judge, the scribes would naturally be called upon to fill that office. In the Sanhedrin at Jerusalem the 'chief priests' had the first place; but scribes also had a seat in it (cf. Mk $14^{43.53}$ 15^{1}, Lk 22^{66} 23^{10}, Ac 4^{5}), and exercised the greatest influence (*Ant.* XVIII. i. 4). See art. SANHEDRIN.

Their whole professional activity both as teachers and judges was understood to be gratis. 'R. Zadok said, Make them [*i.e.* words of Torah] not a crown, to glory in them; nor an axe, to live by them. And thus was Hillel wont to say, And he who serves himself with the tiara [the crown of the Law] perishes. Lo, whosoever makes profit from words of Torah removes his life from this world' (*Aboth* iv. 9; cf. Taylor, *op. cit.* 68). They had therefore to earn the means of living in other ways. Those of them who were not possessed of private means carried on a trade in addition to the study of the Law (cf. Ac 18^{3}). But they had to make the study of the Law supreme (Sir 38^{24}–39^{11}; *Aboth* ii. 6, Hillel said, 'He that has much traffic will not become wise'; iv. 14, 'R. Meir said, Have little business, and be busied in Torah').

It is probable, however, that they received payment for their *teaching* (cf. our Lord's saying, Mt 10^{10}, Lk 10^{7}, and St. Paul's assertion of his right, seldom exercised, of being supported by those to whom he preached the gospel, 1 Co 9^{3-18}, 2 Co $11^{8f.}$, Ph 4^{10-18}), and that they knew how to enrich themselves at the expense of the people (cf. Mk 12^{40}, Lk 20^{47} 16^{14}).

Though it was mainly with the Law that the scribes occupied themselves, they also turned their attention to the historical and didactic contents of their sacred writings. These they treated with far greater freedom than the legal contents, amplifying and embellishing them in the most arbitrary manner. The teaching that was thus derived from Scripture was called **Haggādā.** 'Haggada was doctrinal and practical admonition, mingled with parable and legend.' 'It was recognized as a rule of faith and life, and embraced doctrinal topics, practical exhortation, embellishments and fabulous developments of Bible narratives' (W. R. Smith, *op. cit.* 58, 168; cf. Driver, *LOT*[7] 487).

Of historical *haggādā* we have an example in the Books of Chronicles, an idealization and amplification of the history in Samuel and Kings (see art. CHRONICLES, vol. i. 395 ff.). Later haggadists treated mainly of the history of creation and of the lives of the great men of the past.* They

* For the legal traditions regarding the observance of the Sabbath, etc., see Schürer, *op. cit.* ii. 464 ff.; Edersheim, *op. cit.* ii. 774 ff., and cf. art. SABBATH.

* For Creation cf. *Aboth* v. 1, 9; for Abraham, cf. Josephus, *Ant.* I. vii. 2, *Aboth* v. 4 with Taylor's note, *op. cit.* 80; as to Moses cf. *Ant.* II.–IV. and what is said in the NT of his culture (Ac 7^{22}); of JANNES and JAMBRES (2 Ti 3^{8}); of the rock (see ROCK) that followed the Israelites through the wilderness (1 Co 10^{4}); of the Law being given him, not directly by God, but through the mediation of angels (Ac 7^{53}, Gal 3^{19}, He 2^{2}); of Michael

also elaborated the ethical and religious contents of Scripture in an altogether unhistorical and fantastic manner, devoting attention especially to angelology, theosophy, and eschatology. Unlike legal tradition (*hălăchā*), historical and doctrinal tradition (*haggādā*) was not binding, save on a few points such as the creation and government of the world by God, the Divine origin of the Law, and the resurrection of the dead.

On the scribes and Jesus, see art PHARISEES, § iii.

LITERATURE.—Schürer, *GJV*[3] ii. 305 ff. (*HJP* II. i. 312 ff.), to which the above article is greatly indebted; Wellhausen, *IJG*[3] 193 ff. and *passim*; Weber, *Jüd. Theologie auf Grund des Talmud*, etc., 1 ff.; Schultz, *Alttest. Theologie*[5], 290 ff.; Haussrath, *Neutest. Zeitgeschichte*[3], 87 ff.; O. Holtzmann, *Neutest. Zeitgeschichte*, 151 ff.; H. J. Holtzmann, *Neutest. Theologie*, 36 ff.; Montet, *Les origines des partis saducéen et pharisien*, 61 ff., 218 ff., and *passim*; Marti, *Theologie des Alt. Testaments*[2], 269 ff.; the article 'Schriftgelehrte' in Winer's *RWB*[3] ii. 425–428, in Herzog's *RE*[2] (by Strack), in Schenkel's *Bibel-Lexikon* (by Klöpper), in Riehm's *HWB*[2] (by Schürer); Edersheim, *Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, i. 93 ff., ii. 774 ff.; Taylor, *Sayings of the Jewish Fathers*[2]; W. R. Smith, *OTJC*[1] 55 ff. [242 ff.]; Bacher, *Die älteste Terminol. der jüd. Schriftauslegung* (p. 33 ff. on Haggādā, illustrating further what is quoted on the derivation in *LOT*, *l.c.*, and which Schürer[3], ii. 339, accepts).

D. EATON.

SCRIP.—Scrip occurs once as the tr. of יַלְקוּט *yalkût* (from לקט to glean), a shepherd's bag, in its single occurrence, 1 S 17[40]; and six times as the tr. of πήρα, a traveller's leathern bag for holding provisions (cf. LXX, 2 K 4[42], Jth 10[5] 13[10. 15]), Mt 10[10], Mk 6[8], Lk 9[3] 10[4] 22[35. 36], all the examples of that word. RV retains 'scrip' in OT, but changes into 'wallet' in NT. The Eng. word has nothing to do with 'scrip' (formerly spelt 'script,' from *scriptum*), a schedule: it is of Scand. origin (Icel. *skreppa*), and is allied to, if not derived from, 'scrap' (Icel. *skrap*), as made from a scrap of skin, or as used for holding scraps of food. See BAG.

J. HASTINGS.

SCRIPTURE.—The words so translated in EV are—

1. כְּתָב, only Dn 10[21] 'I will show thee that which is noted in the scripture of truth' (RV 'writing'), where the reference is to 'the book in which God has inscribed beforehand, as truly as they will be fulfilled, the destinies of mankind'—Driver. Elsewhere this word is tr[d] 'writing,' except Ezr 2[62], Neh 7[64] (EV 'register').

This idea of a *Book of God*, in which are recorded men's names or deeds, runs through OT, the Apocalyptic lit., and NT. It appears that burgess-rolls of cities were kept, in which were enrolled the names of the citizens, with their families (Jer 22[30] 'Write ye this man childless') and their vocations (the priests' roll or 'register' in Ezr 2[62], Neh 7[64]). Such rolls suggested the figure of a roll or book kept by God, containing the names of the covenant people of Israel. In Is 4[3] ('he that remaineth in Jerusalem shall be called holy, even every one that is written among the living [RVm 'unto life'] in Jerusalem') and Ezk 13[9] ('neither shall they be written in the writing [RVm 'register'] of the house of Israel') we see the transition from the civil to the religious use, or at least from the actual to the ideal. From the roll or book the name of the citizen was removed at death; so in Ex 32[32] Moses says, 'Blot me, I pray thee, out of thy book which thou hast written,' and v.[33] Jehovah answers, 'Whosoever has sinned against me, him will I blot out of my book.' See Charles, *Book of Enoch*, p. 131 ff.

2. γράμμα: this word is used in NT in the foll. senses—(1) A letter of the alphabet, a written character, Gal 6[11] (where AV follows Tind. in rendering 'how large a letter,' but RV, according to the usage of γράμματα γράφειν, 'how large letters,' Wyc. and Rhem. already had 'what manner of letters'). In AV, after TR, this sense is found also in Lk 23[38], but omitted from RV, after the best MSS. (2) Any written document, Lk 16[6. 7] AV 'bill,' RV 'bond' (TR τὸ γράμμα, edd. τὰ γράμματα). (3) An epistle, Ac 28[21] (γράμματα, EV 'letters'). (4) The law of Moses, Jn 5[47] (τὰ ἐκείνου γράμματα, EV 'his writings'); in St. Paul as written and judicial in opposition to the liberty of the law of life in Christ, Ro 2[27. 29] 7[6], 2 Co 3[6. 6. 7]. (5) The sacred Scriptures of the OT, 2 Ti 3[15] (TR τὰ ἱερὰ γράμματα, edd. omit τά, AV 'the holy Scriptures,' RV 'the sacred writings'). (6) Learning, Jn 7[15], Ac 26[24].

3. γραφή. Once this word refers to NT writings, viz. the Epp. of St. Paul, 2 P 3[16]; elsewhere the reference is to a passage of the OT,* or to the OT Scriptures in general. In Gal 3[8] 'the Scripture' is personified.

The question whether γραφή in the sing. is ever used of the OT as a whole is much disputed. In a note to Gal 3[22] Lightfoot lays down the rule that 'the sing. γραφή in the NT always means *a particular passage* of Scripture.' But in a subsequent note to Ro 4[3] he somewhat modifies this statement: 'Dr. Vaughan,' he says, 'takes a different view, and instances examples from St. John. The usage of St. John may admit of a doubt, though, personally, I think not; St. Paul's practice, however, is absolute and uniform.' Hort (on 1 P 2[6]) says that in St. John and St. Paul ἡ γραφή 'is capable of being understood as approximating to the collective sense.' See Westcott, *Hebrews*, p. 474 ff.; Deissmann, *Bibelstudien*, 108 ff., Eng. tr. 112 ff.; and esp. Warfield in *Pres. and Ref. Review*, x. (July 1899) p. 472 ff.

J. HASTINGS.

SCYTHIANS (Σκύθαι, Jg 1[27], Jth 3[10], 2 Mac 4[47] 12[29], 3 Mac 7[5]; Gn 14[1. 9] Σκ. in Symm. = עֵילָם).—A nomadic tribe of Indo-European origin who lived between the Danube and the Don, and spread over the region between the Caucasus and the Caspian. In the time of the elder Pliny the name Scythia was applied vaguely to the remote regions of Central Asia and S.E. Europe. The cruelty of the Scythians was proverbial (Herod. iv. 64), and their injustice (2 Mac 4[47], cf. 3 Mac 7[5]). Herodotus mentions (i. 103–105) that a horde of Scythians invaded Media, became masters of Asia, and intended to attack Egypt. Psammetichus, the king of Egypt, met them in Palestine, where he was besieging Azotus, and prevailed on them by bribes to retreat. It is not improbable that the description of the foe from the north in Jer 4[3]–6[30] was suggested by the ravages of these Scythian hordes, and that the imagery of Ezk 38[4ff.] had a similar origin. Zephaniah's description of the 'Day of the Lord' may also reflect the impression produced upon the prophet's mind by the news of the advance of these formidable hosts (see Driver, *LOT*[6] 252, 291 f., 342, and cf. art. JEREMIAH in vol. ii. p. 570[b]). Thuc. (ii. 96) connects the Scythians with the Getæ, their neighbours, with whom they afterwards coalesced. Horace (*Od.* III. xxiv. 9 ff.) praises their simplicity and describes their nomadic habits. In Col 3[11] (cf. Gal 3[28]), where it is said that Christianity does away with all ethnical distinctions, Scythians are mentioned in connexion with, and probably as a synonym for, barbarians.

C. H. PRICHARD.

SCYTHOPOLIS.—See BETHSHEAN. Its inhabitants are called **Scythopolitans** (Σκυθοπολ(ε)ῖται) in 2 Mac 12[30].

SEA (Heb. יָם; Gr. ἡ θάλασσα; only twice τὸ πέλαγος, Mt 18[6], Ac 27[5]).—Besides the literal use, either generally or specially, with often a descriptive epithet, of the Mediterranean (Ex 23[31], Nu 34[6], Dt 11[24]), the Dead Sea (Nu 34[3], Jos 3[16], Zec 14[8]), the Red Sea (Ex 10[19], Ac 7[36], 1 Co 10[1], He 11[29]), the Sea of Galilee (Nu 34[11], Jos 12[3], Mt 4[18] 15[29], Mk 1[16] 7[31], Jn 21[1] 6[1]), and even the Nile (Is 18[2] 19[5], Ezk 32[2], Nah 3[8]) and Euphrates (Is 21[1], Jer 51[36]), and the figurative use in OT for *west*, because the Mediterranean was the western limit of Palestine (Gn 28[14], Ex 10[19] 27[12], Jos 8[9] 11[2]), there are poetical,

contending with the devil for his body (Jude[9]); Salma or Salmon, the father of Boaz (1 Ch 2[11], Ru 4[20f.]), was the husband of Rahab (Mt 1[5]); the drought and famine of 1 K 17[1] 18[1ff.] were known to have lasted three and a half years (Lk 4[25], Ja 5[17]; see also Gal 4[29], cf. under ISHMAEL).

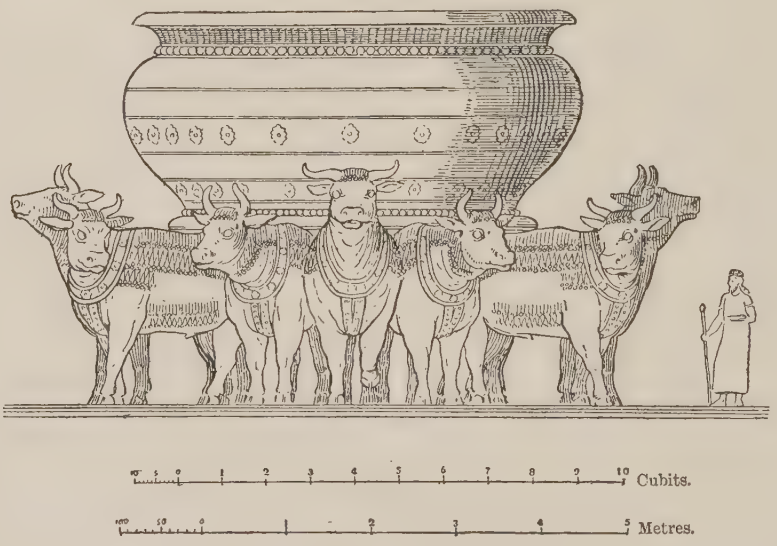
* Hort, however, holds that in 1 P 2[6] ἐν γραφῇ cannot mean 'in Scripture,' nor even 'in a passage of Scripture,' but must mean simply 'in writing,' as Sir 39[32] 42[7] 44[5] etc.

mythological, and apocalyptic references to the sea, which in several passages give to the word a theological significance. In this use the word 'sea' is closely allied with the word 'deep' (תְּהוֹם LXX and NT ἡ ἄβυσσος), which means (1) the primeval sea, from which all arose (Gn 1^2, Ps 24^2); (2) the ocean stream and subterranean waters (Gn 7^{11} 8^2 49^{25}, Dt 33^{13} 8^7); (3) any mass of waters (Ex 15^1, Ps 42^7 107^{26}); (4) the depths, the deep places of the underworld (Ps 71^{20}; see Cheyne on Ps 88^6 and 148^7), as the abode of the dead generally (Ro 10^7), and specially of demons (Lk 8^{31}, Rev $9^{1.\ 11}$ 11^7 17^8 20^1). While generally used only in the third sense, the word 'sea' seems in some passages to borrow the fourth sense also (Rev 13^1, Dn 7^3). Either by poetical personification or as a mythological survival, the sea is spoken of as a monster over which God sets a watch, and with which He wages war (Job 7^{12}, see Davidson, *Job*, p. 54; Is 27^1, see Cheyne, *Isaiah*, i. p. 158; Is 51^{10}). The image of the sea is used regarding man and his ways: the wicked are as the sea casting up mire and dirt (Is 57^{20}), man's grief is as the unquiet sea (Jer 49^{23}), the doubtful man is as a wave tossed by the wind (Ja 1^6), wicked men are raging waves of the sea foaming out their own shame (Jude ^{13}), invading hosts are compared to overflowing streams (Is 8^7, Jer 47^2) and the noisy sea (Is 17^{12}). In Rev 13^1 the beast rises out of the sea (as in Dn 7^3 the four beasts rise), because (1) the sea as a wild, terrible power (Ps $107^{23\text{-}30}$; see G. A. Smith, *HGHL* bk. ii. ch. vii.) represents heathenism (Reuss on Dn 7^3); or (2) the Roman power actually came from the sea, or the west (Holtzmann, *Handcom.* on Rev 13^1); or (3) the sea is but a synonym for the abyss (cf. Rev 11^7 17^8); or (4) the sea represents humanity, as in the passages noted above (so in Rev 17^{15} the many waters of v.^{1} are explained as 'peoples, and multitudes, and nations, and tongues'; see Carpenter on Rev 13^1 and 17^{15} in Ellicott's *NT Commentary*, xii. pp. 167, 207). The words in Rev 21^1 'the sea is no more' (RV) will mean accordingly that powers hostile to God, whether men or demons, shall be brought to nought.

See also art. Sea of Glass, and for 'brazen sea' and 'molten sea' next article.

A. E. Garvie.

SEA, BRAZEN (יָם מַמֵּכָה 2 K 25^{13}, 1 Ch 18^8, Jer 52^{17}; called in 1 K 7^{23}=2 Ch 4^2 **Molten Sea** [יָם מוּצָק]; also called in 1 K 7^{24} *et al.* absolutely 'The Sea' [הַיָּם]).—The large basin* of copper or bronze (see Brass) which stood S.E.S. of the house, and, as in the case of the corresponding laver (כִּיּוֹר) of the tabernacle, was situated between the altar and the porch.† The metal of which it was made is said to have been taken by David from the cities Tibhath and Cun.‡ The basin was itself 5 cubits high, with a diameter of 10 cubits and a circumference of 30.§ It was a handbreadth in thickness. Its rim was bent outward as in that of many cups, being of the shape of a lily. That is all we are told of its shape, but from these *data* Josephus concluded that it was a hemisphere: others have thought of it as cylinder-shaped. Winer,‖ Riehm,¶ and Thenius** hold it to have been a kind of cylinder, in which the lower part bulged out. Thenius, Keil, and others object to Josephus' view that, if the basin were a hemisphere, it could not hold 2000, much less 3000 baths of water. The same might be said of the cylinder form which some give it. Benzinger†† points out that 2000 baths are equivalent to 72,800 litres, and that a hemisphere of the dimensions of the brazen sea could contain but 32,707 litres, while a cylinder of these dimensions would contain, at the utmost, 49,062 litres. It is possible that the diameter and circumference are taken at the narrowest part, say immediately beneath the rim; but it is more probable that the measurements apply to the rim, and that lower down the vessel bulged out very much.



THE BRAZEN SEA (AFTER STADE).

According to 2 Ch 4^5 and Josephus, *Ant.* VIII. iii. 5, the sea held not 2000, but 3000 baths. Keil and Thenius trace the error to a transcriber, and accordingly alter 3000 to 2000. There is, however, no external support for the change, and it is exceedingly likely that we owe the larger number to the fondness of the Chronicler for exaggeration—a fondness equalled at least by the Jewish historian.

Below the rim, somewhere near the middle of

* The Romans called large vessels lakes (*lacus*).
† Ex 30^{18}.
‡ 1 Ch 18^8, cf. 2 S 8^8. The names of places differ in these parallel verses.
§ LXX 33. ‖ *RWB*^{3} ii. 69. ¶ *HWB*^{2} ii. 985.
** *Com.* †† *Com.* on 1 K 7^{26}.

the vessel, probably two rows of colocynths * were figured, these being cast with the basin, and not subsequently carved. Stade † has shown on grammatical and other grounds that the numeral 'ten' must go with 'cubits' and not with 'colocynths,' and that, in short, the words constitute a clumsy gloss, and had far better be left out.

The Brazen Sea rested upon 12 brazen oxen, with their heads turned towards the four cardinal points, 3 looking in each direction. All of them probably stood upon one basement of metal.

It is likely that the space between the several groups was greater than that between the several members of the group; but we have no information on this, or concerning the height of the oxen or their other dimensions.

Josephus ‡ says that in making them Solomon broke the law of Moses which forbade the making of any graven image, § as he did also in making the lions that were about his throne. He might surely have added the cherubim, which come under the same category. Riehm says the figures of oxen were chosen to form a rest for the basin, because oxen formed so large a part of the offerings. This may also supply a reason for the horns at the four corners, as Franz Delitzsch suggests. ‖ Stade, Benzinger, Nowack, and others hold that the oxen have a connexion with the worship of Jehovah in the form of a bull, which prevailed in the North; the horns of the altar are traced to the same source. Kosters ¶ tries to prove that the 'Sea' stands for the תְּהוֹם—'the deep,' one source of water supply, and that the lavers ** represent the clouds, the source of the rain supply. Benzinger gives his approval to this theory, †† and so did Smend ‡‡ before him. On these matters the Bible is silent.

We are not told how the basin was supplied with water, nor how the water was got out.

As to the first, Keil thinks it was filled by means of a crane which raised the water from the fountain close to the altar and transferred it by means of some vessel to the 'Sea' whenever it was wanted. With regard to the second, there must have been some apertures low enough to be reached; possibly the water came out of the mouths of the oxen through pipes supplied with taps. For the opinions of leading rabbinical writers, see Lundius, *Jüd. Heilig.*, Hamburg, 1738, p. 356.

Not a word is said in the older and soberer account of Kings of the *purpose* served by the Brazen Sea. But in 2 Ch 4^6 it is said to be for the priests to wash in: that is, if we take the account of the כִּיּוֹר or laver §§ of the tabernacle to guide us, the priests washed their hands and feet with its water before they proceeded to offer sacrifices.

The next point at which we meet the Brazen Sea is in 2 K 16^{17}, where it is narrated that Ahaz, for the sake of their value, took away the brazen oxen, and laid the 'Sea' on the stone pavement. The Chaldæans at a later time, led by Nebuchadnezzar, broke the 'Sea' into pieces and carried away these pieces to Babylon. ‖‖

After this we read no more about it. Yet Sir 50^3 ¶¶ seems to show that in the mind of the writer the second temple had its Brazen Sea too, though apart from the vague hint contained in this verse of the Apocrypha we read nothing about a Brazen or Molten Sea in any temple except Solomon's.

LITERATURE.—Reland, *Antiq. Sacr.* i. 6 ff.; Keil, *Tempel Salomos*, 118 ff.; the Bible Dictionaries of Winer[3], Riehm[2], and the works on Biblical Archæology by Lundius, Benzinger, and Nowack; Stade's *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, i. 335 f.; the Commentaries of Thenius, Kittel, Benzinger on 'Kings'—the first very full and able, the last two short, compact, and up to date.

T. W. DAVIES.

SEA OF CHINNERETH, SEA OF GALILEE.—See GALILEE, SEA OF.

SEA OF GLASS (AV), **GLASSY SEA** (RV), θάλασσα ὑαλίνη, occurring Rev 4^6 $15^{2\ bis}$, has no exact parallel in previous or contemporary literature. But, as the scene in Rev 4 attaches itself to Ezk 1, it is natural to find in the 'glassy sea before the throne' a reproduction of the picture in Ezk 1^{22} 'the likeness of a firmament (Heb. רָקִיעַ = 'expanse'; LXX στερέωμα = 'solid structure,' whence Vulg. *firmamentum*) like the colour of the terrible crystal' (LXX ὡς ὅρασις κρυστάλλου, 'having the look of crystal'), extending over the head of the living creatures and under 'the likeness of a throne, as the appearance of a sapphire stone' (Ezk 1^{26}). We are reminded also of Ex $24^{9.\ 10}$, where it is said that, when Moses and Aaron and the elders of Israel ascended the mount and 'saw the God of Israel,' 'there was under his feet as it were a paved work of sapphire stone, and as it were the very heaven (LXX εἶδος στερεώματος τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, 'the appearance of the heaven's firmament') for clearness.' And just as there was 'fire on the top of the mount' (Ex 24^{17}), so also in Ezk 1^{27} we are told that 'there was an appearance of fire . . . round about,' and again in Rev 15^2 the glassy sea is 'mingled with fire.' Another imperfect parallel is found in Enoch 14^9. The walls of the heavenly house from which Enoch saw in vision a second house and a throne in it and the great glory thereon, were 'like a mosaic crystal floor, and its groundwork was of crystal . . . and its floor was fire.' Perhaps the most nearly exact parallel occurs in the *Book of the Secrets of Enoch* (the Slavonic fragment of the Enoch literature, probably composed in its present form in the first half of the 1st cent. A.D.).* In 3^3 Enoch tells how the angels had taken him up into the first heaven, next above the æther: 'and they showed me (he adds) a very great sea, greater than the earthly (*i.e.* the Mediterranean), and they brought before my face the elders.' Afterwards, in a higher heaven (the seventh in Enoch) he saw the throne and the glory. In *Test. xii. Patr.*, Levi 2, this sea is said to lie between the first and second heavens, and is called the 'water hanging' between the two. It is to be noted, further, that just as we have, in connexion with the crystal appearance, 'living creatures' in Ezekiel, and 'holy ones' in Enoch, and, in connexion with the great sea, 'elders' in the *Secrets of Enoch*, so also in Rev. we have, in connexion with the glassy sea, 'living creatures' (ch. 4) and victorious saints (ch. 15).

It is not necessary to harmonize all these apocalyptic images. But it is clear that the writer of Revelation is in contact at various points with previous apocalyptic literature when he conceives of a wide expanse of water in heaven, stretching away in front of the throne, smooth, clear, bright with a golden sheen † (21^{18}), like a fire, upon it, that flashes from the seven burning lamps; while hard by (or upon) this sea stand types of created life (ch. 4), and a triumphant host of those whose life has been created anew (ch. 15), glorifying the

* The addition 'ten colocynths to every cubit' has no support in the MT, nor in the LXX, though Thenius and Keil defend this rendering.

† *ZATW* iii. 157 f.

‡ *Ant.* VIII. vii. 5. § Ex 20^4.

‖ Riehm, *HWB*[2] i. 75[a]. He compares the Greek and Roman altars with rams' heads at the corners. Cf. TEMPLE, *Altar of burnt-offering*.

¶ *ThT*, 1879, 445 ff. ** See 1 K $7^{27\text{-}39}$, and cf. LAVER.

†† *Heb. Arch.* 389; cf. also Nowack, *Heb. Arch.* ii. 44 f., and Kittel, *Könige*, p. 64.

‡‡ *Lehrbuch der alttest. Religionsgeschichte*, p. 130 [not in 2nd ed., Smend having now, as he informs the present writer, abandoned Kosters' view as being based on dogmatic rather than critical considerations].

§§ See Ex $30^{18ff.}$: this laver is to be sharply distinguished from the 10 lavers of the temple. See LAVER, and cf. a very elaborate article by Stade, entitled 'Die Kesselwagen des salom. Tempels, 1 K $7^{27\text{-}39}$,' in *ZATW*, 1901, p. 145 ff.

‖‖ 2 K $25^{13.\ 16}$, Jer $52^{17.\ 20}$. In the last passage it is stated that the Chaldæans took away the oxen as well. This is not said in the Book of Kings.

¶¶ 'In his days' (those of Simon the high priest) 'the cistern to receive water, being in compass as the sea, was covered with plates of brass' [but see the Heb., and cf. Kautzsch, *Apokr.*]

* See Charles and Morfill's edition.

† See article GLASS.

Lord God Almighty. It is possible that the idea of the glassy sea may have come from the temple pavement of ornamental polished stones (2 Ch 7^3; Jos. *BJ* VI. i. 8 and iii. 2) on which the people bowed themselves in thanksgiving to the Lord, and the gleam of which the Rabbis compared to the gleam of crystal.* The suggested relation to the 'molten sea' (*θάλασσα χαλκῆ*), the large copper reservoir of Solomon's temple used for the ablutions of the priests (2 S 8^8 [LXX], 1 K 7^{23}), seems to be more remote, if not quite imaginary.

J. MASSIE.

SEA OF JAZER.—See vol. ii. p. 553[a] note †.

SEA OF THE ARABAH (AV 'the Plain').—See DEAD SEA.

SEA OF TIBERIAS.—See GALILEE, SEA OF.

SEAH.—See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

SEAL, SEALING (subst. חוֹתָם; *σφραγίς, ἀποσφράγισμα* [LXX twice]; specifically *signet-ring*, חֹתֶמֶת, עִזְקָא, in Aramaic, *δακτύλιος*. Verb, חָתַם; *σφραγίζω* [all voices], *κατασφραγίζομαι* [act. and pass.], *ἐπισφραγίζω* [act. and mid.]).—These words are used (1) in a literal, (2) in a figurative sense.

i. LITERAL SENSE.—(*a*) *Use of Seals.*—There is evidence of the general use of seals in the early ages 'extending from the mists of Babylonian antiquity to the decline of Roman civilization' (*Encyc. Brit.* art. 'Gems'). We know from the OT that seals were used at an early date by the Hebrews (Gn $38^{18.25}$ Judah's signet), by the Egyptians (Gn 41^{42} Pharaoh), and by the Persians (Est 3^{10} 8^2 Ahasuerus). Herodotus tells us (i. 195) that the accoutrement of a Babylonian was incomplete without a staff and a ring, but this ring was probably a talisman more frequently than a signet. And the literary evidence is supported by that of gems and inscriptions dating as far back as B.C. 2000 and 3000, and showing that the practice extended to other nations (see Riehm, *HWB*, quoting Levy's *Tables*, and de Vogüé's *Mélanges d'Archéologie orientale*). Arabs and Persians of to-day wear similar seals. In the NT we have the *σφραγίς* upon the stone closing the mouth of the Lord's tomb (Mt 27^{66}), and the *δακτύλιος* (probably a signet-ring containing the father's name) put upon the finger of the prodigal (Lk 15^{22}); probably also the gold ring of the rich worshipper in Ja 2^2 was not only an ornament but a signet-ring, indicating in itself that he was a person of consequence.

(*b*) *Structure of seals.*—If we may judge from the seals and signet-rings that have come down to us, seals were of two kinds: (1) the small seal of precious stone or precious metal in a signet-ring; (2) the more ample cone-shaped or round seals, some of metal (occasionally set in stone), some of porcelain or terra-cotta† (some even of wood are in vogue to-day in the East), large enough to contain inscriptions and animal figures, such as figures of oxen or antelopes, and intended to be hung by a cord from the neck or from the arm (Gn $38^{18.25}$, Ca 8^6) or attached to the thing sealed (a door or a document, for example) when the impression was not made in the material of the thing itself.‡

(*c*) *The material used as the medium.*—Beckmann (*Hist. of Inventions*, i. 140, Bohn's tr., quoted in Smith's *Christian Antiquities*, art. 'Seals') gives it as his opinion that 'in Europe wax has been everywhere used for sealing since the earliest ages.' But in the East it was not wax but clay (Job 38^{14}), sealed when soft and then made hard by burning. When a door or a stone was to be sealed, a clay seal was put at each end of the cord stretched across it (cf. *Evang. Pet.* 8, *ἐπέχρισαν ἑπτὰ σφραγῖδας*, with Jn $9^{6.11}$). Some stones so sealed still retain the cord marks. But, like the Arabs and the Persians, the Hebrews also seem to have dipped seals or stamps in a black pigment, a paint or an ink. The picture which Ezekiel draws (9^4) of the man 'with the writer's inkhorn by his side,' marking the foreheads of the men that sighed and cried for the abominations in Jerusalem, is doubtless the source of the sealing picture in Rev 7.

(*d*) *Purposes of sealing.*—Sealing was sometimes a *substitute for signature* (and conveniently so in days when writing was not a general accomplishment), if a letter had to be authenticated or a document to be ratified. So Jezebel forged Ahab's signature (1 K 21^8); and in Neh 9^{38} 10^1 the sealing signified adherence to the contents of the covenant there and then made with God. At other times it denoted an *inalienable possession*, the signet itself being also the type of all that was most precious and inviolable (Ca 8^6, Jer 22^{24}). This comes out in the figurative application 2 Ti 2^{19} 'Having this seal, the Lord knoweth them that are his.' (In the same sense, perhaps, are the *στίγματα*, the 'brands' of the Lord Jesus, Gal 6^{17}). Akin to this idea was that of *security and permanency*, as when the stone of the lions' den was sealed by the king with his own signet and those of his lords, 'that nothing might be changed concerning Daniel' (Dn 6^{17}, cf. also Bel [14], Mt 27^{66}). These ideas of *ownership and security* are often combined with that of *destination*, as in Ezk 9^4 and Rev 7^3, where the persons sealed were, as God's people, secured from imminent destruction and designated for future reward. Finally, connected with the ideas of security and destination was the idea of *secrecy* or *postponement of disclosure*, as when the words of a roll, more particularly if prophetic, were sealed up for the uninitiated, or till the time came to publish them (Is 29^{11}, Dn 12^9, Rev 10^4). Quite in harmony with all these ideas was the idea of *authority* in the seal or signet, so that when a king bestowed his signet he thereby invested the recipient with royal authority, lending him, in fact, the royal name (Gn 41^{42}, Pharaoh and Joseph).

ii. FIGURATIVE SENSE.—In illustrating the scope of the literal, it has been unavoidable to trench upon the figurative, literal sealing being emblematic of one idea or another. But we have still to deal with the religious, the spiritual sense of *seal* and *sealing*, where there is nothing literal at all, even in vision. This comes out principally in the NT.

The idea of *authentication* is prominent when converts are called the seal of apostleship (1 Co 9^2), and when circumcision is named a seal, *i.e.* an authentication, of that righteousness by faith which existed before the rite was performed (Ro 4^{11}). The solemn *authentication* of human experience lies in the expression that he who has received the witness of the Son 'hath set seal to this that God is true' in what He promised through the Son (Jn 3^{33}); while the saying 'Him hath God the Father sealed' signifies *authentication* and *destination* to convey eternal life (Jn 6^{27}). The figurative sense of *seal* in the passage (2 Ti 2^{19}), 'The firm foundation of God (God's foundation of firm believers) standeth, having this seal, The Lord knoweth them that are his,' includes *ownership, authentication, security, and destination.* All these ideas, but especially *destination*, are present when

* See Bousset, *Offenbarung*, *in loco*.

† It is very doubtful, however, whether the 'great mass of existing (Babylonian) cylinders' could have been used as seals.

‡ Mr. Bernard Grenfell tells the present writer that sealings are not at all uncommon on Egyptian papyri, sometimes large, more frequently small. He believes that the practice of sealing *documents* went back in Egypt to the earliest times, though the date of the earliest papyrus seal is as yet uncertain. Jar-stoppers, however, were stamped in the time of the First Dynasty (earlier than B.C. 4000, according to Brugsch), and papyri of the Fourth and Fifth Dynasties, extant in fragments, probably, in their original state, contained sealings.

it is said that believers are sealed with the Holy Spirit of promise (Eph 1^{13}); sealed unto the day of redemption (4^{30}); sealed and having, in the Spirit within us, the earnest of what we shall be (2 Co 1^{22}).

Working back from the early assimilation of baptism to circumcision as a seal (Hermas, *Sim.* viii. 6; 2 Clem. vii.), some have interpreted the sealings just mentioned as directly referring to the baptismal rite. But Lightfoot seems to be justified in questioning (2 Clem. vii.) whether 'St. Paul or St. John (*e.g.* Rev 9^4) used the image with any direct reference to baptism.' Hatch (*Hibbert Lectures*, p. 295) and Harnack (*Dogmengesch.* I. i. 151) trace the baptism sense of *σφραγίς* to the Greek mysteries; but Anrich (*Mysterienwesen*, p. 120 ff.) gives in his adherence to the belief that the origin of the use is the Jewish view of circumcision as a seal (see Anrich for illustr., and Sanday-Headlam on Ro 4^{11}).

One peculiar figurative use remains to be noticed. St. Paul, in speaking (Ro 15^{28}) of handing over the collection to the saints at Jerusalem, describes his act as 'sealing to them this fruit' (of his efforts, or of the spiritual blessings that had gone forth from the Jews). The simplest explanation seems to be that of Theodore of Mopsuestia: that the apostle is referring to the solemn and exact formalities of the transaction—a view which Deissmann supports from the papyri of Fayyûm, where such sealing of wheat-sacks and the like stands for a guarantee that they contain the amount they profess to contain. St. Paul desires to act like a conscientious merchant, and to guarantee formally that he hands over the amount due from him. The suspicions which some of his enemies had set afloat, that he helped himself from the collection, must be definitely and completely foreclosed. J. MASSIE.

SEAL, SEAL SKINS.—See BADGER.

SEAMEW (RV Lv 11^{16}, Dt 14^{15}).—See CUCKOW.

SEA-MONSTER.—This Eng. term occurs only twice in RV (text): Gn 1^{21} 'God created the great sea-monsters' (AV 'great whales,' LXX *τὰ κήτη*), and Job 7^{12} 'Am I a sea or a sea-monster (AV 'whale,' LXX *δράκων*), that thou settest a watch over me?' The Heb. in both these passages is תַּנִּין (plur. תַּנִּים and תַּנִּינִים), which has been supposed to come from an (unused) root תנן = 'stretch,' 'extend,' and so to signify properly an *elongated* animal (see Ges. *Thes.* 1511). The word תַּנִּין, in addition to these two occurrences, is used of serpents or serpent-like creatures in Ex $7^{9ff.}$ [P; JE and R use נָחָשׁ, LXX *ὄφις*, in the similar passages 4^3 and 7^{15}], Dt 32^{33}, Ps 91^{13}; perhaps the crocodile is in view in Is 27^1 51^9, Ezk 29^3 32^2 (see small type below), Ps 74^{13}; large water animals * of some kind are designated by it in Jer 51 [Gr. 28]^{34}, Ps 148^7. In all these passages the LXX tr. תַּנִּין by *δράκων*, RV has 'dragon,' except in Ex $7^{9ff.}$ 'serpent' (RVm, 'Heb. *tannin*, any large reptile'); and Ps 91^{13} 'serpent'; in Ps 74^{13} RVm has 'sea-monsters,' in 148^7 '*or* sea-monsters *or* waterspouts.'

In Neh 2^{13} we hear also of the '*ên hattannîn* ('well of the dragon,' LXX *πηγὴ τῶν συκῶν*, 'fountain of the figs,' evidently confusing תַּנִּין with תְּאֵנִים 'figs').

Quite a different term, although it has sometimes been confused † with it both by copyists [תַּנִּין, LXX *δράκοντες*, of La 4^3 is a textual error for תַּנִּים, while, conversely, תַּנִּים of Ezk 29^3 32^2 (LXX in all *δράκων*) should be תַּנִּין and by interpreters, is תַּנִּים (once Mal 1^3, if the text is correct, תַּנּוֹת, LXX *δόματα* = Heb. נָאוֹת; cf. Jer 9^9 (10), Ps 65^{13}), the plur. of (unused) תָּן, which means some beast that haunts solitary places, probably the *jackal*. Its occurrences are Is 13^{22} 34^{13} 35^7 43^{20}, Jer 9^{10} (11) 10^{22} 14^6 49^{33} 51^{37}, Mic 1^8, Ps 44^{20} (19) (if the text is correct, but see Cheyne or Wellh.), Job 30^{22} [in all these passages AV has 'dragons,' * RV 'jackals'], La 4^3 (AV [wrongly] 'sea-monsters,' † m. 'sea-calves,' RV 'jackals').

Another monster, belonging to the same category as *tannîn*, is LEVIATHAN (לִוְיָתָן *liwyāthān*, prob. = 'wreathed,' 'coiled'), which appears as a denizen of the waters in Ps 104^{26} '*liwyāthān* whom thou hast formed (יָצַרְתָּ) to play therein' (or 'with him,' לְשַׂחֶק־בּוֹ, LXX *ἐμπαίζειν αὐτῷ*), and Job $41^{1ff.}$ [Heb. $40^{25ff.}$]. In the first of these passages the whale is often supposed to be referred to, in the second the crocodile, which last may be the reference also in Ps 74^{14}, where *liwyāthān* is apparently symbolical of Egypt. In Job 3^8 [where it is not necessary to read, with Gunkel, יָם 'sea' for יוֹם 'day'] magicians are supposed to be able to 'rouse up' (עֹרֵר; B *χειρώσασθαι*) this monster. On Is 27^1 see below. [LXX in all these passages tr. לִוְיָתָן by *δράκων*, except in Job 3^8, where it has *τὸ μέγα κῆτος*; Aq., Symm., and Theod., where they are extant, always transliterate *λευιαθάν*, except in this same passage in Job, where Theod. has *δράκων*]. Leviathan is referred to also in Enoch 60^{7-9}, 2 Es 6^{49-52}; cf. Apoc. Bar 29^4.

It has been contended that, in most of the OT passages where *tannîn* and *liwyāthān* occur, a mythological or semi-mythological allusion is present. Such an allusion is discovered, for instance, in Is 27^1 'In that day the LORD with his sore and great and strong sword shall punish *liwyāthān* the fleeing serpent (נָחָשׁ בָּרִיחַ, LXX *ὄφις φεύγων*, Aq. *ὄφις μοχλός*, Symm. *ὄφις συγκλείων*) and *liwyāthān* the coiled serpent (נָחָשׁ עֲקַלָּתוֹן, LXX *ὄφις σκολιός*, Aq. and Symm. *ὄφις ἐνεσκισωμένος*), and he shall slay the *tannîn* that is in the sea.' The language here certainly recalls the Babylonian mythology with its account of the primeval conflict between Marduk and Tiāmat (see art. COSMOGONY). The 'fleeing serpent' (cf. Job $26^{12f.}$) is portrayed on a Bab. seal, with Marduk in pursuit; the 'coiled serpent' might be the earth-encircling ocean. These two *liwyāthāns* are held to be simply differentiations of Tiāmat, whose consort, Kingu, may be 'the dragon in the sea' (so Gunkel, followed by Cheyne, *et al.*). At the same time Gunkel (p. 40) admits that they are employed by 'Isaiah' to symbolize kingdoms. In Is 51^9 (on which see art. RAHAB) the 'dragon' (symbolical, as the context shows, of Egypt at the time of the Exodus) appears, as in the Bab. cosmogony, as having been destroyed by God long ago (so also in Ps $74^{13f.}$ 'Thou brakest the heads of the *tannînîm* in the waters, thou didst crush the heads of *liwyāthān* in pieces,' 89^{10} *al.*), whereas in 27^1 the monster is thought of apparently as imprisoned in the sea, and destined to be destroyed at last by Jahweh's sword (cf. Job 3^8, where, as was noted above, magicians have the power to 'rouse up' *liwyāthān*; 7^{12}, where watchers are set over the *tannîn*; and Am 9^3, where the serpent [נָחָשׁ, *δράκων*] is in any case no venomous marine snake, for such are not found in the Mediterranean, but 'an imaginary monster, supposed by the Hebrews to have its home at the bottom of the ocean, and to be at the disposal of the Almighty' [Driver, *ad loc.*; similarly Nowack, who has no doubt that there is a reference to the sea-monster of mythology]). Again, in Ezk 29^{3-6} and 32^{2-8} the *tannîn* to which Pharaoh is compared, although it has points in common with the crocodile, is held to

* The creature which is said to have swallowed Jonah (see vol. ii. p. 750) is called simply a great fish (דָּג גָּדוֹל), Jon 1^{17} [Heb. and Gr. 2^1]. The familiar 'whale' comes from LXX *κῆτος* (*μέγα*), reproduced in the *κῆτος* of Mt 12^{40}.

† Pocock in his *Commentary* on Mic 1^8 (1677) first showed that these two words had been confused, and pointed out that תַּנִּים must denote some kind of jackal.

* The word 'dragon' in AV should probably be viewed merely as an old and poetical word for a large serpent (not necessarily a fabulous monster). See examples of its use in this sense in old writers as quoted by Murray in *Oxf. Eng. Dictionary*, *s.v.*

† This is the only occurrence of 'sea-monster' in AV.

find its only true equivalent in the monster Tiāmat. The treatment to be meted out by God to Pharaoh recalls, we are told, the way in which Tiāmat and her allies were vanquished and afterwards treated by Marduk; compare, for instance, Ezk 32^3 'I will spread out my net for thee,' etc., with Creation tablet iv. ll. 95, 112, 'Bel (Marduk) threw wide his net, made it encompass her'; 'In the net they lay, in the meshes they sat.' But the net is a common OT figure, and may be used here independently. Upon the whole, while it is practically certain that the Tiāmat myth had reached Palestine and that there are allusions to it in the OT, it will hardly be questioned that Gunkel exaggerates its influence.

The 'dragon' of Neh 2^{13} is probably a serpent regarded as the tutelary deity of the spring, and believed to give living power, perhaps healing virtues, to its waters (cf. W. R. Smith, *RS*[1] 156, 161 [[2] 172, 176]).

It does not fall within the scope of the present article to discuss the 'dragon' of the Greek Book of Daniel (see art. BEL AND THE DRAGON), the 'dragons' of Ad. Est 10^7 11^6 or of Ps-Sol $2^{28ff.}$, or the 'dragon' of Rev $12^{3ff.}$ $13^{2.\ 4.\ 12}$ 16^{13} 20^2, for which last see REVELATION (BOOK OF), p. 256, and Bousset's *Comm. ad loc.* See also art. RAHAB.

LITERATURE.—Gunkel, *Schöpfung u. Chaos*, esp. pp. 29–90; Cheyne's artt. 'Behemoth and Leviathan' and 'Dragon' in *Encyc. Bibl.*; Weber, *Jüd. Theol.*[2] 160, 202, 402, 404 (on Jewish fancies about Leviathan); the Comm., esp. those of A. B. Davidson, Dillm., Budde, and Duhm on *Job*; of Cheyne, Dillm.-Kittel, and Marti on *Isaiah*; and of Bertholet and Kraetzschmar (both disinclined to admit in Ezk 29^3 32^2 the mythological allusions contended for by Gunkel) on *Ezekiel*.

J. A. SELBIE.

SEBA (סְבָא).—Son of Cush, Gn 10^7=1 Ch 1^9. Since Seba is mentioned in connexion with Cush in Is 43^3 and 45^{14}, it is probable that this genealogy is a gloss on the passages of Isaiah, or, at any rate, based upon them. Of Seba this author knows that its inhabitants were *tall*; and since he prophesies that they should be brought in chains to Jerusalem, it seems reasonable to identify them with a race mentioned in the oracle of Is $18^{2.\ 7}$, who were to be brought as an offering to the temple, who also were connected with a nation living beyond the rivers of Cush, and who are described as 'drawn out, clean-shaven, and of power from ancient times.' The rest of the description is at present unintelligible. There is a further reference to them in Ps 72^{10}, where, however, they are merely typical of a distant race, and coupled with the familiar Sheba on the ground of the resemblance of their names. On this resemblance Glaser (*Skizze*, ii. 387 ff.) bases his theory that they represent the Sabæans of Jebel Shammir in Nejd—a theory which is to be rejected on the ground that the only author who knows anything definite about them keeps them carefully apart from the Sabæans, and mentions them in connexion with Cush and Egypt. Since from the 8th cent. B.C. Cush had played an important part in politics, it is probable that an educated man would have some idea of the locality of Cush, and therefore any attempt to seek for Seba anywhere but in the heart of Africa should be rejected. The researches of Mr. Theodore Bent (*Ruined Cities of Mashonaland*, 1892) have certified the existence in the heart of Africa of the vestiges of ancient States, the names of which are lost to history. The description given by him of the ancient State of Mashonaland bears some resemblance to that given in Is 18, possibly on the ground of Egyptian despatches or the statements of Ethiopians then dominant in Egypt. 'There is,' says a Portuguese traveller quoted p. 207, 'a tower or edifice of worked masonry, which appears evidently not to be the work of black natives of the country, but of some powerful and political nations'; p. 231, 'there is little doubt that the ancient builders of the ruins in Mashonaland, the forts and towns between the Zambesi and the Limpopo, utilized the Sabi river as their road to and from the coast.' This, like other African rivers, was in ancient times suitable for large craft, but, through silting, is no longer fit for it (p. 231). It does not appear that epigraphic research has as yet thrown any light on this name.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

SEBAM (שִׂבְמָה; Σεβαμά; *Saban*).—A town in the pastoral district, 'a land for cattle,' in which Heshbon, Elealeh, and Nebo were also situated (Nu 32^3). It is apparently the same place as **Sibmah,** which was in the territory of Reuben, and was rebuilt by the children of Reuben (Jos 13^{19}, Nu 32^{38}). Sebam probably soon fell into the hands of the Moabites, in whose possession it was in the days of Isaiah and Jeremiah. It was then celebrated for its vines, which were destroyed by 'the lords of the nations' (Is $16^{8.\ 9}$, Jer 48^{32}). Jerome (*Onom. s.* 'Sabama') calls it a town of Moab in the land of Gilead, and says that it was barely 500 paces from Heshbon (*Com. in Is.* v.), and one of the strong places of the district. It is perhaps *Sûmia*, on the south side of *Wâdy Hesbân*, and 2 English miles from Heshbon. There are here some ruins, rock-hewn sarcophagi, and rock-cut wine-presses (*PEF Mem. East Pal.* p. 221).

C. W. WILSON.

SEBAT (Σαβάτ) 1 Mac 16^{14}, or **SHEBAT** (שְׁבָט) Zec 1^7.—The eleventh month; see TIME.

SECACAH (סְכָכָה; B Αἰχιοζά, A Σοχοχά; *Sachacha*).—One of six cities situated in the 'wilderness' (*midbār*) of Judah (Jos 15^{61}), that is, in the waste land west of the Dead Sea. It was unknown to Eusebius and Jerome (*Onom. s.* Σακχά, Scacha), and there is no clue to its position. Conder (*Hbk. to Bible*) identifies it, doubtfully, with *Khurbet ed-Dikkeh*, also called *Khurbet es-Sikkeh*, 'ruin of the path,' 2 miles S. of Bethany. This is too near Jerusalem. Secacah was probably between the Kidron ravine (*Wâdy en-Nâr*) and En-gedi.

C. W. WILSON.

SECHENIAS (A Σεχενίας).—**1.** (B om.) 1 Es 8^{29}= Shecaniah, Ezr 8^3, where the text needs rearranging to agree with 1 Esdras. **2.** (B Ελεχονίας), 1 Es 8^{32}=Shecaniah, Ezr 8^5.

SECOND COMING.—See PAROUSIA, vol. iii. p. 674.

SECT.—See HERESY, vol. ii. p. 351.

SECU (הַסֻּכּוֹ, with the article; B ἐν τῷ Σεφέλ, A ἐν Σοκχώ).—A place mentioned only in 1 S 19^{22}. It was not far from Ramah (Samuel's residence), and apparently on the road from Gibeah to that place. In or near it there was a large cistern (RV 'the great well' [בּוֹר הַגָּדוֹל], RVm 'the well of the threshing floor' [ב' הַגֹּרֶן, LXX φρέατος τοῦ ἅλω]) which Saul passed on his journey. The place is unknown, and its site depends upon the position assigned respectively to Gibeah and Ramah. Several identifications have been proposed: for instance, *Bîr Nebala*, near Gibeon (Smith's *DB*), *Khurbet Shuweikeh*, a little S. of *Bîreh* (Conder, *PEF Mem.* iii. 52, 126), and the ancient reservoir at Solomon's Pools (*PEFSt*, 1898, p. 17), but this last is dependent upon an improbable site for RAMAH (see above, p. 198[a]). The LXX (B) ἐν τῷ Σεφέλ implies the Heb. בַּשֶּׂפִי='bare height' (often in Jeremiah). This is preferred to MT by Thenius, Driver (*Text of Sam. ad. loc.*), Löhr, H. P. Smith, and recent writers in general.

C. W. WILSON.

SECUNDUS (Σεκοῦνδος [TR], Σέκουνδος [WH,

Blass]).—A man of Thessalonica, who accompanied St. Paul from Philippi to Europe (Ac 20^4), probably one of the apostles of the Churches taking the Macedonian contributions to Jerusalem, Ac 24^{17}, 2 Co 8^{23}. The name (with SOSIPATER) occurs in the well-known inscription of Thessalonica, *CIG* ii. 1967, which gives a list of Politarchs.

A. C. HEADLAM.

SECURE.—As used in AV 'secure' means 'confident,' 'trustful,' 'not anticipating danger.' It is always in OT the tr. of בָּטַח to trust, confide, or some of its derivatives. In NT it occurs only as a verb, and only in Mt 28^{14} 'And if this come to the governor's ears, we will persuade him, and secure you,' where the Gr. is *ὑμᾶς ἀμερίμνους ποιήσομεν, i.e.* 'make you free from care,' which corresponds exactly with the derivation of the Eng. word (Lat. *securus*, i.e. *se* 'free from,' and *cura* 'care'). Cf. Jg 18^7 'they dwelt careless, after the manner of the Zidonians, quiet and secure.' How greatly the word has changed its meaning may be seen from Jg 8^{11} 'Gideon . . . smote the host: for the host was secure.' Davies (*Bible Eng.* p. 103) quotes from Sandys (p. 210), 'There is no where any place wherein it is safe to be secure.'

Securely (Pr 3^{29}, Mic 2^8, Sir 4^{15}) has the same meaning. And so also **security** in 2 Es 7^{53}, Sir 5^7; but in Ac 17^9 'when they had taken security of Jason, and of the other, they let them go,' this word is used in its modern sense (Gr. *τὸ ἱκανόν*).

J. HASTINGS.

SEDEKIAS (*Ζεδεκίας*, AV Zedechias), 1 Es 1^{46} (LXX ^{44}), Zedekiah king of Judah.

SEDUCTION.—See art. CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS, vol. i. p. 522^b.

SEED, SEEDTIME.—There is a threefold usage of the words rendered by EV 'seed.' **1.** *Botanical and agricultural.*—The common Heb. term is זֶרַע (Aram. זְרַע Dn 2^{43}), usually 'seed,' but in Gn 8^{22} 'seed time,' and in Lv 26^5 'sowing time.' In Ezk 17^5 שְׂדֵה־זֶרַע is tr. 'fruitful field' (RV 'fruitful soil'), 'Sowing seed' (Lv 11^{37}) and 'things that are sown' (Is 61^{11}) are equivalents of זְרוּעַ. In Jl 1^{17} פְּרֻדוֹת is tr. 'seed' (RV 'seeds'). 'Mingled seed' (Lv 19^{19}) and 'divers seeds' (Dt 22^9) are renderings of כִּלְאַיִם. In Is 19^7 כָּל מְזוּרָע appears in AV as 'every thing sown,' RV 'all that is sown.' The usual Gr. word in Apocr. and NT is *σπέρμα*, but *σπόρος* also occurs Mk 4^{26} [cf. Swete's note], Lk $8^{5.11}$, 2 Co 9^{10}. The most interesting Scripture references to 'seed' in this sense are the poetic figure in Ps 126^6 and our Lord's parables of the Sower and the Tares. See AGRICULTURE, vol. i. 49^a. **2.** *Physiological.*—The phrase שִׁכְבַת־זֶרַע is variously tr. in Lv $15^{16.17.18.32}$ 18^{21} 19^{19} 22^4, Nu 5^{13}. 'To conceive seed' stands in Lv 12^2 for the Hiph. of זָרַע, in Nu 5^{28} for the Niph. with the noun זֶרַע, and in He 11^{11} for *εἰς καταβολὴν σπέρματος*. *σπέρμα* has this meaning in Wis 7^2, and *σπόρα* bears the same sense in the metaphor of 1 P 1^{23}, where Christians are said to have been 'begotten again, not of corruptible seed (*ἐκ σπορᾶς φθαρτῆς*), but of incorruptible (*ἀφθάρτου*), through the word of God.' **3.** *Metaphorical for offspring*, whether of animals (Jer 31^{27}) or of man. Here the words are זֶרַע and *σπέρμα*. The former is twice tr. 'child' (Lv 22^{13}, 1 S 1^{11}). 'Seed' has the meaning of genealogy or pedigree, Ezr 2^{59}, Neh 7^{61}. 'The holy seed' is a special designation of the people of Israel, Is 6^{13}, Ezr 9^2, 1 Es 8^{70}. 'Seed,' like 'generation,' is sometimes used to describe a class of people with reference to character rather than to descent. Thus we have 'seed of evil-doers' (Is 1^4), 'of falsehood' (Is 57^4), 'blameless seed' (Wis 10^{15}), 'accursed seed' (Wis 12^{11}), a seed 'honoured' or 'dishonoured' (Sir 10^{19}).

Two NT passages call for separate remark. (*a*) The words *σπέρμα αὐτοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ μένει* (1 Jn 3^9) have been interpreted to mean either (1) that Christians, as the 'seed' or children of God, abide in Him and are thus kept from sinning; or (2) that a Divine principle of life remains in the Christian, which secures the same result. The latter is the view now almost universally accepted. It makes *αὐτοῦ* = *θεοῦ*, and the *σπέρμα θεοῦ* is much the same as the *σπορὰ ἄφθαρτος* of 1 P 1^{23}. (*b*) In Gal 3^{16} St. Paul bases an argument on the promises of Gn 13^{15} 17^8, and lays much emphasis on the use of the singular *σπέρματι* rather than the plural *σπέρμασιν* as pointing to the fulfilment of the promises in an individual, viz. Christ. Now it has to be admitted, *first*, that neither in Heb. nor in Gr. would it have been natural to use the plural form of 'seeds,' even if the promises had been meant to point only to a plurality of descendants of Abraham; and, *second*, that St. Paul's language elsewhere (Ro 4^{18} 9^7) shows that he did not regard the singular *σπέρματι* as necessarily excluding the plural meaning. St. Paul's argument in Gal 3^{16} is therefore somewhat artificial and Rabbinical in its form. It does not *logically prove* that the promise to Abraham *must* be fulfilled in a single individual. But we can take from it the thought that the collective noun, with its singular form, *suggests* an individual in whom the destiny of Abraham's posterity is summed up, and by whom their mission to the world is carried out. The terms of the promise, though not incompatible with a multiple or national fulfilment, are peculiarly compatible with one which centres in a single person, as Christ's fulfilment does (see Lightfoot, Beet, Eadie, Findlay, Lipsius, Meyer, *ad loc.*).

JAMES PATRICK.

SEER.—See PROPHECY, p. 108.

SEETHE.—To seethe is to boil, as Berners, *Froissart*, xvii, 'These Scottish men . . . take with them no purveyance of bread nor wine, for their usage and soberness is such in time of war, that they will pass in the journey a great long time with flesh half sodden, without bread, and drink of the river water without wine, and they neither care for pots nor pans, for they seethe beasts in their own skins.' The old past tense is **sod,** Gn 25^{29} 'Jacob sod pottage'; 1 Es 1^{12} 'As for the sacrifices, they sod them in brass pots and pans with a good savour'; and past ptcp. **sodden,** Ex 12^9 'Eat not of it raw, nor sodden at all with water.'

J. HASTINGS.

SEGUB.—**1.** (שְׁגוּב *Kerê*, שְׁגִיב *Kethîbh*; B *Σεγούβ*, A *Σεγούβ*) the youngest son of HIEL who rebuilt Jericho, 1 K 16^{34}. The death of Segub, which synchronized with the setting up of the gates, may have been due to an accident in the building operations, or he may have been offered in sacrifice by his father—a circumstance purposely obscured in the present form of the story. See FOUNDATION and HIEL. In any case, popular opinion finally connected the death of Hiel's two sons with a curse believed to have been pronounced by Joshua on the man that should rebuild Jericho. The form in which this curse is expressed in Jos 6^{26} is moulded by a knowledge of the events recorded in 1 K 16^{34}. See, further, Bertholet, and esp. Kittel on this last-named passage. **2.** (שְׁגוּב; B *Σερούχ*, A *Σεγούβ*) son of Hezron and father of JAIR, 1 Ch $2^{21ff.}$.

J. A. SELBIE.

SEIR (שָׂעִיר 'rough,' 'shaggy').—**1.** The name of a mountainous district east of the 'Arabah, peopled by the Edomites. It was originally occupied by *Horites* or 'cave-dwellers' (Gn 14^6 [where read, after LXX and Sam., הָרֵי שָׂעִיר for הָרָם שׂ' of MT] 36^{20} [in the latter passage Seir is personified as the eponymous ancestor of the indigenous inhabit-

ants]). As **Mt. Seir** (הַר שֵׂעִיר, τὸ ὄρος (τὸ) Σηείρ, Gn 36[8f.], Dt 2[1. 5] *al.*) is practically synonymous with Edom (cf. Gn 32[3] 'the land of Seir, the field of Edom,' אֶרֶץ שֵׂעִיר שְׂדֵה אֱדוֹם, γῆ Σηείρ χώρα Ἐδώμ), it will suffice to refer for further details to art. EDOM. **2.** Quite different is the Mt. Seir (B Ἀσσάρ, A Σηείρ) mentioned in Jos 15[10] amongst the points defining the boundaries of Judah. The name may still be preserved in that of the ruins at *Sârîs*, S.W. of Kiriath-jearim (cf. the name Σωρής in LXX A [but B Ἐωβήλ] of Jos 15[60]). See Robinson, *BRP*[2] iii. 154 ff.; Buhl, *GAP* 91, 167; Dillm. *Jos. ad loc.* J. A. SELBIE.

SEIRAH (הַשְּׂעִירָה, with the article; B Σεϊρωθά, A Σεειρῶθα; *Seirath*).—The place to which Ehud escaped after killing Eglon, king of Moab (Jg 3[26]). It was in the hill-country of Ephraim, and apparently not very far from Gilgal. Its site was unknown to Eusebius and Jerome (*Onom.* Σειρωθά, Sirotha), and it has not yet been identified.

C. W. WILSON.

SELA (סֶלַע 'the cliff'; πέτρα, Is 16[1] 42[11]; הַסֶּלַע, ἡ πέτρα, Jg 1[36], 2 K 14[7]).—The capital of Edom or Mt. Seir, situated in a valley amidst the Edomite mountains, five days' journey (of 12 miles each) by the Arabah from 'Aḳabah (Elath), and 6 from the Dead Sea by the same route.* Its identification as the capital of Edom may also be inferred from its proximity to Mount Hor (if we are right in identifying this with *Jebel Haroun*), which rises in a grand escarpment immediately to the N.W. of the ancient city, and which, as observed by Dean Stanley, is one of the few spots connected with the wanderings of the Israelites which admit of no reasonable doubt (*Sinai and Palestine*, 86). According to Strabo, **Petra** was the metropolis of the Nabatæans, and it is described as a city situated in a valley, decorated with gardens and fountains, but bounded on all sides by rocks.†

Description.—Petra is undoubtedly one of the most remarkable of the ancient cities of the East, not only for its position, shut in by mountains and formidable rocky precipices from the outer world, but for the peculiar character of its architecture and the degree of preservation in which the structures themselves have come down to us through many centuries. It lies along the course of the Wâdy Mûsa,‡ a stream which descends by a narrow gorge called the *Sîk* from the tableland of Edom at the margin of the great Arabian desert, and which ultimately finds its way into the Wâdy el-Jeib, and thus to the Dead Sea, in a north-westerly direction. On issuing from the Sîk, the valley suddenly opens out into a plain, about 1000 yards across,§ bounded by stupendous cliffs of red and variegated sandstone, into which several other valleys enter from the north, west, and south, also lined by lofty cliffs, through one of which the river escapes by a channel almost as narrow as that by which it entered. This central plain, of a rudely quadrangular form, contains several ruined temples and foundations of habitations. On all sides the nearly vertical walls of rock are covered by works of art—not built up of hewn stone, but cut out of the living rock itself; while a few ruined structures occupy sites rising directly from the valley. This style of architecture, not unknown in other Eastern countries, such as the Valley of the Nile, Peninsular India, and Asia Minor, here attains a variety and magnificence elsewhere unreached; and as the tombs appear to predominate in number above other kinds of structures,—not excepting the temples,—Petra has been likened by travellers to a vast necropolis, where the inhabitants could never issue forth from their dwellings without being confronted with monuments of death.

It would be out of place here to attempt to describe even some of the finest examples of ancient architecture to be found in Petra, which call to mind the varied styles of Egypt, Greece, and Rome. We will only observe that in hewing out the porticoes, columns, and architraves or crowning parts of the buildings, the architects commenced at the top and worked downwards; so that, as the face of the rock was not absolutely vertical, the hewn portions became more and more deeply set into the mass of the rock itself. To this protection, caused by the projection of the original face on either side, as well as sometimes overhead, may be attributed the degree of preservation of the structures themselves. The following are the more important of the monuments as known by their present names:—(1) *el-Khazné*, a portico of a tomb with Corinthian columns at the entrance to the Sîk; (2) the Theatre; (3) the Tomb, or Temple of the Urn; (4) Corinthian Tomb; (5) Great Tomb, with three rows of columns; (6) Tomb with Latin inscription*; (7) Ruin of Triumphal Arch; (8) Ruined Basilica (*Zob Phiroun*); (9) Temple (*Serail Phiroun*); (10) Large Tomb (*ed-Deir*); (11) Isolated Column. All the lateral valleys entering the great central plain have their walls perforated with tombs, and a few habitations, the entrances to which are adorned with sculptured façades, while niches for statues are to be observed at intervals. Amongst the most interesting objects is the Roman Theatre, cut out of the solid rock on the western side of the city, and estimated to have afforded seats for 3000 spectators; and lastly, the Circular Arch, which spans the Sîk high above the floor, which was doubtless constructed as part of an aqueduct to carry the waters of the brook to the higher parts of the city.† For figure of the recently discovered high place of Petra, see SANCTUARY, p. 396[a].

Outline of the history of Petra.—The history of Petra has yet to be written. The following are some of the leading historical events:—

(1) Its history commences in the time of Abraham, when Chedorlaomer, king of Elam, with his allies, swept over the region of Mount Seir, then inhabited by the Horites (or cave-dwellers), Gn 14[6].

(2) Esau settled in Mount Seir on separating from his brother Jacob, and the country was henceforth ruled by his descendants, the Edomites (Gn 36[9]).

(3) At the time of the Exodus the Edomites appear to have been a powerful nation under a king; and on the Israelites requesting permission to pass through Mount Seir, by the king's highway, on their journey towards the plains of Moab, they were refused, and the Edomites made a demonstration of force to resist the passage (Nu 20[14-21]).

* There is no doubt in the mind of the present writer that **Petra** of the present day is the Sela of the OT, the Greek name being the equivalent of the Semitic; and the importance of the place in ancient times, together with its situation, point to it as the capital of that part of Arabia. But see Moore, *Judges*, 55 f., and cf. art. ROCK, No. 4.

† Urbem in regione plana, et hortis fontibusque instructam, cinctam tamen rupibus undique (lib. xvi.).

‡ How this stream obtained its name, unless from the fancy of the Arabs, it is impossible to say; but it cannot be admitted that it ever had any connexion with Moses, the Israelitish leader. It is one of the grounds on which Dean Stanley (*Sinai*, p. 92) endeavours to make out that Petra is Kadesh-barnea; but to this point we shall return further on.

§ Measured by scale from Laborde's plan near the centre of the quadrangle.

* Giving the name of the Roman governor, Quintus Prætextus Florentinus, who died in the city probably in the reign of Hadrian, A.D. 117–180.

† A rude plan of the city is given by Burckhardt; but a much more full and perfect one by Laborde, together with numerous views and illustrations of the works of art. The beautiful drawings of David Roberts need only be referred to. The wonderful colouration of the sandstone rock ('the Nubian sandstone' of the Cretaceous age), in which the prevalent red is varied by wavy bands of pink and yellow in one direction and of purple to blue in the other, has called forth the admiration of all travellers.

(4) In later times they were sufficiently powerful to maintain wars with the kings of Israel and Judah. At an early stage they were brought into subjection by David, who put garrisons in the Edomite strongholds (2 S 8^{14}); but, in the days of Joram, Edom revolted from the rule of Judah (2 K 8^{20}), and, although defeated, maintained their independence and set a king over themselves. After their defeat by Amaziah in a great battle in the Valley of Salt on the shore of the Dead Sea, Sela, the capital, was captured, and re-named by the conqueror *Joktheel* (? 'protection of God'), 2 K 14^{7}. At the end of the 4th cent. B.C. Edom came into possession of the Nabatæans, one of the two chief tribes descended from Ishmael. These established a powerful dynasty, successfully resisting the attacks of Antigonus (Diod. Sic. xix. 731, ed. 1604), and encouraging commerce and works of art. One of their kings, Aretas, was father-in-law of Herod Antipas, and during their sway many of the monuments of Petra which have come down to the present day were constructed.

(5) The sway of the Nabatæans was terminated by the capture of the city, and the reduction of Arabia Petræa to a Roman province by Trajan's general, Hadrian, from whom the capital received the name of Hadriana, as appears from the legend on the coins of this period (Dion Cass. lib. 68). Under the fostering care of the empire it probably attained to the summit of its commercial prosperity and grandeur.

(6) Christianity appears to have been introduced into Petra at an early date, though it is impossible to verify the tradition that the city was visited by St. Paul on his retirement to Arabia after his conversion. Petra, however, became the seat of a bishopric, and Athanasius mentions Asterius as bishop of Petra early in the 4th cent. (*tom. ad Antioch.* 10: Ἀστέριος Πετρῶν τῆς Ἀραβίας, *et al.*); again we find Petra mentioned as the metropolis of the episcopal province of Palestina Tertia, which included a large number of towns or villages, all of which seem to have since disappeared. (*Excerpta* from MS in the Vatican, quoted by Reland, i. 160).

(7) With 'the decline and fall' of the Roman empire a period of decadence for Petra set in, which was hastened by the invasion of Chosroës, king of Persia, in the middle of the 6th cent.; and its ruin was consummated by the desolating wave of Mohammedan conquest which swept over Arabia Petræa from A.D. 629 to 632. The Christian inhabitants were either massacred or compelled to embrace the faith of the conqueror, and their temples and monasteries were reduced to ruins. Of the large number of ecclesiastical buildings which existed at the beginning of the 7th cent. in Arabia, only the monastery of Mount Sinai remains to the present day. Henceforth Petra became a city of ruins, absolutely lost to the view and knowledge of the outer world for several centuries during the Middle Ages till rediscovered by Sultan Beybars of Egypt towards the close of the 13th cent. It is now only the home of the Bedawîn; and the terrible predictions of the prophet, 'Thus will I make Mount Seir an astonishment and a desolation' (Ezk 35^{7}), have been literally fulfilled. Dean Burgon has well expressed this desolation in the following lines:

> 'How changed—how fallen! All her glory fled,
> The Widow'd City mourns her many dead.*
> Like some fond heart which gaunt disease hath left
> Of all it lived for—all it loved—bereft;
> Mute in its anguish: struck with pangs too deep
> For words to utter, or for tears to weep.'
>
> *Petra*, 1845.

* On the coins of Petra the city is represented as a veiled and turreted female sitting on a rock. For other predictions of the desolation of Edom, see Is 34^{5-17}, Jer 49^{15-22}, Ob 1-10.

Petra and Kadesh-barnea.—The suggestion that these two places were identical comes from Dean Stanley, and would not have been considered worthy of notice had it emanated from a less distinguished writer. Both topographical and historical reasons are sufficiently clear to render the view untenable. (1) Kadesh was a place situated in immediate proximity to the Canaanitish inhabitants (Nu 13^{29}). This does not apply to Mount Seir, which was separated from them by the wide valley of the Arabah (wilderness of Zin). (2) Kadesh was in the wilderness of Paran (Nu 13^{26}), a region lying to the west of the Arabah, and generally corresponding to the Badiet et-Tîh of the present day (cf. Gn 21^{21}, Nu 10^{12} 12^{16} 13^{26}). This is in harmony with (1) above. (3) As the king of Edom refused the Israelites a passage through his territory when about to leave his neighbourhood, is it conceivable that he would have permitted them to occupy the capital of his kingdom for a period of thirty-eight (or forty) years? Dean Stanley's main reason for his suggestion is the name Wâdy Mûsa (or Moses' Valley) attached to the stream along the banks of which Petra is situated. But however difficult it may be to account for the name, the reasons against the suggestion far outweigh whatever evidence may be derived from this source. See article SANCTUARY.

LITERATURE. — Burckhardt ('Sheikh Ibrahim'), *Travels in Syria and the Holy Land* (1822); de Laborde, *Journey through Arabia Petræa*, etc., Eng. tr. 2nd ed. (1838); Hull, *Mount Seïr, Sinai, and Western Palestine* (*PEF*, 1889); Reland, *Palestina ex monumentis veteribus illustrata* (Nuremberg, 1616); Stanley, *SP* (1860); *JBL*, 1899, p. 132 ff.

E. HULL.

SELAH (סֶלָה). — This word occurs 71 times in the Psalter, 17 of these occurrences being in Book I., 30 in II., 20 in III., 4 in V. The majority of the psalms wherein it appears are Elohistic, and all of them ascribed, in the titles, to David, Korah, Asaph or Ethan, except Pss. 66 and 67, the latter of which has ψαλμὸς τῷ Δαυεὶδ in the LXX. In 16 psalms it is found once, in 15 twice, in 7 thrice, in 1 four times. It stands also three times in the psalm which is known as Hab 3. In the so-called Psalms of Solomon διάψαλμα is used twice (17^{31} 18^{10}), but m, one of the eight MSS of which Swete has availed himself (*The OT in Greek*², vol. iii.), omits it in both cases. Its usual position is at the end of a poem or of a strophe, the only instances of its occurrence in the middle of a verse being Ps 55^{19} 57^{3}, Hab $3^{3.9}$. These exceptions, however, are apparent rather than real: the first passage is full of impassioned feeling, and the *Ṣelah* immediately follows a Divine title; in the second the LXX has διάψαλμα at the *close* of the verse; the other two are connected with loose quotations from Dt 33^{2}, Ps 77^{16-21}.

It is universally agreed that *Ṣelah* is a musical or liturgical sign of some kind. Nowhere has the word any grammatical connexion with the context. Ps 9^{16} is not an exception, for *Higgaion, Ṣelah*, are both used interjectionally, 'Resounding music! Up!' It is not found in the prophetical writings, and its reference to the temple music is evinced by the fact that 31 of the 39 psalms containing it are ascribed in their titles לַמְנַצֵּחַ, as is Hab 3 at the close.

The derivation and precise significance of the note have been much disputed. (1) One suggestion is that we have in it simply the Heb. form of ψάλλε. But the musical signs of the Psalter date from an earlier period than that of the Greek influence. Besides, if the word had come from the Greek, it is strange that no tradition to that effect should have reached any of the Greek translators. (2) It has been taken as an abbreviation. For example, לַמְנַצֵּחַ תָּשֵׂר סב=*da capo*. But

these abbreviations, however agreeable to the taste of later writers, are not biblical. (3) It has been derived from a verb סלה, supposed to be equivalent to שׂלה: the imperative would be סָלָה, with ה paragogic סָלָה, in pause סֶלָה. The interchange of ס and שׂ is, however, rare in the Heb. of the OT, and the sense thus obtained, 'Pause!' does not suit many of the passages: as, for instance, those where it stands in the middle of a verse or would break the flow of thought (Ps 55^{19} $67^{1.\ 4}$, Hab $3^{3.\ 9}$), or at the end of a psalm (Ps 3. 24), where no direction to pause is needed. (4) Several of the VSS translated it by words which mean 'for ever.' The Targ. has לְעָלְמָא, לְחַיֵּי עָלְמִין, לְעָלְמֵי עָלְמִין, etc.; Aq. ἀεί; Theod. ἀεί; Sexta διαπαντός, once εἰς τέλος; Quinta εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας; Jerome, *semper, in sempiternum.* (5) In all probability it is connected with the verb סָלַל = to lift up, to cast up. In this case the meaning may be (*a*) 'Lift up! Loud!' a direction to the orchestra, which had hitherto been playing a soft accompaniment and is now to strike in with loud music, trumpets and cymbals, whilst the singer's voice was hushed. Additional force would thus be given to those parts of the psalm where it seemed appropriate. It will be noticed that *Ṣelah* is not found at the beginning of a psalm, for instrumental preludes were in all probability unknown, the instruments being always secondary to the voices. Or (*b*) it may mean 'Lift up your benediction,' the reference being to a doxology 'sung after every psalm and section of a psalm which for any liturgical reason was separated from a section which followed' (Briggs, *JBL*, 1899, p. 142).

The διάψαλμα of LXX, Theod., and Symm. has received almost as many varying interpretations as the original word itself. 'Quidam *diapsalma* commutationem metri dixerunt esse: alii pausationem spiritus: nonnulli alterius sensus exordium. Sunt qui rhythmi distinctionem, et quia psalmi tunc temporis juncta voce ad organum canebantur, cujusdam musicæ varietatis existimant silentium' (Jer. *ad Marcellam*). It seems not unlikely that the true meaning is 'an interlude': Hesychius explains the similarly formed word διαύλιον of the flute-playing in the interval between two choruses.

B. Jacob's 'Beiträge zu einer Einleitung in die Psalmen' (*ZATW*, 1896, pp. 129-182) is a very full discussion of the word. Denying the possibility of an etymological explanation, he reaches two main conclusions: (1) 'סֶלָה signifies a pause, whether *in* the temple song or *for* the temple song'; (2) 'the meaning of ס was purposely concealed to prevent the synagogues and perhaps also the churches from obtaining one of the privileges of the temple.' Briggs' article, quoted above, is marked by great freshness in its discussion of the problem: see also under the word סֶלָה in the *Oxf. Heb. Lexicon.*

J. Taylor.

SELA-HAMMAHLEKOTH (סֶלַע הַמַּחְלְקוֹת; πέτρα ἡ μερισθεῖσα; *Petra dividens*; 'the rock of divisions *or* escape,' RVm).—A rock or cliff in the wilderness of Maon, at which Saul 'returned from pursuing after David' (1 S 23^{28}). The 'rock of divisions' is the interpretation of the Jewish commentators (*Midrash*, Rashi), and is pronounced probable by Driver (*Text of Sam. ad. loc.*); the 'rock of escapes' that of Gesenius (*Thes.* 485). The great gorge of *Wâdy Malâki*, which runs eastward between Carmel and Maon, would be a suitable position, and the name may be a corruption of the Hebrew by the loss of a guttural (Conder, *PEF Mem.* iii. 314). C. W. Wilson.

SELED (סֶלֶד).—A Jerahmeelite, 1 Ch 2^{30}. The name occurs twice in this verse: B has, the first time, Ἀλσάλαδ; the second time, Σάλαδ, which last is the reading of A both times.

SELEMIA.—One of the swift scribes who wrote to the dictation of Ezra (2 Es 14^{24}).

SELEMIAS (Σελεμίας), 1 Es 9^{34} = Shelemiah, Ezr 10^{39}.

SELEUCIA (Σελεύκεια, WH Σελευκία), the great maritime fortress of Syria, was built by Seleucus Nikator. It was the seaport of his new capital Antioch, and in it he was buried. The town was situated on the southern slopes of Mt. Pieria, and on the level ground at its foot. On three sides it was protected by nature as well as by art; and on the side of the sea, where the ground is level, it was strongly fortified. Seleucia was taken by Ptolemy Euergetes (1 Mac 11^{8}), and afterwards (*c.* B.C. 220) recovered by Antiochus the Great. It was one of the most important military stations of the Seleucidæ, and was greatly improved by the Romans. In St. Paul's time it was a 'free city'—a privilege granted to it after its capture by Pompey. It was afterwards greatly favoured by the emperors, who enlarged the harbour, constructed moles, etc. The geographical position of Seleucia, at the mouth of the Orontes valley, gave it great commercial importance. Thence ships sailed southward along the Syrian and Phœnician coasts to Egypt, and westward to Cyprus, the coast of Asia Minor, and the Roman world. And it was in one of these trading ships that Paul and Barnabas, after coming down from Antioch, sailed for Cyprus on their first missionary journey (Ac 13^{4}).

There are many remains of the old walls, temples, theatres, and other buildings of Seleucia. The walls of the inner harbour, now a morass, can be followed throughout; the canal through which ships passed from the outer to the inner harbour can be traced; and the piers of the outer harbour can still be seen beneath the sea. The most remarkable relic of Seleucia, however, is the great rock-hewn channel, partly a tunnel, which was apparently made to convey to the sea the waters of a stream that might, in times of flood, have endangered the city, and at the same time to store water for the use of the people (Chesney, *Euphrates Expedition*; Conybeare and Howson, *Life and Epp. of St. Paul*; Baedeker, *Guide to Syria and Palestine*). C. W. Wilson.

SELEUCIDÆ, the members of a Syrian dynasty founded by Seleucus, one of the generals of Alexander. They ruled over Syria from B.C. 312 to B.C. 65, their empire extending, when they were at the height of their prosperity, from Mesopotamia in the east to the borders of Greece in the west. The Seleucid era begins with Olym. 117, 1, A.U. 442, B.C. 312, and was very largely used, especially in the districts round the Euphrates and Tigris. The Seleucid year was usually regarded as beginning in autumn, but Schürer (I. i. 36–44) argues in favour of spring. None of the Seleucidæ are expressly named in any of the books of canonical Scripture, but in Daniel allusions are made to several of them, including the four kings bearing the name Seleucus. In the Books of Maccabees Seleucus IV. is mentioned by name. From certain references in Josephus' *Antiquities*, it has been commonly supposed that the Jewish historian had written a special History of the Seleucidæ. Destinon, who in his *Quellen des Fl. Josephus*, pp. 21–29, has investigated the subject carefully, decides against the existence of such a work.

Literature.—Ewald, *Hist. of Israel*, v., London, 1880, pp. 286–354; Schürer, *HJP* I. i. 169–185,—for genealogy, I. ii. 393; Ryssel in art. 'Syrien' in *PRE*^{2} xv. 176 f., Driver, *Daniel, passim.*

J. Macpherson.

SELEUCUS I. (Nikator), the founder of the Seleucid dynasty, on the death of Alexander, in B.C. 323, after a successful conflict secured recognition for himself under this title as ruler over all the countries between the Hellespont and the Mediterranean on the one side, and the Indus and Jaxartes (Sir-Daria) on the other. In the partition of

territories which took place in B.C. 321 he obtained the governorship of Babylon, and, though driven out by Antigonus in B.C. 316, he succeeded in B.C. 312 in establishing himself in the Babylonian provinces in the east as well as in the Syrian provinces in the west. He then founded the Seleucid dynasty, which held its place for about two hundred and fifty years. He died by the hand of an assassin in B.C. 282. He is the *captain* (נָגִיד) of the king of the South, Ptolemy Soter of Egypt, referred to in Dn 11^5 as having become stronger than the king. He founded several cities which became famous, among them Antioch and Apamea on the Orontes, Laodicea and Seleucia, Edessa and Berœa. He settled many Jews, who had served their time under him, in Antioch and others of the cities founded by him, and conferred upon them all the rights of citizenship.

LITERATURE.—Josephus, *Ant.* XII. iii. 1; Schürer, *HJP* II. i. 114, ii. 271; Ewald, *HI* v. 237; Driver, *Daniel*, xxxv. 165 f.

J. MACPHERSON.

SELEUCUS II. (Callinicus), king of Syria, B.C. 246–226, son of the grandson of Nikator, Antiochus II. Theos. His mother, Laodice, having murdered the Egyptian princess Berenice, Ptolemy Euergetes, the brother of the murdered lady, in order to avenge his sister's death, invaded the territories of the Syrian monarch, and plundered Syria and Babylonia. Reference to this episode is made in Dn 11^{7-9}. Ptolemy took possession of Seleucia, which for a considerable time was retained by the Egyptians. Seleucus afterwards sought to retaliate, and for this purpose led an expedition against Egypt, but was immediately put to flight. We have no particulars about the close of his reign.

LITERATURE.—Bevan, *Short Com. on Daniel*, 1892, pp. 174–177; Ewald, *HI* v. 271, 283; Driver, *Daniel*, 167 f.

J. MACPHERSON.

SELEUCUS III. (Ceraunus), king of Syria, B.C. 226–223, son of Callinicus and brother of Antiochus the Great. These brothers are referred to in Dn 11^{10} in the word 'his sons.' Seleucus did not make war directly with Egypt, but his campaign in Asia Minor may be regarded as preliminary to the expedition carried out against Egypt by his brother. Seleucus was killed in that campaign, after a reign of two years, before the accession of Ptolemy Philopator, against whom Antiochus fought unsuccessfully (cf. Driver, *Daniel*, 168 ff.).

J. MACPHERSON.

SELEUCUS IV. (Philopator), king of Syria, B.C. 187–175, son of Antiochus the Great and brother of Antiochus Epiphanes. Dn 11^{20} refers to this Seleucus, whether we understand the writer to speak of him as sending an exactor, or (transposing two words) as himself the exactor who rises up in the place of his father. In the former case, we shall understand by the exactor Heliodorus, whom Seleucus is said (2 Mac 3^7 5^{18}) to have sent to obtain the money treasured up in the temple of Jerusalem. Bevan prefers the above transposition, rendering the passage thus: 'And there shall arise in his place an exactor, who shall cause the royal dignity to pass away.' Such a designation would be very suitable for Seleucus, who was notorious for his avarice. He is spoken of in 2 Mac 3^3 as 'the king of Asia.' In 1 Mac 7^1, 2 Mac 14^1 he is alluded to as father of Demetrius, and in 2 Mac 4^7 mention is made of his death, and of the fact that he was succeeded by Antiochus. After having reigned twelve years, Seleucus was murdered, some say by Heliodorus, his minister, who sought to win the kingdom to himself; but others say at the instigation of his brother Antiochus, who was on his way from Rome, where he had been detained for some years as a hostage. This latter view seems to be most agreeable to the language of Daniel.

LITERATURE.—Bevan, *Short Com. on Daniel*, p. 185 f.; Schürer, *HJP* I. i. 172, also his art. 'Seleucus' in Riehm, *Handwörterbuch*, p. 1457; Ewald, *HI* v. 291 f., 304; Driver, *Daniel*, pp. xxxviii, 101 f., 176 f.; Fairweather and Black, *1 Mac.* pp. 146, 159, 189; Jos. *Ant.* XII. iv. 10.

J. MACPHERSON.

SELF-SURRENDER. — By this title we may understand to be indicated the fundamental principle of Christianity on its subjective side. The roots of it may be traced back in the OT and further to the primitive instincts of religion. Schleiermacher's definition of religion as 'the sense of dependence' is defective and one-sided in leaving out of account this most essential element. It is seen in an extreme form in the extravagance of pagan fanaticism. The Indian fakîr, the yogi who abandons himself entirely to religious devotion, aims at making the most absolute surrender of his life and person; and yet it is seen that pride, self-will, vanity, and various self-regarding affections are not excluded by the extremity of fanaticism, and therefore some deeper if not more demonstrative experience must be looked for in real self-surrender. The OT prepares for this, and the NT shows the way of completely realizing it.

i. SELF-SURRENDER IN THE OT.—(*a*) This is an important element of the Hebrew faith in its various phases. In the patriarchal history it appears in the submission and obedience of Abraham and his family in leaving Ur of the Chaldees and migrating to an unknown land where they must live a nomadic life in response to the call of God (Gn 12^{1-5}), and in the subsequent conduct of Isaac (26^{1-6}) and Jacob (28^{16-22}). In the prophets it is apparent as the very foundation of their work and mission. The prophet is not an involuntary instrument in the hands of God through whom the Divine will is declared. Before he receives his message he surrenders himself to the call of God; he must be a 'man of God' if he is to be a 'seer.' Moses surrenders his prospects at the court of Pharaoh in the passion of patriotism; and later, receiving his call at the burning bush, gives himself up to the service of God as His ambassador to Pharaoh. A spirit of complete self-surrender is seen later in his willingness to be blotted out of God's book that the offending people might be forgiven (Ex 32^{32}). Ruth's devotion to her mother-in-law, though issuing in a great act of self-surrender (Ru $1^{16.\ 17}$), has only a secondary bearing on the giving up of self to God. Samuel is dedicated to God from his birth by his mother (1 S 1^{11}), and his subsequent career shows that he confirmed this dedication by his own conduct. Elijah throughout his adventurous career manifests a life completely given up to the service of God in face of the greatest dangers. Elisha, responding to the call of the older prophet, takes solemn farewell of his parents and the circle of his friends at a final feast (1 K 19^{21}), which may have furnished Levi the publican with the precedent for his similar action (Lk 5^{29}). Amos leaves his herds and his orchards to go as God's messenger to the dissolute court of Jeroboam II. at Bethel. But the typical act of prophetic self-surrender is seen in the case of Isaiah, who gives us a full account of God's call and his response in a vision at the temple (Is 6). Jeremiah, shrinking from the difficult task laid on him, but going to it with the supreme courage of a naturally timorous man who is braced to face danger by a strong sense of duty and a full faith in God, lives his martyr life in the spirit of entire self-sacrifice.

(*b*) When we turn from the history to the teaching of the OT, we find that this supreme act of religion is repeatedly insisted on. The prophets call upon the people to give themselves up to God. Hosea invites the unfaithful to return (Hos $14^{1.\ 2}$). Isaiah, denouncing the sin of Jerusalem as unfaithfulness and rebellion (1^{21-23}), calls the people back

to their loyalty, and promises a redemption that implies a return to God in the spirit of submission (v.[27]). Early in the Captivity, Ezekiel sketches the ideal of a restored nation fully devoted to God, and in Deutero-Isaiah the restored Israel appears as a people given up to the service of God. The completed Pentateuch gives a large place to the idea of self-surrender on the part of the Jewish people. The whole nation is holy, *i.e.* set apart for God (*e.g.* Ex 19[5] 22[31]). The Levites and the priests are dedicated to God in an especial way for the performance of specific functions, but not to the exclusion of the self-dedication of the laity. Thus the people generally are expected to 'sanctify' themselves and to be 'holy' (*e.g.* Lv 20[7]). Among the sacrifices the burnt-offering (*ʿôlāh, i.e.* 'that which goes up') was especially significant of the self-surrender of the man who offered it. This was entirely consumed on the altar (therefore thought of as a 'whole offering'), while other sacrifices were eaten in whole or in part by the priests and the worshippers. As the smoke ascended to heaven the essence of the victim was supposed to pass up to Jehovah, and represented the offerer, who was thus supposed to give himself up to God under the symbol of his sacrifice (see Bennett, *Theol. of OT*, pp. 148, 149, and art. SACRIFICE).

ii. SELF-SURRENDER IN THE NT.—(*a*) This is first presented to us in the life of Jesus Christ, whose whole course consists in the abandonment of self and self-interest in order to do the will of God; which is summarized in sayings reported in the Fourth Gospel, 'My meat is to do the will of him that sent me, and to accomplish his work' (Jn 4[34]); 'I came down from heaven not to do mine own will, but the will of him that sent me' (6[38]), and described in Hebrews by the application to Christ of Ps 40[8] 'Lo, I am come to do thy will' (He 10[9]). The agony in the garden reveals the spirit of perfect self-surrender under the severest trial when our Lord cries, 'Howbeit, not what I will, but what thou wilt' (Mk 14[36]), and the endurance of the passion consummated in the crucifixion completes the sacrifice.

(*b*) Jesus Christ invites His disciples to a similar life of self-surrender. That is seen outwardly in the call of the Twelve, which leads each to give up his work and his home in order to follow Christ. At Cæsarea Philippi the underlying principle is made a rule of universal application when our Lord says, 'If any man would come after me, let him deny himself (ἀπαρνησάσθω ἑαυτόν), and take up his cross, and follow me' (Mk 8[34], Mt 16[24], Lk 9[23]—Luke has 'take up his cross *daily*'). Plainly, this means much more than what we commonly understand by self-denial, *i.e.* the giving up of certain of the conveniences of life. The essential difference is that it involves the abandonment of self altogether as the end of life (see Swete, *St. Mark, in loc.*). The word rendered 'deny' (ἀπαρνέομαι, stronger than ἀρνέομαι, and meaning a more thorough abandonment, suggested by the prefix ἀπό) is used for St. Peter's denial of Christ (Mk 14[30]) and for the denial in the presence of the angels of those who deny Christ on earth (Lk 12[9]). But while the absoluteness of the surrender is thus demanded, certain mistaken forms of self-denial are excluded. The notion does not involve asceticism or any form of self-torture. Primarily it is negative; it is requisite as a preliminary condition to following Christ, which is the real object to be aimed at, not commended as a meritorious act on its own account. Self must be renounced in order that Christ may be followed. Further, there is no idea of the abandonment of the *ego* in the destruction of the personality, or the fusing of the individual in the universal being of God. Christ's teaching does not tend in this pantheistic direction. The very appeal to the act of self-renunciation brings in the idea of the will that is to perform it (εἴ τις θέλει), and that will is equally requisite for the following of Christ, which is to be the subsequent aim of His servant. The disciple is to follow Christ as an individual personality, walking after his Master, though in the Master's footprints; not to merge his own consciousness and activity in the being and life of Christ. But while the individuality of the *ego* is to be thus preserved, the surrender of the will in submission and obedience is to be unconditional and complete. Probably we should regard our Lord's hard sayings on the subject of riches in the light of this primary condition. That He did not lay down a rule of poverty as a universal condition of discipleship is proved by the fact that some of His disciples who possessed property were not required to sacrifice it, *e.g.* Zacchæus, the Bethany household, the mother of St. Mark—in whose house the Church met after the resurrection. Therefore the difficulty of a rich man in entering the kingdom of God, concerning which Jesus spoke with great emphasis, must be found in the entanglement of worldly goods hindering the complete surrender of will, and not in the hard necessity of giving up all the possessions. The case of the young ruler, who, when asked what he should do to obtain eternal life, was told to sell all he possessed and give it to the poor, stands by itself: we have no other instance of such a demand, and therefore it is just to conclude that it had a specific application to this man, his wealth being his fatal hindrance, and a career of discipleship being open to him if he would abandon all his worldly goods to follow Christ with the peasants and fishermen. Thus riches may be classed with the hand, or foot, or eye that is to be cut off or plucked out if the member offend. Poverty *per se* is no more required as a condition of membership in the kingdom of God than mutilation. But if any hindrance is found in what seems most valuable and our own by right—even a limb of the body—so that the precious thing must be abandoned rather than that the life should be ruined, much more must this process be followed in the case of what is so extraneous as material wealth. For a full discussion of this position see Wendt, *Lehre Jesu*, pp. 376–389 [Eng. tr. ii. 58 ff.].

While absolute surrender to the will of God is thus required by Christ at any cost, pure altruism is not demanded. The 'golden rule,' which may be regarded as the primary law of Christian ethics, enjoins that we should do to others as we would wish them to do to us, on the principle that we should love our neighbours as ourselves, where some self-regarding thought is allowed, since this is expressly named as the measure of our feelings and actions towards others. Still it is to be observed that the more advanced teaching of the Fourth Gospel carries us beyond this line of measurement with the '*new* commandment,'—perhaps *new* in contrast with the *old* commandment about love to our neighbour,—inculcating love like Christ's ('*even as I* have loved you,' etc., Jn 13[34]), because His love involved complete self-sacrifice for the saving of others. In the same way Jesus spoke of the necessity of bearing the cross, not meaning the endurance of some hardship, but the readiness to face death, like the condemned man who carries his cross to the place of execution; and He laid down the great principle contained in the words, 'Whosoever would (or rather *wishes* to, θέλῃ) save his life shall lose it; and whosoever shall lose his life for my sake and the gospel's, shall save it' (Mk 8[35] etc.). Confusion has come into the interpretation of this passage through the two senses of the word ψυχή, as *life* and *soul*, being

introduced; but the previous sentence about the cross, an instrument of capital punishment, should make it clear that it is not the soul, especially as we now understand the word 'soul,' but the life, that is here referred to. The Gr. word is used in the same sense in Mk 10^{45}, where Jesus speaks of giving His ψυχή, *i.e.* His life, in the sense of giving Himself up to die. The passage, then, means that whoever is willing to face martyrdom for his Christian faith shall save his life—*i.e.* live on in spite of being killed, by entering into the eternal life; while he who makes it his aim to escape martyrdom will really die, because he will miss the eternal life. Here the self-surrender, even to the extent of suffering a martyr's death, *i.e.* the surrender which will face that extremity if necessary, is what Christ requires, not in every case the actual endurance of the martyrdom,—for the sentence is hypothetical. But this self-surrender is not the end, it is the means through which we are to enter into life. In a larger application of the essential principle it may be said that we must renounce ourselves in order to realize ourselves. The end then, as we saw above in another connexion, is not self-abnegation, much less is it extinction of being, or loss of personality and conscious existence, Buddhist *Nirvana*, or Hindu absorption in Brahm, but the very opposite—the full, enduring, conscious activity known as eternal life.

(*c*) In St. Paul's Epistles this principle comes out with regard to the mystical union of the Christian with Christ. He dies with Christ (Col 2^{20}); he is crucified with Christ (Gal 2^{20}); through the cross of Christ the world has been crucified to him, and he to the world (6^{14}); the old man is crucified with Christ (Ro 6^{6}). The last of these phrases throws light on the others. St. Paul is thinking of the pre-Christian condition, the life of sin and the world. This is so completely put away in Christ that it is said to be killed, crucified. The apostle means more than repentance; he is thinking of an actual end of the old thoughts, affections, desires, habits. But the peculiarity of his teaching is that this result is brought about by union with Christ, and especially by an inward, spiritual assimilation to His death. Thus, on our part, the cause is self-surrender to Jesus Christ, for Him to be the supreme commanding influence over the soul. Then this same surrender to Christ, resulting in union with Him and assimilation to His experience, carries the soul on to a resurrection. Accordingly, St. Paul writes of Christians as being 'raised together with Christ' (Col 3^{1}). Writing of his own experience, the apostle declares that it is no longer he that lives, but Christ who lives in him (Gal 2^{20}). This, which may be called the mystical element in St. Paul's thought, links itself to his rabbinical and legal view of redemption as an act of justification by God which we receive through faith. The bond of union between the two parts of the apostle's teaching may be found in his ideas on faith. It is faith that secures the grace of forgiveness, and so places the guilty person in a state of justification. Now, faith with St. Paul is not merely intellectual assent to dogma; it is personal trust in and adhesion to Christ. But such a condition of soul is the very surrender which secures the mystical union with Christ. Thus the two experiences—the subjective dying and rising, and the objective forgiveness and justification—spring out of the same act on our part, the faith that implies self-surrender. Further, out of this and its results arise moral obligations to continual self-renunciation for the service of Christ and the benefit of mankind. The Christian is not his own, because he has been bought with a price (1 Co $6^{19.\ 20}$). Therefore a special obligation is on him to spend his life in unselfish service. For the same reason he must avoid unchastity, since his body is a temple of the Holy Ghost. Christians are exhorted to present their bodies to God as a living sacrifice, an act which the apostle calls 'reasonable service' (λογικὴν λατρείαν), perhaps meaning 'spiritual service' in contrast to the external service of Judaism (Ro 12^{1}).

(*d*) The Epistle to the Hebrews, treating chiefly of Christ and His work, does not devote much attention to the subjective side of religion. Still it exalts faith as the secret of spiritual power and heroism, and this faith involves the renunciation of self in accepting the help of God to do His will. Thus one instance is that of Moses, who gave up the treasures of Egypt, enduring 'as seeing him who is invisible' (He 11^{27}).

(*e*) St. Peter describes Christians as persons who were going astray but are now returned to the Shepherd and Bishop of their souls (1 P 2^{25}); and this return involves surrender to obedience, since the sheep of the flock follow their shepherd.

(*f*) In the Johannine writings the act of self-renunciation does not come forward so prominently on its own account as elsewhere in the NT; but it is even more completely involved in the requirements that correspond to the Divine side of religion than in the other apostolic writings. The new birth of which Jesus speaks to Nicodemus (Jn 3^{1-8}) requires the surrender of self in the abandonment of pride and self-sufficiency, in order that it may be experienced. To drink of the water of life, to eat the bread of life, to follow the Light of the World, are actions that require the abandonment of all claims to self-sufficiency. Then St. John demands faith as the great condition on our part for the reception of eternal life (1 Jn 5^{13}). At the same time, in the prominence which he gives to this gift of eternal life as a present possession, it is plain that he does not teach any doctrine of the abandonment of the human personality for absorption in the Divine. W. F. ADENEY.

SEMACHIAH (שְׁמַכְיָהוּ 'J" has sustained').—The name of a Korahite family of gatekeepers, 1 Ch 26^{7} (B Σαβχειά, A Σαμαχίας). It is not improbable that the same name should be substituted for **Ismachiah** (יִשְׁמַכְיָהוּ 'J" sustaineth'; B Σαμαχειά, A Σαμαχιά) in 2 Ch 31^{13}. See Gray, *HPN* 291, 295.

SEMEI (B Σεμεεί, A Σεμεί), 1 Es 9^{33} = Shimei of the sons of Hashum, Ezr 10^{33}.

SEMEIAS (B Σεμεείας, אA Σεμείας; AV Semei), Ad. Est 11^{2} (LXX, A^{1}) = Shimei, the ancestor of Mordecai; cf. Est 2^{5}.

SEMEIN (B Σεμεείν, A Σεμεεί; AV Semei), Lk 3^{26}.—The father of Mattathias in the genealogy of Jesus Christ.

SEMEIS (B Σενσείς, A Σεμείς; AV Semis), 1 Es 9^{23} = Shimei the Levite, Ezr 10^{23}.

SENAAH (סְנָאָה; B Σααά, Σανανάτ, A Σανανά, Σεννάά, Ἀσάν; *Senaa*).—Amongst the 'people of Israel' who returned from the Captivity with Zerubbabel were the 'children of Senaah.' Their numbers were 3630 according to Ezr 2^{35}, and 3930 according to Neh 7^{38}. The name occurs again, with the article, *haṣ-Ṣenaah* (Neh 3^{3}), in connexion with the rebuilding of the walls of Jerusalem. The people of Senaah built the Fish-gate, and are mentioned next in order after the people of Jericho (cf. Ezr 2^{34}). From this it may perhaps be inferred that Senaah was in the vicinity of Jericho. In this case it may possibly be the village *Magdalsenna*, Μεγδαλσεννά, which Eusebius and Jerome (*Onom.*) place 7 M.P. north of Jericho.

In the lists in 1 Es. (5^{23}) the name is given as

Sanaas (AV Annaas; B Σαμά, A Σανάας; *Anaas*), and the number of the children as 3330.

C. W. Wilson.

SENATE is the rendering of γερουσία in Ac 5^{21}, where 'all the senate of the children of Israel' appears to be epexegetical of the preceding 'council' (συνέδριον). See also Ephesus, vol. i. p. 722ᵃ, and Sanhedrin. It is the Jewish 'senate' that is meant likewise by γερουσία in 2 Mac 1^{10} 4^{44}. The allusions to the Roman senate in 1 Mac $8^{17ff.}$ will be found handled in art. Rome, p. 306ᵇ.

SENEH (סְנֶה; Σεννά; *Sene*).—One of two jagged points, or 'teeth of the cliff,'—the other being Bozez, between which the 'passage of Michmash' ran. It is mentioned in connexion with the exploit of Jonathan and his armour-bearer, and was to the south of and nearer to Geba than Bozez (1 S 14^4). Seneh was possibly so called from the thorns (cf. סְנֶה of Ex 3^{2-4}, Dt 33^{16}) which grew upon it (cf. 'the plain of thorns,' *ἀκανθῶν αὐλών*, near the village of Gabathsaul, Jos. *BJ* v. ii. 1). The name is retained in the *Wâdy Suweinît*, on the right bank of which, not far from *Jeba*, the rock Seneh must have been. A good description of the locality is given by Conder (*Tent-Work*, ii. 112–114). See also Robinson (*BRP*² i. 441).

C. W. Wilson.

SENIR (שְׂנִיר; Σανείρ; *Sanir*).—The Amorite name of Mt. Hermon (Dt 3^9), and one of the few Amorite words preserved in the Bible. In 1 Ch 5^{23}, Ca 4^8, Senir is apparently distinguished from Mt. Hermon, and probably designated a particular part of the Hermon range (so Driver, Buhl). In Ezekiel's lamentation for Tyre (27^5) the builders are said to have made planks of the 'fir trees of Senir,' and in 1 Chronicles Senir is given as one of the limits to which the children of Manasseh overflowed from Bashan. In an inscription of Shalmaneser, Hazael of Damascus is said to have made Mt. Sanir, the top of the mountain opposite Lebanon, into a fortress (Schrader, *KAT*²² 210). The Arab geographers, as late as the 14th cent., also called Anti-Lebanon *Jebel Sanîr*, and attached the name more particularly to that portion of the range near Damascus and between *Baalbek* and *Homs*. There was also a district of *Sanîr* in which *Baalbek* was situated (Guy le Strange, *Pal. under the Moslems*, 32, 78, 79, 295–298).

C. W. Wilson.

SENNACHERIB (סַנְחֵרִיב, Σενναχηρείμ, Assyr. *Sin-akhi-erba*, 'the Moon-god has increased the brethren,' from which we may infer that he was not the eldest son of his father, Sargon).—Sennacherib succeeded Sargon on the 12th of Ab, B.C. 705. His first campaign was against Babylonia, where Merodach-baladan (or another prince of the same name) had reappeared. (See, however, Merodach-baladan). After a reign of six months the latter was forced to fly for his life. Sennacherib made a certain Bel-ibni king of Babylon, and then turned against the Kassi or Kossæans in the western mountains of Elam. After this he swept Ellipi, north of Elam, with fire and sword. In B.C. 701 came the campaign against Palestine, which had rebelled after Sargon's death. Lulia (Elulæus), king of Tyre, fled to Cyprus, and Sidon and other Phœnician cities were sacked by the Assyrians, Ethbaal being appointed king of the country. Ashdod, Ammon, Moab, and Edom now sent tribute, Judah with the dependent Philistine cities of Ashkelon and Ekron alone holding out. Ashkelon and Ekron were captured, and Hezekiah was compelled to restore to the throne of the latter city the anti-Jewish prince Padi, who had been imprisoned in Jerusalem. The Egyptians, now ruled by the Ethiopian Tirhakah, came to the help of Hezekiah, but they were defeated at Eltekeh and driven back. Sen. thereupon swept the country of Judah, capturing 46 fortresses and carrying into exile 200,150 persons. While he was besieging Lachish, Hezekiah sent rich presents to him, in the vain hope of buying off his attack. The presents consisted of 30 talents of gold, 800 talents of silver, precious stones, couches and seats inlaid with ivory, girls and eunuchs, male and female musicians (?). But all was of no avail: Lachish was taken and plundered, and the Rab-shakeh or Vizier sent a letter to Hezekiah demanding the surrender of his city (2 K 19^8 ff.). Then came the catastrophe, which obliged Sen. to leave Judah without punishing his rebellious vassal, and over which he draws a veil of silence in his annals. The events and the date of this campaign are fully discussed by Prášek in a series of articles in the *Expos. Times*, xii., xiii. (1901–2). Prášek contends that there were *two* campaigns of Sennacherib to the West and against Judah.

The following year he again entered Babylonia, of which he made his son Assur-nadin-sum king, and drove Merodach-baladan out of the marshes. A few years later he had a fleet of ships built on the Euphrates, at Til-Barsip near Birejik, which he manned with Ionians and Phœnicians. They then sailed across the Persian Gulf to the mouth of the Eulæus, where the followers of Merodach-baladan had taken refuge, and burnt and plundered the Chaldæan colony. In return for this Assur-nadin-sum was carried off to Elam, and the Elamites made Nergal-yusezib king in his place (B.C. 694). The usurper was defeated and captured by the Assyrians, but with little result, since the Elamites remained all-powerful in Babylonia for a time. In B.C. 691, however, Sen. again marched into the country. At the battle of Khalulê the Bab. and Elamite forces were obliged to retreat after a hard-fought day, but two years more were required before Babylonia could be finally subdued. Sen. had already attempted to invade Elam, but the winter had set in before he began his march, and the snow obliged him to return. At last, in B.C. 689, Babylon was taken and razed to the ground, and the canal Arakhtu, which flowed by it, was choked with its ruins.

On the 20th of Tebet, B.C. 681, Sen. was murdered by his two sons (2 K 19^{37}). The deed seems to have been prompted by jealousy of their brother Esarhaddon, who was at the time conducting a campaign against Ararat. For 42 days the conspirators held Nineveh; then they were compelled to fly to the king of Ararat and seek his aid against their brother. (The subject of the assassination of Sennacherib, and esp. the question whether this was the work of *one* or of *two* of his sons, is treated in art. Sharezer, No. 1).

Sen. was vain and boastful, with none of the military skill and endurance which distinguished his father. He built the palace of Kouyunjik at Nineveh, 1500 ft. long by 700 ft. broad, and restored a second palace on the mound of Nebi-yunus. He constructed brick embankments along the sides of the Tigris, and repaired the ancient aqueducts which had gone to decay. To him also was due the great wall of Nineveh, 8 miles in circumference.

A. H. Sayce.

SEORIM (שְׂעֹרִים; B Σεωρείμ, A Σεωρίν).—The name of the fourth of the 24 classes of priests, 1 Ch 24^8.

SEPARATION.—For 'separation' in the sense of נִדָּה, see artt. Red Heifer, p. 208ᵇ, Uncleanness, and in sense of נֵזִר art. Nazirite.

SEPHAR (סְפָרָה [with ה *locale*]; LXX A Σωφήρα), Gn 10^{30}.—Given as a limit of the territory occupied by the Joktanides, and apparently identified with

the Eastern mountain. This place is ordinarily identified (since the time of Fresnel, *ap.* Ges. *Thes.*) with Zafār, the name of two places of importance in S. Arabia—one of them the capital of the Himyarites, near San'a in Yemen, the other a coast town in the district of Shiḥr, to the extreme east of Ḥaḍramaut, and, indeed, a place, from its situation with regard to Ḥaḍramaut and the great Dahna, likely to serve as a landmark. So in the *Taj al-'arus* (iii. 370) this place is said to be 'at the extreme end of Yemen.' Wellsted (*Travels*, ii. 153) says of it: 'Dofar is situated *beneath a lofty mountain*; the country around is well cultivated,' but it only deserves to be called 'a miserable village.' Apparently, then, with the depopulation of S. Arabia that has gone on for some centuries, the place has declined from the importance which the Arabic geographers sometimes assign to it. Against this identification Glaser (*Skizze*, ii. 437) urges that we cannot prove Ẓafār to have existed at so early a period; but we also have no record of its foundation. The representation of the Arabic Ẓ by ס is surprising, but scarcely constitutes a serious objection, when the situation of the place corresponds so well with what the Biblical writer intends.

D. S. Margoliouth.

SEPHARAD (סְפָרַד; BA 'Εφραθά, Q[a] Σαφαράδ, Q[c] Σφραθά; Vulg. *in Bosporo*).—Ob[20] speaks of Jews who were in captivity in the land of Sepharad. Sepharad or [see Driver, *LOT*[6] 320] *Sĕphārēd* is the Šapardâ of the Assyr. inscriptions, who, in concert with the Kimmerians, Medes, and Minni, attacked Assyria in the reign of Esarhaddon. Their allies would seem to indicate that they came from the north-east of Assyria; but in the inscriptions of Darius Hystaspis at Behistun and Naksh-i-Rustem the province of Sparda is named between Egypt and Ionia in one instance, and between Cappadocia and Ionia in another. A Bab. inscription (Rw. 710. 31, 36) states that in 'the 37th year of Antiochus and Seleucus, the 9th day of Adar, the governor of Chaldæa and an officer of the king, who had gone to the country of Sapardu in the previous year to meet the king, returned to the city of Seleucia.' We may gather from this that the district was in the northern part of Asia Minor, though, in the annals of Sargon, Šapardâ is placed to the east of Assyria. The Targum of Jonathan identified Sepharad with Spain, probably in consequence of the similarity of the name to that of Hesperis; hence the Spanish Jews are known as Sephardim, as distinguished from the Ashkenazim or German Jews. See, further, art. 'The Land of Sepharad' by the present writer in *Expos. Times*, March 1902; cf. Maspero, *Passing*, 354 n., with references.

A. H. Sayce.

SEPHARVAIM (סְפַרְוַיִם; LXX A has in all the passages in Kings Σεφφαρουάιμ, B has in 2 K 17[24] Σεπφαρουάιμ, in v.[31] [where MT is dub.] Σεπφαρούν, in 18[34] Σεπφαρουμάιν, in 19[13] Σεφφαρουάιν; in the Isaiah passages B has 'Επφαρουάιμ, A Σεπφαρείμ). —The 'two Sippars,' a city of Babylonia, called in the cuneiform inscriptions 'Sippar of the Sun-god' and 'Sippar of Anunit.' Sippar of the Sun-god was discovered by Hormuzd Rassam in 1881 at Abu-Habba on the Euphrates, 16 miles S.E. of Baghdad. A large quantity of valuable monuments and tablets have been found in the ruins of the temple of the Sun-god, which was termed Bit-Uri by the Semites, É-Babara by the Sumerians. The Sumerian name of Sippar was Zimbir. Among the colonists transplanted to Samaria were men of Sepharvaim (2 K 17[24. 31]), and the capture of Sepharvaim by the Assyrians is referred to in 2 K 18[34] 19[13], Is 36[19] 37[13]. According to Berosus, Xisuthros, the Chaldæan Noah, buried the records of the antediluvian world at Sippara, as it was called by the Greeks. Abydenus (*Fr.* 9) states that Nebuchadnezzar excavated a great reservoir there; and Pliny (*HN* vi. 30) affirms that Sippar (which he calls 'oppidum Hipparenorum') was the seat of a university. In the reign of Nabonidos the camp of the Bab. army was just outside its walls, under the command of 'the king's son,' and the fall of Sippar followed immediately upon the decisive battle at Opis, which laid Babylonia at the feet of Cyrus.*

A. H. Sayce.

SEPTUAGINT.—

i. Importance.
ii. Name.
iii. Origin and History of the legend.
iv. Printed Editions.
v. History of the Septuagint.
vi. Manuscripts, Versions, Quotations.
vii. Use of the Septuagint.
viii. Literature.

[Abbreviations in this article:—𝔊 = Gr. Text of OT; 𝔐 = Heb. Text of OT; Lag. = Lagarde; *SSt.* = Lag. *SeptuagintaStudien*; *Sst.* = Nestle, *Septuagintastudien*; Sw. = H. B. Swete, *An Introd. to the OT in Greek* (Cambridge, 1900); *Urt.* = *Urtext und Übersetzungen der Bibel* (Leipzig, 1897, being a reprint of the art. 'Bibeltext und Bibelübersetzungen' in Herzog's *RE*[3])].

i. Importance.—The Greek version of the OT, called Septuagint, is in most respects by far the most important version of the Bible treated in this Dictionary. To the Fathers of the Greek Church it appeared of such weight that they praised the Septuagint with one accord as a token of the special providence of God, as a link in the Divine dispensation for the salvation of mankind, seeing in it the work of direct inspiration, and placing it in a line with the writings of the prophets and the preaching of the apostles (cf., for instance, Irenæus [III. xxi. 4], 'unus enim et idem spiritus Dei, qui in *Prophetis* quidem præconavit, quis et qualis esset adventus Domini, in *Senioribus* autem [*i.e.* the Seventy Elders, to whom this version was ascribed] interpretatus est bene, quæ prophetata fuerant, ipse et in *Apostolis* prædicavit.'

The various claims which call for careful attention to the LXX are, perhaps, best summed up in the second edition of it published in England (Cambridge, 1665, 12°), by John Pearson, afterwards bishop of Chester:† 'The LXX is useful and even necessary (*utilis atque necessaria*): (1) ad Hebraicam veritatem probe perspiciendam; (2) ad auctoritatem testimoniorum Apostolicorum confirmandam; (3) ad nativum Novi Fœderis stylum recte intelligendum; (4) ad Græcos Latinosque patres rite tractandos; (5) ad scientiam denique linguæ Græcæ ipsamque criticen adornandam: quis eam doctis omnibus, præsertim theologis non videt esse commendatissimam?'‡

* [The identification of Sepharvaim with Sippar, which has the weighty support of Schrader (*KAT*[2] 279 [*COT* i. 271 f.]), has been challenged by Halévy (*ZA* ii. 401 ff.), who would identify it with *Shabarain*, a place subdued by Shalmaneser IV. (B.C. 727–722). Halévy suggests that the same place is meant by the SHIBRAIM of Ezk 47[16]. See, further, the Comm. of Bertholet or Kittel on *Kings*, and of Dillm.-Kittel on *Isaiah*, *ad locc.*—Ed.].

† The preface of his edition has been frequently repeated—1683, 1694, 1707, 1730, 1831, 1843; at last separately, Cambr. 1855, cum notulis Ed. Churton (by Prof. W. Selwyn).

‡ Comp. in Sw. chs. 2–5 of part iii. on the Literary use and Value of the LXX, p. 433: 'No question can arise as to the greatness of the place occupied by the Alexandrian version in the religious life of the first six centuries of its history. The LXX was the Bible of the Hellenistic Jew, not only in Egypt and Palestine, but throughout Western Asia and Europe. It created a language of religion which lent itself readily to the service of Christianity, and became one of the most important allies of the gospel. It provided the Greek-speaking Church with an authorized translation of the OT, and, when Christian missions advanced beyond the limits of Hellenism, it served as a basis for fresh translations into the vernacular.

'The LXX has long ceased to fulfil these or any similar functions. . . . On the other hand, this most ancient of Biblical versions possesses a new and increasing importance in the field of Biblical study. It is seen to be valuable alike to the textual

ii. NAME.—The name 'Septuagint' is shortened from *secundum* or *iuxta Septuaginta* (*interpretes* or *seniores*), and is based on the legend that the translation of the OT from Hebrew into Greek was made by seventy, or more exactly seventy-two, elders or scholars, whom king Ptolemy Philadelphus, by the advice of his librarian Demetrius Phalereus, sent for for this purpose, from the high priest Eleazar of Jerusalem.

κατα τους ἑβδομηκοντα stands in the subscription to Genesis in Codex B; παρα ἑβδομηκοντα stands at the end of Proverbs in C; ἡ τῶν ἑβδομήκοντα ἐκδοσις in the note of Q before Isaiah; ἡ τῶν ο' (or οβ') ἑρμηνεία (or ἐκδοσις), and shorter οἱ ο' (or οβ'), became a common expression, especially subsequent to the labours of Origen in textual criticism (*ad Africanum*, § 5, τὴν ἑρμηνείαν τῶν ἑβδομήκοντα; *in Mt.* xv. 14, παρὰ τοῖς ο'); see *Hexapla*, ed. Field, i. p. xlviii ff.; and the 'testimonia' at the end of Wendland's edition of Aristeas.

Augustine (*de Civit. Dei*, xviii. 42 = Eugippius, p. 1018, Knoell) writes: 'post ille (Philadelphus) etiam interpretes postulavit: et dati sunt septuaginta duo, de singulis duodecim tribubus seni homines, linguæ utriusque doctissimi, Hebrææ scilicet atque Græcæ, *quorum interpretatio ut Septuaginta vocetur, iam obtinuit consuetudo.*' Where and when the word 'Septuagint' first makes its appearance in English we cannot tell.* On title-pages of editions it occurs subsequent to the *editio Sixtina* of 1587: η παλαια διαθηκη κατα τους εβδομηκοντα, *Vetus Testamentum iuxta Septuaginta* (in the reprint of Paris, 1628: *secundum LXX*). The London reprint of 1653 adds *Interpretum*, writing *ex versione Septuaginta Interpretum*; and this has been retained in all following reprints.

An edition of Bagster (1821) is entitled, *secundum Septuaginta Seniorum interpretationem* (= Irenæus, III. xxi. 2, ἑβδομήκοντα πρεσβύτεροι, in Latin *septuaginta seniores*).† The English form 'Septuagint' occurs in the title of an edition of Bagster, as well as in that of the Cambridge edition of Swete (*The OT in Greek according to the Septuagint*), and the great Oxford Concordance of Hatch-Redpath (*A Concordance to the Septuagint and the other Greek Versions*). The *Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française*[2.7] gives only the plural, *Les Septante, la version des Septante, la traduction des Septante.*‡

In English as in German it became common to use the word as singular, supplying 'version,' 'Übersetzung,'* though of course the plural is also used, especially when *Septuaginta* is translated into the vernacular, 'the Seventy,' 'die Siebenzig.' Many scholars now prefer 'the Alexandrian' or 'the Greek version of the OT,' or 'the OT in Greek.' We retain here the familiar name 'Septuagint,' for which 'LXX' has been hitherto the usual abbreviation, but for which the modern sign Gr† is still more convenient.

A frequent designation among the old Greek writers was also ἡ κοινὴ ἔκδοσις, or merely ἡ κοινή, 'the common, the Vulgate edition,' in contradistinction to the Hebrew text and the later Greek versions; cf., for instance, Basil, i. 447 D, on Is 2^{22} ἐν τοῖς ἀντιγράφοις τῆς κοινῆς ἐκδόσεως οὐ κεῖται ταῦτα, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ Ἑβραικῷ κείμενον ἐκ τῶν Δοιπῶν μετεκομίσθη. In the writings of Jerome ἡ κοινή has a more definite signification assigned to it, on which see p. 445[b]. Other designations are: ἡ ἐκκλησιαστικὴ ἔκδοσις (Gregory of Nyssa, *in Psalm.* 8); τὰ ἀντίγραφα τῆς ἐκκλησίας (Origen); τὰ ἡμέτερα ἀντίγραφα (Eusebius, *in Psalm.* ed. Mai, 591).

iii. ORIGIN AND HISTORY OF THE LEGEND.—The story that there were seventy (or rather seventy-two) translators was first told by Aristeas, who claims to have been one of the ambassadors sent by Philadelphus to the high priest Eleazar of Jerusalem, to ask from him the copy of the Law and the men to translate it.

This interesting piece of literature was published first in Latin in the famous Roman Bible of Sueyneyheym and Pannartz (1471, fol.), reprinted at Nurnberg, 1475; separately at Erfurt, 1483. The *editio princeps* of the Greek text was prepared by Simon Schard, printed at Basle 1561; subsequent editions, 1610, 1691, 1692, 1705 (Hody), 1849 (Oikonomos), 1869 (Moritz Schmidt in Merx, *Archiv*, i.); all superseded by that of Mendelssohn-Wendland (*Aristeæ ad Philocratem epistvla* . . . Lipsiæ, Teubner, 1900), and that of H. St. J. Thackeray in the Appendix to Swete's *Introduction to the OT in Greek* (Cambridge, 1900). L. Mendelssohn had begun to add a commentary, only a part of which appeared after his death, edited by M. Kraschennikow, Jurievi (ol. Dorpati), 1897. A German translation (by P. Wendland) opens the second volume of *Die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments übersetzt. . . . u. herausgegeben von E. Kautzsch* (Tübingen, 1900, ii. 1–31).

Fresh investigations are necessary; for though it is now generally acknowledged that the letter is a literary fiction,—Constantine Oikonomos (περι των ο' ερμηνευτων της παλαιας διαθηκης, βιβλια δ', Athens, 1844–1849, 4 vols.; cf. also E. W. Grinfield, *An Apology for the Septuagint, in which its claims to Biblical and Canonical Authority are briefly stated and vindicated*, London, 1850) is the last defender of its genuineness,—scholars disagree entirely about its date and value. E. Schürer places it not later than *c.* 200 B.C.; Herriot (on Philo), *c.* 170–150; Wendland, between 96 and 93, nearer to 96; L. Cohn (*Neue Jahrbücher für das klass. Altert.* i. (1898) 521 ff.) doubts whether it was used by Philo; H. Willrich (*Judaica*, Göttingen, 1900, pp. 111–130) brings its composition down to 'later than A.D. 33.'

Strange, above all, are the varieties of form

critic and to the expositor, and its services are welcomed by students both of the Old Test. and of the New.'

From this point of view, Prof. Ferd. Hitzig of Heidelberg, one of the acutest commentators on the OT, used to open his academical courses on OT exegesis with the question to his students: 'Gentlemen, have you a Septuagint? If not, sell whatever you have, and buy a Septuagint.'

Even the student of early English cannot succeed without a knowledge of it. When he reads in king Aelfred the word to the serpent (Gn 3^{14}), 'on dinre wambe *ond on dinum breostum* du scealt snican,' he ought to know that the words in italics go back through the medium of the Old Latin Bible to the LXX, and that it is therefore out of place to print beside them the Latin Vulgate of Jerome, which rests on the Hebrew, as has been done by A. S. Cook, *Biblical Quotations in Old English Prose Writers* (Lond. 1898; cf. the notice of Max Foerster in *Englische Studien*, xxviii. p. 421). The English Church retained substantially the LXX in the Prayer-Book version of the Psalms and in her Liturgy.—No words of praise are spared by E. W. Grinfield (*Apology*): he calls the LXX the viaduct between the OT and NT, the vestibule of the Christian Church, the first interpreter of the OT and the sole canonical of the NT, the bond of union between Jews and Gentiles, the morning star before the sun of righteousness, the key of the sacred treasury, the light of the Alexandrian Pharos, the sacred amalgam; he who studies the LXX is declared to be in no danger of falling into neology (p. 173). Grinfield also rightly refers to the introduction of its study by Maltby at Durham, Arnold at Rugby; to its recommendation by great philologists like Valckenaer, Heinsius (*Vos exemplaria græca*, etc.).

* On book titles cf. W. Wall, *The Use of the Septuagint Translation*, 1730; Charles Hayes, *A Vindication of the History of the Septuagint*, 1736; *Letters to a Friend concerning the Septuagint*, 1759; H. Owen, *An Enquiry into the Present State of the Septuagint Version of the OT*, 1769. Grinfield (*Apology*, p. 157) uses the adjective 'Septuagintal MSS,' and calls Bp. Pearson (p. 177) 'the best Septuagintalist.'

† The adjective 'septuagintaviralis' we have found in titles of dissertations since 1631, 1706, etc.

‡ In Italian, 'La Versione de' Settanta,' 'i Settanta.'

* At one time it was common in German to speak of the '70 Dollmetscher'; cf. J. D. Michaelis, *Programma worinne er von seinen Collegiis über die 70 Dollmetscher Nachricht giebt* (Gött. 1767); the translation of Owen's *Enquiry* (*Untersuchung der gegenwärtigen Beschaffenheit der 70 Dollmetscher*, 1772). Lessing seems to have formed the noun 'Siebziger' (see Grimm, *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, x. 834); in Old German we read in Isidore, 7. 4, *in dhero siibunzo tradungum* = 'in translatione LXX.'

† It is strange that Lic. Kabisch (*Religionsbuch*, i., Göttingen, 1900, p. 2) finds the sense of the name obscure, and thinks of connecting it with the legend of the 70 hidden (or apocryphal) books in 4 Ezra (2 Esdras).

which the story assumes in the writings of Epiphanius, though he refers to Aristeas as his authority. He makes the number of books in the Alexandrian Library '54,800 πλείω ἢ ἐλάσσω,' Aristeas 'more than 20 myriads'; he has two letters of Philadelphus, and in one of them the saying from Sir 20^{30} 41^{14} θησαυροῦ κεκρυμμένου καὶ πηγῆς ἐσφραγισμένης τίς ὠφέλεια ἐν ἀμφοτέροις. He alone, and that only in the Syriac text as first published by Lagarde (*Symmicta*, ii. 148 ff.), states that it was 'the seventh year of Philadelphus, more or less,' when the translation took place. He makes the translators work by pairs in 36 different cells, and originated the statement, repeated as late as 1587 in the preface to the Sixtina, that this happened 'trecentis uno plus annis ante Christi adventum' (cf. Sw. p. 176; Wendland, 153, 159; Nestle, *Sst.* i. 12). Draeseke believed that Epiphanius drew from the lost chronicle of Justus of Tiberias, and that Augustine was dependent on Epiphanius; but this has been refuted by Wendland (*Rheinisches Museum* 56, 1. 112 ff.). On the use made of this story by Philo, Josephus, and the ecclesiastical writers see Sw. 12–17, and especially the 'testimonia' in Wendland's edition, pp. 85–166.* That the *number* 70 and the legend of their wonderful *harmony* may be due to Ex 24^{11}, where 𝔊 reads καὶ τῶν ἐπιλέκτων τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ οὐδὲ διεφώνησεν οὐδὲ εἷς, was first pointed out by Daniel Heinsius in the *Aristarchus sacer*, ch. 10.

As the *year* in which the translation originated, other ecclesiastical writers give the 2nd, 17th, 19th, or 20th year of Philadelphus; in the *Chronicle* of Eusebius the MSS vary between the years 1734, 1735, 1736, or 1737 of Abraham (see Walton's *Prolegomena*). As the *day*, the Jews name the 8th of Tebet; according to the letter of Aristeas the arrival of the interpreters coincided with the day of a great naval victory of Philadelphus in the war against Antigonus, and was ordered to be celebrated for ever. Rabbinical Jews called that day the fast of darkness, for they regarded this translation as a national disaster, 'like the day on which the golden calf was made' (see D. S. Margoliouth, 'The Calendar of the Synagogue,' in the *Expositor*, Nov. 1900, p. 348 f.). Philo relates that in his time the Jews of Alexandria kept an annual festival, τὸ χωρίον σεμνυνοῦντες, ἐν ᾧ πρῶτον τὰ τῆς ἑρμηνείας ἐξέλαμψε καὶ παλαιὰς ἕνεκεν εὐεργεσίας ἀεὶ νεαζούσης εὐχαριστήσαντες τῷ θεῷ. He knows that the interpreters, before they began, asked God's blessing on this undertaking, ὁ δ' ἐπινεύει ταῖς εὐχαῖς ἵνα τὸ πλεῖον ἢ καὶ τὸ σύμπαν γένος τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὠφεληθῇ χρησόμενον εἰς ἐπανόρθωσιν βίου φιλοσόφοις καὶ παγκάλοις διατάγμασι.

This aspiration was fulfilled when the work became one of the chief aids to the spread of Christianity. As this was at the same time the first attempt made on a larger scale, in the domain of Græco-Roman or Mediterranean culture, to translate a literary work from one language into another, it is the more interesting to ask whether this attempt, as the above story relates, was due to the literary interest felt by a bibliophile king—φιλόκαλος καὶ φιλόλογος, as he is styled by Epiphanius*—or to the wants of a religious community. The latter view now generally prevails (cf. Wendland in Kautzsch, *Pseudepigraphen*, ii. 1; *ZNTW* i. 268). A third view is, that the undertaking was intended as an aid to Jewish propagandism. This explanation may find some support in the words of Philo (who expresses the hope that these laws will obscure those of the other nations, as the rising sun obscures the stars), and in the very first document which speaks of 𝔊, namely the prologue of the Bk. of Sirach (compare the whole, especially ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἐκτὸς δύνασθαι τοὺς φιλομαθοῦντας χρησίμους εἶναι καὶ λέγοντας καὶ γράφοντας).

This last passage is also the first to speak of all three parts of the Hebrew Bible (νόμος, προφῆται, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάτρια βιβλία) as already extant in Greek; Aristeas, Philo, and Josephus restrict their language to the Law, a fact to which Jerome emphatically called attention. If the LXX version was due to the wants of the synagogue, it is all but certain that the Torah was the first part translated. How soon and in what order the other parts of the OT were overtaken is not made out; nor has even the question how many different hands may be distinguished in the present collection yet been sufficiently investigated. Two books only contain a notice bearing on this point.

(1) *Esther* (see Jacob, *ZATW*, 1890, 241 ff.; Willrich, *Judaica*, Gött. 1900, 2 ff.; art. Esther, vol. i. 744). Willrich thinks that the fourth year of Ptolemy and Cleopatra, in which a priest and Levite, Dositheus and his son Ptolemy, are said to have brought τὴν προκειμένην ἐπιστολὴν ἣν ἔφασαν εἶναι καὶ ἑρμηνευκέναι Δυσίμαχον Πτολεμαίου τῶν ἐν Ἰερουσαλήμ (Est 11^{1}), was not that of Philometor (B.C. 166–165) nor of Soter II. (B.C. 114), but that of Ptolemy XIV. (B.C. 48–47); but this seems very doubtful.

(2) The second note, which is equally obscure, stands at the end of *Job* (in Cod. A even twice, with strange variations): οὗτος ἑρμηνεύεται ἐκ τῆς Συριακῆς βίβλου (cf. art. Job, vol. ii. 660, where it is translated, 'this man is described in the Syriac book as living,' etc.).

In accordance with the usage of the ancient Church, we include in this article not only those books, the original of which was or is in the Hebrew Bible, but also those which were originally written in Greek, as the Wisdom of Solomon, or not received into all MSS or editions, as the Prayer of Manasses. In an appendix we shall refer briefly to similar literary productions, as the Psalms of Solomon, the Bk. of Enoch, and other 'Pseudepigrapha' (see p. 450[b]).

As 𝔊 was the Bible of the Early Church, it has a most intricate and complicated history; it seems practical to begin with the history of the printed text, and to work our way backward as far as possible.

iv. Printed Editions.—Long before the first edition of the New Testament in Greek appeared in print, a Greek and Latin Psalter was printed in Milan as first part of 𝔊 (20th Sept. 1481), containing among the Canticles at its end the Magnificat

* That the preservation of Aristeas goes back to the library of Cæsarea has been suggested by Wendland. It may have had a place in one of the Bible MSS issued by Eusebius and Pamphilus.—Add to the 'testimonia' collected by Mendelssohn-Wendland the strange statement from pseudo-Eusebius on the Star (publ. by W. Wright in *Journ. of Sacred Literature*, 1866, vol. ix. 117, x. 150), that the version was made under a king ארטמרסום [ל] (=Artaxerxes?); and the notice, translated from Greek into Syriac at the end of the Fourth Book of Kings in the Syro-Hexapla, that the men came from *Tiberias* (*Origenis fragmenta*, ed. Lagarde, 355; *Bibliotheca Syriaca*, 254). Cf. further the notice of F. Nau on 'Fragments d'une chronique Syriaque Maronite' (*Revue de l'Orient Chrétien*, iv. [1899] 318), in which the names are given of the 72 translators who produced 36 identical versions. Nau has not printed the names. See on the names: *The Book of the Bee*, by Salomo of Basra, ed. by A. Wallis Budge (*Anecdota Oxoniensia*, Semitic Series, vol. i. part ii., Oxf. 1886, 4° p. 120 f.). The last but one of the interpreters has the strange name Ἀβιήτης in the Greek text, אביום in one of the Syriac lists, *Abbāyā* in another. If this stands for the Latin name *Avitus*, the list would be late. But this identification is rather uncertain. An Arabic chronicle combines the two figures 72 and 70 by the supposition that two of the interpreters died on the way. On the *Jewish* notices about the origin of the version and its (13) deviations from the Hebrew text, see the literature quoted in *Urt.* p. 63, and by Oikonomos, ii. 558, iii. 43. Zosimus Panopolitanus (*de Zythorum confectione*, ed. Gruner, 1814, p. 5) relates that *Simon* the high priest of Jerusalem sent to Ptolemy Lagi, Ἑρμῆν, ὃς ἡρμήνευσε πᾶσαν τὴν Ἑβραΐδα ἑλληνιστὶ καὶ αἰγυπτιστί (Oikonomos, ii. 328).

* On the notice of Aristobulus (Clement Alex. *Strom.* i. 22; Euseb. *Præp. Ev.* 13. 12), see Schürer[3], iii. 384–392.

and Benedictus from Lk $1^{46.68}$. On the following editions of the Greek Psalms (Venice, 1486; Aldus [without date, *c.* 1497]; the Polyglot Psalters of Justiniani, Genua, 1516, and Potken, Cologne, 1518), see *Sst.* iii. 7. 30–32. The first complete edition was the *Complutensian Polyglot* of Cardinal Ximenes (1514–17; the OT finished 10th July 1517), in which the Latin Vulgate is placed between the Hebrew on the left and 𝔊 on the right, '*tanquam duos hinc et inde latrones, medium autem Jesum.*'

See on it Sw. p. 171; Nestle, *Introd. to Textual Criticism of NT*, p. 1. On the 'Spanish Greek' of this Bible, *i.e.* the places in which the editors translated passages missing in their Greek MSS for themselves into Latin, see *Urt.* 64, and Field's edition of 1859, Append.; Ceriani on Cod. Marchalianus, Ezk 33^{27}.

Its text—best signature *c*—rests chiefly on the MSS lent by the Vatican, Ho 108, 248,* and a copy of the Venice MS Ho 68.

The Complutensian was reprinted (1) by Arias Montanus in the Antwerp Polyglot of Plantin, 1569–72; (2) in Wolder's Polyglot, Hamburg, 1596; and (3) in the greatest of all, that of Michel le Jay, Paris, 1645. On (1) and (3) see Nestle, *Introd.* 10 f.

The second great Greek Bible was that of Aldus Manutius and his father-in-law Andreas Asolanus (1518, mense Februario),—signature *a*,—based, as the editor states, 'multis vetustissimis exemplaribus collatis'; as far as is ascertained as yet, on the Venice MSS 29, 68, 121. An interesting commentary on this edition is Steuchi Augustini Eugubini, *VT ad Heb. veritatem collata editione Septuaginta interprete*, Ven. 1529, 4°.

This was reprinted (1) 1529 by Joh. Lonicerus, Strassburg, in the Lutheran order, with the addition of 4 Mac. [Ed. Pr.] and various readings from Ho 44; (2) 1545, at Basle, with Preface of Melanchthon, various readings and restoration of the common order in Proverbs and Sirach; (3) 1550, at Basle; (4) in the Heidelberg Polyglot 'in officina Santandreana,' edited by B. C. Bertram, 158[6]7 (new title-pages, 1599, 1616); (5) 1597, by Franciscus Junius (du Jon; others say Fr. Sylburg), with alterations from *c*, and useful notes, the basis of the Concordance of Trommius; (6) 1687, by Nic. Glykas, Venice.

The third and best edition was that printed at Rome, 1586 (most copies by pen, 1587; signature *b*), 'auctoritate Sixti V. Pont. Max.,' based chiefly on the Codex Vaticanus *κατ' ἐξοχήν* (1209 = Ho II., now B), but making use of the preceding editions, *a c* 1526, 1545, 1572, and of the MSS Ho 16, 23, 51.

The prefatory matter is reprinted (partially) by Breitinger, Tischendorf, and others, and recently by Swete, *Introd.* Useful are the 'Scholia' at the end of most chapters from the other Greek versions, and the Church Fathers; and an important complement is the Latin translation, published 1588, patched up by Flaminius Nobilius (and others) from the fragments of the Old Latin (vol. iii. 53^a), with additional Notes to the Greek Text.

Reprints: (1) Paris, 1628, by Joh. Morinus, together with the Latin of Nobilius, as even then copies were rare; (2) 1653, London, R. Daniel, 4° and 8° (and Cambridge); (3) 1657, in the London Polyglot of Brian Walton, with useful additions (collations from A D G, Ho 60, 75), and valuable Prolegomena, the latter reprinted by Wrangham, Camb. 1828, in 2 vols.; (4) 1665, Cambridge, with the fine Preface of J. Pearson (see above); (5) 1683, Amsterd.†*; ‡ (6) 1697, Lipsiæ (prepared by Johannes Frick); (7) 1709, Franekeræ, by Bos, source of many reprints; (8) 1725, Amsterd., by Mill* (facsimile of cod. G and variants collected by Vossius, Ho 133); (9) 1730, Lips., Reineccius*; (10) 1759–62, Halæ*; (11) 1798–1827, Holmes–Parsons (see below); (12) 1805, Oxford*, 3 vols.; (13) 1817, Oxford*, 6 vols., with Pref. of J. G. [not B., as on the title] Carpzov, and variations from A; (14) Londini (without date), in ædibus Valpianis* (905 pp.); (15) 1821, Lond., Bagster†* (very small print, 585 pp.); (16) Lond., Bagster†* (without date, with an English translation, 1130 pp.); (17) 1822, Venice, Michel Glykys, 3 vols. (not seen); (18) 1824, Lipsiæ, van Ess,* and often; 1887, with Prolegomena and Epilegomena; (19) 1831 (Glasguæ)†*; 1843, Londini, Tegg; two very small vols., 667, 703 pp. †*; (20) 1839, Paris, Didot-Jager*, also Greek and Latin; often; (21) 1848, Oxford*, 3 vols.; 1875, improved in 4 Mac.; the latter reprint is the basis of the Concordance of Hatch-Redpath; (22) 1850, Lipsiæ, Tischendorf*, ^{6} 80, ^{7} 87, the last two reprints corrected and enlarged by collations of E. Nestle; (23) 1874–76, Londini, *Biblia Hexaglotta*†*, ed. E. R. de Levante;§ (24) the latest Polyglot advertised from Paris, to be edited by F. Vigouroux, printed by Didot, published by Roger & Chernovitz, has not been seen by the present writer. From notices in the periodicals (Vigouroux, *l'Univers*, 4th Nov. 1898; F. Nau, *Journ. Asiat.*, May–June 1899, 545 ff.; Fonck, *Zeitschrift für Kath. Theol.* xxiii. (1899) 174–180; P. Th. Calmes, *RB*, 1900, 301, 302) it is apparent that it is only a mechanical reprint of the Greek column in the *Polyglottenbibel* of Stier and Theile (1847–55), the text of which is based on unsound principles.

A merit of its own belongs to the fourth great edition which was begun by Ernest Grabe (†1712), and appeared in 4 vols. fol. or 8 in 8° at the Oxford University Press, only the first (Octateuch), 1707, and the fourth (Poetical books), 1709, during his lifetime, the second (Historical books), 1719, being finished by Fr. Lee, M.D., the third (Prophets), 1720, by W. Wigan, D.D., 'ex antiquissimo codice Alexandrino accurate descriptum et ope aliorum exemplarium ac priscorum scriptorum præsertim vero Hexaplaris editionis Origenianæ emendatum atque suppletum additis sæpe asteriscorum et obelorum signis,' with useful Prolegomena.

As the title indicates, Grabe followed a twofold plan: (1) to represent the text of the Codex Alexandrinus, and (2) to make his text at the same time correspond with the Hebrew text. This he accomplished by the use of smaller type for the changed and supplemented passages, placing the readings of the Codex in the margins, and inserting the critical signs of Origen.

Grabe's text was repeated (1) by Breitinger, Turici, 4 vols. 4°, 1730–32, compared with the Vatican; (2) by Reineccius in the *Biblia quadrilinguia*, 1750, 1751; (3) in a Bible issued by the Holy Synod of Russia (Moscow, 1821), but without any attention to the meaning of the additions in small type, to the marginal readings and the critical signs, thus completely spoiling the work; and this is circulated *δι' εὐλογίας τῆς ἁγιωτάτης διοικούσης συνόδου πασῶν τῶν 'Ρωσσιῶν ἀς παλαιὰ [διαθήκη] κατὰ τοὺς ἑβδομήκοντα ἐκ τοῦ ὡς οἷόν τε ἀκριβῶς ἐκδοθέντος ἀρχαίου 'Αλεξανδρινοῦ χειρογράφου*, and was repeated, as the title states, (4) *ἐκ τοῦ ἐν Μόσχᾳ . . . ἐκτυπωθέντος ἀρχαίου 'Αλεξανδρινοῦ Κώδηκος*, in an edition of 4 vols. printed at Athens, *δαπάνῃ τῆς ἐν 'Αγγλίᾳ ἑταιρίας τῆς πρὸς διάδοσιν τῆς Χριστιανικῆς παιδείας* (1843, 46, 49, 50). The 5th edition, based on Grabe, is that which Fr. Field prepared for the same Society at Oxford, 1859, avoiding as much as possible the faults inherent in the conditions of the task enjoined on him: see his preface, and Lag. *SSt.* i. 5–8.

The result, so far, is, that we have up to the present day not a single edition of 𝔊 based upon sound critical principles; for even the two editions which remain to be mentioned have not yet attained this end. These two editions we owe to the two great universities of England—the *Vetus Testamentum Græcum cum variis Lectionibus*, ed. Robertus Holmes (. . . editionem a R. H. inchoatam continuavit Jacobus Parsons), Oxonii, 1798–1827, 5 vols. fol.; and *The Old Testament in Greek according to the Septuagint*, edited for the Syndics of the University Press by H. B. Swete (Cambridge, 1887–94, ^{2}1895–99, 3 vols. 8°).

As early as 1779, Joseph White published a letter to the Bishop of London, suggesting a plan for a new edition of the LXX. In 1788 R. Holmes appealed to the liberality of public bodies and private persons, and obtained such a response as enabled him to procure collations from all parts of Europe. On the history of this edition, see an appreciative article in the *Church Quarterly Review*, April 1899, 102 ff., and Sw. 184 ff. It was the greatest attempt ever made to bring together a critical apparatus; the list of MSS at the end of vol. v. numbers 311. Of Versions used were those in Arabic (several), Armenian, Bohemian, Coptic, Ethiopic, Georgian, Latin, Slavonic, Syriac; further, the quotations of the ancient writers from Philo and Josephus downwards. In spite of some points in the plan and in the execution of the work, which are open to criticism, it is a unique monument of the love to learning of the editor and his nation, and remains a storehouse of materials, indispensable to

* On this designation see below.

‡ Editions omitting the scholia are marked*, omitting the Apocrypha†; no edition without the scholia is to be recommended, because they supply to those who cannot afford to procure Field's *Hexapla* a minor edition of the latter.

§ The edition London, 1837 (ex editione Holmesii et Lamberti Bos, in 2 vols.), quoted by Sw. 182, from *Urt.* 67, seems identical with No. 19; whether the date 1819 given by *Urt.* 67, Sw. 182, for the edition of Valpy is correct, seems doubtful; it is taken from Græsse's *Trésor*, where editions are mentioned, Glasgow 1822, 18° (=No. 19), and London, 1827 (=No. 15?).

all who have to do with the OT in Greek.* The work as sold at present is divided into 5 vols. fol.: I. (Pent.) 1798, II. (Jos.–2 Chron.) 1810, III. (Ezra–Cant.) 1823, IV. (Proph.) 1827, V. (Apocr.) 1827; but it does not seem to have been published in this order (see Jac. Amersfoordt, *De variis lectionibus Holmesianis locorum quorundam Pentateuchi Mosaici*, Lugd. Bat. 1815, p. 45).

The text in the work is a reprint of *b*; but, as it seems, after a copy of Bos, corrected, but not everywhere according to an original copy. Its value lies, therefore, exclusively in the apparatus.

The advance that has been made in the course of the 19th cent. upon the work of Holmes-Parsons is due, on the one hand, to the discovery of new materials—for instance, the Codex Sinaiticus—which led to an enriching of the apparatus; on the other hand, to greater exactness in using them, which was promoted especially by the progress made in the reproduction of MSS by the various methods of photography.

Of both advantages use was made in the *Cambridge Septuagint* (Sw. 188–190). The text is no longer that of *b*, but of B itself, given in the first ed. after the so-called (printed) facsimile-edition of Vercellone-Cozza, revised for the second by Dr. Nestle, after the photograph of the Codex. In the apparatus the variants are given of such uncial MSS as have been published in a similarly trustworthy way; above all of the Codices Alexandrinus, Sinaiticus, Ambrosianus, Marchalianus. This text will be repeated in the *larger Cambridge Septuagint*, the joint editorship of which is entrusted to A. E. Brooke and N. McLean. Its apparatus will embrace the evidence of *all uncial* MSS and of a considerable number of cursives selected after investigation, with the view of representing the different types of text; the Old Latin, Egyptian, Syro-Hexaplar, and Armenian versions; and the quotations from Philo, Josephus, and the more important Christian Fathers.

It is clear that the manual and even the larger edition are but a step towards the ideal of a truly critical edition. For the text is that of a single MS with all its faults, while in the manual edition the grossest blunders are corrected only occasionally (*e.g.* Gn $6^{1.10}$ Χαφ,10^{31} Σηθ, 32^{5} *βόες* for *παῖδες*; but not, for instance, 36^{31} Ἱερουσαλήμ for Ἰσραήλ, 37^{18} *ἐπορεύοντο* for *ἐπονηρεύοντο*, etc.). The present writer cannot but repeat his wish (see *Proceedings* of the 9th International Oriental Congress held in London, ii. (1892) p. 57 ff.) that at all places where the text of the MS, and, in consequence, of the edition, is clearly false, the better readings might be placed on the outer margin.† Thus the advantages of Grabe's plan would be secured and its disadvantages avoided; we should get at the same time a diplomatic reproduction of the MS, and a hint as to the true reading. The Octateuch, forming the first volume of the larger edition, may be expected, as we are informed (Sw. 189), in the course of a few years.

Editions of Single Books:—*A.* Canonical Books:—

Genesis:—*Pentateuchus hebraice et græce*, ed. G. A. Schumann, Lips. 1829, 8°, only part i. (Genesis); *Genesis græce e fide editionis Sixtinæ addita scripturæ discrepantia e libris manu scriptis a se collatis et editionibus Complutensi et Aldina adcuratissime enotata*, ed. P. A. de Lagarde, Lips. 1868 (of permanent value for its Introduction and its accuracy; collations from ADEFGS, 29, 31, 44, 122, 130, 135, *abc*).

Joshua:—*Josuæ Imperatoris Historia illustrata atque explicata* ab Andrea Masio, Antv. 1574, fol., with new title-page 1609 (valuable for its Introduction and its use of the Syro-Hexaplaric Version).

Judges:—*De græca LXX interpretum versione Syntagma*, J. Usserii, Lond. 1655, 4°, in Ussher's Works, vol. vii.; *Liber Judicum sec. LXX interpretes*, ed. O. F. Fritzsche, Turici, 1867, 4°; P. de Lagarde, *SeptuagintaStudien*, i., 1891 (two texts of chs. 1–5); *The Book of Judges in Greek according to the text of Codex Alexandrinus*, edited . . . by A. E. Brooke and N. McLean, Camb. 1897. On a promised edition see G. F. Moore in the 'Internat. Crit. Comm.' on *Judges*, p. xlv.

Ruth:—By John Drusius, 'ad exemplar complutense,' Franek. 1586, 8°, 1632, 8°; by L. Bos, Jena, 1788, 'secundum exemplar vaticanum.'

Psalms:—The Psalter is that book of the OT which was and is most used in the Church, especially in the Greek Church. In addition to the 32 editions mentioned in Sw. p. 192, there have come to the knowledge of the present writer editions of 1521, Venice (mentioned by Grabe, *Prol. to Psalms*, ch. iii. § 3, as lent to him by the Bp. of Ely; but perhaps this may be a misprint for 1524; see British Museum *Catalogue of Bibles*, col. 396); 1525, Venice; 1545, 4 editions from Basle, Paris, Strassburg, Venice; 1548, Basle; 1584, Antwerp; 1605, Paris; 1652, London (different copies, with Ψαλτηριον and Ψαλτεριον on the title-page); 1673, Venice; 1700 [*s.l.* probably in Bucharest]; 1706, in Montfaucon's *Collectio nova*, i.; 1740, Blanchini's *Psalterium duplex*; 1743, Venice; 1754, with the Commentary of Euthymius Zigabenus, reprinted 1857 in Migne's *Patr. Gr.* vol. 128; 1786, Paris; 1798, Constantinople; 1812, Baber, from Codex A; 1820, Venice; 1831 and 1835, London, *Bible Society*, with modern Greek; 1835, Smyrna; 1843, London, *Biblia Ecclesiæ Polyglotta*; 1855, Jerusalem; 1873, Rome (2 editions).

Job:—From Codex A, by Patrick Young, in the *Catena* of Nicetas, 1637, Franeker, 1662 (63).

Proverbs:—1564, Draconites (Polyglot).

Esther:—Ussher, in his *Syntagma*, 1655, Works, vol. vii. (the two texts), repeated Leipzig, 1696; O. F. Fritzsche, Zürich, 1848, 1849 (two texts).

Hosea:—Pareus, Heidelberg, 1605; Philippeaux, Paris, 1636.

Joel:—Draconites, 1565.

Amos:—Vater, 1810, Halle.

Jonas:—Münster, 1524; Artopœus, 1543.

Micah:—Draconites, 1565.

Zechariah:—Draconites, 1565.

Malachi:—Draconites, 1564; Hutter, 1601.

Isaiah:—S. Münster, 1540, Polyglot; J. Curter, 1580, *Procopii Commentarii*.

Jeremiah:—S. Münster, 1540; G. L. Spohn, 1794, 1824.

Lamentations:—Kyper, 1552, *Libri tres de re gramm. Heb.* (Polyglot).

Ezekiel:—Ἰεζεκιηλ κατα τους ο′, Rome, 1840 (important).

Daniel:—(*a*) The received text: Melanchthon, 1546; Wells, 1716. (*b*) The LXX text: Rome, 1772 (Simon de Magistris or A. Ricchinio), very important; repeated Gottingae, 1773, 1774; Utrecht, 1775; Hahn, Lipsiæ, 1845; new edition by Cozza, 1877; this text also in Holmes-Parsons, vol. iv. 1818; Oxf., 1848, 1875; Tischendorf, 1850; Swete.

B. Apocrypha:—The first separate edition of the so-called Apocrypha appears to be that of Plantin, Antwerp, 1566, 4°: Το των Βιβλιων μερος, ὁ ἑβραιστὶ εὑρειν οὐκ ἐστιν. This edition has the strange arrangement, that on the first three sheets the leaves are numbered and the lines counted on the margins, on the following sheets the pages and the verses. The same arrangement appears in the copies, which have the title: Το των Βιβλιων μερος, ὁ ἑβραϊστὶ γραφὴν οὐχ ὑρίσκεται; *Bibliorvm pars Græca, Quæ Hebraice non invenitur*, Antverpiæ, 1584. A third edition, 'cum interpretatione Latina ex Bibliis Complutensibus deprompta' (344 pp.), followed in 1612. Οἱ [*sic !*] ἀπόκρυφοι βίβλοι; *Libri VT apocryphi omnes Græce ad exemplar Vaticanum emendatissime expressi. Accedit Oratio Manassis et Prologus incerti auctoris in Ecclesiasticum*, Frankfurt, 1694. Later editions are: Halle, 1749, 1766 (Kircher); Leipzig, 1757 (Reineccius); Leipzig, 1804 (Augusti); Oxonii, 1805; Leipzig, 1837 (Apel); London, 1871 (Greek and English); Leipzig, 1871 (Fritzsche; best edition hitherto).* A part of the Apocrypha is given in *Liber Tobiæ, Judith, Oratio Manassæ, Sapientia, Ecclesiasticus Græce et Latine, cum dictis Scripturæ parallelis . . . et ad calcem Ecclesiastici positum duplex alphubetum ethicum Ben Sira*, Frankf. et Lips. 1691.

Tobit:—J. Drusius, Franeker, 1591, 4°; F. H. Reusch, Freiburg, 1870, 4°.

Judith:—A. Scholz, *Commentar*, Würzburg, 1887.

Wisdom:—M. Roberti Holkoth . . . *in librum Sapientiæ . . . Salomonis prælectiones CCXIII. . . . cum inserto Græco textu* . . . [ed. by J. Ryterus], 1586, fol.; Joh. Faber, Coburg, 1601; in Greek, Latin, and Armenian, Venice, 1827; F. H. Reusch, Freiburg, 1858; W. J. Deane, Oxf., 1881.

Sirach:—See article Sirach.

Books of Maccabees:—*Liber Hasmonæorum qui vulgo prior Maccabæorum Græce ex editione Romana, et Latine ex interpretatione J. Drusii*, Franeker, 1600; *Maccabæorum liber I. Græce sec. ex. Vat. . . .* recudi curavit P. J. Bruns, Helmstadii, 1784.

For literature see *Urt.* 64 ff., Sw. 171–194.

v. Earlier History of the Septuagint.—Much more complicated is the earlier, especially the earliest, history of G. Of its pre-Christian

* Comp. on some faults in the new edition of the works of Philo, which would have been avoided by the use of Holmes-Parsons, *Philologus*, 1900, p. 259 ff.; or see Ulysse Robert in his Preface to the Latin Heptateuch of Lyon (1900, p. xxxi).

† To quote some of the examples pointed out in the paper mentioned—

Is 8^{21} text *πάτρια*, which is nonsense, for *πάταχρα*, 'idols'; 1 Es 4^{40} *αὕτη* for *αὐτῇ*; Ps 77 $(78)^{36}$ *ἠγάπησαν* for *ἠπάτησαν*; Sir 7^{18} 27^{1} 42^{5} *ἀδιαφόρου* for *διαφόρου*; Sir 16^{26} *κρίσει* for *κτίσει*, etc.

* Other editions in the complete (Polyglot) Bibles of Plantin of 1584; 1613, 10, 15; Aureliæ Allobrogorum, 1609; Christian Bened. Michaelis, Zullichaviæ, 1741, 40 (the latter the only complete Bible in the original languages hitherto existing).

times we know next to nothing; the history of Gr is almost entirely its history in the Church. A Hellenist, *Demetrius*, who lived, as it seems, under the fourth Ptolemy, and wrote *περὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ βασιλέων*,* is the first known to us who used Gr. The fragments preserved from other writers, such as *Eupolemus*, *Aristeas* (the historian, not the author of *ad Philocratem*), *Ezekiel*, *Aristobulus*, are too small to show more than that these writers were acquainted with Gr. More extensive is the use made of Gr in such books as Wisdom (16^{22} 12^{8} 6^{7}), Sirach, 2 Maccabees (7^{6}), 4 Maccabees (18^{14}), which became afterwards parts of Gr, or in the Jewish portions of the *Sibyllines*. In the writings of *Philo*, which can be traced back only to the library of Origen, and have been transmitted to us probably exclusively by Christian copyists, the quotations from the Law are very numerous; those from the rest of the OT are few; quotations from Ruth, Esther, Ecclesiastes, Canticles, Lamentations, Ezekiel, Daniel, are entirely absent. Yet it is difficult to get a clear impression of the Greek Bible he had before him. This is owing partly to the unsatisfactory state of his text in former editions,† partly to the loose way in which he sometimes quotes the text: it is apparent, however, that already his copy of Gr cannot have been free from errors.‡

Equally unsatisfactory is a comparison of *Josephus*; we must rest content with knowing, for instance, that for his description of the Restoration he used what is now called the First Book of Esdras (vol. i. of the present work, p. 760); but as to his relation to our chief MSS of the book we are uncertain.§

Even the *New Testament*, with its great number of quotations, does not permit of any very definite statements, except that it proves again that textual corruption had already found its way into the copies used by the writers of the NT (cf. He 3^{9} *ἐν δοκιμασίᾳ*, 12^{5} *ἐνοχλῇ*). Even then the situation must have been what is described as existing in his time by Origen—chiefly, it is true, with reference to the MSS of the NT, but including also those of Gr—

> *νυνὶ δὲ δηλονότι πολλὴ γεγονεν ἡ τῶν ἀντιγράφων διαφορά, εἴτε ἀπὸ ῥαθυμίας τινῶν γραφέων εἴτε ἀπὸ τόλμης τινῶν μοχθηρᾶς τῆς διορθώσεως τῶν γραφομένων εἴτε καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν τὰ ἑαυτοῖς δοκοῦντα ἐν τῇ διορθώσει προστιθέντων ἢ ἀφαιρούντων.*‖

This variety of texts, strange as it may appear, is not difficult to account for. (1) Gr was liable to all the dangers connected with transmission to which literary works were exposed in the days before the invention of the printing-press. (2) These dangers were increased in the case of works which were frequently copied and used not only privately but also in public service. (3) Gr is not an original text, but a translation, or rather a series of translations, and therefore much more exposed to alterations than an original text; for every reader possessed of some knowledge of Hebrew, or of a different exegetical tradition from that embodied in Gr, might change his text (cf. the changes introduced in many MSS of the OT from the quotations in the NT, *e.g.* in Ps 13^{3} from Ro $3^{10\text{-}18}$). (4) If the situation was bad enough before, it became worse when other Greek versions of the OT, especially those of Aquila, Symmachus, Theodotion, appeared and began to influence Gr. At last a comparison of Gr with Mr and the versions just named was carried out systematically by Origen; but what appeared to him a safeguard against the calamity that threatened the text turned out—not by his fault, but by that of later ignorance and laziness—the worst aggravation of it.

Continuing the passage quoted above, Origen goes on to say—

> *τὴν μὲν οὖν ἐν τοῖς ἀντιγράφοις τῆς Παλαιᾶς Διαθήκης διαφωνίαν, θεοῦ διδόντος, ἔῤῥωμεν ἰάσασθαι, κριτηρίῳ χρησάμενοι τοῖς λοιποῖς ἐκδόσεσιν· τῶν γὰρ ἀμφιβαλλομένων παρὰ τοῖς ο′ διὰ τὴν τῶν ἀντιγράφων διαφωνίαν τὴν κρίσιν ποιησάμενοι ἀπὸ τῶν λοιπῶν ἐκδόσεων τὸ συνῳδὸν ἐκείναις ἐφυλάξαμεν· καί τινα μὲν ὠβελίσαμεν ἐν τῷ Ἑβραϊκῷ μὴ κείμενα, οὐ τολμῶντες αὐτὰ πάντη περιελεῖν, τινὰ δὲ μέτ' ἀστερίσκων προσεθήκαμεν, ἵνα δῆλον ᾖ ὅτι μὴ κείμενα παρὰ τοῖς ο′ ἐκ τῶν λοιπῶν ἐκδόσεων συμφώνως τῷ Ἑβραϊκῷ προσεθήκαμεν· καὶ ὁ μὲν βουλόμενος προῆται αὐτά, ᾧ δὲ προσκόπτει τὸ τοιοῦτον, ὃ βούλεται περὶ τῆς παραδοχῆς αὐτῶν ἢ μὴ ποιήσῃ.*

We can sympathize with his joy (*θεοῦ διδόντος*) at having found this criterion, though he used it, according to our view, in the wrong direction. It is of lesser weight that he simply took the Hebrew MSS which were at his disposal, and the Greek versions that agreed with them, for the original text. Whence he got the former we are not informed,* though we hear something about his intercourse with a Jewish Patriarch called Jullus (Hillel ?);† but he acted on a more dangerous principle when he took what agreed with Mr or the other versions for the true text of Gr, instead of what differed from them.‡ Animated by this principle, and instigated, it would appear, and helped by his *ἐργοδιώκτης*, Ambrosius,§ he under-

* In Gn 25^{3} he had the additional two sons of Dedan in his text, *Raguel* and *Nadbeel*, and traced the descent of the wife of Moses to Raguel; see Eus. *Præp. Ev.* ix. 29.

† Not only earlier investigations into the quotations of Philo (Hornemann, 1773; Siegfried, 1873), but also the latest and excellent work of H. E. Ryle (*Philo and Holy Scripture*, London, 1895), were vitiated at the outset, because even Mangey's edition of Philo proved untrustworthy. To give one example. What was the name of the second book of the Law in Philo's Bible? Ryle says (p. xxii): 'Philo in *one* passage states that Moses gave to this book the title Ἐξαγωγή. . . . Elsewhere, however, he refers to it by its familiar Greek name Ἔξοδος (*e.g.* i. 474, 509, 638).' But in *all* these passages we have now in the edition of Cohn-Wendland (iii. 4, 57, 230) the reading Ἐξαγωγή, as offered by the better class of MSS. The poem of Ezekiel was also entitled Ἐξαγωγή, not Ἔξοδος.

‡ A well-known instance is the reading *ταφείς* in Gn 15^{15}, which is found in all our MSS of G (for *ταφείς*, not *θαφείς*, as Melanchthon put in his edition of 1545), presupposed already by Philo (the same insertion of *ρ* is illustrated by Codex F, spelling *εβραψαν* for the third *εθαψαν* in Gn 49^{31}; see Sw.'s edition, p. 807); compare also his etymology of Βαράδ (Gn 16^{14}) = *ἐν κακοῖς*, which presupposes Βαρακ, a reading actually found in 7 MSS of G, including the Lucianic ones, and in the Coptic version.

§ On other questions connected with the Bible of Josephus, see below, p. 446ᵃ note *.

‖ See on this passage A. D. Loman (in *ThT* vii. [1873] 233; he wishes to read, *εἴτε ἀπὸ μοχθηρίας τ. δ. τ. γρ. εἴτε ἀπὸ τόλμης τινῶν τῶν*) and Oikonomos (iv. 460; he proposes *τολμης τινων και μοχθηρας διορθ.*).

* Eus. (*HE* vi. 16) writes: *τοσαύτη δὲ εἰσήγητο τῷ Ὠριγένει τῶν θείων λόγων ἀπηκριβωμένη ἐξέτασις ὡς καὶ τὴν Ἑβραΐδα γλῶτταν ἐκμαθεῖν, τάς τε παρὰ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις φερομένας πρωτοτύπους αὐτοῖς Ἑβραίων στοιχείοις γραφὰς κτῆμα ἴδιον ποιήσασθαι, ἀνιχνεῦσαί τε τὰς τῶν ἑτέρων παρὰ τοὺς Ἑβδομήκοντα τὰς ἱερὰς γραφὰς ἡρμηνευκότων ἐκδόσεις, καί τινας ἑτέρους παρὰ τὰς καθημαξευμένας ἑρμηνείας ἐναλλαττούσας, τὴν Ἀκύλου καὶ Συμμάχου καὶ Θεοδοτίωνος, ἐφευρεῖν, ἃς οὐκ οἶδ' ὁπόθεν ἔκ τινων μυχῶν τὸν πάλαι λανθανούσας χρόνον εἰς φῶς ἀνιχνεύσας προήγαγεν.*

† Jerome, *Apol. adv. Ruf.* l. ii. (from the 30 *τόμος* of Origen *in Is.*), and Montfaucon, *Hexapla prael.* pp. 21, 79. Origen refers elsewhere to instructions he received from the Jewish side: for instance, from a Jewish convert (in *Jer.* 20, *Hom.* 20, *Op.* iii. 178). Nor do we know where he got his Greek text. It differs sometimes very strangely from that of his predecessor Clement.

‡ Comp. the significant *οὐκέτι* in the scholion belonging to Origen's edition of Proverbs as published in Tischendorf's *Notitia edit. codicis Sinaitici*, p. 76, and by Oikonomos (*περι των ο′* iv. 903): *ὅσοις οἱ ὀβελοὶ πρόσκεινται ῥητοῖς, οὗτοι οὐκ ἔκειντο οὔτε παρὰ τοῖς λοιποῖς ἑρμηνευταῖς οὔτε ἐν τῷ Ἑβραικῷ, ἀλλὰ παρὰ μόνοις τοῖς ο′· καὶ ὅσοις οἱ ἀστερίσκοι πρόσκεινται ῥητοῖς, οὗτοι ἐν μὲν τῷ Ἑβραικῷ καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς ἑρμηνευταῖς ἐφέροντο, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ο′ οὐκέτι*, with the third axiom of Lagarde (*Anmerkungen zur griechischen Übersetzung der Proverbien*, 1863, p. 3 = *Mittheilungen*, i. 21): 'Wenn sich zwei Lesarten nebeneinander finden, von denen die eine den Masoretischen Text ausdrückt, die andre nur aus einer von ihm abweichenden Urschrift erklärt werden kann, so ist die letztere für ursprünglich zu halten.'

§ Eus. (*HE* vi. 18): *Ἐν τούτῳ καὶ Ἀμβρόσιος, τὰ τῆς Οὐαλεντίνου φρονῶν αἱρέσεως πρὸς τῆς ὑπὸ Ὠριγένους πρεσβευομένης ἀληθείας ἐλεγχθείς, καὶ ὡσὰν ὑπὸ φωτὸς καταυγασθεὶς τὴν διάνοιαν τῶ τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ὀρθοδοξίας προστίθεται λόγῳ. 23. Ἐξ ἐκείνου δὲ καὶ Ὠριγένει τῶν εἰς τὰς θείας γραφὰς ὑπομνημάτων ἐγίνετο ἀρχή, Ἀμβροσίου εἰς τὰ μάλιστα παρορμιῶντος αὐτὸν μυρίαις ὅσαις οὖν προτροπαῖς, οὐ ταῖς διὰ λόγων καὶ παρακλήσεων αὐτὸ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀφθονωτάταις τῶν ἐπιτηδείων χορηγίαις. ταχυγράφοι γὰρ αὐτῷ πλείους ἢ ἑπτὰ*

took the greatest biblical work which Christian antiquity ever saw—the first Polyglot Bible, the so-called **Hexapla,** and a smaller edition of it, the *Tetrapla.*

In the first column he placed the Hebrew text in Hebrew letters, in the second the same in Greek transliteration; then followed the version of Aquila the Jew,—no doubt because it was the most literal one; in the fourth column that of Symmachus. Then followed the column of 𝔊 with the critical marks; finally, the version of Theodotion, as being a recension of 𝔊. For some biblical books, especially the poetical, he added a *fifth, sixth,* and even a *seventh* version;* so that in those parts there were seven, eight, and even nine columns. The *Tetrapla* was an abridged edition,—whether later or earlier is not quite certain,—containing only Aquila, Symmachus, 𝔊, and Theodotion.

Till quite recently Origen's great work was known only from the description of Eusebius, Epiphanius, Jerome, and other writers, and some specimens preserved in scholia of biblical MSS; but in 1896 Giovanni Mercati discovered in a palimpsest MS of the 10th cent. at Milan the first continuous fragments of a copy of the Hexapla (Psalms). These helped us to understand what an enormous task it must have been to arrange the whole OT in such a way, and at the same time showed also how easily mistakes might arise in it, and whence the variants come which are found in the statements about the Hexaplaric text.

And now there has been published quite recently by C. Taylor another leaf from among the *Hebrew-Greek Cairo Genizah Palimpsests* from the Taylor-Schechter Collection (Camb. 1900, 4°), containing a fragment of Ps 22. From this double-leaf the outer columns and some lines of the top are cut away, but it is at least 200 years older than the MS discovered by Mercati, and confirms the view that the arrangement according to *cola* (διελών τε πρὸς κῶλον), of which Eusebius speaks (*HE* vi. 16), consisted in this, that Origen generally placed only *one Hebrew word,* or at the most two, in one line, and was careful to see that the Greek corresponded to it exactly. *Even so small a word as* אֵת *in Hebrew, μή in Greek, had a separate line.* In the Cairo Palimpsest all the Hebrew lines, 105 in number, consisted—they are cut off, but we are quite certain about their extent—of *only one* word; in the Milan-text this was the case with 10 out of 17, the rest contain two, none more than two. As a full page of the Cairo Palimpsest contained 42 (or 43) lines, just as many as Codex B, which, when opened, represents with its six columns the appearance of the Hexapla, a manuscript of the Hexapla Psalter arranged like the preserved Cairo fragment must have filled about 450 leaves; for the Hebrew Psalter has about 19,000 words.† As the Psalter is, further, something like the 14th or 15th part of the Hebrew Bible, the whole Hexapla would have filled more than 6000 leaves or 12,000 pages. It is probable that these figures go beyond the real extent, for we may assume that other books were treated less luxuriously than the Psalms. At all events, the Hexapla was much larger than even the latest estimate supposed.* These specimens,† besides giving a glimpse of the whole, show at the same time that for the Church at large, and even for its most learned members, so costly a work was not necessary; it was sufficient to copy the 𝔊 column, and to place on its margins the most notable various renderings from the other versions. This was done partially already by Origen himself, and especially by his followers Pamphilus and Eusebius. Such manuscripts, more or less carefully copied by later copyists, translated into Latin, Syriac, and Arabic, and excerpted by the commentators, are the sources from which hitherto our knowledge of the Hexapla has been derived, thanks to Drusius (1581, 1622), Nobilius (1587, 1588), Montfaucon (1713, 1769), and especially Fred. Field (1875, 2 vols.): see on this highly deserving scholar *Expos. Times,* viii. 160, 274, 325.

The later fate of the original is unknown. Jerome saw and used it in the library of Cæsarea;‡ perhaps it was destroyed by the invasion of the Arabs. A similar fate may have brought the codex, from which the Cairo-leaf was saved, into the hand of the Jew who used it in the eleventh cent. for a Hebrew liturgical book. In these specimens there was no occasion to apply either obelus or asterisk. In Gn 1 the first occasions to use the obelus occurred v.[4] ÷ *καὶ ἐγένετο οὕτως*, v.[8] ÷ *καὶ εἶδεν ὁ θεὸς ὅτι καλόν*, v.[9] ÷ *καὶ συνήχθη . . . ἡ ξηρά*. In vv.[8. 9] the only document known which has preserved the obelus in the text is the Arabic version made from the Syriac; on vv.[8] and [9] Origen himself, Basil, and some scholia testify that the obelized passages were not found in the Hebrew. The first occasion to insert a piece with the asterisk occurred at the end of v.[7], where וַיְהִי כֵן had no equivalent in 𝔊 and Origen supplied ✻ *καὶ ἐγένετο οὕτως*, and so on.

These are simple cases; but what was to be done when there was variation of order or difference of sense? In the former case (different arrangement of 𝔐 and 𝔊, as in Exodus, Proverbs, Jeremiah) Origen adopted a twofold course. If the difference was not too great, he let the text of every column follow its exemplar, but marked these passages by both signs at once, asterisk and obelus (*ὡς παρὰ πᾶσι μὲν φερόμενα, οὐκ ἐν αὐτοῖς δὲ τόποις*). Elsewhere

τὸν ἀριθμὸν παρῆσαν ὑπαγορεύοντι, χρόνοις τεταγμένοις ἀλλήλους ἀμείβοντες· βιβλιογράφοι τε οὐχ ἧττους, ἅμα καὶ κόραις ἐπὶ τὸ καλλιγραφεῖν ἠσκημέναις· ὧν ἁπάντων τὴν δέουσαν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἀφθονον περιουσίαν ὁ Ἀμβρόσιος παρεστήσατο . . . μάλιστα αὐτὸν προὐτρεψεν ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν ὑπομνημάτων σύνταξιν. It is true, Eusebius speaks here only of the commentaries of Origen; but Epiphanius refers the help of Ambrosius also to the Hexapla, and 'copyists' (*βιβλιογράφοι*) and 'type-girls' would be needed by Origen for this costly work even more than for his commentaries.

* Eusebius (*HE* vi. 16) goes on after the words quoted p. 442[b], note *: ἐφ' ὧν (the other versions besides Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion) *διὰ τὴν ἀδηλότητα, τίνος ἄρ' εἶεν οὐκ εἰδώς, αὐτὸ τοῦτο μόνον ἐπεσημήνατο, ὡς ἄρα τὴν μὲν εὑροι ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ἀκτίοις Νικοπόλει, τὴν δὲ ἐν ἑτέρῳ τοιῷδε τόπῳ· ἓν γε μὴν τοῖς ἑξαπλοῖς τῶν ψαλμῶν μετὰ τὰς ἐπισήμους τέσσαρας ἐκδόσεις οὐ μόνον πέμπτην, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἕκτην καὶ ἑβδόμην παραθεὶς ἑρμηνείαν, ἐπὶ μιᾶς αὖθις σεσημείωται, ὡς ἐν Ἱεριχοῖ πηγημένης ἐν πίθῳ, κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους Ἀντωνίνου τοῦ υἱοῦ Σεβήρου. ταύτας δὲ ἁπάσας ἐπὶ ταὐτὸν συναγαγὼν, διελών τε πρὸς κῶλον, καὶ ἀντιπαραθεὶς ἀλλήλαις μετὰ καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς Ἑβραίων σημειώσεως, τὰ τῶν λεγομένων ἡμῖν ἑξαπλῶν ἀντίγραφα καταλέλοιπεν, ἰδίως τὴν Ἀκύλου καὶ Συμμάχου καὶ Θεοδοτίωνος ἔκδοσιν ἅμα τῇ τῶν ἑβδομήκοντα ἐν τοῖς τετραπλοῖς ἐπικαταστεψάσας.*

† For the Heb. Psalter the Massoretic numbering does not seem to be preserved, but for the Syriac Psalter the number of words is given as 19,834, of letters as 90,852.

* See Sw. p. 74: 'It is difficult to conceive of a codex or series of codices so gigantic as the Hexapla . . . Its bulk would have been nearly *five* times as great as that of the Vatican or Sinaitic OT. It may be roughly estimated that the Hexapla, if written in the form of a codex, would have filled 3250 leaves or 6500 pages; and these figures are exclusive of the *Quinta* and *Sexta,* which may have swelled the total considerably. Even the Tetrapla would have exceeded 2000 leaves.'—According to the *edictum Diocletiani* copyists were paid at the rate of 25 or 20 denarii for 100 lines, according to the quality of the writing. From the stichometrical lists of the Bible we know that the Psalter had 5100 lines, a complete OT about 80,000, a complete Bible about 100,000. This would make 25,000 or 20,000 denarii for the copying of an ordinary Bible. In the time of Constantine, Epiphanius, when becoming monk, reserved from his fortune for buying the divine and life-giving Scriptures *μ' νομίσματα* (forty gold coins).

† See p. 444; also the examples given by Field (i. p. xiv from 2 K 23[4] in 7 and Ps 109 (110)[3] in 9 columns.

‡ See *de Vir. Ill.* c. 54; *commentarioli in Psalmos* (ed. Dom Morin, *Anecdota Maredsolana,* 1895 (iii. 1, p. 5): 'nam ἑξαπλοῦς Origenis in Cæsariensi bibliotheca relegens'; and p. 12 on Ps 48 'Id quod in plurimis codicibus invenitur, "et olei eorum," cum vetustum Origenis Hexaplum Psalterium relegerem, quod ipsius manu fuerat emendatum, nec in hebræo nec in ceteris editionibus *nec apud ipsos quoque Septuaginta interpretes repperi.*' (All MSS have it, and the Syriac Hexapla has it). It may have belonged to those books in his library which Acacius and Euzoius took care 'in membranis instaurare,' ἐν σωματίοις ἀνανεώσασθαι, to transcribe from papyrus on vellum (*Philonis opera,* ed. Cohn-Wendland, i. p. iii; Jerome, *de Vir. Ill.* c. 113; cf. 34, i.).

(for instance in Jer 25[15ff.]) he followed the order of 𝔐, as did Lucian, Chrysostom, and all modern editors of Polyglot Bibles. No doubt Origen would make a note on this different arrangement, but this is missing in the documents as we now have them.

The obelus appears under various forms, mostly ⨪, but also with two dots ⨪̈ or ÷; or without any dot ⌒; so especially in the Codex Sarravianus. The form ÷ was called λημνίσκος, ⨪̈ ὑπολημνίσκος; their exact meaning is unknown, for what Epiphanius says about their difference is nonsense (see Field, *Prolog.* lix.). The metobelus ⤙ (a mallet) or ⁝ signifies the end of the notation. As a specimen

Ps 22 (21) [20-22] FROM THE CAIRO PALIMPSEST.*

Hebrew (supplied from Hebrew Bible).	Hebrew in Greek transcription (lost).	Aquila.	Symmachus.	𝔊	Theodotion (lost).
20 ואתה]	...	συ δε	συ δε	συ δε κ′	...
יהוה	...	ΠΙΠΙ	ΠΙΠΙ	ΠΙΠΙ	...
אל	...	μη	μη	μη	...
תרחק	...	μακρυνης	μακραν	μακρυνης	...
אילותי	...	ισχυροτης μου	γενη μου	την βοηθιαν μου	...
לעזרתי	...	εις βοηθιαν μου	προς την βοηθιαν μου	εις την αντιληψιν μου	...
חושה׃	...	σπευσον	σπευσον	προσχες	...
21 הצילה	...	ρυσαι	εξελου	ρυσαι	...
מחרב	...	απο μαχαιρης	απο μαχαιρης	απο ρομφαιας	...
נפשי	...	ψυχην μου	την ψυχην μου	την ψυχην μου	...
מיד	...	απο χειρος	εκ χειρος	και εκ χειρος	...
כלב	...	κυνος	κυνος	κυνος	...
יחידתי׃	...	μοναχην μου	την μονοτητα μου	την μονογενη μου	...
22 הושיעני	...	σωσον με	σωσον με	σωσον με	...
מפי	...	απο στοματος	εκ στοματος	εκ στοματος	...
אריה	...	λεοντος	λεοντος	λεοντος	...
ומקרני	...	και απο κερατων	και απο κερατων	και απο κερατων	...
רמים	...	ρημμ	μονοκερωτων	μονοκερωτων	...
עניתני׃]	...	εισακουσον μου	την κακωσιν μου	την ταπεινωσιν μου εισηκουσας	...

* Whether or where the *Quinta*, *Sexta*, *and Septima*, which for this Psalm are expressly testified, had found a place in this copy, cannot be ascertained; see, on these versions for this Psalm, besides the testimonies collected by Field, Jerome (*Anecdota Maredsol.* iii. p. 33): '*quinta et sexta editio*: verba clamoris mei, v. 2.'—On the transcription of יהוה by ΠΙΠΙ, *pipi*, and its curious consequences, see a scholion of Jacob of Edessa in *ZDMG* xxxii. (1878) 465 ff.

Ps 46 (45) [1-3] FROM THE MILAN PALIMPSEST.

Hebrew.	The same in Greek Letters.	Aquila.	Symmachus.	𝔊	Theodotion.
1 [למנצח	λαμανασση	τω νικοποιω·	επινικιος·	εις το τελος τοις υιοις	τω νικοποιω εις το τελος
לבני קרח	[λ]αβνη-κορ	των υιων Κορε	των υιων Κορε	υπερ των υιων Κορε	τοις υιοις Κορε
על עלמות	αλ· αλμωθ	επι νεανιοτητων	υπερ των αιωνιων	υπερ των κρυφιων	υπερ των κρυφιων
שיר	σιρ	ασμα	ωδη	ψαλμος	ωδη ψαλμος
2 אלהים לנו	ελωειμ· λανου *	...*	ο θεος ημιν	ο θεος ημων §	ο θεος ημων
מחסה ועז	μασε· ουοζ	ελπις και κρατος	πεποιθησις και ισχυς	καταφυγη και δυναμις	καταφυγη και δυναμις
עזרה	εζρ	βοηθεια	βοηθεια	βοηθος	βοηθος
בצרות	βσαρω′θ	εν θλιψεσιν	εν θλιψεσιν	εν θλιψεσι ευρεθησεται ημιν	εν θλιψεσιν ταις ευρουσαις ημας
נמצא מאד	νεμσα μωδ	ευρεθη † σφοδρα	ευρισκομενος σφοδρα	ταις ευρουσαις ημας σφοδρα	ευρεθη σφοδρα
3 על כן	αλ· χεν·	επι τουτω	δια τουτο	δια τουτο	δια τουτο
לא ניר֯א	λω· νιρα	ου φοβηθησομεθα	ου φοβηθησομεθα	ου φοβηθησομεθα	ου φοβηθησομεθα
בהמיר	βααμιρ	εν τω ανταλλασσεσθαι	εν τω ‡ συγχεισθαι	εν τω ταρασσεσθαι	εν τω ταρασσεσθαι
ארץ	ααρς	γην	γην	την γην	την γην μετατιθεσθαι
ובמוט	ουβαμωτ	και εν τω σφαλλεσθαι	και κλινεσθαι	και μετατιθεσθαι	και σαλευεσθαι
הרים	αριμ	ορη	ορη	ορη	ορη
בלב	βλεβ	εν καρδια	εν καρδια	εν καρδια	εν καρδια
ימים]	ιαμιμ	θαλασσων	θαλασσων	θαλασσων	θαλασσων

* In the MS λαινου came in the third column, replacing there Aquila's rendering.
† MS, by a frequent mistake, doubling the σ, ευρεθησ.
‡ MS ταις (from τωι, see note †).
§ MS first-hand ημιν.

of the use of these signs we may take Gn $34^{24ff.}$ from the Codex Sarravianus *—

και πε
ριετεμοντο· ⌒ την
⌒ σαρκα της ακροβυ-
⌒ στειας αυτων : παν
αρσην ✻ παντες εξερ
✻ χομενοι πυλην πο
✻ λεως αυτου' : εγενε

As it is of importance to have a view of the documents from which the 𝔊 column of the Hexapla can be recovered, the present writer had drawn up a list of all MSS which trace back their origin to the Hexapla and Tetrapla, and designed stemmata for them, but want of space forbids the printing of them here. One of the most important means is the Syriac version made by Paul of Tella in the year 617 (=p), and, where this is defective, the Arabic version made by Hārith ben Sinān ben Shabāt so late as 1486 (see Præf. of Holmes, vol. i.). The Hexapla is expressly cited in still existing documents as the source for Ex., Josh., 1 Kings, Ezra, Esth., Prov., Cant., Lam., Is., Ezek.; the Tetrapla for Gen., Josh., Ruth, Is., Ezek., Job, 12 Proph., Dan.; the Heptapla for 2 Kings. The 'Οκτασίλιδαν (Octapla) is occasionally quoted as having a different reading from the Τετρασέλιδον (Tetrapla) in a scholion on Ps 86^{5} (*μὴ τῇ Σιών* for *μήτηρ Σιών*). Heptapla is used in p at 2 K 16^{2}; Πενταπλᾶ (not Τετρασίλιδον) in Q at Is 3^{24}. See, for Genesis, Field on Gn 47^{26}; for Ex., Josh., Judges, Ruth, 1 and 2 Kings, Job, Prov., Eccles., Cant., 12 Proph., Is., Lam., the notes of p, for Ezra and Esther the notes in Cod. S, for Is. and Ezek. the notes in Q; for Ezek. and Dan. the Codex Chisianus. On the order of the biblical books in the Hexapla we are not perfectly informed; in Q it is Octateuch, Kings, Chron., Ezr.(-Neh.), Judith, Tobit, Psalms, Job, Prov., Eccles., Cant., Wisd., Sirach, 12 Proph., Jer., Bar., Ep. of Jer., Dan., Sus., Bel, Ezek., Isaiah.

For Exodus a copy is attested, in which the Hebrew was compared by Eusebius with the Hebrew of the Samaritans. Seventeen such passages are preserved in 𝔊, and 5 from Numbers.† Curious is the expression *μετελήφθησαν ἀφ' ὧν εὕρομεν ἑξαπλῶν* (Tischendorf, *Notitia*, 122); the note in S at the end of Esther speaks of *τὰ ἑξαπλᾶ 'Ωριγένους ὑπ' αὐτοῦ διορθωμένα*. At the end of Ex. *τὰ κατὰ τὰς ἐκδόσεις ἑξαπλᾶ* are distinguished from a *ἕτερον ἑξαπλοῦν*. In the note at the end of Proverbs (Sw. p. 75) for *καὶ πάλιν αὐτὰ χειρί* we must read *καὶ πάλιν· αὐτοχειρί*, 'and again: by Pamphilus' own hand.' Strange is the quotation of Origen on La 1^{17} (*Op.* iii. 252) *κατὰ Σύμμαχον καὶ ἑτέραν ἔκδοσιν τῶν Ἑβδομήκοντα*.

If the copies of the 𝔊 column of the Hexapla, which it was the task especially of Pamphilus and Eusebius to prepare, had been copied with all its marks, it would have been well; but later copyists neglected these completely, and produced thus what we may call *krypto-Hexaplaric* copies, completely spoiling by this carelessness the value of 𝔊—such a copy is found, for instance, in the Codex Alexandrinus for 1 and 2 Kings. At the same time we have no right to complain, seeing that in the 19th cent. the same process was repeated in the case of Grabe's edition.‡

Now it is clear that if we were to succeed, by a comparison of those documents which go back directly or indirectly to the Hexapla, in restoring its 𝔊 column, we should have a Septuagintal text, but not the original one; for, as indicated above, the principles on which Origen chose his text are not the true ones; moreover, it would appear that he even further introduced little changes, so as to make his text correspond to the Hebrew, for instance in the matter of proper names, writing Γηρσων (Ex 6^{16}) for Γεδσων, etc.§ We must therefore look for other sources. These have been found in the recensions which *Jerome* mentions as being circulated in his times, besides the copies produced by Eusebius and Pamphilus. Jerome, who was almost the only one who opposed the popular views about 𝔊, had also the right insight into the consequences of Origen's labours in textual criticism, when he wrote to Augustine—

'Et miror quomodo LXX interpretum libros legas non puros ut ab eis editi sunt, sed ab Origene emendatos *sive corruptos* per obelos et asteriscos. . . . Vis amator esse verus Septuaginta interpretum, non legas ea, quæ sub asteriscis sunt, imo rade de voluminibus, ut veterum te fautorem probes. Quod si feceris, omnes ecclesiarum bibliothecas damnare cogeris. Vix enim unus aut alter invenietur liber qui ista non habeat.'

He mentions several times three sets of Bible texts as used in his time (*Præf. in Paralip., adv. Ruf.* ii. 27)—

'Alexandria et Ægyptus in Septuaginta suis *Hesychium* laudat auctorem, Constantinopolis usque Antiochiam *Luciani* (*var. lec.* Juliani) martyris exemplaria probat, mediæ inter has provinciæ Palæstinos (*var. lec.* -næ) codices legunt quos ab Origene elaboratos Eusebius et Pamphilus vulgaverunt; totusque orbis hac inter se trifaria varietate compugnat.'

The Gothic priests, Sunnja and Fretela, who had addressed him about questions in textual criticism, he instructed in the year 403—

'Aliam esse editionem quam Origenes et Cæsariensis Eusebius omnesque Græciæ tractatores *κοινήν*, *i.e.* communem appellant atque vulgatam, et a plerisque nunc Λουκιανός * dicitur, aliam Septuaginta interpretum quæ in *ἑξαπλοῖς* codicibus reperitur et a nobis in latinum sermonem fideliter versa est et Jerosolymæ atque in orientis ecclesiis decantatur . . . *κοινὴ* autem ista, hoc est communis, editio ipsa est quæ et Septuaginta, sed hoc interest inter utramque quod *κοινὴ* pro locis et temporibus et pro voluntate scriptorum vetus corrupta editio est, ea autem quæ habetur in *ἑξαπλοῖς* et quam nos vertimus, ipsa est quæ in eruditorum libris incorrupta et immaculata Septuaginta interpretum translatio reservatur.'

About the person and the work of *Hesychius* we know very little. He may have been (not the lexicographer of the second half of the 4th cent., who was a pagan, but) the martyr-bishop mentioned by Eusebius, *HE* viii. 13, together with Phileas of Thmuis (Sw. 79: 'It is pleasant to think of the two episcopal confessors employing their enforced leisure in their Egyptian prison by revising the Scriptures for the use of their flocks, nearly at the same time that Pamphilus and Eusebius and Antoninus were working under similar conditions at Cæsarea'). The fruit of his work is now sought for the Octateuch in the MSS 44, 74, 76, 84, 106, 134, etc. (see N. McLean, *JThSt*, ii., Jan. 1901, p. 306); for the Prophets, at least for Isaiah and the XII, in Q and its supporters, 26, 106, 198, 306 (see A. Ceriani, *de codice Marchaliano*, Romæ, 1890, pp. 48 ff., 105 ff.).

More clearly defined is our information about *Lucian* and his work (see on him Sw. p. 80 ff.). Westcott-Hort came to the conclusion, that for the NT the growing diversity and confusion of Greek texts led to an authoritative revision at Antioch, which was at a later time subjected to a second authoritative revision, carrying out more completely the purposes of the first. Of known names, they wrote, Lucian's has a better claim than any other to be associated with the early Syrian revision. These revisers of the NT 'evidently wished their text to be as far as possible easy, smooth, and complete, and for this purpose borrowed freely from all quarters, and as freely used the file to remove surviving asperities' (ed. min. p. 557). This description agrees fully with our information about the Lucianic revision of the OT, and with the observations we can gather from the existing documents, in which it is found to survive, for the Octateuch in 19, 82, 108, 118; in the Historical books 93 is to be added; in the Prophets 22, 36, 48, 51, 62, 90, 93, 144, 147, 233, 308.

The Lucianic recension is of the highest value

* Oikonomos, iv. 99, wishes to read Λουκιανίς.

* Origen took this whole system of notation from the Alexandrian critics of Homer, especially Aristarchus; see the passages quoted by Swete, p. 71, and the enumeration of the passages of Proverbs which varied in order from the Patmos codex, in Tischendorf's *Notitia*, p. 76. How inconvenient this was before the invention of numbering the verses and chapters may be seen there.

† On other passages (Gn 4^{8} 5^{25} etc.) for which *τὸ Σαμαρειτικόν* is quoted, see Field, i. p. lxxxii ff., and S. Kohn, 'Samareitikon und Septuaginta' in *Monatsschrift für Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, N. F. i. [1894] 1–7, 49–67; *ZDMG*, 1893, 650. Kohn believes that there was originally a complete Greek translation of the Samaritan Targum.

‡ See above, p. 440b, on the Moscow and Athens reprints of Grabe's edition of the Codex Alexandrinus; and cf., for its disastrous results, *e.g.* Oikonomos, ii. 251, on the reading *θῆραν* and *χῆραν* in Ps 131^{15}.

§ Cf. Ps 11^{4}, where *εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα* has nothing answering to it in Hebrew; a scholion remarks that it *ἐκειτο ἐν τῃ στελιδι των ο μονον αμφιβολως*; Up, 184, sah., Theodoret have for it *εἰς τὴν οἰκουμένην*.

for the textual criticism of the Hebrew OT; for the Hebrew MSS, used by Lucian at Antioch, seem to have been different from those which were at Origen's disposal, further removed from the traditional Hebrew text; but it must not be confounded, as its editor P. de Lagarde was careful to warn us (see especially *Mittheilungen*, ii. 171), with the Septuagint. On the question, whether among the materials used for his revision the Syriac version was also included, and the other, how his revision is related to the Latin versions, see Nestle, *Introd.* p. 182.* The statement that his autograph copy in 3 columns was, after his martyrdom, found at Nicomedia, we see no reason to doubt (against Sw. p. 85).†

No express statements emanating from later times are known to the present writer regarding attempts to revise 𝔊. That the emperor Constantine ordered 50 Bibles for his churches from Eusebius, and that Athanasius procured for Constans *πυκτία τῶν θείων γραφῶν*, may be mentioned in this connexion. Later emperors and empresses showed their religious zeal partly by writing copies with their own hands. The history of 𝔊 passed on to the nations, which received it in the form of translations.

vi. VERSIONS MADE FROM THE SEPTUAGINT.—If we are to trust the statement of Zosimus Panopolitanus (see Oikonomos, ii. 328), the Hebrew Bible was translated for Ptolemy at one and the same time into Greek and into Egyptian; but *Latin*, not Egyptian, was probably the first language into which 𝔊 was translated.

On the *Latin* versions of 𝔊 see the exhaustive article of H. A. A. Kennedy in vol. iii. p. 47 ff. ‡ The most important addition to note is the publication of *Heptateuchi partis posterioris versio latina antiquissima e codice Lugdunensi* par Ulysse Robert (Lyon, 1900, 4°). This discovery, already noticed by Kennedy (p. 49), called by McLean the most important event of the past decade in connexion with Sept. studies (*JThSt*, ii. 305), shows the *mixed character* of the Latin Bible text, already acknowledged by Kennedy, in the most striking way; no Greek MS or group of MSS being known to which this Latin text adheres persistently. And the second, not less puzzling feature of these Latin texts becomes once more apparent, namely their variety. Cf., for instance, Dt 31 in the L[ugdunensis], M[onacensis], and W[irceburgensis].

V.[17] *κατάβρωμα* comestio L; devoratio M; interitus W.
καὶ θλίψις(-εις) et tribulatio L; et tribulationes W; omitted altogether M.
V.[20] *καὶ ἐμπλησθέντες κορήσουσι* et repleti recedent (=*χωρήσουσι*) L; et satiati descendent ludentes M (=*χορεύσουσι*, or *παίζοντες*); et saturati alienabuntur W.

* E. Klostermann (*Origenes' Werke*, iii. p. xi) promises an investigation on the Jeremiah text used by Origen, which agrees frequently with the group of MSS which are considered as Lucianic. Adam Mez (*Die Bibel des Josephus untersucht für Buch v.–vii. der Archäologie*, Basel, 1895) notices that the Bible used by Josephus shows in Judges and Samuel many agreements with Lucianic readings, and presupposes, therefore, an 'Ur-Lucian.' The paper on 'Lucian's recension of the Septuagint' (*Church Quarterly Review*, Jan. 1901, pp. 379–398) came to the knowledge of the present writer too late to be used for this article.

† On a copy going back to Basil, see Syncellus (*Chronogr.* p. 382): *ἐν ἑνὶ δὲ ἀντιγράφῳ λίαν ἠκριβωμένῳ κατά τε στιγμὴν καὶ προσῳδίαν, ἐκ τῆς ἐν Καισαρείᾳ βιβλιοθήκης, ἐν ᾧ καὶ ἐπεγέγραπτο, ὡς ὁ μέγας καὶ θεῖος Βασίλειος, τὰ ἐξ ὧν ἐκεῖνο ἀπεγράφη, ἀντιβαλὼν διωρθώσατο.* In this copy Syncellus found 28 (*κη'*) years for the reign of *Φακεὲ* in 2 K 15[27]. This number is found to-day in the MSS 55, 56, 64, 119, 245, 246.

‡ The influence which 𝔊 exercised on the formation of the mediæval Roman and even Teutonic languages through the medium of the Latin Bible version can be only hinted at. Even words of common life like *canapé*, *cidre*, find their origin ultimately in 𝔊.

In the Bk. of Judges the new text sides regularly with A against B; in some cases (1[9] 5[29. 30]) it alone offers what seems to be the original reading (see McLean, *l.c.*). On Wisd., Sirach, Esth., Job, Judith, 1 and 2 Mac., Passio Maccabæorum, Bar., 3 Es., Cant., see Ph. Thielmann, 'Bericht über das gesammelte handschriftliche Material zu einer kritischen Ausgabe der lateinischen Uebersetzungen biblischer Bücher des alten Testamentes' (*Sitzungsberichte der K. bayer. Akad. d. Wiss.* 1899, Bd. ii. Heft 2, pp. 205–243).

On the *Egyptian* versions see Forbes Robinson in vol. i. p. 668 ff. There is but one important addition to mention—*The earliest known Coptic Psalter*, edited by Wallis Budge (Lond. 1898). F. E. Brightman (*JThSt*, ii. 275) has shown that it represents the complete Greek text, of which U contains fragments, and that it has some remarkable readings, which do not occur in the common Greek text but only in Latin documents, *e.g.* *ἐβασίλευσεν ἀπὸ ξύλου* in Ps 95[10], which is quoted from Justin onwards. Cf. further, Lieblein, 'Thebansk-Koptick Oversaettelse af Davids 89. 90 Psalme' (*Academy of Christiania*, 1896); W. E. Crum, 'Coptic Studies' in *Eg. Expl. F. Rep.* for 1897, 1898).

On the *Ethiopic* versions see R. H. Charles in vol. i. p. 791. With the fact quoted there that the Ethiopic Bible at no time contained the books of Maccabees, compare the parallel fact that they are unknown also to the Canon in the 39th festal letter of Athanasius and in Codex B, which is connected by Rahlfs with Athanasius (*GGN*, 1899, i. p. 72).

Scarcely any addition has been made to the *Arabic* versions since they were treated by F. C. Burkitt in vol. i. p. 136 ff.

Of the *Gothic* version ascribed to Ulfilas, only a few fragments of the OT are extant, from Gn 5[3-30], Ps 52[23], Ezr 15. 16. 17 (not 2[8-42]); but these are sufficient to show that Ulfilas, as might have been suspected, followed the recension used in Constantinople—that of Lucian. The best edition is that of Uppstrom (Upsala, 1854, 1857, 4°), the most convenient that of Stamm-Heyne (³1896, in which, however, as in all, the order in Ezra must be reversed in the way indicated above), or E. Bernhardt, 1884.* For the literature see Sw. p. 116; *Urt.* 119–121.

The recension of Lucian is the basis also of the *Slavonic* version (first printed at Ostrago, 1581). From the quotations in Holmes (on Gen.) one might almost conclude that its present form is based on the Aldine edition of 1518, so frequently does it agree with it. For literature see *Urt.* p. 215 (Leskien); Sw. p. 120; Holmes, *Præf. in Pent.*

The *Georgian* version was used for Holmes (see *Præf. in Pent.*), but the first edition (Moscow, 1743) was made conformable to the Slavonic Bible by the Prince Vakhusht, son of Vakhtang, king of Georgia. See *Urt.* p. 161; Sw. p. 120.

The *Armenian* version (see the article of F. C. Conybeare in vol. i. p. 151) rivals, in importance for the textual criticism of 𝔊, the Syriac, and will be used for the larger Cambridge edition of 𝔊.

The version of the OT which came into common use in the *Syriac*-speaking churches was made from the Hebrew, though it occasionally underwent influences from 𝔊 (see art. SYRIAC VERSIONS). But besides this common version (Peshiṭta), the zeal of this Church produced a translation of 𝔊, probably the most literal that ever appeared in any language, and therefore of the greatest importance for the textual critic. It was the work of one Paul, bishop of Tella dhe Mauzelath (Constantine

* An American edition was published by G. H. Balg, Milwaukee, 1891. That of Massman is from 1855–1857.

in Mesopotamia), and was executed by him in Alexandria in the years 616–617. There he had at his disposal several MSS, which went back—with few intervening links—to the very Hexapla or Tetrapla of Origen; hence the usual name of this version, the *Syro-Hexaplar*. Andrew du Maes (Masius, †1573; see on his merits *Sst.* i. 13–16) possessed a copy containing part of Deut., Josh., Judges, 1 and 2 Sam., 1 and 2 Kings, Chron., Ezr., Esth., Judith, and part of Tobit. Unfortunately, this codex has disappeared; but what, in all likelihood, is the second volume of it, is preserved at the Ambrosian Library at Milan, and was given to the world through the labours of Ceriani and a generous gift of Frederick Field (see above, p. 443[b]) as the Codex Syro-Hexaplaris Ambrosianus in a photo-lithographic facsimile edition as tom. vii. of the *Monumenta sacra et profana* (Milano, 1874, fol.); while the other parts that survived of this version (from Gen., Ex., Numb., Josh., Judges, 1 and 2 Kings) have been most carefully edited in the last work of P. de Lagarde (*Bibliothecæ Syriacæ a Paulo de Lagarde collectæ quæ ad Philologiam Sacram pertinent*, Gottingae, 1892, 4°, finished by A. Rahlfs). Of the former publications —see the list in Nestle, *Litt. syr.* p. 29 f.—only that of Thomas Skat Rordam (*Libri Judicum et Ruth secundum versionem syriaco-hexaplarem*, Hauniæ, 1859–61, 4°) deserves mention, on account of the 'Dissertatio de regulis grammaticis, quas secutus est Paulus Tellensis in Veteri Testamento ex Græco Syriace vertendo' (pp. 1–57), together with Field's *Otium Norvicense, sive Tentamen de Reliquiis Aquilæ Symmachi et Theodotionis e lingua Syriaca in Græcam convertendis*, Oxon. 1864, 4°. On account of the MSS used by Paul, and the principles followed by him, this version forms our chief authority for the text of Origen's recension. On the Arabic translation based on it see above, p. 445[a]. For the literature see W. Wright, art. 'Syriac Literature' in *Encyc. Brit.* vol. xxii. = *Short history*, p. 18; Field, *Hexapla*, i. p. lxvii ff.; Sw. 112 ff.; *Urt.* 117.

On other attempts to translate parts of 𝔊 into Syriac, by Polycarp in the 5th cent. (Psalms), Jacob of Edessa in the years 704–5, see Sw. p. 115 f.; Gwynn, *Dict. Chr. Biog.* iv. 433.

On the fragments of translations in the so-called Palestinian dialect, we may refer to Sw. p. 114 f., and especially to F. C. Burkitt ('Christian Palestinian Literature' in *JThSt*, ii. 174 ff.). The fragments enumerated by Sw. p. 115, from Gen., Ex., Numb., 1 Sam., 1 Kings, Psalms, Prov., Job, Wisd., Amos, Micah, Joel, Jonah, Zech., Is., Jeremiah, have been augmented since by the publication of Palestinian Syriac texts from palimpsest fragments in the Taylor-Schechter collection, edited by A. S. Lewis and M. D. Gibson (Lond. 1900, 4°), containing portions of Numb., Deut., Psalms, Is., Jer., and—as recognized by V. Ryssel—of Sirach (frag. xviii.). On the date and place of this whole literature see Burkitt, *l.c.*

Up to the present day several of the Churches in which these various versions of 𝔊 arose, have never emancipated themselves from them. But even in those parts where, as in the Latin West through Jerome, or in modern Europe through the influence of the Reformation, new Bible versions, based on the Hebrew original, came into use, there is still, in greater or less degree, an echo of 𝔊 to be heard through worship and theology. It may suffice to recall the Prayer-Book version of the Psalms, or even the latest revision of the English Bible, in which it is not the names alone of the books of the OT from Genesis to Ecclesiasticus that tell of this first and most remarkable of all biblical versions.

Materials for the Restoration of 𝔊.—The materials for the restoration of 𝔊 are, as can be gathered from the preceding history, (1) manuscripts, (2) versions, (3) quotations.

(1) *Manuscripts.*—The MSS used for the work of Holmes-Parsons are counted at the end of vol. v. as 311; I.–XIII., being uncial MSS, are designated by Roman, the rest, being cursives, by Arabic figures. There are some mistakes in this list: 23, for instance, the Codex Venetus, is an uncial codex; others, counted under different numbers, have turned out to be parts of one and the same MS. Another system of designation, used by Lagarde and in the Cambridge Septuagint, is to denote the uncial MSS by the capital letters of the Latin (and Greek) alphabet; for a particular class of MSS Lagarde used small letters of the Roman, Cornill (in Ezekiel) of the Greek alphabet. It will be the task of the large Cambridge Septuagint to introduce a system of notation that will be generally accepted; meanwhile it is best to adhere for the uncials to the system of Lagarde-Swete, for the cursives to Holmes-Parsons, always keeping in mind that the sharp distinction between uncials and cursives is in no way justified.

As to the *contents*, the MSS may be divided into those which contain the whole Bible (OT) or parts of it, the Octateuch,* the Historical, Poetical, and Prophetical books. Most frequent are MSS of the Psalms. The arrangement of these groups, and of the books within each group, varies greatly (see Sw. pp. 195–230: 'Titles, Grouping, Number, and Order of the Books').

The books of Moses seem to stand at the head with no exception, and in all MSS the order seems to be the usual one, the inverted order, Nu. Lev. being attested only by Melito (Eus. *HE* iv. 26; Sw. p. 203), in the list published by Mommsen (Sw. p. 212), and by Leontius of Byzantium (Sw. p. 207). In Latin the third book is sometimes called Leviticum, the fifth Deuteronomius. Philo's designation of the latter, ἡ Ἐπινομίς, is taken from the book of Plato so inscribed; Judges he calls ἡ τῶν Κριμάτων βίβλος. The counting of four books of Kings or rather Kingdoms (Βασιλειῶν) has been retained by the Latin Bible, partially also the name Παραλειπόμενα for Chronicles. The form Παραλειπόμεναι occurs not only in Gregory of Nazianzus and Leontius (see Sw. pp. 205, 207), but also in Origen (new Berlin edition, iii. 74, l. 15; not decisive ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ [δευτέρᾳ] τῶν Π., i. 341, ii. 374). On the other books and their names see Sw. p. 216; but note that the last books are generally called τὰ Μακκαβαϊκά, books treating of (Judas) Maccabæus; the extension of the name to the whole family, now generally in use, the Maccabees (plural), is not original. On the grouping of the books (Historical, including Pentateuch, Poetical, Prophetical) see Sw. p. 218; on their number, Sw. p. 219; art. Canon in vol. i. p. 348 ff.; on the internal order, Sw. p. 226. The statement of J. M. Fuller (*Speaker's Commentary on the Apocrypha*, i. 368), that the MSS ordered by Constantine from Eusebius were 'the first complete Greek Bible,' and that it contained apparently the books of the Hebrew Canon and the Alexandrian version of the Apocrypha *added as an Appendix*, does not seem to rest on sure foundation. When Eusebius writes that he sent off the books ἐν πολυτελῶς ἠσκημένοις τεύχεσι τρισσὰ καὶ τετρασσά, the most probable explanation of the much disputed closing words seems to be, that each Bible consisted of three or four volumes. In a note at the end of Esther in the Codex Sinaiticus it is stated that it

* Greek MSS mostly count Gen.–Ruth as books 1–8, as ὀκτάτευχος; the Latin MSS Gen.–Judges as *Heptateuchus*; the word Hexateuch, now so much in use that it has an article devoted to it in the present work, seems to be an innovation of the late 19th century.

was compared with a MS belonging to Pamphilus, which ἀρχὴν μὲν εἶχεν ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης τῶν Βασιλειῶν, εἰς δὲ τὴν Ἐσθὴρ ἔληγεν. From this it is probable that it was arranged, not like B, which inserts the seven Poetical books (the five Canonical + Wisdom and Sirach) between Ezra and Esther, nor like A, in which the Prophets follow Chronicles, and after them Esther, but like S and N, in which Ezra and Esther follow immediately upon Chronicles. This would give a Bible of four volumes (Octateuch, Historical books, Prophetical books, Poetical books).

As regards their *age*, the MSS range from the 3rd to the 16th cent. To the 3rd cent. is ascribed a scrap of papyrus in the British Museum, yielding the text of Gn 14^{17} (Pap. ccxii. ; see Sw. p. 146) and the fragment of a Psalter (cont. Ps 12^{7}–15^{4}), 'the oldest Bible MS in any language in the British Museum and one of the oldest in existence anywhere' (see *Facsimiles of Biblical Manuscripts in the British Museum*, edited by Fred. G. Kenyon, 1900, pl. i. Pap. ccxxx.).

It is impossible to give here a list of the MSS of 𝔊, or even of the uncials; some of them have been treated under separate articles; see the letters AℵBCL; we must refer to Sw. p. 122 ff. and the literature quoted there ; only some supplementary remarks may be offered—

In A (Alexandrinus) the Psalter appears not to have been copied from the same original as the rest of the MS, but taken from a separate Church-Psalter (just as in the Aldine Bible of 1518). Hence the additions before and after the Psalms (letter of Athanasius, canon of morning and evening psalms, etc. ; Canticles). It would be well to control its use in the Cambridge Septuagint by comparison once more with the original or a former collation ; see, *e.g.*, 1 Es 4^{14} A + αὐτῶν ; 2 Es 7^{5} A has πρώτου, not πατρῴου).

On the connexion of B (Vaticanus) with Athanasius see Th. Zahn, *Athanasius und der Bibelkanon* (Erlangen, 1901 : Sonderabdruck aus der Festschrift der Universität Erlangen zur Feier des . . . Prinzregenten Luitpold von Bayern), p. 33 : 'It must be seriously considered whether the famous Codex Vaticanus is not that Bible which was produced by Athanasius at the order of Constans at Rome about 340 through Alexandrian copyists' (see Nestle, *Introduction*, p. 181, where in the note read 'Constantius' for 'Constans'). Ceriani's view, that B was written by a Western scribe, had been proposed already by Richard Simon (*Hist. Crit. du NT*, c. 32). That it contains the recension of Hesychius, was for the first time, as it seems, stated by Grabe ; Masius believed it was that of Lucian, Montfaucon that of Origen. On the text of Judges in this MS see below.

S is a more convenient symbol than ℵ for the Codex Sinaiticus, and is adopted in Swete. That the copyist who wrote the note at the end of Esther on the collation with the Codex of Pamphilus is identical with the corrector ℵ° is an important hint for the restoration of the recension of Eusebius-Pamphilus.

D (Cottonianus). As this famous MS was reduced by fire in 1731 to a heap of charred and shrivelled leaves, it would be worth while to make investigations whether the collation made before that time by Wetstein (*NT* i. p. 134) is still in existence. On the relation of its pictures to the mosaics of San Marco in Venice, see J. T. Tikkanen, *Die Genesismosaiken von San Marco in Venedig und ihr Verhältnis zu den Miniaturen der Cottonbibel*, etc., Helsingfors, 1889, 4° (Acta Soc. Scient. Fenn. xvii.).

G (Sarravianus). Add to the publications mentioned by Sw. p. 137 :—P. de Lagarde, *Semitica*, Zweites Heft, Gött. 1879 (vol. xxv. of the 'Abhandlungen,' etc. : 'Die pariser blätter des codex Sarravianus').

M (Coislinianus), collated by Wetstein (*NT* i. 134), for a great part by Lagarde (*Symm.* ii. 142 ; *Ankündigung*, iii. 27 ; *SSt.* i. 8).

Q (Marchalianus). The distinction established by Ceriani between the origin of the text and of the marginal matter in this MS, the latter only being Hexaplaric, is a great help for the classification of the MSS of 𝔊.

On the 23 uncial MSS, or parts of such, which have not yet been used for any edition, and remain for the present without a symbolical letter or number, see Sw. 146 ff., 170. No. 14 (formerly in the possession of W. H. Heckler) has lately been acquired by the University of Heidelberg, and will be edited by Prof. G. Deissmann. On No. 6, the oldest biblical MS in the British Museum, see preceding column.

The transition from the uncials to the cursives may be made by the MS E, which is now dispersed in Oxford, London, Cambridge (1 leaf), and St. Petersburg. It was brought by Tischendorf from the East in 1853 and 1859 ; the Oxford part written in uncials, the Cambridge leaf, which was kept back by Tischendorf, making the transition from uncial to cursive writing, the rest in cursives. The whole recent history of this MS has been described by A. Rahlfs in *GGN* (not *GGA* as in Kenyon, *Facsimiles*, plate v.), 1898, 98–112 ; see also Sw. 134 f. ; Lagarde, *SSt.* i. 1–11 ; facsimile in Kenyon, pl. v.

Most cursives await careful investigation ; some will repay it ; others may be discarded by it, as later copies of MSS still existing, like 33, 97, 238, which belong to one MS, and are copied from 87, or even as copied from printed editions. This we suspect to be the case with Ho 31 (Genesis with catena), at Vienna (*Theol. Gr.* 4) [on the date of this MS Holmes wrote, 'videtur esse xiii. vel xiv. sæculi' ; Sw. p. 149 '(xiv.)' ; Lagarde, *Genesis græce*, 'sæculi xv. a me non collatus, sed inspectus tantum' ; H. Achelis, 'Hippolytstudien' in *TU*, N. F. i. 4, p. 97, places it in the 16th cent.], and with 83, a Pentateuch at Lisbon (formerly Evora) 'of the 16th cent.' Both will turn out to be copied from the Aldine edition of 1518.

See on the cursives the list of Sw. pp. 148–168, and note that 25 is at Munich in the 'Staats- (not Stadt-) bibliothek' ; 53 agrees in Numbers frequently with the Old Latin Codex Lugdunensis ; 130 is by Lagarde called t, and ascribed to the 13th '*ut vid.*', Sw. '(? xi.)' ; 93 in 3 columns, with 2 texts for Esther ; facsimile in Kenyon, pl. viii. ; 155 'Cod. Meermanni ii.' is now Bodl. misc. Gr. 204 ; 156 the only Greek MS containing in Ps 95 (96)[10] the addition *a ligno*, in the form ἀπὸ τῷ ξύλῳ.

(—) A Psalter not mentioned by Sw. is in the Brit. Museum, Add. MS 19,352 A.D. 1066, valuable not only as a dated example of Greek writing of the 11th cent., but especially as an example of the best style of Byzantine decorative art, applied to the ornamentation of copies of the Scriptures [see Kenyon, *Facsimiles*, pl. vii., where Jesus Christ is enthroned between two cherubim (or rather seraphim) as illustration of Ps 79 (80)[2]].

On the *Lectionaries*, which must be classed among the MSS, see Sw. p. 168 f. Their value would be increased if the Lectionary-system of the Greek Church is as old as has been contended for recently by C. R. Gregory, *Textkritik des Neuen Testamentes*, i. (1901), p. 327 ff.

In spite of the great mass of witnesses thus used for the great work of Holmes-Parsons and later editions, their classification is still a problem, even in a book like that of Judges, where the differences are most marked. Compare the judgment of G. Moore (*SBOT*, 'Judges,' p. 22) : 'A

complete *stemma* exhibiting the filiation of these MSS and recensions cannot be made from the collations in HP'; we may even doubt the correctness of the remark added by Moore: 'it would be comparatively easy if we possessed a few accurate collations of typical MSS properly arranged.'

Perhaps a good step towards this end would be to arrange complete lists of the singular and subsingular readings of our oldest witnesses, as ABS, especially for B, because this MS serves as standard for the collations of the larger Cambridge Septuagint.

Another fact worth mentioning in this connexion is, that every new witness, in spite of the great number of MSS already collated and the still greater number of variations extracted from them, adds a new reading, even for the Psalms, for which some 120 MSS have been used for HP. See, for instance, the spelling πρόσσχες instead of πρόσχες first making its appearance in Kenyon, *Facsimiles*, plate v. Ps 79 (80)[2].

(2) (3) The same is the case with the *Versions* and *Quotations*. On these see above, §§ iv. and vi. As but few of the Greek Fathers are accessible in trustworthy editions, a large field waits here for patient and careful workers. But, even before these *minutiæ* be settled, 𝔊 can and must be used for that purpose for which it is of the greatest importance, namely the textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible.

vii. Use of 𝔊.* — The remark of Swete has already been quoted—that 𝔊 possesses a new and *increasing* importance in the field of biblical study (p. 437[b] n.†). Its value as a witness to the Hebrew text was recognized partially in the time of Origen and Jerome, and afresh in the days of the Renaissance and onwards from the 17th cent.; but it can be fully acknowledged only by those who adopt the views maintained chiefly by Olshausen, Lagarde, and their followers, that all existing MSS of the Hebrew OT go back to a single official copy or recension, made up somewhere in Palestine, perhaps at Jamnia, about the 2nd cent. after Christ. To quote only one statement. G. Moore (*SBOT*, 'Judges,' p. 23) writes—

'The other Ancient Versions [except 𝔖]—the Latin of St. Jerome in its Vulgate form (𝔙), the Syriac (𝔖), and the Jewish Targum (𝔗) are all based on the *Palestinian Hebrew Standard Text of the 2nd cent.* A.D., as are also the new Greek translations of 'ΑΣΘ, and the revisions of 𝔊 after these, and in the main the translation found [for Judges] in 𝔊BVBmN [*i.e.* B and its allies]. *The pre-hexaplaric 𝔊 alone represents a Hebrew text older than the official revision made in the school of R. Aqiba.*'

In other words, 𝔊 represents for us (1) the exegetical tradition, or at least the exegetical opinions of a Jewish school, or — if that name asserts too much — of individual scholars more than 2000 years before our time; it is the oldest commentary on the Hebrew Bible in existence; (2) when re-translated into Hebrew — with the necessary precautions, of course—it represents for us the Hebrew MS (or MSS) lying before its authors, which is 1000 years older than the oldest MS at present at our disposal, and 300 years older than the one to which all of our Hebrew MSS go back.

In the first instance, it is sufficient to recall the great number of *hapax legomena* which occur in the limited range of Old Hebrew literature. In the second place, we learn first that the palæographical character of the pre-Massoretic MSS was very different from ours: few *matres lectionis*, no vowels, no *litteræ finales*, no separation of words, so that even in liturgical books there was uncertainty about those points (cf. Ps 105 (106)[7] ἀναβαίνοντες = עֹלִים for עַל־יָם); perhaps abbreviation strokes for ה, ם, ת; see Lagarde, *Mittheilungen*, i. 21; Fel. Perles, *Analekten* (1895, pp. 4–35).

The second fact that comes to light from a comparison of 𝔊 and 𝔐 is, that there is a great difference between particular books or sets of books in the OT. This arises partly from the circumstance that all the books are not due to the same translators, but still more from the different character of the text lying before them. That Isaiah, for instance, found an interpreter not worthy of this book, was remarked long ago by Zwingli; the translator of Job, says Swete, p. 316, was perhaps more familiar with Greek pagan literature than with Semitic poetry; where the grandson of Jesus Sirach made his mistakes, we can judge better now than before. But more important is the fact that already the Hebrew texts used by the translators differed in varying degrees from the Massoretic text.

The differences between 𝔊 and 𝔐 can be tabulated as touching the sequence or the subject-matter. The differences of the subject-matter are, of course, of greater interest; they are of a threefold character—additions, omissions, variations.

On the differences of sequence see Sw. pp. 231–242. There are unimportant differences in Gn 31. 36. 47, Ex 20 (order of commandments); Nu 1. 6. 26, Jos 9. 19 (vol. ii. p. 782); great differences in Ex 35–40, 3 Regn. 4. 5. 6. 7. 10. 11, Pr 15. 20. 24, Jer 25–41. On Ex. see vol. i. p. 810 f.; on Kings, ii. 862 ff.; on Prov., Sw. p. 241; on Jer., vol. iii. p. 573 f.).* Very awkward is the different numbering of the Psalms.

On the difference in the subject-matter see Sw. 242 ff. If we were to have a complete edition of Origen's Hexapla with its critical signs, it would be convenient to see at a glance the omissions and additions.

The Law offers the smallest number of differences; but besides some famous additions, as Gn 4[8] διέλθωμεν εἰς τὸ πεδίον, the second Καινάν (who has been erased in Cod. A 10^{22}) $10^{22.\ 24}$ $11^{12.\ 13}$ (1 Ch 1^{17-23} A)—his addition, in connexion with other variations, made the whole chronology of the world different, see vol. i. p. 397 ff.; Oikonomos, iii. 703–835—there are smaller additions of interest, as 8 sons of Japheth for 7 in Gn 10; 11 nations for 10 in Gn $15^{19.\ 20}$ (the addition of the Εὐαῖοι, either overlooked by Origen or wanting in his copy); 5 sons of Dedan for 3 in 25^{3}; 13 heinous offences for 12 in Dt 27 (on v.[8] see Grinfield, *Apology*, pp. xii, 191).

On Joshua, which does not seem to have been translated together with the Pentateuch, see vol. ii. p. 781 ff., and Bennett (*SBOT*). On the word γαῖσος—or γαισός; this is the accentuation of B[b] —Oikonomos, ii. 495 ff., 551, has 40 pages.

For Judges, *e.g.* $16^{13.\ 14}$, it is sufficient to refer to G. Moore.

The chapters 1 Regn. (Samuel) 17. 18 furnish a good example of how much difference of opinion still prevails. What Kuenen and Wellhausen call a harmonistic omission on the part of 𝔊, is considered by others as a later interpolation in 𝔐.

That 𝔊 preserved in 3 Regn. (1 K) $8^{12.\ 53}$ a quotation from the Book of Jashar (see vol. ii. p. 551), and, with it, what Kittel (*Handkom.*) styles the *oldest* more explicit confession of Jahweh in Israel, should alone be sufficient to prove its importance.

For the Book of Psalms even cursive MSS of 𝔊 enrich our knowledge about the liturgical use of the Psalms (see Sw. 250); in the alphabetic psalm 145 the missing letter נ is restored, perhaps only

* Cf. for the following, Sw. ch. v. 'The Septuagint as a Version,' pp. 314–341.

* B. Pick in *The* (Americ.) *Independent* (1897, p. 1273) writes on Cornill's edition of Jeremiah (in *SBOT*): 'If I have counted right, no less than 1821 words have thus been eliminated from the text; and it is surprising that none of these relegated passages concern any of the quotations from Jer. in the NT.'

by conjecture. The addition to Ps 13^3 quoted in Ro 3^{13-18} is omitted by A and 95 cursives out of 105. Already Jerome declared the codices of 𝔊 which contain it, to be interpolated from Ro 3. If this be so, the agreement of ℵB, on which for the NT Westcott-Hort laid so much stress, is of no great value at least for the Psalms; * on the other hand, it is to the credit of these MSS if they have preserved a text similar to that in the hands of St. Paul.—On Ps 151 see Oikonomos, iii. 634 f.; on the ecclesiastical Canticles and the Prayer of Manasses among them, Nestle, *Sst.* iii. 6 ff.; and note that this piece has not been utilized for the Greek Concordances of Trommius and Hatch-Redpath (cf. *ἀνεξιχνίαστος*, *ἀνυπόστατος*, *ἄστεκτος*).

On Proverbs Lagarde's early book of 1863 is still useful.

Whether the shorter form of Job, in which, according to Jerome's reckoning, 'septingenti ferme aut octingenti versus desunt,' preserved a primitive form, or is, on the contrary, the effect of abbreviation, see vol. ii. p. 164; and correct there the statement from Origen, that sometimes 16 or 19 verses were missing, into 14 or 15 (*Expository Times*, x. 523; Sw. 255).

On Esther see vol. ii. p. 774; the Greek of the book reminds one of 2 Mac. (cf. *τριταλιτήριος*); on Jeremiah see ii. 572; and cf. i. 252 as to the identity of language in Jer. and Baruch, which book in all MSS of 𝔊 is immediately connected with Jer. and Lamentations. On the heading of the latter see vol. iii. p. 22. On Daniel see i. 557. Dn 11^{30} is the only passage where the Ῥωμαῖοι occurs in a translation from the Hebrew (for כִּתִּים as in 𝔗 Onk Nu 24^{22}). The affinity of the Greek of this book with that of 1 Esdras has been justly pointed out in i. 761.

In Jeremiah, Esther, and Daniel 𝔊 offers considerable passages not to be found in 𝔐; but in addition to these 𝔊 has preserved whole books, some of them of the highest historical or theological interest, which are not to be found in the Hebrew Canon, partly because they were originally written in Greek, partly for unknown reasons.

The number of these books varies greatly in the still existing documents; of others only the titles have survived; a certain number remained known through the medium of the mediæval Bible as 'Apocrypha' even in the Protestant Churches. On these see art. APOCRYPHA, vol. i. p. 111 ff., and the special articles, as BARUCH, i. 251;† BEL AND THE DRAGON, 276; ESDRAS, FIRST AND SECOND, 757, 763;‡ JEREMY, EPISTLE OF, vol. ii. p. 578; JUDITH, 822; MACCABEES, BOOKS OF (i.–v.), vol. iii. p. 187; MANASSES, PRAYER OF, 232; further, SIRACH, THREE CHILDREN (SONG OF THE), SUSANNA, WISDOM OF SOLOMON.

That the collection of these books, though it is transmitted to us almost exclusively through the Church, began to form itself in pre-Christian times, is clear from the contents (see vol. i. 117, iii. 35). A trace that 𝔊 differed from 𝔐 in its order and extent may be found in Josephus; for he uses not only the Greek Esdras and the Additions to Esther, but follows also the order of 𝔊 (not 𝔐) when he counts 5 books of Moses, 13 Prophetical and 4 Poetical books, placing, apparently, Chronicles, Ezra-Nehemiah, Esther (from the Hagiographa) after Kings (see Strack, 'Kanon des AT,' in *PRE*^{3} ix. 752).

On some lists of other Apocryphal books see Sw. p. 281; the Catalogue of the Sixty Books begins after the canonical and so-called 'apocryphal' books (the two Wisdoms, etc.): Καὶ ὅσα ἀπόκρυφα· Ἀδάμ, Ἐνώχ, Λάμεχ, Πατριάρχαι, Προσευχὴ Ἰωσήφ, Ἐλδάδ, Διαθήκη Μωυσέως, Ἀνάληψις M. etc. It is an interesting question, whether a trace of this apocryphal tradition is not to be found already in Sirach (49^{14-16}). For, after he has gone through the whole literature of the OT down to Zorobabel and Nehemias, he suddenly returns to Enoch, Joseph, Shem, Seth, and Adam.

In an appendix to the Cambridge Septuagint at least two of these books have found a place—the *Psalms of Solomon* (the apparatus being much enlarged in the 2nd ed. (iii. 765 ff.)) and the Greek fragments of the Book of Enoch (for the first time added in the 2nd ed. (iii. 789 ff.)). On the Psalms of Solomon cf. the German translation of Kittel in Kautzsch, *Die Pseudepigraphen*, 127–148; on Enoch, the new Berlin edition, *Das Buch Henoch*, herausgegeben von Dr. Joh. Flemming und Dr. L. Radermacher, 1901. Much to be welcomed would be a collection of the OT apocrypha as sketched by Sw. p. 285, including amongst other remains the *Rest of the Words of Baruch*, the *Apocalypse of Baruch*, the *Testament of Abraham*, parts of the *Oracula Sibyllina*, the *Testaments of the XII Patriarchs*, the Latin *Ascension of Isaiah* (with the new Greek Fragments published by Grenfell-Hunt in *The Amherst Papyri*, part i. 1900; see on it F. C. Burkitt, *The Classical Review*, xiv. 457–459); perhaps also the Latin versions of *4 Esdras*, *Assumption of Moses*, *Book of Jubilees*.

All these additions and omissions cover but the smaller part of the differences between 𝔐 and 𝔊; far more numerous are the *variations* in the proper sense of the word, the passages where 𝔊 offers a reading different from 𝔐. On this point cf. Sw. part ii. ch. v. 'The Septuagint as a Version,' and part iii. ch. iv. 'The Greek Versions as aids to Biblical Study.' A thorough, accurate, and cautious comparison between 𝔐 and 𝔊 will exhibit these variations. The comparison must be cautious, else there is the risk of stating variations where there are none, and it must be accurate and thorough, else real variations might be overlooked. In the first place, care must be taken to eliminate as much as possible from 𝔊 all intra-Greek corruptions, *i.e.* clerical errors, that sprang up in the course of transmission of the Greek text, and it is a mistake of many Commentaries to rest content to take the text of the small Cambridge Septuagint as the standard, as former scholars used to acquiesce in that of the Sixtina. Take as example the latest German Commentary on *Genesis*, that of Gunkel (Göttingen, 1901), and the very first note touching the textual criticism of this book. It concerns the use of the Divine names in ch. 2, and runs: 'יהוה אלהים is found in Genesis in Hebrew only in chs. 2. 3 (LXX, differing from the Hebrew, has in $2^{5.\ 7.\ 9.\ 10.\ 21}$ ὁ θεός).' Now, this is true of the Codex Alexandrinus: if Gunkel had used the editio Sixtina, he would have had to add vv.$^{8.\ 22}$; and if we are still more circumspect, as commentators ought to be, and resort to Philo, Field's *Hexapla*, the collations of

* Swete's statement, that Origen marked the passage with an obelus, lacks reliable testimony; the words of Jerome are curious: 'in hebraico non haberi *nec esse in septuaginta interpretibus*, sed in editione vulgata, quæ græce *κοινη* dicitur et in toto orbe diversa est.' The words in italics are omitted in Field's quotation from ed. Vall. iv. 668.

† The puzzling fact that on the margin of the Syro-Hexaplaric text of Baruch there are 3 notes stating that certain words in 1^{17} 2^3 are not found in the Hebrew, which has been quoted for a Hebrew origin of this part of the book (i. 252; Sw. 275, n. 3, from Bevan in *Encyc. Bibl.* i. 494), is in contradiction to the remark at the head of the book, that the whole was obelized by Origen, and finds a very simple solution. For these notes do not refer to the text of Baruch, but of the Hebrew OT quoted by Baruch 2^3 from Dt 28^{53}. Origen called attention to the fact that the generalizing 'every man' *ἄνθρωπον* in Bar 2^3 has no אִישׁ אִישׁ to correspond in Dt 28^{53}. Thus these notes are a token of the great care which Origen bestowed on his Hexapla.

‡ On the statement of Sw. p. 265, and Thackeray (*DB*, vol. i. p. 758), that Cod. A entitles both books *ἱερεύς*, cf. Nestle, *Marginalien* (1893), p. 28 f., where it is shown that this is merely due to the knife of the English bookbinder, who cut away in both cases the first line of the title Ἔζρας (or Ἐσδρας) *α΄*, *β΄*.

Holmes, the versions as witnesses for 𝔊, we must add further v.[4]; *i.e.* not 5 times, but 8 times, 𝔊 omits יהוה in this chapter, and has it only twice (vv.[15. 16]).* The second care must be to observe the practice of these translators; cf. Sw. p. 325: 'The Alexandrian translators, while loyal to their original, sometimes even to a fault, manifest nothing like the slavish adherence to the letter with which Aquila has been charged. They often amplify and occasionally omit; they render the same Hebrew words by more than one Greek equivalent, even in the same context; they introduce metaphors or grammatical constructions which have no place in the Hebrew text, and probably at no time had a place there, or they abandon figures of speech where they exist in the original.' There is no mention here of the fact especially urged by Frankel, that the translators followed some sort of exegetical tradition (L. Frankel, *Vorstudien zu der Septuaginta*, 1841; *Ueber den Einfluss der palästinischen Exegese auf die alexandrinische Hermeneutik*, 1851). We must further bear in mind that the translators were accustomed to the Aramaic speech rather than to the Hebrew. To the examples quoted by Sw. p. 319, add, for instance, Ps 59 (60)[8] רחץ = ἐλπίς, 140 (141)[5] רָעוֹתֵיהֶם = εὐδοκίαις αὐτῶν. Already Jerome remarked on this word in Ec 1[14] רעות = προαίρεσις: 'non hebraicum sermonem expresserunt, sed *syrum*.' On meanings attached to Hebrew roots known to us only from Arabic see Sw. p. 498, Ps 83 (84)[7] δώσει, Dn 7[22] (LXX) ἐδόθη = נתן.

A glance into modern commentaries or the 'Critical Notes' after the Hebrew text in *SBOT* will show the importance of 𝔊 in this direction. No conscientious commentator on the Hebrew OT can dispense with constant reference to 𝔊. We quote some examples from the first chapter of some books in *SBOT*—

In Gn 1 Ball replaces מָקוֹם by συναγωγήν = מִקְוֶה; but he, too, has overlooked the interesting variant in v.[16] (like all commentaries [to our knowledge, Dillmann, Spurrell, Holzinger, Gunkel], except T. G. Meintel, *Critische Polyglotten-Conferenzen über das erste Buch Mose*, 1796; a work of praiseworthy industry), 𝔐 giving the sing. מָקְשָׁלַת, 𝔊 the pl. ἀρχάς, *i.e.* מְקֻשָּׁלַת, the latter being confirmed by Ps 135 (136)[8], where 𝔐 has the plural, 𝔊 ἐξουσίαν the singular. The same difference occurs 2[2] (𝔊 'his works'); and that this is not unintentional, is shown by the Targum Jonathan, which understands the passage of those 10 wondrous works which God is said by rabbinical wit to have created.

In Lv 1 Driver receives readings of 𝔊 into the text in vv.[2. 7. 8. 16]; in Nu 1 Paterson in v.[14] רעואל for רעואל, 𝔐. For Jos 1 it is sufficient to quote Bennett's remark on v.[2]: 'In this and other cases glosses, etc., not found in 𝔊 are probably glosses later than the MS from which 𝔊 was translated, and therefore better treated as variations of the text.'

A remark on *Judges* by Moore has already been quoted; in 1[16] he reads העמלקי for העם; one witness of 𝔊 and the Coptic offering the *doublet* μετὰ τοῦ λαοῦ 'Αμαλήκ. The original reading, the simple Amalec, has been found since, for the first time, in the Latin Lugdunensis, published by U. Robert.

On Samuel, after what has been done by Thenius, Wellhausen, Driver, Klostermann, Budde, H. P. Smith, any word is superfluous; but the question may be asked, whether one would have found, *e.g.*, in 1 S 1[24] the true reading בְּפַר מְשֻׁלָּשׁ for בְּפָרִים שָׁלֹשָׁה by mere conjecture without the help of the versions (ἐν μόσχῳ τριετίζοντι). And if we had hit on it in this way, we should not have had the same confidence in its truth as we have now, when it is attested by the oldest witness attainable.

As far as we have seen, *in every part of the SBOT* that has appeared as yet, one or more *readings from 𝔊 have been received into the text in the first chapter* by such different scholars as Cornill, Toy, Wellhausen, Siegfried, Kamphausen, Guthe, Kittel. But how much remains to be done may be illustrated by two examples from 1 Ch 1. On v.[5] Kittel remarks: '𝔊 + Ελισα; it has crept in *by error from* v.[7] after יון (cf. 𝔊[L]),' overlooking the fact that 𝔊 has 'Elisa' among the sons of Japheth already in Gn 10[2]. Again, in v.[32] Kittel omits to mention the additional names Raguel and Nabdeel, offered by many witnesses, just as in Genesis. *If carefully compared with 𝔐, 𝔊 turns out to be the most valuable aid for the explanation of the Hebrew Bible.*

But 𝔊 is not less indispensable to the *study of the NT*: see on this point Sw. pp. 450–457; Pearson's judgment (at the head of this article); Thayer's art. LANGUAGE OF THE NT, vol. iii. p. 40. To quote only one example: ἀγαπητός and μονογενής both correspond in 𝔊 to Heb. יָחִיד; the one occurs in the Synoptic Gospels, the other in John.

Nor can the student of *Ecclesiastical Literature* succeed without familiarity with 𝔊 (see Sw. pt. iii. ch. v. 'Influence of the LXX on Christian Literature,' p. 461 ff.). The doctrinal as well as the devotional writings are full of its influence. Take a book like Brightman's *Liturgies, Eastern and Western*, where the quotations are printed in black type, or an edition like that of the *Apostolic Constitutions* by Lagarde, which gives at the foot of the text the references to the biblical passages; the index of the latter shows more quotations from the OT than from the NT.

Even many works of *Christian art* cannot be understood without recourse to 𝔊. Cf. D. Kaufmann, 'Errors in the Septuagint and the Vulgate from which Illustrations and Sculptures derived their origin' (*JQR* xi. 163–166). If we speak of the firmament, we do so because 𝔊 used στερέωμα, considering the heavens as frozen water.

One side of the importance of 𝔊, which Pearson was not yet able to appreciate, lies in the value it has for *Semitic philology*, apart from the exegesis of the OT. The system of Hebrew vocalization is an invention of about the 7th cent. A.D.; how the words were pronounced in the time of Christ, or Isaiah, or king Mesha,—𝔊 calls him Μωσα, see vol. iii. p. 349,—or David, or Moses, we do not know. Our oldest witness is again the transliteration of proper names and other words in 𝔊. Whether nouns of the form מֶלֶךְ *melek* were still heard as monosyllables (*malk*), can be ascertained by the help of 𝔊. To have pointed out this importance of 𝔊 is one of the merits of Lagarde (*Uebersicht*, etc.); the Supplement to the Concordance of Hatch-Redpath (Fasc. i., containing a Concordance to the Proper Names occurring in the Septuagint, 1900) helps much to facilitate studies in this direction. These transliterations have, *vice versâ*, their bearing on the question of *Greek* pronunciation; see some remarks in this direction by Kittel (*SBOT*, 'Chronicles,' p. 52 f.) and Macke, *Erasmus oder Reuchlin* (Siegburg, Progr. 1900).

On the place which 𝔊 occupies in the *history of the Greek Language*, philologists now judge much more favourably than twenty years ago; cf. ch. iv. in Sw. 289–314, 'the Greek of the Septuagint,' and add to the literature quoted there, p. 314, a reference to Iv. Korsunskie, *Perevod LXX* (Moskoa, 1878, 704 pp.), in Russian: *The version of the Septuagint and its importance in the history of Greek Language and Literature*; further, Thayer's art. LANGUAGE OF THE NT, vol. iii. p. 36 ff.; and Paul Kretschmer, 'Die Entstehung der Koine' (*Sitzungsb. d. Wiener Ak., phil. hist. Kl.*, vol. 143, and separately, 1900); Albert Thumb, *Die griechische Sprache im Zeitalter des Hellenismus: Beiträge zur Geschichte und Beurtheilung der* Κοινή, Strassburg, 1901 (cf. Ed. Schwyzer in *Neue Jahrb.* 1901, p. 233 ff.); Oikonomos, ii. 914 ff.; Grinfield, 146; H. A. A. Kennedy, 'Recent Research in the Language of the NT' (*Expos. Times*, xii. 341, 455, 557); J. H. Moulton (*ib.* p. 362 in the notice of G. A. Deissmann, *Bible Studies; Authorized Tr. by Alexander Grieve*; Edinburgh, Clark, 1901*).

* Even in v.[15] it is omitted by a few witnesses (Cod. 37, Ambrosius), but Augustine testifies to it, saying expressly: 'Nullo modo vacare arbitror . . . quod ab ipso divini libri huius exordio . . . usque ad hunc locum, nusquam positum est Dominus Deus, sed tantummodo Deus: nunc vero ubi ad id ventum est . . . ita Scriptura locuta est: Et sumpsit Dominus Deus.'

* Interesting are the philological remarks of Origen (new ed.). ii. 367, τίς γάρ ποτε Ἑλλήνων ἐχρήσατο τῇ ἐνωτίζου προσηγορίᾳ . . .

If the use and importance of 𝔊 are such even in the unsatisfactory condition in which it lies at present before us, how much more will these be acknowledged when we have a better edition of it. In such an edition, also, the accessory matter will demand due attention, the capitulation, lections, etc. (see Sw. pp. 342–366, 'Text-divisions: *Stichi*, Chapters, Lections, *Catenæ*').

(*a*) In careful MSS of the classics (as in those of Demosthenes, Herodotus) the lines have been counted by hundreds or by fifties, and their total stated at the end, because the copyists were paid according to their number, the normal line or στίχος being the Homeric hexameter of 16 syllables or 37 to 38 letters on an average.* This has been introduced into Bible MSS. One of the copyists of B, for instance, preserved on the margins the numbers from the MS which he copied; so did Paul of Tella from the copy which he translated (616) into Syriac. Afterwards the numbers were gathered into stichometrical lists; the most important of those lists are that in the Codex Claromontanus, the one first published by Mommsen, and that of Nicephorus; see Sanday, *Studia Biblica*, iii. 266; Sw. 346; Berger, *Histoire de la Vulgate*, 1893, pp. 316–327, 363; C. H. Turner in *JThSt*, ii. (Jan. 1901) 236. For books like Sirach and Job (with asterisks, 2200; without, 1600 *stichi*) these lists are especially valuable.

(*b*) Jerome introduced into his Latin Bible the custom of writing the text according to *sense-lines*, κῶλα or κόμματα, 'quod in Demosthene et Tullio solet fieri'; the same was done for the Greek *Dodekapropheton* by Hesychius of Jerusalem, who at the same time divided the text into chapters.

(*c*) Such a *capitulation* is found already in some of our oldest MSS, as ABS; for several books B gives even a double capitulation, dividing, for instance, Proverbs into 61 and 16, Eccles. into 25 and 7, Canticles into 40 and 5 chapters. Likewise the Syriac *Hexapla* (apparently from the copy from which it was taken) has in Joshua 52 and 11, Judges 65 and 7, 3 Regn. 105 and 18 chapters. In the same version and several Greek MSS summaries, τίτλοι or κεφάλαια, are added, and lists of them prefixed to the books (Sw. p. 354). The 'Synopsis' ascribed to Chrysostom is, to a large extent, nothing but a collection of such κεφάλαια. The 88 chapters into which Hesychius divided Isaiah have been published lately by M. Faulhaber (*Hesychii Hierosolymitani Interpretatio Isaiæ prophetæ*, Friburgi, 1900). These capitulations may become important hints for the classification of MSS. In Canticles the summaries assume the character of stage directions; see Er. Klostermann, 'Eine alte Rollenverteilung zum Hohenliede' (*ZATW* xix. (1899) 158–162, from Cod. V).

(*d*) The beginning and the end of the Lessons, which were read in Church already in the times of Origen and still earlier, were marked with ἀρχή and τέλος, the occasion sometimes being added on which the lesson was read (Sw. p. 356). An early specimen was the copy from which Paul of Tella made his version.

On the division of the Psalter into 20 καθίσματα see Sw. p. 359, or any printed Greek Church-Psalter.

Interesting is the different numbering of the Commandments of the Decalogue in AB (see Sw. p. 365), and the division of the Book of the Covenant (Ex 20–23) into 77 sections in the Codex Zittaviensis (H. A. Redpath in *Expos. Times*, viii. 383).

All these particulars must be attended to in a future edition, somewhat in the same way as in the edition of Jerome's Latin NT published by Wordsworth-White; but the chief difficulty is about the constitution of the text. For some books, as Judges, Esther, Tobit, it will be indispensable to give parallel texts. In the closing chapter of his *Introduction* Swete has sketched some of the lines on which a future edition must be prepared. But before this great work can be finished, and for the benefit of all who cannot afford to procure it, it seems desirable to put together, either on the outer margins of the minor edition or in an *Appendix*, those emendations of the errors of B which are certain or all but certain. Still better would be a *Commentary* on 𝔊, which is as urgently needed as a *Grammar* and a *Lexicon*.†

ἀντὶ τοῦ εἰς τὰ ὦτα δέξαι; iii. 159, ἐοικασιν οἱ ἀπὸ Ἑβραισμοῦ ἑρμηνεύσαντες μὴ εὑρόντες τὴν λέξιν κειμένην παρ' Ἕλλησιν ἀναπεπλακείναι ὡς ἐπ' ἄλλων πολλῶν καὶ ταύτην καὶ πεποιηκέναι τὴν ἑτεροποφόρησεν. But this very word is found in Cicero, *ad Attic.* xiii. 29.

* By a happy fortune the lines in the Greek NT of the Würtemberg Bible Society at Stuttgart agree as closely as possible with the length of the ancient στίχοι; see Nestle, *Introduction*, p. 49.

† Take some examples at haphazard. In 3 Regn. 18[10] all texts (MSS, etc.) give καὶ ἐνέπρησεν τὴν βασιλείαν ('and he *burnt* the kingdom'); 𝔐 has והשׁבּיע ('he took an oath of the kingdom'). This is correct; the translator mistook lt for והשׁבּיע

APPENDIX: THE LATER GR. VERSIONS.—The question whether 𝔊 was used also in Palestine in the synagogues, has been answered affirmatively and negatively. At all events after 𝔊 had passed into the hands of the Church, and an official Heb. text, different from the old one, had received the approbation of the Rabbis, attempts were made among the Jews at new translations. From Justin we learn that the Jews declared 𝔊 to be wrong in some details (μὴ εἶναι ἐν τισιν ἀληθῆ), and that they tried new translations (αὐτοὶ ἐξηγεῖσθαι πειρῶνται). Irenæus mentions two who *dared* such a thing in his time (ὡς ἔνιοί φασιν τῶν μεθερμηνεύειν τολμώντων τὰς γραφάς)—Theodotion of Ephesus and Aquila of Pontus, both Jewish proselytes. Origen was so zealous as to procure both these translations and, in addition, that of Symmachus and parts of three more. With those materials he composed his Hexapla (see above). And all that we knew till quite recently of these translations — apart from a few Talmudic translations from Aquila — we owed to Origen. It was only in 1897 that the first fragments of a separate copy of Aquila were found among the palimpsests of the Taylor-Schechter collection; but even those may go back to the library of Origen. For brevity's sake we must refer to Sw. pp. 29–58.

(1) The version of **Aquila**, according to one tradition πενθερίδης or πενθερός of the emperor Hadrian, superintendent of the building of Ælia Capitolina, won for Christianity, but finally pupil of R. 'Aḳiba, is the most literal imaginable. By the emperor Justinian it was ordered that no other was to be used in the Jewish synagogues. It is therefore possible that the copy of which fragments were found among the Hebrew-Greek palimpsests from Cairo, and which is ascribed to the 6th cent., may have been a synagogue copy. But as it has been used for Jewish purposes apparently by the same time and hand which turned the fragments of Origen's Hexapla to the same use, both Greek MSS may have come from the same quarter; and of the Hexapla it is the more probable that it came from Christian hands, because fragments of Greek MSS of the NT were found along with them. See, besides the publication of Burkitt, Taylor's new book mentioned above. On plates iii–viii it contains portions of Ps 90–92. 96–98. 102. 103. Another small but interesting fragment of Aquila (mentioned by Sw. p. 170, postscript) has been published by Grenfell-Hunt in *The Amherst Papyri*, part i. (Lond. 1900, pp. 30, 31). On the top of a letter from Rome, written probably between 250 and 285 A.D., an uncial hand of the late 3rd or, more probably, early 4th cent. has written part of the first verse of the Epistle to the Hebrews, and a more cursive hand, apparently about the time of Constantine, the first 5 verses of Genesis in 𝔊, followed by the version of Aquila. These two biblical fragments may therefore claim 'to be amongst the earliest known, and the Genesis fragment is the oldest authority for the first 5 verses.' In the Aquila fragment the beginning of v.[4] and the end of v.[5] are here recorded for the first time.

The Hebrew text which was translated by Aquila agrees very closely with 𝔐; but it is interesting to observe that, of his few variations, some at least have the support of still existing Hebrew MSS. The tetragrammaton יהוה is written in the old Hebrew letters. The version seems to have covered the whole of the Hebrew canon.

('and he *satisfied*,' ἐνέπλησεν). Again, we have in 19[11] ἐν πνεύματι κυρίου for οὐκ ἐν πν. κύριος, the latter (κύριος) being read in A. A commentary would have further the task of calling attention to the interpunction; cf. Ps 44 (45)[7], where it is a question whether there must be a comma before and after ὁ θεός, or in v.[8] after ἔχρισέν σε, or in Is 61[1] after ἔχρισέν με and ἀπέσταλκέν με. In Is 7[16] ἀπειθεῖ is in the Concordance of Hatch-Redpath referred to ἀπιθής, while it is a verb, etc.

Strange is the statement of Origen on *Lamentations* (new edition, iii. 256): Ἔκδοσις δὲ Ἀκύλα καὶ Θεοδοτίωνος ἐν τοῖς θρήνοις οὐ φέρεται, μόνου δὲ Συμμάχου καὶ τῶν Ἑβδομήκοντα, especially when we compare the same author's remark on 4^{20} (p. 276): ὁ δὲ Ἀκύλας ἔφη πνεῦμα μυκτήρων ἡμῶν, Σύμμαχος δὲ πνοὴ μ. ἡ. (see Field, ii, 743 ff.).

(2) **Theodotion's** work—on his date see Sw. p. 42 f., and Th. Zahn, *PRE*[3] ix. 403 (on Irenæus)—was rather a revision of 𝔊 than an independent version, the revision being made on the whole upon the basis of 𝔐. For a specimen of it see Jer $40^{14\text{-}26}$ and the Bk. of Daniel, where it replaced the original 𝔊; see S. R. Driver, *The Book of Daniel*, in the Cambridge Bible for Schools, 1900, pp. xviii, xcviii–c. The statement that his version seems to have included Baruch (*Dict. Chr. Biog.* iv. 44; Sw. p. 44, etc.) is to be corrected after the explanation given above, p. 450, note †. Cf. on Theodotion (whose name has the same meaning as that of the Targumist Jonathan), Rahlfs in *GGN*, 1898, p. 109.

(3) The works of **Symmachus,** including a Commentary on St. Matthew,* Origen got from a Christian woman, Juliana,† who had received them from the author himself. If Aquila is the most important of the three because of his literalness, Symm. is in many respects the most interesting for his attempt to produce good Greek and for many of his interpretations; cf. Gn 1^{27} ἔκτισεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐν εἰκόνι διαφόρῳ· ὄρθιον [ὁ θεὸς] ἔκτισεν αὐτόν with 1 S 28^{14} (Nestle, *Marginalien*, p. 3).

(4) Besides these versions of the whole of the OT, Origen had at his disposal for single books two or three other versions, which from their place in the Hexapla got the designations *Quinta* (ε′ πέμπτη), *Sexta* (ς′ ἕκτη), *Septima* (ζ′ ἑβδόμη). As to whence and when he obtained them, tradition varies (see Sw. p. 53 ff.): one at Nicopolis near Actium, the other at Jericho; one under Caracalla, the other under Alexander Severus. One at least is reported to have been found ἐν πίθοις; from this and from the expression of Eusebius, οὐκ οἶδ' ὅθεν ἔκ τινων μυχῶν τὸν πάλαι λανθανούσας χρόνον εἰς φῶς ἀνιχνεύσας, it has been concluded that they were, perhaps, hidden during a time of persecution, and that the one found at Nicopolis may have been a relic of the early Christianity of Epirus (see Sw. p. 55, quoting from Lightfoot, *Biblical Essays*, p. 432). But πίθοι—see Sw. p. 53, n. 2—are mentioned elsewhere, as used for preserving books instead of *cistæ* or *capsæ*. Jerome attributes both to Jewish translators; but they seem rather to be due to Christians. The author of the *Quinta* is characterized by Field as *omnium elegantissimus*. Which of the books of the OT were preserved in them is not quite clear; in the *Quinta* at all events 4 Regn., Job, Psalms, Canticles, Minor Prophets; in the *Sexta* also Job, Psalms, Canticles, Hab 3.

A kind of version sometimes seems to be quoted as ὁ Σύρος (see SYRIAC VERSIONS) but under the latter designation are to be understood Greek quotations from the Hebrew, due to such authors as were acquainted with that language.

The so-called *Græcus Venetus*, a version of part of the OT, preserved in a single MS of the 14th or 15th cent. at Venice, is interesting as the work of a mediæval Jew, perhaps a certain Elisseus at the court of Murad I. at Adrianople in the 2nd half of the 14th cent.: it attempts to give the Hebrew in Attic Greek and the Aramaic parts of Daniel in the Doric dialect, and renders יהוה by ὀντωτής, οὐσιωτής, ὀντουργός. See the edition of O. v. Gebhardt (Leipzig, 1875, with a Preface by Franz Delitzsch; Sw. p. 56).

The Greek column of the Hebrew-Chaldee-Spanish-Greek Polyglot of the Pentateuch, printed at Constantinople in Hebrew characters (1547), has been transliterated and printed separately (1897) by D. C. Hesseling, and described by Lazare Belléli (Paris, 1897, *La version néogrecque du Pentateuche Polyglotte*). It is of interest for the student of modern Greek, and so are the translations of the whole Bible or of parts of it into modern Greek; but they do not fall within the scope of the present article. Of the OT as a whole the Catalogue of the British Museum mentions but one edition in modern Greek (London, 1840, by H. D. Leeves, assisted by N. Bambas).

* On the hope that this work was still in existence in the 16th cent. see *Urt.* p. 83. On the sect of the Symmachiani see Philastrius, *de hæres.* c. 145: 'hæretici alii qui Theodotionis et Symmachi ibidem interpretationem diverso modo sequuntur,' and the remark of the same writer, c. 115: 'est hæresis, quæ iterum post Aquilam *triginta* hominum interpretationem accipit, non illorum beatissimorum septuaginta duorum qui integre inviolateque de Trinitate sentientes ecclesiæ catholicæ fundamenta certissima tradiderunt interpretantes scripturas sacras.'

† The tombstone of a certain Juliana from Antioch, who died at Gerasa, has been found there by Merrill; see *RB*, 1895, 386; Schürer, *GJV*[3] ii. 143 n., 332.

LITERATURE.—At the end of the article on the Greek Bible Versions (*PRE*[3] iii. 20 = *Urt.* 80) the present writer has given a list of about 280–300 books and articles treating of these versions from 1601 up to 1897 in chronological order. Swete gives in his *Introduction*, at the end of most chapters, literary references, amounting to about 600 in number. The first list (p. 27) embraces a mere fraction of the vast literature selected for the purpose of representing the progress of knowledge since the middle of the 17th cent. It begins with the *Critica sacra of S. Cappellus*, 1651; Pearson's *Præfatio* and Ussher's *Syntagma*, 1655; the *Prolegomena* of Brian Walton, 1657. It is impossible to repeat these lists here. A few remarks must suffice. The most copious work on 𝔊 that appeared in the 19th cent. is that of Constantine Oikonomos περὶ τῶν ο′ ἑρμηνευτῶν, 4 vols., Athens, 1844, 1845, 1846, 1849, more than 3700 pages. Though it starts from wrong premises (canonical and inspired character of 𝔊), it contains much useful information; in vol. iii. 130 pages are devoted to the difference of chronology between 𝔐 and 𝔊, in the last vol. 170 pages to the quotations of the NT, 325 paragraphs to a list of the writers who used or praised 𝔊. The author may be compared to Grinfield, whose *Apology for the Septuagint* (Lond. 1850) is equally wrong in its principles, but still useful. Of Jewish books L. Frankel's *Vorstudien zu der Septuaginta* (Leipzig, 1841) and *Ueber den Einfluss der palästinischen Exegese auf die alexandrinische Hermeneutik* (1851), are not superseded. A standard work for all times remains, H. Hody, *de bibliorum textibus originalibus*, Oxf. 1705. On the views of the ancient Church, especially Jerome and Augustine, it is useful to compare P. Wendland, 'Zur ältesten Geschichte der Bibel in der Kirche' (*ZNTW* [1900] 267 ff.). On Augustine see also Joh. Haussleiter, *Der Aufbau der altchristlichen Litteratur, Eine kritische Untersuchung nebst Studien zu Cyprian, Victorinus und Augustin* (Berlin, 1898 = *GGA*, 1898, v. 337–379). Of all the scholars of the 19th cent. none has done more in this field than Paul de Lagarde (1827–1891). Of his publications which bear directly or indirectly on 𝔊, note: *Libri apocryphi syriace* 1861, *Constitutiones Apostolicæ* 1862, *Anmerkungen zur griechischen Uebersetzung der Proverbien* 1863, *Clementina* 1865 (Preface), *Pentateuch koptisch* 1867, *Materialien zum Pentateuch* 1867 (here the notice on the original copy of 𝔐), *Genesis græce* and *Hieronymi quæstiones in Gen.* 1868, *Onomastica sacra* 1870, [2]1887, *Psalterium Hieronymi* 1874, *Psalterium memphiticum* 1875, *Symmicta* i. and ii., *Semitica* ii. 1879, *Orientalia* ii., *Veteris testamenti ab Origene recensiti fragmenta* 1880, *Ankündigung einer neuen Ausgabe der griechischen Übersetzung* 1882, *Librorum veteris testamenti canonicorum pars prior græce* 1883 (cf. *GGA*, 1883, 1249–52), *Ægyptiaca* 1883, *Mittheilungen* i.–iv. 1884, 1887, 1889, 1891, *Probe einer neuen Ausgabe der lat. Uebersetzungen des AT* 1885, *Catenæ ægypt.* 1886, *Specimen novæ edit. psalterii græci* 1887, *SeptuagintaStudien* i.–iii., 1891, *Bibliothecæ syriacæ quæ ad philologiam sacram pertinent* 1892, *Psalterii græci quinquagena prima* 1892. Among the MSS he left there is a complete collection of the biblical quotations of Augustine (13,176 from OT and 29,540 from NT, now in the University Library of Göttingen), MS Lagarde 34, and others; see *Urt.* p. 77. No other scholar can be mentioned beside him.

Among articles in Encyclopedias add: Hoberg, 'Septuaginta' in Wetzer-Welte's *Encyklopaedie*[2] xi. (1899) 147–159.

To Sw. p. 56 (Lit. on Hexapla) add the first attempt to collect their fragments made by J. Driesschus (= Drusius) *in psalmos Davidis veterum interpretum fragmenta*, Antw. 1581; the enlarged edition of the collection of Nobilius in the Latin translation of the *editio Sixtina* (Rome, 1588, reprinted by P. Morinus, 1624, see above, p. 440[a]); Bahrdt's abridgment of Montfaucon's *Hexapla* (Lips. 1769, 2 vols.).

To Sw. p. 108 (Coptic version) add: J. Goettsberger, 'Die syro-koptischen Bibelcitate aus den Scholien des Barhebräus' (*ZATW* xxi. [1901] 128–140).

To Sw. p. 110 (Ethiopic) add: Osw. Kramer, *Die aethiopische Übersetzung des Zacharias: eine Vorstudie zur Geschichte und Kritik des Septuagintatextes*, erstes Heft, Leipzig, 1898.

To Sw. p. 119 (Armenian) add: J. Goettsberger, 'Die syro-armenischen . . . Bibelcitate . . . des Barhebräus' (*ZATW* xxi. [1901] 101–127).

To Sw. p. 230 (Canon) add: H. L. Strack, art. 'Kanon des Alten Testamentes' (*PRE*[3] ix. 741–767).

To Sw. p. 263 (Canonical Books), on Ecclesiastes, add: Dillmann. On Canticles: Wilh. Riedel, *Die Auslegung des Hohenliedes*, Leipzig, 1898, pp. 105–109, *Die Hdss. der griech. Übersetzung des HL.* On Daniel: Riessler, *Das Buch Daniel: Textkritische Untersuchung.*, Stuttgart, 1899, pp. 52–59, where the close relation between the LXX of Dan. and 1 Esdras is recognized.

To Sw. p. 285 (non-Canonical Books) add: W. J. Moulton, 'über die Überlieferung und den textkritischen Wert des dritten Ezra-Buches [*ZATW*, 1899, ii. 209ff.; 1900, i. 1ff.]. Judith: Willrich, 'Esther und Judith,' in *Judaica*, Göttingen, 1900, 1–39. On Tobit: M. Löhr, 'Alexandrinus und Sinaiticus zum Buche Tobit' (*ZATW* xx. [1900] 243–263). On Maccabees: B. Niese, *Kritik der beiden Makkabäerbücher*, Berlin, 1900 (reprint of two articles in *Hermes*, xxxv, 268–307, 453–527);* Willrich, 'Jason von Kyrene und das ii Makkabäerbuch,' in *Judaica*, pp. 131–176.

Sw. p. 380 on Philo. Note in addition to the paper mentioned (374 n. 3) from the *Philologus* the answer of Wendland-Cohn, pp. 521–536, and the rejoinder in vol. lx. pp. 274–279. On Josephus the earlier treatises of Spittler (1779) and J. G. Scharfenberg (1780) still deserve mention. Oikonomos has a chapter of 90 pages, *ὅτι καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις ἐθνικοῖς σοφοῖς ὑπῆρχε γνωστὴ ἡ ἑρμηνεία τῶν ὁ*, ii. 76ff.

Sw. p. 404 (Quotations in the NT). The extent of these quotations has been estimated by Spearman in the anonymous Letter on the Septuagint (1759) as equal in length to Ps 119; by Grinfield (1850) as twice that length or the extent of Mark. The first collection seems to be in the Greek Testament of R. Stephen (1550), about 250 passages; the first treatment of these quotations in England by Bishop Wettenhall, *Scripture Authentic and Faith Certain* (1668); further, Randolph, *The Prophecies and other Texts cited in the NT*, 1782, 1827; Grinfield, p. 142. On Hühn see *Expos. Times*, May 1901, 355. Of Dittmar, *Vetus Testamentum in Novo*, a second part is in course of preparation.

Sw. p. 477 (Influence of 𝔊 on Christian Literature). See Oikonomos, vol. iv.

EB. NESTLE.

SEPULCHRE (קֶבֶר 'grave,' קְבוּרָה 'burying-place' [Mishn. בּוֹר, בּוֹכִים 'burial lairs *or* niches']; Gr. *μνῆμα, μνημεῖον* 'tomb,' 'monument,' *τάφος* 'sepulchre') is represented in Scripture, and particularly in OT, not only by these Hebrew and Greek equivalents, but also by words and phrases which are synonymous. It is *the pit* (בּוֹר Is 38[18]), *the stones of the pit* (אַבְנֵי בוֹר Is 14[19]), a man's *house* (בַּיִת Is 14[18]), his *everlasting house* (בֵּית עֹלָם Ec 12[5]), *the house of assemblage for all living* (בֵּית מוֹעֵד לְכָל חַיִּים Job 30[23]), and *field of burial* (שְׂדֵה הַקְּבוּרָה 2 Ch 26[23]).

Of the terms used for the grave by the later Judaism none is more significant than *the house of the living* (בֵּית הַחַיִּים), and this is the euphemism by which the burying-place of the dead is now generally designated by modern Jews. 'We are the dead, they are the living,'† was the remark actually made to the present writer by an aged Rabbi in Smyrna, whose office it was to attend at the burial of his Jewish kinsmen, and see them laid to their last rest. The ancient Egyptians thought of the departed as *the living*, and called the coffin *the chest of the living*. The Egyptian conception of the grave as *the everlasting house* was not, however, inconsistent with a strongly cherished hope of resurrection. But there was no expectation among the Jews of a return to earthly life in the original body, such as prevailed among the Egyptians and led among them to the embalming and preservation of the dead. The later literature of Judaism speaks rather of a general resurrection, when the souls of the departed shall enter into new bodies and live on in them.

The terms employed to describe the grave are used often to describe the Underworld where the dead live on. The gathering-place of the departed in the world beyond is, as above, *the pit* (Is 38[18]), *the nether parts of the earth* (Is 44[23]), *Sheol and Abaddon* (Job 26[6], Pr 15[11]), *the pit of destruction* (Ps 55[23]), *the place of silence* (Ps 94[17] 115[17]), *the land of darkness and of the shadow of death* (Job 10[21]). 'Hence,' says Dr. Salmond,*

'the distinction is occasionally sunk in the OT, and it became confused in the later usage of the Targums. But that *Sheol* denotes a definite realm of the dead, and is not identical with the grave, appears from the usage of the term, and is recognized by the ancient Versions. It is to Sheol that Jacob speaks of going to join the son whose death he mourns, but of whose burial he knows nothing. It is Sheol that swallows up Korah and his company alive. That a common habitation of the dead like the Sualu of the Babylonians, the Hades of the Greeks, the Orcus of the Romans, is meant, is indicated also by the fact that the expressions to be *gathered to one's people* or to *one's fathers*, to go to *one's fathers*, to *sleep with one's fathers*, are used in cases like those of Abraham, Jacob, Aaron, Moses, David, and others, where the temporary or permanent resting-places were far removed from the ancestral graves.'

A touching illustration of the father looking forward to a meeting in another world with a departed child is David's 'I shall go to him, but he shall not return to me' (2 S 12[23]). But while Sheol is thus 'the house of assemblage for all living,' it was in the sepulchre of his fathers, in the ancestral burying-place and with his departed kindred, that the ancient Israelite desired to be buried. And there can be no doubt that the wish to be reunited with parents and children in Sheol had to do with the desire to be buried in the family sepulchre. The object of burial, not merely in a grave but in the family grave, was to introduce the departed into the society of his kinsfolk and ancestors. In the earliest times this society was supposed to exist either in the family grave or in its immediate neighbourhood.† 'Bury me not, I pray thee, in Egypt,' said the dying Jacob to Joseph, 'but I will lie with my fathers, and thou shalt carry me out of Egypt and bury me in their burying-place' (Gn 49[29. 30], cf. Joseph's burial, Jos 24[32]). And nothing could be more pathetic in this reference than the request of Barzillai, who declined king David's invitation to live with him at court, and said, 'Let thy servant, I pray thee, turn back again, that I may die in mine own city, by the grave of my father and my mother' (2 S 19[37] RV). It was a duty of piety to see the bones of the dead placed in the family sepulchre, as David did for the bones of Saul and his sons (2 S 21[12-14]); and it was the proper punishment of disobedience to the command of Jehovah that a man's carcass should not come into the sepulchre of his fathers (1 K 13[22]). To be deprived of burial was the last indignity and the greatest of calamities; the spirits of the unburied dead were believed to wander restlessly abroad, or to lie in recesses of the pit, if they were admitted into Sheol at all (Ezk 32[23ff.], Is 14[15]). For this reason the possibility of death at sea was regarded with horror. So, too, no vengeance upon enemies could be more cruel than to throw their bodies to the dogs, or to allow them to rot upon the battlefield, or to be left as a prey to the fowls of heaven and the beasts of the field (Ezk 39[4], 2 K 9[36]). Of Jason, who 'slaughtered his own citizens without mercy,' it is said (2 Mac 5[10]), 'he that had cast out a multitude unburied had none to mourn for him, nor had he any funeral at all, or place in the sepulchre of his fathers.' But the humane prescription of the law of Moses was that the criminal hanged upon the gallows should be buried, and buried at all hazards, on the day of execution (Dt 21[23]); and in the case of the enemies of Israel captured and hung we find the law precisely carried out (Jos 8[29] 10[26]). The treat-

* Niese begins with the remark, that the origin of the common text in Holmes-Parsons, Tischendorf, etc., was apparently accidental and arbitrary ('offenbar ziemlich zufällig und willkürlich entstanden'); Kautzsch, *Apokryphen*, p. 32, gives 'aus cod. V. und aus nicht näher bezeichneten Minuskelcodices'; Fritzsche, *Libri apocryphi*, p. xix, 'nescio unde desumptus.' Now take the edition of 1588, where Nobilius remarks on 1 Mac 4[20] 'Addendum est ex codice *quem potissimum in his libris sequuti sumus* et multis aliis *οἱ περὶ Ἰούδαν*'; on 8[4] 'delendum est *ex auctoritate codicum quos sequuti sumus* et vulgatæ illud *ἴνος*, quod in multis antecedit et in nostram editionem per typographi incuriam irrepsit.' These and similar passages confirm the present writer's suggestion (see Sw. p. 181, n. 2), that, besides the Aldine edition, Cod. Ho 19 has been used for the Sixtine edition. To these there must perhaps be added 64 (93).

† It is natural to connect such an expression with the argument which Jesus summed up in the memorable words, 'God is not the God of the dead, but of the living' (Mk 12[27].) Cf. also the striking words 4 Mac 16[25] 'Those who die on behalf of God live unto God, as do Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob.'

* *Christian Doctrine of Immortality*, p. 199 [1901 ed. p. 161].

† R. H. Charles, *Eschatology: Hebrew, Jewish, and Christian*. p. 31ff.

ment of the body of Jesus (Jn 19[31]), and the burial of John the Baptist (Mt 14[12]), and of Stephen (Ac 8[2]), by their friends are later illustrations. Even suicides received the ordinary rites of burial, as is seen in the case of Ahithophel (2 S 17[23]). It was the duty of any one who found a corpse in the open field to give it burial (To 1[18] 2[8], cf. 1 S 21[10]); and it is creditable to Jewish feeling that the bodies of the Gentile dead were allowed to rest in the Jewish burying-place side by side with Jewish remains.*

Into the family grave only members of the family were admitted. In the Nabatæan sepulchral inscriptions† a curse is pronounced upon the man who defiles or sells a grave, or who buries in it any who are not members of the family. And the famous inscription on the tomb of Eshmunazar, king of Sidon, pronounces doom upon any who may disturb his repose, or open or carry off his coffin for the sake of treasure,—may they have no rest among the departed, may they be buried in no grave, and may they have no prosperity in their city![‡] The family grave was holy ground and a permanent possession. The family might lose their estate, but never the ancestral tomb; for in selling land no Jew could dispose of the burying-place, to the use of which his descendants were entitled to all time.§

When the Jewish people came to be dispersed among the nations it was an object of solicitude and ambition to be buried in the sacred soil of Canaan. 'Whoever,' says the Talmud, 'is buried in Palestine is as if he were buried under the altar.' And again: 'Whoever is interred in Babylonia is as well off as if he lay in Palestine, and whoever is buried in Palestine lies the same as under the altar.'‖ About the 3rd cent. it became 'a pious custom to be buried in Judæa's holy earth, to which was attributed an expiatory power. The resurrection was confidently expected to take place in that country, which it was also believed would be the scene of the coming of the Messiah. Those who had died in unhallowed countries would roll about in the light loose earth until they reached the Holy Land, where they could be revivified. In place of living inhabitants who were continually decreasing, Judæa was becoming every day more thickly populated with corpses. The Holy Land, which had formerly been an immense temple, inspiring great deeds and noble thoughts, was now a holy grave which could render nothing holy but death.'¶

Burial was the universal mode of disposing of the dead at all periods of Jewish history [see BURIAL]. *Burning*, which was the Babylonian and Roman usage, was among the Jews a death punishment inflicted for aggravated transgressions rather than a mode of disposing of the dead (Gn 38[24], Lv 20[14] 21[9], Jos 7[25], 1 K 13[2], 2 K 23[20]). Even when criminals had suffered the last penalty of the law by stoning or burning, or where, as in the case of Saul and his sons, slain in battle, necessity required that their bodies should be burned (1 S 31[12. 13]), their remains or ashes were provided with a resting-place in the bosom of the earth.** There was great variety in the choice of a burying-place among the Jews, at least in the earliest times. Abraham buried Sarah in the cave of the field of Machpelah (Gn 23[19]); Deborah, Rebekah's nurse, was buried under an oak (Gn 35[8]); Jacob buried Rachel (see, above, p. 193[a]) by the wayside (Gn 35[19]); they buried Joshua 'in the border of his inheritance in Timnath-serah, which is in Mt. Ephraim' (Jos 24[30]); and the men of Jabesh-gilead buried the bones of Saul and his sons under a terebinth (1 Ch 10[12]). Burial in the open street or at cross roads was expressly forbidden by the enactments of later times. There does not appear to be evidence in the Scripture history to warrant the statement that the family grave was originally in the house.* This belongs, so far as it appears to have been the case, to a later time, and is represented as an exceptional honour reserved for kings, prophets, and other outstanding personages (1 S 25[1], 1 K 2[34], 2 K 21[18] 2 Ch 33[20]). In Babylonia and Assyria, at all events, 'only members of the royal family were permitted to be buried within the precincts of the town. Their bodies might be burned and entombed in one of the many palaces of the country. We are told of one king, for instance, that he was burned or buried in the palace of Sargon; of another, that he was burned in his own palace. The practice throws light on what we read in the Books of Kings; there, too, we are told that Manasseh "was buried in the garden of his own house" (2 K 21[18]), and Amon in the "garden of Uzza" (2 K 21[26]). Private burial in the palaces they had inhabited when alive was a privilege reserved for the kings alone.'† The sepulchres set apart for the kings of Judah (קִבְרוֹת הַמְּלָכִים) are specially mentioned (2 Ch 21[20] 24[25] 28[27]). Not all the kings were privileged to receive interment in the royal mausoleum. Neither Joash nor Jehoram was buried in the sepulchres of the kings (2 Ch 21[20] 24[25]), whilst Jehoiada was accorded the honour 'because he had done good in Israel and towards God and his house' (2 Ch 24[16]). The remains of Uzziah were not admitted to the sepulchres of the kings, but were interred in 'the field of burial which belonged to the kings, because they said he was a leper' (2 Ch 26[23]). It is not possible to locate 'the sepulchres of the kings' in Jerusalem. It seems to be implied in a statement of the prophet Ezekiel (43[7-9]) that certain kings of Judah were buried close to the temple, if not actually within its precincts; and though there is no record of such a thing in the historical books, the statement is justified by the fact that the royal palaces, within which some of them were interred, and the first temple, stood virtually within the same enclosure. There were also common burying-places called 'the graves of the children of the people' (2 K 23[6], Jer 26[23]), into which the dead were sometimes cast in dishonour and contempt.

To prepare for himself a tomb in his lifetime has been the custom of every right-thinking Jew from early times down to the present day. Shebna, whose Jewish origin, however, is doubtful (Is 22[15f.]), Asa (2 Ch 16[14]), Joseph of Arimathæa (Mt 27[60]), are instances in point. The custom was not confined to the Jews, for we find it followed by the Pharaohs, who built pyramids to receive their remains, by Eshmunazar, by the Caliphs, and others.

Of the sepulchres and sepulchral monuments of the ancient Hebrews and the later Jews it is possible now to give an adequate description and a fairly complete history. We owe this to the labours—often skilled labours—of residents and travellers in Palestine, and especially to the organized and persevering efforts of the Palestine Exploration Fund and the kindred German *Palästina-Verein*. The sepulchral remains of Western Palestine, in particular, have been in many cases carefully examined and measured and described, with plans and sketches, in the Reports and Memoirs of these societies. We can now classify the sepulchral remains according to the type which they represent, and even, with some measure of certainty, assign them to the period to which they belong,—to the Phœnician or Hebrew, Jewish, Herodian, Roman, Byzantine, Saracenic, or Crusading periods. There are three principal types of ancient tombs

* Hamburger, *RE*, vol. i. 476.
† *Studia Biblica*, i. 212 ff.
‡ Levy, 'Phönizische Studien,' p. 2.
§ Tristram, *Eastern Customs in Bible Lands*, p. 100
‖ Hamburger, *l.c.* p. 475.
¶ Graetz, *History of the Jews*, vol. ii. 548 (American edition).
** Cf. Hamburger, 'Feuerbestattung der Toten,' Supplement. Band, Abt. ii. 40.

* So R. H. Charles, *Eschatology*, p. 32.
† Sayce, *Social Life among the Assyrians and Babylonians*, p. 57.

found in Western Palestine: * (i.) Rock-hewn Tombs; (ii.) Masonry Tombs; (iii.) Sarcophagi.

i. ROCK-HEWN TOMBS.—These are by far the most numerous, and they are found in many varieties. They are also the earliest in date. The soft limestone ranges of Western Palestine and Syria were honeycombed with natural caves, admitting of easy enlargement and adaptation. They had been available for the shelter of the living before being used for the reception of the dead (1 S 22^1 24^3). The usual form of Hebrew tomb in the earliest period took advantage of these caverns in the soft strata of limestone. In this the Hebrews copied the Phœnicians, whose principle of architecture, Renan tells us,† was the carved rock, not the column, as with the Greeks; but in point of architectural taste and skill they were far behind their masters. In striking contrast to the Egyptian sepulchral monuments,—massive pyramids and vast underground chambers,—the Hebrew tomb, whether single or more complex, was marked by extreme simplicity. In fact, simplicity of construction and absence of architectural ornament are the surest notes of the antiquity of a Hebrew sepulchre. No less remarkable is the contrast between the inscriptions and wall-paintings on Egyptian tombs—as at Beni-Hassan and elsewhere—and the plain and unadorned simplicity of Hebrew tombs, which until a late period are entirely devoid of inscriptions. In some cases tombs are found singly on the hillsides, as though individuals chose to have their last resting-place in their own vineyard, like Joseph of Arimathæa, who had his own new tomb in his garden. More often they form a regular burying-ground or cemetery. Tombs of notable personages, like the so-called Tomb of Joshua, have generally other tombs around them, the desire being strong among all Orientals to be laid near to some holy man or national hero.

(1) The simplest form of rock-hewn tomb is that in which a grave has been sunk in the surface of the rock to receive the body, and fitted with a slab, let in round the mouth, to cover it, the cover being sometimes flush with the flat surface of the rock, and sometimes raised and ornamented like the lid of a sarcophagus.

(2) Another simple form of tomb is an excavation driven into the face of a rock—called קֹבֶר, plural קְבוּרִים—just large enough to receive a corpse, the mouth being closed by a rough stone slab.

(3) The most common description of tomb is that in which a number of *kokim* are grouped together in one or more chambers of the same excavation. These, again, are in three varieties: (*a*) A sepulchre consisting of *a natural cavern* in one of the softer strata of limestone, having *kokim* cut in its sides with their beds on a level with the floor, the mouths of these being closed by rough stone slabs, either made to fit close, or only resting against the perforated face of rock. (*b*) A sepulchre where *a square or oblong chamber* has been cut in the rock, and *kokim* ranged along three of its sides, their mouths closed by neatly dressed stone slabs fitting closely, the entrance to the chamber itself being by a low square opening, fitted with a slab in the same manner, or with a stone door turning on a socket hinge, and secured by bolts on the inside. In this kind of tomb there is usually a bench running in front of the *kokim*, and raised from 1 ft. 6 in. to 3 ft. above the floor of the excavated chamber. (*c*) A sepulchre in which one entrance leads into a number of chambers, each containing *kokim*. Such tombs generally have a sort of porch or vestibule hewn in the rock, the front of the roof being often supported by pillars of natural rock surmounted by a frieze, and bearing other kinds of ornamentation. From this porch a low door leads into an antechamber, with or without tombs, from which access is obtained to the tomb chambers, all of which have raised benches running in front of the *kokim* openings. Some of the chambers have, instead of *kokim*, arched recesses (*arcosolia*) cut out in their sides, in which the body was laid, or perhaps a sarcophagus placed. The so-called Tomb of Joshua at Tibneh, on the Roman road from Antipatris to Jerusalem, is of this class. It is prominent among the nine tombs that make the rock cemetery of the place, and has a portico supported on rude pieces of rock with very simple capitals. There are niches for over two hundred lamps, arranged in vertical rows, giving the appearance of an ornamental pattern, and all smoke-blacked. 'Entering the low door,' says Conder, 'we find the interior chamber to be a square with five *loculi*, not very perfectly cut, on their sides. The whole is quite unornamented, except by four very rough brackets supporting the flat roof. On becoming accustomed to the darkness, one perceives that the central *loculus* at the back forms a little passage about 7 ft. long, 2 ft. 6 in. high, and 3 ft. 4 in. broad, through which one creeps into a second but smaller chamber, 9 ft. 3 in. by 8 ft. 1 in., and 5 ft. 5 in. high. In this, opposite the entrance, a single *loculus* runs at right angles to the wall, and a single niche is cut on the left for a lamp.' *

Conder (*PEFSt*, 1878, p. 31) classifies the rock-cut tombs as follows:—1. *Kokim* tombs. 2. *Loculus* tombs. 3. Sunk tombs. The first two classes he believes to be of Hebrew and Jewish origin, but the third more likely to be Christian of the Byzantine period. The word *kok* and its plural *kokim* designate the pigeon-holes or tunnels running in from the side of a sepulchral chamber, each having room for a corpse and nothing more. The designation *loculus* (*locus in sepulchro*) is applied to the *shelf*, or *trough*, or *bench* receptacle for the corpse, which is of later use than the *kokim*. In many tombs which have been examined there is a mixture of both *kokim* and *loculi*, indicating a transition period about the Christian era or earlier. 'The *kokim* tombs,' Conder explains, 'are those which have parallel tunnels running in, three or four side by side, from the walls of a rectangular chamber. The bodies lay with their feet towards the chamber, and stone pillars for raising the heads are often found at the farther end. The *kokim* vary in number from one or two up to fifteen or twenty, and are of various lengths, from 3 or 4 to 7 ft. There is no system of orientation, and the entrance door is in the face of the cliff, the chamber within being directed according to the lie of the rock. This kind of tomb is certainly the most ancient in the country, for the *kokim* are sometimes destroyed in enlarging the tomb on a different system.' These tombs were used by the Jews. This is proved by a rare Hebrew inscription, by a representation of the seven-branched golden candlestick, and by the fact that some of them are sacred to modern Jews as the tombs of their ancestors, and that their measurements agree with the prescriptions in the Talmud. The *kokim* are not sufficiently large, as a rule, to admit of the supposition that the bodies were embalmed or swathed in bandages like those which make the Egyptian mummy so bulky when preserved untouched. There is nothing in the sepulchral remains of Palestine any more than in the Bible itself to lead us to believe that the embalming of the dead was a Hebrew custom (Conder, *Syrian Stone Lore*, p. 133). For another classification of tombs see Benzinger, *Heb. Arch.* p. 225, which follows Tobler's in *SWP*, Volume of Special Papers, p. 288 f.

We have seen that the simple tombs belong to the earlier period, and that the portico at the entrance, with its ornaments, is usually a note of more recent origin. It is to the Herodian Age that the ancient tombs on the east side of the Kidron Valley, Absalom's Pillar (possibly the tomb of Alexander Jannæus), the Tombs of St. James and Zechariah, and the monolith known as the Egyptian Tomb, are to be assigned. The so-called Tomb of St. James, now known as the Tomb of the Bene Hazir, with its Aramaic text, Doric pillars, and triglyphs, and inner chamber containing *kokim*, is perhaps the earliest of the group, and belongs to the 1st cent. B.C. The others are prob-

* We follow Sir Charles Wilson's classification: see *The Survey of Western Palestine*, Volume of Special Papers, p. 280 ff.; and *PEFSt*, 1869, p. 66 ff., where there are useful plans.

† *Mission de Phénicie*, p. 822.

* *PEFSt*, 1873, p. 145.

ably later. The fine monument to the north of Jerusalem, commonly called the Tombs of the Kings, but known to the natives as Kubûr es-Salatîn (Tombs of the Sultans), has been identified by Robinson as the tomb of Helena, queen of Adiabene. It contains that mixture of *kokim* and *loculi* which would seem to date it on the border of the Christian era. In one of the lower chambers of the tomb was found a sarcophagus with an Aramaic inscription containing the words *Sara Meleka*. It is not impossible that this was the native name of Helena herself, and that the remains found in the sarcophagus were her own.

ii. MASONRY TOMBS.—These are rarely found in Palestine, and they are later than the rock-hewn sepulchres. They are confined to the northern portion of the country. The most famous are described by Sir Charles Wilson (*SWP* 283). He mentions—(1) a building at Kedes (Kedesh-naphtali), 34 ft. 4 in. square, with a doorway on its southern side leading to a chamber containing *kokim*, which have been used for interments down to a late period; (2) two tombs at Tell Ḥum (one of the possible sites for Capernaum), the one of which has 26 *kokim*, and, being subterranean, is closed with a door of basalt, the other of which has *loculi*, and is built of coursed basaltic rubble; (3) a fine tomb at Malal, near Nazareth, with 4 *kokim* and attached semi-pillars of the Ionic order outside; (4) a square tomb at Teiâsîr with three *loculi*, a domed roof, and pilasters on each side; (5) the remains of a building at Ain el B'aineh, which had stone over rock-cut tombs. To these Conder has added four more, three of them at or near Jerusalem.

iii. SARCOPHAGI.—Between the 6th and the 4th cent. B.C. the Phœnicians buried in sarcophagi called anthropoid, having a human head and even an entire recumbent form on the lid, the body of the sarcophagus being shaped like a mummy case. Such is the famous tomb of Eshmunazar with the celebrated Phœnician inscription. In the great discovery of sepulchral remains made at Beyrout some years ago, sarcophagi, mummy shaped, some in white and some in black marble, were found. Among the sarcophagi discovered in the excavations was a splendid sarcophagus in black stone resembling that of Eshmunazar, and bearing an inscription purporting that it is the tomb of Tabnith, priest of Ashtoreth and king of the Sidonians, son of Eshmunazar. Some of those sarcophagi were made of pottery, recalling the slipper-shaped glazed earthen coffins found by Loftus* on the ancient Babylonian mounds at Warka. Although the Hebrews copied from the Phœnicians in their rock-hewn tombs, they did not follow them largely in the use of sarcophagi. We have already mentioned the sarcophagus of queen Sara found in the Tomb of the Kings. Of others found in Palestine, those discovered at Kedes are the most ornamented. The material out of which they are hewn is hard white limestone, almost like marble, and the workmanship is excellent. Some of them had been made for two bodies laid in opposite directions, and at the bottom of the *loculi* were small raised pillars to receive the heads. With the exception of those great anthropoid sarcophagi, there is nothing to show a very marked distinction between the Hebrew and Phœnician tombs from the earliest to the latest age. The history of the sepulchres found in Phœnicia agrees perfectly with the chronological series which has been established independently in Palestine.†

In the Greek age monuments erected over tombs became common, the tombs beneath being rock-cut. In such cases there is a combination of the masonry and sarcophagus type of tombs. Hiram's Tomb,* about three miles from modern Tyre, containing a tomb or sarcophagus formed out of a huge block and emplaced on a pedestal made of three courses of grey limestone, most probably belongs to this period; and tomb towers containing sarcophagi are to be found throughout Syria. At Palmyra those structures consist sometimes of four or five storeys. Tombstones and sculptured sepulchres have been found at Rabbath-ammon, in Eastern Palestine, belonging to the age of the Antonines, but are to be classed among pagan funerary monuments. Sometimes solid monuments were erected near tombs like the *Kamm'uat el-Hirmil*, east of the Jordan—a solid tower in two storeys, with pyramidal roof and bas-reliefs representing the hunting of the stag, the bear, and the wild boar, which date, it is supposed, from the 3rd or 4th cent. Of sepulchral monuments we have a notable example in the mausoleum erected at Modin by Simon the Maccabee for his father and his brother. 'Simon,' says the writer (1 Mac 13^{27-29}), 'built a monument upon the sepulchres of his father and his brethren, and raised it aloft to the sight, with polished stone behind and before. And he set up seven pyramids, one over against another, for his father and his mother and his four brethren. And for these he made cunning devices, setting about them great pillars, and upon the pillars he fashioned all manner of arms for a perpetual memory, and beside the arms ships carved, that they should be seen of all that sail on the sea.' Of this famous structure all trace has been lost since the 4th cent., and its site has not yet been identified. (See MODIN).

In this connexion we recall the stinging words of Jesus describing the Pharisees as whited sepulchres, outwardly beautiful, but inwardly full of the bones of the dead—as building the tombs of the prophets and garnishing the sepulchres of the righteous, but being of a totally different spirit from those they seemed to honour (Mt $23^{27.29.30}$). Whited sepulchres were evidently sepulchral erections whitewashed or plastered over to render them conspicuous, and to preserve passers-by from the ceremonial defilement they might contract by approaching them. That some such distinguishing mark was necessary we gather from a similar saying in St. Luke's Gospel, in which Jesus describes the scribes and Pharisees as 'graves which appear not' (Lk 11^{44}). The reference in this passage must be to the humbler class of graves simply dug in the earth, and with no monument of any kind to mark the spot. At the present day the whitewashed slabs covering Mohammedan graves around Jerusalem glitter in the sunshine and easily attract notice. (See for cairns or stones heaped on graves art. BURIAL).

There are two sepulchres in particular which must always have a special interest to the Bible student, and which are both alike enveloped in a certain degree of mystery—the cave of Machpelah, the burial-place of Sarah, Abraham, Isaac and Rebekah, Jacob and Leah; and the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, where the body of Jesus was laid and remained for 'three days and three nights in the heart of the earth.' As regards the grave of the patriarchs, now covered by the mosque at Hebron, see art. MACHPELAH [cf. also Stanley's *Sermons in the East* (pp. 141–169) and *PEFSt* for 1882 (pp. 193–214)]. Touching the **Holy Sepulchre** for which Saracens and Crusaders contended, and regarding whose site heated controversies still rage, it seems impossible to attain to certainty. The tradition of more than fifteen centuries located it within the Church of the Holy

* W. K. Loftus, *Chaldæa and Susiana*, p. 202.
† Conder, *Syrian Stone Lore*, p. 97.

* See it figured in *Syrian Stone Lore*, p. 96.

Sepulchre. This tradition has been called in question since the days of Robinson. Its truth would require the site to have been without the wall of the city, for it is said that 'Jesus bearing the cross went forth unto the place called the place of a skull' (Jn $19^{17.18}$), and that 'He suffered without the gate' (He 13^{12}). But the Church of the Holy Sepulchre is not only near the very heart of the city as it is now occupied, but it must always have been within the line of the second wall. The latter contention is opposed, however, among recent authorities by Conrad Schick, who, after having resisted the traditional site for nearly forty years, has been led to accept it as the true site. He professes * to have ascertained by excavations and measurements that Calvary and the tomb in the garden where Jesus was laid were without the line of the wall though very close to it, just as we read in Jn 19^{20}. The site favoured by recent authorities is a knoll of rock of rounded form and covered with shallow soil and grass, just outside the north wall of the city, and a little distance from the Damascus Gate. Under it is the cave called 'Jeremiah's Grotto,' and there are two holes in the face of the steep and rocky bank terminating the knoll, which look like the sockets of eyes in a skull. Dr. Selah Merrill, long United States Consul in Jerusalem, the late General Gordon, the late Sir J. W. Dawson, and Colonel Conder,† have given their support to this site (see art. JERUSALEM, vol. ii. p. 596[a], and cf. *Survey of Western Palestine*, vol. on Jerusalem, pp. 429–438). Thomson,‡ after examining all the evidence on both sides, attained to no certainty as to the site: 'Far better,' he says, 'rest contented with the undoubted fact that somewhere without the walls of this limited platform of the Holy City the Son of Man was lifted up, "that whosoever believeth on Him should not perish, but have eternal life."'

LITERATURE.—Keil, *Bib. Arch.* ii. 199 ff.; Benzinger, *Heb. Arch.* pp. 163 ff., 224–227; Stade, *GVI* i. pp. 14, 15 ff.; Schwally, *Das Leben nach dem Tode*, pp. 54–66; Conder, *Syrian Stone Lore*; R. H. Charles, *Eschatology: Hebrew, Jewish, and Christian*; Thomson, *Land and Book*; Bliss, *Excavations at Jerus.*; *SWP*, vols. i. and iv.; *PEFSt*, *passim*; *ZDPV*, *passim*.

THOMAS NICOL.

SERAH (שֶׂרַח).—A daughter of Asher, Gn 46^{17} (A Σάαρ, *D* Σάρρα), Nu $26^{46\,(30)}$ (B Κάρα, B^{ab} **AF** Σάρα, AV **Sarah**), 1 Ch 7^{30} (B Σόρε, A Σάραι).

SERAIAH (שְׂרָיָה, שְׂרָיָהוּ, LXX Σαραΐας or Σαραιά).—**1.** Scribe or secretary in the reign of David, 2 S 8^{17} (B 'Ασά, A Σαραΐας). In 2 S 20^{25} he is called **Sheva** (*Kerê* שׁוָא, *Keth.* שׁבָא), B 'Ιησοῦς, A 'Ισοῦς. In 1 K 4^{3} the name appears as **Shisha** שִׁישָׁא (B Σαβά, A Σεισά). This form or **Shasha** would be restored elsewhere by Thenius, Wellhausen, and Stade; while Klostermann prefers the form **Shavsha** שַׁוְשָׁא (B 'Ιησοῦς, ℵ Σούς, A Σουσά), which is found in 1 Ch 18^{16}. **2.** High priest in the reign of Zedekiah. He was put to death with other distinguished captives by order of Nebuchadnezzar at Riblah, 2 K $25^{18.21}$, Jer $52^{24.27}$. He is mentioned in the list of high priests, 1 Ch 6^{14}. Ezra claimed descent from him, Ezr 7^{1} (1 Es 8^{1} **Azaraias**, 2 Es 1^{1} **Saraias**). His name also occurs in 1 Es 5^{5} **Saraias**. **3.** One of 'the captains of the forces' who joined Gedaliah at Mizpah after his appointment as governor by Nebuchadnezzar, 2 K 25^{23}, Jer 40^{8}. The text of Kings is evidently abridged from that of Jeremiah. The epithet 'the **Netophathite**' applied to his father in Kings really belongs to a different person. **4.** Second son of Kenaz, and brother of Othniel, 1 Ch $4^{13.14}$. He was father of Joab, who was the 'father' of the Valley of Craftsmen, cf. Neh 11^{35}. **5.** Grandfather of Jehu, a prince of Simeon, 1 Ch 4^{35}. **6.** One of the twelve leaders who returned with Zerubbabel, Ezr 2^{2}. In the corresponding list, Neh 7^{7}, he is called **Azariah** (1 Es 5^{8} **Zaraias**). **7.** A priestly clan, probably named after the high priest of No. **2.** This course of priests was first in order in the times of Zerubbabel (Neh 12^{2}, 1 Es 5^{8}), Joiakim (Neh 12^{12}), and Nehemiah (Neh 10^{2}). This family is noted as one of those that settled in Jerusalem (Neh 11^{11}). In the corresponding list, 1 Ch 9^{11}, **Azariah** is substituted. 'Very probably they were father and son, and the two lists have selected different names to represent the priestly house, cf. 1 Ch 7^{13}' (Ryle). **8.** One of the three princes whom Jehoiakim sent to apprehend Jeremiah and Baruch (Jer 36^{26}). **9.** Son of Neriah and brother of Baruch, Jer 51^{59-64}. He held the office of שַׂר מְנוּחָה (AV 'a quiet prince,' m. '*or* prince of Menucha *or* chief chamberlain'; RV 'chief chamberlain,' m. '*or* quartermaster'). The Vulg. tr. *princeps prophetiæ*; the Targ. (רַב תִּיקְרַבְתָּא) and LXX (ἄρχων δώρων), followed by Grätz and Cheyne, read 'in command over (the) gifts,' *i.e.* שַׂר־מַנְחוֹת. In this official capacity he attended Zedekiah when that prince went to Babylon to pay homage to Nebuchadnezzar. Like his brother Baruch, he was a friend of Jeremiah; and the prophet having written in a book the denunciations against Babylon that are now contained in Jer 50–51[58], entrusted the volume to Seraiah, and bade him on his arrival at Babylon to read the prophecies, publicly, as it would seem, and then with the symbolic action of a prophet to cast the book into the Euphrates and proclaim, 'Thus shall Babylon sink, and shall not rise again because of the evil that I will bring upon her.' This scene suggested to St. John the imagery of Rev 18^{21}.

N. J. D. WHITE.

SERAPHIM (שְׂרָפִים; Σεραφείμ and Σεραφείν; *seraphim*).—The seraphim are an order of celestial beings referred to only in Is 6^{2-7}. In his vision of J" the prophet sees them as attendants of the heavenly court, ministers of the ideal sanctuary. They are apparently human in form—they have faces, hands, and feet (vv.$^{2.6}$); each of them has three pairs of wings (v.^{2}); they stand or hover above J" as He sits upon His throne (v.^{2}); and they proclaim His holiness in antiphonal chant (v.^{3}).

Opinion varies as to the origin of the word and the conception. Gesenius was doubtful, but thought it best to connect the term with the Arab. شَرُفَ 'to be noble,' thus viewing the seraphim as the princes or nobles of the heavenly court. A considerable number of Jewish writers, such as Abulwalid and Kimchi, derived the word from שָׂרַף, regarding the seraphim as *bright* or *shining* angels. But שָׂרַף means 'to *burn*,' not 'to *shine*,' and accordingly others have supposed the word to denote the ardent love or burning zeal of the Divine attendants. The verbal root, however, is not intransitive, but active; it means not to *glow with heat*, but to *consume with fire*. Hence the seraphim would have rather to be regarded as agents of purification by fire. This is in accordance with Is 6^{6}, where one of the spirits is represented as carrying celestial fire from off the altar to purify the lips of the prophet and purge away his sin (but see Dillm.-Kittel, *ad loc.*).

It is now usual to bring the prophet's conception into relation with popular Hebrew mythology. The *sārāph* of Nu 21^{6}, Dt 8^{15} is a 'fiery,' *i.e.* venomous, serpent, which bites the Israelites in the desert (see SERPENT). In Is 14^{29} 30^{6} allusion is made to a 'flying fiery serpent' (*sārāph*), which has its home in the desert between Palestine and

* *PEFSt*, 1893, p. 119 ff.
† *Handbook to the Bible*, p. 355.
‡ *The Land and the Book* (Southern Palestine and Jerusalem).

Egypt. The latter is certainly a creation of popular imagination. As the analogous cherub was primarily a personification of the thundercloud, so the seraph was of the serpent-like lightning. Now just as a psalmist represents J″ as making the flaming fire His ministers (Ps 104⁴), so the prophet seizes the popular notion of the seraph and transfers it to the realm of pure spiritual ideas. Not a trace of the serpentine form is left in his conception. His seraphim are the guardians of J″'s holiness, who keep the profane and unclean at a distance, and purge from defilement that which is to be taken into J″'s service. By means of this splendid symbolism the prophet vividly expresses the truth that 'J″ is a consuming fire' (Dt 4²⁴, He 12²⁹).

Another view has been started by Dillm.-Kittel and Marti owing to the discovery in an Egyptian tomb of the 12th dynasty at Beni-Hassan, of two winged griffin figures placed as guardians at the entrance. The griffin is represented in Demotic by the word *seref*, and Marti suggests that the seraphim in Isaiah's vision are to be thought of as guarding the threshold of the temple.*

The 'living creatures' of Rev 4⁶⁻⁸, which are partly like Ezekiel's cherubim, resemble Isaiah's seraphim in possessing six wings and in proclaiming the Trisagion. But Cheyne has remarked that 'the popular notion of the seraphim as angels is, of course, to be rejected. They are, indeed, more like Titans than placid Gabriels or Raphaels' (*Prophecies of Isaiah*, i. 32).

The similarity of the word seraph to the Egyptian Serapis led Hitzig and others to identify the two. This idea has found little acceptance (cf., against it, Dillm.-Kittel, *Jes. ad loc.*), and still less has Knobel's suggestion that *seraphim* is a false reading for שָׂרִתִים, an imaginary Heb. word meaning 'ministers.'

LITERATURE.—See art. CHERUBIM, and cf. the Comm. on Isaiah, esp. Cheyne, Dillm.-Kittel, and Marti. J. STRACHAN.

SERAR (Σεράρ, AV Aserer), 1 Es 5³² = Sisera, Ezr 2⁵³, Neh 7⁵⁵.

SERED (סֶרֶד).—A son of Zebulun, Gn 46¹⁴ (A Σέρεδ, *D*˘Εσρεδ), Nu 26²⁶ (22) (BA Σάρεδ).

SERGIUS PAULUS.—See PAULUS (SERGIUS).

SERJEANTS is used in Ac 16³⁵· ³⁸ as an approximate English rendering of ῥαβδοῦχοι (='rod-bearers'), which represents in Greek the Latin *lictores*, officials whose duty it was to attend the Roman magistrates, to execute their orders, and especially to administer the punishments of scourging or beheading. For this purpose they carried, as their mark of office, the *fasces*, a bundle of rods with an axe inserted. At Philippi they were attached to the στρατηγοί, *i.e.* the *duumviri*, or *prætores*, who administered justice in that Roman colony (Marquart, i. 475 ff.); but who found on this occasion that by summarily inflicting stripes and imprisonment, without due trial, they had violated the rights of Roman citizens, and so had to undo, as best they might, the effects of the rash action for which they, rather than their instruments the lictors, were responsible.

WILLIAM P. DICKSON.

SERON (Σήρων).—'The commander of the host of Syria' (ὁ ἄρχων τῆς δυνάμεως Συρίας), who was defeated by Judas Maccabæus at Beth-horon, 1 Mac 3¹³· ²³ᶠ.; Jos. *Ant.* XII. vii. 1.

SERPENT.—Eight Heb. words are used for serpent. One Gr. word only (ἔχιδνα, 'the viper'), which is not used in the LXX, occurs in the NT.

1. נָחָשׁ *nāḥāsh*, is supposed by some (identifying roots נחש and לחש) to mean 'the hisser.' It is generic for a serpent or snake. The Arab. equivalent *ḥanash* is clearly the same word, with a transposition of the first two radicals. Its meaning is, however, far more general than that of the Heb. term. The root signifies 'to hunt *or* capture.' *Ḥanash* is defined 'anything that is hunted or caught or captured, of birds or flying things, or venomous or noxious reptiles, such as scorpions and serpents, or vermin, such as hedgehogs and lizards, and the rat and mouse, and any animal the head of which resembles that of a serpent.' It even includes the common fly. But, in popular usage at the present day, it is applied to serpents only.

2. תַּנִּין *tannîn*, plur. תַּנִּינִים *tannînîm*. This, which is usually tr. 'dragon,' sometimes otherwise (see DRAGON, **4**), is tr. 'serpent' in AV and RV of Ex 7⁹· ¹⁰· ¹² [v.¹⁰ RVm 'Heb. *tannîn*, any large reptile'], and in RV of Ps 91¹³ (AV 'dragon'). It is interesting to note that while P in the above passages of Exodus uses *tannîn* for the creature into which Moses' rod was changed, E in ch. 4³ (cf. 7¹⁵ [? R]) uses *nāḥāsh*. The LXX tr. *tannîn* by δράκων and *nāḥāsh* by ὄφις. It would have been better if our versions had preserved a similar distinction in terms.

3. אֶפְעֶה *'eph'eh*. The Arab. *'af'a* is defined as 'a certain serpent of a malignant kind, spotted white and black, slender in the neck, broad in the head. It is said that it will not quit its place.' There is nothing in this description which fixes the species or even genus of the serpent referred to. AV and RV tr. *'eph'eh* in the three places in which it occurs (Job 20¹⁶, Is 30⁶ 59⁵) 'viper,' LXX ὄφις, ἀσπίς, βασιλίσκος. Tristram believes that this may be *Echis arenicola*, Boie.

4. עַכְשׁוּב *'akshûbh*, ἀσπίς, *aspis* (Ps 140³), AV and RV 'adder.' St. Paul, quoting the passage in Ro 3¹³ according to the LXX, gives ἀσπίδων = 'asp.'

5. פֶּתֶן *pethen*. This word occurs 6 times (Dt 32³³, Job 20¹⁴· ¹⁶, AV and RV 'asp'; Ps 58⁴, AV and RV 'adder,' AVm 'asp'; 91¹³ AV and RV 'adder,' AVm 'asp'; Is 11⁸ AV and RV 'asp'). In all of these the LXX has ἀσπίς, except Job 20¹⁶ where it gives δράκων, and Ps 91¹³ where it has βασιλίσκος. These discrepancies of translation, ancient and modern, show the uncertainty as to the serpent intended by *pethen*. Ἀσπίς seems to have been the equivalent in Gr. of more than one species. The repeated mention of the venomousness of the *pethen*, and the allusion to its being used in the tricks of serpent charmers (Ps 58⁵), led Tristram to think that the animal intended is the Egyp. cobra, *Naja haje*, L., on the ground that snake charmers usually have one or more cobras. It is common to see a cobra, on each side of a winged globe, in the attitude of striking, chiselled over the doors of Egyp. temples. The Eng. 'asp' is derived from the Gr. and Lat. *aspis*. It is usually understood in those languages of the *Vipera aspis*, L.

6. צֶפַע *ẓephaʿ*, צִפְעֹנִי *ẓiph'ônî*. These words occur 5 times (Pr 23³² LXX κεράστης, AV and RV 'adder,' AVm 'cockatrice,' RVm 'basilisk'; Is 11⁸ 14²⁹ ἔκγονα ἀσπίδων, AV 'cockatrice,' m. 'adder,' RV 'basilisk,' m. 'adder'; 59⁵ ἀσπίς, AV 'cockatrice,' m. 'adder,' RV 'basilisk,' m. 'adder'; Jer 8¹⁷ θανατοῦντας = 'deadly,' AV 'cockatrices,' RV 'basilisks,' m. 'adders'). The meaning of the root of the Heb. word is unknown, and hence gives no clue to the species intended. Both cockatrice and basilisk are fabulous. Neither the LXX nor our translators have been able to fix on any species.

7. שָׂרָף שְׂרָפִים *sārāph sᵉrāphîm* (Gn 49¹⁷ 'adder,' AVm 'arrow-snake' [given by RV in Is 34¹⁵ for קִפּוֹז *ḳippôz*, AV 'great owl'; see OWL], RVm 'horned snake,' LXX ἔγκα-

* On the Egyptian custom of keeping a live snake in the larger temples as the representative of the tutelary demon, see Cheyne's 'Isaiah' in *PB* p. 139, where the famous Black Granite Serpent of Athribitis is figured.

θήμενος = 'one in ambush'). By general consent this serpent has been identified with *Cerastes Hasselquistii*, Strauch, the *horned serpent*, a desert species of the most venomous kind, which hides in depressions in the way, as those made by a camel's foot. This would explain the allusion to biting 'the horse's heels.' It is a foot or 18 in. long, of a sandy colour, with brown or blackish spots. It has a pair of horn-like processes above the eyes. The Arabs of the desert call it *sheffûn*, which, though not classical, seems to be a survival of its ancient name.

8. שָׂרָף *sārāph*, 'fiery serpent,' from a Heb. root signifying 'to burn,' hence poisonous from inflammation. It is usually an adjective to other words signifying serpent, as *nāḥāsh* (Nu 21[6] LXX θανατοῦντας), but also appears as a substantive (Nu 21[8], Is 14[29] 30[6] LXX ὄφις, ἀσπίς?). The 'fiery serpents' (Nu 21[6. 8]), which were sent to torment the Israelites in the desert, may have been any or all of the venomous species of et-Tîh, as the cobra, the cerastes or sand snake. The 'fiery flying serpent' (Is 14[29] 30[6]), שָׂרָף מְעוֹפֵף *sārāph mĕ'ôphēph*, is probably to be understood of some fabulous serpentine creature with wings, such as are sculptured on Egyptian monuments; but the expression *flying* may have been intended to indicate the rapid darting with which a venomous snake strikes its prey. One of the snakes of Syria, called by the Arabs *'akd-el-jauz*, is also called *eṭ-ṭayyârah*, because of its arrow-like, darting motion.

9. Ἔχιδνα is used only in the NT, and is tr[d] 'viper' (Mt 3[7] 12[34] 23[33], Lk 3[7], Ac 28[3]). It is probably generic for poisonous snakes. Tristram thinks that the one which fastened on St. Paul's hand may have been *Vipera aspis*, L., which, although now extinct in Malta, whence venomous serpents have entirely disappeared, may have been there in the apostle's day.

A review of the above critical analysis shows (1) that the translators have been at little pains to render the Heb. terms by the same Gr. and Eng. words in different places; (2) that to only one Heb. word, *shĕphîphon*, is it possible to give a scientific name with any degree of certainty. Of another, *pethen*, the most probable but not certain equivalent is the cobra. Of the others, three, *'akshûbh*, *ẓepha'* or *ẓiph'ôni*, and *'eph'eh*, are wholly uncertain or indefinite; one, *tannîn*, had perhaps better be tr[d], as elsewhere, 'dragon'; one, *nāḥāsh*, is generic; and one, *sārāph*, is primarily of adjective not substantive force.

The following is a list of the principal venomous serpents in Palestine and Syria and Sinai: *Daboia xanthina*, Gray, a nocturnal species, large enough to swallow a hare; *Cerastes Hasselquistii*, Strauch, the horned snake; *Naja haje*, L., the Egyp. cobra, a very deadly species; *Echis arenicola*, Boie, also extremely deadly; *Vipera Euphratica*, Martin, and *V. ammodytas*, L., both widely diffused and highly poisonous. Besides the above there are numerous species of non-venomous snakes, among which are *Zamenis viridiflavus*, Dum. et Bibr., a species of a greenish-yellow to tobacco-leaf colour, often 6 ft. long, the variety *carbonarius*, Bonap., being black; *Z. dahlii*, of a bluish colour mottled with black spots, and various species of *Ablabes*, *Coluber*, etc.; in all, 27 non-venomous kinds. It is probable that the Hebrews regarded all snakes with abhorrence, and that the common people supposed most or all of them to be venomous.

The reputation of the serpent has always been double. It was the emblem of Mercury and Æsculapius. A serpent, to this day, figures on devices and badges pertaining to the healing art. The Phœnicians worshipped the serpent, and the Chinese do so now. The Egyptians also worshipped Kneph under this form. They embalmed the bodies of serpents. The Scripture allusions to the wisdom of the serpent are two: Mt 10[16], which refers to its caution in avoiding danger, and Gn 3[1. 4. 13], in which guile and malice are plainly intended (cf. 2 Co 11[3], Rev 12[9]). Heathen mythology also attributed to the serpent such qualities of diabolism. And just as Israel came to worship the brazen serpent, which, according to tradition, was made to remind them of the venom and destroying properties of its prototype (2 K 18[4]), so the heathen have come to worship the creature they most fear. This is not to be wondered at, as all heathen worship is a compound of superstition and fear. Most of the Scripture allusions to the serpent are to its evil qualities. It is *treacherous* (Dan is a serpent in the way, Gn 49[17]); *venomous* (Ps 58[4]); *skulking* (בָּרִחַ *bārîaḥ*, Job 26[13], AV 'crooked,' RV 'swift,' m. 'fleeing' or 'gliding'; Is 27[1], AV 'piercing,' m. 'crossing like a bar,' RV 'swift,' m. 'gliding' or 'fleeing'; the expression seems to refer to its habit of skulking noiselessly away);* *crooked* (עֲקַלָּתוֹן Is 27[1], RVm 'winding,' referring to the wavy motion with which he glides out of danger); it *bites* (Pr 23[32], Ec 10[8. 11], Am 5[19]). Christ compares the scribes and Pharisees to serpents (Mt 23[33] ὄφεις; cf. the remarkable phrase γεννήματα ἐχιδνῶν in Mt 3[7] 12[34]). The power to take up and tread on serpents unharmed was promised to the disciples ('Mk' 16[18], Lk 10[19]). On the whole subject of the serpent of Gn 3 and the NT reference to that narrative, see artt. FALL and SATAN. The mystery of the serpent's motion did not escape Agur (Pr 30[19]), and only in modern times have we fully understood its solution. The fact that serpents are produced from eggs is also noted (Is 59[5]). They were tamed (Ja 3[7]). Sirach alludes to those bitten by serpents, presumably poisonous (12[13]). G. E. POST.

SERPENT CHARMING.—It is said in Jer 8[17] 'I will send serpents, cockatrices, among you, which will not be charmed, and they shall bite you'; and in Ps 58[4] 'they are like the deaf adder that stoppeth his ear, which will not hearken to the voice of charmers, charming never so wisely.' The reference here is clearly not to any species as distinguished from other serpents, but to individuals not amenable to a general law. It need not be taken literally, as it may be that any snake, properly charmed, would be subject to the mysterious fascination of the cunning masters of the art. The object being to show the extreme malignity of the wicked, a case beyond the range of experience is invoked to point the moral. Were it a normal thing for a *pethen* not to be capable of being charmed, the comparison would lose its force. An uncharmable serpent is a monstrosity. The stopping of the ears is clearly wilful. To attempt to explain this literally by the fable of the snake applying one ear to the ground, and stopping the other with its tail (Rabbi Solomon), is childish. The snake has no external ear to stop, and no tympanic cavity. The only tenable explanation is that the moral monsters, so graphically described by the psalmist, are comparable to such an exception 'as *a* (not *the*) deaf adder,' etc.

The art of charming serpents is a very ancient one, and has been brought to a high state of perfection in Egypt and India. The apparatus is very simple. It consists of a shrill pipe or gang of pipes, and a basket or bags in which the snakes already trained are kept. These are of various species, some highly venomous, others harmless. The former have their fangs extracted, or else the lower jaw sewn to the upper with silk thread or silver wire. When the piper has played a shrill

* On the supposed mythological allusions in Job 26[13] and Is 27[1] see the *Comm. ad loc.*, and Gunkel, *Schöpfung u. Chaos*, esp. p. 45 f.

air, the snakes crawl out of the basket or bag, and, coiling the tail end of their bodies, erect their heads, and sway backwards and forwards. The charmer winds some of them around his body or arms or legs. Mishaps sometimes occur to the charmer with serpents which have not yet had their fangs extracted. Lane (*Mod. Egyptians*, 461) tells of a charmer who had a venomous snake brought to him from the desert. He put it in a basket, and kept it several days to weaken it. He then put his hand into the basket to withdraw it in order to extract its fangs, when the snake bit him on the thumb. His arm swelled and turned black, and in a few hours he died. Some serpent charmers pretend to have the faculty of discovering serpents in a house or ruin, or in the rocks or fields, and luring them by their music, so that they can catch them. Doubtless in many cases the snake is introduced into the place by the charmer or his confederates; yet it is undeniable that, in broad daylight and surrounded by keen-eyed spectators, he does cause serpents to emerge from their holes or dens, and so fascinates them by the music that they become subject to his will. Sometimes he grasps a serpent by the nape of its neck, and bites pieces out of its head and neck. G. E. POST.

SERUG (שְׂרוּג, Σερούχ).—Son of Reu and father of Nahor, Gn $11^{20.22.23}$, Lk 3^{35}. Ethnologically the name is that of *Saruj*, a district and city north of Ḥaran (see Dillm. *Gen. ad loc.* and the authorities quoted there).

SERVANT, SLAVE, SLAVERY.—

i. The hired servant.
ii. The slave.
1. Name and meaning.
2. Origin of slavery.
3. Slavery and ancient civilization.
4. Slavery in ancient pre-exilian Israel.
5. Legislation respecting slaves: (A) pre-exilian, (B) post-exilian, (C) compensation for injury to slaves, (D) runaway slaves.
6. Status of female slaves.
7. Price of slaves.
8. History of slavery from Jeremiah onwards.
9. Christian attitude to slavery.
10. Religious use of the term 'slave' ('servant').
Literature.

i. Hired Servant.—The word employed in Hebrew for a servant who worked for hire, a hired servant, is שָׂכִיר, a term also employed in Jer 46^{21} for a mercenary soldier. Such a *hired servant* was, however, free to render such service or not as he pleased. There was no constraint over his activity except for the stipulated time and mode of it, for which payment or wages (שָׂכָר) was received. It is very difficult to determine what place the hired servant or workman filled in the earlier period of Israel's pre-exilian history. There are no regulations about him in the primitive compend of laws called the Book of the Covenant (Ex 21–23). The wild followers whom Abimelech hired (Jg 9^{4}) scarcely come under this category, and the same remark applies to the priest hired by Micah (Jg 18^{4}). But it is otherwise when we come to the more developed code of the Book of Deuteronomy, which reflects a more advanced state of civilization. There we find distinct provision made that the *hired servant* is to be paid regularly every evening (Dt 24^{15}) before sunset, and this rule is made to apply to both Hebrew and foreign labourer alike. In the post-exilian legislation contained in the Book of Leviticus (19^{13}) this instruction is maintained in full force. In fact, in post-exilian times an effort becomes clearly apparent in legislation to make the lot of the slave approximate to that of the hired servant (Lv 25^{40}). In the post-exilian literature the references to the hired servant are not infrequent. See the Lexicons, *s.* שָׂכִיר. The Greek equivalent is *μίσθιος*, *μισθωτός*. The former is the term employed in Lk $15^{17.19}$. The difference between the relation of the שָׂכִיר or hired servant to the Hebrew household and that of the slave (עֶבֶד), or of the stranger or resident alien (גֵּר), was that the relation of the hired servant was looser; see FAMILY.

ii. Slave.—**1. NAME AND MEANING.**—The ordinary Heb. equivalent of 'servant' was the word which properly designates *slave*, עֶבֶד, *'ebed*, a word common to all Semitic languages, including Sabæan. It is, however, seldom found in Assyro-Babylonian, in which the equivalent more frequently used is *ardu*. The Gr. equivalent is *δοῦλος* (also *θεράπων*, *παῖς*, *οἰκέτης*). The word עֶבֶד is as common in Phœnician as in Hebrew, and enters into Phœn. proper names (compounded with the name of deity precisely as in Heb.). See Bloch, *Phönicisches Glossar*, pp. 47, 48, both pages being entirely filled with examples. The Tel el-Amarna tablets give us further evidence of Canaanite names of the 15th cent. (*circ.*), viz. 'Abd-Addi, 'Abd-Uraš, 'Abd-'Aširta, 'Abd-Milki, etc. For similar names compounded with 'Abd (fem. Amat) in Arabic, see Wellhausen, *Reste*[2], pp. 2–4. The verbal root of the substantive עבר connotes fundamentally the idea of *working*. In primitive life this meant chiefly the tilling of the soil (Gn 2^{5} 3^{23} 4^{2}, 2 S 9^{10}). Then it came to be specially associated with the conception of working for (Heb. ל) another. Accordingly, the subst. עֶבֶד is based on this special meaning, and therefore signifies *one who labours for another and remains permanently subject to this relationship*.

This is, in fact, the cardinal distinction between a free man whose activity is not restricted by any compulsion to serve the interests of another, and the slave whose activity is so restricted.

2. ORIGIN OF SLAVERY.—Slavery was probably a necessary element in all ancient industrial life. Slavery arises from two main causes, viz. *Want* and *War*. Privation and famine compel a man, a family, or a clan to accept terms of service and maintenance from others to which under normal conditions they would never submit. War, a yet more potent cause, brings in its train foreign captives who are forced to enter a lot of subjection to the will of their conquerors. War, moreover, carries in its track desolation of house and home and of all means of subsistence. Whole populations are rendered destitute, and flee for protection and maintenance to some friendly but alien race, and thus voluntarily enter into the position of bond-slaves as a refuge from famine and death. 'The greatest of all divisions,' says Tylor,* 'that between freeman and slave, appears as soon as the barbaric warrior spares the life of his enemy when he has him down, and brings him home to drudge for him and till the soil. How low in civilization this begins appears by a slave-caste forbidden to bear arms forming part of several of the lower American tribes.' We shall presently see how this condition of slavery belonged to the old-world life of ancient Heb. society, where the male and female slave rank next above the ox and the ass. The terms used for both were sometimes closely similar, and indicated that they were regarded as *property* that had been acquired. The oxen were called by the Hebrew his מִקְנֶה, his *acquired* property or possessions (Lat. *peculium*, Gr. *κτῆνος*). The slave, on the other hand, was his *purchased* possession or כֶּסֶף קִנְיַן (Gn $17^{12.13.23}$, Ex 12^{44} 21^{21b}). Tylor (*ib.*) thinks that the hired labourer arose out of the more ancient slave, the hired servant out of the ancient *servus*. 'The master at first let out his slaves to work for his profit, and then free men found it to their advantage to work for their own profit, so that there grew up the great wage-earning class.' The

* *Anthropology*, p. 434 ff.

reader will not fail to note that this theory is confirmed by the results of critical inquiry in the OT, for at the commencement of this article we showed good grounds for believing that the שָׂכִיר or hired servant hardly appears in the earlier stages of pre-exilian Hebrew history.

3. Slavery and ancient Civilization.—It can hardly admit of doubt that the advance of early human society in the arts of life was largely aided by the institution of slavery. Through slave labour, agriculture and industrial life progressed, wealth accumulated, and leisure was given to priests, scribes, philosophers, and *literati* to reflect and raise the level of human intelligence. What modern machinery accomplishes for man now, slave-labour accomplished then. In a word, early civilization rested upon slavery as a basis. Without servile toil such vast structures as the pyramids and the sphinx of Gizeh would never have been reared. This is confirmed by the tradition of Heb. bondmen employed by the Egyp. Pharaoh in the erection of his granaries (Ex $1^{11.\ 14}$). And when we turn to the Assyr. monuments the same features of slave-labour powerfully impress us. The Assyrian empire, unlike the Babylonian, was essentially military, and the captives obtained by foreign conquest were employed in executing the laborious task of dragging colossal monuments into position. The vivid reliefs discovered at Kouyunjik, portrayed in Layard's *Nineveh and Babylon* (pp. 25, 27), clearly exemplify the character of those heavy tasks executed in an almost tropical climate. We see the Assyrian king superintending the removal of an enormous bull. Several hundreds of slaves, provided with a rope which passes over their shoulders, are struggling in a long succession that ascends in single file up a steep declivity, dragging into position an immense bull which has been landed from the river. By that river it has evidently been conveyed from the stone quarries where it has been hewn and probably shaped. Other slaves are portrayed carrying saws, picks, and shovels. A pair of them are dragging along by a rope, passing over the shoulder of each, a cart laden with planks or levers. At intervals a task-master can be seen wielding a stick.

But slaves were employed not only in the more laborious forms of manual exertion, but also in the arts requiring manual dexterity and artistic skill. According to Wilkinson (i. p. 457), the monuments testify that the Egyptian male and female musicians and dancers were slaves, just as we know to have been the case in ancient Greece and Rome. The maidens who formed the chorus of the *Helene* of Euripides were slaves brought to the Egyptian market by Phœnician traders. In Egyptian banquets the men were attended by slaves, while the women were waited upon by handmaids who were female slaves. 'An upper maidservant or a white slave had the office of handing the wine or whatever refreshment was offered to the ladies who were present at a banquet, and a black woman followed her in an inferior capacity to receive an empty cup.' Female slaves are easily recognized in Egyptian portrayals. For they were not permitted to wear the same dress as the ladies, and their hair was adjusted in a different fashion. We find it tied at the back of the head into a kind of loop or arranged in long plaits at the back, while eight or nine others hang down on either side of the neck and face. Also they wore a long tight gown tied at the neck, with short close sleeves reaching nearly to the elbow, or they wore a long loose robe thrown over it. On the other hand the lowest menials, *i.e.* the men-slaves who toiled in the country, wore 'rough skirts of matting which they were wont to seat with a piece of leather' (Lepsius, Wilkinson), while those who were compelled to adopt a more active mode of life wore nothing but a simple fringed girdle, like that which is still worn by many African tribes, 'a narrow strip of stuff with a few ribbons or the end of the strip itself hanging down in front.' Under the New Empire we even find that the young slaves who served wealthy nobles at feasts wore, as their only article of clothing, a strip of leather which passed between the legs, and was held up by an embroidered belt (Erman).

4. Slavery in ancient pre-exilian Israel. — In the primitive social conditions of ancient Israel the different ranks of the community moved easily and freely amongst each other and came into hourly contact. The courtesies and etiquette of life, especially in salutations and meals, were certainly not neglected; yet the gulfs created between class and class by our highly developed modern civilization were, fortunately for human happiness, then unknown. In the life presented to us in the Books of Judges and Samuel we find high and low equally engaged in pastoral or agricultural employment. We are reminded of the genial state of society in Ithaca as depicted in the *Odyssey*. When the deputies of Jabesh-gilead came in quest of Saul, they found the Benjamite chief and Israel's future king returning with a yoke of oxen from his field (1 S 11^{5}). We associate Saul with the figure of the Roman Cincinnatus summoned straight from the plough to assume the office of dictator.

Thus, in that early and simple Hebrew civilization, slavery was free from half the terrors with which the later Roman civilization and the conditions of our modern life have invested it. It cannot be said that in the earlier pre-exilian days the lot of a Hebrew bond-slave among his countrymen was oppressive or even irksome. The description given by Doughty of slavery in the remoter parts of Arabia corresponds in many particulars with the conditions of the early Hebrew bond-servant (*Arabia Deserta*, i. p. 554)—

> 'The condition of the slave is always tolerable and is often happy in Arabia; bred up as poor brothers of the sons of the household, they are a manner of God's wards of the pious Mohammedan householder who is *ammy* [properly "my uncle"] of their servitude and *abûy* ("my father"). . . . It is not many years "if their houselord fears Allah" before he will give them their liberty; and then he sends them not away empty; but in upland Arabia (where only substantial persons are slave-holders) the good man will marry out his free servants, male and female, endowing them with somewhat of his own substance, whether camels or palm-stems.'

We shall note the close parallel between the latter part of this extract and the details of Hebrew usage prescribed in the Book of Deuteronomy.

A slave could attain to a high position in his master's household. He might even become his heir in default of offspring (Gn $15^{2.\ 3}$). The important place filled by the slave Eliezer, though a foreigner (Damascene), in the household of Abraham, is not without parallels in the narratives of antiquity. The Hebrew captive Joseph becomes the prime-minister of Pharaoh. In 1 Ch 2^{34} we read the interesting fact that Sheshan in default of male issue married one of his daughters to the Egyptian (?) slave Jarha'. In case of an emergency, the master of a household might seek counsel from his slave as from a trusted friend. Abigail has recourse to one of Nabal's slaves for advice in order to appease David's anger (1 S $25^{14ff.}$). A homely episode of this character occurs in the life of Saul (1 S 9^{5-10}, belonging to the older stratum of the narrative called by Budde G; cf. *Richter u. Samuel*, p. 169 ff.). Saul, in his baffled search for his father's lost asses, turns at length for counsel to his slave. The slave gives the right advice, and directs his master's steps to the seer Samuel. A

fee is requisite for the consultation, and the slave lends his master a quarter of a shekel (about 8½d.). Saul, in response to his slave's advice, says, 'Your advice is good: come, let us go.' This vivid narrative reminds us of Gn 24 (J; according to Ball J^2, but Kuenen regards it as J^1), in which Abraham sends Eliezer on an important mission to secure a wife for his son, and exhibits in the clearest manner the confidential relations which subsisted between the head of a household or the sheikh of a clan and his slave. From the above narrative respecting Saul, in which he borrows a small sum from his slave, we gather the significant hint that slaves might even be the owners of property.

The position of a slave in a household would largely depend on his origin, viz. whether of Hebrew or of foreign nationality. In the latter case his situation would certainly not be so favourable, unless indeed, as in the case of Eliezer, he had been born and bred in the household, and thus came to be incorporated in the clan to which he was locally attached, sharing in its hospitality and protection, and taking his due part in its *sacra*. The position of a recently purchased slave taken captive in war would be far different. In a Roman or Greek household he would be set to do the most menial tasks of drudgery; and his place in a Hebrew family would be similar, though not so forlorn. The Canaanites, as we learn from Jg $1^{28.\ 30.\ 33.\ 35}$, were employed in hard task-work (מַס). These lower employments are described in Dt 29^{11} as gathering firewood and drawing water. The laws respecting warfare in Dt $20^{10ff.}$ prescribe that the inhabitants of those cities which surrendered voluntarily to Israel should be taken as slaves, while in case of resistance the male inhabitants were to be slain with the sword, and the women and children with the cattle were to be taken as a prey (cf. Nu $31^{17f.\ 26}$). In the time of David, through his numerous foreign wars, there came to be a large number of these foreign helots engaged in laborious task-work (מַס). From 2 S 20^{24} we gather that it became necessary to appoint an officer to superintend this special department of national life, viz. the מַס עֹבֵד (Gn 49^{15}) or forced service exacted from the slave-labourer. This was probably true of the reign of David's successor Solomon (1 K 9^{21}), who did not find it necessary to exact any bond-service from Hebrews (save for the special work mentioned in $5^{27(13)ff.}$), since the foreign slaves abundantly sufficed for all needs. Indeed, slaves of foreign origin were very numerous in the East, and this became especially true in the 9th and following centuries. Assyrian inscriptions and portrayals abundantly testify to the barbarous practices that prevailed in ancient Asiatic warfare when cities were stormed and sacked. We know from numerous inscriptions that a large number of the prisoners* were carried away captive. Many of these, of whom female captives constituted a considerable proportion, would inevitably find their way to foreign markets. The great mercantile Canaanite or Phœnician peoples, who had their celebrated emporia of commerce at Tyre and Sidon, shared with the Philistines the unenviable notoriety of being the chief slave-dealing race of antiquity. Thus in the middle of the 8th cent. *Amos* brings this accusation against the Philistines, who passed on their captive Israelites to the Edomites (Am 1^6). We may conjecture that the last-named sold them again to traders who shipped them from Elath for foreign shores and markets. It is nearly certain that these traders would be Phœnicians, for 'trader' and 'Phœnician' (Canaanite) were almost synonymous terms in those days (Hos 12^7, Is 23^8) and later (Zeph 1^{11}, Ezk 17^4, Pr 31^{24}). Hence the same prophet brings a similar charge against the Phœnicians because they forgot the covenant of 'brethren' which subsisted between Phœnicia and Israel from the days of Solomon (Am $1^{9.\ 10}$).* In post-exilian times Joel (3 [Heb. 4]^6) denounced both these nations for selling the captives of Jerusalem beyond seas to the sons of Javan, *i.e.* to the Greek populations which covered the western shores of Asia Minor.

In contrast with the forlorn, though far from hopeless, lot of a foreign slave in a Hebrew household, the condition of a home-born and Israelite slave would be far more tolerable. The Hebrew slave frequently came into his unfortunate position through the exigencies of the harsh laws of debt (see DEBT) which prevailed then and prevail still in Oriental countries. This is clearly shown in Lv $25^{25.\ 39}$, which exhibits the case of a man voluntarily entering the state of servitude in order to discharge the debts which his poverty and embarrassments had contracted. During the regal period Canaanite civilization had spread and had become absorbed by the Hebrew inhabitants, the population of towns had increased, and the power of the rich landowning class was seriously felt. The creditor became sometimes so harsh and exacting, that, if the father died, the sons might be sold into slavery to pay his debt (2 K 4^1).† These social evils must have been aggravated in the 9th cent. B.C., when the Syrian wars desolated the borders of both Ephraim and Judah, and the small farmers lost their crops and cattle through the ravages of the invader (cf. Is 1^7, Jer 6^{12}), and were driven to borrow at the oppressive rate of even 20 per cent.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the miserable lot of the oppressed peasantry awakened both the pity and indignation of the prophets of the 8th cent., who rebuked the overbearing avarice of the wealthy landowner. Amos upbraids the harsh creditor who sells his helpless victim into slavery for a paltry debt equivalent in value to a pair of sandals (Am 2^6 8^6). A generation later Isaiah denounces the aggravated evils of his own time, the accumulation of the smaller properties consequent on the dispossession of the smaller owner (Is 5^8). Meanwhile wealth increased with rapid strides in spite of the Assyrian invasions. In the days of Amos the nobles lived in luxury in their summer and winter houses (Am 3^{15}, cf. ch. 6). In the Northern kingdom houses were erected of hewn stone instead of the common brick, and of cedar in place of the common sycamore (Is 9^{10}). 'The land was full of silver and gold, and there was no end to the treasures' (2^7). Young foreign slaves were sold into Israel in considerable numbers.‡

5. LEGISLATION RESPECTING SLAVES. — This is

* The Assyrian term was *šallatu* (שלל) and *kišittu* (*kišidtu*, root כשׁד). The former term, characteristically enough, is inclusive of spoil generally (Tiglath-pileser I. Prism Insc. col. ii. 80, iii. 66, 85 [B.C. 1100]). But the meaning is only too clear in Ašurnaṣirabal's Annals, i. 108 (*c.* 880 B.C.), where we read that he stormed the fortress of Ḥulai, and III M *šallasunu ina išati ašrup*, 'I consumed with fire 3000 of their captives and left not one soul alive,'—*kišittu*, on the other hand, means definitely war-captives. These were employed by Esarhaddon in building temples (Prism Inscc. A and C, col. iv. 44–46). Respecting slavery in Babylonia, see Tiele, *Bab.-Assyr. Gesch.* (1888) ii. p. 506 ff.

* For a different interpretation of the 'covenant of brothers,' see Driver, *Joel and Amos*, p. 137.

† 'A young family is sometimes an insupportable burden to poor parents. Hence it is not a very rare occurrence in Egypt for children to be publicly carried about for sale by their mothers or by women employed by the fathers; but this very seldom happens except in cases of great distress' (Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, p. 205).

‡ So we should probably understand the doubtful passage Is 26^{b}, which runs in the Hebrew וְלִבְנֵי נֵכָר יִשְׁפִּיקוּ יְלָדֶי, 'and they abound in young foreign (slaves).' It is probably rendered with fair correctness by the LXX *καὶ τέκνα πολλὰ ἀλλόφυλα ἐγενήθη αὐτοῖς*. That the Hiph'il of שׁפק probably meant 'abound' is confirmed by the Aram. ספק *effusus est, satis fuit*, and Kai in 1 K 20^{10}. Moreover, this meaning harmonizes with מְלֹא and וַתִּשְׁבָּא in the context.

to be found in all three codes of the Torah, viz. (*a*) the Book of the Covenant in Ex 21[1-11]; (*b*) its subsequent development in the Deuteronomic legislation in Dt 15[12-18]; (*c*) lastly, in the post-exilian Book of Leviticus (P) in Lv 25[39-55]. All these, except Lv 25[44-55], deal with the conditions of a Hebrew slave in the possession of a master of the same nationality, and not with the case of a foreign slave. This must be considered separately.

A. We shall deal, first, with the *pre-exilian* legislation contained in the two sections (*a*) and (*b*). The period of service is fixed as six years; in the seventh there is the year of release. The question has been asked whether the six years may not be regarded as a *maximum* period. It is certainly quite possible that when, as in the case of debt, the sum to be earned by service could be worked out in a shorter term, the six-years' period might be abridged, but we have insufficient data in the OT to guide us on this point. The legislation appears to contemplate six years as the least period for which service could be entered. So Rabbis in their interpretations have inferred. Jacob's seven years' bondage to Laban (Gn 29[18]) seems to point to a somewhat divergent tradition. It is evident that the six-years' period corresponds to the six days of work followed by the day of Sabbath rest. So with agricultural land, which in the seventh year is to lie fallow. Jer 34[8-22] is interesting and significant, since it shows that these laws respecting slaves were constantly violated by the owners.

In the pre-exilian legislation the special cases are duly provided for. But this is more particularly true of the earlier compend of laws (Book of the Covenant). In Ex 21[3. 4] the case of a man who enters bond-service unmarried is distinguished from that of a married man. Under the latter case there are two varieties. If the marriage took place prior to the term of service, husband and wife become free together. But if the slave marries one of the slave-girls in his master's household, the wife and the children born to him by her do not accompany the husband in his year of release. This last stipulation is not mentioned in the Deuteronomic legislation. Are we to understand that the express provisions of the earlier legislation are tacitly assumed in the later? This is scarcely probable, since (1) the Deuteronomic legislation consistently repeats the earlier provisions of the Book of the Covenant, when adopted into its own code. Their omission, when tacitly understood, would have greatly abbreviated the later legislation in its written form. (2) We note a striking contrast between the express provision in Dt 15[17b] (viz. that the ceremony described in Ex 21[6], Dt 15[17a] should apply to *women as well*) and the hard injunction of Ex 21[7] that the daughter who is sold as a bond-woman shall not go free as the bondman does. It is true that the case here contemplated is that of concubinage; but, as Driver in his commentary pertinently observes, the terms in Dt 15[12. 17] are quite general, and we are not therefore justified in introducing exceptions out of the earlier legislation. The code of Deuteronomy is evidently separated from the Book of the Covenant by several centuries during which the Hebrew race advanced both socially and politically. The humanitarian tendency which was already conspicuous in the more primitive legislation had advanced still further. It may even be true, as Driver suggests, that Deuteronomy belongs to an age so far advanced on that of the earlier code that the case no longer practically occurred of a woman being sold into slavery for concubinage, or at all events this was not contemplated or recognized. This could hardly have been true at a date earlier than B.C. 622.

It sometimes, perhaps not infrequently, happened that a slave loved his master, or was impelled by the strong motives which the sustenance and protection of his master's home afforded, not to avail himself of the opportunity of the seventh year of release. Under the terms of the earlier legislation, a wife, married when her husband was living in bondage in his master's household, and the family reared under these conditions could not pass into freedom with the man when the seventh year of release had come. This would furnish an even stronger inducement not to avail himself of the freedom which the seventh year permitted. The master would then take the slave and bring him to God (*i.e.* to the local priest in the nearest sanctuary*), and bore through his ear in token of the fact that the slave was now the property of his master in perpetuity (Ex 21[6]). This should not be understood to mean merely until the year of jubilee, as Josephus (*Ant.* IV. viii. 28) and Rashi assume, since this would introduce an arbitrary qualification. The year of jubilee, as we shall have subsequent occasion to see, belongs to a later stage of national life.

The growing humanitarian tendency which is characteristic of the Deuteronomic legislation shows itself in the addition of an express stipulation (Dt 15[13. 14]) that the master on releasing his slave was to provide him liberally from his flocks, his corn, and his wine† (cf. the modern Arabian usage cited from Doughty, above, p. 462[b]).

The special case must now be considered of a father selling his daughter into slavery to another. To this the Book of the Covenant refers (Ex 21[7-11]). This was done under the stipulation that the maiden should become the master's concubine or that of his son. If she fail to please her master (or his son) who has destined her for himself (read לוֹ with *Kĕrê* in place of לֹא), she shall be redeemed [by her father or some near relative]. Under no circumstances is she to be sold into the hands of a foreigner. If she be the concubine of the master's son, she is to be treated as a daughter of the master's household. But if another woman is married, she is in no way to be defrauded of her food, dress, or conjugal rights. If any of these three rights of food, dress, etc., be not preserved intact, she may claim her freedom and depart without any redemption money being paid as compensation. As already stated, the case of a concubine-slave does not arise in the Deuteronomic code.

Budde in *ZATW*, 1891, p. 100 *f.*, discusses the difficulties of Ex 21[8-11]. After remarking that Dt 15[12. 17] indicates an advance in civilization, he compares Lv 19[20], which, however, contemplates a different set of conditions. Budde suggests an ingenious emendation of the doubtful אשר לא יערה into אשר לא ידעה 'provided that he has not known her (carnally).' The LXX ἢ αὐτῷ καθωμολογήσατο, 'has promised or pledged herself to him,' appears to sustain the reading of the *Kĕrê*. We might, on the other hand, also render the Heb. text (*Kĕrê*) 'to whom [one] has destined her.' W. R. Smith, however, in *ZATW*, 1892, p. 162, supports Budde's reading of יָדְעָה, and makes the further suggestion that לא did not originally stand in the text, which was simply אשר ירעה. This involved a primitive usage

* This is the view taken by most commentators; אֶל־הָאֱלֹהִים does not mean 'to the judges,' as Dillm. seems disposed to understand it. For Jg 5[8], 1 S 2[25] (see Löhr, *ad loc.*), and Ex 22[7. 8. 28] are passages where אלהים should be rendered by 'God' not 'judges,' God being regarded as the fountain of true justice, who spoke through the priest and witnessed the transaction. Hence LXX πρὸς τὸ κριτήριον τοῦ θεοῦ. Nowack would understand by אלהים here the 'family ancestors' (cf. 1 S 28[13], Is 8[19]). The slave was taken to the family sanctuary and adopted permanently into the possessions of the family. But this is a far-fetched theory, and the employment of אלהים in a code of legislation in a sense so exceptional is certainly improbable.

The boring of the ear (probably the right ear, Lv 8[23 f.] 14[14. 17]) was also practised by other Oriental peoples, *e.g.* the Mesopotamians (Juven. i. 104), Arabs (Petronius, *Sat.* 102), Lydians (Xenoph. *Anab.* III. i. 31), and Carthaginians (Plautus, *Pœnul.* v. ii. 21). For other parallels consult Dillm. on Ex 21[6].

† This humane Deuteronomic law was fully maintained in the later Jewish usage. According to *Kiddushin* 17, the worth of these parting gifts to the released slave must amount to 30 *sclaim* or 78 shillings (Hamburger).

whereby the heir (or son) inherited marital rights (*Kinship and Marriage*, p. 89 f.). The story of Absalom shows that this might occur even in the lifetime of the father without shocking public feeling. But to the later Jewish ideas this was abhorrent. Hence the insertion of לא into the text. Subsequently another textual tradition arose through the יְעֻנָּה of v.[9], which caused יִרְעֶה to be corrected to יָרֵעַ, which found its way into our Massoretic text. לא of the *Kethîb* thus remained unintelligible, and it was extremely easy for the Jewish scholars to assume that here as in so many passages it stands in place of לו. The reading אֲשֶׁר יִרְעֶה is confirmed by (1) the phrase בבגרו בה, which obviously presupposes sexual intercourse, (2) best explains רעה בעיני.—If we accept W. R. Smith's emendation, it would seem to show that the Book of the Covenant arose considerably earlier than the 8th cent. For in Am 2[7] the prophet denounces the profanation of the 'holy name' by the intercourse of father and son with the same paramour (cf. Gn 35[22b] (P), 494). Here the נַעֲרָה may probably refer to the קְדֵשָׁה of some local high place. The sentiment which underlies the verse is unmistakable.

B. The *post-exilian* legislation of the Book of Leviticus (25[39-55]) was distinct, and was designed to meet the special conditions of the post-exilian times. The institution of the *year of* JUBILEE now takes the place of the old pre-exilian law respecting the seventh year of release. An express distinction is made between Hebrew slaves and foreigners. The latter are to be slaves for life, and do not come under the operation of the law of jubilee, whereby the Hebrew slave *with his family* in the fiftieth year passed out of bondage and returned to his own kindred and to his own inherited property, where he was enabled to maintain himself and his family in freedom.

The older biblical scholars attempted to reconcile the Levitical legislation with the older codes. Thus Saalschütz held the view that the legislation of Exodus and Deut. referred to the tribes related to the Hebrews, while the law of jubilee applied to Israelites only. But this distinction is an artificial 'Nothbehelf,' and the same remark applies to Dillmann's attempt to harmonize Levit. with the earlier legislation by assuming that the former was designed to secure to those who had not made use of their right of release in the seventh year through utter impoverishment, that they should not be slaves for ever, but obtain their release in the fiftieth.—But both these theories are based on a failure to recognize that the Levitical regulations were a completely new constructive effort to settle the conditions of Hebrew bond-service.

It is not by any means clear how far the slave benefited by the new conditions. Indeed the old Deuteronomic law seems more favourable, if the year of jubilee was over six years distant. The object of the new law seems to have been to fix a universally valid date of release, and thus to unite the lot of the individual to the collective life of the nation. Moreover, an express injunction was made (v.[47ff.]), that Hebrew slaves should be redeemed from bondage to a foreign owner by the nearest kin (first brothers, then uncle or cousin), so that a foreign master had not the unconditional right of possession towards the Hebrew slave until the year of jubilee. The slave was, if possible, to be redeemed before that time, the price of redemption being regulated by (1) the original sum of purchase; (2) the distance of the year of jubilee. We thus find that the fundamental principle was recognized that the Hebrew slave was rather to be regarded as a hired workman, and the price of his purchase or redemption was to be considered as a kind of hire paid for in advance. The Hebrew master was, moreover, exhorted to treat him rather as a brother, or a 'hired servant' and 'sojourner' (vv.[39. 40]).

The condition of *foreign* (*i.e.* non-Hebrew) slaves has been already referred to, and will now be considered in further detail. The captive taken in war naturally bore a somewhat heavier lot than the Hebrew slave who had passed into that condition by impoverishment or debt. But there were mitigations even in the lot of a foreign slave. A foreign captive woman taken in war and made a concubine was to be treated with a certain deference by her captor (Dt 21[10ff.]). The fact that the slaves of the household were circumcised meant much. They were thereby received into a religious community, and, by taking part in its *sacra*, shared in its protection. Thus from Dt 12[12. 18] 16[11. 14] we learn that they partook of the passover and other sacrificial meals, and, as we can easily infer from Ex 20[10], they enjoyed their Sabbath rest from toil in common with their Hebrew masters. According to Rabbinic tradition a slave could not be compulsorily circumcised, and, if he was circumcised, he was not to be sold to a foreigner, *i.e.* he was treated as though he were a Hebrew and not a foreign slave. But if he refused circumcision, he was to be sold after the expiration of a year. On the other hand, if before entering service he made the express stipulation that he was not to be circumcised, he might remain in bondage for an indefinite period; see Mielziner, *Die Verhältnisse der Sklaven bei den alten Hebräern*, p. 58.

C. Compensation for injury to slaves.—The earliest code of legislation sought to protect the Hebrew slave from maltreatment, and the rules we find on this subject (Ex 21[20. 21. 26. 27]) are very explicit on the whole. Smiting a slave so as to entail loss of eye or tooth entitled the slave to complete enfranchisement, and, in case death immediately ensued, a sure vengeance for such an act would be taken. If, however, the slave survived for a day or two before his death, the punishment of his loss by death was considered penalty enough, for the money-value of the slave was the measure of the master's loss.

We note here some vagueness as to what the 'sure vengeance' (v.[20]), to be wreaked on the slave-owner who murdered his slave, was to be. We cannot fail to remark that the expression falls considerably short of the explicit language of v.[12], where the murder of a free Hebrew citizen is to receive the death penalty as its award. When we turn to the post-exilian legislation we observe the contrast. In Lv 24[17. 22] all distinctions and special provisos are swept aside. Even the national barriers were discarded in this case by the post-exilian Jew. Bond and free came under the same law as well as the foreigner and Jew. Every murdered man's death was avenged by death.

D. Law respecting runaway slaves.—The beneficent legislation in Deuteronomy on this subject is based on the sacred rights of hospitality which we find not only among primitive Semitic nations,* but also in ancient Greece. It runs: 'Thou shalt not deliver up a slave to his master, who escapes to thee from his master. With thee shall he abide in thy midst in the place that he chooses, in any one of thy cities that he likes.' It may therefore be readily inferred that the recovery of a runaway slave in ancient Israel was far from easy. This we know to have been the case (cf. 1 K 2[39]). This was another circumstance that tended to mitigate the slaves' lot, by making it incumbent on the owner of slaves to make the conditions of their life tolerable.

6. STATUS OF FEMALE SLAVES.—This varied considerably. As in the case of male slaves, the lot of the foreigner was not so favourable as that of a Hebrew or home-born slave. Yet, on the whole, even the foreign captive might enjoy a position of comparative comfort. The humane legislation of Dt 21[10ff.] ordained that a foreign captive woman taken in war and made a concubine

* Respecting this law of the GĒR see *RS*[2] p. 76, 'From the earliest times of Semitic life the lawlessness of the desert, in which every stranger is an enemy, has been tempered with the principle that the guest is inviolable. A man is safe in the midst of enemies as soon as he enters a tent or even touches the tent-rope'; cf. also p. 270.

was to be treated with a certain chivalrous deference, the respite of a month being allowed her by her captor. Note the position of the captive Israelite maiden in the Syrian general's household, 2 K $5^{2ff.}$, the confidential relations that subsisted between her and her mistress, and the sympathy displayed by the former with her master's disease. The genial treatment of foreign slaves in pre-exilian times evidently prevailed among other Semitic races besides the Hebrews.

A Hebrew female slave is described by various terms, according to the position she held. If she became the concubine of her master or of his son, she was designated by the more dignified term

אָמָה (Assyr. *amtu*, Syr. ܐܡܬܐ, Arab. أَمَة, Phœn. אמת; in fact the word is common to all Semitic languages, rendered in LXX by *δούλη* or *θεράπαινα*). Under the adverse circumstances brought about by poverty, to which reference has already been made, it not infrequently happened that the daughter could not be disposed of as freeborn in ordinary marriage, because the utter poverty of the parents constituted a social barrier. But if the daughter was dowered with good looks, she could easily be sold as a slave, and the price she would obtain might not fall far short of the ordinary *mōhar* or purchase-money of a free woman, which in the 7th cent. amounted to 50 shekels, or nearly £7 (Dt 22^{29}). Under any circumstances the transaction in primitive Israel would not have differed essentially from that which took place when a marriage was contracted with a free woman for whom purchase-money called *mōhar* was paid as though she were a chattel.* She would thus take her place as a concubine, and, if she bore children, her position sensibly improved. But if, as in the case of Hagar, she was simply the property of her mistress, and was introduced into this relation, the rights of the mistress might impose somewhat galling restraints. Accordingly, she might be called אָמָה, as the concubine who bore children to her master, and entitled to the rights of a married woman (see above), or, by the inferior designation of a שִׁפְחָה or 'bond-slave,' called upon to do menial tasks (Gn 16^{2}, cf. on the other hand 21^{10}, where Sarah herself calls Hagar אָמָה†), since she still remained under the control of the freeborn and superior wife (16^{6}). אָמָה is the expression which a woman does not hesitate, in the ordinary etiquette of social intercourse, to employ respecting herself when she is addressing a superior. This corresponds to the expression עֶבֶד employed by a man under similar circumstances. This distinction in the rank and dignity of the two terms is made clear in the speech of Abigail to David in 1 S 25^{41}. With true womanly dignity and courtesy combined she calls herself אָמָה, and yet consents to become a שִׁפְחָה and do the menial task of washing the feet of David's slaves. It was to the שִׁפְחָה that the laborious duty was assigned of grinding at the mill. This is the word used to designate the slave-girl behind the millstones in Ex 11^{5}, where the term is employed to describe the lower end of the social scale. The LXX render—*δούλη*, *θεράπαινα*, and *οἰκέτις*.

There is another interesting word employed in Hebrew to express slave-concubine, viz. פִּלֶגֶשׁ (פִּילֶגֶשׁ). No satisfactory Semitic etymology can be found for the word, and its form strongly suggests a Greek origin *παλλακίς* (*πάλλαξ*, cf. Latin *pellex*). The Greek race was called יָוָן by the ancient Semites. It is found in the Race-table Gn $10^{2.4}$ (P) and in the Assyr. inscriptions of Sargon and in the Tel el-Amarna tablets. See art. JAVAN. The term therefore originally meant a foreign slave-concubine (cf. Is 2^{6b} and footnote above, p. 463). The references Gn 35^{22}, Jg 19^{1}, 2 S 15^{16} 20^{3} seem to suggest that the *pillegesh* was of a lower class and lax in morals.

7. PRICE OF SLAVES.—According to the Book of the Covenant (Ex 21^{32}) this was 30 shekels, or about £4, 5s., which was evidently the average price in the pre-exilian period. The money-value would of course vary with the slave's age and physical condition. Joseph's brethren were content with 20 shekels when he was sold to the Midianite (Ishmaelite) traders (Gn 37^{28}). This was due to his youth. According to the post-exilian Jewish legislation (Lv 27^{2-8}), 20 silver shekels (nearly £3) was the sum fixed for the redemption of slaves between 5 and 20 years old. We find the same price (½ *maneh*) paid for a slave from Suri mentioned in a very early contract-tablet of Babylonia.* The ordinary price, however, for an adult slave prevailing in Western Asia during several centuries was that stated in Ex 21^{32}, viz. 30 shekels. This, according to the most probable computation of the money-value of a *homer* and a *lethech*, was the price paid for his wife by the prophet Hosea (3^{2}). See Nowack, *ad loc.* This was nearly the amount paid by Ptolemy Philadelphus for every Jewish captive in Egypt that he redeemed, viz. 120 drachmæ (about £4).† In 2 Mac $8^{9.10}$ we read that Nicanor attempted to defray the Roman tribute of 2000 talents by the sale of Jews at the rate of 90 per talent. This shows that the same value prevailed in the 2nd cent. B.C. Nor can we forget that for 30 shekels our Lord was sold by His traitor-disciple to the Jewish authorities (cf. Zec 11^{12}).

When we turn to the clay documents of Babylonia we find like sums and even lower paid for a slave. The values also range in special cases much higher. Thus in the time of Nebuchadnezzar we hear of a woman, Sakinna, and her daughter, a little girl of 3 years of age, being sold for 35 shekels [or nearly £5]. In another case a husband and his wife fetch 55 shekels [or about £7, 10s.] (Sayce). Mr. Pinches has transcribed a contract-tablet, in which a slave is sold for 2⅔ manehs of silver, or more than £22;‡ while, according to Tiele, a slave might even cost as much as £95.§ In both these last instances the slave must have been particularly valuable, probably owing to his possession of skilled qualifications.

8. SUBSEQUENT HISTORY OF SLAVERY FROM THE DAYS OF JEREMIAH.—In Jer $34^{8f.}$ we read of the unsuccessful attempt which was made in the reign of Zedekiah to carry out the provisions of the Deuteronomic code respecting the seventh year of release, the philanthropic efforts of the king being thwarted by the avarice of the owners. On the other hand, Nehemiah's strenuous endeavours in the years that followed the return from exile were crowned with better success. Acting in the spirit of the new Levitical legislation (Lv $25^{47f.}$), the Jewish slaves of foreign masters were redeemed, and the rich were persuaded to forego at least a portion of their rights of usury through which the whole trouble of bondage to a foreigner was brought about. 'We have borrowed money to pay the royal tribute upon our fields and our

* See art. MARRIAGE, vol. iii. p. 270b, under 'Dowry,' and quotation from Tristram's *Eastern Customs*, *ib.*

† Similarly in Gn 30 Bilhah is called by Rachel in her conversation with Jacob 'my *'āmāh*,' while in the narrative she is described as her *shiphhah*. This chapter is an intricate complex of J and E. It is impossible to say that either document shows a preference for one expression over the other, though in ch. 21 E prefers the title אָמָה for Hagar.

* Schrader, *KIB* iv. p. 44 (iii.).
† Jos. *Ant.* XII. ii. 3.
‡ *Hebraica*, viii. p. 134ff.
§ *Bab.-Assyr. Gesch.* p. 507.

vineyards . . . and, lo! we reduce our sons and our daughters to slavery, and it is not in our power to help it; for other men have our fields and our vineyards' (Neh 5^{1-13}). Nehemiah's request, that the fields, vineyards, oliveyards, and houses should be restored, was complied with. Doubtless in later times there was full scope for the operation of this injunction to redeem the Israelite slave from bondage to a foreign master, for we read that in the wars of the Ptolemies and the Seleucidæ large numbers of Jewish captives were taken (1 Mac 3^{41}, 2 Mac 8^{11}).

It would be an interesting object of investigation to endeavour to determine how far the philanthropic tendencies of Nehemiah and of the post-exilian legislation were influenced by the humane civilization of Babylonia. That that civilization was humane is clearly attested in the OT. Jeremiah's advice to the Jewish captives in Babylonia, 'Build ye houses, and dwell in them; plant gardens, and eat the fruit of them; take ye wives, and beget sons and daughters' . . . (Jer $29^{5.6}$), would have been impracticable under any other than an enlightened and humane polity. And the fact that large numbers of Jewish residents preferred to remain in the land of exile instead of availing themselves of the edict of Cyrus to return to their own land, is a significant hint in the same direction. Babylonia, as Sayce has pointed out, was a land where agricultural pursuits were carried on, as in Egypt, by industrious, peace-loving freedmen (not by slaves, as in Assyria, where the pursuits preferred by the conquering race were trade and war). In many instances we learn from the clay documents of purchase or sale that mother and child were sold together. Indeed, rights were accorded to women in possessing property superior to those of their Hebrew sisters in pre-exilian Canaan. 'The ancient Accadian law ordered, that if children had been born to slaves whom the former owner had sold while still keeping a claim upon them, he should, in buying them back, take the children as well at the rate of 1½ shekels each' (Sayce, *Social Life among the Assyrians and Babylonians*, p. 79).

The number of slaves in Palestine at any time down to the 1st cent. A.D. was probably small in comparison with that which was to be found in ancient Greece or in Rome in the later days of the Republic. From the report of a census made in B.C. 309, the male citizens of Athens numbered 45,000, and the slaves 350,000. It must be confessed, however, that the accuracy of this computation might be questioned. That the number was very considerable cannot be denied. For even the poorest citizen had a slave for his household, and a great number were employed in the occupations of baking, cooking, tailoring, etc. The father of Demosthenes possessed 50 slaves. Others owned many more (cf. Xenoph. *Vect.* 4. §§ 14, 15). They were employed in workshops or mines.—In ancient Rome large portions of the *ager publicus* began to be held by patricians as the Roman State extended its confines. These land-possessions were cultivated to a large extent by slaves (cf. Liv. vi. 12). Thus slaves increased in number, displaced the poorer class of freemen and peasant proprietors, and in the Licinian Rogations (B.C. 367) a provision became necessary that a certain number of freemen should be employed on every estate. In the later days of the Republic, and under the first emperors, the number of household slaves increased greatly (cf. Juv. *Sat.* iii. 141). Horace seems to regard ten slaves as a moderate number for a person in comfortable circumstances to keep (*Sat.* I. iii. 12, vi. 7). These would be largely supplied from the vast number of captives taken in war. From Cæs. *BG* iii. 16 we gather that slave-dealers followed in the track of an army, and after a victory, when a sale of slaves took place (*sub corona vendidit*), purchased at a cheap rate.

The treatment of slaves became more inhuman both in Greece and Rome as their number increased. In some respects their position in Athens was worse than it was in Rome. For in Athens the manumission of slaves did not take place so frequently as in Rome. Moreover, their position as manumitted slaves (ἀπελεύθεροι) was inferior to that which they enjoyed in Rome; for instead of becoming citizens they passed into the condition of mere μέτοικοι, and were obliged to honour their former master as their patron (προστάτης), and, if they neglected certain duties which they owed towards him, might even forfeit their modified condition of freedom. Even Aristotle regards a slave as a mere possession or chattel (κτῆμα), or an ἔμψυχον ὄργανον, an instrument endowed with life (*Eth. Nic.* viii. 13, *Pol.* i. 4). The bad treatment of Greek slaves is evidenced by the fact that they often mutinied (Plato, *Legg.* vi. 777 C). The insurrections under the Republic in Italy and Sicily attained formidable proportions. The two servile revolts in Sicily in B.C. 135 and 102 taxed all the resources of Rome, and were with difficulty suppressed, while the rebellion under Spartacus carried devastation through the Italian peninsula (B.C. 73–71). Nor are we in any degree surprised when we take account of the harsh penalties inflicted on slaves by their Roman masters, *e.g.* working in chains and fetters (Plautus, *Most.* I. i. 18; Terence, *Phorm.* II. i. 10), suspension by the hands while heavy weights were tied to the feet (Plautus, *Asin.* II. ii. 31). We read also of hard labour in the *ergastulum*, and of such harsh penalties as the *furca*, *crux*, and *notatio* (or branding inflicted on runaway slaves). Even ladies treated their slave attendants harshly in the days of the Empire, as Martial and Juvenal testify (Juven. *Sat.* vi. 219 ff., 492; Mart. *Epig.* ii. 66; cf. Ovid, *Am.* i. 14, 15). Varro, in his *de Re Rustica* (i. 71), expressly classes slaves with beasts of burden; and even the gentle and refined Cicero feels constrained to apologize to his friend Atticus for feeling 'more than a becoming grief' for the death of his slave Sositheus* (*Ep. ad Attic.* i. 12).

But as we enter Jewish society we pass into a new and happier world. In the first place, the number of slaves was far smaller in relative proportion. At the return of the exiles there were 42,360 Hebrew freemen, and only 7337 slaves, or one slave to 5·72 freemen. The teachers of the Talmud looked with disfavour on the ownership of many slaves. The more slaves, so much the more thieving; the more female slaves, so much the more unchastity (cf. *Babâ mezî'â* 60*b*). The Essenes and Therapeutæ did not tolerate slavery, as being contrary to man's dignity (Philo, ii. 458, 482). The later literature of the OT reveals the humane attitude of Judaism towards the slave, and the religious basis on which it rested, The latter is vividly expressed in Job 31^{13-15}. Humane and gentle treatment of a slave from his early youth will engender a filial feeling in him towards his master (Pr $29^{19.21}$). On the other hand, it was clearly realized that there were dangers from undue laxity.

> 'Set thy servant to work, and thou shalt find rest;
> Leave his hands idle, and he will seek liberty . . .
> Send him to labour, that he be not idle;
> For idleness teacheth much mischief' (Sir $33^{25.27}$).

And the same writer advises even severe disciplinary measures—

> 'Yoke and thong will bow the weak:
> And for an evil servant there are racks and tortures' (v.^{26}).

It is necessary to bear the last passage in mind if we are to gain a true and complete picture of this aspect of Jewish social life (cf. Mt 25^{30}, Lk 12^{46}, the latter passage showing that very severe corporal chastisement, falling short of loss of limb or life, might be meted out to an 'evil servant').† According to the Mishna (*Yadaim* iv. 7), it was a subject of discussion among Pharisees and Sadducees as to whether a slave who had committed an injury on another was himself responsible or his master. According to the contention of the Pharisees, the master was *not* responsible, though he *was* responsible if the injury were committed by his ox. Thus the Pharisees (in contrast with the Roman Varro above cited) emphasized the distinction between an unreasoning brute and a slave. They argued, moreover, that a slave might otherwise easily wreak his spite on his master by committing an injury on another which the master had to pay. According to *Babâ ḳammâ* (viii. 4), the slave, if he committed an injury on another, was liable to make compensation when he obtained his release.

Respecting the conditions of release of Gentile slaves owned by a Jewish master we have not many *data* to guide us; see above, under 5 *B*, *ad fin.* Every facility was afforded for the manumission of

* 'Me plus quam servi mors debere videbatur commoverat.'

† We are led to suspect that these sterner traits of Jewish treatment reflect Græco-Roman influence.

Gentile slaves. According to the prescriptions of the Talmud, the Gentile slave received release through (1) redemption purchase (Maimonides, *'Abadîn*, v. 2), (2) letters of manumission (*ib.* 3), (3) testamentary disposition, (4) silent recognition of his freedom (*Peah*, iii. 8), (5) by becoming a Jew (*i.e.* a proselyte), (6) by marriage with a free woman, etc. (Hamburger).

In Schürer, *GJV*[3] (iii. p. 53), interesting details are furnished respecting the influence of Greek legal procedure on Jewish practice in the release of slaves. The act of release took place ἐπὶ τῆς προσευχῆς, *i.e.* in the synagogue before the assembled congregation (probably with some reference to Ex 21[6]; see above). Full freedom was granted to the slave, χωρὶς ἡ [=εἰς] τὴν προσευχὴν ὑποτίμου τε καὶ προσκαρτερήσεως [cf. προσκαρτερεῖν in Ac 2[42. 46] 1[14] 6[4], Ro 12[12], Col 4[2]], *i.e.* with the exception of regular worship in the synagogue to which the slave was bound. Accordingly, this mode of release in a sacred place involved a definite pledge on the part of the released slave to honour its religious usages. We have a parallel in Hellenic custom, whereby the procedure took place in a temple, and consisted in a fictitious sale of the slave by the master to the deity, the slave himself bringing the purchase-money. This did not in reality make the emancipated slave into a temple servant. He became actually free, and only morally appropriated by the deity. These facts are certified by documents discovered at Panticapæum and Gorgippia (cf. Schürer, *ib.* p. 18). The same tradition passed into the Christian Church in the eastern provinces of the Roman empire, and was called *manumissio in ecclesia*; see Schürer, p. 53, footn. 53.

The treatment of slaves in the Jewish household was not only humane, but under a good and pious master it would be even brotherly. Of the most distinguished personages it is related that they readily feasted their slaves with the same food of which they themselves partook, addressed old slaves as 'father' or 'mother,' and regarded their death as that of a beloved relative (*Berakhôth* 16*b*; *Kethubôth* 61; Jerus. *Babâ ḳammâ* 6).* Acc. to *Berakhôth, passim*, slaves are placed with women and children in exemption from *shema'* and wearing phylacteries, though bound in other matters of ritual.

9. The Christian Attitude to Slavery.—This may best be described as the religious attitude of Judaism expanded to the dimensions of Christ's gospel of universal redemptive love to man. With its advent new powers had entered into the world—new conceptions of human duties and relationships. All these lie implicit in Christ's Gospel of the Kingdom. 'To the poor the gospel is preached' (Mt 11[5]). St. Paul expressed the new consciousness in the words: 'All are sons by faith in Christ Jesus . . . As many of you as have been baptized into Christ have put on Christ. . . . There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither slave nor free . . . for ye are all one in Christ Jesus' (Gal 3[26-28], cf. Col 3[10. 11]). And so the doors were thrown open wide to a world that yearned for salvation.

'The kingdom of God with its sublime universalism offers its invitation to all men as children of a heavenly Father, and binds those who follow His call into a society. . . . In the Christian Church the poor man found the civic rights of the Divine kingdom accorded to him without reserve as God's own child. . . . To the slaves, that lowest and most unhappy class of Græco-Roman society, the rights of man were restored. In the Church they heard the magic tones of the words: "Ye are men for whom also Christ has died; redeemed, to whom the same position belongs in the kingdom of God as to your masters." Masters also heard in the Church the solemn admonition that they were the brethren of their slaves, since both had taken upon themselves by voluntary choice the yoke of obedience to Christ (1 Co 7[21ff.], Eph 6[5ff.]). When Paul uttered thoughts like these in his letter to Philemon, in which he interceded for the runaway slave of the latter, he was writing the charter of emancipation for the many millions of slaves who were held down by a minority in a degrading bondage.'†

Nevertheless, the Church issued no authoritative mandate that masters were to liberate their slaves. On the contrary, obedience to masters was inculcated (Eph 6[5], cf. parallels), as well as forbearance to slaves (v.[9]).* The leaven was to work slowly and surely, without external compulsion by ecclesiastical authority, through eighteen centuries, until in the 19th cent. slavery was abolished in all the territories of Christian European peoples. In the 20th the leaven will work its course in society to yet larger issues!

10. Religious Use of the Term 'Slave' ('Servant').—The word 'servant' or 'slave' is constantly employed in the etiquette of daily intercourse in ancient Semitic society and among Arab populations at the present day. 'Thy servant' (or if a woman, 'thy handmaid') is the language of ordinary courtesy employed by an individual, when he speaks of himself, in addressing a superior or even an equal. In relation to God, this term is universally used by the worshipper. The root עבר expresses the dependent relation of subordination and obedience on the part of the individual to his Divine patron and Lord. And it has been shown, under ii. 1, how constantly this expression enters into proper names compounded with the name of deity, whether Canaanite or Hebrew. That collective and idealized Israel was so designated is especially apparent in Deutero-Isaiah. The term had been already employed in Ezk 28[25] 37[25], and also in Jer 30[10ff.] 46[27f.].† The passages in which the expression occurs in its most characteristic form within the collection designated by the term Deutero-Isaiah (chs. 40–56) are specially called the '*servant*' *passages*, and are regarded by most critics as distinct in authorship,‡ viz. 42[1-4] 49[1-6] 50[4-9] 52[13]–53[12].

The portrayal of the servant in these four sections is distinct from that which prevails in the rest of Deutero-Isaiah. In the former the servant is idealized, personal and sinless. He is Jehovah's disciple, chosen to minister to the heathen as well as to his own people (49[6]), going about his own mission with quietness (42[2. 3] 53[7]), suffering like Jeremiah and Job through the scorn of the unfaithful, and so offering a propitiation for the guilt of his race (53[4-6]). On the other hand, in the rest of Deutero-Isaiah, the 'servant Jacob' is blind, deaf, a prisoner plundered, despised, full of sin, though chosen by God, protected and destined for a glorious future. Yet these two portrayals have their essential features in common. Accordingly, 'servant (or slave) of Jehovah,' as a religious term applied to Israel, is a name of honour. Israel is chosen as God's messenger as well as servant. In fact the difference between Jacob as God's עַבְדִּי and as His own personal slave, called to a high and honourable mission, is very slight. The two expressions stand in parallelism in 42[19]. The servant is the chosen one in whom God takes pleasure. We are reminded of the relationship of Abraham to God as the 'friend of God' (2 Ch 20[7], Ja 2[23], cf. Korân, sur. 4[124]). See, further, art. Isaiah, and Smend, *ATliche Religiongesch.*[2] p. 352 ff. In fact the expression is constantly employed in the OT as a name for God's messengers, especially the prophets (Am 3[7], Jer 7[25] 25[4] 26[5] etc.), cf. Rev 10[7] 11[18]. It is used of Moses (Dt 34[5], Jos 1[1]), of Isaiah (Is 20[3]). Furthermore, it is used of the Messiah in Zec 3[8], and of the angels in Job 4[18] (on the other hand, in Ps 103[21] 104[4] the term employed is מְשָׁרְתִים, which properly expresses honourable, voluntary, and, moreover, priestly service to God).

* On the humane treatment of slaves by Moslems see Lane's *Arabian Nights*, vol. i. p. 64 ff. (ch. i. note 13). Nevertheless, we are told that 'a master may even kill his own slave with impunity for any offence, and he incurs but a slight punishment (as imprisonment for a period at the discretion of the judge) if he kills him wantonly' (p. 63).

† Mangold, *Humanität und Christenthum*, Rede beim Antritt des Rectorats der Rheinischen Friederich Wilhelms Universität, am 18 October 1876. Bonn, Adolph Marcus.

* It should not be forgotten that the distinction between bond and free is cancelled, according to St. Paul's conception, *only in Christ*, *i.e.* within the confines of the redeemed society—the Church. Outside the Church the distinction might still prevail, and even be regarded as valid. St. Paul hardly contemplates any reorganization of society that does not rest on redemption and sanctification of individual life as a basis. In that outside world St. Paul might conceivably still regard Roman law as a *quasi* παιδαγωγός, and hold that slavery, as a human institution, under certain guarantees, might be under temporary Divine sanction. Modern missionaries of the Cross in heathendom, with its more primitive social conditions, have been compelled to adopt this view.

† It can scarcely be held that either of these latter passages is genuine. In Cornill's text (*SBOT*) they are relegated to the foot of the page.

‡ But see Budde, *Die sogenannten Ebed-Jahwe-Lieder*, 1900. Marti also argues against separating the conceptions in the Servant-passages from the rest of Deutero-Isaiah; see his commentary, p. 289 f.; so also Cornill in *Theolog. Rundschau*, Nov. 1900.

The transition from this OT use to the *NT* application of the corresponding term δοῦλος is very slight. It is applied to himself by Symeon (Lk 2^{29}) in his prayer to God (*Nunc Dimittis*), Who is consistently addressed as δεσπότης (a master of slaves, cf. Ac 4^{24}, Rev 6^{10}), and similarly the Virgin Mary speaks of herself as God's δούλη (אָמָה), Lk 1^{38}.

This term St. Paul, in the introduction to his Epistles, not infrequently uses with reference to himself (Ro 1^{1}, Ph 1^{1}); and that it is employed as an honourable designation, like the עֶבֶד of Ezekiel and Deutero-Isaiah, is evident from the corresponding use of ἀπόστολος in 1 Cor., 2 Cor., Gal., Eph., and Col. (equivalent to שָׁלִיחַ, see above).

The relation of service to God is one of freedom and sonship (υἱοθεσία), as we learn from Ro 8^{21}. We have been emancipated from the older relationship to the law, which was one of fear and constraint, summed up in Ro 8^{15}, in the phrase πνεῦμα δουλείας . . . εἰς φόβον. These two contrasted states of relationship, belonging respectively to the new covenant of freedom and to the old covenant of bondage to the law, are compared by way of allegory to Isaac, son of the freewoman Sarah, and Ishmael, son of the bond-slave (παιδίσκη) Hagar. The one is represented by the heavenly Jerusalem and the other by Mount Sinai (Gal 4^{21}–5^{1}). By His death Christ has freed us from subjection to bondage throughout our life through fear of death (He 2^{15}). Obviously, such a relationship of free, loving service to Christ is not adequately expressed by δουλεία. The slave has no proper cognizance of his master's thoughts, but Christ has confided all His Father's purposes of love to His disciples. 'Henceforth I do not call you servants (slaves), but I have called you friends' (Jn 15^{15}).

LITERATURE.—Nowack, *Heb. Arch.* and the corresponding work of Benzinger; Ewald, *Alterthümer*^{3}, pp. 280-288 (Eng. tr. p. 210 ff.); the articles on Slaves in *PRE*, in Riehm's *HWB*, and in Hamburger's *RE*; Mielziner, *Die Verhältnisse der Sklaven bei den alten Hebräern*; Mandl, *Das Sklavenrecht des AT.* All these have been duly utilized in the present article. Suggestive for the OT is ch. vi. on 'Society, Morals,' etc., in McCurdy, *HPM* ii. 168 ff. On Græco-Roman Society cf. Smith's *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Ant.*^{3}, and the *Concise Dict.* by Warre Cornish (from which materials have been drawn). Other works have been referred to in the course of the article. On Arab slavery see Lane's *Arabian Nights*, ch. i. note 13; on slavery in the light of Christian ethics see Jul. Köstlin, *Christliche Ethik*, pp. 318, 490 ff.; Lightfoot, *Philemon* (Introd.). OWEN C. WHITEHOUSE.

SESIS (B Σεσεῖς, A Σεσσεῖς), 1 Es 9^{34} = Shashai, Ezr 10^{40}.

SESTHEL (Σεσθήλ), 1 Es 9^{31} = Bezalel of the sons of Pahath-moab, Ezr 10^{30}.

SET.—The Eng. verb to 'set' is properly a causative form of 'sit,' but it has been confused with 'sit' (partly through spelling both 'set'), and, like other monosyl. verbs, has come to be used very freely. **1.** Observe the foll. passages: Gn 30^{36} 'And he set three days' journey betwixt himself and Jacob' (Wyc. 'And putte a space of thre daies weye betwixt,' 1388 'settide the space of weie of thre daies betwixt'); Ex 19^{12} 'And thou shalt set bounds unto the people round about' (Wyc. 'ordeyn termes,' 1388 'sette termes'; Tind. 'sett marks rounde aboute the people'); Ps 73^{18} 'Surely thou didst set them in slippery places'; Sir 10^{9} 'Such an one setteth his own soul to sale' (τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ψυχὴν ἔκπρακτον ποιεῖ); Lk 7^{8} 'I also am a man set under authority' (τασσόμενος); He 12^{1} 'the race that is set before us' (τὸν προκείμενον ἡμῖν ἀγῶνα); 12^{2} 'for the joy that was set before him' (ἀντὶ τῆς προκειμένης αὐτῷ χαρᾶς).

2. To 'be set' is sometimes used as an equivalent for to 'sit,' like Scot. 'be seated,' as Lk 7^{37} Rhem. 'As she knew that he was set downe in the Pharisees house.' So Dn 7^{10} 'The judgment was set' (דִּינָא יִתֵּב, LXX κριτήριον ἐκάθισε, Vulg. *judicium sedit*, Wyc. 'the dom sate'); Sir 38^{29} 'Who is alway carefully set at his work'; Mt 5^{1} 'When he was set, his disciples came unto him'; 27^{19}; Lk 2^{34} 'This child is set for the fall and rising again of many in Israel' (κεῖται); Jn 13^{12} 'So after he had washed their feet . . . and was set down again'; Ph 1^{17} 'I am set for the defence of the gospel' (κεῖμαι); He 8^{1}; Rev 3^{21} 'To him that overcometh will I grant to sit (καθίσαι) with me in my throne, even as I also overcame, and am set down (ἐκάθισα) with my father in his throne.'

3. To set means to arrange in proper order, in 2 Ch 20^{17} 'Set yourselves, stand ye still,' Ps 2^{2} 'The kings of the earth set themselves' (יִתְיַצְּבוּ, Driver [*Par. Psalt.*], 'take their stand'), Ca 5^{12} 'His eyes are . . . fitly set,' Is 3^{24} 'Instead of well set hair, baldness.' Cf. Ex 25^{7} Tindale, 'Onix stones and sett stones for the Ephod'; Chaucer, *Duchesse*, 828—

> 'So had she
> Surmounted hem alle of beaute,
> Of maner and of comlinesse,
> Of stature and wel set gladnesse.'

4. The sense of 'fix,' 'determine,' arises naturally from the original idea of 'cause to stand.' Thus Neh 2^{6} 'It pleased the king to send me; and I set him a time'; so Gn 17^{21} 'At this set time in the next year' (cf. 21^{2}, Ex 9^{5}); 'set office' (אֲמָנָה), 1 Ch $9^{22.\ 26.\ 31}$, 2 Ch $31^{15.\ 18}$; and esp. 'set feast' (as the tr. of מוֹעֵד, lit. 'appointed time' [of sacred seasons]) Lv $13^{2ff.}$ RV (7 such are enumerated in this ch.), Nu 10^{10} (RV) 29^{29} *al.* Cf. *Judgement of the Synode at Dort*, p. 4, 'Hee hath chosen in Christ unto salvation a set number of certaine men, neither better nor more worthy then others.'

5. The following phrases are mostly *biblical*. (1) *Set one's hand to*, Dt 23^{20} 'In all that thou settest thine hand to' (RV 'puttest thine hand unto'), 28^{8}. Cf. Ac 12^{1} Rhem. 'And at the same time Herod the king set his handes, to afflicte certaine of the Church.' (2) *Set one's heart to*, Ex 7^{23} 'Neither did he set his heart to this also' (RV 'lay even this to heart,' RVm '*Heb.* set his heart even to this'); Dt 32^{46} 'Set your hearts unto all the words which I testify among you this day'; 1 Ch 22^{19} 'Now set your heart and your soul to seek the Lord your God'; Job 7^{17} 'What is man . . . that thou shouldest set thine heart upon him?'; Ps 78^{8} 'A generation that set not their heart aright'; Jer 31^{21} 'Set thine heart toward the highway'; Dn 6^{14} 'Then the king . . . set his heart on Daniel to deliver him.' Cf. 1 Ch 29^{3} 'I have set my affection to the house of my God.' (3) *Set one's face.* This is one of the many Hebraisms in which the 'face' plays its part. It has two meanings: (*a*) *Turn towards with a purpose or resolution, determine*, Nu 24^{1} 'But he set his face toward the wilderness'; 2 K 12^{17} 'And Hazael set his face to go up to Jerusalem'; Ezk 21^{16} 'Go thee one way or other . . . whithersoever thy face is set'; Jer 42^{15} 'If ye wholly set your faces to enter into Egypt,' 42^{17}; Lk 9^{51} 'He stedfastly set his face to go to Jerusalem' (τὸ πρόσωπον ἐστήρισεν). (*b*) *To take up an antagonistic position*, Lv 17^{10} 'I will even set my face against that soul that eateth blood,' $20^{3.\ 5.\ 6}$; Jer 21^{10} 'For I have set my face against this city for evil'; Ezk 6^{2} 'Son of man, set thy face toward the mountains of Israel, and prophesy against them,' 13^{17} 15^{7} 20^{46} 21^{2} 25^{2} 28^{21} 29^{2} 35^{2} 38^{2}. (4) To *set eyes on*, Ac 13^{9}, is not as now 'to catch a glimpse of,' but to 'fix one's eyes upon': 'Then Saul (who is also called Paul), filled with the Holy Ghost, set his eyes on him' (ἀτενίσας εἰς αὐτόν, RV 'fastened his eyes on him').

6. The verb to 'set' is used with certain adverbs in a sense that is antiquated or Hebraistic: (1) *Set at*, that is, 'valued at,' 2 K 12[4] 'The money that every man is set at' (RV 'the money of the persons for whom each man is rated,' RVm '*Heb.* each man the money of the souls of his estimation'). Cf. Lv 27[2] Tind. 'Yf any man will geve a synguler vowe unto the Lorde acordynge to the value of his soule, then shall the male from xx. yere unto lx. be set at fyftie sycles of sylver'; and Shaks. *Hamlet*, I. iv. 67—'I do not set my life at a pin's fee.' (2) *Set at nought, i.e.* despise, treat with contempt or mockery, Pr 1[25] 'But ye have set at nought all my counsel,' Mk 9[12], Lk 23[11], Ac 4[11] 19[27], Ro 14[10]. (3) *Set by, i.e.* esteem, 2 Mac 4[15] 'Not setting by the honours of their fathers, but liking the glory of the [Grecians] best of all' (ἐν οὐδενὶ τιθέμενοι, RV 'making of no account'). Cf. Ps 15[4] Pr. Bk. 'He that setteth not by hym selfe, but maketh moche of them that fear the Lorde'; Ridley, *Works*, 27, 'Lest I should seem to set by mine own conceit, more than is meet'; *Babees Book*, p. 72—

> 'He that good manners seemes to lack,
> No wyse man doth set by:
> Wythout condicions vertuous,
> Thou art not worth a flye.'

So *set much by*, 1 S 18[30] 'His name was much set by,' 26[24 bis]: cf. 1 P 3[4] Tind. 'With a meke and a quyet sprete, which sprete is before God a thinge moche set by.' So also *set little by* or *set light by*, Dt 27[16] 'Cursed be he that setteth light by his father or his mother'; Ezk 22[7], Jth 11[2]. Cf. Jer 50[12] Cov. 'She shall be the least set by amonge the nacions'; Tindale, *Expos.* p. 229, '*Called the least*, that is to say, shall be little set by and despised: *called great*, that is to say, shall be much set by and had in reverence.' Even *set at light* is found in the margin of 2 S 19[43]. Cf. Fisher, *A Spiritual Consolation* (in Morley's *Eng. Religion*, p. 140), 'Such as we set but at light, full greatly shall be weighed in the presence of his most high Majesty'; Knox, *Hist.* 49, 'Perchance this hand of God will make them now to magnifie and reverence that word which before (for the fear of men) they set at light price.' (4) *Set forth.* This phrase has various meanings: (*a*) *Begin a journey*, Nu 2[9] 'These shall first set forth'; Ac 21[2] 'We went aboard, and set forth' (ἀνήχθημεν, RV 'set sail'). Cf. Bunyan, *Holy War*, 68, 'The time, therefore, of his setting forth being now expired, he addressed himself for his march'; Melvill, *Diary*, 172, 'Sa, parting from Berwik, hartlie recommendit to the blessing and grace of God, be manie godlie men and women, and be sum sett and convoyet a guid way on our jorney, we cam that night to Anweik.' (*b*) *Bring forward* or *cause to be seen*, Ps 141[2] 'Let my prayer be set forth before thee as incense' (תִּכּוֹן, LXX κατευθυνθήτω, Vulg. *dirigatur*); Ezk 27[10] 'They hanged the shield and helmet in thee; they set forth thy comeliness' (נָתְנוּ, LXX ἔδωκαν); Dn 11[11. 13] 'And he shall set forth a great multitude' (וְהַעֲמִיד); Am 8[5] 'When will the new moon be gone, that we may sell corn? and the sabbath, that we may set forth wheat?' (וְנַפְתַּחָה־בָּר, AVm and RVm 'open'); Lk 1[1] 'To set forth in order a declaration of those things' (ἀνατάξασθαι); Ro 3[25] 'Whom God hath set forth to be a propitiation' (ὃν προέθετο ὁ θεός, AVm 'foreordained,' RVm 'purposed'); 1 Co 4[9] 'For I think that God hath set forth us the apostles last' (ἀπέδειξεν); Gal 3[1] 'Before whose eyes Jesus Christ hath been evidently set forth' (προεγράφη, RV 'was openly set forth'); Jude [7] 'Even as Sodom and Gomorrha . . . are set forth for an example' (πρόκειται δεῖγμα). Cf. Pr. Bk. *Exhort. to Confession*, 'When we assemble and meet together . . . to set forth His most worthy praise, to hear His most holy word'; Shaks. *King John*, II. i. 295—

> 'Up higher to the plain, where we'll set forth
> In best appointment all our regiments.'

The same phrase is used technically of placing food before one, Jn 2[10] 'Every man at the beginning doth set forth good wine' (τίθησιν). (*c*) *Praise*, Sir 11 [heading] 'We may not vaunt or set forth ourselves.' Cf. Pr. Bk. 1549 (Canticle foll. *Te Deum*), 'Speak good of the Lord; praise him, and set him up for ever'; and Shaks. *Lucrece*, 34—

> Beauty itself doth of itself persuade
> The eyes of men without an orator:
> What needeth then apologies be made
> To set forth that which is so singular?'

(5) *Set forward.* See FORWARD in vol. ii. p. 60. (6) *Set on* means: (*a*) *Place on table*, Gn 43[31. 32] 'And he washed his face . . . and said, Set on bread'; Bel [11] 'Set on the meat, and make ready the wine.' (*b*) *Incite* or urge to some course of action, Jer 38[22] 'Thy friends have set thee on, and have prevailed against thee' (הִסִּיתוּךָ); 43[3] 'But Baruch the son of Neriah setteth thee on against us' (מְסִתְּךָ). (*c*) As a ptcp. *bent on*, Ex 32[22] 'They are set on mischief.' (*d*) To *attack*, Ac 18[10] 'No man shall set on thee to hurt thee' (ἐπιθήσεταί σοι). (7) *Set to*, meaning *affix*, of a seal, Jn 3[33] 'He that hath received his testimony hath set to his seal that God is true' (ἐσφράγισεν). Cf. Ex 21[30] Tind. 'Yf he be sette to a summe of money, then he shall geve for the delyveraunce off his lyfe, accordynge to all that is put unto him'; Adams, *Works*, i. 18, 'In testimony whereof I have set to my hand, and sent it you as a token of the gratitude of my heart.' (8) *Set up*, meaning *establish*, Mal 3[15] 'They that work wickedness are set up.'

J. HASTINGS.

SETH (שֵׁת, *i.e.* Shēth; LXX and NT Σήθ [in 1 Ch 1[1] A has Σήs]).—The third son of Adam, Gn 4[25] (J) 5[3] (P), 1 Ch 1[1], Lk 3[38]. In the first of these passages J assigns a characteristic etymology for the name, Eve being made to say 'God hath set (*shāth*) for me another seed instead of Abel,' for which reason she called him *Shēth* (*i.e.* 'setting' or 'slip,' Dillm.). In Sir 49[16] Seth is coupled with Shem as 'glorified among men.' A heretical Jewish sect, whose tenets afterwards found acceptance in Christian Gnostic circles, derived its name from Seth. These *Sethians* or *Sethites* held (like other Gnostics, Jewish and Christian) that the material universe was the creation of angels and not of the supreme *Dynamis*, to whom Seth owed his birth. Theodoret (*Hær. Fab.* i. 14) appears to identify them with the Ophites: Σηθιανοὶ οὓς Ὀφιανοὺς ἢ Ὀφίτας τινες ὀνομάζουσι. Some of the Jewish Sethites believed Seth to have been the Messiah, and later Gnostics held that Jesus Christ was a re-incarnation of Seth. For further information as to this sect and its relations to the Ophites and Cainites (a subject beyond the scope of this art.), see Friedländer, *Der vorchristliche jüdische Gnosticismus*, 1898, p. 18 ff.; Preuschen, *Die apokr. gnost. Adamschriften*, 1900, *passim*; and cf. Epiphanius (*adv. Hær.* xxxix.), pseudo-Tertull. (viii.), and Philast. (iii.).

J. A. SELBIE.

SETHUR (סְתוּר, Σαθούρ).—The Asherite spy, Nu 13[13 (14)].

SETTLE (עֲזָרָה).—See TEMPLE, p. 710[b] n.

SEVEN, SEVENTY.—See NUMBER, vol. iii. pp. 562 f., 565[a].

SEVENEH (סְוֵנֵה; Gr. Συήνη, *Syene*; Egyp. *Swn*, Dem. *Swne*, Copt. COYAN [*Swan*]; Arab. اسوان [*Aswân*]).—A city on the east bank of the Nile

immediately above the First Cataract, the southern frontier post of Egypt. For some distance north of Aswan the cultivable portion of the Nile Valley is extremely narrow. At Aswan the hills draw in rapidly on either side, and the town is built against a rocky barrier of sandstone supported by a dyke of granite that crosses the Nile and forms the cataract. Here there is no cultivation on either bank beyond that of a few palm trees and tiny patches of garden; but the little island of Elephantine in the middle of the stream opposite Aswan is almost clothed with vegetation, and formed the ancient capital of the first nome of Upper Egypt. West of the river are cliffs, shrouded with sand, but pierced by countless tombs of the former inhabitants of the island. Elephantine-Syene must have formed an almost ideal frontier fortress. Immediately above this point the narrow passage of the Nile was rendered dangerous and very tedious for boats by the rocks and islands and rushing currents of the cataract. On the west bank there is not even a path; the adventurous sightseer must clamber over the rocks; on the east bank there was only one clear road, and this led through a long narrow defile parallel to the river into the open ground opposite Philæ. Elephantine, the island, was the secure metropolis of the district, the residence of the governor, and the centre of the local cult of the cataract gods. Its name in Egyptian was *'bw*, 'elephant,' demotic *yb* (Iηβ), a name which seems to have been applied not only to the island but also to the surrounding district, including the quarries of granite. Syene itself was probably considered as only a mainland suburb of Elephantine. 'Wine of *swn*' is mentioned in very early inscriptions, but it is doubtful whether the reference is to Syene. In the Egyptian inscriptions the name of the town is known only at a very late date; its temple is of Ptolemaic age. Gradually the importance of Elephantine waned, and that of Syene grew; with the fall of paganism even the name *Yêb* (Elephantine) was given up and that of *Swan* took its place. It is remarkable that Ezekiel employs the name *Sweneh* and not *Yêb* for the southern frontier; the references are Ezk 29[10] 30[6]; the reading of RVm 'from Migdol to Syene' is the best. (See MIGDOL). Herodotus often refers to Ἐλεφαντίνη. In ii. 30 he speaks of Elephantine, Daphnæ near Pelusium, and Marea as the garrison cities respectively against the Ethiopians, against the Syrians and Arabs, and against Libya. His only reference to Syene is in ii. 28, where he mentions 'hills between (*sic*) Syene and Elephantine' in a fantastic passage which is no guide to facts; his geography in Upper Egypt is always faulty. F. LL. GRIFFITH.

SEVER.—The verbs to 'sever' and to 'separate' both come from Lat. *separare*, the former through Old Fr. *sevrer*, the latter directly. The form 'sever' now expresses a sharper stroke than 'separate,' but in older Eng. no distinction was observed between them. All the verbs tr[d] 'sever' in AV are also tr[d] 'separate.' Cf. Bacon, *Adv. of Learn.* ii. 367, 'We see the chaff may and ought to be severed from the corn in the ear'; and Rhem. NT (note on Ac 10[26]), 'But when Heretikes began to rise from among the Christians, who professed Christ's name and sundry Articles of faith as true believers doe, the name *Christian* was to common to sever the Heretikes from true faithful men: and thereupon the Apostles by the holy Ghost imposed this name Catholike upon the Beleevers which in al points were obedient to the Churches doctrine.' J. HASTINGS.

SEVERAL.—Just as 'sever' in AV means to *separate*, so 'several' means *separate, distinct*, as 2 K 15[5] 'He was a leper unto the day of his death, and dwelt in a several house'; Mt 25[15] 'to every man according to his several ability.' So **severally**, 1 Co 12[11] 'dividing to every man severally as he will.' Cf. Dt 7[6] Tind. 'The Lorde thy God hath chosen the to be a severall people unto him silf'; Tymme, *Calvin's Genesis*, 882 (Gn 49[28]), 'Every one of them blessed he, with a severall blessing'; Ridley, *Works*, 390, 'Our own servants were taken from us before and . . . we each one appointed to be kept in several places'; Calderwood, *Hist.* 107, 'Their [elders] office is as well severally, as conjunctly, to watch diligently over the flock committed to their charge.'

J. HASTINGS.

SHAALABBIN (שַׁעַלַבִּין; B Σαλαβείν, A Σαλαμείν; Vulg. *Selebin*).—A town of Dan mentioned between Irshemesh (Beth-shemesh) and Aijalon (Jos 19[42]). It is apparently the same place as SHAALBIM.

C. W. WILSON.

SHAALBIM (שַׁעַלְבִים; in Joshua LXX BA have Θαλαβείν, in 1 Kings B has Βηθαλαμεί, A Σαλαβείμ; Vulg. *Salabim, Salebim*).—A town mentioned with Mt. Heres and Aijalon as being occupied by the Amorites who had driven the Danites into the hills (Jg 1[35]). It was, with Makaz and Beth-shemesh, in the district of one of Solomon's commissariat officers (1 K 4[9]); and if it be the same place as **Shaalabbin,** it is mentioned with Aijalon and Beth-shemesh in Jos 19[42]. It is probably identical with **Shaalbon,** the home of one of David's heroes. Eusebius and Jerome (*Onom. s.* Σαλαβείν, *Salabim*) identify it with Salaba, a large village in the territory of Sebaste; but this is too far north of Aijalon. Elsewhere (*Com. ad Ezek.* 48) Jerome mentions 'the towers of Aijalon, and Selebi, and Emmaus' in connexion with Joppa and the territory of Dan. From this Conder (*PEF Mem.* iii. 52) identifies Shaalbim with *Selbît*, about 8 miles N. of Beth-shemesh, 3 miles N.W. of Aijalon, and 2 miles N. of Emmaus. Possibly (see Driver, *Text. of Sam.* 54) Shaalbim should be read for **Shaalim** in 1 S 9[4]. C. W. WILSON.

SHAALBONITE, THE (הַשַּׁעַלְבֹנִי; in 2 S ὁ Σαλαβωνείτης; in 1 Ch B ὁ Ὀμεί, A ο Σαλαβωνί; *de Salboni*).—Eliahba, the Shaalbonite, one of David's heroes (2 S 23[32], 1 Ch 11[33]), was a native of Shaalbon,—a place not mentioned elsewhere. See SHAALBIM. C. W. WILSON.

SHAALIM, THE LAND OF (אֶרֶץ־שַׁעָלִים; B τῆς γῆς Ἐασακέμ, A τ. γ. Σααλείμ; *terra Salim*).—Saul, when searching for his father's asses, passed through the land of Shaalim (1 S 9[4]) after he had traversed the hill-country of Ephraim, and the land of Shalishah, and before he reached the 'land of Jemini' (RV and AV 'land of the Benjamites')—probably part of the territory of Benjamin. If Saul started from Gibeah, and Shalishah was, as seems probable, in the western hills (see SHALISHAH), the land of Shaalim must have been a portion of the hill-country east of Lydda, and not far from the boundary of Benjamin. It is possible, however, that Shaalim is a textual error for **Shaalbim** of Jg 1[35], Jos 19[42]. See Driver, *Text of Sam.* p. 54.

C. W. WILSON.

SHAAPH (שַׁעַף).—**1.** The son of Jahdai, a Calebite, 1 Ch 2[47]. **2.** A son of Caleb by his concubine Maacah, 1 Ch 2[49]. In both passages B has Σάγαε, A Σάγαφ.

SHAARAIM (שַׁעֲרַיִם; Σακαρείμ; *Saraim, Saarim*).—**1.** A town of Judah, in the Shephēlah (lowland), mentioned (Jos 15[36]) in the same group with Adullam, Socoh, and Azekah. It was unknown to Eusebius (*Onom. s.* Σαραείν). Conder (*PEF*

Mem. iii. 194) suggests *Khurbet S'aîreh*, west of *Beit 'Atâb*; others identify it with *Zakarîya* (Riehm, *HWB*). Shaaraim is perhaps mentioned again in the pursuit of the Philistines after the death of Goliath (1 S 17^{52}), when 'the wounded Philistines fell down by the way to Shaaraim (RVm 'the two gates'), even unto Gath and Ekron.' The meaning of the word is 'two gates,' and the LXX takes it in this passage to mean the gates of Gath and Ekron. See, further, art. GAI, and Wellh. *Sam. ad loc.*

2. A town of Simeon (1 Ch 4^{31}) which appears as **Sharuhen** in Jos 19^{6}, and as **Shilhim** in Jos 15^{32}. It was situated in the Negeb, and was possibly the same place as the Canaanite 'fortress of the land of Sharuana,' mentioned in the annals of Thothmes III. (*RP* ii. 38). This indicates that the form *Sharuhen* is correct. C. W. WILSON.

SHAASHGAZ (שַׁעַשְׁגַּז).—A chamberlain of king Ahasuerus, Est 2^{14}. The LXX reads Γαΐ, the same name as it gives to the official referred to in vv.$^{8, 15}$. See HEGAI.

SHABBETHAI (שַׁבְּתַי). — A Levite who opposed the action of Ezra in the matter of the foreign marriages, Ezr 10^{15} (B Σαβαθαΐ, A Καββαθαΐ)= SABBATEUS of 1 Es 9^{14}. He is mentioned also, along with other Levites, in Neh 8^{7} (LXX om.), as explaining the law to the people (in 1 Es 9^{48} SABATEUS); and in 11^{16} (BA$\aleph^{*}$ om., $\aleph^{c.\,a}$ Σοββαθαΐος) as one of 'the chiefs of the Levites who had the oversight of the outward business of the house of God.'

SHACHIA (שַׁכְיָה, so Baer; the MSS show the variants שַׁכְיָה, שַׁכְנְיָא, שַׁכְנְיָה, שַׁבְיָה, the last being supported by the Syr. and the LXX [B Σαβιά, A Σεβιά, but Luc. Σεχιά], while the forms in ב instead of כ can claim the support of the Vulg. *Sechia*).—A son of Shaharaim, a Benjamite, 1 Ch 8^{10}.

SHADDAI.—See art. GOD, vol. ii. p. 199^{a}.

SHADRACH (שַׁדְרַךְ, Σεδράχ).—The name given to Hananiah, one of Daniel's companions, by the prince of the eunuchs, Dn 1^{7}. It is related in Dn 3 how Shadrach, along with Meshach (Mishael) and Abed-nego (Azariah), all of whom had been advanced to high offices (2^{49}), resisted the command to pay homage to Nebuchadnezzar's golden image, how all three were in consequence cast into a fiery furnace, and how they were miraculously delivered. See HANANIAH, No. **2**, and THREE CHILDREN (SONG OF THE).

The etymology of the name *Shadrach* is uncertain. Frd. Delitzsch (*Lib. Dan.* xii.) suggests that it is a variation of the Bab. *Šudur-Aku*, 'command of the moon-god,' comparing the Assyr. *Têm-ilu*=טעם־אל, and the Heb. אֲמַרְיָהוּ. This view is pronounced by Schrader (*KAT*^{2} 429 [*COT* ii. 125]) to have 'considerable probability.'

J. A. SELBIE.

SHAGE (שָׁגֵא; B Σωλά, A Σαγή).—The father of Jonathan, one of David's heroes, 1 Ch 11^{34}. See AGEE and SHAMMAH, No. **3**.

SHAHARAIM (שַׁחֲרַיִם; B Σααρήλ, A Σααρήμ).—A Benjamite who is said to have begotten children in the 'field of Moab' after he had sent away two wives, Hushim and Baara, 1 Ch 8^{8} (RVm). The passage is obscure.

SHAHAZUMAH (שַׁחֲצוּמָה *Kethibh*; AV Shahazimah, after *Kerê* שַׁחֲצִימָה; B Σαλείμ κατὰ θάλασσαν, A Σασειμάθ, *Sehesima*).—A town allotted to Issachar, which was apparently between Mt. Tabor and the Jordan (Jos 19^{22}). Its site was unknown to Eusebius and Jerome (*Onom. s.* Σασιμά, *Sasima*), and it has not yet been identified.

C. W. WILSON.

SHALEM (שָׁלֵם; εἰς Σαλήμ; *in Salem*).—According to AV (cf. Luther's translation), which follows the LXX, the Pesh., and the Vulg., 'Shalem' (Gn 33^{18}) is a proper name, and considered to be a town near Shechem. Eusebius and Jerome (*Onom.*) believed Shalem and Shechem to be the same place. But if Shalem was a town, it must have been *Sâlim*, 4 miles east of *Nâblus* (Shechem). In Gn 28^{21} בְּשָׁלֵם *bĕ-shālēm* is translated 'in peace,' and in Gn 33^{18} we should probably translate 'in peace to the city of Shechem,' as in RV which follows the Targums of Onkelos and pseudo-Jonathan, the Samaritan Codex, the Arabic Version, and the great Jewish and other commentators of modern times. See Dillm. *ad loc.* C. W. WILSON.

SHALISHAH, THE LAND OF (אֶרֶץ־שָׁלִשָׁה; B ἡ γῆ Σελχά, A ἡ γῆ Σαλισά; *terra Salisa*).—Saul, when searching for his father's asses, passed through the 'land of Shalishah' (1 S 9^{4}) after crossing the 'hill-country of Ephraim,' and before reaching the 'land of Shaalim.' Leaving Gibeah he must have crossed Mt. Ephraim in a northerly direction, and the 'land of Shalishah' must consequently have been in the western hills. **Baal-shalishah** (2 K 4^{42}), which was very probably in the land of Shalishah, is said by Eusebius and Jerome (*Onom. s.* Βαιθσαρισάθ, *Bethsalisa*) to have been in the Thamnitic toparchy, 15 M.P. north of Lydda. This points to *Khurbet Sirîsia*, or, according to Conder (*PEF Mem.* ii. 285), to *Khurbet Kefr Thilth*. See SHAALIM. C. W. WILSON.

SHALLECHETH, THE GATE (שַׁעַר שַׁלֶּכֶת; ἡ πύλη παστοφορίου; *porta quæ ducit*).—One of the gates of the 'house of Jehovah' which Solomon was to build after the death of David (1 Ch 22). It is mentioned only in 1 Ch 26^{16}, in a list of the gate-keepers (AV 'porters') of the sacred enclosure as settled by David. The gate was on the west side of the outer court, behind the temple buildings, and apparently at, or near, the head of the ramp or causeway (מְסִלָּה) which led up to the sanctuary from the ravine which Josephus calls the Tyropœon Valley. It has been suggested (cf. Smith's *DB*, *s.v.*) that the causeway was at 'Wilson's Arch'; but, in the uncertainty which still exists with regard to the site of the temple, and the condition of the hill in the time of Solomon, this can only be regarded as speculation. Some authorities (*e.g.* Riehm [*HWB*], *Speaker's Com.*), from the meaning of the word *Shallecheth*, 'casting forth,' consider the gate to be that by which the ashes and the offal of the victims were thrown out. It is, however, probable that the refuse of the temple was carried out on the east or south side, and burned, or otherwise disposed of, in the Kidron Valley. The LXX rendering, 'Gate of the *Pastophorion*,' appears to point to a building with chambers, of which there were several round the outer enclosure of the temple. C. W. WILSON.

SHALLUM (שַׁלּוּם and שָׁלֻם).—**1.** One of the kings of Israel, 2 K $15^{10\text{-}16}$ (Σελλούμ). He headed a conspiracy against Zechariah, the last king of Jehu's dynasty, murdered him, and usurped his throne (*c.* 740 B.C.). After the short period of a month, he himself fell a victim to MENAHEM (see vol. iii. p. 340^{a}). **2.** It is not improbable that in Jer 22^{11} (Σελλήμ) שַׁלֻם (AV and RV 'Shallum') is meant to be an epithet, 'the requited one,' applied to Jehoahaz, or it may be that Shallum was the original name of the latter (see JEHOAHAZ, No. **2**). The Chronicler takes (perhaps from this passage) Shallum as a proper name, and makes him the

fourth son of Josiah, 1 Ch 3[15] (B Σαλούμ, A Σαλλούμ). **3.** The husband (or son, LXX in 2 Kings) of HULDAH the prophetess, 2 K 22[14] (B Σελλήμ, A Σελλούμ), 2 Ch 34[22] (BA Σελλήμ). **4.** A Judahite, 1 Ch 2[40f.] (B Σαλούμ, A in v.[40] Σαλλούμ). **5.** A descendant of Simeon, 1 Ch 4[25] (Σαλέμ). **6.** A high priest, son of Zadok, 1 Ch 6[12. 13] (B Σαλώμ, A Σελλούμ), Ezr 7[2] (B Σελούμ, A Σελλούμ)=SALEM of 1 Es 8[1] and SALEMAS of 2 Es 1[1]. **7.** A son of Naphtali, 1 Ch 7[13] (B Σαλωμών, A Σελλούμ), called in Gn 46[24] and Nu 26[49] **Shillem** (שִׁלֵּם; in former passage A Συλλήμ, in latter B Σελλή, A Σελλήμ), with the gentilic name **Shillemites** (הַשִּׁלֵּמִי; B ὁ Σελλημεί, A ὁ Σελλημί), Nu 26[49]. **8.** The eponym of a family of gatekeepers, 1 Ch 9[17 bis] (B Σαλώμ, A first time Σαλλώμ), Ezr 2[42]=Neh 7[45] (B Σαλούμ, A Σελλούμ), called in 1 Es 5[28] SALUM, and (possibly) in Neh 12[25] MESHULLAM. **9.** A Korahite gatekeeper, 1 Ch 9[19] (B Σαλωμών, A Σαλώμ)[31] (BA Σαλώμ), called in 26[1. 2. 9] MESHELEMIAH and in 26[14] SHELEMIAH. It is not at all unlikely that this name should be identified with the preceding. **10.** Father of Jehizkiah, an Ephraimite chief, 2 Ch 28[12] (Σελλήμ). **11.** One of the porters who had married a foreign wife, Ezr 10[24] (B Γελλήμ, ℵ Γαιλλείμ, A Σολλήμ). **12.** One of the sons of Bani who had committed the same offence, Ezr 10[42] (B Σαλούμ, A Σελλούμ). **13.** The son of Hallohesh, ruler of a district of Jerusalem. He and his daughters are recorded to have assisted in the repairing of the wall, Neh 3[12] (B Σαλούμ, A Σαλλούμ, ℵ Οάλούμ). **14.** The uncle of Jeremiah, Jer 32 [Gr. 39][7] (Σαλώμ). **15.** Father of Maaseiah, the keeper of the threshold, Jer 35 [Gr. 42][4] (Σελώμ). J. A. SELBIE.

SHALLUN (שַׁלּוּן).—The son of Col-hozeh, the ruler of the district of Mizpah, who took part in the repair of the wall and gates of Jerusalem, Neh 3[15] (LXX om.).

SHALMAI.—See SALMAI.

SHALMAN (שַׁלְמָן).—Hos 10[14] (only) 'as Shalman spoiled Beth-arbel in the day of battle.' The identity of Shalman and of BETH-ARBEL (which see) are both doubtful. The former name may be a contraction of *Shalmaneser*, although the prophet's language, implying some event fresh in the memory of his hearers, does not suit the reign of Shalmaneser II. (B.C. 860–825) or even Shalmaneser III. (783–773). If Shalmaneser IV. (727–722) be referred to, the words must be a later gloss (so Wellhausen, *Kl. Proph. ad loc.*). To the suggestion of Schrader (*KAT*[2] 441 [*COT* ii. 140]) that the reference may be to an incursion (cf. 2 K 15[20]) of the Moabite king *Salamanu*, mentioned in Tiglath-pileser's great triumphal inscription (II Rawl. 67, line 60), both Wellh. and Nowack object that such an occurrence would have been too insignificant to supply material for the prophet's comparison. The versions give us no help, the LXX B reproducing כְּשׁוֹד שַׁלְמָן בֵּית אַרְבֵּאל by ὡς ἄρχων [*i.e.* שׂר for שׁד] Σαλαμὰν ἐκ τοῦ οἴκου Ἱεροβοάμ (A Ἱεροβάαλ), while the Vulg. has *sicut vastatus est Salmana a domo ejus qui judicavit Baal*, thinking apparently of the slaughter of Zalmunna by Gideon (Jerubbaal), Jg 8. J. A. SELBIE.

SHALMANESER (שַׁלְמַנְאֶסֶר, Σαλαμανασσάρ, *Salmanasar*).—The name is abbreviated from Assyr. Sulman-asaridu, 'the god Sulman (of peace) is chief.' In 2 K 17[3] it is said that 'Shalmaneser, king of Assyria,' came up against Hoshea of Samaria, who submitted at first, but afterwards, being detected in a conspiracy to revolt with the aid of the Egyptians, was deposed and imprisoned. Shalmaneser then besieged Samaria, B.C. 725. This was Shalmaneser IV. of the Assyr. monuments, whose original name was Ululâ, which he changed to Shalmaneser when he seized the throne (on the 25th day of Tebet, B.C. 727) after the death of Tiglath-pileser III. He seems to have been a successful general, and to have had no hereditary rights to the crown. Josephus (*Ant.* IX. xiv. 2), quoting from Menander, states that he attacked Elulæus of Tyre, and, though the Assyrian fleet of 60 vessels was destroyed by the Tyrian fleet of 12, the city was closely invested on the land side. Shalmaneser died at the beginning of the month Ṭebeth during the siege of Samaria, B.C. 722, after a reign of only 5 years. See, also, art. SHALMAN. A. H. SAYCE.

SHAMA (שָׁמָע; B Σαμαθά, A Σαμμά).—One of David's heroes, 1 Ch 11[44].

SHAMBLES.—1 Co 10[25] 'Whatsoever is sold in the shambles, that eat' (Gr. *μάκελλον*, from Lat. *macellum*, a provision market). The word 'shambles' is now used of the slaughter-house, but formerly, according to its origin, denoted the place where the meat was sold. It is the Anglo-Sax. *scamel*, a stool, from Lat. *scamellum*, a little stool or bench. Cf. Congreve, *Juvenal's Satires*, xi.—

> 'Many there are of the same wretched Kind,
> Whom their despairing Creditors may find
> Lurking in Shambles; where with borrowed Coin
> They buy choice Meats.'

J. HASTINGS.

SHAME (Heb. בּוֹשׁ 'to be ashamed,' בֹּשֶׁת 'shame,' also other words; Gr. *αἰσχύνη*, *ἀτιμία*, etc.).—In the biblical use of the word 'shame' there is a blending of several meanings: besides the sense of shame proper, felt for oneself (Job 11[3], Lk 14[9], 2 Th 3[14]) or for another (Ezr 9[6], Pr 10[5] 17[2], 2 Co 9[4]), there is included the feeling of disappointment (Job 6[20], Ps 35[4], Jer 14[3] 22[22]; cf. Ro 5[5]) or deception (Ps 14[6], Jer 2[36]), the experience of disaster (Job 8[22], Ps 40[15]) or disgrace (including reproach, rebuke, or insult) (Jg 18[7], Ru 2[15], Job 16[10] 19[3], Ps 22[6] 35[4] 69[7], Pr 25[10], Ph 3[19]); and thus are combined the subjective sense, the inward feeling, and the objective, its outward cause. This feeling is ascribed figuratively to a fountain (Hos 13[15]), Lebanon (Is 33[9]), the sun (Is 24[23]), and a vessel (Ro 9[21], 2 Ti 2[20]). Shame is awakened by the exposure of some parts of the body uncovered literally (compare Gn 2[25] with 3[7] 9[20-27], Ex 32[25], 2 S 6[20] 10[5], Is 20[4], Mic 1[11]), or figuratively (Is 47[3], Jer 13[26], Nah 3[5], Rev 3[18] 16[15]), by outrage on a woman's person (2 S 13[13]), by dishonouring treatment of the body (Is 50[6], Mk 12[4], Lk 20[11], 1 Th 2[2]), as crucifixion (He 6[6] 12[2]), and even by the appearance of a corpse (1 Co 15[43]). Poverty may make ashamed (Pr 13[18], 1 Co 11[22]), so beggary (Lk 16[3]), defeat in battle (2 Ch 32[21], Ps 44[9] 89[45]), or even disease (Nu 12[14]). A wicked wife (Pr 12[4]), or a bad child (Pr 10[5] 29[15]), may cause shame. Shame arises from any breach of acknowledged rules of propriety, as a woman's being shaven (1 Co 11[5]), or speaking in church (1 Co 14[35]), or a man's having long hair (1 Co 11[14]). Sins so unseemly are found among men, that not only the practice of them awakens shame (Ro 1[26. 27] 6[21], Jude [13]), but even the very sight or mention of them (Ezk 16[27], Eph 5[12]). Among the sins mentioned as bringing shame are folly (Pr 3[35] 14[35] 18[13]), refusal of instruction (Pr 13[18]), ignorance of truth of God (1 Co 15[34]), quarrelsomeness (Pr 25[8], 1 Co 6[5]), haste in speech (Pr 18[13]), riot (Pr 28[7]), idleness (Pr 10[5]), wilfulness (Pr 29[15]), lying (Pr 13[5]), dishonesty (2 Co 4[2]; cf. RV and AV), theft (Jer 2[26]), disrespect to parents (Pr 19[26]), ingratitude (1 Co 4[14]), pride (Pr 11[2]).

Shame in one or other of its senses is regarded as the Divine punishment of sin, which God threatens (Ps 132[18], Jer 23[40] 46[12]), and which the pious in OT

are sure will, in answer to prayer, fall on His and their enemies (Ps 6[10] 44[7] 53[5] 70[2] 86[17]). On the other hand, God promises (Ps 37[19]), and the pious are assured, that this experience will either not be theirs at all (Ps 25[3] 31[17] 34[5] 69[6] 119[31]), or if ever theirs, that they will be delivered from it (Is 29[22] 54[4] 61[7], Jl 2[26]). Even God's chosen people may be exposed to disgrace and disaster, making them first of all ashamed of their state (2 Ch 30[15], Jer 12[13] 14[3]), and then truly ashamed of the sin that has brought it on them (Ezr 9[6], Jer 31[19], Ezk 16[61], Hos 10[6]); but sometimes it is long before this feeling is aroused (Jer 3[3] 6[15] 8[9. 12]). Fidelity to God's cause may, however, also bring shame (Ps 44[15] 69[7]). The sin that most surely is followed by shame is idolatry (Is 1[29] 42[17] 44[9] 45[16], Jer 17[13] 48[13], Hos 4[7] 10[6]), or alliance with idolators (Gn 34[14], Ezr 9[6]). The idol itself is shameful (Jer 3[24] 11[13], Hos 9[10]; perhaps Hos 4[7] reading with Targ. Pesh. 'they have exchanged their glory for infamy'; cf. Jer 2[11] and Ps 106[20]), and its worship shameful, perhaps because often licentious (see Cheyne on Hos 4[7] and 9[10]). Worthy of note in this connexion is the change of the names Eshbaal (1 Ch 8[33]), Meribbaal (1 Ch 8[34]), Jerubbaal (Jg 6[32]), to Ishbosheth (2 S 2[8]), Mephibosheth (2 S 4[4]), and Jerubbesheth (2 S 11[21]). Although the alterations show the prophetic editor's aversion to idolatry, yet the names in their original form are not necessarily a proof of idolatry, as the name Baal may be used as a title of J″ (Hos 2[16]). Akin to the sin of idolatry was trust in any foreign alliances for safety instead of in J″, and this too brings 'shame,' *i.e.* disappointment (Is 20[5] 30[3. 5], Jer 2[36]; cf. Ezr 8[22]). See, further, Driver, *Par. Psalt.* (Glossary. *s.* 'abashed,' 'ashamed').

In NT the sense of shame is often mentioned by St. Paul. He is not ashamed of the gospel (Ro 1[16]), of his converts (2 Co 7[14]; cf. 9[4]), of his hope (Ro 5[5]), of his faith (Ro 9[33] 10[11]), of his trials (Ph 1[20], 2 Ti 1[12]), of his boasting (2 Co 10[8]). Onesiphorus was not ashamed of Paul's chain (2 Ti 1[16]), and Timothy is called on not to be ashamed of the witness of the Lord, or of Paul His prisoner (2 Ti 1[8]). The unruly are to be brought to shame by exclusion from the church (2 Th 3[14]). While the enemies of Christ are put to shame (Lk 13[17]), and the false accusers of His disciples (Tit 2[8], 1 P 3[16]), they, although slandered and ill-treated (2 Co 6[8]), need not be ashamed to suffer for His name (1 P 4[16]); for, if they are ashamed of Him now, He will be ashamed of them in the day of judgment (Mk 8[38], Lk 9[26]); but if they are faithful they need not fear shame in that day (1 Jn 2[28]), for Christ is not ashamed to call the sanctified brethren (He 2[11]), and God is not ashamed to be called the God of those who seek a better country (He 11[16]); but the wicked and unbelieving shall awake to shame (Dn 12[2]; cf. Jn 5[29]).

A. E. GARVIE.

SHAMEFACEDNESS.—The adj. 'shamefaced' occurs in Sir 26[15. 25] 32[10] 41[16. 24], and the subst. 'shamefacedness' in Sir 41[16], 1 Ti 2[9]. But in the 1611 editions, and for some time after, the spelling is always 'shamefast' and 'shamefastness.' Davies says he has not found 'shamefaced,' 'shamefacedness' earlier than 1661.

Trench (*On A V of NT*, p. 66) says: '*Shamefastness* is formed upon *shamefast*, that is, *fast* or established in honourable *shame*. To change this into *shamefacedness* is to allow all the meaning and force of the word to run to the surface, to leave it ethically a far inferior word,—and marks an unfaithful guardianship of the text, both on their part who first introduced, and theirs who have so long allowed, the change.' And Davies (*Bible English*, p. 12), after describing 'shamefastness' as 'that modesty which is *fast* or rooted in the character,' adds, 'The change is the more to be regretted because *shamefacedness* is seldom employed now in a very good sense; it has come rather to describe an awkward diffidence, such as we sometimes call sheepishness.' But the confusion between 'shamefastness' and 'shamefacedness' is as old as 1611. Shaks. does not use the subst., but he has the adj. twice: in *III Henry VI.* iv. viii. 53, 'shamefaced' is the only spelling; in *Rich. III.* i. iv. 142, the folio has 'shamefaced,' the quartos 'shamefast.' In the Rhemish NT (note on Lk 24[50]) we read, 'S. Augustine saith that Christ him self not without cause would have his sign to be fixed in our foreheads as in the seat of shamefastnes, that a Christian man should not be ashamed of the reproach of Christ,' which shows how the confusion could arise. And James Melvill (*Diary*, 79) uses the word 'shamefastness' practically in the modern sense of 'shamefacedness,' 'Yit my guid God, of his free grace, and love towards me, a vean, vyll, corrupt youthe; partlie by his fear wrought in my heart, partlie by necessar occupation in my calling, and partlie be a certean schamfastnes of a bashfull nature, quhilk he pat in me, sa keipit me that I was nocht overcome nor miscaried be na woman offensivlie to his kirk, nor grievuslie to my conscience, in blotting of my bodie.' For the proper sense of 'shamefastness,' cf. Chaucer, *Doctor's Tale*, 55—

'Shamefast she was in mayden's shamefastnesse';

Spenser, *FQ* II. ix. 43—

'She is the fountain of your modestee:
You shamefast are, but Shamefastnes it selfe is shee';

Elyot, *Governour*, i. 51—'The moste necessary thinges to be observed by a master in his disciples or scholars . . . is shamfastnes and praise. By shamfastnes, as it were with a bridell, they rule as well theyr dedes as their appetites.'

J. HASTINGS.

SHAMGAR (שַׁמְגַּר, Σαμεγάρ).—Son of Anath, and judge in the south of Israel between Ehud and Deborah. He slew 600 Philistines with an ox-goad (Jg 3[31] 5[6]). The name is Assyr. like Samgar-nebo (Jer 39[3]), and is a shortened form of some such name as Sumgir-Bel, 'be gracious, O Bel,' with the divine name omitted. Anath is also the Assyr.-Bab. Anatu, the wife of the god Anu (see, however, BABYLONIA, vol. i. p. 215[b]), unless we are to read Ben-anath, 'the son of Anatu,' which is the name of a Canaanite in one of the Tel el-Amarna tablets. The names show that Bab. influence lingered in the south of Palestine for some time after the period of the Tel el-Amarna tablets, when Bab. names were not uncommon there (see Moore's *Judges*, p. 106).

A. H. SAYCE.

SHAMHUTH (שַׁמְהוּת; B Σαλαώθ, A Σαμαώθ).—The fifth captain for the fifth month, 1 Ch 27[8]. He is called the IZRAHITE (B ὁ Ἐσρᾶε, A ὁ Ἰεζραελ), and is the same as **Shammoth** the Harorite (a scribal error for *Harodite*) of 1 Ch 11[27] and **Shammah** the HARODITE of 2 S 23[25].

SHAMIR (שָׁמִיר, Σαμήρ).—A Kohathite, son of Micah, 1 Ch 24[24].

SHAMIR (שָׁמִיר; Σαμείρ; *Samir*).—The name of two places in Palestine.

1. (A Σαφείρ) A town in the hill-country of Judah (Jos 15[48]), which is mentioned in the same group with Jattir and Socoh. Eusebius and Jerome from the reading of A alter the name to **Shaphir** (see Nowack, *Kl. Proph.* on Mic 1[11]). Conder (*PEF Mem.* iii. 262) identifies it with *Khurbet Sômerah*, which lies west of *Debîr*, and in this agrees with Guérin (*Judée*, iii. 364, 'Sumra').

2. (A Σαμάρεια) The home and burial-place of Tola, a man of Issachar, who judged Israel for twenty-three years (Jg 10[1. 2]). Shamir was in Mt. Ephraim, and Schwarz (151) identifies it with *Sanûr*, a picturesquely situated village between Samaria and En-gannim (*Jenîn*).

C. W. WILSON.

SHAMLAI.—See SALMAI.

SHAMMA (שַׁמָּא; B Σεμά, A Σαμμά).—An Asherite, 1 Ch 7[37].

SHAMMAH (שַׁמָּה).—**1.** The son of Reuel the son of Esau, and a tribal chief (אַלּוּף) of Edom (Gn 36[13. 17] [Σομέ, in v.[17] *D* Σομαί], 1 Ch 1[37] [B Σομέ, A Σομμέ]). **2.** (B in 1 S 16[9], 2 S 13[32] Σαμά, 2 S 13[3], 1 Ch 2[13] 20[7] Σαμαά, 2 S 21[21] Σεμεεί; A in 1 S 16[9] 17[13] Σαμμά, 1 Ch 2[13] Σαμαιά, 1 Ch 20[7] Σαμαάς) The third son of Jesse and brother of David. Like his two elder

brothers, he joined Saul's forces in the campaign against the Philistines, and was with the Israelite army in the valley of Elah when David overcame Goliath (1 S 17[13f.]). According to a later writer, he was present at the anointing of David by Samuel (1 S 16[1-13]). He was the father of Jonadab, the friend and adviser of Amnon (2 S 13[3f.]), and also of that Jonathan whose exploit against a Philistine giant is recorded in 2 S 21[20f.]. His name is variously given as **Shammah** (שַׁמָּה 1 S 16[9] 17[13]), **Shimeah** (שִׁמְעָה 2 S 13[3. 32]), **Shimei** (שִׁמְעִי, *Kĕrē* שִׁמְעָא 2 S 21[21]), and **Shimea** (שִׁמְעָא 1 Ch 2[13] 20[7]).

3. (2 S 23[11] B Σαμαιά, A Σαμμεάς; 23[33] B Σαμνάν, A Σαμνάς; 1 Ch 11[34] B Σωλά, A Σαγή) The son of AGEE, a Hararite (read הַהֲרָרִי in 2 S 23[11], see v.[33], 1 Ch 11[34]), one of David's famous 'Three.' The special act of bravery to which he owed his position is briefly recorded in 2 S 23[11. 12]. The Philistines, in the course of a foray, had driven the Israelites from a field of lentils (1 Ch 11[13] *barley*) at Lehi (read לֶחְיָה *to Lehi* (Jg 15[9-20]) for לַחְיָה *to the troop* (?), so most moderns; see Driver, *ad loc.*). The Israelites fled before the enemy, but Shammah held his ground, and by his courageous stand brought about a victory for Israel. The succeeding incident which is narrated in 2 S 23[13f.], viz. the well-known exploit of David's three mighty men, who broke through the hosts of the Philistines and brought him water from the well of Bethlehem, has been frequently ascribed to Shammah and the two other members of 'the Three'; but the three heroes who performed this feat are clearly stated in v.[13] to belong to 'the Thirty.' Since no previous mention has been made of 'the Thirty,' it is probable that vv.[13-17a] are not in their original place, and that v.[17b] really forms the continuation of vv.[8-12] (so Wellh., Driver). In the parallel narrative (1 Ch 11[10f.]) Shammah is not mentioned by name, and the exploit which made his name famous is wrongly ascribed to Eleazar the son of Dodo. Klostermann plausibly suggests that the incorrect reading in v.[11] 'into a troop' (לַחְיָה) represents an original 'to battle' (לַמִּלְחָמָה), and that the Chronicler accidentally passed from this phrase in v.[9] to the same phrase in v.[11], omitting the intervening narrative.

According to the most probable reading of 2 S 23[32. 33] Shammah was the father of Jonathan, one of David's 'Thirty.' In this passage the word *son* has been accidentally omitted, and we must restore 'Jonathan the son of Shammah' (יְהוֹנָתָן בֶּן־שַׁמָּה, so Driver, Budde, Kittel, Klost., Löhr); the parallel passage (1 Ch 11[34]) gives 'Jonathan the son of **Shage**' (יוֹנָתָן בֶּן־שָׂגֵי), but the reading 'Shammah' (for *Shage*) is confirmed by Lucian (Σαμαιά). Possibly *Shāgē* (שָׂגֵי) has arisen from a confusion with *'Āgē'* (אָגֵא) in 2 S 23[11]. Wellhausen (*Text d. B. Sam.* p. 216) prefers the reading of the Chronicler (אָגְיָ or בֶּן־שָׂגֵי), and supposes that Jonathan the Hararite was the son of Shage (which he would restore in v.[11] for *Agee*) and *brother* of Shammah. Klostermann, adopting the reading of Lucian in 2 S 23[11] ('Ηλά = אֵלָה), identifies Shammah with Shimei the son of Elah, one of Solomon's twelve monthly officers (1 K 4[18]).

4. (2 S 23[25] B Σαιμά, A Σαμμαί; 1 Ch 11[27] B Σαμαώθ, A Σαμώθ; 27[8] B Σαλαώθ, A Σαμαώθ) A Harodite, *i.e.* probably a native of *'Ain-ḥarod* (see HAROD), one of 'the Thirty,' and captain of Solomon's fifth monthly course. In the parallel lists he is called '**Shammoth** the Harorite' (1 Ch 11[27] שַׁמּוֹת הַחֲרוֹרִי; read הַחֲרוֹדִי *the Harodite*) and '**Shamhuth** the Izrahite' (1 Ch 27[8] שַׁמְהוּת הַיִּזְרָח).

Since the lists of heroes given in 2 S 23 and 1 Ch 11 are admittedly in confusion, it is possible that (3) and (4) are identical, and that the obscure 'Hararite' (2 S 23[11. 33]) is a mistake for 'Harodite.'

J. F. STENNING.

SHAMMAI (שַׁמַּי).—**1.** A Jerahmeelite, 1 Ch 2[28] (B Σαμαί, A Σαμμαί). In v.[32] the LXX runs the Heb. אֲחִי שַׁמַּי ('brother of Shammai') together as 'Αχεισάμας (B) or 'Αχισαμμά (A). **2.** The 'son' of Rekem and 'father' of Maon, 1 Ch 2[44f.] (B Σαμαί, A Σαμμαί). **3.** A Judahite, 1 Ch 4[17] (B Σεμέν, A Σεμμαί). See GENEALOGY, IV. 54.

SHAMMOTH.—See SHAMHUTH, and SHAMMAH No. 4.

SHAMMUA (שַׁמּוּעַ).—**1.** The Reubenite spy, Nu 13[4] (B Σαμουήλ, A Σαμαλιήλ). **2.** One of David's sons, 2 S 5[14] (B Σαμμούς, A Σαμμούε) 1 Ch 14[4] (B Σαμάα, A Σαμμαού, ℵ Σαμαιά); called in 1 Ch 3[5] **Shimea** (שִׁמְעָא; B Σάμαν, A Σαμαά). **3.** A Levite, Neh 11[17] (Σαμουεί) = SHEMAIAH, No. 6. **4.** The head of a priestly family, Neh 12[18] (BAℵ* om., ℵ[c. a] Σναμούε).

SHAMSHERAI (שַׁמְשְׁרַי; B 'Ισμασαριά, A Σαμσαριά).—A Benjamite, 1 Ch 8[26].

SHAPE.—In AV, as in earlier English generally, 'shape' is less definite and less material than now. In Wis 18[1] the mod. meaning is nearly approached, 'Not seeing their shape' (*μορφή*, Vulg. *figura*), but even there it is 'outward form' generally. In Lk 3[22] 'The Holy Ghost descended in a bodily shape like a dove upon him,' the meaning is simply 'appearance' (Gr. *σωματικῷ εἴδει*, RV 'in a bodily form'); so Jn 5[37] (*εἶδος*, RV 'form'). The only other occurrence is Rev 9[7] 'The shapes of the locusts were like unto horses prepared unto battle' (*τὰ ὁμοιώματα*, RVm 'the likenesses'). Cf. Shaks. *Hamlet*, I. ii. 80—'All forms, moods, shapes of grief' (folios 'shews'); *Jul. Cæs.* II. i. 253—

> 'It will not let you eat, nor talk, nor sleep:
> And, could it work so much upon your shape
> As it hath much prevailed on your condition,
> I should not know you, Brutus.'

In Rhem. NT Mk 16[12] is tr[d] 'And after this he appeared in another shape to two of them walking,' and on this word there is a note, 'Christ though he have but one corporal shape, natural to his person, yet by his omnipotencie he may be in whatsoever forme, and appears in the likenesse of any other man or creature, as he list. Therefore let no man think it strange, that he may be under the forme of bread in the B. Sacrament.'

The old pass. ptcp. of the verb, 'shapen,' is found in Ps 51[5]. So Tind. uses the old past tense 'shope' in Gn 2[7] 'Then the Lorde God shope man, even of the moulde of the erth.' J. HASTINGS.

SHAPHAM (שָׁפָם; B Σαβάτ, A Σαφάμ).—A Gadite, 1 Ch 5[12].

SHAPHAN (שָׁפָן 'coney *or* rock-badger'; LXX Σαφάν, Σαφφάν, Σεφφάν; Vulg. *Saphan*: on this name as evidence that 'superstition of the totem kind had still a hold on Israelites in the last years of the independence of the kingdom of Judah,' see W. R. Smith in the *Journal of Philology*, 1880, p. 75, and Gray, *HPN* p. 103).—**1.** Scribe or finance minister (Ewald) in the reign of Josiah. He is brought prominently before us in the story of the discovery of 'the book of the law' in the temple, 2 K 22[3ff.], 2 Ch 34[8-28]. The system of raising money for the repairs of the temple which had been instituted by Jehoash (2 K 12), seems from this narrative to have been in regular operation since that time. The money chest which had been set up by Jehoiada was emptied periodically under the supervision of the high priest and of the king's scribe. It was on one of these occasions that HILKIAH communicated to Shaphan his great discovery of 'the book of the law.' The Chronicler

(2 Ch 34^8) represents Shaphan as having been accompanied by two other officials. In any case it was to Shaphan that Hilkiah entrusted the precious volume, and it was from Shaphan's lips that Josiah heard the words that so deeply moved him. Shaphan also formed one of the deputation that subsequently visited the prophetess HULDAH. Assuming that this was the Shaphan who was father of Ahikam (2 K 22^{12}, 2 Ch 34^{20}, Jer 26^{24}), he was grandfather of Gedaliah (2 K 25^{22}, Jer 39^{14} $40^{5.9.11}$ 41^2 43^6). The only objection to this supposition lies in the fact that Ahikam seems to take precedence of his father. It is, of course, possible that he may have filled a higher office. Whatever the truth may be concerning Shaphan's connexion with the discovery of 'the book of the law,' it is at least certain that he belonged to the party of reform whose inspiration was derived from that book, and who were friendly to Jeremiah. One of his sons, Ahikam, protected the prophet from the fury of the hostile priests and prophets (Jer 26^{24}). Another, Elasah, was one of the two whom Jeremiah employed to carry his letter to the captives in Babylon (Jer 29^3). From the windows of the chamber of yet another son, Gemariah, Baruch read 'the words of the LORD in the ears of the people' (Jer 36^{10}), words which were given still further publicity by the action of Gemariah's son, Micaiah (vv.$^{11.12}$). And when the last agony of Jerusalem was over, it was with Shaphan's grandson, Gedaliah, that the aged prophet found an honoured asylum (Jer 39^{14}).

2. Father of Jaazaniah, who was ringleader in idolatry of the seventy ancients of the house of Israel, as seen by Ezekiel (8^{11}).

N. J. D. WHITE.

SHAPHAT (שָׁפָט).—**1.** The Simeonite spy, Nu 13^5 (BA Σαφάτ, F Σαφάν). **2.** The father of the prophet Elisha, 1 K $19^{16.}$ (B Σαφάθ, A Σαφάτ)^{19} (BA Σαφάτ), 2 K 3^{11} (B Ἰωσαφάθ, A Σαφάτ) 6^{31} (B om., A Σαφάτ). **3.** A name in the royal genealogy of Judah, 1 Ch 3^{22} (B Σαφάθ, A Σαφάτ). **4.** A Gadite, 1 Ch 5^{12} (LXX [? confusing with סֹפֵר] ὁ γραμματεύς). **5.** One of David's herdmen, 1 Ch 27^{29} (B Σωφάν, A Σωφάτ).

SHAPHIR (שָׁפִיר; LXX καλῶς; Vulg. *pulchra*).—One of the towns or villages—none of them very far from Eleutheropolis—which the prophet Micah addressed (Mic 1^{11}). According to Eusebius and Jerome (*Onom.* Σαφείρ, *Saphir*), it was a village of Judah in the hill-country between Eleutheropolis and Ascalon. Robinson (*BRP*^{2} ii. 34, note), van de Velde (*S. and P.* 159), and Conder, doubtfully (*PEF Mem.* ii. 413), identify Shaphir with one of three mud villages, called *es-Sûâfir*, which stand near each other about 3½ miles S.E. of *Esdûd*, Ashdod. This appears to be the place referred to in the *Onomasticon*, but the identification is uncertain. On the possible identity of Shaphir with **Shamir** of Jos 15^{48} see Nowack on Mic 1^{11}.

C. W. WILSON.

SHARAI (שָׁרַי; B Σαριού, A Ἀρού, ℵ Σαρουέ).—One of the sons of Bani, who had married a foreign wife, Ezr 10^{40}.

SHARAR.—See SACAR.

SHAREZER (שַׂרְאֶצֶר [see Baer, *ad loc.*]; Σαράσαρ, BA in 2 K 19^{37} and Zec 7^2, B in Is 37^{38}; Σαράσα, Luc. in 2 Kings, ℵAQ in Isaiah. In its original Assyrian form the name is probably = *šar-uṣur*, 'protect the prince'; in meaning, a prayer addressed to some god whose name is omitted. *Bel-sharuṣur*, *Marduk-sharuṣur*, and similar Assyrian names are then unabbreviated parallels. It has been suggested that the full name of the Sharezer of 2 K 19 [= Is 37] was *Nergal-sharuṣur*, a Babylonian name which occurs in Jer 39^3 [NERGAL-SHAREZER]. The origin of the conjecture is an untenable identification of Sharezer with the *Nergilus* of the historian Abydenus [see below]. In Zec 7^2 the complete name is very probably *Bel-sharezer*).

1. In conjunction with a brother, ADRAMMELECH, named as the assassin of the Assyrian king Sennacherib (2 K 19^{37} = Is 37^{38}). The murderers are described as Sen.'s sons, and the scene of the assassination is given as the temple of NISROCH. According to the Babylonian Chronicle, Sen. was killed during an insurrection, and the date was towards the close of the year 681 (20th Ṭebeth). The other records of the assassination are an inscription of Nabuna'id, an extract from Polyhistor (Berosus) in Eusebius, and another from Abydenus. These agree with the Chronicle in stating that Sen. was killed by one of his sons. They contain no reference to the complicity of *two* sons. Even Abydenus is explicit in saying that one son was the murderer.* Of the two names given by the Hebrew narrative, that of Sharezer is most affected by this preponderance of negative testimony. Adrammelech has the support of the names Adramelus and Ardumuzanus (Ardumusanus), which are given by Abydenus and Polyhistor respectively. One of Sen.'s sons, also, has a name (*Aššur-šum-ušabši*) which is said to be capable of readings approximately the same as these variants (Scheil in *ZA* xi. 425–27). There is nothing of a definite character to be said on the other side in favour of Sharezer.† Yet the negative argument is so much *e silentio* that an explanation of the appearance of the name in the Hebrew text is pressingly required before an error can be granted. W. M. Müller imagines too improbable a history. He supposes that Adrammelech was 'Assyrianized' into Sharezer by some archæologist. Adrammelech was regarded as a translation, Sharezer was a retranslation put alongside of it in the text (*ZATW* xvii. 332). It can only be said, meantime, that Sharezer's name, his part in the assassination of Sen., and his relationship to the king, all rest on the authority of the Hebrew narrative.

The revolt, in which Sen.'s murder was an incident, was obviously designed to secure the throne for the rebel(s), and to prevent the accession of the designated heir Esarhaddon. In this it failed. Esarhaddon triumphed within six weeks, by the second of Adar, although for an unknown reason he did not formally assume the crown until three and a half months later (18th Sivan). The murderers fled to Armenia, according to the OT narrative. There was likely to be a welcome for such exiles there. The fragment of Abydenus says that Esarhaddon put Adramelus to death.

* '*Qui a filio Adramelo est interemptus.*' By a transposition of this sentence and the preceding, an attempt has been made to bring a certain *Nergilus* there mentioned into some connexion with the assassination of Sennacherib. But even then he is neither Sen.'s son nor his assassin. It is inadmissible to read the statement regarding him in the light of the weaker rather than of the stronger testimony. The supposition that Nergilus is Sharezer is a conjecture from an emended text (supporters of the hypothesis are named in Schrader, *COT* ii. 16). Equally possible, and even more probable, is the suggestion that the sentence '*deinceps autem post eum Nergilus regnavit*' is a reference to the Babylonian king Nergal-ushezib. This identification is made by Winckler (*ZA* ii. 392 ff.). But it is easier to suppose that the context is imperfect than to adopt his combination with another context.

† *Šar-eṭir-Aššur* is a son of Sen. whose name might be identified with Sharezer (Winckler, *Altor. Forsch.*, 2nd Series [1898], i. 59). It can also be urged that Polyhistor and Abydenus may have got their names of the assassin from the Heb. Adrammelech. Moses of Chorene gives more positive testimony, but is not sufficiently reliable. He names two assassins. In the Whistons' Latin version (London, 1736) the forms are Adramelus or Argamozanus and Sanasarus (i. 22). Their settlement in Armenia is the occasion of their being mentioned. Boscawen's recent identification (*Bab. and Or. Record*, viii. 259 ff.) seems to depend too much on a resemblance to the conjectural form Nergal-sharezer.

2. One who consulted the spiritual heads of the Jewish community on the question whether the fast observed on the anniversary of the burning of the pre-exilic temple was appropriate after its restoration (Zec $7^{2ff.}$).

The grammatical construction of v.^{2}, and consequently the purport of the verse, is very uncertain. RV makes 'Bethel' subject and Sharezer and the others messengers from Bethel. Such a personification seems without parallel in prose. AV follows Vulg. in making 'Bethel' accusative of direction and tr. 'to the house of God.' But the temple is never called *bêth-'êl*. The difficulty is removed by finding in these letters the Divine name which, according to analogy, is required to complete the compound *šar-uṣur*. The text may originally have read Bel-Sharezer (Siegfried-Stade, *HWB*). The ת may be accounted for as a dittography of א in the early Hebrew character.* After this correction has been made, v.^{3} suggests that the author of the inquiry is one individual, namely (Bel-) Sharezer. Regem-melech and the others are then messengers whom he sent.

Sharezer's question is explained by the new situation which the restoration of the temple created. Since Zechariah addresses his reply to the 'people of the land,' it may be argued that Sharezer was spokesman on their behalf. But v.^{3} more naturally expresses individual perplexity. V.^{2} implies that the inquiry came from outside the community in Jerusalem. The question itself comes naturally from one who is not in touch with movements in the capital; it is artificial and unlikely when regarded as an attempt to bring local discussions to an issue (Nowack's view). Zechariah addresses the priests and the whole Jewish community ('people of the land,' as Hag 2^4). The priests are doubtless named because 'instruction' (*tôrāh*) had been asked of them, and formally they have yet to reply (in v.^{3} the words 'and to the prophets' may be an insertion, anticipating the fact that actually Zechariah comes forward to reply). The people also are addressed, to secure for the prophet's words a wider currency.

Babylon is more likely to have been Sharezer's home than any part of Judah. His Babylonian name, *Bel-sharuṣur*, is one argument; the formality of his deputation another. The hypothesis accounts most simply for the purpose and motive of the inquiry. It does justice also to all the points of the narrative. The primary object of Sharezer's deputation (v.^{2}) was to offer sacrifices at the restored sanctuary ('to entreat the favour of the Lord'). The question to the priests was incidental to this main purpose, although prompted by the same good news. Thus early the spiritual authority of Jerusalem was acknowledged by the *diaspora*. The incident is dated in the year 518 (v.^{1}). The temple was completed in 516 (Ezr 6^{15}); its restoration had commenced in 520 (Hag 1^{15}). Either the news which reached Babylon anticipated the complete restoration midway (assuming the dates to be correct); or the rebuilding was so far advanced as to justify Sharezer in taking action.

It is noteworthy that Zechariah's prophecy (vv.$^{5\text{-}7}$) has no special application to the circumstances of the time. It depreciates or disavows the practice of fasting as such. Zec $8^{18.\ 19}$ seems more appropriate as a reply to Sharezer's envoys.

LITERATURE.—On 2 K 19^{37}: Schrader, *COT* ii. 13–17; Winckler, *ZA* ii. (1887) 392–96; Johns, *Expos. Times*, vii. (April 1896). For Polyhistor and Abydenus see Eusebius, ed. Schoene, i. 27 and i. 35; the Bab. Chron. tr. by Winckler in *Textbuch z. AT*, 1892; and Nabuna'id, by Messerschmidt, *Stele Nabuna'id's*, Berlin, 1896.

W. B. STEVENSON.

SHARON.—1. (הַשָּׁרוֹן [with art.], prob. for חָיְשָׁרוֹן 'the level,' 'the plain,' from ישר *to be level*; LXX in 1 Ch 27^{29}, Ca 2^1 τὸ πεδίον, but in Is 33^9 35^2 65^{10} ὁ δρυμός [see below]) the name applied in Scripture to that part of the Maritime Plain which stretches from Joppa to Mt. Carmel (55 miles). It is of an undulating character, none of its hills exceeding 250–300 feet in height. The following streams cross it in their course to the Mediterranean: *Nahr es-Zerḳâ* (the Crocodile River), *Nahr Mefjîr* (the Dead River of the Crusaders), *Nahr Iskanderûneh* (their Salt River), *Nahr el-Fâlik* (their Rochetaille). The plain proper, between the Crocodile River and Joppa, varies in breadth from 8 to 12 miles.

The LXX, as above noted, reproduces הַשָּׁרוֹן in three passages by ὁ δρυμός, a term which is applied to Sharon also by Josephus (*BJ* I. xiii. 2; in *Ant.* XIV. xiii. 3, plur. οἱ δρυμοί) and Strabo (xvi.: δρυμὸς μέγας τις). This designation is very appropriate to a district which has still a large oak wood at its northern extremity, and which, even so late as Crusading times, would have appeared from the top of Mt. Ebal as a vast forest of oaks from coast to mountain (*HGHL*[1] 122).* The Crusaders called it the Forest of Assur (Vinsauf, *Itin. Ricardi*, iv. 16); it is the enchanted forest of Tasso (*Gerus. Liberata*, ii and xiii); it was called by Napoleon the Forest of Miksi (from the modern village of *Miksieh*). The southern half of the plain is, and must always have been, far more cultivated than its northern portion. Throughout its whole extent it is gay with myriads of brightly coloured flowers.

The beauty and the fertility of Sharon give point to Is 35^2, where the 'glory of Lebanon' is coupled with the 'excellency (הדר 'splendour' [see Driver, *Daniel*, p. 33]) of Carmel and Sharon,' the special allusion perhaps being to the magnificence of its oak forests. We have the opposite picture in Is 33^9, where 'Lebanon is ashamed and withereth away, Sharon is like the (waste) Arabah, and Bashan and Carmel shake off their leaves.' Again, in Is 65^{10} the description of the restoration of Israel contains this feature: 'Sharon shall be a pasturage for flocks.' In 1 Ch 27^{29} we read of Shitrai the **Sharonite** (הַשָּׁרוֹנִי, ὁ Σαρων(ε)ίτης), who was over king David's flocks that fed in Sharon. The excellence of the pasturage, the superiority of the cattle and the wine of Sharon, are celebrated by Jerome (*Comm.* on Is 33 and 65) and the Talmud (Bab. *Menahoth* 87*a*, *Shabbath* 70*a*). Its pottery and the bricks used for building are repeatedly referred to in the Mishna as of very inferior quality, the instability of the houses in Sharon being proverbial (see references in Neubauer, *Geog. du Talm.* 48 f.).

Neubauer appears to be right (against Graetz, *Gesch. d. Juden*[2], iii. 182) in contending that it is the inhabitants of the maritime Sharon and not of the Galilæan *Saronas* [see below], on whose behalf a special petition is said to have been introduced into the high priest's prayer for the people on the Day of Atonement. This petition ran: 'May God watch over the inhabitants of Sharon, that they be not buried in the ruins of their houses.'

The Shulammite compares herself to the 'rose [an unfortunate rendering; חֲבַצֶּלֶת is the *white narcissus*, see Cheyne on Is 35^1 and cf. art. ROSE above] of Sharon' and the 'lily [prob. some flower of a *red* colour] of the (Jordan) valleys' (עֲמָקִים), Ca 2^1.

There is some doubt as to the identity of the Sharon of Jos 12^{18} [where read מֶלֶךְ אֲפֵק לַשָּׁרוֹן 'king of Aphek in Sharon'; see LASSHARON]. It has been proposed (*e.g.* by Dillm. *ad loc.*) to find here the *Saronas* which Eusebius (*Onomast.* 296. 6) says was the name given to the region between Mt. Tabor and Tiberias—a statement confirmed by the name *Sarôna* still attaching to a ruin on this plateau (*PEF Mem.* vol. i. sheet vi.). This proposal appears, however, to be unnecessary, especially in view of the evidence (see G. A. Smith, *HGHL*[4] 350, 401 f., and *s.v.* 'Aphek' in *Encyc. Bibl.*) in favour of the existence of an Aphek in the maritime Sharon (cf. W. R. Smith, *OTJC*[2] 273, 435, and *s.v.* 'Aphek' in *Encyc. Bibl.*; H. P. Smith, *Samuel*, 31. Buhl, *GAP* 212 f., 218, leaves it un-

* Marti simply detaches *'êl* from *bêth* and joins it to Sharezer: 'the family of El-Sharezer' (*SK*, 1892, p. 732). G. A. Smith adopts El-Sharezer, but supposes 'J"' to be wanting after *bêth*: 'to the temple of J"' (*Twelve Prophets*).

* It is not at all likely that the title ὁ δρυμός is due to any connexion, real or supposed, between the Heb. *shārôn* and the Gr. *σαρωνίς*, a very rare term for an oak (Pliny, *HN* iv. 5, quoted by Reland, *Pal.* 190).

decided whether it is the maritime or the Galilæan Sharon that is meant in Jos 12[18]).

The only NT reference to Sharon is Ac 9[35] (ὁ Σαρών, whence AV **Saron**), in connexion with St. Peter's stay at Lydda. For further details regarding Sharon see Buhl, *GAP* 103 ff.; and G. A. Smith, *HGHL*[1] 147 ff., where a full account is given of its strategic importance and the part it played in post-biblical history.

2. (הַשָּׁרֹן [without art.]; B Γεριάμ, A Σαρών) 1 Ch 5[16]. This Sharon (‖ Gilead and Bashan) is probably the same as the *Mishôr* (also from root ישר), or elevated plateau between the Arnon and the Jabbok (Dt 3[10] 4[43], Jos 13[9. 16. 17. 21] 20[8], Jer 48[8. 21], 2 Ch 26[10]). See vol. iii. p. 309[b], footnote, and p. 893[b], *s.* **5.**

J. A. SELBIE.

SHARONITE.—See preceding article.

SHARUHEN (שַׁרֻחֵן; *οἱ ἀγροὶ αὐτῶν*; *Sareon*).—A town in Judah which was allotted to Simeon (Jos 19[6]). It appears as **Shilhim** in 15[36] and as **Shaaraim** in 1 Ch 4[31]; see SHAARAIM (2).

SHASHAI (שֵׁשַׁי; BA Σεσεί, Luc. Σενσείρ).—One of the sons of Bani who had married a foreign wife, Ezr 10[40]=SESIS of 1 Es 9[34].

SHASHAK (קְשָׁשַׁי).—The eponym of a Benjamite family, 1 Ch 8[14. 25] (B Σωκήλ, B Σωιήκ; in both passages A has Σωσήκ, Luc. Σισάχ).

SHAUL (שָׁאוּל, Σαούλ).—**1.** A king of Edom, Gn 36[37ff.] [JE]=1 Ch 1[48ff.] He belonged to 'Rehoboth by the River.' See REHOBOTH. **2.** A son of Simeon, Gn 46[10] [R] (A Σαμουήλ, *D*[sil] Σαούλ, B *deest*), Ex 6[15], Nu 26[13] [both P], 1 Ch 4[24]. The clan of which he is the eponym was of mixed Isr. and Can. descent, hence Shaul is called in Gn 46[10] and Ex 6[15] 'the son of the Canaanitess.' See GENEALOGY, II. 2. In Nu 26[13] the patronymic **Shaulites** (הַשָּׁאוּלִי, δῆμος ὁ Σαουλεί) occurs. **3.** An ancestor of Samuel, 1 Ch 6[24 (9)] (called in v.[36 (21)] **Joel.** See JOEL, No. 3).

SHAVEH, THE VALE OF (עֵמֶק שָׁוֵה; A *τὴν κοιλάδα τὴν Σαύην*, *D τ. κ. τ. Σανή*; *vallis Save*).—A broad valley (*ʿēmeḳ*), known also as 'the king's vale' (Gn 14[17]), which was near Salem. It is apparently the same place as 'the king's dale' (עֵמֶק הַמֶּלֶךְ 2 S 18[18]), in which Absalom set up a pillar or monument. According to Josephus (*Ant.* VII. x. 3), this monument was two stadia from Jerusalem. If the view that Salem was Jerusalem be correct, the valley of Shaveh was possibly the broad open head of the valley of Hinnom which, lower down, contracts to a ravine. See SALEM.

C. W. WILSON.

SHAVEH-KIRIATHAIM (שָׁוֵה קִרְיָתַיִם; *ἐν Σαυὴ τῇ πόλει*; *Save Cariathaim*).—A place in which Chedorlaomer smote the Emim (Gn 14[5]). If the reading in AVm and RVm 'the plain of Kiriathaim' be correct, the spot must have been near Kiriathaim (Jer 48[1. 23], Ezk 25[9]) in Moab, which has been identified with *el-Kureiyât* between Dibon and Medeba.

C. W. WILSON.

SHAVING.—Two Heb. words are used with this meaning, גָּזַז 'cut off,' 'shear' (wool, 1 S 25[4]), 'shave' (one's head, Job 1[20], Mic 1[16]); גָּלַח to make smooth or bald, to shave or shear (Nu 6[9. 18], Dt 21[12] etc.). The ancient Egyptians, according to Wilkinson (*Anc. Egyp.*), considered shaving the hair, not of the head only but of the whole body, necessary to cleanliness. Joseph, when summoned to the presence of Pharaoh, 'shaved himself and changed his raiment,' Gn 41[14]. The same custom is observed by many Hindu sects at the present time. In cases of mourning the hair was allowed to grow. Among the Israelites the custom was different. The hair seems to have been allowed to grow to a moderate length, and to have been cut at intervals. Absalom, we are told (2 S 14[26]), polled his head every year. The beard was held sacred among the Israelites, as it is to this day among the Arabs; and the insult that Hanun, king of the Ammonites, offered to the ambassadors of David, by shaving half of their beards (2 S 10[4]), could be atoned for only by the conquest and slavery of the Ammonites. The Nazirites were commanded to let no razor pass upon their heads, but to allow the hair to grow. When the time fixed by their vow had expired, or if they were accidentally defiled, then they were commanded to shave the whole head (Nu 6[5. 9. 18ff.]). In Syria the priests and monks of the Greek Orthodox and Greek Catholic Churches never allow the hair of the head or beard to be cut even in sickness. Many Christian parents dedicate a child to a particular saint for a certain period of time, and during that period the hair of the child is never cut. These children are distinguished from others by their black clothes as well as their long hair. Among the Israelites and Arabs shaving the head was a sign of mourning (Job 1[20], Dt 21[12], Ezk 44[20]), and with the neighbouring nations it was the custom to shave the 'corners' of the beard, which the Israelites were expressly forbidden to do (Lv 21[5]). (See CUTTINGS IN THE FLESH, vol. i. p. 537[a]; and for shaving of the head as a sacrificial act, W. R. Smith, *RS* 306).

W. CARSLAW.

SHAVSHA (שַׁוְשָׁא. In 2 S 20[25] *Kĕthib* שׅוָא, *Kĕrê* שָׁוְא, EV **Sheva,** are proved to be in error by LXX. Similar to the *Kĕrê*, however, are B Σαβά of 1 K 4[3] and BA Σουβά of 1 K 2[46h]. Of LXX forms given below, Ἰησοῦς=Ἰσοῦς is a familiar name read for one unfamiliar, perhaps under the influence of a dittography from the preceding καί).—Royal or State secretary in king David's reign (1 Ch 18[16] B Ἰησοῦς, A and Luc. Σουσά, ℵ Σοῦς; 2 S 20[25] B Ἰησοῦς, A Ἰσοῦς, Luc. Σουσά).

2 S 8[15-18] is a third passage containing a list of David's officers of State. In MT **Seraiah** now stands in place of Shavsha. But the list of 1 Chron. is dependent on that of 2 Sam., is identical with it except in this one particular, and most probably has preserved the original reading. B Ἀσά seems to be a trace of the older text. 1 K 4[3] and 2[46h] may be counted against Seraiah (see below). This name seems to have obtained currency in the 7th century. It may be supposed that the familiar שריה is a misreading of the possibly foreign name שושא.

The office held by Shavsha is one of a group created by the monarchy in Israel. It dates, however, from the time of David, like others of a similar character, for Saul's 'kingdom' was not an organized State. It was David who made it so. When he ranged himself among the princes of southern Syria his position forced on him the creation of certain offices of State. The occasions, for instance, of communication and correspondence with neighbouring States multiplied. The example of contemporary princes suggested the appointment of a State secretary. Other prospects of usefulness must have commended the precedent. In these circumstances Shavsha was appointed first holder of the office, as it seems. It is noteworthy that of all those who are named in the best list of David's officers of State (1 Ch 18[14-17]=2 S 8[15-18]) he is the only one whose father is unmentioned. Possibly he did not belong to a family of standing in the country, like the others. Possibly he was a foreigner. If foreign correspondence were in a foreign language it may not have been easy to find a Hebrew with the necessary qualifications. David was not indisposed to have foreigners round his person (see art. FOREIGNER, vol. ii. p. 50[b]). Shavsha's name may be Aramæan. Foreign extraction would

account for the name of one of his sons being Elihoreph (1 K 4³). It seems to indicate his worship of a god other than J".

In Solomon's reign there were two secretaries of State, Elihoreph and Ahijah. They are called sons* of **Shisha** (1 K 4³). Although the evidence for the correct form of this name is very divergent (B Σαβά, A Σεισά, Luc. Σαφάτ), it may be identified with Shavsha. Others of Solomon's chief officers of State were sons of those who held similar office under David. If Shavsha was chosen secretary because Aramaic was his native tongue, it is specially likely that his children would inherit this qualification and be chosen for a similar reason. There is a second list of Solomon's officers in the LXX (B) text of 1 K 2⁴⁶ʰ. In it Shavsha (BA Σουβά, Luc. Σουσά) is given as Solomon's secretary. Benzinger (on 1 K 4) has made the attractive suggestion that this list names those in office during the earlier part of Solomon's reign. It would then be evidence that Shavsha continued for a time Solomon's secretary, died during Solomon's reign, and was then succeeded by his sons. But there does not seem to be evidence to establish this view of the two lists. It is probable that they are duplicates, and that in 1 K 2⁴⁶ʰ the names of the sons have dropped out before the word Shavsha. W. B. STEVENSON.

SHEAL (שְׁאַל, B Σαλουιά, A Σαάλ), Ezr 10²⁹.—One of the sons of Bani, who had married a 'strange' wife; called Jasaelus in 1 Es 9³⁰.

SHEALTIEL (שְׁאַלְתִּיאֵל; in Hag 1¹·¹²·¹⁴ 2² שַׁלְתִּיאֵל; LXX and NT always Σαλαθιήλ, hence **Salathiel** of 1 Es 5⁵·⁴⁸·⁵⁶ 6², AV of Mt 1¹² and Lk 3²⁷).—The father of ZERUBBABEL, Ezr 3²·⁸ 5², Neh 12¹, Hag 1¹·¹²·¹⁴ 2²·²³. According to 1 Ch 3¹⁷ Shealtiel was the eldest son of king Jeconiah. In v.¹⁹ the MT makes Pedaiah (a brother of Shealtiel) the father of Zerubbabel; but BA of LXX read here also Σαλαθιήλ, although Lucian has Φαδαιά.

SHEARIAH (שְׁעַרְיָה).—A descendant of Saul, 1 Ch 8³⁸ (BA Σαραιά, Luc. Σεριά) 9⁴⁴ (BA Σαριά, Luc. Σααριά).

SHEARING-HOUSE, THE (בֵּית עֵקֶד הָרֹעִים; B Βαιθάκαθ τῶν ποιμένων, A Βαιθάκαδ τ. π.; Vulg. *camera pastorum*; RV tr. 'shearing-house [lit. *binding*-house,' cf. Gn 22⁹] of the shepherds,' RVm 'house of gathering [so Targ. but improbable] of the shepherds').—A place at which Jehu, on his way from Jezreel to Samaria, met and slew the brethren of Ahaziah, king of Judah (2 K 10¹²·¹⁴). Eusebius and Jerome (*Onom. s.* Βαιθακάθ) place the shearing-house in the Great Plain (Esdraelon), 15 M.P. from Legio; and in this position, 3 m. east of *Jenîn*, is the village of *Beit Kâd* (Robinson, *BRP*² ii. 316). This is possibly the site of the shearing-house (Conder, *PEF Mem.* ii. 83). C. W. WILSON.

SHEAR-JASHUB (שְׁאָר יָשׁוּב 'a remnant shall return,' LXX ὁ καταλειφθεὶς Ἰασούβ, Is 7³).—A symbolical name given to a son of Isaiah to signify the return of the remnant to God after the punishment at the hands of the Assyrians. See 8¹⁸ 10²⁰·²¹, and cf. 7¹⁴ 8¹⁻⁴.

SHEBA (שֶׁבַע).—**1.** A Benjamite who headed a new revolt against David immediately after the suppression of Absalom's rebellion. He was besieged by Joab in Abel-beth-maacah, whose inhabitants were persuaded to procure their own safety by casting the head of the rebel from the battlements of the city (2 S 20¹ᶠ·⁶ᶠ·¹⁰·¹³·²¹ᶠ·; B uniformly Σάβεε, A occasionally Ἀβεε). See, further, art. DAVID, vol. i. p. 570ᵇ. **2.** A Gadite, 1 Ch 5¹³ (B Σέβεε, A Σόβαθε, Luc. Σάβεε).

* LXX 'son,' applying to Ahijah only.

SHEBA (שְׁבָא), more correctly *Saba* (LXX Σαβά, Jos. Σάβας), the name of a race (the **Sabæans**) several times mentioned in the OT. In the genealogical tables it is given three pedigrees (Gn 10⁷ son of Ra'mah, cf. Ezk 27²², where these two names are juxtaposed; Gn 10²⁸ son of Yoktan, and juxtaposed with Ḥaẓarmaveth [Ḥaḍramaut]; Gn 25³ son of Yokshan). Ezekiel (27²³) mentions Eden (Aden), Ḥaran (Ḥirran), and Canneh (Kanneh) as connected with it; and of these places the first two are known to be in S. Arabia. At the time of Israel's highest prosperity, Solomon was visited by the queen of Saba (1 K 10¹⁻¹³), an event which gave rise to a number of legends, none of them perhaps of high antiquity in the form wherein we possess them. The Sabæans were known to the Israelites as exporters of gold (Is 60⁶, Ps 72¹⁵), precious stones (Ezk *l.c.*), perfumes (Jer 6²⁰, Isaiah and Ezekiel), and perhaps slaves (Jl 4(3)³). In the Bk. of Job (6¹⁹) there is an allusion to their trading caravans, with at least a suggestion that their capital was Tema (Tayma); and also to their raiding other Arab tribes (1¹⁵).

Till the attention of Orientalists was called by Wellsted and Cruttenden to certain inscriptions discovered by them in S. Arabia, our knowledge of Saba was confined to the meagre and often unintelligible matter collected by the Greek geographers and Pliny. But since the middle of the century large finds of inscriptions have been made in various parts of Arabia, in the old Arabic character (of which a copy was given by the Arabic bibliographer Al-Nadim, in his *Fihrist*, A.D. 978), and dealing with Saba and various institutions connected with it. The attempt made in England to decipher these inscriptions was utterly incompetent; but German scholars were more successful, and the honour of having founded the study of Sabæan is shared by Rödiger and Osiander, whose papers in the *ZDMG*, vols. xx. and xxi., laid the basis for the right understanding of these texts. A full and accurate account of the literature of the subject down to 1891 was given by Fr. Hommel in his *Süd-Arabische Chrestomathie*, Munich, 1893. Next in importance to the collection published by Osiander was that brought back by Halévy, and edited by him in the *Journal Asiatique*, Série 6, vol. ix.; since then great finds have been made by Glaser in his various journeys in S. Arabia, not many of which have as yet been given to the public. In the fourth part of the *CIS*, edited by J. and H. Derenbourg, of which three fasciculi (containing 308 inscriptions) have as yet appeared (1889–1900), the material for the study will be eventually recorded in the most trustworthy form; at present the works of the eight or nine scholars who pursue it (esp. Derenbourg, Glaser, Halévy, Hommel, Mordtmann, D. H. Müller, Prætorius, Winckler) are all indispensable.

Besides inscriptions, considerable finds of coins have also been made. The first Sabæan coin ever interpreted was described in the *Revue Numismatique*, 1868, pp. 169–176; but for this part of the subject the most important stage was marked by the work of Schlumberger (*Le trésor de San'a*, Paris, 1880), who gave an account of some 200 coins that had been discovered at Sana'a, and purchased by him of a dealer in Constantinople. Many of these coins contained the monograms of kings whose names also figure in inscriptions; whence, though these signs were puzzling at first, they have all since been interpreted: a list of the monograms, with their interpretations, is given by D. H. Müller in his *Burgen u. Schlösser*, ii. p. 995.

The date of the coins described by Schlumberger was fixed by him, on numismatic grounds (*i.e.* the evolution of the style from Attic, Seleucid, and Roman models), at from about B.C. 150 to A.D. 150, and, while he derived the style of the art from the sources named, he regarded the weight as fixed by Persian models. The purity of the silver and the accuracy of the weight were greatly admired by this numismatist; other coins that have been discovered are described by Mordtmann, *Wiener Numismatische Zeitschrift*, 1880, pp. 289–320. The researches of Glaser and others were also rewarded by the discovery of a variety of other objects, illustrative of Sabæan civilization, of which descriptions have been given by Mordtmann (*Himyarische Inschriften in den königlichen Museen zu Berlin*, 1893) and others (*e.g.* Derenbourg, *Les Monuments Sabéens du Musée d'Archéologie de Marseille*, 1899; D. H. Müller, *Südarabische Alterthümer im Kunsthistorischen Hofmuseum*, Wien, 1899; Hommel, 'Die südarab. Altertümer des Wiener Hofmuseums,' in *Aufsätze u. Abhandlungen*, ii., 1900).

Finally, the works of the S. Arabian geographer and archæologer Hamdani (Abu Muhammad Al-Hasan) have been brought to Europe, his *Description of the Arabic Peninsula* in a number of copies, and his *Iklil* in portions; both these works have been edited by D. H. Müller, the former at Leiden, 1891, the latter in the *Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie*, Ph.-Hist. Kl. xciv., xcvii., and in Müller's *Südarab. Alterthümer*, p. 8 ff. The lexicon of Neshwan the Himyarite, which is of some value for the interpretation of the texts, is as yet unpublished. In the following paragraphs a few of the chief results of the study will be collected.

[The following abbreviations recur below: *AA* = Glaser's *Abessinier in Arabien* (Munich, 1895); *HI* = *Himyarische Inschriften*; *MM* = Mordtmann and Müller's *Sabäische Denkmäler*; *MVAS* = *Mittheil. d. vorderas. Gesellschaft*; *SA* = Müller's *Südarabische Alterthümer*].

i. HISTORY. — On this subject an authentic chronicle of a few pages could give us more information than all the inscriptions together; it is, however, clear that they cover an enormous length of time—it can scarcely be made less than 1300 years. The dated inscriptions of the mound at Marib (published by Glaser, *MVAS*, No. 6) are of the 5th and 6th cents. A.D., one of them being Christian and another perhaps Jewish; and the final destruction of the Sabæan State is known to have taken place in the 6th cent. A.D. On the other hand, the name of Ithamara the Sabæan, occurring in the inscriptions of Sargon of B.C. 715 (ed. Winckler, p. 97), was identified with justice by Lenormant with the *Yetha'amara* of the Sabæan inscriptions. That name belongs to no fewer than six Sabæan potentates (Glaser, *AA* p. 29); and there seems no probability that Sargon's contemporary is the first of these. The inscriptions, however, are not divided equally over this vast expanse of time; so far as they are at present accessible, it is only for the period just before and just after the commencement of our era that they render the writing of a continuous chronicle possible; an attempt of this sort has been made by H. Winckler, 'Die Inschriften des Alhan Nahfan' (*MVAS*, No. 5), perhaps without conspicuous success. The greater number of the texts published are devoid of political interest, and indeed emanate from members of two families or clans, the Bakilites of 'Amran, and their leaders the Banu Marthad, and the Hashidites of Na'it, and their leaders the Banu Hamdan. These great families are said to exist still in S. Arabia in the neighbourhood of their ancestral seats (Mordtmann in *MM* p. 9).

Saba is the name of a nation or political unit, not of a city, though the classical writers speak repeatedly of a city Saba. The Arabic etymologists derive its name from *sabā*, 'to take captive'; but they might with greater probability have derived it from the Sabæan verb *saba'a*, 'he raided'; and indeed in *CIS* 84. 3, the Sabæans are mentioned as normal raiders, somewhat as in Job 1^{15}. The Sabæan name for 'nation' is *khums*, 'a fifth,' and it is applied by them to other nations as well as to their own, *e.g.* 'the two Khums, Saba and Himyar' (*MM* 5). These nations or 'fifths' were divided into 'tribes'* (*shi'b*), which again were sometimes divided into 'thirds' (*CIS* 187, where Derenbourg gives us the names of two 'thirds' of the tribe Sama'i), and sometimes perhaps 'tenths' (*CIS* 128). There might be some ground for suspecting that the word *fifth* implies the original existence of five nations who shared S. Arabia between them; at the latest period of the inscriptions, Saba has swallowed the others up. In these the kings style themselves kings of Saba, Dhu Raidan, Ḥaḍramaut, and Yamanet. The earliest king who assumed this title was, according to Glaser (*AA* p. 31), Shammir Yuhar'ish, about A.D. 281 (others would place him some 200 years before). Before this he and his predecessors called themselves kings of Saba and Dhu Raidan, a title which implies the conquest of Raidan, which the combinations of Glaser and H. Winckler place about B.C. 70. Prior to this last date the kings style themselves sometimes *malik* ('king'), sometimes *mukarrib*, a word of uncertain meaning, but of a root which forms an element in many proper names, and is the source of Makorabah, the old name for Mecca. It is customary to place the Mukarrib period before the Malik period, and it is certainly noticeable that Sargon does not bestow the title 'king' on his Sabæan contemporary, though the Assyrians are ordinarily rather lavish with the title. Naturally, such a point could not be settled without better documents than are at our disposal. The residence of the king was at Maryab or Marib (in Beled Al-Jihaf), and sometimes at Ghaiman. But Marib had also a king of its own, probably dependent on the kings of Saba, since in *CIS* 37. 7 the two are mentioned simultaneously; and kings of Kamna (*SA* 12) and other places are mentioned.

In the time of Eratosthenes (B.C. 240) Saba was one of *four* nations which shared S. Arabia between them—Minæans with capital Karna, Sabæans with capital Maryab, Kattabanians with capital Tamna, and Ḥaḍramaut with capital Katabanon. The Greek writer adds that these were all monarchies, but that they were not hereditary, the succession falling to the first male born to one of the leading families after a king's accession. How such a system would work it is impossible to conjecture; but a study of the texts makes it certain that Eratosthenes' account contains some truth, though he may have omitted important details. So about the time of the Aelius Gallus expedition (B.C. 24) we find kings of the Hamdanide family preceded and followed by kings of another family. Alhan Nahfan seems to disclaim the title 'king of Saba' himself, while giving it to his two sons (*AA* 42. 1), though he allows it to be given him by others (*ib.* 24), and in another inscription (*HI* 2698) appears as a subject of the then king of Saba, and in yet another (*CIS* 2, 10) is called simply Hamdanite and Bata'ite by the men who put up a votive tablet for help received in his service. Quite similarly Il-Sharh (Elisaros), who in some inscriptions figures as king of Saba and son of a king of Saba, in others is called Kabir of Aḳyan, a title of which the import is not known, but

* This name (tribe) is also sometimes applied to Saba (*SA* p. 17). The term 'fifth' is also found in other divisions (*ib.* p. 39).

which seems to have been combined with something like royal functions (*AA* 82 and 105). What we should infer from these facts is that the kingship was held by the leading families in some sort of rotation. This inference is further supported by the nature of the kings' names, which do not appear to differ in form from those of other eminent men; they are ordinarily, though not always, double, consisting apparently of a name and an epithet (rarely of a name and two epithets), and are ordinarily retained unaltered by those persons who figure in different inscriptions as kings and in some other capacity. Finally, the fact that the inscriptions often speak of 'the kings of Saba,' and that as many as three appear as kings simultaneously, implies that the sense which attached to the word 'king' in this community was different from that which attached to it elsewhere. And this not only explains the great number of the kings who figure in the inscriptions, — Müller (*Burgen*, ii. pp. 982–986) counted 33, and some have since been added to the number,—but harmonizes with the fact that Sargon does not give the Sabæan the title 'king.'

Besides the kings, there were eponymous magistrates, after whom the years were named, till the adoption of an era, which Glaser fixes at B.C. 115 (*AA* p. 29; *Gesch.* i. 3), whereas others regard it as the Seleucid era (see *CIS* p. 18); the text *CIS* 46 seems to date 'in the year 386 from the year of Mubiḥ son of Abu-Ḥubb,' an era of which nothing is at present known. The tribes of which the Sabæan community consisted had sometimes their kings (as the Sam'ai, *CIS* 37), but more often chieftains called *ḳaul* (in Arabic *ḳail*); another title is *kabir* ('great'), which in one case appears to be given to the eponymous magistrate (*CIS* 80), but is also held by the king Il-Sharḥ, probably before his accession (*CIS* 46). Since, however, this personage has a 'minister' (*muktawi*, *AA* p. 105), while he is still *kabir*, we clearly cannot yet settle the precise meaning of these terms. A distinction which pervades the inscriptions is that between 'lords' and 'men,' analogous to that between 'royalties' and 'men' which is found in the Phœnician inscriptions: probably the former were what Eratosthenes calls 'distinguished,' *i.e.* qualified to participate in the sovereignty. In most of the votive tablets the author prays the god for the favour of his lords, who sometimes are the whole of a family, sometimes one or more members of it. A difficult constitutional term is that rendered 'heirs' or 'co-heirs' (*CIS* 95. 5) in the same context in which 'lords' usually figures; and indeed the number of terms which imply some unknown status or caste is very considerable.

The state of society seems in general to have borne some resemblance to that of feudal Europe. The great families possessed towers and castles, the building of which is commemorated in many inscriptions; and the word *bait*, which in ordinary Semitic means 'house,' would seem with this community to have meant 'tower.' The *Iklil* of the archæologer Hamdani contains a description of these feudal dwellings, portions of which are still to be seen. The right to build a castle was sometimes given by the head of a family (*CIS* 145, 153), sometimes by a king (*CIS* 172); in some of the texts ample details (not as a rule intelligible) are given of the manner in which the building was carried out (*CIS* 17, 29, 40), and these seem to have involved measurements of land and technical distributions of it. In each case the building is put under the protection of a deity. Many of the texts also commemorate renewals, repairs, the digging of wells and other domestic operations, in all of which the deity had some share.

Owing to a far larger portion of S. Arabia being under cultivation in ancient times than now, the extent of territory covered by these feudal estates was very great, and, as we have seen, ere the final extinction of the Sabæan State by the Abyssinians in the 6th cent. it had swallowed up the other States in its neighbourhood. Hence the inscriptions which tell of its former glories are found all over South Arabia, except perhaps in Ḥaḍramaut, and some even in the far north of the peninsula. Many indeed have been transplanted from the buildings which they originally adorned to distant towns, but of the vast extent of the country which at certain times was subject to the Sabæans there can be no doubt. Certain episodes of the reign of Alhan Nahfan, as mentioned above, have been enucleated from his inscriptions by Glaser (*AA*) and Winckler (*l.c.*); but even in these results there is much that is problematic, and little that is sharply defined; while for the rest of Sabæan history the inscriptions which have as yet been published contain far less material. Arabic writers have only vague recollections of certain events of great importance, such as the bursting of the dam at Marib, which they strangely fancy led to the ruin of the State, and of a few names and words of the old language; even the well-informed Hamdani has only fables and fictions. Hence for a history of Saba the materials are still wanting.

ii. CIVILIZATION.—The list of goods said to come from Saba in Is 60[6] bears a striking likeness to that given by Sargon (*l.c.*): 'Gold, precious stones, ivory, perfumes of all sorts, horses, camels,' and the gold and perfumes were associated with Saba by classical writers also. It is remarkable that gold and perfume were called by the same name in Saba; for the suggestion of D. H. Müller, that *dhahab* meant perfume as well as gold, has been confirmed by a document brought to light by Count Landberg (*SA* p. 30). The inscriptions reveal a lavish use of gold, if indeed the precious metal be meant thereby. Alhan Nahfan offers thirty statues of gold at once (*AA* p. 42), and numerous inscriptions commemorate the employment of this metal for images of gods and of animals (*e.g.* camels and gazelles, *MM* 1). Other gifts were of silver, called, in this language, *ṣirf*; and a variety of objects used for devotional purposes is enumerated by Alhan Nahfan (*l.c.*), not many of which can at present be identified with certainty. Perfumes are also mentioned with considerable frequency, and various sorts are enumerated. D. H. Müller has devoted many pages to the description of them (*Burgen*, ii. 975; *MM* 26; *SA* 48). The greater number of the texts deal not with the commercial side of the Sabæans' life (though there may be allusions to that), but with the agricultural and military sides. Prayers for crops and vegetables are mixed with supplications for male children. The sorts of fruits which they desire to thrive are sometimes enumerated. In some we learn a little of the artificial system of irrigation whereby the fertility of the fields was maintained. But more commemorate successful raids, or successful repulses of raids by other tribes; and once it would seem a disaster consequent on delay in the fulfilment of a vow is commemorated (*CIS* 81). The position of women would appear to have been little inferior to that of men, if we may judge by the number of texts in which they figure as authors or joint-authors of inscriptions. One woman (*CIS* 179) appears to be called mistress of a castle; and, though a queen of Saba has not apparently been discovered in the inscriptions, queens of other Arabian tribes occur, both in Arabian and Assyrian texts (D. H. Müller, *Epigraphische Denkmäler aus Arabien*, p. 3). The honourable title 'consort,' by which they are often

called, confirms this. There are, however, texts which imply the practice of concubinage, though not, apparently, of polygamy. It is observable that the women make offerings to the same gods as the men, describe themselves by similar family names, and profess to have received similar benefits.

The Sabæan art, which in some respects is highly praised by experts, appears to have been greatly affected at different times by contemporaneous civilizations, *i.e.* those of Assyria, Persia, Greece, Rome, and Parthia; and the formulæ of the inscriptions appear here and there to exhibit Assyrian influence. The caligraphy of the inscriptions, especially those first brought to Europe, has won much admiration; the alphabet in which they are written varies somewhat in different places (see especially D. H. Müller, *Epigraphische Denkmäler, ad fin.*), but the present writer sees no reason to doubt that it represents the earliest form of the Semitic *alphabet*, whence the others are derived, partly by the suppression of a number of unnecessary signs. The excessive vigour with which the consonants are pronounced in S. Arabia, on which several writers have commented, would make that the likeliest country for the invention of a system of writing in which the consonant was the element.

iii. Religion. — The greater number of the tablets at present accessible are dedicated to two deities, Il-Maḳḳih and Ta'lab. The latter appears to have been a specially Hamdanite deity, and is ordinarily described as Ta'lab of Riyam. He is called not 'god,' but *shayyām*, 'patron' or 'protector,' a title which is also given to Wadd (*HI* 7), who is sometimes ascribed to Kibab (*ib.* also in *CIS* 30) and Khaṭban (*CIS* 293), and Ḥajar ('stone'; *CIS* 49–69). The former of these 'patrons' also figures in pre-Islamic antiquity. If we may judge by the honours lavished on Ta'lab, the position of 'patron' can have been little inferior to that of god. The god of the Bakil was Il-Maḳḳih, probably 'the hearing god,' whose name seems connected with a verb *WKH*, which figures often in the votive tablets. Different forms of Il-Maḳḳih were worshipped in different sanctuaries. The places with which he is most frequently associated are Awam in Alwa (on which see especially *AA* p. 16 ff.), Ḥirran, and 'Irran. Next in importance to him was probably Athtar, the male form of Ashtoreth, often called Sharḳan, which is thought to mean 'Oriental.' He had a divided personality: in *CIS* 293 no fewer than four forms of him are mentioned simultaneously — Athtar lord of Thanain, Athtar lord of Ta'alluḳ (?), Athtar lord of Jumdan, and Athtar Sharḳan. Two other deities whose names are of interest are Samī' (*CIS* 282) and Ḳawim (*CIS* 194), which seem to be perpetuated in the epithets 'the Hearing' and 'the Sustaining,' which the Koran gives to Allah. Considerable popularity was also enjoyed by Ramman (who figures in the Bible as Rimmon), sometimes called lord of 'Alam of Ashkur (*CIS* 140, by a Ḥimyarite). The sun was also much worshipped, and is ascribed to a number of places (*e.g.* Barrat, *CIS* 293. 2; other places 40, 132, 294), and also to particular tribes and persons, *e.g.* 'Il-Maḳḳih and their sun' (*CIS* 143. 5), and indeed the plural 'their suns' is of occasional occurrence, implying that the sun was regarded as of divided personality, like Athtar. The Sabæan worship of the sun was sufficiently famous to be known to the author of the Koran (xxvii. 24). A similar deity is Dhu Samai, 'lord of Heaven,' ascribed to Bakir (*MM* 1); and there are some goddesses whose names are similarly formed—Dhat Ḥima, Dhat Ba'dan (*CIS* 41 etc.). Other gods are called Bashir ('bringer of good tidings,' *CIS* 41. 3), Haubas (172, etc.), Raḥman ('merciful,' perhaps of monotheistic times, *CIS* 6), Ḳainan (8) and others whose name is thought to signify water-nymphs (153, etc.).

This pantheon appears to resemble that of the Italians before Greek influence: the gods were to some extent hypostases of operations or objects, and there was supposed to be some special merit in enumerating them. Of this last process the terminations of many inscriptions offer illustrations. The more important of their temples had names, after which the god was often called. The offerings to them consisted, as we have seen, of lavish gifts to the temples; but sacrifices of the ordinary sort (*CIS* 290) and offerings of incense (194) also form the subject of allusions. Sometimes it took the form of self-presentation on the part of the worshipper, whatever may have been the import of that act. The earliest instance is said to be in a bustrophedon inscription (*ZDMG* xxii. 425), and the most elaborate, that contained in the inscription of Hadakan (*CIS* 37), in which the author declares that he puts the god in possession of himself, his family, his and their property, and all the property belonging to his clan. If the inscription *HI* 2678 (p. 26) be rightly interpreted by Mordtmann, this act could be performed repeatedly; and the inscr. *CIS* 126 would probably explain it more clearly, if we knew the meaning of the words. The plan of erecting stones in honour of the gods also finds illustration (*CIS* 100); and most of the texts we have are *musnads*, or tablets dedicated to the gods, sometimes with other offerings. The office of priest (ארשו) seems sometimes to have been united with that of tribal head (*CIS* 41. 1), but at other times was probably delegated to humbler individuals. That pilgrimages were made in honour of the gods appears from the month Dhu Ḥijjat or Maḥajjat; the former of which is the only month-name which the Sabæans share with the Moslems (the Sabæan twelve are enumerated by Müller in *MM* 51). Prayers are ordinarily designated by the common Semitic word for petition, but the other word (*amlā*), which occurs often, perhaps implies stereotyped formulæ. From the inscr. *CIS* 126 it would appear that the gods were also appeased by certain forms of personal abstinence, and from one of those edited by Winckler (*l.c.*) it might appear that they had some share in the administration of justice. The Sabæans also had certain ideas of ceremonial purity, violation of which had to be atoned for by public acknowledgment on tablets placed in temples: some curious specimens of these are given in *SA* pp. 20–25.

iv. Language.—Of the S. Arabian inscriptions, a few are couched in a dialect scarcely distinguishable from classical Arabic. This is the case with the texts dealing with ceremonial purity, to which reference has been made. The Sabæan texts seem to resemble most closely the dialect known as Ethiopic; and indeed Ethiopic may be regarded as the form of Sabæan first given literary shape by Christian missionaries, although, unless the dates on the Marib inscriptions (Glaser, *MVAS* 6) are absolutely misleading, Sabæan must have continued in use for a century or two after the commencement of Ethiopic literature. Owing to the absence of vowels, we know little of the pronunciation or the grammatical finesse of Sabæan; but it clearly differed from the classical Arabic idiom in many particulars; in some of which it preserved what classical Arabic lost, while more often it seems to represent a later stage of development than the latter. Its alphabet retains a sibilant lost to Arabic; and in certain cases the weak letters have still consonantal value in Sabæan (as in Ethiopic) where they have lost it in Arabic. Instead of the prefixed article which governs

Arabic syntax, Sabæan has an affix, similar to that in use in Aramaic; both of which bear a curious likeness to the Armenian system. For the *nunation* which in Arabic supplies, to some extent, the place of an indefinite article, Sabæan has *mimation*. Probably in this matter Arabic retains the older termination, whereas the two languages may have developed or borrowed their definite articles independently. The employment of the dual would appear to have been as regular in Sabæan as in Arabic, though the mode of expressing it differed somewhat. The Sabæan syntax has also some remarkable peculiarities, to which nothing in Arabic corresponds, though they might be illustrated from Hebrew. We have already seen (in art. LANGUAGE OF THE OT) that, like Ethiopic, Sabæan occasionally agrees in its vocabulary with Canaanitish against Arabic; and there are also cases in which it agrees remarkably with the Aramaic vocabulary, although in the most striking of these (see *CIS* 79) the common words are perhaps borrowed from Aramaic, since the inscription shows signs of having been written by a foreigner. Though there is still much about both grammar and vocabulary that is obscure, the progress made in the study since Osiander's time compares favourably with that achieved in other regions of epigraphy.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

SHEBA (שְׁבָא; B Σάμαα, A Σάβεε; *Sabee*).—A town, according to AV, which was allotted to Simeon (Jos 19[2]), and is mentioned between Beersheba and Moladah. This was apparently the view of Eusebius and Jerome (*Onom. s.* Σαβέ). RV, however, and the edition of 1611, read 'Beersheba *or* Sheba'; and this is in agreement with the number of towns (13) said to have been allotted to Simeon (Jos 19[2-6]), and with the omission of Sheba from the list in 1 Ch 4[28]. It is not unlikely that וְשָׁבָע is due to dittography from באר שבע, or it may be a corruption of ושמע (cf. LXX B) of Jos 15[26]. So Dillm. *ad loc.*

C. W. WILSON.

SHEBANIAH (שְׁבַנְיָה; in 1 Ch 15[24] שְׁבַנְיָהוּ).—**1.** The name of a Levite or a Levitical family that took part in the religious services which followed the reading of the Law, Neh 9[4]. (B Σαραβιά, A Σαχανιά, א Σαραδιά)[5] (LXX om.). The name appears in Neh 10[10] amongst those who sealed the covenant (B Σαβανιά, אA Σεβανιά, Luc. [in both verses] Σεχενίας). **2.** A priest or Levite who sealed the covenant, Neh 10[4] (B'Εβανεί, A Σεβανί, Luc. Βαναίας) 12[14] (Bא*A om., א[c. a] Σεχελιού, Luc. Σεχενίας). See SHECANIAH, No. 8. **3.** Another Levite who sealed the covenant, Neh 10[12] (BA Σεβανιά, Luc. Σαβανίας). **4.** A priest in David's time, 1 Ch 15[24] (B Σομνιά, א Σοβνειά, A Σωβενιά, Luc. Σαβανιά).

SHEBARIM (הַשִּׁבְרִים, with art.; καὶ [Luc. ἕως] συνέτριψαν αὐτούς; *Sabarim*).—A place mentioned (Jos 7[5]) in the description of the pursuit of the Israelites by the men of Ai. RVm (so also Keil, *Josua*) tr. *hash-shebārîm* by 'the quarries,' a rendering which Steuernagel (in Nowack's *Hdkomm.*) is also inclined to accept. The place was on the descent from Ai to the Jordan Valley, but the name has not been recovered. The LXX (cf. Pesh. and Targ. עד־השברים) does not recognize a proper name, but takes the meaning to be '[they pursued them] till they were broken,' *i.e.* completely routed and mostly destroyed. See, further, Dillm. *ad loc.*

C. W. WILSON.

SHEBAT.—Zec 1[7]. See SEBAT and TIME.

SHEBER (שֶׁבֶר; B Σάβερ, A Σέβερ, Luc. Σάβαρ).—A son of Caleb by his concubine Maacah, 1 Ch 2[48].

SHEBNA (שְׁבְנָא, in 2 K 18[18. 26] שְׁבְנָה **SHEBNAH**; LXX Σόμνας [in Is 36[3] B Σόβνας, and so Q[mg] in 36[11]]).—A *major-domo* or palace-governor of king Hezekiah, against whom is directed one of the recorded utterances of Isaiah (Is 22[15-25]). The prophet's language implies that Shebna possessed wealth and high position. His chariots and their splendour drew remark (v.[18]). He had begun the construction of a tomb such as princes made for themselves (v.[16]). The office he held was domestic in origin, but had become one of the highest in the State. Control of the royal household and management of the affairs of the palace brought the holder of the office into intimate relations with the king, and placed in his hands the dispensing of much favour and patronage. The palace guards were probably under his control, so that the important element of a certain military power was added to his position. Isaiah refers to the supremacy of his authority in the palace (v.[22]). He also implies that the office (אָב as in Gn 45[8]) had duties beyond the palace precincts, in Jerusalem and even in Judah (v.[21]). When Jerusalem was threatened by the Assyrian king, the holder of this office was one of three chosen by Hezekiah to negotiate for him (2 K 18 f.). The palace-governor, in short, was one of the principal ministers of State.

The full significance of Isaiah's prediction regarding Shebna is apparent only if it be remembered, firstly, that he was a foreigner, and, secondly, that he was just then constructing for himself a tomb which should be his monument and resting-place. It was probably on a day when he was viewing complacently the progress of this work that the prophet came to him with his disturbing, disconcerting message. He will not rest in the sepulchre he is making. He has not even found, as he had thought, an adopted country. He will be cast out from the land of Judah, and die and be buried far away from the tomb he is preparing.

The simplest way of regarding Isaiah's message is to take it as a special case of the warning, 'He putteth down the mighty from their seat, he exalteth them of low degree.' Shebna's pride, his arrogant splendour, and his confidence in the future are marked features in his character as it is presented to us. His fate is not represented as retribution for what he has done. Rather, it is the contrast between his present haughty independence and his future humiliation which exposes him to rebuke and brings upon him the prophet's warning. It might be argued that the application of the words 'my servant' to his successor (v.[20]), and the evidence of v.[18], imply that he had transgressed J[m]'s law. It is certainly probable that a man of Shebna's spirit would in his position be guilty of conduct which Isaiah elsewhere resents. But the prophecy does not denounce judgment on him for this reason. It has been suggested that Shebna's policy was not in accordance with Isaiah's, that he was one of those who instigated the king to a breach with Assyria. This also is possible, but is merely conjecture. Even the interpretation of the 'large country' of v.[18] as Assyria is no support.

The date of the prophecy may be inferred from 2 K 18 f. (=Is 36 f.), where Eliakim appears as holder of the office of *major-domo*. That was in the year B.C. 701. Some time before this, accordingly, Shebna had been removed from his office. The prophecy was delivered still earlier. The argument implies, in accordance with Is 22[20-23], that Eliakim's tenure of office followed Shebna's (see ELIAKIM). But this same narrative mentions also a certain 'Shebna the scribe' (2 K 18[18. 26. 37] 19[2]=Is 36[3. 11. 22] 37[2]). It is unlikely that there was more than one Shebna among Hezekiah's officers of State. The subject of Isaiah's prophecy appears, accordingly, to have held, later on, the office of royal secretary. One of two conclusions may be drawn: either the prophecy was unfulfilled in 701, or there is a mistake in describing it as directed against Shebna.

A third view has been maintained, to the effect that change of office from *major-domo* to secretary is degradation equivalent to fulfilment of the prediction. There is not, however, sufficient proof that the office of State secretary was lower than that of governor of the palace. But, besides, Isaiah foretells as Shebna's fate much more than loss of office. That, indeed, is merely part

of the implication of a sentence of exile and banishment. Loss of office, or rather transference to another office, is by no means the same as exile. Isaiah mentions it as a part of Shebna's misfortune. It is less easy to decide between the alternatives which remain. If the spirit and essence of Isaiah's prophecy be considered, Shebna's change of office was not in the slightest degree its fulfilment. This conclusion may be declared impossible on theological grounds. But Shebna's history did not end with the year 701. His exile may have come after that date. Delay in the fulfilment of the prediction or premature anticipation of its fulfilment is all that need be assumed. The alternative conclusion is that the governor of the palace in Is 22 is wrongly named Shebna. In support of this it may be argued (Duhm, *ad loc.*, and others) that the last clause of v.[15] is in its wrong place, was originally an editorial heading to the section, and may be in error. The words 'against (עַל) Shebna the palace-governor' certainly read like a heading and leave an improved text when removed from their present position. But the suggestion that an editor took the name from 2 K 18 is improbable, since, (1) Shebna is secretary there, and (2) the identification creates evidence against the fulfilment of the prediction. The difficulty, therefore, that Shebna was royal secretary in 701 remains the only reason for eliminating the name from Is 22[15].

The designation סֹכֵן in Is 22[15] has not been referred to. The title occurs only here in the OT.* In 1 K 1[2. 4] the feminine is used (AVm 'cherisher'). In a Phœnician inscription about 30 years older than Isaiah's prophecy (?) (*CIS* i. p. 25) it is used possibly in the sense of city-governor.† This may be its meaning here. It harmonizes sufficiently with the designation of Shebna as palace-governor. The domestic office may have included the other (cf. v.[21]). The cognate in Assyr. denotes 'governor' (Del. *HWB s.* שכן). W. B. STEVENSON.

SHEBUEL (שְׁבוּאֵל).—**1.** A son of Gershom and grandson of Moses, 1 Ch 23[16] (BA Σουβαήλ, Luc. Σουβιήλ). He was 'ruler over the treasuries,' 26[24] (B Ἰωήλ, A Σουβαήλ, Luc. Σωβιήλ). He is called in 24[20] **Shubael** (שׁוּבָאֵל; B Ἰωβαήλ, A Σουβαήλ, Luc. Σουβιήλ), which is prob. the original form of the name (see Gray, *HPN* 310). **2.** A son of Heman, 1 Ch 25[4] (BA Σουβαήλ, Luc. Σουβιήλ), called in v.[20] **Shubael** (LXX as in v.[4]).

SHECANIAH (שְׁכַנְיָה; in 1 Ch 24[11], 2 Ch 31[15] שְׁכַנְיָהוּ). —**1.** A descendant of Zerubbabel, 1 Ch 3[21. 22] (B Σεχενιά, A and Luc. Σεχενίας, which is the reading of Luc. also in all the following passages). It is probably the same Shecaniah who is named in Ezr 8[3] (B Σαναχιά, A Σαχανιά); see Ryle, *ad loc.* **2.** According to the MT of Ezr 8[5], 'the sons of Shecaniah' were amongst those who returned with Ezra; but a name appears to have dropped out of the text, and we should read 'of the sons of Zattu, Shecaniah the son of Jahaziel' (cf. 1 Es 8[32] 'of the sons of Zathoes, **Sechenias** the son of Jezelus'). Ezr 8[5] is wanting in B; A has *ἀπὸ υἱῶν Ζαθοῆς Σεχονίας*. **3.** Chief of the tenth course of priests, 1 Ch 24[11] (B Ἰσχανιά, A Σεκενιά). **4.** A priest in the reign of Hezekiah, 2 Ch 31[15] (BA Σεχονίας). **5.** A contemporary of Ezra, who supported him in his action in connexion with the foreign marriages, Ezr 10[2] (Σεχενίας). **6.** The father of Shemaiah, 'the keeper of the east gate,' Neh 3[29] (B Ἐχενιά, אA Σεχενιά). It is possible that he and No. **1** are identical. **7.** The father-in-law of Tobiah the Ammonite, Neh 6[18] (Σεχενιά). **8.** The eponym of a family which returned with Zerubbabel, Neh 12[3] (Σεχενιά). It is the same name which, by interchange of ב and כ, appears as Shebaniah (see SHEBANIAH, No. **2**) in Neh 10[4] 12[14].

SHECHEM.—**1.** (שֶׁכֶם) Gn 33[19] 34[2. 4] etc. See HAMOR. **2.** (שֶׁכֶם, Σύχεμ) the name of a Manassite clan, Nu 26[31 (35)] (the **Shechemites** הַשִּׁכְמִי, *δημὸς ὁ Συχεμ(εε)ί*), Jos 17[2], 1 Ch 7[19]. The various conflicting schemes by which these three passages (P, J, and the Chronicler) connect Shechem with Manasseh are discussed in art. MANASSEH, vol. iii. p. 231 f.

* Cheyne (*Expositor*, ix. [1899] p. 454) would read this word also in 2 S 8[18] 20[26], 1 K 4[5] (1 Ch 18[17]), but see art. PRIESTS AND LEVITES, p. 73[b].

† Quoted and so translated by Winckler, *Geschichte Israels*, i. 120.

SHECHEM (שֶׁכֶם 'shoulder'; Συχέμ, ἡ Σίκιμα (1 K 12[25]), τὰ Σίκιμα (Jos 24[32]), Σήκιμα, Σήλω (Jos 24[1. 25]), Σίκιμον, Σίκιμα (Joseph.); *Sichem, Sicima* (Jerome, *Onom.*)).—There are two views with regard to the name. One, held by Eusebius (*Onom. s.* Συχέμ), is that Shechem, the son of Hamor, 'the Hivite, the prince of the land' (Gn 33[18. 19]), gave his name to the town. In this case the name is used in Gn 12[6] by anticipation. The other view is that Shechem received his name from the town, which was so called from the *shĕchém*, 'saddle,' or 'shoulder' (cf. Gn 48[22]), between Ebal and Gerizim, which separates the waters of the Mediterranean from those of the Dead Sea. The latter supposition is the more probable. The name occurs in the 'Travels of a Mohar,' if Max Müller's reading, 'Mountain of Sakama,'—the mountain of Sichem, *i.e.* Ebal or Gerizim,—be correct (*Asien u. Europ.* p. 394). Eusebius and Jerome (*Onom.*) held the view that Shechem was formerly called *Salem*; but this opinion is apparently based on a wrong interpretation of Gn 33[18] (see SHALEM).

The position of Shechem is clearly indicated in the Bible. It was west of Jordan; in the territory allotted to Joseph (see Gn 48[22], where 'portion' is the translation of *shĕchém*); in the hill-country of Ephraim (AV Mount Ephraim), within the limits of the tribe of Ephraim (Jos 20[7] 21[21], 1 K 12[25], 1 Ch 6[67] 7[28], cf. Jos 17[7]), and immediately below Gerizim (Jg 9[7]). It was beyond Shiloh on the high road from Jerus. to the north (Jg 21[19]), to the west of Michmethath (Jos 17[7]), and not very far from Dothan (Gn 37[12-17]). The evidence outside the Bible is decisive: Josephus distinctly says (*Ant.* IV. viii. 44) that Shechem was between Ebal and Gerizim. Eusebius (*Onom. s.* Συχέμ, Λουζά, Τερέβινθος) places it in the suburbs of, or close to, Neapolis; whilst Jerome (*Ep. Pau.* xvi.), Epiphanius (*adv. Hær.* iii. 1055), and later writers identify it with Neapolis, the present *Nâblus*. Shechem is supposed to have been destroyed during the Jewish War, and to have been rebuilt by Vespasian, who named it *Flavia Neapolis*. It is so called on coins (Eckhel, *Doc. Num.* iii. 433), and by Justin Martyr, who was a native. Josephus says (*BJ* IV. viii. 1) that Neapolis was anciently called Mabortha, or Mabartha—a name which Pliny gives (*HN* v. 13) in the form Mamortha. This word has been variously explained. Reland conjectures (*Dis. Mis.* i. 138–140) that the readings should be corrected from coins which have Morthia—the classical form, according to his view, of Moreh. Tomkins (*Abraham and his Age*, p. 90) connects Mabortha, Morthia, with Martu, the Sumerian form of the name Amorite, and takes it as evidence of a pre-Semitic occupation of the site. He quotes the view of Sayce, who sees Martu in 'the terebinth of Moreh.' Ritter (*Pal.* 646) considers that the name refers to the 'pass' or valley in which the town is situated. Olshausen, Ritter (as above), Guérin (*Samarie*, i. 420), and Riehm (*HWB*) take it to mean a 'thoroughfare,' or place of 'passage' or 'crossing' (מַעֲבַרתָּא *ma'ăbartā*)—a name very applicable to a town situated in the natural passage or valley from the Mediterranean to the Jordan, or on the caravan road from Judæa to Galilee. Neubauer (*Géog. du Talm.* 169) sees in the word a corruption of the Aramæan מברכתא (*mabărakhta*), 'blessed town,' and supports his view by the statement in the Talmud that the Samaritans called their mountains 'the mountains of blessing.'

When Abram entered the land of Canaan, he camped by the oak (AV 'plain,' RVm 'terebinth') of Moreh, at or near 'the place of Shechem' (AV Sichem), and there built 'an altar unto the LORD' (Gn 12[6. 7]). Some authorities maintain, from the expression 'place of Shechem,' that the city did

not then exist; but the word 'place' (Gesen. *Lex.*) is applied to inhabited towns in Gn 18[24] 19[12] and 29[22]. It is also most unlikely that the Canaanites, who were 'then in the land,' would have overlooked or neglected to occupy a well-watered site which possessed so many natural advantages. The oak of Moreh, or a successor, is apparently mentioned as 'the oak which was by Shechem' (Gn 35[4]), 'the oak that was in the sanctuary of the Lord' (Jos 24[26]), 'the oak of the pillar that was in Shechem' (Jg 9[6]). 'The oak of Meonenim' (Jg 9[37] 'the diviners' tree') is possibly also the tree of Gn 12[6], but, Moore thinks, not of Jg 9[6].

When Jacob 'came from Paddan-aram,' Shechem was a Hivite city under the rule of Hamor the father of Shechem. The patriarch pitched his tent to the east of the city on ground which he afterwards purchased from Hamor, and bequeathed to the children of Joseph. Here Jacob erected an altar, and sunk a well for his family and cattle; and here Joseph was buried (Gn 33[18-20] 34[2] 48[22], Jos 24[32], Jn 4[5. 6. 12], Ac 7[16]). The size of the 'parcel' is unknown, but it possibly included the oak beneath which Jacob concealed the gods and trinkets of his household before moving to Bethel (Gn 35[4]). From the account of the capture and pillage of Shechem, perhaps alluded to in Gn 48[22], and of the events which followed the defilement of Dinah, it would appear that the Shechemites were a peaceful, uncircumcised people, who possessed sheep, oxen, and other wealth (Gn 34[10. 21. 23. 26-29]; Jos. *Ant.* I. xxi. 1). The massacre of the Shechemites (if indeed it belongs to the patriarchal period, but see arts. HAMOR, SIMEON) does not seem to have aroused the ill-will of the surrounding tribes, for, whilst Jacob lived at Hebron, his sons pastured his flocks at Shechem in peace (Gn 37[12-14]).

Shechem acquired additional importance and sanctity from the promulgation of the Law in its immediate neighbourhood (Dt 27[12-14], Jos 8[33-35]); and from the renewal of the covenant with God when Joshua, towards the close of his life, gathered all the tribes of Israel to Shechem and set up a great stone, as a witness, under 'the oak that was in (AV by) the sanctuary of the LORD' (Jos 24[1. 25-27]). Joshua made Shechem a city of refuge, and gave it to the Levites (Jos 20[7] 21[21], 1 Ch 6[67]; cf. Hos 6[9] (RV); Jos. *Ant.* V. i. 24). Yet under the Judges we find a temple of Baal-berith in or near the town (Jg 9[4. 46]), and the population is plainly Canaanite.

After Gideon's death, the men of Shechem made Abimelech, his son by a Shechemite concubine, king by the oak (RV 'plain') of 'the pillar that was in Shechem'; and it was during, or immediately after, the ceremony that Jotham delivered his parable of the trees from Mount Gerizim (Jg 8[31] 9[1-3. 6-20]). When Abimelech had reigned three years the Shechemites rose against him, but he soon retook the city, and, after destroying it, sowed the site with salt. He also set fire to and burned the temple of Baal-berith, in which a portion of the garrison had taken refuge (Jg 9[23-57]; Jos. *Ant.* V. vii. 4). In consequence of its central position and sacred associations, all Israel assembled at Shechem to make Rehoboam king (1 K 12[1], 2 Ch 10[1]); but the great disruption followed, and the ten tribes revolted, and made Jeroboam their king. Jeroboam rebuilt or fortified the town, and built himself a palace there (1 K 12[25]; Jos. *Ant.* VIII. viii. 4). The position, however, was not a strong one, and the capital of the new kingdom was first moved to Tirzah and then to Samaria—sites more capable of defence against the attack of an enemy. When Samaria became the political and religious centre of the Northern Kingdom, Shechem lost its importance, and it is not once mentioned during the monarchy. The town was, however, inhabited after the fall of Jerusalem (Jer 41[5]), and became the chief town of the Samaritans (Sir 50[26]; Jos. *Ant.* XI. viii. 6). About B.C. 132 it was taken by John Hyrcanus, and the temple on Mt. Gerizim destroyed (Jos. *Ant.* XIII. ix. 1; *BJ* I. ii. 6).

Shechem was probably destroyed during the Jewish War, and its place taken by Flavia Neapolis, built by Vespasian a short distance to the west of the ancient site. Coins struck at Neapolis during the reign of Antoninus Pius represent Gerizim with a large temple on its summit, approached by many steps cut or built in the side of the mountain. This temple, according to the Samaritan Chronicle, Dion Cassius (xv. 12), and Damascius (*Phot. Bibl.* p. 1055), was built by Hadrian, and dedicated to Jupiter. In the reign of Zeno the Samaritans attacked (A.D. 474) the Christians at Pentecost, and wounded the bishop, Terebinthus, whose name was perhaps taken from the terebinth or oak of Moreh. In consequence of this, the emperor deprived the Samaritans of Gerizim and gave the mountain to the Christians, who built a church on it which they dedicated to the Virgin. Justinian afterwards surrounded the church with a strong wall, and rebuilt five churches in Neapolis which the Samaritans had destroyed (Procop. *De Ædif.* v. 7). The only known bishops of Neapolis are Germanus, who attended the Councils of Ancyra and Nicæa, Terebinthus, Procopius, Ammonas, and Joannes, who was present at the Council of Jerusalem (A.D. 536). In 1184 *Nâblus* was pillaged by Saladin, and in 1834 by the soldiers of Ibrahim Pasha. In 1202 and again in 1837 the town suffered greatly from severe earthquakes.

Near the centre of Palestine the range of hills which traverses the country from north to south is pierced by a remarkable pass—the only one conspicuous from the sea. The pass, which lies between Ebal and Gerizim, is the Vale of Shechem. The valley rises gradually eastward to a grand natural amphitheatre, with its southern end recessed in Gerizim and its northern in Ebal. Here the gently swelling ground of the arena separates the waters of the Mediterranean from those of the Dead Sea; and here, in all probability, was held 'the great inaugural service of all Israel on taking possession of the country.' Eastward of the water-parting, the ground falls gradually between Ebal and Gerizim to the rich level plain of *el-Mukhna*; and near the spot where the valley merges into the plain are the traditional sites of Jacob's Well and Joseph's Tomb. The beauty of the Vale of Shechem and its exuberant fertility have often been described. The soft colouring of the landscape, the fresh green of the gardens that slope down on either side, the grey olive trees, the joyous notes of the numerous birds of song, and the 'mighty burst of waters from the flank of Gerizim,' make the vale the most beautiful spot in Central and Southern Palestine. Amidst this wealth of verdure, clinging as it were to the lower slopes of Gerizim, lies Nâblus (*Neapolis*), the 'little Damascus' of the old Arab writers, and a little to the east, between the modern town and the water-parting, probably lay Shechem. The natural attractiveness of the locality, its central position on the highland road from north to south, and the facilities for communication on the one hand with Sharon and the Mediterranean, and on the other with the Jordan Valley and the trans-Jordanic regions, marked it out as a place of importance from the remotest period. A trade route, to which allusion is made in Hos 6[9], and which the Psalmist may have had in his mind when he connected Shechem with the valley of Succoth (Ps 60[6] 108[7]), ran at a very early date from the coast districts, past Shechem to Gilead. The connexion with the districts east of Jordan remained almost to the present day, for, until recently, Gilead was gov-

erned from *Nâblus*, which is still the connecting link between the telegraph system east and west of Jordan. The modern town contains three churches built by the Crusaders which are now mosques, the synagogue of the Samaritans, and a few fragments of the Roman city. Immediately outside the town, on the S.W., there is a small mosque on the traditional site of Jacob's mourning when Joseph's coat was brought to him. In the minaret close by there is a stone with a Samaritan inscription containing the Ten Commandments.

Environs.—There are three spots in the neighbourhood of Shechem which require some notice: the Well of Jacob, the Tomb of Joseph, and the site of the 'oak' of Moreh. A tradition that goes back to the early part of the 4th cent., and in which Jews, Samaritans, Christians, and Moslems agree, identifies **Jacob's Well** with *Bîr Y'akûb*. This well, sometimes called *Bîr es-Samarîeh*, 'well of the Samaritan' (woman), is situated in the level plain of *el-Mukhna*, about 1½ m. from *Nâblus* on the road to Jerus., and a little beyond the village of *Balâta*. The well is sunk to a great depth, partly through alluvial soil and partly through limestone, so as to secure, even in exceptionally dry seasons, a supply of water. By its construction in his own 'parcel' of ground, the patriarch, with great prudence and forethought, made himself independent of the springs which probably belonged to the Shechemite villagers, and avoided those quarrels about water which are so common in a country where the population is partly sedentary and partly nomadic. Eusebius (*Onom.*) and the Bordeaux Pilgrim (A.D. 333) mention the well in connexion with Sychar, a place which they distinguish from Sichem and Neapolis. Jerome (*Onom.*) adds that there was a church at the well which was visited by St. Paula (*Ep. Paul.* xvi.). Antoninus Martyr (A.D. 570), Arculfus (A.D. 670), and Willibald (A.D. 754), mention the well and church, and Arculfus adds that the church was cruciform, the well being in the centre. The church was apparently destroyed before the arrival of the Crusaders and rebuilt in the 12th cent. It was again destroyed after the battle of Hattin, and remained a heap of rubbish until a few years ago, when it became the property of the Greek Church, and its foundations were uncovered by excavation. The stone on which our Lord sat is said to have been taken to Constantinople in the reign of Justinian (see SYCHAR).

Jewish, Samaritan, and Christian tradition identifies the **Tomb of Joseph** with a modern building, called *Kabr Yûsuf*, situated in the plain about ¼ m. north of Jacob's Well. Moslem traditions vary—one accepting the *Kabr Yûsuf*, another placing the tomb in the cemetery *Rijal el-'Amûd* at the foot of Gerizim. The latter place was apparently shown to Maundrell (A.D. 1697). Eusebius, the Bordeaux Pilgrim, and Jerome (*Onom.*) place the tomb to the east of Neapolis and close to Sichem. Jerome elsewhere (*Ep. Paul.* xvi.) says that St. Paula, after leaving Jacob's Well, visited the 'tombs of the twelve patriarchs.' The tradition that the twelve sons of Jacob were buried at Shechem rests on the words of St. Stephen (Ac 7[15. 16]). Josephus (*Ant.* II. viii. 2) says they were buried at Hebron. Nearly all later writers refer to the tomb without distinctly indicating its position; but all Jewish travellers place it in the immediate neighbourhood of the village of *Balâta*.

Two sites have been suggested **for the 'oak' of Moreh.** At the foot of Gerizim, in the recess which forms part of the natural amphitheatre already described, there is a small, well-kept cemetery, with a mosque, a courtyard, a well, and several tombs of which one is the tomb of *Sheikh Yûsuf*. The place is called *Rijal el-'Amûd*, 'the men of the column,' or simply *el-'Amûd*, 'the column.' Here, according to one tradition, Joseph and his brethren were buried, or, according to another, several Jewish prophets. A third tradition finds in it the spot where Jacob buried the idols of his household, whilst the Samaritans believe it to be the place where Joshua set up a great stone under the 'oak' that was in the sanctuary of the LORD (Jos 24[26]). The other site is *Balâta*, a small hamlet with a beautiful spring, not far from Jacob's Well. The village is mentioned in the Samaritan Book of Joshua under its present name, which contains the radicals of the Aramaic word for 'oak.' The place is also, apparently, that mentioned by Eusebius and Jerome (*Onom.*) as *Balanus* (translated by them 'oak') near Joseph's Tomb, and identified by them with the oak of Shechem.

LITERATURE.—Descriptions of *Nâblus* and its environs, and of the importance of Shechem in the history of the Jews, will be found in *PEF Mem.* ii. 172–178, 203, etc.; Stanley, *SP* p. 233, etc.; Smith, *HGHL* 332, etc.; Guérin, *Samarie*, i. p. 372, etc.; Robinson, *BRP*[2] iii. p. 96, etc.; Wilson, *PEF St.* 1873, p. 66, etc.

C. W. WILSON.

SHEDEUR (שְׁדֵיאוּר); the first part of the word is probably שַׁדַּי *Shaddai*, cf. Gray, *HPN* 169, 197). —The father of Elizur, the chief of Reuben, Nu 1[5] 2[10] (B and Luc. in both Σεδιούρ, A 'Εδιούρ) 7[30] (B 'Εδισουρ, B[ab]AF Σεδισούρ) 10[18] (Σεδιούρ).

SHEEP.—The generic name for 'sheep' is צאן *ṣôn* (properly 'small cattle'). The unit is expressed by שֶׂה *seh*, which also applies to goats. אַיִל *'ayîl* signifies 'a ram'; רָחֵל *rāḥēl*, 'a ewe'; כֶּבֶשׂ *kebhes* (fem. *kibhsah* and *kabhsah*), or by transposition כָּשֶׂב *kesebh* (Lv 3[7], fem. *kisbah*), 'a (yearling) lamb'; טָלֶה *ṭāleh* (1 S 7[9]), and כַּר *kar* (Ps 37[20]), 'a young lamb.' See, further, LAMB.

The sheep, as supplying most of the wants of a pastoral people, was their chief possession, and a measure of their wealth and prosperity. Job had 7000 head of sheep at first, then 14,000 (Job 1[3] 42[12]). Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Esau had vast flocks of them. Sheep furnished their owners with clothing, milk, butter, cheese, meat, and a medium of exchange. The king of Moab (see art. MESHA) paid an annual tribute of 100,000 lambs and the same number of rams to the king of Israel (2 K 8[4]). Reuben took from the sons of Ishmael 250,000 sheep (1 Ch 5[21]). Solomon sacrificed 120,000 sheep at the dedication of the temple (1 K 8[63]). His household consumed 100 sheep a day (1 K 4[23]). The Israelites entered Egypt as shepherds (Gn 47[1-6]), and left it with much cattle (Ex 12[38]). The same regions which furnished the vast flocks in ancient times are still noted for their sheep. All the plateaus east of the Jordan, and the mountains of Palestine and Syria, are pasture-grounds for innumerable flocks and herds. In the spring, when the ewes bring forth their young, the succulent grasses furnish suitable nourishment. Later on, when the rain has ceased, the sheep still nibble the dried herbage and stubble, and flourish where to a Western eye all is barren desert. They require water but once a day, and, where they cannot get it from perennial streams as the Leontes, the Orontes, the Jordan, the Yermuk, the Zerḳa (Jabboḳ), the Zerḳa-Ma'în, the Mûjib (Arnon), etc., they find it in the innumerable wells, fountains, and cisterns known to the Arabs. The descendants of the same shepherds who tended flocks in Bible days, still occupy the great sheep-walks of Palestine.

The male of sheep, as of other animals, was usually chosen for sacrifice, as being the representative sex, and because the female was reserved for breeding. The leper, however, offered two he-lambs and one *ewe* (Lv 14[10]). Similarly, while the sin-offering of a ruler was a male kid, that of one of the common people was a female kid or lamb

(Lv 4[23. 28. 32]). The idea of sacrifice has not disappeared wholly, even from Islâm. On important occasions, as the opening of a new road, or the erection of an important building, sheep are sacrificed, and their flesh given to the poor. There is a 'Feast of the Sacrifice' at Mecca every year, in connexion with the *ḥaj*, when many thousands of sheep and other animals are killed, and their flesh distributed among the poor. The milk of sheep is especially mentioned (Dt 32[14], 1 Co 9[7]). **Wool** was and is a staple of commerce (2 K 3[4], Ezk 27[18]). It is very frequently mentioned. The priests had the first of the clip (Dt 18[4]). Good housewives spun it and wove it (Pr 31[13]). Sheep-shearing was a festival (Gn 31[19] 38[12], 1 S 25, 2 S 13[23-27]). The ram has long recurved horns, which were used for trumpets (Jos 6[4]) and oil-flasks (1 S 16[1]). They are now used as powder-horns. Rams' skins, dyed red, were used in the construction of the tabernacle (Ex 26[14]). Sheep skins were and are fashioned into a baggy kind of coat (He 11[37]). Such a garment is the protection of every Syrian shepherd against the wind and rain.

The broad-tailed breed of sheep, now universal in Palestine and Syria, was prob. there from ancient times. The immense tail is a great desideratum. It is the 'rump' of Ex 29[22], Lv 3[9] (RV 'fat tail'). It furnishes as much as 10 pounds of pure fat. This is tried out, usually mixed with fine morsels of lean, about as large as a white bean, and packed away in earthen jars for winter use. This mixture is the main reliance of the peasants of Lebanon in the way of animal food for several months of each year. It is called *ḳauramah*. To increase the amount of adipose matter in the tail, the sheep is fattened by forced feeding with mulberry leaves. A bolus of these leaves is made up by the woman or girl in charge, and crammed between the teeth of the animal, which is then compelled to masticate and swallow it. Towards the middle of October the sheep become so fat that they are often unable to stand.

The care of sheep is a subject of frequent allusion in Scripture. They are exposed to the vicissitudes of weather, winter and summer, frost and drought, in the immense treeless plains where they are most raised (Gn 31[40]); to the attacks of beasts and robbers (v.[39], 1 S 17[34], Jn 10[11. 10. 11]). The **shepherd** *leads* (not *drives*) them to pasture and water (Ps 23. 77[20] 78[52] 80[1]); protects them at the risk of his life (Jn 10[15]). To keep them from the cold and rain and beasts, he collects them in caves (1 S 24[3]) or enclosures built of rough stones (Nu 32[16], Jg 5[16], Zeph 2[6], Jn 10[1]). The sheep know the shepherd, and heed his voice (Jn 10[4]). It is one of the most interesting spectacles to see a number of flocks of thirsty sheep brought by their several shepherds to be watered at a fountain. Each flock, in obedience to the call of its own shepherd, lies down, awaiting its turn. The shepherd of one flock calls his sheep in squads, draws water for them, pours it into the troughs, and, when the squad has done, orders it away by sounds which the sheep perfectly understand, and calls up another squad. When the whole of one flock is watered, its shepherd signals to it, and the sheep rise, and move leisurely away, while another flock comes in a similar manner to the troughs, and so on, until all the flocks are watered. The sheep never make any mistake as to who whistles to them or calls them. 'They know not the voice of strangers' (Jn 10[5]). Sometimes they are called by names (v.[3]). It was such a scene that greeted Jacob's eyes when he fell in love with Rachel at first sight (Gn 29[10. 11]). Moses met his wife and her sisters at the watering troughs (Ex 2[16-21]). The shepherd often carries the smaller lambs in his bosom, or under his arm, or in the folds of his cloak (Is 40[11]). Dogs are indispensable to shepherds (Job 30[1]). They protect the flock from wild animals and robbers. They are the unkempt, savage, shaggy originals of the city dogs of the East. They help to keep the sheep together like the Scotch collies. Syrian sheep are usually white (Ps 147[16], Is 1[18], Dn 7[9]), but some are brown (Gn 30[32-42], RV 'black').

No animal mentioned in Scripture compares in symbolical interest and importance with the sheep. It is alluded to about 500 times. The people of God are His sheep (Ps 95[7] 100[3], Jn 21[15-17]), and His ministers *pastors*,* *i.e. shepherds* (Jer 23[1], Eph 4[11]; cf. our Lord's charge to St. Peter Jn 21[15ff.]; see art. PETER, vol. iii. p. 761). Christ is the Good Shepherd (Jn 10[11]), and 'the Lamb (ὁ ἀμνός) of God, which taketh away the sins of the world' (Jn 1[29]). The song of the redeemed is 'the song of Moses and the Lamb' (Rev 15[3]), of the law and the gospel. Satan and his hosts 'made war with the Lamb,' and the Lamb overcame (17[14]). The last act of the drama of redemption is 'the marriage of the Lamb' (Rev 19[9] 21[9. 14]), and thereafter 'God Almighty and the Lamb are the temple' (v.[22]), and 'the Lamb is the light thereof' (v.[23]). Those who are written in 'the Lamb's book of life' (v.[27]) enter into His rest. The last vision of Revelation is 'the throne of God and the Lamb' (τὸ ἀρνίον, 22[1]).

G. E. POST.

SHEEP FOLD.—See FOLD and SHEEP.

SHEEP GATE, Neh 3[1. 32] 12[39].—See JERUSALEM, vol. ii. p. 593. For the Sheep Gate (AV Sheep Market; Gr. ἡ προβατικὴ [*sc.* πύλη as in LXX of OT passages]) of Jn 5[2], see *ib.* and art. BETHESDA.

SHEERAH (שְׁאֵרָה).—A 'daughter' of Ephraim, who, according to the MT of 1 Ch 7[24], built the two Beth-horons and a place of doubtful identity † called **Uzzen-sheerah** (אֻזֶּן שְׁאֵרָה = 'portion [? lit. something weighed] of Sheerah'). In v.[24a], while A and Luc. recognize a proper name in שְׁאֵרָה, B, reading apparently וּבְשְׁאֵרָה instead of וּבְתוֹ שְׁאֵרָה (A καὶ ἡ θυγατὴρ αὐτοῦ Σααρά, Luc. Σαραά), renders καὶ ἐν ἐκείνοις τοῖς καταλοίποις, and makes Ephraim himself the builder of the upper and the lower Beth-horon. In v.[24b] the LXX gives quite a different turn to the passage. Instead of the place-name *Uzzen-sheerah*, it reads καὶ υἱοὶ Ὀζάν· Σεηρά (= וּבְנֵי אֻזֶּן שְׁאֵרָה).

J. A. SELBIE.

SHEHARIAH (שְׁחַרְיָה; B and Luc. Σαραιά, A Σααριά).—A Benjamite, 1 Ch 8[26].

SHEKEL.—See artt. MONEY and WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

SHEKINAH (Heb. שְׁכִינָה 'that which dwells *or* resides').—The word, as well as the conception, originated after the close of the Hebrew Canon, and is characteristic of Judaistic theology, though the conception occurs also, with deeper connotation, in NT writings. The word is never used except of God; and implies what we should designate 'the Divine Presence,' or 'the Divine Manifestation.' The two most remarkable features of Judaistic theology were its development of the doctrine of Divine 'aloofness,' and the way in which it then sought to bridge the chasm which it had created between God and man. It was felt to be an indignity to God that He should be supposed to have direct contact with inert matter, and immediate intercourse with sinful man; and He was gradually pushed further away from His world. The transcendence of God, and His exemption

* The same misleading tr. occurs also in Jer 2[8] 3[15] 10[21] 17[16] 22[22] 23[2. 4], in all of which RV alters to 'shepherd.'

† It is identified in Bartholomew-Smith's map of Palestine (1901) with *Beit Sira*, a little to the S.W. of the lower Beth-horon.

from all limitations, was insisted on with increasing vigour, until it reached the *ne plus ultra* in Philo, who maintains that to assign any quality to God would be to limit Him; and that He is the absolutely unlimited, since He is eternal, unchangeable, simple substance. 'Of God, we can only say *that* He is, not *what* He is' (Drummond, *Philo Jud.* ii. 23–30). Having thus undeified God, in their endeavour to dehumanize Him, the object of philosophic Jews was to posit some one or more intermediary Hypostases, who might occupy the place which had previously been assigned to God, in the world of matter and of mind. Of these the most prominent were the Metatron, the Word, the Spirit, Wisdom, and the Shekinah. It is the last of these which now calls for investigation.

In the Hebrew religion, even in its least developed form, Jehovah is always the God of heaven as well as of earth. In times of storm, God was very near and very real to the Hebrews. They conceived of Jehovah as sitting on the storm-cloud, which they designated רְכוּב: 'He rode upon a *cherub* and did fly. He flew swiftly on the wings of the wind' (Ps 18^{10}): and the brilliance gleaming forth behind and through the black cloud was conceived to be due to the very presence of God: the light being the body or garment of God. When 'the Lord of (the heavenly) hosts' was described as dwelling in the midst of the *earthly* 'hosts' of His favoured people, we are told that *cherubim* overlaid with gold were prepared for His throne; and that a brilliance shining behind and through clouds was His mundane manifestation, as He is also seen in the clouds of heaven (Ex 40^{34-38}). On the summit of Sinai a cloud rested six days, amid which the glory of the Lord was like devouring fire, and Moses entered into the midst of the cloud (Ex 24^{16-18}). And when the tabernacle was finished, 'the cloud covered the tent of meeting, and the glory of the Lord filled the tabernacle' (Ex 40^{34}). 'By day the cloud was upon the tabernacle, and there was fire therein by night' (Ex 40^{38}).

It was these celestial and terrestrial phenomena which suggested to the Jew the conception of the Shekinah. The desideratum was to find something which is Divine but is not God. God was very far away; literally 'beyond all knowledge and all thought': yet He rules the world mediately, if not immediately; and being a monotheist the Jew could not let go his belief—that only that which is Divine can rule the world. This, then, was the problem: to discover a mediator, or mediators, Divine, but not God. How can this be made thinkable? Well, the wind (*rûaḥ*) is the breath of God, whether in the zephyr or the storm; and if so, it is Divine. So thought the Jew; and in course of time the *rûaḥ*, which first meant 'breath' or 'wind,' was supposed to be endowed with the attributes of God—power, wisdom, holiness—and then 'spirit' becomes its more appropriate rendering. God's *rûaḥ* is thus Divine—an effluence from Deity—and is thus fitted to be intermediary between God and the world of nature and man. Further, there was the Divine *Word*. The sacred Hebrew books assigned great importance to Divine utterances or words. 'God said, "Let light be"; and light was' (Gn 1^{3}). It was a peculiarity of the ancient world to ascribe causal efficiency to an uttered word, as is seen in the potency ascribed to magical formulæ. When later Judaism expounded such passages as the one we have just quoted, it assigned to the uttered word a causal efficacy in the physical realm. The very words 'Let there be light' were to them a *vera causa* in the natural sphere, and were instrumental in causing the light to come into being; as Zec 5^{4} speaks of an uttered 'curse' entering a house and 'consuming its timbers and its stones.' An utterance of God is something Divine: as potent as God Himself, and therefore 'Word' lends itself to Jewish philosophy as a suitable expression for a Divine intermediary between God and the world. This helps us to understand how Judaism came to its conception of the Shekinah. The glory in the storm-cloud, in and over the tabernacle, is a manifestation of God. The brilliance is not God; for it was a matter of fixed Jewish belief that God is invisible, and yet the brilliance is an effluence from Deity. When the Jew had banished God from his universe, the recorded manifestation of the Divine Presence in the ark and elsewhere seemed to him a *tertium quid* between God and Nature: Divine, but separable in thought from God.

The word Shekinah is used very often in the Jewish Targums. It does not indicate the radiance or brilliance, but *the central cause of the radiance.* This centre was conceived to be Divine. The Heb. Scriptures often speak of 'the glory' of the Lord, but, with one exception (Zec 2^{9}), the Targumists never use the word Shekinah to translate the Heb. word for 'glory.' They understood כָּבוֹד to be the effulgence of the substantial glory, *i.e.* of the Shekinah. The Shekinah is used in the Targums as the *equivalent for the Divine Being, not for His glory.* A good illustration of this occurs in Is 60^{2}, where the Heb. reads, 'The LORD shall arise upon thee, and his glory shall be seen upon thee,' and the Targ. renders, 'In thee the Shekinah of the LORD shall dwell, and his glory shall be revealed upon thee.' Whenever the Heb. text would seem to impose any limitations of space upon God, the Targ. substitutes for 'God,' 'his Shekinah.' In every instance where God is said to *dwell* in a place, the Targ. renders that God 'causes his Shekinah to dwell' there (Gn 9^{27}, Ex 25^{8} 29^{45}, 1 K 6^{13} 8^{12}, Zec 8^{3}). Every expression which would in any sense localize God, is scrupulously altered by all the Targumists, who believed that the Shekinah can be localized, but not the omnipresent God. When Jacob says (Gn 28^{16}), 'God is in this place,' Targ. renders, 'The glory of the Shekinah of J″ is in this place.' So Hab 2^{20} 'The Lord is in his holy temple,' becomes 'J″ was pleased to cause his Shekinah to dwell,' etc. When J″ is said to 'sit upon the cherubim' (1 S 4^{4}, 2 S 6^{2}) the Targ. must needs read, 'the Shekinah of J″' for 'J″': and Jerusalem is the place where J″ causes His Shekinah to dwell (1 K $8^{12.13}$ 14^{21}, Ps 74^{2}). Similarly, when the Heb. text says that any one *saw* God, or that God appeared to any one, the Targ. can only permit the glory of the Shekinah of J″ to be visible to mortal man (Is 6^{5} 'My eyes have seen the glory of the Shekinah of the King of the world'; cf. Ex 3^{6}, Ezk 1^{1}, Lv 9^{4}).

The Targumist even shrinks from saying that J″ *is* or *dwells* in heaven. The Heaven of Heavens cannot contain God; and therefore it is not God, but His Shekinah, which can be localized, even in heaven. Is 33^{5} 'He dwelleth on high,' becomes in Targ. 'He has placed his Shekinah in the lofty heaven' (cf. Is 32^{15} 38^{14}). In Dt 4^{39} 'J″ is God in heaven above and on earth beneath,' Onḳ. renders 'God, whose Shekinah is (Targ. Jerus. 'dwells') in heaven above, and who rules on earth beneath'; so Dt 3^{24}.

If a rigorous conception of God's ubiquity forbade His *dwelling* in a place, so also must it preclude His *removal* from a place. When Hos 5^{6} says, 'J″ has withdrawn himself from them,' Targ. reads 'J″ has removed his Shekinah from them.' This phrase is also used of God's 'hiding his face' (Is 8^{17} 57^{17} 59^{2}, Jer 33^{5}), and 'hiding his eyes' (Is 1^{15}). The words 'Thou art a God that hidest thyself' (Is 45^{15}) are rendered, 'Thou hast

placed thy Shekinah in the lofty fastness.' Cf. Hab 3^4.

It was the belief of the Jews that the glory of the LORD did not dwell in the Most Holy Place in the second Temple. The Talmud (*Yoma* 9*b*) explains this on the ground that God only dwells in the tents of Shem; not of Japheth, of whom Cyrus was a descendant. This was deplored, and the promises of more intimate fellowship to be enjoyed by the Church in the Messianic age are in the Targ. all made to predict the presence of the Shekinah (Jl 3 (4)^{17} 'I will place my Shekinah in Zion'; so Ezk $43^{7.9}$, Hag 1^8 2^9, Zec 2^{10}).

It would be difficult among all these passages from the Targum to point to one in which activity or personality is assigned to the Shekinah. Under the conception that 'God is Light,' the Skekinah is God's mere 'manifestation-form.' When we pass, however, from the Targ. to the Midrash and Talmud, the Shekinah ceases to be inactive, and has functions assigned to it which belong rather to the Logos or the Spirit. Lv 26^{12} 'I will walk among you, and be your God,' becomes in Targ. 'I will place the glory of my Shekinah among you, and my *Memra* (word) shall be with you.' Dt 12^5 Targ. Jerus. 'The place which the *Memra* of J" shall choose to place his Shekinah there'; but in Midr. and Talm. the *Memra* almost disappears, and His functions are assigned to the Shekinah. We find in *Pesachim* 73 that it was the Shekinah which spoke to Amos and the prophets; and the expression מומור לדוד ('a Psalm of David') means that the Shekinah came down upon David, and he then spake forth the Psalm (*Pes.* 114). The Shekinah is, in the Talmud, regularly the *source of inspiration*. The reason why Eli mistook Hannah's grief for inebriety was that the Shekinah had departed from him. The Mishna was given through Moses under the auspices of the Shekinah. *Pirke Aboth* iii. 3 uses Shekinah in the Christian sense of the word Spirit: 'Whenever two men sit together and are occupied with words of the Torah, the Shekinah is with them.' In the Talmud (*Berakhoth* 6*a*) the number is raised to 'ten.' The Shekinah is always present in synagogues, in schools, and in the homes of the pious (*Sota* 17*a*). 'He that eats with the Wise enjoys the Shekinah' (Weber, 182 [^{2}188]).

We have seen that it was usually taught that the Shekinah was not visible in the second Temple. *Yoma* 1 mentions the Shekinah in a list of things absent from it. But others teach that the Shekinah is inseparable from Israel. When Israel was in Babylon the Shekinah was there. The Shekinah was under the yoke, when Israel so suffered. Wherever Israel is scattered, the Shekinah dwells. When Titus destroyed the Temple, the Shekinah could not desert it, and it is still there behind the remaining western wall (Weber, 60 [^{2}62]).

The activity of the Shekinah was conceived to extend not only to earth, but to Sheol. There were some of the Rabbis who held the doctrine now known as 'final restoration.' R. Joshua ben Levi was one of these. He believed that the bound in Gehinnom will one day see the Messiah, and all who bear the mark of the covenant will loose their chains and ascend from the darkness. But in *Bereshith Rabba* to Gn 44^8 the Shekinah is the deliverer. It affirms that the wicked Jews now 'bound in Gehinnom will ascend out of hell, *with the Shekinah at their head*' (Weber, 351 [^{2}368]).

We turn now to the NT where the word שְׁכִינָה occurs both transliterated and translated. There can be no reasonable doubt that the Greek word σκηνή (='tabernacle') was from its resemblance in sound and meaning used by bilingual Jews for the Heb. *Shekinah*; *e.g.* in Rev 21^3 'Behold the σκηνή of God is with men, and he will *tabernacle* (σκηνώσει) with them.' The allusion is equally clear in Jn 1^{14} 'The Logos . . . tabernacled (ἐσκήνωσεν) among us, and we beheld his glory.'—The *conception* of the Shekinah appears in Greek dress under the word δόξα. In several instances δόξα is used of Deity or a manifestation-form of Deity, and thus shows itself to be the equivalent of Shekinah. We will first cite one or two passages from the Apocrypha. In Enoch 14^{20} we read, 'And the Great Glory sat thereon, and his raiment shone more brightly than the sun'; Enoch 102^3 'The angels will seek to hide themselves from the presence of the Great Glory'; To 3^{16} 'The prayer of both was heard before the glory of the Great One,' ἐνώπιον τῆς δόξης τοῦ μεγάλου [Query: Since Tobit was translated from a Semitic source, is it not likely, with Enoch before us, that the Greek ought to be ἐνώπιον τῆς δόξης τῆς μεγάλης: 'before the Great Glory'?]; Sir 17^{13} 'Their eyes saw the majesty of the glory.' In the NT there are several instances in which δόξα is used as more or less the equivalent of Shekinah. In Ro 9^4, where St. Paul is enumerating, with patriotic fervour, the privileges of the Jew, and amongst others mentions 'the giving of the law' and '*the glory*,' he evidently means 'the Shekinah-glory': as in He 9^5 'the cherubim of glory' means 'the cherubim on which the Shekinah was enthroned.' So in He 1^3 when the Son of God is said to be 'the effulgence of *the glory*' (not 'of *his* glory') it seems probable that the Shekinah was intended, in the sense of 'the manifested Deity.' The personality of the Shekinah is implied in 2 P 1^{17}, where we read (translating literally), 'when such a voice was borne in to him *by* (ὑπό) the majestic glory.' The word ὑπό denotes the agent. 'The glory' is the speaker: as in Targ. Jerus. of Gn 28^{13} the *glory* of J" says, 'I am the God of Abraham'; and as is possibly implied in Mt 17^5 'A bright cloud overshadowed them, and there came a voice out of the cloud.' 2 Mac 2^8, in anticipating the fulfilment of OT prophecy, says, 'The glory of the LORD shall be sun and the cloud.'

There are *three* other NT passages where an allusion to the Shekinah is probable, though exegetes are divided on the matter. Ro 6^4 'Christ was raised from the dead by means of (διά) *the glory* of the Father.' 'Glory' *may* of course here mean 'glorious power,' as commentators say; but, with the passage from the Midrash before us, in which the Shekinah is said to release captives from Sheol, it seems to the present writer probable that St. Paul was thinking of the Shekinah piercing with its radiance the gloom of Sheol, and co-operating with God to release the Divine captive from the power of Satan and 'the gates of Sheol.' The second disputed passage is 1 P 4^{14} τὸ τῆς δόξης καὶ τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ πνεῦμα, which RV renders, 'The (Spirit) *of glory* and the Spirit of God,' where Bengel is probably correct in regarding δόξης as an appellation of Christ. If this be so, it helps to elucidate our third passage, viz. Ja 2^1 τὴν πίστιν τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τῆς δόξης, which Mayor correctly renders, 'the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, *the Shekinah*.' The context refers to an assembly of Christians, where the Shekinah was believed to be present. Thus interpreted, the passage blends together Mt 18^{20} and the words cited above from *Pirke Aboth*, identifying Jesus with the Shekinah.

LITERATURE.—Weber, *Lehren des Talmud* [2nd ed. under title *Jüd. Theol. auf Grund des Talmud*, etc.]; Gfrörer, *Urchristenthum*, i. 301 ff.; Langen, *Judenthum zur Zeit Christi*, 201 ff.; Levy's and Buxtorf's *Lexicons*; C. Taylor, *Sayings of the Jewish Fathers*^{2}, p. 43.

J. T. MARSHALL.

SHELAH (שֶׁלַח).—**1.** The youngest son of Judah by Shua, Gn 38[5. 11. 14. 26] 46[12] (A Σηλώμ, Luc. Σιλώμ), Nu 26[20 (16)] (BA and Luc. Σηλών, F Σηλώμ), 1 Ch 2[3] (Σηλών) 4[21] (BA Σηλώμ, Luc. Σηλών). He gave his name to the family of the **Shelanites** (הַשֵּׁלָנִי, *δῆμος ὁ* Σηλων(ε)ί), Nu 26[20 (16)]. Probably 'the Shelanite' should be read also for 'the **Shilonite**' (הַשִּׁלֹנִי or הַשִּׁלנִי) of Neh 11[5] (Luc. Σηλωνεί, B Δηλωνέ, ℵ Δηλωνεί, A Ἠλωνί) and 1 Ch 9[5] (Σηλων(ε)ί). **2.** (שֶׁלַח) the son or (LXX) grandson of Arpachshad and father of Eber, Gn 10[24 bis] 11[13 (12). 14. 15], 1 Ch 1[18. 24] (Σαλά, Luc. in Gn 10[24] in second occurrence Σαλᾶς), Lk 3[35] (Σαλά).

SHELAH, The Pool of (בְּרֵכַת הַשֶּׁלַח; B *κολυμβήθρα τῶν κωδίων*, ℵ+*τοῦ* Σιλωάμ, Luc. *ἡ κρήνη τοῦ* Σιλωάμ; *Piscina Siloe*).—This name occurs only in Neh 3[15], where it is given in AV as 'Siloah.' 'Shelah' is probably a corrupt form of Siloam, the modern *Silwân*. See Siloam, Pool of. Perhaps in Neh 3[15] we should punctuate הַשֶּׁלַח as in Is 8[6].

C. W. Wilson.

SHELANITES.—See Shelah.

SHELEMIAH (שֶׁלֶמְיָה).—**1.** (B Σελεμιά, A Σελεμίας) One of the sons of Bani, who married a 'strange' wife in the time of Ezra, Ezr 10[39]; called **Selemias** in 1 Es 9[34]. **2.** (B Τελεμιά, ℵ Τελεμίας) Father of Hananiah, who restored part of the wall of Jerusalem, Neh 3[30]. His son is perhaps 'Hananiah, one of the apothecaries' (Neh 3[8], AV 'son of one of the apoth.'), *i.e.* makers of perfumes, who restored another portion of the wall. **3.** A priest who was appointed by Nehemiah to be one of the treasurers over the treasuries, to distribute the Levitical tithes, Neh 13[13]. **4.** The father of Jehucal or Jucal in the time of Zedekiah, Jer 37[3], 38[1]; in the latter passage his name appears in the longer form שְׁלֶמְיָהוּ. **5.** The father of Irijah, the captain of the ward who arrested Jeremiah as a deserter to the Chaldæans, Jer 37[13]. **6.** (שְׁלֶמְיָהוּ, B Σαλαμειά, A Σελεμιά) 1 Ch 26[14] = **Meshelemiah, Meshullam,** or **Shallum,** the head of a family of porters. **7.** Another of the sons of Bani who married a 'strange' wife in the time of Ezra, Ezr 10[41]. **8.** Ancestor of the Jehudi who lived in the time of Jehoiakim, Jer 36[14]. **9.** (LXX om.) Son of Abdeel, and one of those sent by Jehoiakim to take Baruch and Jeremiah, Jer 36[26].

H. St. J. Thackeray.

SHELEPH (שֶׁלֶף [pause]; LXX A Σαλέφ).—Son of Joktan, Gn 10[26], 1 Ch 1[20]. The word is evidently identical with the Arabic *salaf*, *salif*, etc., which figure as the names of several places in Arabia; Yakut mentions a place called 'the two Salafs,' quoting for it a verse of a pre-Mohammedan poet; places called *Salf*, *Salif*, and *Salafah* are noticed in the S. Arabian geography of Hamdani; and a province called *Salif* is mentioned by Muḳaddasi among those of Yemen (p. 90). The Arabic genealogists further discovered a subdivision of the Himyarites which had the name Sulaf, and which they identified with the son of Joktan (*Taj al-'arus*, vi. 143). The Arabic *salaf* means simply 'ancestor,' while *salif* or *silf* means 'a sister's husband'; there would therefore be no improbability in the name in the text being not geographical but personal. Some further guesses are recorded by Dillmann (Genesis, *ad loc.*).

D. S. Margoliouth.

SHELESH (שֶׁלֶשׁ; B Σεμήρ, A Σελλής, Luc. Σέλεμ).—An Asherite, 1 Ch 7[35].

SHELOMI (שְׁלֹמִי; B Σελεμεί [λεμ sup ras B[a]], AF Σελεμί).—Father of an Asherite prince, Nu 34[27].

SHELOMITH (שְׁלֹמִית; in Ezr 8[10] שְׁלוֹמִית).—**1.** The mother of the man who was stoned to death for having blasphemed 'the Name,' Lv 24[11] (B*AF Σαλωμείθ, Luc. Σαλμίθ). **2.** Daughter of Zerubbabel, 1 Ch 3[19] (B Σαλωμεθεί, A Σαλωμεθί, Luc. Σαλωμίθ). **3.** One of the 'sons of Izhar,' 1 Ch 23[18] (B Σαλωμώθ, A Σαλουμώθ, Luc. Σαλωμίθ), called in 24[22] **Shelomoth.** **4.** The name of a family whose representatives returned with Ezra, Ezr 8[10] (B Σαλειμούθ, Luc. Σαλιμώθ). It is probable that a name has dropped out of the MT, and that we should read 'of the sons of Bani, Shelomith the son of Josiphiah' (cf. A[vid] *ἀπὸ υἱῶν* Βαανὶ Σελειμμούθ, and 1 Es 8[36] 'of the sons of Banias, **Salimoth** son of Josaphias').

SHELOMOTH (שְׁלֹמוֹת).—**1.** An Izharite, 1 Ch 24[22] (BA Σαλωμώθ, Luc. Σαλωμίθ) = **Shelomith** of 23[18]. **2.** A descendant of Moses, 1 Ch 26[25] [*Kerê* שְׁלֹמִית][26. 28] (in the last Heb. שְׁלֹמִית, BA in all Σαλωμώθ, Luc. in first two Σαλαμίθ, in last Σαλωμίθ). **3.** A Gershonite, 1 Ch 23[9] (*Kerê* שְׁלֹמִית; B Ἀλωμείθ, A Σαλωμείθ, Luc. Σαλωμίθ).

SHELUMIEL (שְׁלֻמִיאֵל, a name exhibiting a late and artificial formation [Gray, *HPN* 200]; LXX Σαλαμιήλ).—Prince of the tribe of Simeon, Nu 1[6] 2[12] 7[36. 41] 10[19] (cf. Jth 8[1]). See also Shemuel.

SHEM.—See Ham and Japheth.

SHEMA (שֶׁמַע).—**1.** A Reubenite, 1 Ch 5[8] (BA Σάμα, Luc. Σεμεεί). See Shimei, No. **8.** **2.** One of the heads of 'fathers' houses' in Aijalon who put to flight the inhabitants of Gath, 1 Ch 8[13] (BA Σάμα, Luc. Σαμαά). He is called in v.[21] **Shimei.** **3.** One of those who stood at Ezra's right hand, at the reading of the law, Neh 8[4] (Σαμαίας). He is called in 1 Es 9[43] Sammus.

SHEMA (שְׁמַע; A Σαμαά, Luc. Σομά).—A town of Judah, situated in the Negeb or South, and mentioned between Amam and Moladah (Jos 15[26]). Some authorities suppose it to be the same place as Sheba (Jos 19[2]), being a corruption of that name. On the other hand, if Sheba and Beersheba be identical (see Sheba), this cannot be the case, for Shema and Beersheba are both found in the list of towns in Jos 15. The site is unknown. It is probably this Shema which appears in 1 Ch 2[43] as a 'son' of Hebron.

SHEMAAH (הַשְּׁמָעָה; B Ἀμά, A Σαμαά, Luc. Ἀσμά).—A Benjamite, father, according to MT, of Ahiezer and Joash, but, according to the LXX (*υἱός* = בֶּן instead of בְּנֵי), of Joash alone, 1 Ch 12[3].

SHEMAIAH (שְׁמַעְיָה; in 2 Ch 11[2] 17[8] 31[15] 35[9], Jer 26[20] 29[24] 36[12] שְׁמַעְיָהוּ; 'J" has heard').—Of the twenty-four persons who bore this name, only four can be certainly said to have belonged to other than prophetical or priestly families.

1. B Σαμμαίας, A Σαμαίας (2 Ch 12[5. 7]). A prophet who with Ahijah guided the revolution which deprived Rehoboam of the ten tribes. According to the MT, he does not come on the scene until Rehoboam was on the point of leading a vast army against the revolters. He then appears (1 K 12[22-24], 2 Ch 11[2-4]) to give the Divine sanction to the rebellion. 'Thus saith the Lord . . . this thing is from me.' But the second Greek account, which omits all mention of Ahijah in this connexion, introduces Shemaiah at the assembly at Shechem, before the people entered into negotiations with Rehoboam. 'The word of the Lord came to Shemaiah the Enlamite (cf. Jer 29[24] LXX), saying, Take to thee a new cloke which hath not gone into water, and rend it into twelve pieces; and thou shalt give it to Jeroboam, and shalt say unto him,

Thus saith the Lord, take to thee twelve pieces to cover thee. And Jeroboam took them, and Shemaiah said, Thus saith the LORD concerning the ten tribes of Israel' (1 K 12^{24c}). This is evidently another version of the story told of Ahijah, 1 K $11^{29ff.}$. There is another mention of Shemaiah in 2 Ch 12^{5-8}, in which he points the moral of the invasion of Shishak, and at the same time announces the mitigation of it in view of the repentance of Rehoboam. The Chronicler also cites 'the history of Shemaiah the prophet' as an authority for the reign of Rehoboam, 2 Ch 12^{15}.

2. Son of Shecaniah (1 Ch 3^{22} Σαμαιά); apparently a descendant of Zerubbabel. It is tempting to identify him with 'the keeper of the east gate,' who helped to repair the wall under Nehemiah (Neh 3^{29} BA Σαμαιά, ℵ Σεμειά). On the other hand, Ryle conjectures that the latter was a Levite, and that 'the east gate was the eastern approach to the temple precincts.' Lord A. Hervey (*Geneal.* p. 107) would remove the opening words of 1 Ch 3^{22}, and read Shimei for the second Shemaiah, see v.[19].

3. A Simeonite (1 Ch 4^{37} B Συμεών, A Σαμαλας), perhaps identical with the **Shimei** of 1 Ch $4^{26.\ 27}$. **4.** A Reubenite (1 Ch 5^{4} B Σεμεεί, A Σεμεὶν), called **Shema** in v.[8]. **5.** A Merarite Levite (1 Ch 9^{14}, Neh 11^{15} Σαμαιά), one of those who dwelt in Jerusalem. **6.** A Levite of the family of Jeduthun, father of Obadiah or Abda (1 Ch 9^{16} B Σαμειά, A Σαμίας, called **Shammua** in Neh 11^{17}). **7.** Head of the Levitical Kohathite clan of Elizaphan in the time of David (1 Ch 15^{8} B Σαμαίας, A Σεμαιά, ℵ Σαμέας; v.[11] B Σαμαίας, A Σεμείας, ℵ Σαμαί). He is possibly identical with—**8.** The scribe (1 Ch 24^{6} B Σαμαίας, A Σαμμαίας), the son of Nethanel, who registered the names of the priestly courses. **9.** A Korahite Levite, eldest son of Obed-edom (1 Ch $26^{4.\ 6}$ B Σαμαίας, A Σαμείας; v.[7] B Σαμαί, A Σεμειά). **10.** A Levite (2 Ch 17^{8} B Σαμούας, A Σαμονίας), one of the commission employed by Jehoshaphat to teach the book of the law in Judah. **11.** A Levite of the family of Jeduthun in the reign of Hezekiah (2 Ch 29^{14} B Σαμαιάς, A Σαμείας), one of those who took a leading part in the purifying of the temple. He is possibly identical with **12**, one of those who were 'over the freewill offerings of God' (2 Ch 31^{15} Σεμεεί). **13.** One of 'the chiefs of the Levites' (2 Ch 35^{9} Σαμαίας; 'captains over thousands,' 1 Es 1^{9} where he is called **Samaias**). **14.** One of the 'chief men' sent by Ezra to fetch Levites and Nethinim (Ezr 8^{16} Σαμαιά, A Σεμειά; **Maasmas, Samaias,** 1 Es $8^{43.\ 44}$); possibly the same as—**15.** A member of the family of Adonikam, (Ezr 8^{13} B Σαμαιά, A Σαμαειά; **Samaias,** 1 Es 8^{39}). **16.** **17.** Two of those who had married foreign wives, a priest and a layman respectively (Ezr 10^{21} Σαμαιά, v.[31] B Σαμαιά, ℵ Σεμεά, A Σαμαίας; **Sameus, Sabbeus,** 1 Es $9^{21.\ 32}$). **18.** A prophet (Neh 6^{10-14} B Σεμεεί, A Σεμεί) who had been hired by Sanballat and Tobiah 'to put Nehemiah in fear.' His father's name, Delaiah (see 1 Ch 24^{18}), would suggest that he belonged to a priestly house. The circumstance is evidently mentioned by Nehemiah as a typical one. The governor's answer to Shemaiah's suggestion indicates that his design was at once to bring Nehemiah into contempt as a coward, and also to expose him to the charge of sacrilege, which would be certainly raised if he, a layman, were to intrude where priests alone might tread. **19.** One of the 24 courses of priests, 16th under Zerubbabel (Neh 12^{6} ℵA Σεμείας), 15th under Joiakim (Neh 12^{18} ℵA Σεμειά), and 21st under Nehemiah (Neh 10^{8} Σαμαιά). It is probably this clan, and not an individual, that is mentioned as taking part in the ceremonies at the dedication of the wall (Neh 12^{34} Bℵ Σαραιά, A Σαμαίας). **20.** Probably a Levite, descendant of Asaph (Neh 12^{35} Σαμαιά). **21.** Probably a Levitical clan of singers that took part in the dedication ceremonies (Neh 12^{36} Σαμαιά; v.[42] ℵ$^{c.\ a.\ mg}$ Σεμείας). We may suppose that half of it went in one procession and half in the other. **22.** Father of the prophet Urijah (Jer 26 [Gr. 33]^{20} BA Σαμαίας, ℵ Μασέας). **23.** A prophet at Babylon, one of those who had been brought into captivity with Jehoiachin (Jer 29 [Gr. 36]$^{24-32}$ Σαμαιάς, ℵ Σαμεάς). He is called 'the NEHELAMITE' (which see). He belonged to the party opposed to Jeremiah, and it is evident that, like HANANIAH (Jer 28), he had predicted a speedy termination to the Captivity. Enraged at the letter of Jeremiah, in which the exiles had been counselled to acquiesce cheerfully in a prolonged stay in Babylon, Shemaiah sent letters to Jerusalem taxing Zephaniah the second priest and the other ecclesiastical authorities with supineness, in that they did not visit Jeremiah with the punishment due to a false prophet. It would seem from this that it was the special duty of the 'second priest' to enforce order in the temple (see art. PRIESTS AND LEVITES, p. 74[a]). 'Jehoiada the priest' may possibly be the name of Zephaniah's predecessor in the office of 'second priest,' or more probably he may be the great high priest of that name whose zeal in God's service Shemaiah bids Zephaniah emulate. The punishment denounced against Shemaiah for this action was even more severe, according to Hebrew ideas, than that awarded to Hananiah. The latter was visited in his own person with premature death, but Shemaiah was punished not only with exclusion by death from such blessings as might fall to the lot of the exiles in Babylon, but with the complete excision of his family. **24.** Father of Delaiah, who was one of the princes in the reign of Zedekiah (Jer 36 [Gr. 43]^{12} BA Σελεμίας, ℵ Σεδεκίας).

N. J. D. WHITE.

SHEMARIAH (שְׁמַרְיָה and שְׁמַרְיָהוּ).—**1.** A Benjamite warrior who joined David at Ziklag, 1 Ch 12^{5} (B Σαμαραιά, ℵA Σαμαριά, Luc. Σαμαρίας). **2.** A son of Rehoboam, 2 Ch 11^{19} (Σαμαρίας). **3.** One of the sons of Harim who had married a foreign wife, Ezr 10^{32} (B Σαμαρειά, ℵA Σαμαριά, Luc. Σαμαρίας). **4.** One of the sons of Bani who had committed the same offence, Ezr 10^{41} (B Σαμαρειά, A Σαμαρείας, Luc. Σαμαρίας).

SHEMEBER (שֶׁמְאֶבֶר).—King of ZEBOIIM, one of the five kings defeated by Chedorlaomer, Gn 14^{2} (A Συμόβορ, Luc. Συμόρ, Syr. ܫܡܐܒܪ, Josephus Συμμόβορος). The Samaritan has שׁמאבר, which may have arisen from a confusion between ר and ך, or may be due to an attempt to play upon the name. It has even been suggested (cf. Ball in *SBOT*) that the name in the text may have originated from a marginal gloss שם אבר ('name lost').

SHEMED.—See SHEMER, No. **4.**

SHEMER (שֶׁמֶר).—**1.** The owner of the hill purchased by Omri, upon which SAMARIA was afterwards built, 1 K 16^{24} (Σέμηρ, Luc. Σέμμηρ). Difficulties both etymological and historical attach to the statement in the same passage that the name *Samaria* (שֹׁמְרוֹן) was derived from an *individual* instead of a *clan* name (but see Kittel, *Könige, ad loc.*), and that it was first given to the place by Omri (see Stade in *ZATW* v. (1885) 160 ff.). **2.** A Merarite, 1 Ch $6^{31\ (46)}$ (Σέμμηρ). **3.** An Asherite, 1 Ch 7^{34} (B Σέμμηρ, A and Luc. Σώμηρ), called in v.[32] **Shomer** (cf. the names *'Ebed* and *'Obed*). **4.** A Benjamite, 1 Ch 8^{12} (B Σήμηρ, A Σέμμηρ, Luc. Σαμαιήλ). The Heb. MSS show here some confusion between ר and ד as the final letter of the name. The AV (Shamed) and RV

(**Shemed**) retain the reading of the Geneva version, which is based on the Vulg. *Samad*.

SHEMIDA (שְׁמִידָע).—A 'son' of Gilead, according to Nu 26^{32} [P] (Συμαέρ); called in Jos 17^{2} [JE] a 'son' of Manasseh (B Συμαρείμ, A Σεμιραέ, Luc. Σαμιδαέ); his descendants are enumerated in 1 Ch 7^{19} (Σεμ(ε)ιρά, Luc. Σαμειδά). The gentilic name **Shemidaites** (הַשְּׁמִידָעִי, ὁ Συμαερ(ε)ί) occurs in Nu 26^{32}. See, further, art. MANASSEH, vol. iii. p. 231 f.

SHEMINITH.—See art. PSALMS, p. 154[b].

SHEMIRAMOTH (שְׁמִירָמוֹת; in 2 Ch 17^{8} *Kĕthîbh* שמרימות; Σεμ(ε)ιραμώθ). —The name of a Levitical family. In 1 Ch $15^{18.\ 20}$ 16^{5} Shemiramoth appears in the list of the members of David's choirs, while in 2 Ch 17^{8} the same name occurs amongst the Levites sent by Jehoshaphat to teach in the cities of Judah. In both cases a guild or family rather than an individual is probably to be thought of.

SHEMUEL (שְׁמוּאֵל, the name which, following the LXX and Vulg., is, in the case of the prophet, transliterated in EV *Samuel* [AV has *Shemuel* in 1 Ch 6^{33}; on the derivation and meaning of the name see art. SAMUEL, and Gray, *HPN* 200, n. 3]). —**1.** The Simeonite appointed to assist in the dividing of the land, Nu 34^{20}. It is not improbable that the MT should be corrected to שְׁלֻמִיאֵל (**Shelumiel**), the form in 1^{6} 2^{12} $7^{36.\ 41}$ 10^{19}. The LXX in all the six passages has Σαλαμιήλ. **2.** Grandson of Issachar, 1 Ch 7^{2} (B Ἰσαμουήλ, A and Luc. Σαμουήλ).

SHEN (הַשֵּׁן *hash-shēn*, the 'tooth' or 'crag'; τῆς παλαιᾶς; *Sen*).—A well-known place, 'the *Shen*,' named with Mizpah to indicate the position of the stone, called Ebenezer, which was set up by Samuel to commemorate the defeat of the Philistines (1 S 7^{12}). The site is unknown. It is not improbable, however, that the LXX τῆς παλαιᾶς puts us on the track of the original reading, הַיְשָׁנָה or יְשָׁנָה (Jeshanah, 2 Ch 13^{19}). So Wellh., Driver, Budde, *et al.*; cf. art. EBENEZER.

C. W. WILSON.

SHENAZZAR (שְׁנַאצַּר; BA Σανεσάρ, Luc. Σανασάρ). —A son of Jeconiah, 1 Ch 3^{18}. See, further, SHESHBAZZAR.

SHEOL.—See ESCHATOLOGY, HADES, and HELL.

SHEPHAM (שְׁפָם; Σεπφάμαρ; *Sephama*).—A place on the eastern boundary of the Promised Land (Nu $34^{10.\ 11}$), and apparently to the north of Riblah, now *Ribleh*, between *Baalbek* and *Homs*. The site has not yet been identified. In the Targum of pseudo-Jonathan the name is rendered by *Apameia*, but this place is much too far to the north. Perhaps Zabdi, the **Shiphmite**,—one of David's household who was 'over the increase of the vineyards for the wine-cellars' (1 Ch 27^{27}),—was a native of Shepham. So Siegfried-Stade, who would vocalize שְׁפָמִי instead of שִׁפְמִי. But see SIPHMOTH.

C. W. WILSON.

SHEPHATIAH (שְׁפַטְיָה and שְׁפַטְיָהוּ 'Jah has judged'). —**1.** One of David's sons, 2 S 3^{4} (B Σαβατειά, A Σαφαθιά, Luc. Σαφατίας)=1 Ch 3^{3} (B and Luc. as before, A Σαφατίας). **2.** A family of which 372 representatives returned with Zerubbabel, Ezr 2^{4} (B Ἀσάφ, A and Luc. Σαφατιά)=Neh 7^{9} (Σαφατιά), and 84 besides their head with Ezra, Ezr 8^{8} (Σαφατ(ε)ιά). The name appears in 1 Es 5^{9} as SAPHAT and in 8^{34} as SAPHATIAS. **3.** A family of the 'sons of Solomon's servants,' Ezr 2^{57}=Neh 7^{59} (Σαφατ(ε)ιά). **4.** The eponym of a Judahite family, Neh 11^{4} (BA Σαφατιά, Luc. Σαφατίας). **5.** The eponym of a Benjamite family, 1 Ch 9^{8} (Σαφατιά). Either this or the preceding should perhaps be identified with **No. 2** above. **6.** A contemporary of Jeremiah, Jer **38** [Gr. 45][1] (BAℵ Σαφανίας, Q* Σαφάτ, Q^{mg} Σαφατίας). **7.** A Benjamite warrior who joined David at Ziklag, 1 Ch 12^{5} (Σαφατιά, Luc. Σαφατίας). **8.** A Simeonite prince, 1 Ch 27^{16} (Σαφατίας). **9.** A son of king Jehoshaphat, 2 Ch 21^{2} (Σαφατ(ε)ίας).

J. A. SELBIE.

SHEPHELAH.—See PLAIN, vol. iii. p. 893 f.

SHEPHER.—Mount Shepher (הַר שֵׁפֶר) is a station in the journeyings of the children of Israel, mentioned only Nu $33^{23.\ 24}$. Nothing is known about its position.

In both verses שפר being in pause is pointed *Shapher*, the form that appears in AV. The LXX in B Luc. has Σάφαρ, taking no account of 'mount,' which is represented in A by Ἀρσάφαρ and Σαρσάφαρ, and in F by Ἀρσάφαθ; Vulg. has *Sepher*. The word (which means 'beauty') occurs (as a noun) only in Gn 49^{21} 'giving *goodly* words' (words of beauty or elegance); but see Dillmann or Spurrell, *ad loc.*, for an alternative rendering of this verse.

A. T. CHAPMAN.

SHEPHERD.—See SHEEP.

SHEPHI (שְׁפִי; B Σώβ, A Σωφάρ, Luc. Σαπφεί), 1 Ch 1^{40}; or **SHEPHO** (שְׁפוֹ; A Σώφ, *D* Σωφάν, E Σώρ, Luc. Σωφάν), Gn 36^{23}.—A Horite chief.

SHEPHUPHAM (שְׁפוּפָם; BA Σωφάν, Luc. Σοφάν), Nu $26^{39\ (43)}$; or **SHEPHUPHAN** (שְׁפוּפָן; B Σωφαρφάκ, A Σωφάν, Luc. Σεπφάμ), 1 Ch 8^{5}.—The eponym of a Benjamite family. The name appears in Gn 46^{21} as MUPPIM and in 1 Ch $7^{12.\ 15}$ 26^{16} as **Shuppim.** The proper form of the name must remain doubtful. The gentilic **Shuphamites** (הַשּׁוּפָמִי, BA ὁ Σωφαν(ε)ί, Luc. ὁ Σοφανί) appears in Nu $26^{39\ (43)}$.

SHERD.—See POTSHERD.

SHEREBIAH (שֵׁרֵבְיָה).—One of the Levites who joined Ezra at the river Ahava, Ezr 8^{18} (LXX om.). Along with eleven others, he was put in charge of the silver and gold and the vessels for the temple, v.[24] (BA Σαραιά, Luc. Σαραβίας). He assisted Ezra in the exposition of the law, Neh 8^{7}; took part in the public confession and thanksgiving, 9^{4}; and sealed the covenant, $10^{12\ (13)}$ (B Ζαραβιά). He is named also in $12^{8.\ 24}$. In all these last passages except $10^{12\ (13)}$ BA have Σαραβία, Luc. Σαραβίας. The name appears in 1 Es 8^{47} as ASEBEBIAS, v.[54] ESEREBIAS, and 9^{48} SARABIAS.

SHERESH (שֶׁרֶשׁ; B Σοῦρος, A Σόρος, Luc. Φάρες, Φόρος).—The name of a Manassite clan, 1 Ch 7^{16}. See MANASSEH, vol. iii. p. 232[b].

SHERIFF.—In Dn $3^{2.\ 3}$ 'sheriffs' is the EV tr. of Aram. תִּפְתָּיֵא, a word of quite uncertain meaning. Bevan and Driver regard it as improbable that it has any connexion with the Arab. *'afta* 'to notify a decision of the law' (ptcp. *muftī*, 'a jurisconsult'). This supposed connexion probably underlies the RVm 'lawyers.' Bevan thinks it possible that the word may be a mutilated form of some Persian title ending in *pat* 'chief.' For an account of other conjectures see Driver or Prince, *ad loc.* Perhaps Theod. and LXX render by *οἱ ἐπ' ἐξουσιῶν*, but it is impossible to be certain, as their text contains only *seven* names of officials as against *eight* in the Aramaic text.

J. A. SELBIE.

SHESHACH (שֵׁשַׁךְ). —This name, which occurs only in Jer 25 (32) [26] 51 (28) [41] (LXX om. in both passages), is generally taken to be a designation of Babylon (cf. the parallelism in the latter passage: 'How is Sheshach taken, and the praise of all the earth surprised! How is Babylon become a desolation among the nations!'). It is probable, in fact, that *Sheshach* is simply a cryptical way of writing *Babel*. By the device known as *Atbash*

(אתבש) whereby א=ת, ב=ש, and so on, the last letter of the Heb. alphabet being substituted for the first, the second last for the second, etc., ששך would be written for בבל. An example of the same thing should probably be discovered in לב קמי of Jer 51 (28)[1], which apparently has been substituted for an original כשדים (LXX Χαλδαίους). See, further, A. Berliner, *Beiträge zur Heb. Gramm. aus Talmud und Midrasch*, pp. 12–14. It is right to add that Frd. Delitzsch (*Paradies*, 214 ff.) rejects this explanation of Sheshach, holding that it represents *Šiš-kû-KI* of an ancient Bab. regal register, which may have stood for a quarter or division (perhaps Borsippa) of the city of Babylon (cf. Lauth in *PSBA*, 1881, p. 47 f.). Schrader (*KAT*[2] 415 [*COT* ii. 108 f.]) objects that the name quoted by Delitzsch is not found in the *later* Bab. literature (dating from the time of Nebuchadnezzar), and that even the reading of the name is by no means settled.

J. A. Selbie.

SHESHAI (שֵׁשַׁי).—A clan, possibly of Aramaic origin, resident in Hebron at the time of the Hebrew conquest and driven thence by Caleb (Nu 13[22] B Σεσσεί, A Σεμεί; Jos 15[14] B Σουσεί, A Σουσαί; Jg 1[10] B Σεσσεί, A Γεθθί). See, further, Ahiman, No. 1.

SHESHAN (שֵׁשָׁן).—A Jerahmeelite, who, having no sons, gave his daughter in marriage to his Egyptian slave Jarha, 1 Ch 2[31. 34. 35] (A has Σωσάν, Luc. Σισάν, throughout; B has Σωσάμ in v.[34 bis], elsewhere Σωσάν).

SHESHBAZZAR (שֵׁשְׁבַּצַּר).—There is some uncertainty as to the correct form of this name, and still more as to the identity of the man who bears it in the MT.

Ezr 1[8] B Σαβανασσάρ, A Σασαβάσσαρος, Luc. Σασαβασσάρης, which is read by Luc. throughout Ezra.
,, 1[11] B om., A Σασαβασσάρ.
,, 5[14] B Βαγασσάρ, A Σασαβάσσαρος.
,, 5[16] B Σαρβαγάρ, A Σασαβασσάρ.
1 Es 2[12 (11)] B Σαναμάσσαρος, A Σανεβάσσαρος, which is read by A throughout 1 Esdras, Luc. Σασαβαλασσάρης.
,, 2[15 (14)] B Σαναμάσσαρος, Luc. Σασαβαλάσσαρος.
,, 6[18 (17)] B Σαβανάσσαρος, Luc. Σασαβαλασσάρης.
,, 6[20 (19)] B Σαναβάσσαρος, Luc. Σασαβαλασσάρης.
Josephus exhibits a similar variety: Ἀβίσσαρος, Σαβάσηρος, Σαναβάσαρος, Σαβανάσσαρος.

The above variations (apart from Βαγασάρ and Σαρβαγάρ) may be reduced to two types: (1) Sheshbazzar or Sasab(al)azzar, (2) Sanabazzar. If we adopt the first of these, the name may stand for Bab. *Samaš-bil* [or *-bal*] *-uẓur*, 'O sun-god protect the lord [*or* the son]'; so van Hoonacker (*Zorobabel*, 43; *Nouvelles études*, 30; cf. *Academy*, 30th Jan. 1892), followed by Wellhausen (*IJG*[3] 158 n.), Cheyne (*Academy*, 6th Feb. 1892), Ryle (*Ezra and Nehemiah* in Camb. Bible, 32), Sayce (*HCM* 539), *et al.* The Sanabazzar type, again, may represent an original *Sin-bal-uẓur*, 'O moon-god protect the son'; so esp. Ed. Meyer (*Entstehung des Judenthums*, 77), cf. also Sayce (*l.c.*).

Sheshbazzar is mentioned in Ezr 1[8. 11] (the work of the Chronicler, who has just quoted what purports to be an edict of Cyrus authorizing the return of the Jews and the rebuilding of the temple) as entrusted by Cyrus with the vessels of the house of the Lord which had been carried away by Nebuchadnezzar, and which were now to be restored. These vessels are said to have been brought up by Sheshbazzar 'when they of the captivity were brought up from Babylon unto Jerusalem' (cf. 1 Es 2[12. 15]). The same particulars regarding him are repeated in 5[14. 16] (where the Chronicler uses an Aramaic source, which professes to contain a transcript of the letter of Tattenai and others to Darius), in which he bears the familiar Bab.-Assyr. title *peḥah* ('governor'), and is said, further, to have laid the foundations of the temple (cf. 1 Es 6[18. 20]). It is probably * Sheshbazzar also that is called in Ezr 2[63] (=Neh 7[65]), Neh 7[70] by the Persian title *tirshāthā*.

It is a very difficult question *whether Sheshbazzar is to be identified with Zerubbabel*. Their identity was commonly accepted till lately, and has still the support of weighty names,† but the tendency of modern scholars ‡ is to deny it.

In favour of the identification (which appears to be made by Jos. *Ant.* xi. i. 3) the two strongest arguments are (*a*) the occurrence elsewhere (*e.g.* 2 K 23[34] 24[17], Dn 1[7]) of double names, and (*b*) the fact that the laying of the foundation of the temple which in Ezr 3[8] is ascribed to Zerubbabel is in 5[16] ascribed to Sheshbazzar.

But in answer to (*a*) it may be urged that the case of Daniel and his companions is not strictly parallel, for there we have *native* names (Daniel, Hananiah, etc.) and *foreign* names (Belteshazzar, Shadrach, etc.), whereas Zerubbabel (which see) and Sheshbazzar are in all probability both foreign (*sc.* Babylonian) names. The names in 2 K 23[34] 24[17] really furnish an argument against identifying Sheshb. with Zerubbabel. It is true that in Eliakim - Jehoiakim and Mattaniah-Zedekiah we have two couples of *Hebrew* names, but the author of these passages at least takes care to let us know that Eliakim is identical with Jehoiakim, and Mattaniah with Zedekiah, just as in Jg 7[1] we read 'Jerubbaal *which is* Gideon,' and in Dn 2[26] 4[19] 'Daniel *whose name was* Belteshazzar.' In view of the usage elsewhere, it is surely strange (and van Hoonacker's argument, with all its skill and ingenuity, does not, to our mind, remove the strangeness) that in Ezr 3[2] there is not a hint by the Chronicler that Zerubbabel, who then comes upon the scene for the first time, is identical with Sheshbazzar, who had been mentioned in 1[8]. Moreover, it is hard to believe (and here again van Hoonacker's argument appears to us unconvincing) that Zerubbabel could be spoken of in 5[2] and Sheshbazzar in 5[14. 16] in the way they are, if the two names stood for one and the same person.§

As to (*b*), reason will be shown in art. Zerubbabel for suspecting that Ezr 3[8] and 5[16] both antedate the laying of the foundation of the temple, transferring it from the second year of Darius Hystaspis (B.C. 520) to the second year of Cyrus (537). But whatever view be held as to that, the identity of Sheshb. with Zerub. does not appear to us to follow from a comparison of 3[8] with 5[16]. All that we need to assume is that the two returned from Babylon at the same time, and that Sheshb. was the official head (*peḥah*) of the community, while Zerub. was the moving spirit in the rebuilding of the temple, whatever may have been the date when this work was undertaken. If Ezr 3[8] (the Chronicler's own account) and 5[16] (a professedly *official* account) be historical, they contain the names, respectively, of the *actual* (Zerubbabel) and the *official* (Sheshbazzar) founders of the temple.

Assuming, now, that the two names designate two different men, *was Sheshbazzar a foreigner or*

* Unless one holds with Kosters that the list of names in this passage really belongs to Nehemiah's time, and that the *tirshāthā* is Nehemiah himself.

† Notably van Hoonacker (*Zorobabel et le second temple*, 29 ff.; cf. his *Nouvelles études sur la restauration Juive*, 30, also 'Notes sur l'hist. de la restauration Juive' in *RB*, Jan. 1901, p. 7 ff.) and Ryle (*Ezra and Nehemiah*, xxxi. 12 f.). Kuenen (*Onderzoek*[2] [1887], 437, 468, 503) was also at one time disposed to favour the identification, although latterly he abandoned it. See next note.

‡ Stade (*GVI* ii. 98 ff.), Kuenen (*Gesam. Abhandl.* 218 ff.), Renan (*Hist. du peuple d'Israël*, iii. 519 f.), Smend (*Listen*, etc., 19), Kosters (*Het herstel van Israël*, 32 ff.), Wellh. (*IJG*[3] 158), Sayce (*HCM* 539), and many others.

§ We refrain from citing, as an argument against the identification, *the occurrence of the two names together* in 1 Es 6[18 (17)] (Ζοροβάβελ καὶ Σαναβασσάρῳ), because it is probable that the first of these names is interpolated (note the following sing. pronoun αὐτῷ).

a Jew? It has been contended (by de Saulcy, Stade, *et al.*) that he was a Persian. But his Babylonian name does not increase the probability of this view, and the appointment of a Jew to head the return and to act as *peḥah* of Judah would be quite in harmony with the policy of Cyrus towards the conquered races of the empire he had overthrown. Hence the view has lately been gaining ground that he was a Jew (Ed. Meyer, Wellh., Cheyne, *et al.*). It is a tempting suggestion, although of course it has not been made out, that Sheshbaẓẓar is the SHENAZẒAR of 1 Ch 3^{18}, one of Jehoiachin's sons and uncle of Zerubbabel (Imbert, Renan, Kosters, Ed. Meyer, *et al.*).* If this were so, it would justify the epithet 'prince of Judah' (הַנָּשִׂיא לִיהוּדָה) applied to him in Ezr 1^{8}, a title which those who take him to be a foreigner have to explain as due to a mistake (Kuenen) or an intentional transformation on the part of the Chronicler. The nephew rather than the uncle appears from the first to have played the leading rôle, and his services, especially in connexion with the rebuilding of the temple, gave him such a place in the memories of his countrymen that in Ezr 2^{2} (=Neh 7^{7}) Zerubbabel stands at the head of the list, while Sheshbaẓẓar [may the heathenish character of his name have also given offence to the puritan zealots who compiled the list?] is not mentioned at all.

How long Sheshbaẓẓar held office is uncertain, but at all events in the second year of Darius Hystaspis (B.C. 520) he had given place to Zerubbabel, who is known from contemporary evidence (Hag $1^{1.\ 14}$ 2^{2}) to have been then *peḥah* of Judah. See, further, ZERUBBABEL, and the Literature cited at end of that article. J. A. SELBIE.

SHETH.—In Nu 24^{17} (only) AV and RVm tr. בְּנֵי שֵׁת 'children (sons) of Sheth' (LXX Σήθ, Vulg. *Seth*), but there can be little doubt that the correct tr. is that of RV, 'sons of tumult.' In that case שֵׁת would stand for שְׁאֵת (from root שׁאה), and would be=שְׁאוֹן of the parallel passage Jer 48^{45} (AV and RV 'tumultuous ones'). G. Hoffmann (*ZATW* iii. 97) takes שֵׁת to be a textual error for שְׁאוֹן, which he supposes in both these passages as well as in Am 2^{2} (וּמֵת בְּשָׁאוֹן מוֹאָב) to be a Moabite place-name, perhaps that of the acropolis of Ar. See, further, Dillm. on Nu 24^{17}.

SHETHAR (שֵׁתָר, B א Luc. Σαρσαθαῖος, A Σαρέσθεος).—One of the seven princes who 'sat first in the kingdom' and had the right of access to the royal presence (Est 1^{14}, cf. ADMATHA). The derivation and meaning of the name, which is presumably Persian, cannot be determined.

SHETHAR-BOZENAI (שֵׁתַר בּוֹזְנַי [meaning doubtful]).—Named along with TATTENAI and others in connexion with the correspondence with Darius about the rebuilding of the temple, Ezr $5^{3.\ 6}$ $6^{6.\ 13}$ (B Σαθαρβουζανά except in 6^{13} Σαθαρβουζάν; A Σαθαρβουζαναί in 5^{3} 6^{13}, Σαθαρβουζάνης in 5^{6}, Σαθαρβουζανέ in 6^{6}; Luc. throughout Θαρβουζαναῖος), called in 1 Es $6^{3.\ 7.\ 27}$ 7^{1} SATHRABUZANES.

SHEVA.—**1.** (שׁוָא; B Σαού, A Σαούλ, Luc. Σουέ) A son of Caleb by his concubine, Maacah, 1 Ch 2^{49}. See Wellh. *de Gentibus*, 18, note 1. **2.** See SHAVSHA.

SHEW.—Both verb and subst. (always spelt 'shew,' the modern spelling 'show' had not yet come in; both are found in early copies of Hooker, though 'shew' is even then most frequent) are used in AV with greater freedom than now.

For the verb we find: **1.** *Make to see* (or of things *make to be seen*), literally, as now. Thus Ex 33^{18} 'I beseech thee, shew me thy glory'; Jn 14^{8} 'Lord, shew us the Father.' So Bacon, *Essays*, 'Of Death' (Gold. Treas. ed. p. 6), 'Groanes and Convulsions, and a discoloured Face, and Friends weeping, and Blackes, and Obsequies, and the like, shew Death terrible.' **2.** *Make to be seen* figuratively, *declare, reveal* (cf. Driver, *Daniel*, pp. 18 f., 47; *Par. Psalt.* 481). Thus 1 S 22^{17} 'They knew when he fled, and did not shew it to me' (וְלֹא גָלוּ אֶת־אָזְנִי, LXX οὐκ ἀπεκάλυψαν τὸ ὠτίον μου; Vulg. non indicaverunt mihi; RV 'did not disclose it to me'); Job 32^{10} 'Hearken to me; I also will shew mine opinion'; Ps 19^{2} 'Night unto night sheweth knowledge'; Sir 37^{20} 'There is one that sheweth wisdom in words, and is hated'; 1 Co 11^{26} 'Ye do shew (καταγγέλλετε, RV 'ye proclaim') the Lord's death till he come'; 15^{51} 'I shew you a mystery' (λέγω, RV 'I tell'). Cf. Shaks. *All's Well*, IV. i. 93—

> 'O, let me live!
> And all the secrets of our camp I'll show.'

3. *To give or do something to one*—a natural extension of the general sense *cause to appear*. Thus Ac 4^{22} 'The man was above forty years old, on whom this miracle of healing was shewed' (Gr. ἐγεγόνει, edd. γεγόνει, RV 'was wrought'); 24^{27} 'Felix, willing to shew the Jews a pleasure, left Paul bound' (θέλων τε χάριτας [edd. χάριτα] καταθέσθαι, RV 'desiring to gain favour with'). Cf. *Babees Book*, 2—

> 'And eke, o lady myn, Facecia!
> My penne thow guyde, and helpe unto me shewe.'

The subst. means: **1.** *Outward appearance*, Is 3^{9} 'The shew of their countenance doth witness against them' (הַכָּרַת פְּנֵיהֶם, RVm 'their respecting of persons'); Sir 43^{1} 'The beauty of heaven, with his glorious shew' (ἐν ὁράματι δόξης, RV 'in the spectacle of its glory'); Gal 6^{12} 'As many as desire to make a fair shew in the flesh' (εὐπροσωπῆσαι). Cf. *Pref. to AV*, 'Some peradventure would have no varietie of sences to be set in the margine, lest the authoritie of the Scriptures for deciding of controversies by that shew of uncertaintie, should somewhat be shaken'; and Drayton, *Sol. Song*, ch. 5—

> 'His eies be like to doves'
> On rivers' banks below,
> Ywasht with milk, whose collours are
> Most gallant to the shew.'

2. *Spectacle*, Col 2^{15} 'He made a shew of them openly' (ἐδειγμάτισεν ἐν παρρησίᾳ). Cf. Ezk 12^{6} Cov., 'Hyde thy face that thou see not the earth, for I have made the a shewtoken unto the house of Israel.'

3. *Semblance*, Ps 39^{6} 'Surely every man walketh in a vain shew' (בְּצֶלֶם, RVm [implying false etym. connexion] 'as a shadow'); Col 2^{23} 'which things have indeed a shew of wisdom' (λόγον σοφίας). Cf. Fuller, *Holy State*, 158, 'Travell not too early before thy judgement be risen, lest thou observest rather shews than substance, marking alone pageants, pictures, beautifull buildings,' etc.

4. *Pretence*, Lk 20^{47} 'Which devour widows' houses, and for a shew make long prayers' (προφάσει, RV 'for a pretence'). Cf. Purchas, *Pilgrimage*, 386, 'In shew to keepe the straits, in deed to expect the event'; and *Paraph.* 25^{10}—

> 'Who can his generation tell?
> From prison see him led!
> With impious shew of law condemn'd
> And number'd with the dead.'

Shewing is used as a subst. in Lk 1^{80} 'Till the day of his shewing unto Israel' (ἕως ἡμέρας ἀναδείξεως αὐτοῦ). The Eng. word is quite unusual, and is simply a literal tr. (after Vulg. *ostensio* and Wyclif's 'schewynge') of the Gr. ἀνάδειξις, which does not occur elsewhere in NT. On comparing Lk 10^{1} 'The Lord appointed (ἀνέδειξεν) other

* It is scarcely worth mentioning that a Jewish tradition (Jalkut on Ezr 1) identifies Sheshbaẓẓar with Daniel.

seventy also,' and Ac 1^{24} 'Shew (*ἀνάδειξον*) whether of these two thou hast chosen,' we see that the reference is to the entrance of John on his public ministry. J. HASTINGS.

SHEWBREAD.—'Shewbread,' formed apparently on the pattern of Luther's *Schaubrot*, is the tr., first adopted by Tindale, of the Heb. לֶחֶם (ה)פָּנִים 'bread of the presence [of J"]," of which, accordingly, the more correct tr. is that proposed by RVm, viz. 'presence-bread.'

It has been usual hitherto to assign the introduction of the term 'shewbread' to Coverdale (see, *e.g.*, Plummer's *Luke*, 167). But it is found as early as 1526 in Tindale's *New Testament*, He 9^{2} 'and the shewe breed which is called wholy' (Offor's reprint). Curiously enough, Tindale not only uses other renderings in the Gospels ('the halowed loves,' Mt 12^{4}, Mk 2^{26}; 'loves of halowed breed,' Lk 6^{4}), but retains the same inconsistency in his revised edition of 1534, after he had adopted 'shewbred' in his Pentateuch of 1530. In the latter on its first occurrence (Ex 25^{30}) he adds the marginal note: 'Shewbred, because it was alway in the presence and sight of the Lorde' (see Mombert's reprint, *in loc.*). Wyclif had naturally followed the Vulgate (see below) with 'breed of proposicioun.' The Protestant translators and revisers who succeeded Tindale give 'shewbread' in OT, 'shewe loves,' 'shewbreads,' and 'shewbread' in NT, the last by the end of the 16th cent. being firmly established in both Testaments (the Rheims version, however, retaining 'loaves of proposition').

i. NOMENCLATURE.—On the occasion of the earliest historical mention of the presence-bread (לֶחֶם הַפָּנִים 1 S 21^{6} [Heb. 7]) it is also termed 'holy bread' (לֶחֶם קֹדֶשׁ *ib.* 5. 6. [6. 7] RV; AV 'hallowed bread'). The former term is that used throughout the Priests' Code (P) of the Pentateuch, with the addition of the name 'continual bread' (ל" תָּמִיד Nu 4^{7b}; cf. 'bread' only Ex 40^{23}). In the post-exilic period we meet with another designation, viz. 'the pile-bread' (לֶחֶם הַמַּעֲרֶכֶת 1 Ch 9^{32} 23^{29}, Neh 10^{33}, but with the terms reversed 2 Ch 13^{11}, cf. He 9^{2}; also מערכת alone 2 Ch 2^{4}). This name is due to the fact that the loaves were arranged upon the table in two piles (מַעֲרֹכוֹת Lv 24^{6}; this, the rendering of RVm, suits the facts better than the 'rows' of the text of EV). The tr. varies considerably in the Gr. versions, the most literal rendering of the older designation is *ἄρτοι τοῦ προσώπου* 1 S 21^{6}, 2 Es 20^{33} (but cf. Aquila's *ἄρ. προσώπων*), *ἄρ. ἐνώπιοι* Ex 25^{30}, *οἱ ἄρ. οἱ προκείμενοι* Ex 39^{18}; elsewhere most frequently *ἄρ. τῆς προθέσεως*, 'loaves of the setting forth.' This, the term used in the Gospels (Mt 12^{4}, Mk 2^{26}, Lk 6^{4}), reflects the later Hebrew designation above mentioned (cf. *προτιθέναι* in LXX to render עָרַךְ 'to set in order,' 'set forth' [a meal upon a table]).* The variant *ἡ πρόθεσις τ. ἄρτων* (He 9^{2}) follows 2 Ch 13^{11}, 2 Mac 10^{3}. Still another rendering, *οἱ ἄρ. τῆς προσφορᾶς*, is confined to some MSS of the Greek of 1 K 7^{48} (Lucian has *προθέσεως*). The Vulgate also reflects both the Hebrew designations with *panis facierum* (cf. Aquila, above) and *panis propositionis*.

The **table of shewbread** has likewise in Hebrew a twofold nomenclature: in P שֻׁלְחַן הַפָּנִים 'the presence-table' (Nu 4^{7}), but in Chronicles מַעֲרֶכֶת ש" (2 Ch 29^{18}); in both we also find שׁ" הַטָּהוֹר 'the pure table' (Lv 24^{6}, 2 Ch 13^{11}), probably because overlaid with pure gold. For other designations now disguised in MT see next section.

ii. THE SHEWBREAD IN THE PRE-EXILIC PERIOD.—The earliest historical mention of the shewbread occurs in the account of David's flight from Saul, in which he secures for his young men, under conditions that are somewhat obscure, the use of the shewbread from the sanctuary at NOB (1 S $21^{2ff.}$). It is here described, as we have seen, both as 'presence-bread' (v.^{6} [7]) and as 'holy' or 'sacred bread' (vv.$^{4.\ 6}$ [5. 7]), in opposition to ordinary or unconsecrated bread (חול). The incident appears to have happened on the day on which the loaves were removed to be replaced by fresh or 'hot bread' (לֶחֶם חֹם v.^{6} [7]).

It must not be inferred from this narrative that the regulation of the Priests' Code, by which the stale shewbread was the exclusive perquisite of the priests, was already in force, although this, naturally, is the standpoint of NT times (see Mt 12^{4} and paralls.). Ahimelech, in requiring and receiving the assurance that David's young men were ceremonially 'clean' (see art. UNCLEANNESS), seems to have taken all the precautions then deemed necessary. The narrative is further of value as giving us a clear indication of the meaning originally attaching to the expression 'presence-bread,' for the loaves are here expressly said to have been '*removed from the presence of J"*' (הַמּוּקָרִים כְּלִפָּנַי יי MT, v.^{7}; cf. the similar expression Ex 25^{30}).

We next meet with the rite in connexion with Solomon's temple, among the furniture of which is mentioned in our present text 'the table whereupon the shewbread was' (1 K 7^{48} RV). This table is here further said to have been 'of gold,' by which we are to understand from the context 'of solid gold' (cf. Ex 25^{24} in LXX, and Josephus' [*Ant.* VIII. iii. 7] description of the temple). But it is well known that in this section of the Book of Kings the original narrative has been overlaid with accretions of all sorts, mostly, if not entirely, post-exilic; these are due to the idea of this later time, that the interior decoration of Solomon's temple, and the materials of its furniture, could in no respect have been inferior to those of the tabernacle of P. See Stade's classical essay, 'Der Text des Berichtes ueber Salomo's Bauten,' in *ZATW*, 1883, 129–177, reproduced in his *Akad. Reden u. Abhandlungen* (1899), 143 ff. Stade's results have been accepted in the main by all recent scholars. Thus he shows that the original of 1 K $6^{20b.\ 21}$ probably read somewhat as is still given in the middle clause of the better Gr. text of A (*ἐποίησεν θυσιαστήριον κέδρου . . . κατὰ πρόσωπον τοῦ δαβίρ*), viz. וַיַּעַשׂ מִזְבַּח אֶרֶז לִפְנֵי הַדְּבִיר 'and he [Solomon] made an altar of cedar-wood (to stand) in front of the sanctuary (the 'Holy of Holies' of P).' Whether we should retain or discard the words 'and overlaid it with gold,' is of minor importance.*

The altar, therefore, of v.^{20b} is not to be understood of the altar of incense, which first appears in the latest stratum of P (see TABERNACLE), but, as in the passage of Ezekiel presently to be considered, of the table of shewbread. The express mention of the latter by name in 1 K 7^{48b} is also part of an admittedly late addition to the original text (see authorities cited in footnote). The same desire to enhance the glory of the Solomonic temple is usually assigned as the ground for the tradition followed by the Chronicler, who states that Solomon provided the necessary gold for *ten tables of shewbread* (1 Ch 28^{16}; cf. 2 Ch $4^{8.\ 19}$). This writer, however, is not consistent, for elsewhere we read of 'the ordering of the shewbread *upon the pure table* (2 Ch 13^{11}).' In his account, further, of the cleansing of the temple under Hezekiah, only '*the table* of shewbread, with all the vessels thereof' is mentioned (*ib.* 29^{18}),—a view of the case which is undoubtedly to be regarded as alone in accordance with the facts of history.

This table fell a prey to the flames which consumed the temple in the 19th year of Nebuchadrezzar (2 K 25^{8}, Jer 52^{13}). The tale related by the Byzantine chronicler (Syncellus, 409), that it was among the furniture concealed by Jeremiah on Mount Pisgah, is but a later addition to the earlier form of the same fable, which we already find in 2 Mac $2^{1ff.}$. Notwithstanding these uncertainties, the continuance of the rite under the monarchy is sufficiently assured.

iii. THE POST-EXILIC PERIOD.—Ezekiel in his sketch of the ideal sanctuary likewise contemplates the perpetuation of the rite, for in a passage of his book, which on all hands is regarded as

* Codex Bezæ (D) has *προσθέσεως*, with which comp. *προστιθέναι* for *προτιθ.* in some MSS of the LXX (*passim*). See for D's reading, Nestle, *Introd. to Text. Criticism of Gr. NT* (1901), 237.

* See besides Stade, *op. cit.*, the Commentaries of Kittel and Benzinger, esp. the latter's Introduction, p. xvi ff., where an interesting study will be found of the gradual growth of the accretions with which 1 K 6^{16-21} is now overgrown; also Burney's art. KINGS in the present work, vol. ii. 863^{b}, and his *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Kings, in loc.*

corrupt, but capable with the help of the LXX of easy emendation, we read thus (as emended): 'In front of the sanctuary [this also = P's 'Holy of Holies'] was something like an altar of wood, three cubits in height, and the length thereof two cubits, and the breadth two cubits; and it had corners, and its base and its sides were of wood. And he said unto me: This is the table that is before J" ' (Ezk $41^{21.22}$; so substantially Cornill and all recent commentators). Here, then, we have not the altar of incense, but once more the table of shewbread. The twofold circumstance that it is here expressly termed an altar, and is of plain wood without a gold covering, is a strong argument in favour of Stade's restoration of the text of 1 K, discussed above. Ezekiel's table of shewbread resembled in its general outline the similar altar-tables so often seen on the Assyrian monuments (see last section); its height was half as much again as its length, and in section it formed a square of at least 3 ft. in the side. The projections or 'horns' were, no doubt, similar to those of the Assyrian altars (see, *e.g.*, Perrot and Chipiez, *History of Art in Chaldea and Assyria*, i. pp. 143, 255, etc.).

In the temple of Zerubbabel, consecrated in the 6th year of Darius (B.C. 516), the table of shewbread, we may safely infer, had its place in the outer sanctuary, although we have no information as to whether or not it was modelled on Ezekiel's altar-table. After the introduction of the Priests' Code it may have been remodelled according to the instructions there given (Ex $25^{23ff.}$); we may at least, with some measure of certainty, suppose that it was then overlaid with gold, since Antiochus Epiphanes, when he carried off the spoils of the temple (1 Mac 1^{22}), would scarcely have taken the trouble to remove a plain wooden altar. The well-informed author of 1 Maccabees, in the passage cited, includes among the spoils not only the table itself, but 'the flagons and chalices and censers of gold' used in the ritual of the table (see for these art. TABERNACLE, section on Table of Shewbread). The provision of the shewbread, it should be added, was one of the objects to which were devoted the proceeds of the tax of one-third of a shekel instituted by Nehemiah (10^{32}, cf. Jos. *Ant.* III. x. 7, § 255).

Here attention may be called to two non-canonical Jewish writers who allude to the subject of this article. The earlier of the two is pseudo-Hecatæus, whose date is usually assumed to be the 3rd cent. B.C. (Schürer, *GJV*^{3} iii. 465; but Willrich, *Juden u. Griechen*, etc., 20 f., argues for a date in the Maccabæan period). This writer, in a passage preserved for us by Josephus (*c. Apion.* i. 22), describes the second temple as 'a large edifice wherein is an altar (βωμός), and a candelabrum (λυχνίον), both of gold, two talents in weight.' The former term, in the light of what has been said above with regard to the altar-tables of Solomon and Ezekiel, we must identify with the table of shewbread. The other writer referred to is pseudo-Aristeas, whose date falls within the century 200–100 B.C. In his famous letter, purporting to give an account of the origin of the Alexandrian version of the OT, he gives the rein to a lively imagination in his description of a shewbread table of unexampled magnificence—all of gold and precious gems, and of unsurpassed artistic workmanship—which Ptolemy Philadelphus is said to have presented to the temple at Jerusalem (see Wendland's or Thackeray's edition of Aristeas' letter—tr. by the former in Kautzsch's *Apokryphen u. Pseudepigraphen*, ii. 6 ff.). This table is admitted to have had no existence outside the pages of Aristeas.

To resume the thread of our narrative, we find that on the re-dedication of the temple (B.C. 165) Judas Maccabæus had new furniture made, including the shewbread table (1 Mac 4^{49}),—now, we may be sure, constructed in entire conformity to the requirements of Ex $25^{23ff.}$,—upon which the loaves were duly set forth (v.^{51}). This table continued in use till the destruction of the temple by Titus in A.D. 70. Rescued from the blazing pile, it figured along with the golden candlestick and a roll of the law in the triumph awarded to the victorious general (Jos. *BJ* VII. v. 3–7, esp. 5, § 148). Thereafter, these were all deposited by Vespasian in his newly built temple of Peace (*ib.* v. 7), while a representation of the triumph formed a conspicuous part of the decoration on the Arch of Titus, erected subsequently. Few remains of classical antiquity have been so frequently reproduced as the panel of the arch on which are depicted the table and the candlestick, borne aloft on the shoulders of the Roman veterans (see illustration under MUSIC, vol. iii. p. 462). Both seem to have remained in Rome till the sack of the city by Genseric, king of the Vandals, in 455, by whom they were transferred to Carthage, the site of the new Vandal capital in Africa. From Carthage they were transferred to Constantinople by Belisarius, in whose triumph they again figured. On this occasion a Jew, it is said, working on the superstitious awe felt by Justinian for these sacred relics, induced the emperor to send them back to Jerusalem. They probably perished finally in the sack of Jerusalem by Chrosroes, the Persian, in 614 (see Reinach, 'L'Arc de Titus,' in *REJ* 20, p. lxxxv f., in book form, 1890; Knight, *The Arch of Titus*, 112 ff.).

iv. PREPARATION OF THE SHEWBREAD.—According to the express testimony of Josephus (*Ant.* III. vi. 6), the Mishna, and later Jewish writers, the shewbread was unleavened. Nor does there seem to be any valid ground for the assertion, frequently made by recent writers, that it was otherwise in more primitive times. The absence of leaven best suits the undoubted antiquity of the rite, and, moreover, is confirmed by the Babylonian practice of offering 'sweet' (*i.e.* unleavened) bread on the tables of the gods (see below). The material in all periods was of the finest of the flour (Lv 24^5), which was obtained, according to *Menahoth* (vi. 7), by sifting the flour eleven times. The kneading and firing of the loaves in the time of the Chronicler was the duty of the 'sons of the Kohathites,' a Levitical guild (1 Ch 9^{32}); in the closing days of the second temple their preparation fell to the house or family of Garmu (*Yōma* iii. 11, *Shekal.* viii. 1). The quantity of flour prescribed by the Priests' Code for each loaf (חַלָּה *ḥallā*) was 'two tenth-parts of an ephah' (Lv 24^5 RV), which—reckoning the ephah roughly at a bushel—represents about $\frac{4}{5}$ths of a peck (*c.* $7\frac{1}{4}$ litres), a quantity sufficient to produce a loaf of considerable dimensions, recalling the loaves which gave their name to the Delian festival of the Μεγαλάρτια.

In the earlier period, at least, the loaves were laid upon the table while still hot (1 S 21^6). The later regulations required that they should be arranged in two piles (מַעֲרֶכֶת, see sect. i. above). On the top of each pile, apparently,—on the table *between* the piles, according to another tradition,—stood a censer containing 'pure frankincense for a memorial (אַזְכָּרָה, for which see comm. on Lv 24^7), even an offering by fire unto the LORD.' Alexandrian writers give salt in addition (Lv *l.c.* in LXX; hence, doubtless, Philo, *Vit. Mos.* ii. 151). The stale loaves, by the same regulations, were removed and fresh loaves substituted every Sabbath. According to *Sukka* (v. 7 f.), one half went to the outgoing division of priests, the other to the incoming division, by whom they were consumed within the sacred precincts.* In order to avoid repetition, further examination of the details given by post-biblical Jewish writers—many of them clearly wide of the mark — regarding the shape and size of the loaves and their arrangement on the table, as well as regarding the nature and purpose of the vessels mentioned, Ex 25^{29}, Nu 4^7, is reserved for the section on P's table of

* It is a mere conjecture that the shewbread was originally *burned* (Stade, *Akadem. Reden*, etc., 180, note 15).

shewbread and its vessels in the general article TABERNACLE.

v. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE RITE. — The rite of 'the presence-bread' is one of the fairly numerous survivals from the pre-Mosaic stage of the religion of the Hebrews, and goes back ultimately to the naïve conception that the god, like his worshippers, required and actually partook of material nourishment. No doubt, as W. R. Smith has pointed out, this idea 'is too crude to subsist without modification beyond the savage state of society' (*RS*[1] 212). In the case of the shewbread, it may be suggested that the odour of the 'hot bread' (לֶחֶם חם 1 S 21[6 (7)]) was regarded in ancient times as a 'sweet savour,' like the smell of the sacrifice to J" (Gn 8[21], Lv 23[13]). In any case the custom of presenting solid food on a table as an oblation to a god is too widespread among the peoples of antiquity to permit of doubt as to the origin of the rite among the Hebrews.

The *lectisternia*, which the Romans borrowed from the Greeks, afford the most familiar illustration of this practice (see Smith's *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Antigs.*[3] *s.v.*). In the OT itself we hear of Jeremiah's contemporaries kneading cakes for the queen of heaven (Jer 7[18]), and, at a later date, of the table which even Jews spread to Fortune (GAD, Is 65[11] RV). In the religious literature of the ancient Babylonians, again, particularly in the ritual tablets to which the attention of scholars has lately been turned, we find numerous references to the various items of food and drink to be presented to the deities of the Babylonian pantheon. The tables or altars, also, on which the food was set out are frequently represented on the monuments (see, *e.g.*, Benzinger, *Heb. Arch.* 387; Riehm's *HWB*[2] i. 143, etc.). And not only so, but, as Zimmern has recently shown, the loaves of sweet or unleavened bread thus presented are, frequently at least, of the number of 12, 24, or even as many as 36 (see the reff. in Zimmern's *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Babylon. Religion*, 1901, p. 94 f.). These numbers, we can hardly doubt, have an astronomical significance, 12 being the number of the signs of the Zodiac, 24 the stations of the moon, and 36 those of the planets (see 2 K 23[5] RVm, Job 38[32], and art. BABYLONIA in vol. i. p. 218[a]). The knowledge of this ancient practice of offering food on the tables of the gods survived to a late period; see Epist. of Jeremy, v.[26ff.], and the fragment of Bel and the Dragon (esp. v.[11]; note also that the food of Bel comprised '*twelve* great measures of fine flour'). Hence, if the loaves of the presence-bread were 12 in number from the earliest times,—though of this we have no early testimony,—we should have another of the rapidly increasing instances of early Babylonian influence in the West (cf. Josephus' association of the 12 loaves with the 12 months, *Ant.* III. vii. 7).

While, however, it must be admitted that the rite of the presence-bread had its origin in the circle of ideas just set forth, it is not less evident that, as taken up and preserved by the religious guides of Israel, the rite acquired a new and higher significance. The bread was no longer thought of as J"'s food (לֶחֶם י") in the sense attached to it in an earlier age, but as a concrete expression of the fact that J" was the source of every material blessing. As the 'continual bread' (לֶחֶם תָּמִיד Nu 4[7]), it became the standing expression of the nation's gratitude to the Giver of all for the bounties of His providence. The number twelve was later brought into connexion with the number of the tribes of Israel (cf. Lv 24[8]), and thus, Sabbath by Sabbath, the priestly representatives of the nation renewed this outward and visible acknowledgment of man's continual dependence upon God. The presence of the shewbread in the developed ritual, therefore, was not without a real and worthy significance. It may here be added, in a word, that the explanation of the shewbread hitherto in vogue among the disciples of Bähr, according to which the 'bread of the face' was so named because it is through partaking thereof that man attains to the sight of God, accords neither with the true signification of the term, nor with the history of the rite.

A. R. S. KENNEDY.

SHIBAH (שִׁבְעָה; LXX ὅρκος [O.L. *iuramentum*]; Aq. Symm. πλησμονῆς [Vulg. *abundantia*]).—The well dug by Isaac, from which Beer-sheba took its name, Gn 26[33] (J, who apparently makes שִׁבְעָה = שְׁבוּעָה 'oath'). The well, according to this view, derived its name from the 'swearing' (v.[31]) of the oath by which Isaac, on the one part, and Abimelech, with his friend Ahuzzath, and his chief captain Phicol, on the other, ratified the covenant they had made (vv.[26-33]). According to another account, Gn 21[22-31] (E), the well was dug by Abraham, and Beer-sheba was so called because it was there that he and Abimelech 'sware both of them.' In the latter passage there is also manifestly a play upon the word שֶׁבַע 'seven,' seven lambs having been used (v.[28ff.]) in the ceremony. For a description of the existing wells see BEER-SHEBA, and add to Literature: Gautier, *Expos. Times*, 1899, pp. 328 f., 478 f.; and esp. G. L. Robinson, *Bibl. World*, Apr. 1901, pp. 247–255 (with plan and photos.): an abstract at the end of Driver's *Joel and Amos*[3].

C. W. WILSON.

SHIBBOLETH (שִׁבֹּלֶת), Jg 12[6].—The Ephraimite fugitives at the Jordan-fords betrayed themselves by pronouncing this word *ṣibbōleth* (סִבֹּלֶת) — an interesting proof of the difference in dialect which distinguished the western tribes from those on the east of Jordan. By confusion of sounds *shibbōleth* (שִׁבֹּלֶת) would become *sibbōleth* (שִׂבֹּלֶת), and so *ṣibbōleth* (סִבֹּלֶת); see Wright, *Comp. Gram.* p. 58. Etymologically ס (*ṣ*) is quite distinct from שׂ (*s*),* but the two are not infrequently confounded in Heb., *e.g.* כָּעַשׂ and כָּעַס, נָסוֹג Ps 44[14] and נָשׂוֹג 2 S 1[22], שְׂכָלוֹת for סִכְלוּת Ec 1[17] etc.; by using ס (*ṣ*) rather than שׂ (*s*), the author of Jg 12[6] simply wished to make the sound as distinct from שׂ (*sh*) as possible. In illustration of this peculiarity of the Ephraimite speech, it may be noted that the Heb. שׂ (*sh*) as a rule = the Arab. س (*s*), *e.g.* שֶׁבַע, سبع; and *vice versa*, the Heb. שׂ (*s*) = Arab. ش (*sh*), *e.g.* שְׁנָא, شنى. Ḳimḥi, in his commentary, *in loc.*, mentions another local peculiarity in the pronunciation of the sibilant: the people of Sarepta sounded שׂ (*sh*) as ת (*th*); so frequently Heb. שׂ (*sh*) = Arab. ث (*th*) = Aram. ܬ (*th*).

The Gr. versions of the passage are interesting: B εἰπὸν δὴ Στάχυς. καὶ οὐ κατεύθυνεν τοῦ λαλῆσαι οὕτως; A εἶπατε δὴ σύνθημα. καὶ κατηύθυναν κ.τ.λ. In both, the Ephraimites' reply is omitted. 'Lucian' (ed. Lagarde): εἶπατι δὴ σύνθημα. καὶ εἶπον Στάχυς κ.τ.λ. Codd. 54, 59, 75, 82 (Moore, M): εἶπατι δὴ σύνθημα καὶ λέγοντες σύνθημα οὐ κατηύθυναν κ.τ.λ. By σύνθημα is meant 'watchword,' 'countersign'; see 2 Mac 8[23] 13[15]. The Gr. versions, of course, could not imitate the change of the Heb. sibilants, as the Targ. and Syr. do. Vulg. *Dic ergo: Scibboleth, quod interpretatur spica. Qui respondebat: Sibboleth, eadem littera spicam exprimere non valens.*

The meaning of the word is unimportant; it may be either 'ear of wheat' (Assyr. *šubultu*), Gn 41[5ff.], Is 17[5] etc., or 'flood,' 'stream,' Is 27[12], Ps 69[2. 15]. In the latter sense, which is suitable to the context, the word appears only in late passages; in this ancient story it would probably be understood 'ear.'

Marquart (*ZATW*, 1888, 151 ff.) attempts to prove that the Ephraimites did not pronounce שׂ (*sh*) as שׂ (*s*) (cf. the name of their chief town שֹׁמְרוֹן *Shōmerôn*, Samaria), and that שׂ (*s*) could not pass into ס (*ṣ*) in old Hebrew. He thinks that the Gileadites said שִׁבֹּלֶת (*shibbōleth*) and meant 'flood,' but the Ephraimites said תִּבֹּלֶת (*thibbōleth*) and meant 'ear' (cf. תּוּבַלְא Jerus. Targ. Gn 41[5ff.]). This ת (*th*) was represented by ס (cf. זְי and Bibl. Aram. דִּי) for want of a closer equivalent. But Marquart's arguments are not convincing, and have not generally been accepted. We have no means of knowing what the Ephraimite dialect was.

For parallels from European history see art. JEPHTHAH, vol. ii. p. 568 n. G. A. COOKE.

SHIELD (or **BUCKLER**) is EV tr. in OT of the following Heb. words. 1. (Most commonly) צִנָּה *māgēn*, a small round shield, a buckler; the Gr.

* The exact relation between the two sounds is still undetermined; see Ges.-Kautzsch, *Heb. Gr.* p. 30, n. 2 (Eng. ed.).

ἀσπίς and Lat. *clipeus*. 2. צִנָּה *ẓinnāh*, a large oval or rectangular shield. 3. סֹחֵרָה *ṣoḥērāh*, 'buckler,' only in Ps 91 [90][4]; the word, however, is probably a participle (LXX κυκλώσει); tr. with a slight emendation, 'His truth is an encompassing shield.' 4. קִידוֹן *kidōn*, 'shield,' 1 S 17[45] AV, 'target' v.[6] AV, similarly LXX; RV correctly 'javelin.' 5. שֶׁלְטֵי *shĕlāṭīm*, 'shields,' 2 S 8[7] = 1 Ch 18[7], 2 K 11[10] = 2 Ch 23[9], Ca 4[4], Jer 51[11], Ezk 27[11] (only in these places, and only in the plur.), more correctly 'suits of armour,' Jer 51[11] RVm (see *Expository Times*, x. (1898) 43 ff.). עָגָלָה *'ăgālāh*, usually tr. 'wagon,' means in Ps 46[9] [Heb.[10]] perhaps 'shield' (so LXX, Vulg., Targ.); EV, Jerome (*Psalter. iuxta Heb.*), Peshiṭta, 'chariots.' In the NT 'shield' occurs once, Eph 6[16], as tr. of θυρεός, the large Rom. shield.

1. *Material and Construction.*—The material of which the shields known to the Hebrews were commonly made can only be inferred. Solomon prepared 200 'targets' (צִנָּה, *i.e.* large shields) and 300 'shields' (מָגֵן, *i.e.* bucklers), which were either made of gold or else heavily overlaid with gold (1 K 10[16. 17]). When these were carried off by Shishak, Rehoboam made 'brazen' (bronze) shields to take their place (*ib.* 14[26. 27]). The 'shields' found among the treasures of Hezekiah were also probably made of one of the precious metals, or at least adorned with it (2 Ch 32[27]).* Both the golden shields and the bronze were probably used only for state ceremonial: the war shield was doubtless either like the Roman *scutum* of leather stretched over a wooden frame, or like the Persian γέρρον of wickerwork. That shields were largely composed of some inflammable substance may be inferred from such passages as Ezk 39[9], Ps 46[9] [45[10]] LXX (cf. Is 9[5] RV). A shield was overlaid with plates, perhaps of bronze (cf. Job 41[15] RVm, where the scales of the crocodile are compared with the plates of a shield); it was also furnished with a boss (cf. Job 15[26]), such as is shown on the Assyr. reliefs, *passim*. The Assyr. shields were highly convex and sometimes round, sometimes irregular in shape, *i.e.* rectangular at the foot (for planting firmly against the ground) but pointed at the top.

2. *Use.*—The shield was kept in a case when not in use (Is 22[6]; cf. Aristophanes, *Ach.* 574, and Euripides, *Andr.* 617). It was anointed before battle to make its surface slippery (Is 21[5]; cf. Driver on 2 S 1[21], who quotes Vergil, *Æn.* vii. 626). In battle it sometimes had a 'red' appearance (Nah 2[3 [4]]), either because it was dyed red (A. B. Davidson, *ad loc.*), or because it was overlaid with burnished copper (Nowack, *Heb. Archäologie*, i. 364), or again because the leather itself might be described as 'red,' אָדוֹם *'ādōm* being applied to the colour of the human skin (La 4[7]). The large shield was much used in sieges as a stationary screen, from behind which the garrison on the walls might be assailed with arrows (2 K 19[32] = Is 37[33], Sir 37[5] Heb.). A large shield was sometimes carried in battle by an attendant in front of his master (1 S 17[41] Heb., LXX [A and Luc.], Peshiṭta, a verse om. in LXX B, but probably genuine). In times of peace shields were hung in armouries, to the admiration of beholders (Ca 4[4], Ezk 27[10]).

3. *Metaphorical use of the term 'shield.'*—In the OT God's favour (Ps 5[12 [13]]) and His faithfulness (Ps 91[4] [90[4]]) are compared to a shield, cf. 'the shield of thy salvation' (Ps 18[35] [17[36]]). By a still bolder metaphor in several other places God Himself is called the 'shield' (מָגֵן) of His people or of His saints: Gn 15[1], Dt 33[29], Ps 3[3 [4]] 18[2. 30] [17[3. 31]] 33 [32][20] 59[11] [58[12]] 84[9. 11] [83[10. 12]] 115[9-11] [113[17-19]], Pr 2[7] 30[5] [24[28]]. In all these passages the LXX tr. מָגֵן either by ὑπερασπιστής (once Ps 3[4] by ἀντιλήμπτωρ) or by some form of the verb ὑπερασπίζω. The Peshiṭta follows a similar course. It is true that מָגֵן taken as Hiphil partic. of נגן is a possible *nomen agentis*, but it is probable that the Heb. metaphor was too bold for the Gr. and Syr. translators. Thus in Ps 84[11] [83[12]] the Heb. and Aq. give 'The LORD is a sun and shield,' while the LXX (followed by the Vulg.) timidly paraphrases ἔλεον καὶ ἀλήθειαν ἀγαπᾷ Κύριος. Symm. (if rightly given in Field) is also timid, ἥλιον γὰρ καὶ ὑπερασπισμὸν Κύριος (a transitive verb, probably δώσει from the next clause, being understood). Jerome (*Psalter. iuxta Heb.*) gives 'Sol et scutum Dominus' here, and 'clipeus' in some other places quoted above, but in Ps 59[11 (12)] 115[9-11 (17-19)] he has 'protector' (= ὑπερασπιστής). Ben Sira (51[12c (10)] Heb.) writes, 'Give thanks to the Shield of Abraham' (in allusion to Gn 15[1]).

In the one passage of the NT in which 'shield' occurs, the word is metaphorically applied to Christian faith (Eph 6[16] ἀναλαβόντες τὸν θυρεὸν τῆς πίστεως, *sumentes scutum fidei*). In 1 Th 5[8] the apostle had urged his converts to put on θώρακα πίστεως καὶ ἀγάπης, '*a coat of mail* of faith and love' (see BREASTPLATE); but during his Roman imprisonment his imagination was struck with the great Roman shield, and he changed his metaphor, without, however, abandoning the thought that *faith* is the Christian's vital defence. In the OT (Ps 91 [90][4]) God's *faithfulness* is man's shield; in the NT the identification of *faith* with the shield gives us the necessary complementary thought that on man's side faith is needed in order that God's proffered protection may be embraced.

W. EMERY BARNES.

SHIGGAION, SHIGIONOTH.—See art. PSALMS, p. 154[b] f.

SHIHOR (שִׁיחוֹר, שִׁחוֹר, שִׁחֹר). — A word meaning 'black' or 'turbid,' from שָׁחַר to be black (Ca 1[5]).

1. In 1 Ch 13[5] Shihor of Egypt (ὅρια Αἰγύπτου; *Sihor Ægypti*) and the entering in of Hamath are mentioned as the southern and northern limits of the kingdom of Israel in the time of David. The same (or similar) limits recur in 1 K 8[65], where 'the wâdy (*naḥal*) of Egypt' takes the place of 'Shihor of Egypt.' In Jos 13[3] (ἡ ἀοίκητος ἡ κατὰ πρόσωπον Αἰγύπτου, *fluvius turbidus*) the southern limit of the land that had not been conquered when Joshua was grown old is said to have been 'the Shihor which is before Egypt,' and the northern one was the entering in of Hamath (v.[5]). Elsewhere the S.W. limit of the Promised Land is 'the wâdy of Egypt': Nu 34[5. 8]; cf. Ezk 47[19. 20] 48[1. 2. 8], and see EGYPT (RIVER OF). The southern boundary of Judah, also, which corresponded with that of the Promised Land, 'went out at the wâdy (*naḥal*) of Egypt, and the goings out of the border were at the sea' (Jos 15[4]). In the same chapter (v.[47]) the territory of Judah is said to have extended 'unto the wâdy of Egypt and the great sea.' In each of the above passages the *naḥal* referred to as forming the southern boundary of the Promised Land is the same, and it must have been a well-known and well-defined feature. Such a feature is found in the *Wâdy el-'Arîsh*, which, with its many branches, drains nearly the whole of the desert *et-Tîh*. The '*naḥal* of Egypt' (2 K 24[7], Is 27[12]) and the 'ποταμός of Egypt' (Jth 1[9]) are also of course the *Wâdy el-'Arîsh*. In Isaiah the LXX reads Ῥινοκορούρων, now *el-'Arîsh*. Whether, however, this is the same as the Shihor is disputed. It is so taken by some (*e.g.* Knobel, Keil, König [*Fünf neue arab. Landschaftsnamen im AT*, 1902, p. 37]), but Del. (*Parad.* 311) and Dillm. regard it as the easternmost or Pelusiac arm of the Nile; while, according to Brugsch [*Steininschrift u. Bibelwort*, 153], it is *Shi-Hor*, or the 'Horus canal,' mentioned in lists of the Ptolemaic period as flowing by the border-city of Thiru or Ṯar (see under SHUR).

* But see note *ad loc.* in the Camb. Bible.

2. Shihor is certainly the NILE in 'the seed of Shihor' (Is 23^{3} σπέρμα μεταβόλων [שׁחר confused with סחר; see vv.$^{2.\ 3b}$], *Nilus*); and in 'the waters of Shihor' (Jer 2^{18} ὕδωρ Γηών (*aqua turbida*)).

C. W. WILSON.

SHIHOR-LIBNATH (שִׁיחוֹר לִבְנָת; B τῷ Σειὼν καὶ Λαβανάθ, A Σειὼρ κ. Α.; *Sichor et Labanath*).—A natural feature near, and apparently to the south of, Carmel, to which the territory of Asher extended (Jos 19^{26}). Eusebius and Jerome (*Onom.*) take Shihor and Libnath to be two distinct places; but modern commentators consider Shihor-libnath to be a river. The meaning of Libnath is 'white,' and some authorities have taken the words to mean 'the glass river,' which they identify with the Belus (Plin. v. 19),—now the *Nahr Na'mân*,—a little south of Acre. The Belus, however, is to the north of Carmel, whilst the boundary of Asher included Dor (Jos 17^{11}), which lay to the south. The Shihor-libnath was most probably the *Nahr ez-Zerḳa*, which has been identified with the river Crocodeilon (of Ptolemy, v. xv. 5, xvi. 2; Pliny, v. 19)—the southern boundary, according to Pliny, of Phœnicia (so Keil, Dillmann, *et al.*). *Shihor*, one of the names of the Nile (Is 23^{3}, Jer 2^{18}), may have been given to this river because there were crocodiles in it;—they are still found in the *Nahr ez-Zerḳa*.

C. W. WILSON.

SHIKKERON (שִׁכְּרוֹן; B Σοκχώθ, A Ἀκκαρωνά; *Sechrona*).—A place on the northern boundary of Judah, mentioned between Ekron and Mount Baalah, the next place westward being Jabneel (Jos 15^{11}). The Targum has the form *Shicaron*, Eusebius (*Onom.*) Σαχωράν, Jerome (*Onom.*) *Sachorona*. The site is unknown (so Dillm.). Tobler (*Drit. Wand.* p. 25) identified it with *Khurbet Sukereir*; but this place lies between Jabneel (*Yebnah*) and Ashdod (*Esdûd*), and is about 4 miles south-west of Jabneel. C. W. WILSON.

SHILHI (שִׁלְחִי; BA in 2 Chron. Σαλεί, B in 1 Kings Σεμεεί, A in 1 Kings Σαλαλά, Luc. in both Σελεεί).—Father of king Asa's wife Azubah, who was queen-mother in the reign of Jehoshaphat (1 K 22^{42}, 2 Ch 20^{31}). It is unusual for the queen-mother's father to be named in the summaries of the earliest reigns. Besides Shilhi, Absalom (1 K 15, Abishalom) and (2 K $8^{18.\ 26}$) Ahab (or Omri) are the only certain cases.

SHILHIM (שִׁלְחִים; LXX B Σαλή, A Σελεείμ; Vulg. *Silim*). — A town of Judah, in the Negeb, or South, which is mentioned between Lebaoth and Ain (Jos 15^{32}). The site was unknown to Eusebius and Jerome (*Onom. s.* Σαλεεί, *Selei*), and has not yet been recovered. In the list of towns allotted to Simeon (Jos 19^{6}) its place is taken by **Sharuhen**, and in 1 Ch 4^{31} by **Shaaraim** (see SHAARAIM, No. 2).

From the reading of the LXX, it has been erroneously supposed that Shilhim and Ain are the Salim and Aenon of Jn 3^{23}. See SALIM.

C. W. WILSON.

SHILLEM, SHILLEMITES. — See SHALLUM, No. 7.

SHILOAH.—See SHELAH and SILOAM.

SHILOH (usually שִׁלֹה, 8 times שִׁלוֹ, thrice שִׁילוֹ, Gn 49^{10} [see the next art.] שִׁילֹה; originally, as the gentilic שִׁילֹנִי '**Shilonite**' shows, שִׁלֹן; LXX Σηλω, Σηλωμ, Jg $21^{12.\ 19.\ 21}$ B Σηλων).—The situation of Shiloh is, in Jg 21^{19}, described with unusual minuteness: it is said to lie 'on the north of Beth-el, on the east side of the highway that goeth up from Beth-el to Shechem, and on the south of Lebônâh.' The position of the modern *Seilûn* corresponds exactly with this description: as the traveller now journeys along the great north road which leads to Nâblus (the ancient Shechem), he passes Beitîn (Beth-el) at 10 miles from Jerus.; at about 8 miles N. of Beitîn (near Sinjil), if he turns to the right for about a mile, and then, at Turmus 'Âya, turns northwards and crosses a small plain, he will see rising before him, at 9½ miles N.N.E of Beitîn, the large rounded Tell, on the summit of which is the ruined site of Seilûn; N. of the Tell runs the Wâdy Seilûn, and going down this to the W. he will rejoin the high road at a point 10 miles N. of Beitîn, and a little E. of *el-Lubbân*, evidently the Lebônâh of Jg 21^{19}, 3 miles N.N.W. of Seilûn. The most noticeable feature in the natural situation of Seilûn is its seclusion. 'On the E. and N. it is shut in by bare and lofty hills of grey limestone, dotted over with a few fig-trees;' only on the S. is it open towards the plain just mentioned. The Tell on which Seilûn stands is some 1800 ft. in length from N. to S., and 900 ft. from E. to W.; the Wâdy on the N. is a deep valley, in the sides of which are many rock-cut sepulchres; at the head of the valley on the E., about ¾ mile from the Tell, there is a fine spring of water. The site consists of nothing more than 'the ruined houses of a modern village, with here and there fragments of masonry which may date back to Crusading times, especially one sloping scarp.' The vineyards (Jg $21^{20.\ 21}$) of Shiloh have disappeared; but the traces of terraces, still visible on the sides of the Tell, show that once it was actively cultivated. Below the top of the hill, on the N. of the ruins, a kind of irregular quadrangle, some 400 ft. from E. to W., and 80 ft. from N. to S., has been hewn roughly out of the rock; it has been conjectured that this was the site of the ancient sanctuary (see below). Leaving the Tell on the S.E., traces of an ancient road, about 10 ft. wide, are visible. At the S.E. foot of the Tell there is a small disused mosque, shaded by a fine oak tree; and, some 500 yds. S.E. of this, a building which seems to have been once a synagogue, 37 ft. square, built of good masonry (see further particulars in Guérin, *Samarie*, ii. (1875) 21–23; *PEF Mem.* ii. 367–370, with a plan of the Tell; Conder, *Tent Work*^{3}, 44–46).

Shiloh is mentioned frequently in the earlier history of Israel. It lay in the territory of Ephraim, 12 miles S. of Shechem. It was the spot at which, after leaving Gilgal, the ark and tent of meeting were stationed, and where also, according to tradition, Joshua divided the land by lot between the tribes (Jos $18^{8.\ 9.\ 10}$ JE; 18^{1} 19^{51} 21^{2} $22^{9.\ 12}$ P). It continued to be the principal Isr. sanctuary throughout the period of the Judges (cf. Jg 18^{31} 'all the time that the house of God was in Shiloh') till the age of Samuel (1 S 1–4). The narrative of Jg $21^{19\text{-}22}$—which, whatever may be the case with some other parts of Jg 19–21, is certainly ancient—introduces us to a primitive stage of religious feeling and practice in Israel: we hear of 'Jahweh's pilgrimage,' held annually in Shiloh, and of the maidens of Shiloh coming out to dance in the choruses (cf. Ex 15^{20} 32^{19}); the feast, to judge from the terms in which it is spoken of, seems (like that of Shechem, Jg 9^{27}) to have been at this time hardly more than a local village festival, though it may have already been attended by pilgrims from the neighbourhood, and in 1 S 1–2 appears to have developed into an early form of what is called in JE the 'pilgrimage of Ingathering' (Ex 23^{16} 34^{22}), or (D, P, and later) the 'pilgrimage of Booths' (cf. Wellh. *Hist.* 94): on the particular occasion referred to, the Benjamites, laying wait for the women in the vineyards, captured them, and carried them home as wives. In 1 S 1–4 (cf. 14^{3}, 1 K 2^{27}) Eli and his two sons are priests at Shiloh; the ark is still there, till it is carried off ($4^{3\text{ff.}}$) to be a protection to the Israelites in their battles with the Philis-

tines; a pilgrimage is made to it 'from year to year' (מִיָּמִים יָמִימָה 1^3 2^{19} [cf. 1^{21}]: so Ex 13^{10}, Jg 11^{40} 21^{19}), for purposes of sacrifice, at the 'coming round of the days' (1^{20}, cf. Ex 34^{22}), *i.e.* at the arrival of the new year, when the pilgrimage of Ingathering (חַג הָאָסִיף Ex. *l.c.*) was held; Elkanah and his household go up to it regularly (1^{21} 2^{19b}) from their home—probably (see RAMAH, 6) either at Râm-allah, 12 miles to the S.W., or at Beit Rima, 12 miles to the W.; and the youthful Samuel is presented there to Jahweh, to minister before Him (1^{22-28} 2^{11} etc.). The sanctuary in which the ark is, is however no longer, as in the Pent., a 'tabernacle' or 'tent' (אֹהֶל); it is a fixed structure, a 'temple' (הֵיכָל 1^9 3^3) or 'house' ($1^{7.\ 24}$), with a 'door-post' (מְזוּזָה 1^9) and 'doors' (דֶּלֶתוֹת 3^{15}): see, further, TABERNACLE. The representation in 1 S 1–4, taken as a whole, points to the existence of a more considerable religious centre, and a more fully organized system of religious observances, than appear to be implied by the terms of Jg 21^{19-21}. The sanctuary of Shiloh is not, however, after 1 S 1–4, again referred to in the history; and it seems in fact that, shortly after the events narrated in these chapters, it was destroyed, probably by the Philistines; in ch. 22 (v.^{11} cf. with 14^3), it may be observed, the priesthood settled formerly at Shiloh appears at Nob. The recollection of this disaster was so vividly impressed upon the people's memory that long afterwards Jeremiah could refer to it as a token of what J" might do then to His temple in Jerusalem (Jer 7^{12} 'But go ye now to my place [*i.e.* my sacred place], which was in Shiloh, where I caused my name to dwell at the first, and see what I did to it for the wickedness of my people Israel,' v.^{14}; 26^6 'I will make this house like Shiloh,' v.^{9}); and it is alluded to also by a late psalmist (Ps 78^{60} 'He forsook the dwelling-place of Shiloh, the tent he had caused to dwell among men'). It is indeed very possible that the narrative of this disaster formed the original sequel of 1 S 4^{1b}–7^1, and that when the Book of Samuel assumed its present form it was omitted to make room for 7^2–8. Shiloh itself, however, continued to be inhabited; for the prophet Ahijah, who promised Jeroboam the kingdom of the ten tribes, was a native of it (1 K 11^{29} 12^{15} [=2 Ch 10^{15}] 15^{29}; cf. 2 Ch 9^{29}); and Jeroboam's wife went there to consult him when her husband was ill (1 K $14^{2.\ 4}$): see also Jer 41^5.

Though a few mediæval writers were acquainted with the site of Shiloh (Moore, *Judges*, p. 451 *n.*), it was practically unknown from the time of Jerome till it was rediscovered by Robinson, *BRP* ii. 268–270. Cf. Stanley, *SP* 231–3. Jerome speaks of the remains of an altar as just visible there: *Epitaph. Paulæ* (iv. 2, p. 676, ed. Bened.), 'Quid narrem Silo, in qua altare dirutum hodieque monstratur?'; *Comm.* on Zeph 1^{14} (iii. 1655), 'vix altaris fundamenta monstrantur.'

S. R. DRIVER.

SHILOH (שִׁילֹה, Sam. שִׁלֹה), Gn 49^{10}. —i. In examining the various interpretations that have been given of this passage, it will be convenient to take first those adopted by AV and RV, or admitted into RVm. There are four of them.

(1) 'Until Shiloh come.'—This rendering did not appear in any translation of the Bible before the 16th cent., though some authority for it might have been found in a fanciful Talm. passage. The Wyclif VSS followed the Vulg. (*qui mittendus est*, reading apparently שִׁלֹחַ): 'till he come that shall be (or is to be) sent.' Coverdale's Bible of 1535 has 'till the worthye come.' Seb. Münster's version (1534) was the first to treat the word as a name: *quousque veniat Silo*. John Rogers (1537) has 'until Sylo come.' Matthew, Taverner, the Great Bible, and the Bishops' Bible all adopt it: 'till Shiloh come.'

The difficulty in the way of this rendering is to find a meaning for *Shiloh* as a designation of the Messiah. The only indication of a desire to make it a *proper* name appears in the Talm. passage alluded to above, *Sanh.* 98*b*: 'Rab said, The world was created only for the sake of David; Samuel said, It was for the sake of Moses; R. Yochanan said, It was only for the sake of the Messiah. What is his name? Those of the school of R. Shila say, Shiloh is his name, as it is said "Until Shiloh come." Those of the school of R. Yannai say, Yinnon is his name, as it is said (Ps 72^1), Before the sun let his name be propagated (*yinnōn*). Those of the school of R. Chaninah say, Chaninah is his name, as it is said (Jer 16^{13}), For I will give you no favour (*ḥanīna*).' This attempt to connect the Messiah's name with that of some favourite teacher, of course renders the passage worthless as an authority.

Even as a title Shiloh cannot be legitimately supported. It has been taken as an abstract noun put for a concrete, 'till *rest* (or a *rest-* or *peace-giver*) come.' This interpretation has been adopted by Vater, Justi, Rosenmüller, Winer, Baumgarten-Crusius, Hengstenberg, Reinke, Gesenius (*Lex.*), Murphy, and others, though many of these writers understand by the *peace-giver* Solomon or some other earthly ruler, not the Messiah. But the philological difficulties in its way are very great. The form שִׁלֹה presupposes a verb שׁוּל or שִׁיל which does not exist. It cannot be legitimately derived from שָׁלָה. Besides, this verb is so often associated with the idea of careless, worldly ease, that a title of the Messiah is not very likely to have been derived from it.

A different justification of Shiloh=Messiah is attempted in the Targum pseudo-Jonathan, and the MT שִׁילֹה may rest on it. It makes it mean 'his son.' But there is no Heb. word שִׁיל.

Even could these difficulties be surmounted, a greater one remains in the way of the AV and RV rendering. The announcement of the Messiah by name or title is out of place in a patriarchal blessing. Even a late editor would not so glaringly have violated the proprieties of time. The absence of NT reference is also strongly against such an interpretation.

(2) 'Until he come to Shiloh.' This has much in its favour. Shiloh, wherever else it occurs, denotes the Ephraimite town. It is natural to take it so here. The construction of the sentence and the parallelism both suggest this rendering. In 1 S 4^{12} the very phrase occurs, וַיָּבֹא שִׁלֹה.

Taken so, the clause is understood to refer to the assembling of Israel as a nation at Shiloh (Jos 18^1), when Judah may be supposed to have lost the pre-eminence or tribe-leadership held by it in the wanderings (Nu 10^{14}, Jg $1^{2.\ 10}$, Jos 15). This interpretation does not necessarily affect the Messianic character of the whole passage, though it no longer attaches the thought to the word Shiloh. The view is undoubtedly an attractive one. We see Judah, the honoured of his brethren, marching in triumphal progress to the national sanctuary, and there laying down the emblems of authority in order to enjoy the fruits of peace, while the nations around bow submissive to his sway. And if, as seems not unlikely, an effort was made to constitute Shiloh a political as well as a religious centre, thus anticipating Jerus., this interpretation becomes still more attractive.

The objections to it are twofold. First, שֵׁבֶט and מְחֹקֵק seem to suggest sovereignty rather than mere tribal pre-eminence (see art. LAWGIVER, vol. iii. p. 83[a]). The historical difficulty is still greater. No particular place is assigned to Judah in the histories in connexion with Shiloh. Indeed its rôle took it, not to Shiloh, but to Hebron and its neighbourhood. To obviate this difficulty some commentators supply a general subject to the verb, 'till *one* or *the people* come.' But, even so, an

objection remains. It is out of keeping with the spirit of the patriarchal blessings to affix a limit to the prosperity of a tribe. In the case of Judah especially, we should expect a further outlook, and it seems too violent to explain 'Judah will lead till Canaan is subdued and after.' [Cf., however, the use of עַד in Ps 110^1 112^8; see *Oxf. Heb. Lex. s.* עַד, II. 1*b*].

Many good names, however, support the rendering just discussed. Among them are Eichhorn, Herder, Ewald, Bleek, Delitzsch, Dillmann [provisionally; but thinking (so also Holz.) that a really satisfactory explanation is not to be found], S. Davidson, Strack (and Rödiger, *Thes.*, giving prominence to the idea of *peace* or *rest* in Shiloh). Influenced by the objections stated above, Hitzig, Tuch, and G. Baur would translate עַד־כִּי *as long as*, on the analogy of Hor. *Od.* iii. 30. (7–9); cf. Verg. *Æn.* ix. 446–449. But Shiloh had been destroyed long before Judah obtained real supremacy. It is as a fallen rival to Jerusalem that prophets allude to the place.

(3) 'Until that which is his shall come.' This follows the reading שִׁלֹּה, a poetical equivalent of אֲשֶׁר לוֹ. It was presumably the reading of the LXX (and Theod.), who render ἕως ἂν ἔλθῃ τὰ ἀποκείμενα αὐτῷ, 'till the things reserved for him come.' This is adopted, with some hesitation, by Driver. But, as Dillm. says, שׁ for the relative in an apparently Judæan text would be very strange. The indeterminate expression of the Messianic hope is in its favour.

(4) 'Until he come whose it is.' This follows a variant reading of LXX ᾧ ἀπόκειται, a reading lending itself so readily to Christian exegesis that we do not wonder at its adoption by the Fathers, *e.g.* Justin, *Ap.* i. 32 (supplying shortly after τὸ βασίλειον), Ignat. *Phil.* (longer form), Iren. IV. x. 2, Origen (frequently). It was adopted also by Onḳelos ('the Messiah, whose is the kingdom'), the Peshiṭta, and Sa'adya (10th cent.). The rendering is, however, a doubtful one, though it is adopted by Gunkel; for the subject 'it' (הוּא) is missing: Onḳelos' version is a paraphrase which may or may not be legitimate. Ezk 21^{32} (Heb.) presents a somewhat similar phrase עַד בֹּא אֲשֶׁר לוֹ הַמִּשְׁפָּט; but the subject in the relative clause is here expressed. Still, whether original or not, this reading seems to express a right sense; cf. (6) below.

ii. Other suggestions are—(1) 'Till tranquillity come.' This assumes the existence of a very possible שָׁלָה or שַׁלָּה = peace. But it leaves the sentence without an explanation of וְלוֹ, and the parallelism suffers. It has the support of Reuss, Knobel, Friedländer.

(2) 'Till he comes to peacefulness or a place of rest' (also שַׁלָּה). So Kurtz, Oehler, and Perowne.

(3) 'Till he comes to that which is his own.' So Orelli (*Alttest. Weiss. von d. Vollendung des Gottesreiches*, 1882, p. 137 ff. [= *OT Proph.* 117 ff.]), comparing Dt 33^7; and apparently Ball.

(4) Lagarde (*Onom. Sacra*, 1870, ii. 96), comparing Mal 3^1, conjectures, as Matthew Hiller had done before him, שְׁאֵילָה = *his desired one*. This is accepted by Bickell (*Carm. VT Metrice*, 1882, p. 188). Driver objects that the word savours of Syr. rather than Heb., and that the sense *asked* is not suitable here.

(5) Wellhausen, in his *Geschichte*, p. 375 (1878), threw out the suggestion that וְלוֹ was a gloss explanatory of שִׁלֹּה. 'Till he come to whom is the obedience,' etc. But this destroys the parallelism and the symmetry of the verse.

(6) Wellh. (*Comp.* 321), abandoning (5), thinks that the verse denotes in some way an ideal limit of time, the coming of the Messiah, and presupposes (as in fact the terms of vv.[8, 9] do likewise) the Davidic monarchy [he does not say clearly how he understands שִׁילֹה]. This view of the passage certainly seems correct. In spite of the difficulties connected with שִׁילֹה, the words do seem to refer to the transition of the power of Judah into the hands of an ideal ruler.

(7) Cheyne (*Isaiah*, ii. [1884] Essay iv.) thinks the text was once fuller, and would read לָה יִשָּׁה or יִוּשַׁם.

(8) Neubauer, *Athenæum*, May 30th, 1885, proposes to read שָׁלֵם, *i.e.* Jerusalem, 'until he come to Salem' (cf. Ball), with allusion to the establishment of the Davidic kingdom. This, of course, implies that שֵׁבֶט has the meaning 'leader's staff,' not 'sceptre' (cf. p. 500[b] bottom).

It may be noticed that the Messianic tone of the passage is independent of the reading of this clause, being conveyed by the clause succeeding it.

LITERATURE.—Besides above citations and references see Driver in *Camb. Journal of Phil.* vol. xiv. No. 27, 1885 (synopsis and explanation of Rabbin. and other interpretations), and *Expositor*, 3rd series, vol. ii. [1885] p. 10 ff.; S. Davidson, *Introd. to OT*, vol. i.; Kurtz, *Hist. Old Covenant*, vol. ii.; the Comm. on Gn 49^{10}; and the hist. and exeg. discussion in G. Baur, *Alttest. Weissagung* (1861), 227–290.

A. S. AGLEN.

SHILONITE (שִׁלֹנִי; in 2 Ch 9^{29} שִׁילוֹנִי; 10^{15}, Neh 11^5 שִׁלוֹנִי).—Gentilic name from SHILOH (which see *ad init.* p. 449[a]). It is applied in the OT to **1.** AHIJAH (see vol. i. p. 56[a]). **2.** A Judahite family, settled at Jerusalem after the Exile, Neh 11^5 (AV wrongly Shiloni), 1 Ch 9^5. In these last two passages we should prob. read שֵׁלָנִי *Shelanite* (cf. Nu 26^{20}), *i.e.* descendant of SHELAH, one of the sons of Judah. The LXX readings are: B Σηλωνείτης (1 K 11^{29} 12^{15} 15^{29}, 2 Ch 9^{29} 10^{15}), Σηλωνεί (1 Ch 9^5), Δηλωνέ (Neh 11^5); A (in the same three groups of passages, respectively) Σηλωνίτης, Σηλωνί, Ἠλωνί; Luc. (in Neh 11^5) Σηλωνεί.

SHILSHAH (שִׁלְשָׁה; BA Σαλεισά, Luc. Σελεμσάν).—An Asherite, 1 Ch 7^{37}.

SHIMEA (שִׁמְעָא).—**1.** See SHAMMUA, No. **2.** **2.** A Merarite, 1 Ch $6^{30\,(15)}$ (B Σομεά, A Σαμά, Luc. Σαμαά). **3.** A Gershonite, 1 Ch $6^{39\,(24)}$ (Σεμαά). **4.** See SHAMMAH, No. **2.**

SHIMEAH (שִׁמְאָה; B Σεμαά, A Σαμεά, Luc. Σαμαά). —A descendant of Jehiel the 'father' of Gibeon, 1 Ch 8^{32}, called in 9^{38} **Shimeam** (שִׁמְאָם; B אַ Luc. Σαμαά, A Σαμά).

SHIMEAM.—See SHIMEAH.

SHIMEATH (שִׁמְעָת or שִׁמְעַת; LXX in 2 Kings Ἰεμουάθ, B in 2 Chron. Σαμά, A Σαμάθ, Luc. Σαμαάθ). —One of the murderers of king Joash of Judah is called son of Shimeath (2 K 12^{21} (Heb. ^{22}), 2 Ch 24^{26}). His own name in 1 Kings is given as *Jozacar*. But the evidence of 2 Chron., and in a less degree the witness of Heb. MSS, suggest that the name was originally *Jehozabad* (see JOZACAR). This is the name of the second assassin also. It is therefore significant that in the text of 2 Chron. the one is בן־שִׁמְעַת and the other בן־שִׁמְרִית. It becomes highly probable that the historian named one assassin only, and that a second has been created by dittography and textual corruption. If so, *Shimeath* is probably the original of the variants **Shomer, Shimrith,** and *Shimeath*. In the present text of 2 Chron. Shimeath is plainly a woman, an Ammonitess. But in the light of the hypothesis here maintained there is equal reason to adopt the alternative 'Moabite' from the following clause, and the one throws doubt on the other. Probably Shimeath's Ammonite nationality belongs to a later amplification of the narrative. It is then most natural to suppose that the father of Jozacar (Jehozabad) was named Shimeath, and not his mother. שׁמע 'to hear' is the root of a number of

proper names both in Hebrew and the cognate languages (Shimea, Shimei, etc.).

W. B. STEVENSON.

SHIMEATHITES (שִׁמְעָתִים; BA Σαμαθιείμ, Luc. Σαμαθείν).—A minor subdivision of the Calebites (1 Ch 2^{55}). They are represented as belonging to that section or generation which inhabited districts near Jerusalem. They appear to be a dependency of Bethlehem as the text stands (cf. v.[54]). Possibly they are named as one of the 'families of the scribes which dwelt at Jabez.' In that case it is unlikely that the name is derived from the name of a place. The Vulgate does not transcribe, it translates *resonantes*. Wellh. (*de Gentibus*, 1870) implicitly suggests the meaning 'traditionists' (p. 30). This would no doubt stamp the record as a description of the post-exilic distribution of the population of Judah (vv.[50b-55] according to Wellh.'s conjecture). Similarly, but in appearance less logically, the statement: *canentes* (Vulg. tr. of 'Tirathites') *et resonantes ideo scribuntur eo quod assidue in Lege Dei et in Prophetis versabantur* (Jerome, *Opera*, ed. Vallar.[2] iii. 855). But the Shimeathites may be distinct from the 'families of the scribes,' and the name may denote the inhabitants of a locality other than Jabez. The state of the text even suggests that they were a dependency of some other town than Bethlehem, now unnamed. It is not clear who are designated 'Kenites' by the last clause of v.[55]. The Kenites were closely allied to the Calebites. See, further, Wellh. *de Gentibus*; also art. GENEALOGY, § IV. 39.

W. B. STEVENSON.

SHIMEI (שִׁמְעִי; B Σεμεεί always, A Σεμεί always except in Samuel and Kings).—**1.** Second son of Gershon, Ex 6^{17}, Nu $3^{18.\ 21}$, 1 Ch 6^{17} $23^{7.\ 10}$. In Zec 12^{13} 'the family of the **Shimeites**' (φυλὴ τοῦ Συμεών) is specified merely as a typical instance of a division of the tribe of Levi, which would mourn apart from the other divisions. In 1 Ch 23^{9} Shimei must be a mistake for one of the sons of Libni or Ladan mentioned in the previous verse. **2.** 'A man of the family of the house of Saul,' 2 S 16^{5-14} 19^{16-23}, 1 K $2^{8.\ 9.\ 36ff.}$. He is called son of Gera, by which it is probably meant that he was descended from Gera, son or grandson of Benjamin (Gn 46^{21}, 1 Ch $8^{3.\ 5}$). The incident so graphically described in 2 S $16^{5ff.}$ must not be regarded as an isolated outrage committed by an individual acting on a momentary impulse. Its true significance will be seen when it is taken in connexion with the rebellion of SHEBA a Benjamite (2 S 20), which occurred very shortly afterwards. The Benjamites never quite forgave David for his having prevailed over the house of Saul; and later on, when the great schism took place, the most important of the Benjamite towns, such as Bethel and Jericho, sided against the Davidic dynasty. David certainly was not directly responsible for the death either of Abner or of Ishbosheth (2 S 3^{37} 4^{11}), but his complicity in their murders may very possibly have been suspected by Saul's adherents. It would be remembered, too, that David's men had originally formed a division of the Philistine army (1 S 28^{1} 29^{2}) that killed Saul and his three sons, and more recently seven of Saul's sons had been sacrificed by the Gibeonites with David's sanction (2 S 21^{6}).

When the king was returning in triumph, Shimei was among the first to greet him, 'the first of all the house of Joseph.' Josephus (*Ant.* VII. xi. 2) says that he assisted Ziba and the men of Judah in laying a bridge of boats over the river Jordan. In any case he poured forth an abject apology for his past misconduct, and obtained a promise that his life would not be forfeited for it. As David's strong sense of submission to God's will had previously made him restrain Abishai from taking summary vengeance on the insulter, so now, realizing that by the mercy of God he was beginning his reign afresh, he felt that it was fitting that the occasion should be marked by the customary exhibition of royal clemency (cf. 1 S 11^{13}, 2 K 25^{27}). Perhaps David never forgot that 'grievous curse,' every letter of which was significant, as was afterwards said (Jerome, *Qu. Heb.*), or forgave the utterer of it; and a late (?) writer in 1 K 2 records that years afterwards he recalled it in his dying charge to Solomon, and bade him devise some means whereby Shimei's hoar head might be brought down to the grave with blood.

This narrative, if taken as historical (which Wellh., Stade, and others deny it to be), has given rise to much discussion. It has often been urged that, in acting as he did, David 'kept the word of promise to the ear, and broke it to the hope.' Let it at once be acknowledged that the spirit of David, if he gave the charge ascribed to him, was not that of Christ. Is there not an anachronism involved in the supposition that it should be? But, even apart from that, it does not seem likely that David's promise, as recorded by the historian, 'Thou shalt not die,' or, as recollected by himself, 'I will not put thee to death with the sword' ('non te interficiam gladio sed lingua,' Jerome, *Qu. Heb.*), could have been understood by Shimei as an unconditional one; and in fact, however strongly we may condemn David's unforgiving spirit, it cannot be denied that Shimei's execution was solely due to his own folly. 'His blood was upon his own head.' It should be noted that, in the agreement that Solomon made with him, 'the brook Kidron' (1 K 2^{37}) is to be understood as meaning the city boundaries in any direction. Shimei would not cross the Kidron when going to Gath.

3. An eminent man who remained loyal to David when Adonijah rebelled (1 K 1^{8}). It is very uncertain who he was. Jos. (*Ant.* VII. xiv. 4) vaguely calls him 'David's friend.' Jerome (*Qu. Heb. in loc.*) identifies him with No. **2**. Other conjectures are that he was the same as No. **4** or No. **5**. **4.** A brother of David (2 S 21^{21}), otherwise known as SHAMMAH (1 S 16^{9} 17^{13}), **Shimeah** (2 S 13^{3}), and **Shimea** (1 Ch 2^{13} 20^{7}). **5.** The son of Ela, one of Solomon's commissariat officers. His district was Benjamin (1 K 4^{18}). **6.** Brother of Zerubbabel (1 Ch 3^{19}, B om.). **7.** Apparently grandson of Simeon (1 Ch $4^{26.\ 27}$). He had sixteen sons and six daughters, and is specially noted as having been the most prolific of all his tribe. **8.** A Reubenite, son of Joel (1 Ch 5^{4}. A has Σεμείν in the first occurrence of the name); possibly the same as **Shema** in v.[8] **9.** B Σομεί, a Levite, son of Merari (1 Ch 6^{29}). **10.** A Levite, in the pedigree of Asaph, David's precentor (1 Ch 6^{42}). He is omitted in v.[20]. **11.** A Benjamite chief, 1 Ch 8^{21}. See SHEMA, No. **2**. **12.** B Ἐμεεί, son of Jeduthun, who gave his name to the tenth course of Levites (1 Ch 25^{17}). His name is omitted in MT of v.[3], but the LXX has it there after 'Jeshaiah.' **13.** The Ramathite (1 Ch 27^{27}), one of David's officers. He was 'over the vineyards.' **14.** A Levite 'of the sons of Heman,' in the reign of Hezekiah (2 Ch 29^{14}); one of those who took a leading part in the purification of the temple. Perhaps the same person is meant in 2 Ch $31^{12.\ 13}$, where he is the second Levitical superintendent over the 'oblations and tithes' which were stored in the house of the Lord. **15.** A Levite (Ezr 10^{23} BA Σαμού, ℵ Σαμούδ; 1 Es 9^{23} **Semeis**). **16.** A layman 'of the sons of Hashum' (Ezr 10^{33}, 1 Es 9^{33} **Semei**). **17.** A layman 'of the sons of Bani' (Ezr 10^{38}, 1 Es 9^{34} **Someis**). These last three are in the list of those who married foreign wives. **18.** A Benjamite in the pedigree of Mordecai (Est 2^{5}), called in Ad. Est 11^{2} **Semeias**.

N. J. D. WHITE.

SHIMEON (שִׁמְעוֹן, the name that appears elsewhere as *Simeon*).—One of the sons of Harim, who had married a foreign wife, Ezr 10^{31}; BA Σεμεών, Luc. Συμεών.

SHIMON (שִׁימוֹן; B Σεμιών, A Σεμειών, Luc. Σαμί).—The eponym of a Judahite family, 1 Ch 4^{20}.

SHIMRATH (שִׁמְרָת; BA Σαμαράθ, Luc. Σαμαρεί).—A Benjamite, 1 Ch 8[21].

SHIMRI (שִׁמְרִי).—**1.** A Simeonite, 1 Ch 4[37] (B Σαμάρ, A Σαμαρίας, Luc. Σαμαρεί). **2.** The father of one of David's heroes, 1 Ch 11[45] (B Σαμερί, A and Luc. Σαμαρί). **3.** The eponym of a family of gatekeepers, 1 Ch 26[10] (BA φυλάσσοντες [translating, as if שֹׁמְרֵי], Luc. Σαμαρί). **4.** A Levite, 2 Ch 29[13] (B Σαμβρεί, A and Luc. Σαμβρί).

SHIMRITH.—See SHIMEATH.

SHIMRON (שִׁמְרוֹן).—The fourth son of Issachar, Gn 46[13] (A Σαμβράμ, *D* Σαμβράν, Luc. Σαμβρὰ καὶ Σαμβρίν), Nu 26[24 (20)] (B* Σαμαράμ, B[a]F Σαμράμ, A Ἀμβράν, Luc. Ἀμβράμ), 1 Ch 7[1] (B Σεμερών, A Σαμράμ, Luc. Σομβράν). The gentilic name **Shimronites** (הַשִּׁמְרֹנִי; B* Σαμαρανεί, B[ab] Σαμραμεί, A Ἀμβραμεί, Luc. Ἀμβραμί) occurs in Nu 26[24 (20)].

SHIMRON (שִׁמְרוֹן 'watch-height'; B Συμεών, A Σεμρών (Jos 19[15]), A Σομερών (11[1]), A Σαμρών (12[20]); *Semeron, Semron*).—One of the towns whose kings Jabin, king of Hazor, called to his assistance when he heard of Joshua's conquest of Southern Palestine (Jos 11[1]). It was afterwards allotted to the tribe of Zebulun (Jos 19[15]). Its site is unknown; Dillm. enumerates various conjectures. Neubauer (*Géog. du Talmud*, p. 189) identifies it, very improbably, with the *Simonia* (סימוניא) of the Talmud, the *Simonias* of Josephus (*Vit.* § 24), now *Semûnieh*, a small village, 5 miles west of Nazareth, and not far from Bethlehem (*Beit Laḥm*), which is mentioned with it in Jos 19[15] (*PEF Mem.* i. 339). Riehm (*HWB*) considers a site so far south in Lower Galilee unlikely, and would identify it with *es-Semeirîyeh*, a village about 3 miles north of Acre, and not far from *Kefr Yasîf*. C. W. WILSON.

SHIMRON-MERON (שִׁמְרוֹן מְרָאוֹן; B Συμεών . . . Μαμρώθ, A Σαμρών . . . Φασγά . . . Μαρών; *Simeron Maron*).—A Canaanite town, west of Jordan, whose king was amongst those whom Joshua smote (Jos 12[20]). Comparing its position in the list with that of Shimron in the list given in Jos 11[1], it seems probable that the two places are identical. The LXX treat Shimron and Meron as two places, and in this they are followed by Eusebius (*Onom.*). Possibly Shimron-meron was the full name of Shimron. Schrader (*KAT*[2] p. 163; cf. Del. *Paradies*, 286 f.) identifies it with Samsimuruna, a Canaanite royal city mentioned in inscriptions of Sennacherib, Esarhaddon, and Assurbanipal, and places it at *es-Semeirîyeh*, following Socin (in Baedeker's *Pal.*). See also SHIMRON. C. W. WILSON.

SHIMSHAI (שִׁמְשַׁי).—The scribe or secretary of Rehum, Ezr 4[8. 9. 17. 23] (B Σαμασά, Σαμαέ, Σαμεαΐς, Σαμεσά; A has Σαμσαΐ and Luc. Σαμαίας throughout). He is called in 1 Es 2[16] SAMELLIUS.

SHIN (שׁ) and **SIN** (שׂ).—The twenty-first letter of the Hebrew alphabet, and as such employed in the 119th Psalm to designate the 21st part, each verse of which in Heb. begins with this letter in one or other of its two forms. These are transliterated in this Dictionary by *sh* and *s* respectively. On the question when the two forms of the letter began to be distinguished by the so-called diacritical point, and for a strong plea in favour of the order *shin-sin*, instead of the customary *sin-shin*, in Heb. Grammars and Dictionaries, see Nestle in *Transactions* of the IXth and XIth International Congress of Orientalists (Semitic section).

SHINAB (שִׁנְאָב, Σενναάρ, *Sennaab*).—The king of Admah who was attacked by Chedorlaomer and his allies (Gn 14[2]). The name has been supposed (cf. Frd. Delitzsch, *Paradies*, 294) to be the same as that of Sanibu who is mentioned by Tiglath-pileser III. as king of Ammon. The reading, however, is quite uncertain, the LXX form having the support also of the Sam. שנאר.

SHINAR (שִׁנְעָר; LXX Σενναάρ, E Σεναάρ Gn 14[1]; γῆ Σεναάρ [Theod. Σενναάρ] Dn 1[2]; *Sennaar*).—The name given, in the OT, to the country known as Babylonia, elsewhere called Babel or land of Babel (*'ereṣ Bābel*), from the name of its chief city. In Gn 10[10] it is described as the district in which were situated the four great cities of Babylonia, namely, Babel, Erech, Accad, and Calneh, which were the beginning of Nimrod's kingdom, and in Gn 11[2] it is spoken of as a place where there was a plain, wherein early migrants in the east settled, founded the city Babel or Babylon, and built a tower, afterwards known as 'the Tower of Babel.' In Is 11[11] the Heb. *Shin'ar* is rendered by the LXX as 'Babylonia,' and in Zec 5[11] by 'the land of Babylon,' thus showing that the two terms were practically synonymous. To all appearance Ellasar or Larsa, and the district of which it was capital, does not seem to have been included in this term (Gn 14[1. 9]). In Syriac *Sen'ar* was used of the country around Baghdad (Ges. *s.v.*).

The most common explanation of the word Shinar is, that it is derived from an earlier form of the Babylonian *Šumer*, a dialectic form of an as yet unfound non-Semitic *Šenger*, just as *dimmer* is the dialectic form of the non-Semitic *dingir*, 'god.' It cannot be said, however, that this explanation, plausible as it seems to be, is entirely satisfactory. Jensen objects (*ZKSF* ii. 419) that Šumer stands for south Babylonia, whilst Shinar, on the contrary, indicates the north, and he puts forward for consideration, whether Tindir, the name of the city of Babylon as the 'Seat of Life,' may not go back to an original form *Šingar* (*Šingir*), comparing, for the interchange between *d* and *g*, *agar* and its dialectic form *adar*. Like most of Jensen's proposals, this is suggestive, but at the same time hardly convincing. Hommel, in the art. BABYLONIA (vol. i. p. 224[b]), derives Shinar from *Ki-Imgir* through the intermediate forms *Shingar*, *Shumir* (=Šumer), and *Shimir*, Ki-Imgir being an older form of Ki-Ingi, 'the region of Ingi,' which was rendered Šumer by the Semitic Babylonians. It will thus be seen that he does not recognize the force of Jensen's objection with regard to the geographical position.

One thing, however, is certain, and that is, that the Heb. *Shin'ar* to all appearance represents the whole of Babylonia, excepting the district of which Larsa was the capital (see above). This being the case, it corresponds with the Kingi-Ura of the non-Semitic texts, which is translated in the bilingual inscriptions by the expression 'Šumer and Akkad'—that is to say, not only N. Babylonia, but S. Babylonia also. The question, therefore, naturally arises, whether a modification of Hommel's theory would not furnish the best explanation. That *k* changed, in the non-Semitic idiom, into *š*, is proved by the post-position for 'to,' which was pronounced either *ku* or *šu*. This would produce the form *Šingi-Ura*, from which the Heb. Shin'ar (*Šin'ār*) might easily have been derived.* It is noteworthy that, from the geographical point of view, such an explanation of the word would leave nothing to be desired.

The latest or one of the latest identifications of Shinar is with *Sanḫar* of the Tel el-Amarna tablets (Winckler 25 = London

* At least one compound group indicates the possible value of *šš* for the character KI, whilst two others suggest that of *ešše*.

No. 5). This, however, requires much further light before it can be admitted into the bounds of likely theories. The only statement with regard to Šanḫar made by the letter in question is a reference to gifts which the king of Ḫatti (Heth, the Hittites) and the king of Šanḫar had made to the writer, the king of Aḫšia. W. Max Müller (*Asien und Europa*, p. 279) identifies Šanḫar with Σίγγαρα, the modern Sinjar.

Šumer, generally regarded as the Babylonian original of Shinar, is usually found coupled with the name of the sister-province Akkad, of which the Accad of Gn 10^{10} was the capital. As stated above, the two provinces together are called Kingi-Ura in the non-Semitic inscriptions, rendered, in the bilingual texts, by the words *mât Šu-me-ri u Ak-ka-di-i*, 'the land of Šumer and Akkad.' The first component of the non-Semitic equivalent, *Kingi* (also written *Kengi*), is explained as *mâtu*, 'country,' and *Ura* as *Akkadû* or Akkad. *Kingi* therefore meant 'country' *par excellence*—in fact, in the bilingual inscription of Šamaš-šum-ukîn (5 R. 62, 40a b), *kingi-Ura* is translated by the words *mât Akkadi*, 'the land of Akkad.'

The original language of the country of Shinar was to all appearance non-Semitic, and it is very likely that, as already indicated, the Heb. word in question may be derived from that idiom. It is true that several Assyriologists (notably Halévy, the leader of the school) regard this language as being more or less artificial (see art. ACCAD); but that it should be so is hardly likely, the idiom in question (often called Akkadian in England, and generally called Sumerian on the Continent) differing considerably from Semitic Babylonian, not only in words, but also in grammatical forms. Among the chief differences may be cited the use of suffixes instead of prefixes to express the prepositions (*ê̂a-ni-šu* or *ê̂a-ni-ku*, 'to his house,' lit. 'house-his-to'), the use of long strings of verbal prefixes, suffixes, or infixes (*innan-lal* for *inna-in-lal*, 'it he weighed,' *gab-indaria*, 'he opposed,' lit. 'breast-him-with-(he)-set'), the use of compound words (*ki-dur*, 'seat,' lit. 'place-(of)-sitting,' (*lu*)-*gubba-igi*, 'attendant,' lit. '(man)-standing-before,' *ša-bat*, 'sabbath,' lit. 'heart-rest,' *ša-ḫula*, 'heart-joy,' and many others), and the numerical system, which goes up to 5, and then begins a new series, combining the numbers of the first (*âš* for *ia-aš*, 'five-one'='six,' *îmina* for *ia-mina*, 'five-two'='seven,' etc.). The objection that this ancient idiom cannot be a real language, but only a system of writing, because the same or similar words occur in it and in Semitic Babylonian, is easily explained away by the fact that, when two nationalities live together, in close intercourse, words and phrases are extensively borrowed on both sides: and this was certainly the case here.

In support of the contention that there was another race and another language in the land of Shinar than the Semitic, may be cited the fact that the oldest sculptures give, to all appearance, examples of a race not possessing the Semitic type of the later Babylonians, but one differing considerably from it. The Semitic inhabitants of Shinar were thick-set and muscular, as the cylinder-seals of Semitic work and the later monuments, such as the boundary-stone with the bas-relief of king Marduk-nadin-aḫi, show. The type of at least one section of the non-Semitic inhabitants, on the other hand, was slim and spare, and is illustrated by the bronze statuettes of the time of king Gudea (*c.* 2700 B.C.), representing a kneeling figure holding what is generally regarded as a fire-stick; the human figures found in bas-reliefs from Lagaš; and those on a large number of cylinder-seals. It would, moreover, seem that the ancient inhabitants of Shinar were accustomed to do a thing which the Semites do only under foreign influence, namely, shave the hair from the face and head. This is shown not only by the heads of statues and statuettes from Tel-loh (the ancient Lagaš), but also from numerous cylinder-seals and impressions of cylinder-seals of the later Akkadian (or Sumerian) period, in which an official is represented being introduced to the god whom he worshipped. The god himself, however, generally wears a beard. Whether they regarded the heads of their divinities as being shaved or not is uncertain, as they are commonly represented wearing hats.

In connexion with this may be mentioned, that the great majority of the names of the deities of the Babylonian pantheon are non-Semitic, and this shows what a preponderating influence that part of the population must have had. Indeed the religious system of the Assyro-Babylonians was probably to a great extent alien, and the comparatively few Semitic divine names which are found are to all appearance often applied to deities which were at first non-Semitic.

As to the order of precedence of the two races—the non-Semites and the Semites—in occupying the country, we have no certain information. It is worthy of note, however, that Nimrod, the founder of the great cities of the land of Shinar, is represented as a son of Cush (Gn 10^{8}), and that in Gn 11^{2} the name Shinar is spoken of as if it existed before the foundation of Babylon and its tower,—in other words, both passages suggest that the non-Semitic occupation of Shinar preceded that of the Semites. This seems also to be confirmed by the indications of the ancient monuments of the country. The figures of non-Semitic type, for the most part, precede those of the Semitic period in chronological order; the earliest inscriptions are in the language which the majority of Assyriologists regard as the non-Semitic (Šumerian or Akkadian) idiom; the contract-tablets of the dynasty of Ur, called by Radau the fourth, are written in it, as are also, wholly or partly, numbers of tablets of the dynasty of Babylon (that to which Ḫammurabi belonged), though Semitic Babylonian at this period begins to take its place. The Semitic renderings of the early non-Semitic texts are sometimes as much of the nature of glosses as of real translations, for they are written, where possible, in the blank spaces left for that purpose between the beginning and the end of the lines of the original text.* When not arranged thus, the non-Semitic text of these bilingual tablets occupies the first, third, and remaining alternate lines of the inscription, or the left-hand (or first) column.

The early languages of Shinar (Sumerian or Akkadian) are mentioned more than once in the inscriptions of Babylonia and Assyria. Thus the tablet S. 1190 is described as containing 'two Sumerian incantations used (seemingly) for the stilling of a weeping child'; another fragment says 'the tongue of Šumer (?assumed) the likeness (of the tongue) of Ak(kad)'; whilst a third informs us that 'Akkad is above, Šu(mer below),' but what this refers to is doubtful,—perhaps the position of the tablets of each dialect on the library shelves, or in the rooms. The tablet K. 11,856, a fragment which refers to 'the great tablet-house,' states that 'the tongue of Akkad is in the third . . .' (?room, space, division). What these disconnected statements refer to in reality will probably for some time be a matter for discussion, but the existence of other languages than Semitic Babylonian in Shinar or ancient Babylonia can no longer be doubted. To the above indications that this was the case may be added the fact that Šumer was called also *kura Eme-laḫa*, 'the land of the noble (or pure) tongue,' as well as Kingi.

The bilingual lists of Babylonia and Assyria distinguish the two dialects, but do not mention by what name the standard idiom (probably the older of the two) was known. The other, generally called by modern scholars 'the dialect,' is distinguished in the bilingual lists by the term *eme-sala*, generally translated 'tongue (of) the woman,' or 'women's tongue,' perhaps so called because it was softer, being more affected by phonetic decay. The possibility that this refers to women of a conquered race taken as wives by the conquerors has been suggested, but seems unlikely.

To all appearance the non-Semitic idiom and its

* The tablet inscribed with the bilingual story of the Creation is written almost wholly in this way, and has therefore the appearance of a text in three columns.

dialect gave way to Semitic Babylonian about the time of the dynasty to which Ḫammurabi belonged, but when it finally ceased to be spoken is not known. Compositions were probably made in it from time to time until a very late date. This is shown by the existence of a bilingual hymn containing the name of Aššur-bani-âpli or Assurbanipal, though the text bears the appearance of an ancient composition into which that king's name has been introduced. His brother Šamaš-šum-ukîn (Saosduchinos), king of Babylonia, however, seems to have had original compositions in this old language made for him, as in the case of the text referred to above (5 R. pl. 62). It is noteworthy that all these late inscriptions, made when the non-Semitic idiom was a dead language, are in the 'dialect.' There is not much doubt that Semitic Babylonian was the language of the country from about B.C. 2000 onwards, and continued in use until about the Christian era.

Besides the archaic historical inscriptions, of which the best examples come from the French excavations at Tel-loh; the brick-inscriptions, of which most really ancient Babylonian sites furnish many examples; and numerous short inscriptions on cylinder-seals, the bulk of the non-Semitic literature of Shinar consists of incantations, hymns, and penitential psalms. Several interesting but fragmentary historical inscriptions exist (accompanied by translations into the Semitic idiom), together with the remains of a chronological text supposed to be that made use of by Berosus in his history. It is also worthy of note that several fragments of a glossary of the Semitic story of the Creation (art. BABYLONIA, vol. i. p. 220[b], and NIMROD, vol. iii. p. 523[a]), or the story of Bel and the Dragon, imply that that composition existed in the old language of Shinar, and that it was a 'dialectic' text. Classified lists of words, without Semitic translation, are also found. In all probability, however, many other inscriptions known only in their Semitic dress are really of non-Semitic origin. For an account of these, as also for a description of the country, its history, etc., see the article BABYLONIA.

LITERATURE. — Radau, *Early Babylonian History*; Lenormant, *Études Accadiennes*, ii. 3, p. 70; Schrader, *KAT*[2] 118 ff., *Keilinschr. u. Geschichtsforschung*, 296, 533; Weissbach, *Zur Lösung der Sumerischen Frage*, Leipzig, 1897; Pinches, 'Languages of the Early Inhabitants of Mesopotamia' in *JRAS*, 1884, p. 301 ff., 'Sumerian or Cryptography,' *ib.* 1900, p. 75 ff., 343, 344, 551, 552; and the works mentioned at the end of the articles ACCAD and BABYLONIA.

T. G. PINCHES.

SHION (שִׁיאוֹן; B Σιωνά, A Σειάν; *Seon*).—A town of Issachar (Jos 19[19]) mentioned between Haphraim and Anaharath. Eusebius and Jerome (*Onom.*) place it near Mount Tabor. Its identification by Eli Smith with *'Ayûn esh-Sh'aîn*, about 3 miles east of Nazareth, has been very generally accepted.

C. W. WILSON.

SHIPHI (שִׁפְעִי; B Σαφάλ, A Σεφείν, Luc. Σωφεί).—A Simeonite prince, 1 Ch 4[37 (36)].

SHIPHMITE.—See SHEPHAM and SIPHMOTH.

SHIPHRAH (שִׁפְרָה; LXX Σεπφωρά, the rendering also of צִפֹּרָה *Zippōrāh*, in Ex 2[21]).—One of the two Hebrew midwives, Ex 1[15] (E). The name is probably connected with the root שפר 'to be beautiful' (Baentsch in Nowack's *Hdkom.*). It is unlikely that it is a Hebraized form of an Egyptian name. See, further, Dillm.-Ryssel, *ad loc.*

SHIPHTAN (שִׁפְטָן; B Σαβαθά, A Σαβαθάν, F Σαφαράν, Luc. [Σ]αφαθά).—An Ephraimite prince, Nu 34[24].

SHIPS and BOATS (אֳנִיָּה, סְפִינָה [only Jon 1[5]], צִי; *ναῦς* [only Ac 27[41]], πλοῖον, πλοιάριον, σκάφη [only Ac 27[16. 30. 32]]).—These are often referred to in the Bible, but to a very small extent in connexion with Israelitish history. In OT the most important instances connected with this people are the building of the fleet of Solomon at the port of Ezion-geber, at the head of the Ælanitic arm of the Red Sea (1 K 9[26]); and another undertaking of a similar kind in the reign of Jehoshaphat, which had a disastrous result (1 K 22[48]). In NT we have the voyages of St. Paul, especially the last into Italy (Ac 27).* The voyage of Jonah belongs to another category.

The *Phœnicians* were by far the most successful navigators of ancient times; and the history of the art of shipbuilding amongst Eastern nations can be very clearly followed in connexion with the history of this remarkable people (see GREAT SEA). Originally settled on the shores of the Erythræan Sea (Persian Gulf),† they had become familiar with navigation in a rude form before their migration to the shores of the Mediterranean about B.C. 1500, and carried with them the art of shipbuilding to their new home.‡ Perhaps in both countries this art did not extend beyond the construction of rafts, or canoes hollowed out of trunks of trees (*Monoxylæ*); but as time went on these would give place to boats, built with a keel, and ribs covered with canvas and daubed with pitch. The models of boats found amongst Phœnician remains are of a very rude and simple form.§ From a Cyprian model, represented by Count L. di Cesnola, and believed to be of early Phœnician date, the ships appear to have consisted of a hull of wood with a high curved stern and an upright bow; from the centre rose a mast not very high, supporting a yard-arm for carrying a sail; from the stern projected two steering oars with broad shovel-shaped blades passing through the timbers of the ship.‖ The use of sails was probably preceded for a long period by that of oars. A boat of large size is represented on certain coins, regarded by some as Phœnician, by others as belonging to Cilicia, in which the bow is low, the stern elevated and accompanied by steering oars. It was impelled by one bank of oars, such as was called by the Greeks a 'triaconter' or 'penteconter,' and it was destitute of a mast.¶

About B.C. 700 a great advance seems to have been made in navigation by the Phœnicians, owing to the introduction of two sets of oarsmen seated on benches at different levels, and using double banks of oars; these were called by the Greeks 'biremes'; and, at a later period, a further advance was made by the introduction of a mast and sail, somewhat of the shape of a 'square-sail' of our own times. These ships must have resembled the Chinese junks of the present day.

The Phœnician ships described by Herodotus were of two kinds: those used in war, and those employed in mercantile traffic. The former were broad of beam, and impelled both by oars and sails. The sails were, from their shape, of use only when sailing before the wind. The war vessels were those which the Greeks called triaconters and penteconters, each impelled by fifteen to twenty-five oars on either side. They were long open boats in which the oarsmen sat all on the same level; each galley was armed at its head with a sharp metal spike or beak, intended for

* On the Sea of Galilee, in the time of our Lord, small trading vessels and fishing boats appear to have been very numerous, and some of the most interesting events in His life are connected with this lake and the sailors on its waters (Mt 8[23], Mk 4[36], Lk 5[1-11], Jn 6[22] 21[4-14]).

† Herod. i. 2, vii. 89. ‡ Pliny, *HN* vii. 56.

§ Perrot et Chipiez, *Hist. de l'Art*, iii. 517.

‖ Cesnola, *Cyprus*, pl. xlv. ¶ Rawlinson, *Phœnicia*, 273.

ramming.* Afterwards these were superseded by biremes, which were decked, had masts and sails, and double banks of oarsmen. Later still, triremes, impelled by three banks of oarsmen, came into use; and about the end of the 6th cent. B.C. boats with additional banks of oars were invented.†

For some centuries the Phœnicians confined their navigation to the shores of the Mediterranean, Propontis, and Euxine; but before the time of Solomon (*c.* B.C. 930) they had launched out into the deep, had passed the pillars of Hercules, and opened a trade with Tartessus (Tarshish) on the Atlantic coast of Spain. Coasting along Africa, they had visited the Senegal and Gambia; and, in the opposite direction, had crossed the Bay of Biscay and the English Channel, and opened a trade for tin with the Cassiterides. It is no less certain that they reached the Canaries (Fortunate Islands), lying 170 miles off the coast of Africa. In Ezk 27 we have an eloquent description of the glories of Tyre and Sidon, and the construction of their ships.

The Greeks.—Ships with four ranks of oarsmen were first constructed by the *Greeks* about the year B.C. 400, when Dionysius I. of Syracuse built the first quadriremes (τετρήρεις), with which he had probably become acquainted through the Carthaginians.‡ After the time of Alexander the Great, ships with four, five, and even more ranks of rowers became general; and, according to Polybius, the first Punic war was chiefly carried on with quinqueremes.§

Assyrian.—While the Phœnicians were making progress in naval architecture, their old neighbours and probably rivals, the Babylonians and Assyrians, were also at work in the same direction, but not to any important extent. As Rawlinson observes, it is only as fresh-water sailors that the Assyrians come within the category of navigators at all.‖ They left the navigation of the Persian Gulf and Mediterranean to the Babylonians and Phœnicians, contenting themselves with the profits without sharing the dangers of sea voyages; their attention being concentrated on the navigation of their two great rivers—the Tigris and Euphrates. This was effected at first by rafts of timber supported on inflated skins; and these are still in use on the rivers of Mesopotamia.¶ Bas-reliefs from the most ancient palace of Nimroud show two kinds of boats: the larger contains the king in his chariot with his attendants, and is navigated by two men.** It is considered by Rawlinson to have resembled in structure the Welsh coracle, round in form and made of wicker-work covered with skins and smeared over with bitumen. To have carried such heavy loads they must have been of large size. The smaller was used for the conveyance of merchandise.

In the sculptures of Sargon, who reigned from B.C. 722–705, we have a representation of a ship of a more advanced type. Here four rowers standing to their oars impel a vessel, having a figure-head of a horse, and for the stern the tail of a fish; but it is possible that this vessel may have belonged to an invading force, not that of the Assyrian inhabitants.*

The sculptures of Kouyunjik represent ships in great perfection. One of these represents a *naval* battle, as may be gathered from the introduction of marine forms, such as star-fish and jelly-fish, not found in rivers. Layard recognizes in these vessels a resemblance to those used to a comparatively late period by the inhabitants of the cities of Tyre and Sidon on the Syrian coast.† That the Chaldæans were skilful shipbuilders, and were proud of their attainments in this art, may be gathered from the statement in Isaiah (43[14]), where they are referred to as rejoicing in their ships.‡

Christian era.—The ships in NT times, chiefly belonging to the Romans, were galleys impelled by oarsmen and using square sails. They were sometimes of large size; that which carried St. Paul containing in all 276 souls, besides cargo.§ Their timbers were so badly put together, that when subjected to the strain arising from a storm, they required to be **undergirded** (or braced) by means of strong ropes; and they seldom ventured far out of sight of land, or some port into which they could be run in stress of weather.

E. HULL.

SHISHA.—See SHAVSHA.

SHISHAK (פְּשִׁישַׁק [in 1 K 14[25], *Këth.* פְּשִׁישׁ, *Kĕrê* פְּשִׁישַׁק], Σουσακ(ε)ίμ).—Shishak is Sheshonḳ I., the first king of the 22nd or Bubastite Dynasty. He belonged to an important family of chiefs of Libyan mercenaries, who by degrees attained to very high position. His grandfather married a princess named Mehtenusecht, doubtless of the 21st or Tanite Dynasty. The successors of Sheshonḳ were much attached to Bubastis, and his dynasty is named Bubastite by Manetho; but it is doubtful whether he himself had much connexion with that city. In his 21st year he began building a new court in the great temple of Karnak, and close to it caused to be sculptured a representation of himself sacrificing figures symbolic of the conquered cities in Palestine. In all, 156 place-names were thus recorded, and most of them are still legible. There are few important cities amongst them. They include Rabbath and Hapharaim in Issachar, and Mahanaim on the east of the Jordan, besides towns in Judæa. From the biblical account (1 K 14[25]), it had been concluded that Shishak attacked only the kingdom of Rehoboam and spared that of Jeroboam, who had lived many years in exile in Egypt; but this interpretation is not necessary. Since Ramses III. no Pharaoh had ventured to transport an army across the eastern desert and to attack Palestine. Later, even Taharḳa and Psammetichus did not go so far; only Necho went farther. But Sheshonḳ's expedition was insignificant compared to the expeditions of the 18th dynasty. For the absence of the title 'Pharaoh' in the biblical record see above, vol. iii. p. 819.

LITERATURE.—For Shishak's campaign against Judah see W. Max Müller, *Asien u. Europa*, 166 ff.; Blau in *ZDMG* xv. 233 ff.; Meyer, *Gesch.* i. 385 f.; Stade, *Gesch.* i. 353 f.; Maspero, *Struggle of the Nations*, 772 ff.; Driver in Hogarth's *Authority and Archæology*, 87 f.

F. LL. GRIFFITH.

SHITRAI (שִׁטְרַי *Këthîbh*, שִׁמְרַי *Kĕrê*; Β Ἀσαρταῖς, A Luc. Σαρραί).—A Sharonite who was over king David's herds that fed in SHARON, 1 Ch 27[29].

* These were probably the kind of boats in use amongst the Greeks in Homer's time, in which he represents the descent of the Grecian warriors on the coast of Ilium (*Iliad*, i. 360, ii. 585, 630; Smith's *Dict. Greek and Roman Antiquities*, art. 'Naves,' 783 (1849), in which the subject is very fully treated).

† The Phœnicians had a practice of placing at the bow of their boats the figure of some monstrous form gaudily painted, in order to strike terror into the natives whose country they were invading. We seem to have something of the kind in the case of the Greek ships invading Asia Minor, 'Twelve ships with scarlet bows' (*Iliad*, ii. 739).

‡ Pliny, *HN* vii. 5. 7; Diodor. xiv. 41, 42.

§ Polybius, i. 63; Haltaus, *Geschichte Roms im Zeitalter der Punischer Kriege*, Leipzig, 607 (1846).

‖ *Ancient Monarchies*, i. 544.

¶ Layard, *Nineveh*, ii. 96; Rawlinson, *Anc. Mon.* i. 545. A representation of such a raft carrying blocks of stone for building, taken from Kouyunjik, is given *ib.* p. 338. The raft is impelled by two oarsmen.

** *Ib.* p. 546. Boats similar to these are also described by Herodotus, i. c. 194.

* Layard, *Nineveh*, ii. 383.

† Layard, vol. ii. 384, 385.

‡ RV 'In the ships of their rejoicing.'

§ Ac 27[37].

SHITTAH TREE (שִׁטָּה *shiṭṭāh*, πύξος, *spina*, Is 41[19] RV 'acacia tree'); **SHITTIM WOOD** (עֲצֵי־שִׁטִּים *'ăṣê-shiṭṭîm*, ξύλα ἀσεπτα, *ligna setim*, Ex 25[5. 10. 13] 26[15. 26] 27[1. 6], Dt 10[3] RV 'acacia wood').—*Shiṭṭāh* is modified from *shinṭāh*, as *ḥiṭṭāh*, 'wheat,' from *ḥinṭāh*. The cognate Arab. equivalent for *shinṭāh* is *sont*, a name identical with the old Egyp. name of this tree, and is, like it, generic for Acacia, but particularly applied to *A. Nilotica*, Del. The desert acacia, of which the Ark of the Covenant, and the boards, tables, etc. of the Tabernacle were made, is no doubt *A. Seyal*, Del., and *A. tortilis*, Hayne, if the two be not, as we suspect, varieties of the same species. Both are called *seyyâl*. *Sayl* means 'torrent,' and prob. the ellipsis 'tree' should be supplied. It is the *torrent tree, i.e.* the characteristic tree of the desert wâdis of Sinai, et-Tîh, and the Dead Sea. The comus of these trees resembles that of the apple. It is about 15–25 ft. high, and a little broader than its height. It has stiff, thorny branches, bipinnate leaves with leaflets 1–2 lines long, and ½ line broad, and more or less spirally twisted, necklace-shape pods, 3–4 in. long. Its wood is heavier than water, exceedingly hard, of fine grain, the sap-wood yellow, the heart-wood brown. It is not attacked by insects. It was therefore eminently suited for furniture such as that for which it was employed, in a climate where insects commit such ravages as in the desert and in Palestine. These trees must have been very numerous in ancient times, perhaps filling most of the desert valleys, and growing in clefts of the rocks on the now bare mountain sides. Even now, after they have been so extensively cut by the charcoal burners, there are large numbers of them. They form quite a characteristic feature of the desert landscape. The trunks are now not infrequently 2 ft. thick, and old trees may have been much thicker, quite sufficiently so to supply planks 10 cubits long and 1½ wide (Ex 36[21]). If any difficulty existed on this point, it would be easily met by supposing that the planks were joined. Arab. carpenters do this now very cleverly in Egypt and Syria. Besides the wood, so valuable on account of its durability and the excellent charcoal which can be made from it, the tree yields the famous 'gum arabic' in considerable quantities. Its astringent bark is used for tanning yellow leather.

A number of places were named from this tree, as SHITTIM (Jos 2[1] *al.*), perhaps the modern *Ghor es-Saisabân*, where there are still plenty of acacia trees, and ABEL-SHITTIM (Nu 33[49]), *i.e.* the Plain of the Acacias, which is the same as the above. The Valley (נַחַל 'wâdy') of Shittim (Jl 3 (4)[18]) may have been the lower part of the *Wâdy en-Nâr*, the continuation of Kidron, into which flows the water from the neighbourhood of Jerusalem. This, as all the valleys debouching on to the Dead Sea, would naturally have acacia trees growing in it.

G. E. POST.

SHITTIM (הַשִּׁטִּים always with def. art. 'the acacias,' see preceding article).—One of the limits of the camping-ground of the children of Israel in the plains of Moab, Nu 33[49] (here only it is called ABEL-SHITTIM). According to Nu 25[1] the anger of the Lord was there kindled against Israel for joining himself unto Baal-peor. The spies were sent out from Shittim (Jos 2[1]), and from thence the children of Israel moved to Jordan before crossing the river (Jos 3[1]). These are the only places where the word occurs in the Hexateuch. The LXX in the last three passages has Σαττείν in B (ν is omitted in A of Jos 2[1]). In Nu 33[49] Βελσατά in B and Βελσαττίμ in A are renderings of *Abel-shittim*.

The word occurs twice in the Prophets: (1) Mic 6[5] 'from Shittim unto Gilgal.' By some this is regarded as a gloss; others suggest that a part of the text has been lost here—'[remember that which I did] from Shittim unto Gilgal'—with reference to the wonders manifested at the passage of the Jordan. (2) Jl 3[18] 'the valley of Shittim.' The Heb. word here used for 'valley' (נַחַל 'wâdy'; see BROOK) is never applied to the broad open space immediately N. of the Dead Sea in which Shittim was situated. The idea in the passage is similar to that in Ezk 47[1-12], Zec 14[8], and Rev 22[1]—waters (of life) issuing from the house of God would reach the Eastern (the Dead) and the Western (the Mediterranean) seas. The ordinary course of waters from Jerusalem to the Dead Sea would be along the *Wâdy Sitti Mariam* and *Wâdy en-Nâr*, the ancient Kidron called נַחַל 2 S 15[23] (cf. Driver, *ad loc.*, in Camb. Bible for Schools and Colleges).

The LXX rendering in both these passages is τῶν σχοίνων. It has been proposed (the suggestion is as old as Jerome) to read σχίνων, and then the translators would have considered the shittah-tree as equivalent to the mastick-tree (σχῖνος, *Pistachia-lentiscus*), a tree common in Mediterranean countries. The agreement between these two passages, and their variation from the renderings in the Hex., are noteworthy (cf. Ryssel on Mic 6[5]).

A. T. CHAPMAN.

SHIZA (שִׁיזָא; B Σαιζά, A Σεχά, ℵ Σεζά, Luc. Σιζαί).—The father of a Reubenite chief, 1 Ch 11[42].

SHOA (שׁוֹעַ; B Σουέ, A Σούδ; *tyranni*).—Apparently a race-name. It is mentioned in connexion with the Babylonians, Chaldæans, PEKOD, KOA, and all the Assyrians (Ezk 23[23]), whose relations with Jerusalem had been intimate, and who were to come up and sit in judgment upon her. According to Schrader (*KAT*[2] p. 425), Shoa is the Assyrian *Sutû*, the name of a people who are constantly associated in the inscriptions with the *Kutû*. The land of *Sutû* is identified by Delitzsch (*Par.* p. 233, etc.) with the district that extends eastward from the Tigris to the southern declivities of the Medo-Elamite mountains.

C. W. WILSON.

SHOBAB (שׁוֹבָב).—**1.** One of David's sons, 2 S 5[14] (B Σωβάβ, A Σωβαδάν, Luc. Ἰεσσεβάν), 1 Ch 3[5] (B Σωβάν, A Luc. Σωβάβ), 14[4] (B Ἰσοβοάμ [*i.e.* וְשׁוֹבָם 'and Shobam'?], A Σωβάβ, Luc. Σωβήβ). **2.** A Calebite, 1 Ch 2[18] (B Ἰασούβ, A Σωβάβ, Luc. Σουβάβ).

SHOBACH (שׁוֹבַךְ; B Σωβάκ, A Σαβάκ; *Sobach*).—A general in the army of Hadadezer, king of Syria, at the time of the war with Ammon (2 S 10[16]). He is not mentioned as taking part in the battle near Rabbah, where Joab and Abishai routed the combined forces of Ammon and Syria, and we may infer that he did not become 'captain of the host of Hadadezer' until after that event. The victory of Joab does not seem to have been followed up (see RABBAH), and before long the Syrians again prepared to attack the newly-founded kingdom of Israel. For this purpose Hadadezer gathered all the forces at his command, even the distant tribes from 'beyond the river': the latter were led by Shobach, who was apparently placed in command of the whole Syrian army. In the engagement that ensued at Helam on the east of Jordan, David commanded the Israelite army in person, and utterly defeated the Syrians. Shobach was mortally wounded in the battle, and his fall doubtless contributed to the rout of the Syrians (2 S 10[15-18]). In the parallel narrative (1 Ch 19[16. 18]) his name is given as **Shophach** (שׁוֹפַךְ; B Σωφάρ and Σαφάθ, A Σωφάχ and Σωβάχ, ℵ* Ἐσωφάρ, ℵ[ca ?] Ἐσωφάχ).

J. F. STENNING.

SHOBAI (שֹׁבַי).—A family of gatekeepers, Ezr 2[42] (B Ἀβαού, A Luc. Σωβαί) = Neh 7[45] (B Σαβεί, A Σαβαί, Luc. Σωβαί).

SHOBAL (שׁוֹבָל).—**1.** A 'son' of Seir the Horite, and one of the 'dukes' of the Horites, Gn 36[20. 23. 29] (Σωβάλ)=1 Ch 1[38. 40] (BA Σωβάλ, Luc. Σουβάλ). **2.** A Calebite family in the tribe of Judah. This Shobal is called in 1 Ch 4[1. 2] (BA Σουβάλ, Luc. Σωβάλ) a 'son' of Judah, and in 2[50] (B Σωβάρ, A Σωβάλ, Luc. Σωβά)[52] (BA Σωβάλ, Luc. Σωβά) 'son' of Caleb and 'father' of Kiriath-jearim. The name is probably to be connected, if not identified, with No. **1**; see Wellh. *de Gentibus*, etc. 39.

SHOBEK (שׁוֹבֵק; BA Σωβήκ, Luc. Σωβεί ρ).—One of the chiefs of the people who sealed the covenant, Neh 10[24 (25)].

SHOBI (שׁוֹבִי; Οὐεσβεί; *Sobi*).—From 2 S 17[27f.] we learn that Shobi the son of Nahash of Rabbah of the children of Ammon, together with two other influential and wealthy landowners of the trans-Jordanic country, came to meet David, when he fled from Absalom, at Mahanaim, bringing with them large quantities of stores and provisions for the Israelite army. It seems, however, very doubtful whether such a person as Shobi ever existed. His name is not mentioned elsewhere, and it is difficult to reconcile this action on the part of a son of Nahash with the insults offered by Hanun the son of Nahash, king of Ammon, to David's ambassadors (2 S 10[1f.]), and with the subsequent war between Israel and Ammon, which resulted in the siege and capture of Rabbah. S. A. Cook (*AJSL* xviii. 3, p. 155f.) suggests very plausibly that we should read 'Nahash, etc., brought' (וַיָּבִיאוּ נָחָשׁ), in place of 'Shobi the son of Nahash,' etc. (וְשׁוֹבִי בֶן־נָחָשׁ). This emendation restores a natural construction to the verse at the expense of the words 'Shobi son of': in its present form the construction is involved and unusual (see Driver, *ad loc.*). If, however, Cook's emendation is accepted, it is difficult to resist his further contention that the section dealing with the Ammonite war (2 S 10[1]–11[1] 12[26-31]) has been misplaced, and that it should *follow* and not precede chs. 13-20. J. F. Stenning.

SHOE (נַעַל *na'al*, σανδάλιον, ὑπόδημα).—The *na'al* of the modern Arabic shoe means the sole, thus indicating the sandal character of the ancient Heb. *na'al*, usually tr. 'shoe.' Similarly, the Gr. term ὑπόδημα means something tied on or under the foot, that is, a sandal. Sandals must have varied in material and appearance according to the station and occupation of the wearer, those of shepherds being strongly made as a protection against thorns and rocks, while those worn by women of rank would be of a lighter and more ornamental pattern (Ca 7[1]). Cf. art. Dress, vol. i. p. 627. The shoes of the present day in Syria exhibit various transition forms, from the single strap of leather or embroidered cloth over the toes, and the leather sheath for the front of the foot, to the complete upper in different colours of leather, and covering the whole foot. Sandals of the original form are still worn by Bedawin and monks. Peasants when on a journey prefer to press down the leather at the heel-end of the shoe, and thus make them more loose and open, like the sandals of primitive times. In this way also the dust of the road can from time to time be shaken out without the trouble of removing the shoe. The act of repudiation mentioned in Mt 10[14], Mk 6[11], Lk 9[5] 10[11], Ac 13[51], meant, along with the implied release from all moral responsibility, that the connexion thus dissolved was one of defilement and worthlessness.

1. *Putting on and removal of shoes.*—From the Oriental habit of sitting and moving about in the house with the feet uncovered, the possession of shoes became one of the essential requirements for a journey, and the wearing of them one of the symbols of travel (Ex 12[11]). The Gibeonites drew attention to their feet bandaged with rags in order to keep their out-worn sandals together and protect their feet (Jos 9[5. 13]). A similar appearance is presented by Turkish troops at the present day when returning from a punitive expedition against the Arabs of the desert. In the parable of the Prodigal Son the absence of shoes is noted (Lk 15[22]). In the apostolic injunction to have the feet 'shod with the preparation of the gospel of peace' (Eph 6[15]), the symbol of travel is introduced among the leading truths of the Christian life, making progress one of the permanent features of the Christian Church.

As Oriental peasant life has always been in villages and not in solitary houses, the shoes were constantly covered with dust and defiled with mud and refuse, and consequently were left at the door of the house. This custom, beginning with ordinary comfort and cleanliness, received a new emphasis when the entrance was into a house of prayer and into the presence of One who required cleanliness of heart. Hence the removal of the shoes on holy ground (Ex 3[5], Jos 5[15], Is 20[2], Ac 7[33]). The custom is still observed in Oriental churches and mosques. It was the inevitable result of such connexions that any reference to the shoe and the thong or latchet that passed through the sandal loops was one of implied inferiority and contempt (Mk 1[7], Jn 1[27], Ac 13[25]). 'You are my shoe!' 'You are under my shoe!' are exclamations of abuse often heard in the streets of Oriental villages and towns.

2. *The shoe of witness* (Dt 25[9. 10], Ru 4[7. 8]).—From the latter passage we learn that it was an ancient custom in Israel, when property was sold or any right given up, to take off the sandal and hand it to the purchaser or the person to whom the right was transferred. In the former passage the husband's brother allows his sandal to be taken off by the widow, who at the same time reproaches him both by act and word for renouncing an honourable privilege and duty. The removal of the shoe became a sort of documentary evidence. The possession of one shoe by the widow was to her like a bill of divorce to a betrothed or married woman, setting her free to marry another; and the possession of the corresponding shoe by the man remained his protective proof that all claims had been formally settled.

3. *'Upon Edom will I cast my shoe'* (Ps 60[8]=108[9]).—From the context the leading idea in this expression appears to be that of *taking possession of* or *claiming as one's own.* Possibly the casting of the shoe upon a piece of land may have been a legal symbol, similar to that considered above, of a claim to ownership. Or the meaning may be, *'Unto* Edom do I cast my shoe,' Edom being then represented as the slave to whom his master tosses his sandals (see Driver, *Par. Psalt.* p. 169). Duhm also suggests that the allusions to Edom and Moab are designedly contemptuous, the latter being represented as a washing-basin for the feet, while Edom is thought of as a kind of corner into which dirty shoes may be cast.

The 'shoes' (AV and RVm) of Dt 33[25] should be 'bolts' or 'bars' (RV). The Heb. is כִּנְעָל (cf. כַּנַּעַל of Ca 5[5], Neh 3[3. 6. 13. 14. 15]). G. M. Mackie.

SHOHAM (שֹׁהָם [on this word see art. Onyx]; B Ἰσοάμ, A Ἰσσοάμ, Luc. Ἰεσσάμ).—A Merarite, 1 Ch 24[27].

SHOMER.—**1.** 1 Ch 7[32]. See Shemer, No. **3.** **2.** 2 K 12[21]. See Shimeath.

SHOPHACH.—See Shobach.

SHOSHANNIM, SHOSHANNIM EDUTH.—See PSALMS, p. 155[a].

SHOVEL.—**1.** [יָעַ], only in plur. יָעִים (from root יעה = 'sweep together,' with collat. idea of *carrying away*, Is 28[17] [only]), occurs 9 times (Ex 27[3] 38[3], Nu 4[14] [all P], 1 K 7[40. 45], 2 K 25[14], 2 Ch 4[11. 16], Jer 52[18]), always in a list of utensils belonging to the tabernacle or the temple. There is no reason to doubt that shovels for removing the ashes from the altar are meant (cf. AVm note at Jer 52[18]).

The LXX has in 1 K 7[40. 45 (26. 31)] *θερμάστρια* ('tongs *or* pincers' for taking hold of hot metal or coals), in 2 K 25[14] it transliterates *λαμείν* (so B; A strangely *ἰμάτια*). In the other passages of the LXX either the Heb. word is not represented at all, or it is difficult to say what stands for it in the Gr. text, which differs from the MT both in the order and in the number of utensils mentioned.

2. רַחַת Is 30[24] [only]. This stands for the broad, shallow winnowing shovel (the *πτύον* of Mt 3[12], Lk 3[17]; cf. the use of the Gr. word [not found in LXX] in Hom. *Il.* xiii. 588; Aeschyl. *Fr.* 194; Sophocl. *Fr.* 931; Theocr. vii. 156) with which corn after threshing was thrown up against the wind to clear it of the chaff. It is to be distinguished from the כְּבָרָה (Arab. *miḍrā*) mentioned along with it in Is 30[24] (elsewhere only Jer 15[7] fig. of winnowing, *i.e.* chastising, the people),* which was a fork with 5 or 6 prongs, used in the process of winnowing, along with the רַחַת, in the way described in art. AGRICULTURE, vol. i. p. 51[a], where both instruments are figured (cf. Wetzstein *ap.* Del. *Jes.*[2] 707 ff.). The EV of Is 30[24] would therefore be improved by reading 'winnowed with the shovel and with the fork' for 'winnowed with the shovel and with the fan.' The word 'fan,' which is misleading at best, ought, if retained in our version at all, to be used for רַחַת, not for כְּבָרָה. J. A. SELBIE.

SHREWD.—Sir 8[19] only, 'Open not thine heart to every man, lest he requite thee with a shrewd turn' (*καὶ μὴ ἀναφερέτω σοι χάριν*: the sense, says Bissell, is given correctly by AV, *χάριν* meaning here 'an ill turn'; but RV renders literally, 'And let him not return thee a favour.' [Is 'shrewd' a tr. of *ψευδῆ*, which is read before *χάριν* in some good MSS and by the Lat. *falsam gratiam*?]).

The Eng. word 'shrewd' is a participial adj. meaning 'malicious,' originally the ptcp. of *shrewen*, to curse. The verb *shrewen* was formed from the subst. 'shrew,' an Anglo-Sax. word, meaning a scolding or cursing person, usually a woman. In Shaks. 'shrewd' has the general sense of 'bad'; it is applied to the contents of a paper, to news, to days and nights. The modern sense of 'clever' perhaps occurs in *Troil. and Cress.* I. ii. 206—'He has a shrewd wit, I can tell you.' But the usual meaning is 'sharp-tongued,' 'shrewish,' as in *Much Ado*, II. i. 20, 'Thou wilt never get thee a husband, if thou be so shrewd of thy tongue.' The expression in Sirach (a 'shrewd turn') occurs in *All's Well*, III. v. 71 and *Henry VIII.* v. iii. 178. So Latimer, *Seven Sermons*, 96, 'The greatest man in a realme can not so hurte a judge as the poore wyddow, suche a shrewede turne she can do him.' J. HASTINGS.

SHRINE.—See under DIANA, vol. i. p. 606[a].

SHROUD.—Coming from the Anglo-Sax. *scrud*, a garment (connected with *shred*, as a portion *torn off* for some purpose), 'shroud' meant originally any piece of clothing. Thus *Piers Plowman*, Prol. 2—

> 'I shope me in shroudes as I a shepe [=shepherd] were,
> In habite as an heremite unholy of workes';

and Chapman, *Odysseys*, vi. 274—

> 'Give my nakedness
> Some shroud to shelter it, if to these seas
> Linen or woollen you have brought to cleanse.'

But the meaning was soon restricted to clothing for the dead, a winding-sheet. So usually in Shaks., as *Love's Labour's Lost*, v. ii. 479—

> 'Die when you will, a smock shall be your shroud.'

There was, however, a side application of the word, to express covering or shelter of any kind. Thus Milton, *Comus*, 147—

> 'Run to your shrouds, within these brakes and trees';

and *PL* x. 1067—

> 'The winds
> Blow moist and keen, shattering the graceful locks
> Of these fair spreading trees: which bids us seek
> Some better shroud, some better warmth to cherish
> Our limbs benumb'd.'

This is the meaning of the word in Ezk 31[3], its only occurrence in AV, 'Behold, the Assyrian was a cedar in Lebanon with fair branches, and with a shadowing shroud' (Heb. חָרְשׁ, a thicket or forest; LXX omits; Vulg. *frondibus nemorosus*). J. HASTINGS.

SHUA (שׁוּעַ).—The father of Judah's Canaanite wife, Gn 38[2. 12] (A Σαύα, Luc. Σούε), who appears in 1 Ch 2[3] (RV) as **Bath-shua** (B *θυγάτηρ Αὖας*, A . . . Σαύας, Luc. . . . Σούε).

SHUAH (שׁוּחַ).—A son of Abraham and Ḳeṭurah, Gn 25[2], 1 Ch 1[32] (A Σωύε, Luc. Σοῦε, B in latter passage Σῶε). The tribe represented by this name may perhaps be the *Suchu* of the cuneiform inscriptions, on the right bank of the Euphrates south of Carchemish (so Dillm., Holzinger, *et al.*). BILDAD the **Shuhite** (הַשּׁוּחִי) of Job 2[11] (ὁ Σαυχαῖων τύραννος) 8[1] 18[1] 25[1] 42[9] (ὁ Σανχ(ε)ίτης) is prob. intended to be thought of as belonging to this tribe.

SHUAL (שׁוּעָל; B Σουλά, A Σουάλ, Luc. Σουάν).—An Asherite, 1 Ch 7[36].

SHUAL, THE LAND OF (אֶרֶץ שׁוּעָל 'the land of the jackal'; B ἡ Σωγάλ, Luc. ἡ γῆ Σωγάλ).—When the Philistines encamped at Michmash, they sent out three foraging parties. One of these 'turned unto the way that leadeth to Ophrah, unto the land of Shual' (1 S 13[17]). Another party went westward towards Beth-horon, and the third apparently eastward toward the wilderness. The road to Ophrah must have run northward between the last two routes, and the 'land of Shual' must consequently have been to the north of Michmash (*Mukhmâs*), and not far from Ophrah, which is very generally identified with the village *et-Taiyibeh*, to the east of Bethel (*PEF Mem.* ii. 293). C. W. WILSON.

SHUBAEL.—See SHEBUEL.

SHUHAH (שׁוּחָה).—A brother of Chelub (*i.e.* CALEB), 1 Ch 4[11]. Instead of 'Chelub the brother of Shuhah,' LXX BA read Χαλὲβ *πατὴρ* Ἀσχά, 'Caleb, father of Ascha' (*i.e.* ACHSAH, Jos 15[15ff.], Jg 1[11ff.], 1 Ch 2[49]); Luc. has Χαλὲβ ὁ ἀδελφὸς Σουά.

SHUHAM (שׁוּחָם).—A son of Dan, Nu 26[42] (B Σαμεί, A Σαμειδή, F Σαμί, Luc. Σαμέ), called in Gn 46[23] HUSHIM. The gentilic name **Shuhamites** (הַשּׁוּחָמִי; B ὁ Σαμεί, A ὁ Σαμειδηί, F ὁ Σαμί, Luc. ὁ Σαμεί) also occurs in Nu 26[42].

SHUHITE.—See SHUAH.

SHULAMMITE.—See SONG OF SONGS.

SHUMATHITES (הַשְּׁמָתִי; B Ἡσαμαθείμ, A Ἡσαμα-

* The verb ורה in the sense of 'fan,' 'winnow,' 'sift,' occurs (in Qal and Piel) as follows: Ru 3[2], Is 30[24] 41[16] (mountains as object), Jer 4[11] (fig. of purification, ‖ לְהָבֵר) 15[7] (fig., see above), Ps 139[3] (fig., 'thou siftest [*or* winnowest, *i.e.* scrutinizest narrowly] my path and my couch,'—Driver, *Par. Psalt. ad loc.*). Elsewhere the root has the sense of 'scatter,' 'disperse' (Qal, Piel) or 'be scattered' (Niph., Pual).

θείν, Luc. ὁ Σαμαθί). — One of the families of Kiriath-jearim, 1 Ch 2[53]. Nothing is known of this family, or the origin of its name.

SHUNAMMITE.—See next article.

SHUNEM (שׁוּנֵם; in Joshua B Σουνάν, A Σουνάμ, Luc. Συνήμ; in 1 Sam. B and Luc. Σωμάν, A Γωναμάν; in 2 Kings B Σουμάν, B[a mg] Luc. Σωμάν, A[* vid] Σιωνάμ, A[2] Σιωμάμ). — A place-name mentioned three times in the OT (Jos 19[18], 1 S 28[4], 2 K 4[8]). In Joshua it is named in the enumeration of the towns and villages belonging to Issachar. Eusebius-Jerome identify it with a village 5 Roman miles south of Tabor, in their time called Σουλήμ (Lag. *Onom.*[2] pp. 183, 284). There is still a hamlet in this same locality named *Sûlem* or *Sôlam*. It lies on the slopes of Jebel Dahi, the hill which faces Jezreel from the north. It looks across to Gilboa, which bounds the southern side of the valley that lies at the foot of Jebel Dahi. It has therefore been identified with the camping-ground of the Philistines before their victory over Saul (1 S 28[4]). Saul's army is supposed to have occupied the ground at the foot of Gilboa. If so, the valley lay between the hostile armies. It runs eastward from Jezreel (*Zer'în*) to the Jordan. Shunem is almost at its N.W. extremity. The district is described in Robinson, *BRP* iii. 168 ff.

There is precedent for distinguishing the Shunem of 2 K 4[8] from that already identified. Eusebius-Jerome say it was a place in the territory of Sebaste (Samaria), *ἐν ὁρίοις* Σ., within the district of Akrabatta (Lag. *Onom.*[2] pp. 184, 285). They give Sanim as the later name. If Akrabatta is the 'toparchy' earlier known as part of Judæa, lying considerably south-east of Samaria, it is too far from Carmel to be very probable. But even Sôlam is not within the easy reach of Carmel implied by v.[22f.]. The statement that Elisha frequently passed Shunem (v.[9]) gives more help than any other in determining its situation. It seems to imply that Shunem was a place near his home or on the direct road to a locality which he frequented. Now Samaria was Elisha's home (6[32] 5[3. 9], cf. 2[25]), and Carmel appears to have been a favourite resort and the destination of his journeys when he passed through Shunem (4[25], cf. 2[25]). But Sôlam is 8 or 9 hours from Samaria, and decidedly off the road from there to Carmel. The claim of Sanim should therefore perhaps be left open. Whether it was near Samaria or not, if it lay on the way to Carmel the situation would be more appropriate than that of Sôlam. Near Taanach a place Sâlim is marked on the maps. It is not far from the eastern extremity of Carmel, and might be made a stopping-place on the way from Samaria.

An inhabitant of Shunem is a **Shunammite** (שׁוּנַמִּית; שׁוּנַמִּית; B Σωμανεῖτις, A (in Kings generally) Σουμανίτης, Luc. Σωμανῖτις), perhaps also called a *Shulammite* (see SONG OF SONGS, p. 592[b]). The vowel of the second syllable is in both cases *a*, as it is in the oldest spellings of the place-name also (LXX and the Egyptian transcription Shanama [Shanmâ] given by W. M. Müller, *Asien u. Europa*, p. 170). The interchange of the *l* and the *n* is further exemplified in the modern name Sôlam compared with Shunem. The former may be a variant which existed even in biblical times.

Two women are designated Shunammites in the Old Testament. One is ABISHAG (1 K 1[3. 15] 2[17. 21. 22]). The other is simply named 'the Shunammite' (2 K 4[12. 25. 36]). She is one of those who play a part in the history of ELISHA (2 K 4[8-37] 8[1-6]). Her own history is interesting as a picture of domestic and social life, and particularly as an example of the position a Hebrew woman might occupy at the head of a household. Her power of initiative and freedom to act are prominent features in the narrative. It would almost appear as if she were proprietor of the land which belonged to the family, or perhaps rather an heiress who had brought wealth to her husband (4[8] 'a great woman,' cf. 1 S 25[2], 2 K 4[13] 8[3]). It has been supposed that by the date of the events recorded in ch. 8 she was a widow. Even in these circumstances her independence is notable. W. B. STEVENSON.

SHUNI (שׁוּנִי).—A son of Gad, Gn 46[16] (A Σαυνίς, *D* and Luc. Σαυνείς), Nu 26[15 (24)] (B Σουνεί, AF Σουνί, Luc. Σωυνί). The gentilic name **Shunites** (הַשּׁוּנִי) also occurs in the latter passage.

SHUPHAM, SHUPHAMITES, SHUPPIM.—See MUPPIM and SHEPHUPHAM.

SHUR (שׁוּר; LXX usually Σουρ, but Gn 25[18] Σουηλ, 1 S 15[7] Ασσουρ, 27[8] a confused doublet -ψουρ τετειχισμένων).—The name of a place, or district, on the N.E. border of Egypt. It is mentioned Gn 16[7] (where the angel finds Hagar 'by the fountain on the way to Shur'), 20[1] (Abraham dwelt 'between Kadesh and Shur, and sojourned in Gerar'), 25[18] (the Ishmaelites dwelt 'from Ḥavîlah—prob. N.E. Arabia—unto Shur that is in front of—*i.e.* east of —Egypt'; cf. 1 S 15[7] 27[8]), and Ex 15[22] (where the Israelites, after the passage of the Red Sea, go out into 'the wilderness of Shur,' *i.e.* the wilderness bordering upon it). The 'way to Shur' was no doubt the principal caravan route leading from Ḫebron and Beersheba into Egypt, and having close to it (Gn 16[14]) the well Beer-lahai-roi. Though the general position of Shur is thus clear, the precise meaning of the expression is, however, uncertain. A line of fortresses, if not, as others think, an actual wall (*anbu*), had been built at a very early date, as a defence against invaders from the East;* and as the Heb. שׁוּר means *a wall*, it has been often thought that this is what the term denotes.† Others, starting from the same meaning of 'Shur,' have supposed it to denote a long range of white cliffs, running parallel with the coast, some 12–14 miles E. of the Gulf of Suez, now called Jebel er-Râhah, which at a distance presents the appearance of a wall (so F. W. Holland in *Recovery of Jerus.* 527; Porter in Kitto, iii. 1079 f.; Palmer, *Desert of Exodus*, i. 38 f., and others): it is said, indeed, that this range is still called by the Arabs Jebel es-Sûr (Rowlands in Williams' *Holy City*, i. 465). It is, however, some objection to both these views that שׁוּר is an Aramaic (Ezr 4[12. 13. 16]) rather than a Heb. word (it occurs in Heb. only in poetry, and there but rarely, Gn 49[22], Ps 18[29]=2 S 22[30]), and also that it has not the art. (as is usual with topographical terms possessing an appellative force, *e.g.* הָעֲרָבָה, הַשָּׁרוֹן). The most important of the border fortresses referred to above was *Ta-ru* (*Tor*), the Selle of the classical writers, often mentioned as the starting-point of military expeditions (Ebers, *l.c.* 80 f.; Maspero, *l.c.* 75 [map], 201 *n.* 4, and esp. *Struggle of the Nations*, 122 f., 370, 371 f.;‡ Erman, 537), now Tell Abû-Sêfeh, 20 miles S. of Port Said; and W. M. Müller (*PSBA* x. [1888], 476, *As. u. Eur.* 102) would identify this fortress with Shur, supposing 'Shur' (wall) to be its original name, represented in Egyp. by *Ta-ru* (*Tor*).§ S. R. DRIVER.

SHUSHAN (שׁוּשַׁן, Σοῦσα, Σουσάν).—The **Susa** (Ad. Est 11[3]) of the Greeks, now *Sus* or Shush in S.W. Persia, between the Shapur and the river

* Maspero, *Dawn of Civil.* 351 f. It is mentioned in the Flight of Sinuhit, under Usertesen I. (B.C. 2758–2714, Petrie); *ibid.* 469 *n.*, 471; Petrie, *Egyp. Tales*, i. 100 f.; W. M. Müller, *As. u. Eur.* 43 f.; Sayce, *HCM* 203; Hogarth, *Auth. and Arch.* 57 f. See also Ebers, *Aeg. u. die Bb. Mose's*, 78–82; Trumbull, *Kadesh-Barnea*, 44 ff. The names and destinations of persons passing these fortresses were taken down by officers: see Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, 537 f.; Hogarth, *l.c.* 60.

† Brugsch, *Hist. of Egypt*, ed. 1891, p. 97; Sayce, *EHH* 187; Trumbull, 46, 57. Dillm. also thinks it probable.

‡ With representations (from Karnak) of Seti I. returning to it in triumph after his Syrian expedition, in the course of which he is said to have annihilated the Shasu (Bedawin) 'from the fortress of Ta-ru, as far as Pa-Kan'ana' [prob. a little S. of Hebron] (Brugsch, *l.c.* 244; Hogarth, 58).

§ Hommel conjectures that Shur is abbreviated from *A'shûr* (cf. Gn 25[3]), the name of a tribe mentioned by the side of Egypt (and Gaza) in two Minæan inscriptions (*AHT* 238–45, 249, 252, 253). But see König, *Fünf neue arab. Landschaftsnamen*, 17 f.

of Dizful (the ancient Koprates). It was for many centuries the capital of Elam, and afterwards one of the three capitals of the Persian empire, and is sometimes described as standing on the Choaspes (Hdt. v. 49; Strab. xv. 3. 4), sometimes on the Eulæus (Arr. *Exp. Alex.* vii. 7; Ptol. vi. 3; Plin. *HN* vi. 27). This was due to the fact that the Choaspes (now the Kerkhah) originally bifurcated at Pai Pul, 20 miles above Susa, its right branch following its present course, while the left branch flowed east of Susa, absorbing the Shapur 12 miles to the south and afterwards joining the Pasitigris (now the Karun). The ruins of Susa were excavated by Williams and Loftus in 1851–1852, and more recently by Dieulafoy and de Morgan. They covered a space about 6000 ft. long from E. to W., by 4500 ft. broad from N. to S. The greater part of them, however, cover the buildings of the Persian, not of the Elamite, city. On the west is the high mound which marks the site of the Elamite citadel. East of it are the remains of the palace of Darius Hystaspis, and immediately to the north the ruins of the Apadana or audience-chamber, also the work of Darius, which was restored by Artaxerxes Longimanus after a fire, and again by Artax. Mnemon. The walls of the Apadana and palace were adorned with exquisite friezes of enamelled brick, much of which is now in the Louvre.

Susa is probably referred to in Bab. documents of the age of the second dynasty of Ur (*c.* B.C. 2400) under the name of Sas and Sisa, which is stated to be a city of Elam, but the native name was Susun. This seems to be connected with the words *suse-ti* and *sassa*, which in the older and later Susian dialects signified 'former,' and so would mean 'the old' city. In the early days of Bab. history, however, the chief city of Elam was not Susa, but Anzan. Already in B.C. 2285, Kudur-Nankhundi, king of Elam, carried away the image of the goddess Nana from Erech to Susa. Susa, however, has been shown by the recent excavations of de Morgan to have still been at this time a province of Babylonia, inhabited by a Semitic population. It was not until after the rise of the Kassite Dynasty in Babylonia that the kings of Anzan made themselves masters of it. From this time forward Susa was the capital of the non-Semitic Elamite sovereigns, many of whose names have been recorded in the inscriptions of Babylonia as well as in those of Elam itself. These latter, though written in the Bab. cuneiform characters, are in the agglutinative language of Elam, which was closely allied to the Amardian or Neo-Susian dialect of the second column of the Achæmenian inscriptions, and is still but partially deciphered.

About B.C. 647, after a long and desperate struggle, the Elamite forces were annihilated by the Assyr. army of Assurbanipal, and Susa was captured and razed to the ground. The images of its gods and kings were taken to Assyria, and the monuments of its former princes were destroyed, the bones of their occupants being scattered to the winds. When Susa rose again from its ashes we do not know; Xenophon (*Cyr.* viii. 6. 22) and Strabo (xv. 3. 2) state that Cyrus made it his capital (see also Hdt. iii. 30. 65, 70); but its palace, according to inscriptions found on the site, was built by Darius Hystaspis. In Dn 8^2 the prophet is said to have had a vision 'at Shushan the palace' in 'the third year of Belshazzar,' but Belshazzar never actually reigned over Babylonia. An account of the palace in the time of Xerxes is given in Est $1^{2\text{-}7}$. When Susa was entered by Alexander the Great, he found in it twelve millions sterling and the Persian regalia (Arr. *Exp. Alex.* iii. 16). After the rise of the kingdom of the Seleucids, Susa gradually fell into decay, being superseded by Babylon and Seleucia. When the kingdom of the Sassanids was conquered by the Arabs, the site of Susa was finally deserted. (Loftus, *Chaldæa and Susiana*, 1857; Dieulafoy, *La Perse, la Chaldée et la Susiane*, 1887, *L'Acropole de Suse*, 1890; Billerbeck, *Susa*, 1893; de Morgan, *Délégation en Perse*, vol. ii., containing the Semitic inscriptions found at Susa, edited by Scheil, 1900).

A. H. Sayce.

SHUSHANCHITES (שׁוּשַׁנְכָיֵא; B Σουσυναχαῖοι, A Σουσαναχαῖοι).—The Shushanchites or inhabitants of Shushan (Susa) are mentioned in Ezr 4^9 amongst the colonists settled by Osnappar (Assurbanipal) in Samaria (cf. *KAT*^{2} 375 f., 610 f.).

SHUSHAN EDUTH.—See Psalms, p. 155[a].

SHUTHELAH (שׁוּתֶלַח; B Σουτάλα in Numbers, Σωθάλαθ in 1 Chronicles; A Θωσουσάλα and Θουσάλα in Numbers, Σωθάλα and Σωθέλε in 1 Chronicles; Vulg. *Suthala*; gentilic name **Shuthelahites** הַשֻּׁתַלְחִי; B ὁ Σουταλαεί, A ὁ Θουσαλαί).—In Nu $26^{35\text{-}37}$ (P^s) Shuthelah, Becher, and Tahan are given as the clans of Ephraim, and Eran as a 'son' or subdivision of Shuthelah. In the LXX Becher is omitted, Tahan becomes Tanach, and Eran (ערן) becomes Eden (ערן). The parallel passage 1 Ch $7^{20\text{-}29}$ has been variously altered and expanded; instead of a list of three co-ordinate clans and one subdivision, MT has a genealogy beginning with Ephraim and extending to Joshua, into which is inserted an episode concerning certain descendants of Ephraim (for which see Beriah). Instead of Shuthelah, Becher, and Tahan as clans of Ephraim we have Shuthelah as the son, Bered the grandson, Tahath the great-grandson of Ephraim. As the genealogy proceeds the names repeat themselves. There is a second Shuthelah, and the 'and Telah' (ותלח) of v.[25] is probably a torso of a third. Tahath occurs again in v.[20], and Tahan of v.[25] is a variant of Tahath. Eleadah and Elead (v.[20f.]) are variants of the same name; Zabad is a variant of 'and Bered.' Ladan (לערן) may be a variant of Elead (אלעד), and also represent the 'to Eran' (לערן) of Numbers. Thus in v.[20] 'Shuthelah . . . Eleadah,' (v.[20f.]) '[Tahath] . . . Elead,' (v.[25]) '[Shu]T[h]elah . . . Ladan,' we seem to have three versions of the same genealogy variously supplemented, all three, perhaps, ultimately based on Nu $26^{35\text{-}37}$, combined with some other source, in which Ezer and Elead were subdivisions of the clan Shuthelah. Cf. Genealogy, VII. 4.

LXX B has for v.[20f.] 'And the sons of Ephraim: Sothalath. The sons of Laada, Noome his son, Zabed his son, the men of Gath,' etc. The omissions may be due to the carelessness of scribes, but it is also possible that the names omitted by LXX were a very late addition to MT. W. H. Bennett.

SHUTTLE.—Only Job 7^6 'My days are swifter than a weaver's shuttle' (אָרֶג, prop. 'loom'; cf. Jg 16^{14} [the only other occurrence of the Heb. word] and Moore's note there). See art. Weaving.

SIA (סִיעָא), Neh 7^{47}, or **SIAHA** (סִיעָהָא), Ezr 2^{44}.—The name of a family of Nethinim (called in 1 Es 5^{29} Sua) who returned with Zerubbabel.

LXX in Neh 7^{47}: B Ἀσουιά, A Σιαιά, ℵ Ἰασουιά, Luc. Ἰωσίας; in Ezr 2^{44}: B Σωήλ, A^{vid} Ἀσαά, Luc. Ἰωσίας.

SIBBECAI.—See Mebunnai.

SIBBOLETH.—See Shibboleth.

SIBMAH (שִׂבְמָה; Σεβαμά, in Jer. ωσερημα; *Sabama*, *Sibama*).—See Sebam.

SIBRAIM (סִבְרַיִם; B Σεβράμ, A Σεφράμ, Q Σεφραίμ;

Sabarim).—One of the points on the ideal northern boundary of the Holy Land, described by Ezekiel, was to be 'Sibraim which is between the border of Damascus and the border of Hamath' (Ezk 47^{16}). Its site is uncertain. Von Kasteren (Buhl, 67) would identify it plausibly with *Khurbet Sombariye*, between Merj 'Ayyun and Hermon.

C. W. WILSON.

SICCUTH.—See CHIUN and REPHAN.

SICKLE stands in EV of OT for two Heb. words, the distinction between which is not apparent.—**1.** מַרְמֵשׁ Dt 16^{9} 23^{25}; **2.** מַגָּל (cf. Aram. *magaltā*, Arab. *manjal*) Jer 50 (27)^{16}, Jl 4 (3)^{13} (fig. of judgment). The LXX in all these passages has δρέπανον, which is also the NT word for 'sickle' (Mk 4^{29}, Rev $14^{14.\ 15.\ 16.\ 17.\ 18\ bis.\ 19}$). See, further, art. AGRICULTURE, and fig. in vol. i. p. 50ᵃ.

SICYON (Σικυών, Συκυών, or Συκιών).—This name occurs in a list of places in 1 Mac 15^{23}, to which Lucius, the consul, on behalf of the Romans, wrote (B.C. 139) to beg them to be friendly to the Jews, and to deliver up to Simon the high priest any fugitives from the Jews that had taken refuge with them. All the places mentioned in this passage were constantly visited by the trading vessels from Syria on their way to Italy. The matter of the letter is most probably authentic, though the form cannot be correct.

Sicyon is a town on the Gulf of Corinth, a few miles to the N.W. of Corinth. The name seems to mean 'cucumber-town.' The town stood originally on the shore with an acropolis above it, and this latter formed the town in the time of the Maccabees. In their time it was always to be found on the side of the Romans, and the direction of the Isthmian games was assigned by them to the inhabitants of Sicyon, though afterwards they were deprived of it. It appears to have been the centre of Roman power for that part of the world.

H. A. REDPATH.

SIDDIM, VALE OF (עֵמֶק הַשִּׂדִּים; LXX ἡ φάραγξ (or κοιλὰς) ἡ ἁλυκή; Onḳ. Sam. *vale of fields* [*i.e.* הַשָּׂדִים]; on Aq. Theod. see Field. The meaning of שִׂדִּים is obscure; a connexion with Arab. *sidd*, 'dam,' 'mound' (Conder, *Tent Work*, 208), is very doubtful). —The place in which the kings of the five cities of the *Kikkar* joined battle with Chedorla'omer and his allies (Gn $14^{3.\ 8}$); said in v.^{10} to be full of wells of BITUMEN (which see). In v.^{3} it is identified with the Salt Sea; but this (if the entire sea is meant) is geologically impossible; for the DEAD SEA existed ages before the time of Abraham: either therefore the clause v.^{3b} is a late and incorrect gloss, or the reference (if the narrative is historical) is to the shallow S. part of the Dead Sea (from the peninsula *el-Lisān* S.-wards), where, in the time of Abraham, there may have been dry land. This view, already allowed by Nöldeke in 1869, has also been adopted by the two geologists who have written most recently upon the subject. Blanckenhorn, in an elaborate geological study 'On the Origin and History of the Dead Sea' (*ZDPV*, 1896, 1–59), says (pp. 51–53) that to the 'critical geologist' the matter is 'extremely simple': at the beginning of the post-glacial period what is now the shallow S. part of the Dead Sea was fertile soil (like the present *Ghôr eṣ-Ṣâfiyeh*, at its S.E. corner [see ZOAR]); but an earthquake took place, which caused a subsidence of the ground, and overthrew all the cities except Zoar; the 'Vale of Siddim' was engulphed by the S. part of the Dead Sea, and the site of the four cities became the present saline morass (6 m. broad by 10 long), *es-Sebkha*,* S. of the Dead Sea;† a tradition of this prehistoric event is preserved in Gn 19, where it is connected with the history of Lot. Blanckenhorn considers that this earthquake was 'tektonic,' *i.e.* connected with a dislocation of the earth's crust, taking place at a 'fault' (such as pass along both the E. and the W. sides of the Dead Sea).* Diener, in a criticism of his article,† while agreeing that it was an earthquake which destroyed the four cities, regards it not as 'tektonic,' but rather as a local subsidence, accompanied by an effusion of underground water, which may well have taken place in the age of Abraham (pp. 13–16, 22); as a parallel he quotes the earthquake near Lake Baikal (in Central Asia) in 1862, which broke up a large area of the adjacent alluvial soil, so that it sank, and the lake covered it. Blanckenhorn in his reply (*ZDPV*, 1898, H. 2, pp. 65–83) maintains (pp. 70–76) that this view is improbable, and inconsistent with the fact that all the conditions for a 'tektonic' earthquake are present in the Jordan Valley; and he supports his opinion by quotations from two high geological authorities, Süss and Hörnes. Which of these two views is the more probable, a writer who is no geologist is naturally not in a position to say; perhaps some one sufficiently conversant with the geology of the district could explain whether it might not be possible to combine them, or, in other words, to suppose that the 'tektonic' dislocation, producing the broader features of the S. end of the Dead Sea, took place at the beginning of the post-glacial period, while the local subsidence, producing the submergence of the 'Vale of Siddim' under the present lagoon, and overthrowing the four cities, may have followed long afterwards, in the days of Abraham.‡

S. R. DRIVER.

SIDE (Σίδη; *Side*).—One of the towns to which the Roman Senate sent letters in favour of Simon Maccabæus and the Jews (1 Mac 15^{23}). It was colonized by Cyme, surrendered to Alexander, became the chief port of the pirates,—who used it as a market to dispose of their plunder,—and was an important town under the Roman emperors. It was closely connected with Aradus in Phœnicia, and the men of Side and Aradus fought side by side in the fleet of Antiochus the Great when it was defeated by the Rhodians off the harbour of Side. The town occupied a low triangular promontory on the coast of Pamphylia. It had two harbours, and was strongly fortified. The ruins, now known as *Eski Adalia*, are about 10 miles east of the *Keupri Su*, the river Eurymedon, and are extensive and interesting. They include the remains of a very large theatre, the city walls and their gates, temples, a nymphæum, streets with covered porticoes, etc. (Murray, *Hbk. to Asia Minor*, p. 173).

C. W. WILSON.

SIDON, SIDONIANS.—See ZIDON, ZIDONIANS.

SIGN (אוֹת, σημεῖον, *signum*) is used throughout the Bible of any symbol or token, but more especially of such as mark the relation of man to God and the providential care which God lavishes upon men. The rainbow was the first *sign* of this (Gn 9^{12}) as the token of a Divine covenant. The Jews, from the beginning of their chequered history, counted themselves God's chosen people; and

* The word 'Sebkha' means *salt and watery ground*.

† Against the view that these cities were at the *North* end of the Dead Sea, see vol. iii. p. 151ᵃ·ᵇ, and art. ZOAR; it is at the S.W. corner of the Dead Sea, also, that, according to Blanckenhorn (pp. 50, 53, and Profil iv. in Tafel iv.), bitumen deposits (cf. Gn 14^{10}) are particularly abundant.

* See Blanckenhorn's Geol. map.

† *Mitth. der kais. kön. Geogr. Ges. in Wien*, 1897, pp. 1–22.

‡ Prof. Hull does not seem either in his *PEF Memoir on the Geol. of Arabia Petræa and Palestine* or in *Mount Seir* (pp. 109 ff., 133) to have discussed the special question of the formation of the Sebkha. Blanckenhorn (1898, p. 75) denies that it is a purely alluvial formation.

circumcision was the sign of the covenant relation in which a Jew stood to the God of Abraham (Gn 17^{11}, Ro 4^{11}). Living under the direct rule of J", they looked for *signs* of His power and pledges of His care at every crisis of their fortunes. Such were the plagues of Egypt (Ex 10^{2}); such was the visitation vouchsafed to Gideon (Jg 6^{17}); such were the events by which Saul was assured of his future dignity as king (1 S 10^{7}). The prophets frequently allege their forecasts of the future as *signs* that their message is from J" (Is 7^{14} 38^{7}, Jer 44^{29}, Ezk 14^{8}). St. Paul's observation that 'Jews ask for signs' (1 Co 1^{22}) is abundantly illustrated by the Gospels (Mt 12^{38} 16^{1}, Lk $11^{16.\ 29}$, Jn 4^{48}); they demanded of Christ credentials of His authority to speak in the name of God. It will be observed that a *sign* need not necessarily be miraculous (see 1 S 2^{34}, and esp. Is 8^{18} 20^{3} where the expression *sign and wonder* is applied to events which were only extraordinary because unexpected); the distinction between *natural* and *supernatural* phenomena was not clearly conceived by the simple piety of the Jews.* But (although John did no sign, Jn 10^{41}) a sign is closely associated with the idea of prophetical prediction and warning. That was the motive of the sign of Jonah (Mt 12^{39}). A sign was given to the shepherds (Lk 2^{12}); Simeon declared that Jesus Himself was *εἰς σημεῖον ἀντιλεγόμενον* (Lk 2^{34}). Christ's miraculous works are spoken of all through St. John's Gospel as His *signs* (Jn 3^{2} 4^{54} etc.); they are the signs of one who declares 'His almighty power most chiefly in showing mercy and pity.' So *signs* were wrought in His name by the apostles (Mk 16^{20}, Ac 4^{16}), by Stephen (Ac 6^{8}), and by Philip (Ac $8^{6.\ 13}$); and the *signs* of an apostle are claimed by St. Paul (2 Co 12^{12}, cf. Ac 15^{12}). And, though we may not recognize them when they come, the end of the present dispensation shall be ushered in by signs (Mt 24^{30}, Lk 21^{25}, 2 Th 2^{9}, Rev 12^{1} 13^{13} 15^{1} 16^{14} 19^{20}). To seek a sign is not necessarily a mark of faithlessness (see Jn 6^{26}); on the contrary, faith will naturally look for such tokens of the Divine protection. It is the demand for prodigies, *τέρατα*, which is the mark of an ill-instructed and undisciplined mind (Jn 4^{48}). See MIRACLE, NATURE.

J. H. BERNARD.

SIGNET.—In the early days of civilization the art of writing was practically limited to a class of professional scribes. Every one outside that class, from the king downwards, needed a signet to authenticate the documents with which he was concerned. Herodotus, i. 195, says of the Babylonians, *σφρηγῖδα δὲ ἕκαστος ἔχει*. An immense number of these seals have come down to us, Egypt and Assyria being the two great sources from which, directly or by imitation, the leading types have been derived. One of the earliest and most persistent forms is that of the scarab, originating in Egypt, but imitated by the Phœnicians and others. These scarabs were often made of clay or steatite, and bore the owner's name on the flat side. Another very early variety is the Assyrian and Babylonian cylinder of jasper, chalcedony, or other stone, ¾ of an inch to 1½ inches long and from ½ inch to 1 in. diam., pierced longitudinally, and worn on a linen or woollen cord round the neck. Ball (*Light from the East*, p. 24) figures some of these, which are said to range from B.C. 4500 downwards. The name of the owner and of the deity whom he specially worshipped were engraved on them; sacred emblems and scenes are also common, such as a god slaying a lion, a tree guarded by genii. Conical signets, with the device on the broad end and the attachment at the top, have also come down to us from very early ages. Amongst what are classified as 'Hittite' gems there are several other shapes; some almost hemispherical, with hole near the top; some nearly annular; a few stone rings; tablets with a device on the lower side; lenticular gems; square or polygonal tablets, with a design on each side; seals with handles. Some very ancient Greek signets are gold rings with large bezels, on which are designs that originated in Assyria or Egypt. In the Ægean Islands and elsewhere engraved bean-shaped pebbles of various materials have been found, to which the names 'island' or 'lenticular' gems were given. The signets found in Palestine are mainly oval in form. Such of them as bear a device, in addition to a name, are either of Phœn. workmanship or imitations thereof. And the Phœnicians themselves were under the influence of Babylonian or Egyptian craftsmen. Amongst the designs may be mentioned the Phœnician palm-leaf, a border of pomegranates, a bull, a worshipper whose attire reminds us of the Egyptian priests, a winged circle. The matter on which the signet was pressed was wax or prepared clay. There is an allusion to the latter at Job 38^{14}, and excellent illustrations are to be found in the photographs of jar-sealings given by Flinders Petrie in *Royal Tombs of the First Dynasty*.

Judah's signet (חֹתָם, חוֹתָמֶת Gn $38^{18.\ 25}$) is worn by a cord (פָּתִיל) round his neck, as the inhabitants of the Arabian towns wear their seal-rings still. He gives it as a pledge, because it was the one thing which could be proved to belong to him, and would serve to identify him. Pharaoh (Gn 41^{42}) took off his signet-ring (טַבַּעַת) from his hand and put it on Joseph's; it was the Egyptian custom to wear the signet on the finger (cf. Jer 22^{24}). Joseph was now enabled to sign decrees on behalf of the king. Jer 22^{24}, Hag 2^{23}, Sir 17^{22} 49^{11} indicate the value of the rings in question. Sir 38^{27} shows that in the 2nd cent. before Christ the seal engravers must have occupied a prominent place amongst the artisans of the day. 2 Ti 2^{19} refers either to the two inscriptions which were sometimes engraved on two sides of a seal, or to the authentication of a document by each party affixing his signature. Such passages as 2 Es 2^{38}, To 9^{5} imply that the signet was used as a mark of proprietorship. When Darius (Dn 6^{17}) seals the den with his own signet (עִוְקָא) and that of his lords, and when the Jewish authorities (Mt 27^{66}) 'made the sepulchre sure, sealing the stone,' the idea was that if the impression was broken the fact could not be hidden, for the culprits would not be able to reproduce the stamp. In this connexion it should be remembered that one of Solon's laws forbade gem engravers to keep an impression of any gem they had sold, lest another should be made exactly like it (Diog. Laert. i. 57, in Middleton, *Engraved Gems*, p. 22). Greek and Roman letter-writers were also so much afraid of their letters being tampered with, that at the close of the epistle they often described the seal. See also RING and SEAL.

J. TAYLOR.

SIHON (סִיחֹן and סִיחוֹן, cf. for the ending עֶגְלוֹן; BA Σηών, Luc. Σιών; Vulg. *Sehon*).—A king of the Amorites defeated by the Israelites at Jahaz after crossing the Arnon. This battle marks the commencement of the struggle for the possession of the land, and the end of the journeyings past friendly tribes with which Israel was forbidden to contend. The account of Sihon's defeat is given in Nu 21^{21-26}, and is followed by a poetical extract from an older source commemorating a defeat of Moab. The account is repeated in Dt 2^{24-37} [with the additional statement that the country was treated as חֵרֶם (see CURSE)], and in Jg 11^{18-22}. References are made to Sihon's defeat and the

* At Ex 7^{9} the LXX translates מוֹפֵת *a wonder*, by *σημεῖον*, showing that there was no very sharp distinction between *σημεῖον* and *τέρας*; cf. also Lk 23^{8}. See Trench, *Miracles*, pp. 1–6, for the subject of this article.

assignment of the land in Nu 32[33], Dt 1[4] 3[2. 6] 4[46. 47] 29[7] 31[4], Jos 2[10] 9[10] 12[2] 13[10. 21. 27], 1 K 4[19], Neh 9[22], Ps 135[11] 136[19]. 'Sihon' in Jer 48[45] is in parallelism with 'Heshbon,' and equivalent to the city of Sihon.

In these passages the name of Sihon occurs almost invariably in close connexion with that of Og, king of Bashan. The territories of these two kings became the inheritance of Israel on the E. of the Jordan, and were assigned to Reuben, Gad, and the half tribe of Manasseh. According to Nu 21[26] the Amorite king Sihon had, before the coming of Israel, taken from the Moabites the portion of their kingdom lying to the N. of the Arnon. For the criticism of this passage and of the song in Nu 21[27-30], and discussion of the wars of Sihon against Moab and Israel, see art. MOAB in vol. iii. p. 409 f.

A. T. CHAPMAN.

SILAS (Σίλας, in Acts), **SILVANUS** (Σιλουανός, in Epp.).*—A prophet and leading member (ἡγούμενος) of the primitive church of Jerusalem (Ac 15[22. 32]), who seems to have possessed the Roman citizenship† (16[37]). He was sent as a delegate of that church to Antioch, along with Judas Barsabbas as colleague, and in company with Paul and Barnabas, in order to convey to the converted Gentiles of Syria and Cilicia a brotherly greeting, and the epistle which embodied the decrees of the Council of Jerusalem; and also to 'tell them the same things by mouth,' with any necessary explanations (Ac 15[22-29]). Silas, as well as Judas, remained at Antioch 'for some time,' and, in the exercise of the gift of 'prophecy,' 'exhorted the brethren with many words, and confirmed them' (15[32]). Thereafter he returned to Jerusalem;‡ but, prior to St. Paul's Second Missionary Journey, Silas came again to Antioch, perhaps along with St. Peter, on the occasion of the latter's visit recorded in Gal 2[11], or at St. Paul's invitation after the rupture with Barnabas (Ac 15[39]). St. Paul's choice of Silas as missionary colleague (15[40]) was particularly appropriate in view of the projected tour 'through Syria and Cilicia' (15[41]), to the Gentile Christians, for which Silas had been accredited by the church of Jerusalem (15[23]). If Silas possessed the Roman citizenship, this may also have led, in part, to his being selected, in view of missionary 'perils from the Gentiles,' as well as from the Jews. The acceptance of St. Paul's invitation by a leading member of the church of Jerusalem, even after the apostle's ecclesiastical as well as personal difference (Gal 2[13f.]) with Barnabas, the trusted ambassador of that church (Ac 11[22]), testifies to the fulness of confidence reposed at that time in St. Paul by the more liberal Jewish Christians.

In company with St. Paul, Silas journeyed not only through Syria and Cilicia, but in Lycaonia, Phrygia, Galatia, and the Troad (Ac 16[1-8]). He crossed over with the apostle to Macedonia, shared his varied experiences at Philippi (16[12ff.]),§ accompanied him to Thessalonica, and thence to Berœa, where he remained with Timotheus after St. Paul's departure for Athens (17[14]). He rejoined St. Paul, apparently, not at Athens, as originally had been intended (17[15]), but (owing probably to the apostle's early departure from that city) at Corinth (18[5]).* His evangelistic service there is referred to in 2 Co 1[19]. In the two letters, sent by St. Paul from Corinth to the Thessalonians, Silvanus is associated with him in the opening salutations. His name then disappears from the history.

That he did not leave Corinth in company with St. Paul appears to be indicated by Ac 18[18], and by the absence of all reference to him in the record of the remaining stages of St. Paul's Second Missionary Journey (18[19ff.]). That he did not settle at Corinth, in permanent charge of the church there (as suggested by pseudo-Doroth., who calls him bishop of Corinth),† may be inferred from the omission of any greeting to him in 1 and 2 Cor., and also from the fact that both Timotheus and Titus act as deputies of St. Paul in Corinth a few years later (1 Co 4[17], 2 Co 8[6] 12[18]). Probably Silas left Corinth during St. Paul's protracted sojourn of 18 months (Ac 18[11]). He may not have been prepared for longer absence from Jerusalem. Moreover, at Corinth, where the Jewish element in the church was weak (Ac 18[6]), St. Paul does not seem to have felt bound to impose the decrees of the Jerusalem Council (1 Co 8). These decrees were intended, immediately at least, for the churches of Syria and Cilicia; they were 'delivered for to keep' in Lycaonia (Ac 16[4]); but at Corinth the circumstances were different. We can readily understand, however, that the bearer of the Council's communication might deem it improper for *him* to take part in any deliberate disregard of the Council's compromise between liberty and restriction, and would feel constrained, without any personal quarrel, to separate from one who went beyond what Silas's own fellow-churchmen of Jerusalem would approve. The addition of Timotheus, also, to the missionary party, and the strong personal attachment of St. Paul to him, may have caused Silas to feel that he was no longer indispensable to the apostle, and may thus have loosened the tie between the two men. Beyond question, the attitude of the Jewish Christians towards St. Paul changed considerably prior to the Third Missionary Journey. It was about this time that the Judaistic counter-mission to Galatia and elsewhere originated; and the same broadened ecclesiastical policy of St. Paul, which aroused the hostility of the narrower party in Jerusalem, probably also cooled, to some extent, the cordiality previously subsisting between the apostle and the more liberal section to which Silas belonged.‡

It is highly probable, although not certain, that the Silas or Silvanus who was St. Paul's associate is the Silvanus referred to in 1 P 5[12] as the bearer§ of St. Peter's Epistle from Rome‖ to the Christians of Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia. The separation of Silas from St. Paul would naturally lead to the resumption of the former's intimate relations with St. Peter, between whom and Silas, as both Jewish Christians of liberal views on the whole, there would be full sympathy; and the description of St. Peter's Silvanus as 'a faithful brother' to the Christians in the above-named provinces, fits in with the experience of St. Paul's colleague, who, long before, had visited a portion, at least, of the churches now addressed by St. Peter, and would be probably known by repute to all. More than ten years had passed since Silvanus had parted from St. Paul. The apostle's last visit to Jerusalem, his charitable errand, his

* *Silas* may be a contraction of *Silvanus* (cf. Apollos from Apollonius), or the original name (perh. = שׁלשׁ 1 Ch 7[35], but see Zahn, *Einl.* i. 22 f.), of which Silvanus is a Latinized form. Several persons called Silas are mentioned by Josephus (*Ant.* XIV. iii. 2, XVIII. vi. 7; *Vita*, 17). The identity of Silas and the Silvanus of 1 Th 1[1], 2 Th 1[1], and 2 Co 1[19], is generally accepted (cf. Ac 17[1] 18[5]); although pseudo-Doroth. (6th cent.) in his Σύγγραμμα represents them as separate individuals; and Weizsäcker, with some hesitation (*Apost. Age*, i. 292 f.), suggests, without reasonable grounds, that the author of Acts has substituted Silas of Jerusalem for the Pauline Silvanus, 'in order to signalize the apostle's connexion with the primitive Church.'

† So Ew. *HI* vii. 361; Mey. *Comm.*; Ramsay, *St. Paul*, p. 176; McGiffert, *Ap. Age*, 242, etc. On the other side, see Wendt (*Comm.*), who regards the inclusion of Silas with St. Paul in Ac 16[37f.] as due to 'inaccuracy for the sake of brevity.'

‡ Ac 15[34] is prob. an interpolation; it is not found in ℵAB.

§ For vindication of the credibility of Ac 16[25-34] (assailed on internal grounds by Weizs., Wendt, and B. Weiss) see Giesekke in *SK*, 1898, p. 348 ff., and *Exp. Times*, March 1898, p. 274 f.

* It is possible, however, that Silas (as well as Timotheus) may have come to Athens, and returned to Macedonia for some special purpose. 1 Th 3[1f.] is not decisive on the point. Silas and Timotheus are probably the brethren referred to in 2 Co 11[9] as having brought from Macedonia what supplied St. Paul's needs.

† The same designation is given to Silas in the ὑπόμνημα, or *Memorial of Peter and Paul* (a compilation, ascribed to the 9th cent., but embodying more ancient material; see Lipsius, *Apok. Apost.* ii. 9, 10). The testimony, however, of both documents is discredited by their representation of Silvanus as bishop of Thessalonica, apparently owing to 1 Th 1[1], 2 Th 1[1].

‡ This coolness is perhaps suggested by the summary manner in which St. Paul's visit to Jerusalem is referred to in Ac 18[22] (see Farrar's *Life of St. Paul*, ii. p. 5); and it manifests itself, on that apostle's side, in the somewhat disparaging tone of Gal 2[6], written from Ephesus during St. Paul's Third Journey.

§ Possibly, but not necessarily, the amanuensis also of St. Peter (see vol. iii. p. 790, and Ewald, *HI* vii. 464).

‖ The Babylon of 1 P 5[13] is usually interpreted as meaning Rome (see vol. i. 213 f., iii. 769).

conciliatory attitude on that occasion, and his subsequent sufferings for the truth, had doubtless improved the relations between him and Jewish believers (Ac 21. 24[17]). The majority of St. Paul's extant letters, moreover, had probably by this time come into circulation, and produced a favourable impression on Hebrew Christians. In 1 Peter extensive use is made of Pauline ideas and phraseology, especially those of the Epistles to the Romans and Ephesians (see vol. iii. 788). Accordingly, since at the time when 1 Peter was written St. Paul either was a prisoner at Rome, or had recently suffered martyrdom, the mission of Silvanus, as representative of both apostles, may have been part of an Apostolical *eirenicon*, expressly designed to undo, in Galatia and in Asia Minor as a whole, the effect of earlier rivalry and friction between the Pauline and the Jewish parties in primitive Christendom. (See vol. iii. p. 791).

The names of both Silas and Silvanus are included, as different individuals, in the list of the 'Seventy' compiled by pseudo-Dorotheos. The position of Silas as a ἡγούμενος of the church at Jerusalem renders it fairly probable that in this instance the catalogue is correct. For the conjecture that Silas is the author of *Hebrews* (Böhme, Mynster) there appears to be no foundation. The adoption of the name Silvanus by Constantine, the founder of the pseudo-Pauline Paulician heresy in the 7th cent., indicates a conviction that Silas remained faithful essentially to Pauline views.

LITERATURE.—*Acta Sanct.* 13th July (xxx. 452); Cellarius, *de Sila*; Lipsius, *Apok. Apgesch.* i. p. 203, ii. 9 ff., iii. 277 ff.; Ewald, *HI* vii. 361 ff., 464; Weizsäcker, *Apost. Age* (Index); McGiffert, *Apost. Age*, pp. 230-242, 426. H. COWAN.

SILK.—See DRESS in vol. i. p. 624[a].

SILLA (סִלָּא; B Γαλλά, A Γαλλάδ; *Sela*).—Joash was murdered 'at (AV 'in') the house of Millo, *on the way* that goeth down to Silla' (2 K 12[20]). Millo was possibly either the acropolis of Mount Zion or one of its towers, and Silla was, apparently, in the valley below. There is no clue to its position. It has been suggested, from the reading of the LXX, that the Hebrew name may, originally, have commenced with *gai* 'ravine,' as in the case of Ge-hinnom. For other conjectures see Benzinger in *Kurzer Hdcom. ad loc.*

C. W. WILSON.

SILOAM.—A place mentioned, apparently, four times in Scripture: (1) Is 8[6] 'the waters of **Shiloah**' (הַשִּׁלֹחַ 'shooting forth' or 'sent forth'; B Σειλωάμ, A Σιλωάμ; Luc., Aq., Symm., Theod. Σιλωά; Vulg. *Siloe*). (2) Neh 3[15] 'the pool of Siloah' (RV **Shelah,** הַשֶּׁלַח; BA κολυμβήθρα τῶν κωδίων:* *piscina Siloe*). (3) Jn 9[7] 'the pool of Siloam' (κ. τοῦ Σιλωάμ; *natatoria Siloe*). (4) Lk 13[4] 'the tower in Siloam' (ὁ πύργος ἐν τῷ Σιλωάμ; *turris in Siloe*). The Rabbis and early Jewish travellers use the word with the article (השילוח *hash-Shîlôaḥ*) as in the Bible. Josephus gives the name as Σιλωά, Σιλωᾶς, and Σιλωάμ; the Greek Fathers have Σιλωάμ; and the Latin Fathers, following the Vulgate, have *Siloe* and *Syloe*; Arabic *'Ain Silwân.*

Excepting the statement in Neh 3[15] that the wall of the 'pool of the Shelaḥ' was close to the king's gardens, which were on the south side of Jerusalem, and the fair inference that the wall of the pool formed part of the fortifications of the city, the Bible gives no indication of position. Josephus, on the other hand, distinctly states (*BJ* v. iv. 1) that the spring (πηγή) of Siloam was at the end or mouth of the Tyropœon ravine, which separated the hill of the upper city and the lower hill. This position is indicated in other passages (*BJ* II. xvi. 2; v. iv. 2, vi. 1, xii. 2; VI. viii. 5), and agrees with the statements of Jerome, who writes of the *fons Siloe* as flowing 'in radicibus Montis Moria' (*in Matt.* 10), and 'ad radices Montis Zion' (*in Is.* 8[6]); and also as watering the gardens of Hinnom and Tophet (*in Jer.* 8. 19[6] 32[35]). The Bordeaux Pilgrim (A.D. 333) and all later pilgrims place Siloam near the mouth of the valley that runs through the midst of Jerusalem, and there is every reason to believe that its general position is represented by the present *'Ain Silwân* and *Birket Silwân.*

The *Birket Silwân*, situated in the narrowest part of the Tyropœon ravine, is an artificial pool, which receives its supply of water, by transmission through a rock-hewn tunnel, from the *'Ain Sitti Mariam*, or Fountain of the Virgin—an intermittent spring in the Valley of the Ḳidron. A little below the *B. Silwân*, at the very mouth of the ravine, which is here closed by a dam of masonry, there is a second and larger pool, known as the *Birket el-Hamra.* This pool, long filled with soil, and now an open cess-pit, received the surplus waters of Siloam before they were utilized in the irrigation of the gardens which once filled the open space below the junction of the Tyropœon with the Valley of the Ḳidron.

The Fountain of the Virgin, the only true spring at Jerusalem, is very generally identified with GIHON, and the changes made in the distribution of its waters are intimately connected with the history of Siloam.* After the capture of Jerusalem by the Hebrews, possibly during the reign of Solomon, the water of the spring was impounded in a reservoir in the Ḳidron Valley, and used for irrigating the king's gardens, which filled the valley to the south. This reservoir, the site of which is lost, is called by Josephus (*BJ* v. iv. 2) 'Solomon's Pool.' After a time the water was carried by a rock-hewn conduit (discovered by Dr. Schick, *PEFSt*, 1886, p. 197 ff.; 1891, p. 13 ff.) down the west side of the Ḳidron Valley, and through the extremity of Mt. Moriah, to a pool in the Tyropœon, so that it might be more accessible to dwellers in the lower parts of the city. To this conduit, with its slight fall and gently flowing stream, Isaiah possibly referred when he compared (Is 8[6]) 'the waters of Shiloah that go softly'—typical of the unseen working of God and of the prosperity that would follow the confidence in Jehovah which he was urging upon the people—with the turbulent waters of the mighty Euphrates overflowing their banks,—an emblem of the overwhelming violence of the great world-power, Assyria, with which the people were seeking alliance.

At a later period the winding rock-hewn tunnel which connects the Fountain of the Virgin with the *Birket Silwân* was made, and the water of the spring was collected in the two reservoirs in the Tyropœon Valley. The execution of this remarkable work may be ascribed with much probability to Hezekiah, who, prior to the Assyrian invasion, stopped 'the upper spring of the waters of Gihon, and brought it straight down to (or on) the west side of the city of David' (2 Ch 32[30], cf. 2 Ch 32[4], Sir 48[17]). In June 1880 a Hebrew inscription (see Literature at end) in old Semitic characters was discovered on the east side of the tunnel, about 25 ft. from its exit at Siloam. The inscription records that the tunnel was excavated from both

* *Shelaḥ* is possibly a corrupt form of the earlier *Shîlôaḥ*, due to a change in the pronunciation, or in the spelling of the word during the period that intervened between Isaiah and Nehemiah. The meaning of *shelaḥ* in Hebrew is 'dart,' but in Talmudic Hebrew 'skin'; and the LXX adopted the latter interpretation. They and the earlier Rabbis appear to have regarded the pool of the Shelaḥ, or of the 'sheep-skins,' as being distinct from the pool of Siloam.

* The Targ. Jon., Pesh., and Arab. VSS read 'Shiloaḥ' for 'Gihon' in 1 K 1[33].

ends, that the workmen met in the middle, and that the length was 1200 cubits.* There is no name of any king, and this, with the absence of a date, seems to indicate that the inscription was cut by one of the workmen employed, and had no official character. The form of the letters is not opposed to the view that the tunnel was made during the reign of Hezekiah. The serpentine course of the tunnel is attributed by M. Clermont-Ganneau (*Les Tombeaux de David et des rois de Juda et le Tunnel-Aqueduc de Siloe*, 1897) to the prior existence of the rock-hewn tombs of the kings, which he places immediately north of the great southern bend. The view that this curve is due to design, and not to accident or bad workmanship, is supported by the existence of shafts from the surface which determined its direction at two important points (*PEFSt*, 1882, plan, p. 123).

Excavation has shown that the present *Birket Silwán* has been constructed within the limits of the ancient pool of Siloam. The original pool measured 71 ft. from N. to S. and 75 ft. from E. to W., and was for the most part excavated in the rock. A flight of rock-hewn steps led down to it from the city, and it could be emptied by a sluice-gate at its southern end. After the return from the Captivity, possibly during the reign of Herod, a covered arcade, 12 ft. wide, 22½ ft. high, and roofed with large flat slabs of stone, was erected in the pool, and ran round its four sides. This was probably the condition of the pool when Christ told the blind man (Jn 9^7) to go and wash 'in the pool of Siloam (which is by interpretation, Sent).' †

In the 5th cent. a three-aisled church was built, with its high altar directly above the point at which the stream issued from the tunnel, and its south aisle over the northern arcade of the pool. The church was entered from the north, on which side there were an atrium, and a narthex with a flight of steps leading down to the level of the north aisle. It appears to have been the work of the empress Eudocia, who is said to have included the pool of Siloam within the city wall. In the reign of Justinian the basilica was converted into a domed church,‡ which is noticed by Antoninus Martyr (*c.* 570), the only pilgrim who mentions a church at Siloam.§ The church must afterwards have been destroyed, probably during the Persian invasion (614), for it is not again mentioned (Bliss, *Excavations at Jerusalem*, pp. 132–210; Guthe, 'Ausgrabungen bei Jerusalem,' in *ZDPV* v. p. 52 ff.).

The larger pool, *Birket el-Hamra*,‖ has not been completely examined, but excavation has shown that it is partially cut in the rock, and that the dam of masonry at its lower end, which has a thickness of 20 to 8 ft., and is strengthened by buttresses, is at one point 44 ft. high. The construction of the dam, and the manner in which its masonry is bonded into the rock at either end, shows that, like the dam of the *Birket Israíl*, it formed part of the defences of the city (Bliss, *l.c.*). The pool is probably the work of Hezekiah, and referred to (Is 22^{11}) as the *mikveh*, or 'ditch (RV reservoir) between the two walls for the waters of the old pool.' The dam is apparently the wall of the 'pool (*bĕrēkhah*) of the Shelah' repaired by Shallun (Neh 3^{15}). This pool is mentioned by the Bordeaux Pilgrim, by Antoninus Martyr, and other pilgrims, and, in the Middle Ages, it was frequently called *Natatoria Siloe*, to distinguish it from the *upper* pool of Siloam. The tunnel and the pools are possibly referred to in 2 Ch 32^4, Is 22^9, and Sir 48^{17}.

The water of Siloam is described by Josephus as being sweet and abundant (*BJ* v. iv. 1); and by the Rabbis, who attributed digestive properties to it, as being clear and sweet. On the last day of the Feast of Tabernacles, water from the spring was poured upon the altar (Neubauer, *Géog. du Talmud*, p. 145 f.). In 985 Mukaddasi, a native of Jerusalem, calls the water 'fairly good'; but the author of the Marasid (*c.* 1300) says that it was then no longer sweet. Writers of the 15th and 16th cents. call it brackish but wholesome. As the spring depends upon the annual rainfall for its supply, the water, which percolates through vast accumulations of refuse, must to a certain extent be impure, but it is still used for drinking purposes by the villagers of Silwán and by the poor of Jerusalem. In consequence of the miracle wrought on the blind man, the water and pool are held in much honour by Jews, Christians, and Moslems. Healing properties, especially in the case of eye diseases, have been attributed to the water from the early days of Christianity, and numerous legends have gathered round it. Christians believed that it came from Shiloh or from Mt. Zion; Moslems, that on the night of 'Arafat it came underground from the holy well, Zemzem, at Mecca. A small perennial stream flows from the Fountain of the Virgin to the Pool of Siloam, and its volume is increased, at uncertain times, by a sudden rush of water from the spring. The Bordeaux Pilgrim, Jerome (*in Is.* 8^6), and most of the pilgrims, write of the increased flow as periodic; but in reality it varies greatly, and is dependent upon the rainfall and the season. During a wet winter the stream swells two or three times a day, whilst in summer the rise takes place only once in two or three days. All knowledge of the tunnel through which the stream runs was lost for several centuries, and it was first rediscovered in the 13th cent. It may perhaps even be inferred from the silence of Josephus that the Fountain of the Virgin was unknown to him, and that it was first opened, after its closure by Hezekiah, some centuries later.

After the capture of Jerusalem by the Arabs a village sprang up in the valley below the pool. In 1047 Nasir-i-Khusrau found an endowed hospital, with salaried physicians, and many buildings, erected for charitable purposes, near the spring. Early in the 12th cent. there was a small monastery at Siloam, but about 1300 the buildings were in ruins, and the irrigated gardens, which had been bequeathed by one of the Khalifs to the poor of Jerusalem, had disappeared. By the middle of the 17th cent. the pools were filled with rubbish, and the tradition, which had lingered into the 16th cent., that a church dedicated to the *Salvator illuminator* had once stood above the mouth of the tunnel, was lost. The village of Siloam, *Kefr Silwán*, on the left bank of the Kidron Valley, at the foot of the Mount of Olives, is of comparatively recent growth. Christian anchorites, and afterwards Moslems, are alluded to as living in the caves; but Quaresmius, in the 17th cent., is the first to distinctly mention the village by its present name (Guy le Strange, *Pal. under the Moslems*; Tobler, *Die Siloahquelle und der Oelberg*; P.P. Text Society translations).

The 'tower in Siloam' (Lk 13^4), of which nothing further is known, may have been one of the towers in the city wall near the pool.

LITERATURE.—The principal authorities for the site and the description of the pool have been cited in the article. For the inscription and its bearing on the history of the Heb. alphabet, see esp. Driver, *Text of Samuel*, p. 14 ff. (with facsimile, transcription, and translation); Weir, *Short Hist. of the Heb. Text of OT*, 9 ff.; Euting in Ges.-Kautzsch's *Heb. Gram.*; Socin (plate 8 in *ZDPV* iv., and, in an amended form, *Die Siloahinschrift*, Freiburg, 1899); Lidzbarski, *Handb. d. nordsem. Epigraphik*, 1898; cf. Cheyne in *PB*, 'Isaiah,' 143.

C. W. WILSON.

SILVANUS.—See SILAS.

SILVER (כֶּסֶף [Aram. כַּסְפָּא], *ἄργυρος*, *ἀργύριον*) comes next to gold in the list of precious metals. Its

* Conder, in his very complete description of the tunnel (*PEFSt*, 1882, p. 122 ff.), gives its length as 1706·8 ft., or, approximately, 1200 cubits of 17 in., and states that the point of junction was 944 ft. from the Siloam end. See also *PEF Mem.* 'Jerusalem,' p. 345.

† On the play upon the meaning of the word, and on the parallelism between 'the sent one' and 'the sent water,' see Basil on Is 8.

‡ The position of the church with regard to the pool is not unlike that of St. Mary *in probatica*, in the Pool of Bethesda near the Church of St. Anne.

§ The church is also mentioned in the life of St. Peter the Iberian (409–488).

‖ This name is derived from the hard red cement full of pounded pottery which is used for lining cisterns, and is locally called *hamra*.

value arises partly from its comparative rarity, and partly from its properties of resistance to corrosion, brilliant white lustre, malleability, ductility, and the like, which make it a specially suitable material for artistic workmanship. The knowledge and use of silver in classical and Bible lands go back to prehistoric times. This metal appears in Homer as put to a great variety of purposes. Vessels and ornaments made of it were found by Schliemann at Mycenæ. Silver is equally in evidence among the remains of the ancient Egyptians, Assyrians, and Hittites. It is repeatedly mentioned in the Tel el-Amarna tablets.

Silver is rarely found in the native state, and has almost always to be extracted from some form of ore. The principal Asiatic source of it in ancient times was in the mountains of Armenia and Kurdistan. Homer (*Il.* ii. 857) refers to the special excellence of the silver brought from Alybê in Pontus. The mines of these regions have been wrought by the Turkish Government in modern times. In Europe the silver mines of Laurium in Attica were of considerable importance, and proved a rich source of wealth to Athens. There were also mines in Thrace and Epirus. But the most abundant supplies of silver were obtained from Spain. The workings there were at first in the hands of the Carthaginians, and it was when the Romans obtained possession of them that silver first became plentiful in Italy, though it had previously been used in art by the Etruscans, who may have derived their supply of the metal from Gaul or from the Phœnicians.

Silver was obtained from its compounds by smelting along with other metallic ores, of which that of lead was essential to the process. At a high temperature the lead combined with the impurities in the silver to form a heavy 'slag,' which separated by its weight from the molten silver, leaving the latter pure.

The relative values of gold and silver varied in ancient times. As long as the supply was restricted to Asiatic sources, silver was scarcer than it afterwards became. There are indications of a struggle for supremacy between the two metals at first, and even of a preference for silver to gold in some places. In Egypt silver is always mentioned before gold in the inscriptions, and silver objects are rarer than golden ones in the tombs. From a fragment of Agatharcides it appears that in ancient Arabia silver was reckoned 10 times more valuable than gold. The laws of Menes in Egypt fixed the value of gold as 2½ times that of silver. Herodotus (iii. 95) makes gold equal in value to 13 times its weight of silver. The Egyptian *ásem* (Gr. ἤλεκτρον [or -ος], Lat. *electrum*) was a highly prized alloy of gold and silver.

Silver was an early form of currency, and at first was reckoned by weight (see MONEY, vol. iii. p. 418 ff.), coinage being unknown among the Hebrews before the Exile. Hence in OT כֶּסֶף is frequently tr. ἀργύριον by LXX, and 'money' in EV. It is also occasionally rendered 'price,' and once (Is 7^{23}) 'silverlings.' Similarly in Apocr. and NT ἀργύριον is often tr. 'money.' 'Piece of silver' stands in one passage (Lk 15^{8}) for δραχμή.

The mention of silver in Scripture as a medium of exchange goes back to the time of Abraham (Gn $23^{15.\ 16}$). Silver is an item constantly enumerated in accounts of wealth, spoil, and tribute. The wealth of Solomon is indicated by his making silver as plentiful as stone in Jerusalem (1 K 10^{27}, Sir 47^{18}), and that of the restored Jerusalem is described in the promise, 'for iron I will bring silver' (Is 60^{17}). So Tyre (Zec 9^{3}) and the wicked man (Job 27^{16}) are said to 'heap up silver as dust.' Idols were made of silver or plated with it. It was the material of various parts of the Tabernacle (sockets, fillets, hooks, etc.), of the trumpets of the priests, and of many of the sacred vessels of the temple. Vessels of silver were a form of votive offering (Nu 7 *passim*), and were part of the furniture of wealthy private houses (2 Ti 2^{20}). Joseph's divining cup was of silver (Gn $44^{2ff.}$). This metal was used for chains (Is 40^{19}) and ornaments ('jewels,' Gn 24^{53}; 'pictures,' Pr 25^{11}). Silver 'shrines,' or models of the temple of Diana, were largely made and sold at Ephesus (Ac 19^{24}). Silver mines are referred to in Job 28^{1}, and the process of refining is alluded to in Pr 17^{3} 27^{21} 25^{4}, Zec 13^{9}, Mal 3^{3} etc. It is described with special fulness in Jer 6^{28-30} (where it is represented as fruitless) and in Ezk 22^{17-22}. In both of these passages special emphasis is laid on the presence of lead among the other metallic ores. These other metals and the impurities combined with them are the 'dross' of silver. 2 Ch 9^{14} tells how Solomon obtained silver from Arabia. Tarshish is named as the source of the metal in 2 Ch 9^{21}, Jer 10^{9}, Ezk 27^{12}, the second of these passages referring specially to the silver being 'spread into plates.' In 1 Mac 8^{3} the acquisition of the Spanish mines by the Romans is mentioned. Silversmiths are mentioned in Wis 15^{9} (ἀργυροχόος) and Ac 19^{24} (ἀργυροκόπος). There was a guild of this craft at Ephesus, of which in St. Paul's day Demetrius was a leading member. In LXX ἀργυροκόπος is the tr. of צוֹרֵף ('founder,' Jg 17^{4}) and of צָרוּף (AV 'founder,' RV [as inf. abs.] 'refine,' Jer 6^{29}, where also צָרַף = ἀργυροκοπεῖν). 'Silver plate' is the equivalent of ἀργύρωμα in Jth 12^{1} 15^{11}, 1 Mac 15^{32}. The plumage of doves in sunlight is described in Ps 68^{13} as 'wings covered with silver.' Wisdom and instruction are frequently compared for preciousness to pure silver, as are also the words of God (Ps 12^{6}). The refining of silver is a figure for the discipline of the righteous (Ps 66^{10}, cf. also Is 48^{10}). Silver turned to dross is a metaphor for moral deterioration (Is 1^{22}, Jer 6^{30}).

For questions connected with currency and coinage see MONEY.

LITERATURE.—Polybius, xxxiv. 9; Pliny, *HN* xxxiii. 23, 31; Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, 461; Layard, *Nineveh*, ii. 264; Perrot and Chipiez, *Hist. of Art in Sardinia, Judæa*, etc. ii. 268; Hamilton, *Researches*, i. 234 ff.; Del Mar, *Hist. of Precious Metals*, 221 ff.; Schrader and Jevons, *Prehistoric Antiquities*, 180 ff.

JAMES PATRICK.

SILVERLING.—See MONEY in vol. iii. p. 432a.

SIMEON (שִׁמְעוֹן; LXX and NT Συμεών, whence RV form usually employed in NT, **Symeon**).—A common name amongst the Jews, esp. in its later (Greek) form *Simon* (see art. PETER (SIMON), *ad init.*). The Heb. name is used of—**1.** The second son of Jacob and Leah, Gn 29^{33}. The etymology, or at all events the original signification of the name, is unknown. J, in Gn 29^{31-35}, characteristically derives it from שָׁמַע (='hear'), and reports that 'Leah said, Because the LORD hath heard (*shāmaʿ*) that I am hated, he hath therefore given me this son also, and she called his name Simeon (*Shimʿôn*).' Only two incidents in the history of Simeon are related in the Book of Genesis. In conjunction with his brother Levi he is said to have massacred the Shechemites in revenge for the dishonour of his sister Dinah (Gn 34). The details of the story are obscure, and are drawn from several sources, whose standpoint is not always the same. The real significance of this narrative we shall seek to appreciate in art. SIMEON (TRIBE). The other occasion upon which Simeon is mentioned is when Joseph determined to detain one of his brothers in Egypt as security that they would return with Benjamin (Gn 42^{24}). From the circumstance that *Simeon* is selected for this purpose, it has been supposed that the narrator means to insinuate that he had been the chief actor in the

tragedy that led to Joseph's servitude in Egypt. The truculent character of Simeon, as vouched for by the massacre at Shechem, might also be supposed to furnish the justification for his severe treatment; but it is questionable whether the narrator (E) of his detention in Egypt had any such reference in his mind, seeing that among the sources of Gn 34 E has no place, and consequently he may have been ignorant of that story. It is more probable that in Gn 42[24] Simeon the *second* son of Jacob is detained as a hostage rather than Reuben the *firstborn*, because the latter, according to E (Gn 37[22]), had acted a more friendly part than the rest of Joseph's brethren, and had sought to deliver him out of their hands.

The rape of Dinah and the massacre of the Shechemites were commemorated in verse by the Jewish or Samaritan poet Theodotus (*c.* 200 B.C.). It is instructive to compare the judgment passed upon the act of the two brothers in Gn 49 (cf. 34[30]) with what we find in some of the literary productions of post-exilian Judaism. Words of disapproval and severe censure give place in the latter to hearty approval and warm eulogy. The contrast is strikingly displayed in the Book of Judith, whose heroine belongs to the tribe of Simeon, and whose estimate of the character and conduct of her progenitor is as different from that ascribed to Jacob in Genesis as her language is offensive to good taste (Jth 9[2f.]; cf. *Book of Jubilees*, ch. 30).

2. The great-grandfather of Judas Maccabæus, 1 Mac 2[1]. **3.** An ancestor of Jesus, Lk 3[30]. **4.** The 'righteous and devout' (*δίκαιος καὶ εὐλαβής*) man who took the infant Jesus in his arms and blessed Him, on the occasion of the presentation in the temple (Lk 2[25ff.]). The notion that this Simeon is to be identified with a Rabbi who was the son of Hillel and the father of Gamaliel I. is as precarious as the apocryphal legends about his two sons Charinus and Leucius; see NICODEMUS (GOSPEL OF). The very existence of a Rabbi Simon ben Hillel is doubtful (see Schürer, *HJP* II. i. 363), and in any case he was not, as late legends assert, president of the Sanhedrin, an office which in the time of Christ was always held by the high priest (see SANHEDRIN, p. 401). If the Simeon of St. Luke had been Hillel's son, is it conceivable that he would have been introduced simply as 'a man in Jerusalem whose name was Simeon'? **5.** A prophet and teacher at Antioch, whose surname was NIGER (Ac 13[1]). **6.** Ac 15[14], 2 P 1[1] (RVm). See PETER (SIMON), vol. iii. p. 756.

J. A. SELBIE.

SIMEON (TRIBE).—The history of this tribe, which theoretically traced its descent to the second son of Jacob and Leah, is involved in considerable obscurity. From the fact that Shaul,[1]the eponymous head of one of its families, is called 'the son of the Canaanitish woman' (Gn 46[10], Ex 6[15]), we may infer that it contained a considerable admixture of non-Israelitish elements. From Jg 1[3. 17] we learn that, at the beginning of the conquest of Canaan, Simeon joined his forces with those of Judah. It was probably not long thereafter that Simeon and Levi together sought to gain a settlement in Mount Ephraim, which was then occupied by the Canaanites. Such at least is a plausible interpretation of the tradition which underlies the narrative of Gn 34. Upon any theory it is difficult to disentangle the details of that story, for the chapter in question is, in its present form, not homogeneous, and the different narratives date from different periods, and are inspired by different motives (cf. artt. HAMOR, and JACOB in vol. ii. p. 530 f.). None of these narratives is at all suitable to pre-Mosaic times, and there is much plausibility in the theory of Wellhausen, that we have here a reminiscence of an attempt on the part of Dinah bat-Leah (a branch of Simeon) and the other Simeonites, in conjunction with Levi, to possess themselves of the town of Shechem by treacherously taking advantage of the friendly relations that had hitherto subsisted between them and the Canaanites.

Whatever degree of success may have attended the enterprise at first, its ultimate consequences were most disastrous, for the Canaanites of the surrounding districts appear to have attacked and practically annihilated the invaders (cf. Moore, *Judges*, 240). This explains the insignificance or the entire absence of Simeon in the subsequent history of Israel. The shattered remnants of this tribe, which had begun its warlike activity in alliance with Judah, now fell back upon the latter for protection and a share of the land (Jos 19[9]).

In the Song of Deborah (Jg 5), in which the tribes of Israel are praised or blamed according to the part they had played in the struggle, both Judah and Simeon are passed over—Judah probably because at this period it pursued its own aims in complete separation from the northern tribes (cf. Gn 38), Simeon because it was practically part of Judah.

The absence of Simeon in the Blessing of Moses (Dt 33) has been felt to be more surprising, and various explanations have been offered, or attempts made to supply the omission. A and some other MSS of the LXX, indeed, insert *Simeon* in v.[6b] 'Let Reuben live and not die, *and let Simeon be many in number*' (*Συμεὼν ἔστω πολὺς ἐν ἀριθμῷ*). This, however, may be simply a deliberate correction of the text, devoid of any support from Heb. MSS. Other solutions of the difficulty have been proposed by Kohler (*Der Segen Jacob's*, 5) and Graetz (*Gesch. d. Juden*, II. i. 486 f.) which have been accepted with modifications by Heilprin (*Hist. Poetry of the Hebrews*, i. 113 ff.) and Bacon (*Triple Tradition of the Exodus*, 270 f.). Founding upon the unnatural shortness of the blessing of Judah, and the character of Levi's blessing, which seems too warlike for a non-secular tribe, Kohler conjectures that v.[7] has fallen out of its place and should follow v.[10], so that vv.[7. 11] would form the blessing of Judah. Graetz boldly substitutes 'Simeon' for 'Judah' in v.[7], a method of procedure which is approved by Heilprin and Bacon as far as v.[7a] is concerned, while at the same time they change the order of the verses as Kohler proposed. We thus obtain (v.[7a]) as the blessing of Simeon, 'Hear, O Jehovah, the voice of Simeon, and bring him to his people' (the latter prayer perhaps referring to the Simeonites who, according to 1 Ch 4[42f.], found a settlement in Mt. Seir). The blessing of Judah would then be contained in v.[7b] 'Judah with his hands contends,' etc., and v.[11] 'Bless, Lord, his substance,' etc.—But, however plausible these explanations may be, there will probably be little hesitation in assenting to the judgment of Dillmann (approved by Driver), that the corrections of the text which they involve are 'too violent' to be probable. The death-blow which Simeon received so early in his career is quite sufficient to account for the non-mention of him in Dt 33, even if we ascribe a considerable antiquity to that chapter.

The early decadence of this tribe is implied also in the priestly narrative of the Hexateuch, for while at the first census (Nu 1[23]) Simeon counted 59,300, at the second (26[14]) it had fallen to 22,200. Knowing the methods and the motives of the Chronicler, we can of course attach no importance to his introducing the tribe of Simeon as numerous in the time of David (1 Ch 12[25]), especially when we observe that elsewhere even he is compelled to acknowledge its feebleness (1 Ch 4[27]).

The question has been needlessly raised, To which of the two divisions did the tribe of Simeon attach itself at the disruption of the kingdom? The truth is that long before that event this tribe had ceased to have any *independent* existence, having been practically absorbed by Judah. The Chronicler, indeed, perhaps in order to make up the number ten, appears to reckon Simeon as belonging to the N. kingdom (2 Ch 15[9] 34[6]; cf. Ezk 48[24. 25. 33], Rev 7[7]). There is probably more foundation for the tradition which he has preserved of conquests made by Simeonites in the time of Hezekiah (1 Ch 4[38-43]).

The list of the sons of Simeon is given in Gn 46[10] and Ex 6[15]. A different list appears in 1 Ch 4[24f.], which is practically identical with another in Nu 26[12-14]. Simeon's towns are named in Jos 19[2-6] and (with the exception of some deviations due probably to copyists' errors) in 1 Ch 4[28f.]. All these towns are in Jos 15[26-32. 42] reckoned to *Judah*, and to the same tribe are elsewhere reckoned such of them as Ziklag (1 S 27[6]), Hormah (1 S 30[30]), and Beersheba (1 K 19[3]). This is in perfect harmony with the conclusion already reached, that Simeon was absorbed by Judah; and this same conclusion

is strengthened by the circumstance that after the return from the Exile there is no mention of Simeonites, but only of Judahites as dwelling in any of the above cities (Neh 11[26f.]).

In addition to what is contained in the OT, the Pal.-Jewish literature supplies a multitude of details regarding the tribe of Simeon and its eponymous head (cf. especially *Test. of Twelve Patr.* and *Bk. of Jubilees*). These stories are too manifestly apocryphal to merit serious consideration; and the basis is not more substantial upon which Dozy (*de Israëlieten te Mekka*) builds his theory that the sanctuary at Mecca was founded by Simeonites in the time of David. In his important monograph, *der Stamm Simeon* (Meissen, 1866), Graf not only rejects this opinion as wholly devoid of historical support, but subjects to a searching examination the attempt of Movers and Hitzig to discover other OT allusions besides those of the Chronicler to Simeonite conquests and settlements outside Palestine. The words of Mic 1[15] 'The glory of Israel shall come even unto Adullam' have been, strangely enough, connected with the history in 1 Ch 4[34-43]. The exegesis by which this result is reached is exceedingly strained, and the interpretation also involves, what was not the case, that Simeon belonged to the N. kingdom. Equally unsuccessful is the attempt to prove that it is the Simeonites of Mt. Seir who put the question in Is 21[11] ('Watchman, what of the night?'). The title of the oracle, 'Burden of *Dumah*,' has been sought to be connected with the DUMAH of Gn 25[14], mentioned as a family of the Ishmaelites side by side with Mibsam and Mishma, which last are in 1 Ch 4[25] the names of *Simeonite* families. The latter circumstance may legitimately be urged in favour of the probability of large admixtures of Ishmaelite as well as Can. elements in the tribe of Simeon. But none of the localities known to us by the name Dumah will suit the topographical necessities of Is 21[11f.], and it is far more probable that דומה is a textual error for אדום (Cheyne in *SBOT*; Marti, *Jes. ad loc.*), or that *Dumah* ('silence') is in this instance a symbolical designation of *Edom* (Del., Dillm., and many others).

Side by side with Dumah we find in Gn 25[14] **Massa**, to which Hitzig finds a reference in Pr 30[1] 31[1]. By an emendation of the text he makes the former read, 'Words of Agur, the son of the queen of Massa,' while the latter is rendered 'Words of (to) Lemuel, king of Massa, which his mother taught him.' Hitzig endeavours to connect Massa with the Simeonite settlement in Mt. Seir; but the very most that the evidence entitles us to infer is that there may have been an *Ishmaelite* kingdom of Massa, and that its queen, like the queen of Sheba, may have had a traditional reputation for wisdom. That this kingdom, however, had any connexion with the Simeonites of 1 Ch 4[42] is not proved, and is on many grounds unlikely.

LITERATURE.—Especially Graf's monograph, *der Stamm Simeon*; cf. also his *Gesch. BB. d. AT*, 221; Kuenen, *Gesam. Abhandl.* 255 ff.; Wellh. *Compos. d. Hex.*[2] 312 ff., 353 f., *IJG*[3] 35 f.; Stade, *GVI* i. 154; Ewald, *Hist.* ii. 287 f.; Graetz, *Gesch. d. Juden*, II. i. 486 f.; Kittel, *Hist. of Hebrews*, ii. 69; the Commentaries of Del., Dillm., Gunkel, and Holzinger on *Genesis*, and of Dillm., Driver, Steuernagel, and Bertholet on *Deut.*; see also Moore, *Judges*, 12, 36, 240 f.

J. A. SELBIE.

SIMILITUDE, as used in AV, usually means 'image' or 'likeness.' Cf. Gn 1[26] Tind. 'Let us make man in our symilitude and after oure lyckenesse,' and Ezk 8[3] Cov. (where the Heb. is תַּבְנִית), 'The symilitude stretched out an honde, and toke me by the hayrie lockes off my heade.' The words so tr[d] are (1) תַּבְנִית (Ps 106[20] 144[12]), for which see under PATTERN; (2) תְּמוּנָה (Nu 12[8], Dt 4[12. 15. 16]), for which see under IMAGE; and (3) דְּמוּת (2 Ch 4[3], Dn 10[16]), which is usually tr[d] 'likeness.' The last is the only word tr[d] 'similitude' in RV. The words tr[d] 'similitude' in NT are: ὁμοίωμα (Ro 5[14]), ὁμοίωσις (Ja 3[9]),* and ὁμοιότης (He 7[15]); in each case RV substitutes 'likeness.' See under PATTERN.

But 'similitude' occurs once in the sense of illustration, parable, proverb: Hos 12[10] 'I have multiplied visions, and used similitudes' (אֶדַּמֶּה, from דָּמָה [the root of דְּמוּת] 'to be like,' Piel 'to liken'). Cf. Mt 13[3] Tind. 'And he spake many thynges to them in similitudes'; He 9[9] Tind. 'Which was a similitude for the tyme then present'; and Lk 4[23] Rhem. 'Certes, you wil say to me this similitude, Physicion, cure theyself.'

J. HASTINGS.

SIMON (Σίμων), one of the commonest names amongst the Jews, is a later (Greek) form of SIMEON (cf. Ac 15[14], where St. James, in referring to St. Peter, uses the archaic form of his name). This form is naturally confined to the Apocr. and NT.

* For the distinction between ὁμοίωσις and εἰκών see Mayor on Ja 3[9].

i. IN THE APOCRYPHA.—The name belongs to—**1.** Simon I., the high priest who succeeded Onias I. during the Ptolemaic domination (*c.* 300 B.C.). According to Josephus (*Ant.* XII. ii. 5) he obtained the surname of 'the Just' (ὁ δίκαιος), a designation intended, probably, to emphasize his strict legalism in opposition to the Hellenizing tendency of the majority of the high priests of the Greek period. In *Pirke Aboth* (i. 2) he is said to have been one of the last of the Great Synagogue, and the saying is attributed to him: 'On three things the world is stayed, on the Torah, on the Worship [cf. ἡ λατρεία in Ro 9[4]], and on the bestowal of Kindnesses' (Taylor, *Sayings of the Jewish Fathers*[2], p. 12). It is very doubtful, however, whether Josephus is right in identifying Simon I. with Simon the Just. Herzfeld (ii. 189 ff., 377 f.) and others claim the title for—**2.** Simon II. (Jos. *Ant.* XII. iv. 10), the successor of Onias II. (*c.* 220 B.C.). The same doubt exists as to the subject of the panegyric contained in Sir 50[1ff.]. He is designated simply 'Simon the son of Onias the high priest,' a title applicable either to Simon I. or to Simon II. The graphic description, however, contained in this passage leaves the impression on one's mind that Ben Sira (*c.* 180 B.C.) is speaking of an elder contemporary (Simon II.) of his own rather than of a high priest who had died a century before (Cheyne, *Job and Solomon*, 180; see, further, Kuenen, *Gesam. Abhandl.* 153 f.; Schürer, *GJV*[3] ii. 355 f. [*HJP* II. i. 355 f.]; Graetz, 'Simon der Gerechte und seine Zeit,' in *Monatsschrift*, 1857, pp. 45–56). **3.** A temple official who, out of ill-will to the high priest ONIAS III., suggested to SELEUCUS IV. the plundering of the temple treasury, 2 Mac 3[4]. See HELIODORUS. **4.** Simon the Maccabee.—See MACCABEES, vol. iii. p. 185. **5.** 1 Es 9[32]. See CHOSAMEUS.

ii. IN THE NT.—**1.** The Apostle Peter.—See PETER (SIMON). **2.** See SIMON MAGUS. **3.** Another of the apostles, Simon the CANANÆAN (which see). **4.** A brother of Jesus (Mt 13[55], Mk 6[3]). It is very doubtful whether he should be identified with the Symeon who is said to have succeeded James 'the Lord's brother' as bishop of Jerusalem (Euseb. *HE* iii. 11, iv. 22), and to have suffered martyrdom under Trajan (*ib.* iii. 32). Hegesippus, whom Euseb. professes to quote, describes this Symeon as *son of Clopas*, and calls him ἀνεψιός of the Lord, while James and Jude are spoken of as the Lord's ἀδελφοί. See art. BRETHREN OF THE LORD, vol. i. pp. 320[a], 321[b]. **5.** Simon 'the leper,' in whose house a woman anointed Jesus, Mt 26[6], Mk 14[3]. The question of the identity of our Lord's host and the cognate questions connected with the incident of the anointing are exhaustively discussed in art. MARY, vol. iii. p. 279 ff. **6.** A Pharisee who invited Jesus to eat with him, Lk 7[36ff.]. On this occasion we read that a woman that was 'a sinner' (ἁμαρτωλός) anointed Jesus' feet. For the relation of this incident to the narratives of Mt 26, Mk 14, and Jn 12, see, again, art. MARY as just cited, and cf. Bruce, *Parabolic Teaching of Christ*, 250 ff. **7.** The father (?) of JUDAS ISCARIOT. In all the passages (Jn 6[71] 13[2. 26]) where this Simon is named, the Greek text ('Ιούδας Σίμωνος, 'Judas of Simon') leaves it uncertain what was his relationship to the traitor, but the EV 'Judas *the son* of Simon' is probably correct. It is very precarious to identify Simon Iscariot (Jn 6[71] 13[26]) with Simon the Cananæan. **8.** A Cyrenian, who was compelled by the Roman soldiers to bear the cross of Jesus (Mt 27[32], Mk 15[21], Lk 23[26]). He is described by St. Mark as the father of ALEXANDER and RUFUS, names evidently well known in the early Christian Church. The story in the Gospels was perverted by some of the Docetic sects, the Basilidians going the length of maintaining that Simon not only

bore the cross, but was actually crucified in mistake for Jesus. 9. The tanner, with whom St. Peter lodged at Joppa (Ac 9^{43} $10^{6.\ 17.\ 32}$).

J. A. SELBIE.

SIMON MAGUS.—The name usually given for the sake of distinction to that Simon who is mentioned in only one place in the NT, but to whom, both in Patristic literature and in modern criticism, the part assigned is very considerable. There are some features in the story of the NT which excite our curiosity; the early Fathers have detailed accounts of his false teaching, and give him the doubtful honour of being the first of the heresiarchs, the source and spring of all later heresy; early Christian romance writers embellished his history with many wonderful details, and made him the antagonist of Simon Peter, both in verbal disputations and in the exhibition of magical arts; while a school of modern critics has found in his career and the stories concerning him the chief support for a far-reaching reconstruction of our conceptions of early Christianity. In order to obtain a sound basis for our investigations, it will be useful after examining the account in the NT to go carefully through the Patristic evidence in chronological order, and after that consider the fuller narratives of uncertain date contained in the Clementine literature and Apocryphal *Acts*. We shall thus be in a better position to estimate the force and value of modern criticism, and be able to offer a probable explanation of the various difficulties that the problem presents.

i. Simon in the New Testament.
ii. Simon in Patristic literature to A.D. 400.
iii. The Clementine literature and Apocryphal *Acts*.
iv. Modern critical views.
v. The growth of the legend.
vi. The affinities of Simon's system.
vii. Simon Magus and simony.
viii. Simon Magus and the Faust legend.
Literature.

i. SIMON IN THE NT.—In Ac 8^{5-24}, where the preaching of Philip in Samaria is described, we are told that 'there was a certain man called Simon, which beforetime in the city used sorcery, and bewitched the people of Samaria, giving out that himself was some great one' (λέγων εἶναί τινα ἑαυτὸν μέγαν). All the people followed him, and described him as 'that power of God which is called great' (οὗτός ἐστιν ἡ δύναμις τοῦ θεοῦ ἡ καλουμένη μεγάλη). When the rest of the city was converted, Simon also believed and was baptized, and continued with Philip, amazed at his miracles. When Peter and John came down, they laid hands on the converts, who received the Holy Ghost. Simon then offered Peter money, saying, 'Give me also this power, that on whomsoever I lay hands, he may receive the Holy Ghost.' Peter sternly rebuked him. 'Thy money perish with thee . . . thou hast neither part nor lot in this matter . . . thou art in the gall of bitterness, and the bond of iniquity.' Simon entreated him to pray the Lord that none of those things might come upon him.

It will be more convenient to postpone comments on this passage until we have collected further information on the subject.

ii. PATRISTIC EVIDENCE.—The earliest information outside the NT comes from *Justin Martyr*, c. 150 (*Apol.* i. 26, 56 [cf. Eus. *HE* ii. 13. 14]; *Dial.* 120). He tells us that Simon was a Samaritan, of the village of Gitta; he came to Rome in the time of Claudius Cæsar; by the power of the demons he worked miracles, and was honoured in Rome as a god, so that a statue was erected in his honour by order of the Senate and people, between the two bridges, bearing the inscription SIMONI DEO SANCTO. Almost all the Samaritans and a few of other nations honour him as the first god (πρῶτος θεός). He took about with him a woman called Helena, who had formerly been a prostitute, and whom he is said to have called the first conception (πρώτη ἔννοια) which came forth from him. He is described as God above 'all rule and authority and power.' We also gather that Justin looked upon him as the originator of heresy and the source whence all later heresies were derived.

As regards one part of this story an interesting discovery has been made. In the year 1574 there was dug up in the place indicated by Justin, namely, in the island of the Tiber, a marble fragment, apparently the base of a statue, with the inscription SEMONI SANCO DEO FIDIO. It is now generally agreed that Justin mistook a statue dedicated to a Sabine deity for one dedicated to Simon (Gruter, *Insc. Ant.* i. p. 95, n. 5), although whether the mistake was his own or was earlier than himself we cannot say. But nothing in this mistake need invalidate his testimony about Simon in Samaria. Justin himself was a Samaritan; he draws attention at least once (*Dial.* 120; cf. *Apol.* ii. 15) to the fact that he had spoken the truth to his own disadvantage. On the subject of the sect which called itself after the name of Simon he must be taken as first-hand evidence. And there are strong grounds for thinking that we have a fuller account which emanates from him. Accounts of Simon Magus are contained in the following heresiological works: Irenæus (I. xvi.), pseudo-Tertullian (i.), Hippolytus (*Refutatio*, vi.), Philaster (29), Epiphanius (*Panarion*, 21). Of these, that in Hippolytus' *Refutatio* consists of two parts; that from § 7 to § 18, containing extracts from a work called ἡ μεγάλη ἀπόφασις, 'the Great Revelation,' presents a different system from that found elsewhere, and will be noticed further on; that in § 19 and § 20 is derived from the same source from which the greater part of the matter in all the other heresiologists comes. It is now generally agreed, and probably on good grounds, that this common source was a treatise (σύνταγμα) on heresies written by Justin and referred to by himself (*Apol.* i. 26). The following is the account put together from these different sources:—

Simon was said to have taught that he was the highest God, the most elevated virtue (τὴν ὑπὲρ πάντα δύναμιν). He carried about with him Helena, who he said was the first conception of his mind, the mother of all, by whom he conceived in his mind to create the angels and archangels. She was also called Wisdom (σοφία), according to pseudo-Tertullian, and Holy Spirit and Prunicus (προύνικος), according to Epiphanius. She, knowing her father's wish, leapt forth from him and created the angels and powers by whom this world and man were created. She was unable to return to her father because of the envy and desire of those whom she had created, and suffered contumely, and was compelled to assume human form. She passed through the centuries, as it were, from one vessel to another, transmigrating from one female form to another. She was the Helen about whom the Trojan war was fought; the wooden horse representing the ignorance of the nations. After that she passed from form to form, and lastly became a prostitute in a brothel at Tyre: she was the lost sheep. But since the rulers of the world ruled it ill, and in order to redeem her, the Supreme Power descended to the lower world. He passed through the regions ruled by the principalities and powers, in each region making himself like to those in it, and so among men he appeared as a man. He appeared among the Jews as the Son, in Samaria as the Father, in other nations as the Holy Spirit. In Judæa he had seemed to suffer, but had not. He allowed himself to be called by whatsoever names men liked. He thus succeeded in saving Helena, as she expected. He brought man to a knowledge of himself, and liberated the world and those who were his from the rule of those who had made the world. The Jewish prophecies, he said, were inspired by the angels who made the world. Therefore those who had hope in him and Helena need no longer care for them, but might freely do as they would, for men were saved according to his grace and not according to good works. There was no real difference between good and bad, they were merely accidental distinctions made by the creators of the world. The morality of the sect was, we are told, in accordance with these principles. Their priests (*mystici sacerdotes*) lived lascivious lives, used magic and incantations, made philtres, had familiar spirits, and had images of Simon and Helena made in the form of Zeus and Athena.

Hegesippus (c. 180), in a corrupt passage quoted by Eus. iv. 22, speaks of Simon, from whom came

the Simonians; Cleobius, whence the Cleobians; and Dositheus, whence the Dositheans; and Gorthæus, whence the Gortheni; and Masbotheus, whence the Masbotheans—from these, he says, came the followers of Menander; and he then enumerates the later heretics. It would be interesting to know if this heretical genealogy is independent of Justin.

Tertullian (*c.* 200) does not seem to have any original information. He knows the story about the statue (*Apol.* 13). He gives a long account of Simon's system, derived apparently from Irenæus (*de Anima*, 34). He says that even in his own day the presumption of the sect of Simon is so great that they even presume to raise the souls of the prophets from the lower regions (*Ecce hodie eiusdem Simonis hæreticos tanta presumptio artis extollit, ut etiam prophetarum animas ab inferis movere se spondeant*).

Clement of Alexandria (*c.* 200) gives us little information about Simon. There is a chronological remark in *Strom.* vii. 17 which is quite inexplicable, and in *Strom.* ii. 11 he tells us that the followers of Simon wish to be made like the '*Standing One*' whom they worship.

In *Hippolytus* (*Refutatio*, vi. 7–18) (*c.* 230 A.D.) extracts are given from a work which evidently described a somewhat different system, and was called 'the Great Revelation.'

The first principle, according to this, is called ἀπέραντος δύναμις, it is fire or silence; the fire is of two sorts, φανερόν and κρυπτόν, that which is hidden being the secret principle which causes that which is open. The world is derived from the unborn fire (γεννητὸς ἐξ ἀγεννήτου); first came six roots in pairs, male and female, viz. νοῦς and ἐπίνοια, φωνή and ὄνομα, λογισμός and ἐνθύμησις. Corresponding to these are six visible or realized counterparts οὐρανός and γῆ, ἥλιος and σελήνη, ἀήρ and ὕδωρ. A large part of the work is devoted to proving the system by an allegorical use of the OT, but it is interesting to notice that there are elements derived from Aristotle, especially the distinction which runs through the whole of δύναμις and ἐνέργεια. Simon calls himself ὁ ἑστώς, ὁ στάς, ὁ στησόμενος, implying his pre-existence and his immortality. A short extract will be sufficient to show the character of the book: 'To you then I say what I say, and I write what I write. The writing is this. There are two offshoots of the complete Æons, having neither beginning nor end, from one root, which is the invisible, incomprehensible power silence, of which the one is manifested from above, which is the great power, the intellect of the universe, that administers all things, the male principle; but the other is from below, vast thought, the female principle, generative of all things. Whence corresponding to one another they form a pair (συζυγία), and they reveal the middle space as an atmosphere which cannot be comprehended, having neither beginning nor end. But in this is the father who hears and nourishes all things that have beginning and end. This is he who stood, who standeth, who will stand, being a bisexual power, the reflex of the pre-existent, unlimited power which hath neither beginning nor end, being in solitude; for from this the thought which pre-existed in solitude came forth and became twain.'

Besides the extracts from this book, Hippolytus also tells us (vi. 20) that Simon went as far as Rome, where he seduced many by his magical arts, but was opposed by Peter. This is the earliest reference to a contest with St. Peter at Rome, unless the notice in Philaster (see below) was derived from the earlier treatise of Hippolytus, in which case it would belong to the close of the 2nd cent. Hippolytus goes on to give an account of his death, different from any that we have in other sources. At the end of his life Simon stated that if he were buried alive he would rise on the third day. He ordered his disciples to dig a grave and to bury him. They did as they were ordered, 'but he remained away even to the present day. For he was not the Christ.'

Origen (*c.* 249 A.D.), in the *contra Celsum*, v. 62, tells us that Celsus, enumerating all the Christian heretics, speaks of Simonians who, worshipping Helena, or a teacher Helenus, are called Heleniani. Origen points out that Celsus has omitted to notice that the Simonians never confess Jesus as the Son of God, but say that Simon is the power of God. In vi. 11 Origen points out that Simon has no followers, and Dositheus not more than thirty. He adds that this is all the more marvellous, as Simon had taken away for his disciples the danger of death, saying that to sacrifice to idols was a matter of indifference. In the same work (i. 57) we are told that Simon has not thirty followers, or that that is an exaggerated number.

Commodian (*c.* 250), in *Carm. apol.* p. 613, speaking of beasts which have had the power of speech by the power of God, tells us of the dog which St. Peter made to speak to Simon. This story is found in the Apocryphal *Acts*.

The author of the treatise *de Rebaptismate*, ch. 16 (*c.* 260 A.D.), tells us of followers of Simon who make fire appear in the water when they baptize.

In the *Syriac Didascalia* (end of 3rd cent.), vi. 8 and 9 (Lagarde, Syriac text, and in Bunsen, *Analecta Antenicæna*, ii. p. 325), we have a reference to Simon and Cleobius and others of his followers, and an account of the final destruction of Simon in the contest with Peter at Rome. As this work is almost inaccessible, and its evidence is important, the following extracts are given in full: *—

Syriac, p. 100, l. 18 '(Concerning Simon the sorcerer). For the beginning of heresies was on this wise. Satan clothed himself with Simon, a man who was a sorcerer, and of old time was his servant. And when we, by the gift of the Lord our God, and by the power of the Holy Spirit, were doing powers of healing in Jerusalem, and by means of the laying on of hands, the communication of the Holy Spirit was given to those who presented themselves, then he brought to us much silver, and desired that, as he had deprived Adam of the knowledge of life by the eating of the tree, so also he might deprive us of the gift of God by the gift of silver, and might seize our understandings by the gift of riches, in order that we might give to him in exchange for silver the power of the Holy Spirit. And we were all troubled about this. Then Peter looked at Satan, who was dwelling in Simon, and said to him, "Thy silver shall go with thee to destruction, and thou shalt not have part in this matter."'

P. 101 '(Concerning false apostles). But when we divided to the twelve parts for all the world, and went forth among the Gentiles in all the world, to preach the word, then Satan wrought and disturbed the people to send after us false apostles for the refutation of the word. And he sent out from the people one whose name was Cleobius, and joined him to Simon, and also others after them. They of the house of Simon followed me, Peter, and came to corrupt the word. And when he was in Rome he disturbed the Church [much], and turned away many. And showed himself as though flying. And he laid hold of the Gentiles, terrifying them by the power of the working of his sorceries. And in one of the days I went and saw him flying in the air. Then I rose up and said, "By the power of the name of Jesus I cut away thy powers." And he fell, and the ankle of his foot was broken. And then many turned away from him. But others who were worthy of him clave to him. And thus first was established and became that heresy of his. And also by means of other false apostles,' etc.

(Brackets as in Syriac text).

Arnobius (*c.* 310, *contra Gentes*, ii. 12) knows of the story of the contest of Simon and Peter at Rome. 'For they had seen,' he says, 'the chariot of Simon Magus and the four flaming horses scattered by the mouth of Peter, and disappearing at the name of Christ.' He had been hurled down, and his legs broken; then, taken to Brunda, worn out with tortures and with shame, he had again thrown himself down from a lofty summit.

Eusebius (*c.* 324 A.D., *HE* ii. 13. 14) gives an account of Simon drawn from Justin Martyr and Irenæus, and embellished with somewhat strong vituperative language. He then goes on to refer to a contest with Peter, first in Judæa, then in Rome.

'Forthwith,' he says, 'the above-mentioned impostor was smitten in the eyes of his mind by a Divine and wonderful light, and when first he had been convicted in Judæa by the Apostle Peter of the evil deeds he had committed, he departed in flight on a great journey over the sea from the East to the West, thinking in this way only he would be able to live as he wished.' He tells us that he came to Rome, was assisted there

* The writer is indebted for these extracts to the Rev. W. C. Allen of Exeter College, Oxford, who is engaged on a translation of the Syriac. The passage is also contained in the Latin Fragment, xxxii.

by the devil, obtained great influence, and was honoured by a statue. But during the reign of Claudius, Peter himself came there. 'And when the Divine word thus made its dwelling there, the power of Simon and the man himself were immediately quenched.'

Eusebius and the author of the *Syriac Didascalia* quoted above are the first writers who speak of both a contest in Judæa and also one in Rome; but there does not seem to be any reason for thinking that either of them had any other source for the former than the Acts of the Apostles. We do not know Eusebius' source for the overthrow of Simon by Peter, and his language is curiously ambiguous. Probably he is giving the common story, drawn from mere apocryphal writing, the worthlessness of which he knows quite well. This makes him avoid both a quotation and direct details.

Cyril of Jerusalem (*c.* 347, *Cat.* vi. 14, 15) gives an account based upon the Acts and Justin. He also gives an account of the destruction of Simon when he attempted to fly. It is interesting, as we shall see, to notice that he ascribes the final catastrophe to the joint agency of Peter and Paul, showing that he possessed a story which contained the names of them both.

The work *de excidio Hierosolym.* iii. 2 (A.D. 368), ascribed to Hegesippus, but probably by Ambrose, gives an account of a contest at Rome of Peter and Paul with Simon. It narrates a considerable number of incidents contained in the Latin *Acts*.

Philaster (*c.* 380 A.D.), in his account of heresies (*Hær.* xxix.), knows of the contest at Rome with Peter before Nero. He tells us that Simon fled from Jerusalem to escape Peter, and came to Rome, and then narrates the contest. If this came from his source, the early treatise of Hippolytus, it would throw the evidence for it into the 2nd cent.; but as it is absent in the parallel passage of Epiphanius, and as Hippolytus in his later treatise knows the story in another form, it is not probable that it did.

Jerome (*in Matt.* 24[5]) (387 A.D.) tells us that Simon said, 'Ego sum sermo Dei, ego sum speciosus, ego paracletus, ego omnipotens, ego omnia Dei.'

The *Apostolic Constitutions*, which date from Antioch about the year 400, give the legend of Simon Magus in what we may call its complete form (vi. 7–9)—

The source of all heresy is Simon of Gitta. First of all, the story in the Acts is given. Then comes an account of all the false teachers who went forth into the world. Then of the contest between Simon and Peter at Cæsarea, where the companions of Peter were Zacchæus the publican, and Barnabas, and Nicetas and Aquila, brothers of Clement, 'bishop and citizen of Rome, who had been the disciple of Paul and co-apostle and helper in the gospel.' They discoursed for three days concerning prophecy and the unity of the Godhead. Then Simon, being defeated, fled into Italy. Then comes an account of the contest at Rome of the same character as we shall come across shortly in the Apocryphal *Acts*.

This account is very much fuller than the narrative contained in the *Syriac Didascalia*, written probably rather more than a century earlier, and seems to imply a considerable growth of the legend. As will shortly be seen, it implies a knowledge of the Clementine literature in some form, and of the Apocryphal *Acts*.

In reviewing this catena of passages certain points become clear. During the 2nd cent. all the information, as far as we know, that existed about Simon, is derived from the Acts of the Apostles and the writings of Justin. There seems to be no knowledge of the contest with Peter at Rome, although Justin believed that Simon had visited Rome. In the 3rd cent. we begin to get an account of the contest with Peter, which we find in Hippolytus, Commodian, the authors of the *Syriac Didascalia*, and Aurelius. Eusebius and the *Didascalia* contain this legend, with an account of a contest in Palestine, but do not imply anything beyond the narrative of the Acts of the Apostles; Cyril's account seems of much the same character. It is not until we reach the close of the 4th cent. that we find in the *Apostolic Constitutions* what we may call the completed legend, combining the stories which, as we shall see, are derived from the Clementine literature with those derived from the Apocryphal *Acts* and the narrative in the Acts of the Apostles. The contrast between the earlier *Didascalia* and the later *Constitutions* is from this point of view most instructive. We are now in a position to study the fuller legends.

iii. THE CLEMENTINE LITERATURE AND APOCRYPHAL ACTS.—(*a*) *THE CLEMENTINE HOMILIES AND RECOGNITIONS.*—These are two forms of what appear to be an early Christian romance, containing the story of the wanderings of Clement in search of truth, the preaching and missionary journeys of Peter, his contest with Simon Magus, and the reunion of Clement with the lost members of his family—his father, mother, and two brothers. The *Recognitions* we possess only in a translation made by Rufinus about the year 400; the *Homilies* contain a somewhat different form of the same story in Greek. There are also a Syriac version and later epitomes which need not trouble us. Neither the *Recognitions* nor the *Homilies* contain the story in its original form, both presenting later features; and there is no accepted opinion concerning the date or the sources of the book. But the completed work must belong to a time when the controversy with Marcion's teaching and the preservation of the Divine *μοναρχία* were of interest in the Church, *i.e.* to the early part of the 3rd cent.; and some of the sources may be earlier. The earliest quotations come from Origen (*c.* 230). The work is clearly not orthodox in doctrine, but presents Ebionite features tinged with the Gnosticism it combats. We will give the account contained in the *Homilies*, stating at the conclusion the main differences in the narrative of the *Recognitions*.

The *Homilies* begin with an account of Clement, of his early religious impulses, of the desire that he had to hear of the new prophet, and of his meeting with Peter at Cæsarea in Palestine. He finds that Peter is, on the next day, to dispute with a certain Simon of Gitta (Bk. i.). The history of Simon is then related by Aquila and Nicetas, who had formerly been his pupils. His father's name was Antonius, his mother's, Rachel. He was a Samaritan of the village of Gitta or Gitthæ, six miles from Samaria. He was educated at Alexandria, and skilled in the wisdom of the Greeks and in magic. He wishes to be considered the highest virtue (*ἀναστάτη τις δύναμις*), higher than the Creator of the world. He calls himself the Standing One (*ὁ Ἑστώς*), as signifying that he will always be firmly established (*ὡς δὴ στησόμενος ἀεί*), and having no cause of corruption in him. The Creator of the world is not the highest God, nor will the dead be raised. He denies Jerusalem and substitutes Mt. Gerizim. He puts himself in the place of Christ. He perverts the Law by his own interpretation of it. He was the chief of the disciples of John the Hemerobaptist. As our Lord had 12 apostles symbolizing the 12 months of the year, so John had 30, of whom one was a woman named Helena, thus symbolizing the 29½ days in a month. The death of John occurred during the absence of Simon in Alexandria, and Dositheus succeeded to his place. Simon, on his return, desiring the headship, pretended to be a disciple, and then accused Dositheus of not delivering the teaching correctly. Dositheus then attempted to beat him with a rod, whereupon Simon became a cloud of smoke. Dositheus, knowing that he was not himself the '*Standing One*,' said, 'If you are the Standing One, I will worship you.' Simon claims that he is, becomes head of the sect, and Dositheus shortly afterwards dies. Simon, taking Helena with him, goes about disturbing the people. Helena, he says, had come down from the highest heavens; was mistress (*κυρίαν*), the All-mother, and Wisdom (*παμμήτορα οὐσίαν καὶ σοφίαν*); for her sake the Greeks and barbarians fought, having formed an image of the truth, for she was really then with the highest God. To aid him in his magical arts, he had killed a boy, and separated the soul from his body, and made an image which he kept concealed in an inner room by which he divined. A description is given of his miracles. He made statues walk. He appears wrapped in fire without being burnt. He is able to fly, to make bread out of stones. He becomes a serpent or a goat. He shows two faces. He can open and shut doors. He makes vessels in his house which wait upon him, without its appearing how they are moved (Bk. ii.).

After some delay, during which Peter has explained the

mystical meaning of Scripture, the disputes between him and Simon take place; Simon undertaking to prove from the Scriptures that there is more than one God, and that he whom Peter called God is not the highest God, for he is without foresight, imperfect, incomplete, and exposed to every form of human passion (iii. 38). The disputations last three days. On the fourth day it was found that Simon had fled by night to Tyre, and was there deceiving the people by his magic (iii. 58). Clement, Nicetas, and Aquila are sent on to Tyre, and Simon flees to Sidon, leaving some of his disciples (iv. 6), who, at Tyre, discuss with Clement the Greek fables concerning the gods (Bks. iv.–vi.). Peter comes to Tyre and Sidon, when Simon goes on to Berytus. Peter follows him, and after a slight altercation Simon goes to Tripolis. Peter again follows (Bk. vii.) him, and Simon flees into Syria.

At Tripolis Peter remains a long time. There Clement is baptized, and then they go on towards Antioch in Syria by Orthosia and Antaradus (viii.–xi.). Then comes the story of Clement's family (xii.–xv.), and they go on by Bataniæ, Paltus and Gabala to Laodicea. To Laodicea comes Simon from Antioch, and a long dispute takes place between him and Peter concerning the unity of the Godhead and the existence of evil (xvi.–xix.). Then Faustus, the newly-discovered father of Clement, goes to see Simon. Simon by his magical arts succeeds in making the face of Faustus like his own, and then departs to Antioch, where he accuses Peter of being a magician. Cornelius the centurion has been ordered by the emperor to arrest all magicians. It is for this reason that Simon has changed the face of Faustus, and he escapes to Judæa. Faustus then goes to Antioch, and uses the appearance which Simon has given him to destroy the latter's influence. The people think that he is Simon. In Simon's name he recants, confesses his deceit and impostures, and Peter is sent for to come to Antioch.

The main differences which concern us in the *Recognitions* are as follow: Nothing is said about Simon being a pupil of John. Helena is called Luna (σελήνη). Simon says that Rachel was not really his mother, but that he had previously been conceived by a virgin. The main difference in the book is one of order: instead of two disputes between Peter and Simon—one at Cæsarea, the other at Laodicea—we have one dispute at Cæsarea, and there most of the matters discussed in the *Homilies* at Laodicea are placed by this editor (ii. 19–72, iii. 12–48). Reference is made (iii. 63) to Simon having said that he would go to Rome, and that there he would be looked on as a god and honoured with statues, and in iii. 64 it is said that he had been there. The voyage along the Syrian coast-line is treated very shortly, in iv.–vi. we have discourses of Peter, in vii.–ix. the story of Clement. Then at the end of x. Simon comes on the stage again, we have the same story as at the close of the *Homilies*, only that the father of Clement is called, not Faustus but Faustinianus.

It will be noticed that this work seems to fall very easily into separate elements. Bks. i. and vii.–x. 51 are concerned with the story of Clement. Bks. ii. and iii. with the story of the contest of Simon and Peter. Bks. iv.–vi. with sermons of Peter. Bk. x. 52 ff. contains the concluding story concerning Simon, which hardly fits in with this version of the history. The journey along the Phœnician coast is very much attenuated, and there are suggestions that originally Simon went straight to Rome after the contest at Cæsarea.

(*b*) *THE LEGENDARY ACTS OF ST. PETER AND ST. PAUL.*—The story of Simon in these *Acts* differs from that in the Clementine literature. Both alike are concerned with contests between Simon Magus and Simon Peter; but while the latter place the scene of the contest in Syria, the *Acts* place it in Rome. The legends appear in two forms: the one is that contained in the *Actus Petri cum Simone*, a document of Gnostic origin, believed to have belonged to the collection known as Leucian; the other is the *Acts of Peter and Paul* (πράξεις τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου).

(1) According to the *Actus Petri cum Simone*, after St. Paul had left Rome, a stir arose in that city, about a man called Simon, who was at Aricia, who had worked many miracles, and said he was the great power (*magnam virtutem*) of God, and without God did nothing. He receives a summons: 'Thou art in Italy God, thou art the saviour of the Romans; hasten quickly to Rome.' He promises to come the next day at the seventh hour, flying through the air at the city gate. At the appointed time smoke is seen approaching, and suddenly Simon appears in the midst. The brethren are in a state of great consternation because Paul is away, and they are left without any to comfort them, and the greater number fall away. Meanwhile the twelve years of Peter's sojourn in Jerusalem are fulfilled, and Christ bids him go to Rome, for Simon, whom he had driven out of Judæa, had anticipated him there. We may pass over the account of Peter's voyage and arrival in Rome. He finds Simon living in the house of Marcellus, a Roman senator of great philanthropy, whom he had perverted by his magic. When Peter hears of the manner in which Marcellus has been deceived, he begins an attack on Simon, describing him as a 'ravening wolf, stealing the sheep which are not his.' It was he who inspired Judas to betray Christ, and hardened the heart of Herod and Caiaphas. He then goes to the house of Simon. Being refused admittance, he looses a dog and bids him carry a message. The dog goes in, raises his forefeet, and in a loud voice bids Simon come forth. Marcellus at once recognizes his sin, and, going out, falls at Peter's feet and asks pardon. He explains how he had been persuaded to erect a statue SIMONI IVVENI DEO: 'To Simon, the youthful god.' Further conversations of Simon and of Peter with the dog follow; then it, having fulfilled its mission, dies. Peter then turns a dead sardine into a live fish, and Marcellus, overpowered by these miracles, with the help of his servant turns Simon out of his house. Simon then goes to Peter's home. Peter sends him a message by means of an infant seven months old, who speaks and bids him leave Rome, and keep silence until the following Sabbath.

Peter then narrates the story of how he had rescued a woman named Eubola from Simon in Palestine. Further miracles and discourses of Peter are narrated, and the night before the contest is spent in prayer and fasting. On the day of the contest all Rome comes together, the senators, the prefect, and the officers. First comes a verbal disputation, and in the speech of Peter we notice apparently a Gnostic tendency. The contest begins by Simon making a young man die by his word. An interruption occurs. A woman rushes in saying that her son is dead, and some young men are sent to fetch him. Peter then raises the young man whom Simon had put to death, a favourite of the emperor, and the son of the widow who had been brought to him. Again, the mother of a certain senator, Nicostrates, asks Peter to heal her son. The dead body is brought. Peter challenges Simon to raise it. Simon makes it seem to move, but Peter really raises it. All the people then follow Peter.

Simon still tries to deceive the people by pretended miracles, but Peter exposes him. As no one believes him, he explains that he is going to God: 'Men of Rome, do you think that Peter has shown himself stronger than me, and has overcome me? And do you follow him? You are deceived. To-morrow, leaving you impious and godless men, I will fly to God, whose power I am, having been weakened. If, then, you have fallen, I am he that standeth (ὁ Ἑστώς), and I go to the Father, and will say to him, "Me, the Standing One, thy son, they wished to overthrow; but having refused to agree with them, I have come to thyself."' The people come together to see him fly. He appears flying over Rome. Peter prays, and he falls down, having his leg broken in three places. The people stone him, and all follow Peter. Simon is taken to Aricia, and then to Terracina, where he dies.

(2) The *Acta Petri et Pauli* occur in two forms, the Μαρτύριον τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου and the πράξεις τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου, but the variations between them do not affect the story of Simon. The main point of difference between this story and that which we have just narrated is that St. Paul is here made the companion of St. Peter instead of being represented as having left Rome.

Owing to the success of the preaching of Peter and Paul, the Jews and priests stir up Simon against Peter. Simon is summoned before Nero, and by his miracles convinces Nero of the truth of his claims to be Son of God, and Nero orders Peter and Paul to be brought before him. The contest is first one of words, in which St. Peter quotes a letter of Pontius Pilate about our Lord, then it passes into miracles. Each challenges the other to say what is in their thoughts. Peter blesses and breaks a loaf of bread, and has it prepared to give to the dogs which Simon sends against him to devour him, thus disclosing that he knew what was in Simon's thoughts. Simon then demands that a lofty tower should be erected. Nero remembers how once Simon had appeared to raise himself from the dead after he had been killed three days, and still expects his victory. This Simon had done by making the executioner who had been sent to execute him cut off the head of a ram instead of his own. At this point there is inserted a conversation between Nero and Paul, and then a dispute on the subject of circumcision. Then comes the final test. While Paul prays, it is the part of Peter to oppose Simon. Simon starts flying. Peter then says, 'I adjure you, angels of Satan, who bear him to the air to deceive the hearts of the unbelievers, by God the creator of all, and Jesus Christ, whom on this day He raised from the dead, from this hour no longer bear him, but let him go.' He then falls and dies. Nero puts Peter and Paul in prison, but keeps the body of Simon to see if it will rise on the third day.

It will be noticed in this narrative that the part played by St. Paul is clearly subordinate. His name and his action might really be omitted without serious injury to the narrative. This suggests that very probably the story in its original form came from a source similar to the *Actus Petri cum Simone*, in which St. Paul is entirely absent.

iv. MODERN CRITICAL VIEWS.—We have now gone sufficiently minutely through all the various vicissitudes which the legends about Simon Magus experienced during the early centuries, and can pass to some equally curious developments of modern criticism.

There is no doubt that the Clementine literature is to some extent Ebionite in character, and might naturally contain anti-Pauline teaching. Starting from this point of view, Baur discovered certain passages in which Simon repre-

sented, or seemed to represent, St. Paul. He then propounded the view that Simon the Samaritan was not a historical character, but a term of reproach invented for the Apostle Paul. The contest between Simon Peter and Simon Magus really represented the original conflict of Peter and Paul. Wherever Simon Magus occurs we should read Paul. At first it was clearly understood who this person designated as Simon the Samaritan really was, but as the two parties more and more came together the original meaning was forgotten, and hence we find, even in a book like the Acts of the Apostles, written in a conciliatory interest, fragments of the old contest still embedded. But we have to recognize that the whole of our accepted history of early Christianity is really a conventional ecclesiastical legend, and the real history of the period must be disentangled from the Clementine literature. It is marvellous with what ingenuity the parallel was worked out when once the idea was started. Simon called himself the great power of God. Paul claims that he lived by the power of God (2 Co 12^9 13^4). When Simon offers money to buy the power of conferring the gift of the Holy Ghost, this is an allusion to Paul, who by his contributions for the poor saints at Jerusalem was attempting to obtain the apostleship. Peter telling Simon that he has neither part nor lot in this matter, is really Peter telling Paul that he has not the κλῆρος τῆς ἀποστολῆς.

Lipsius, who had worked out this theory in the most ingenious manner, did so mainly in connexion with his researches into the early history of the story of St. Peter's martyrdom at Rome. The original idea of Peter having visited Rome was Ebionite. 'The tradition of Peter's presence in Rome, which, unhistorical as it is, can only be explained by an anti-Pauline interest, is most universally connected in the most ancient records with his relation to Simon' (Zeller, *Acts of the Apostles*, i. p. 267, Eng. tr.). Rome must be claimed for true Christianity and the Jewish prince of the apostles, so a story was invented describing the manner in which Peter had visited Rome and there won a great victory over the false apostle, the Samaritan, *i.e.* Paul. Ultimately, the Roman Church realized how important for their prestige was the visit of Peter to Rome and his martyrdom there, and they adopted this legend in a Catholic sense, Peter and Paul being represented as the first founders of the Roman Church. The difficulty about this theory is that in the documents which we possess the Catholic theory is really the oldest, and therefore it is necessary to invent an early Ebionite *Acts of Peter* which contain the Ebionite form of the legend. This, according to Lipsius, was the common source of the Simon legend and the Apocryphal *Acts*, and he devoted great ingenuity to reconstructing it in accordance with his theory. But in his later works Lipsius has given up much of his former theory, although he still holds to the existence of early Ebionite *Acts of Peter*.

This theory of the identity of Simon Magus and the Apostle Paul is gradually ceasing to be held, and many scholars summarily dismiss it; it is, however, we notice, still accepted by Schmiedel (*Encyc. Bibl.* i. p. 913), and will, no doubt, be fully worked out by him. At first sight, from the point of view of common-sense, it seems absurd, and as a matter of fact it has very little evidence in its favour. The evidence that there seemed to be arose from a certain method of looking at facts owing to preconceived ideas. Without going into the question more thoroughly than space permits, we may touch upon the following points:—

(i.) It is very doubtful whether the Simon of the Clementines conceals the Apostle Paul.

(ii.) There is little or no evidence for early Ebionite *Acts of Peter*.

(iii.) The evidence for the Catholic history of the visit of Peter to Rome is earlier and better than that for his visit to Rome to combat Simon Magus. That is a later story (not appearing until the 3rd cent.), arising from the combination of two or three stories.

(iv.) The catena of Patristic evidence given above suggests a quite different account of the growth of the legend.

(i.) *How far does the Simon of the Clementines conceal the Apostle Paul?*—It is quite natural that the writer of the Clementines, who was probably an Ebionite by extraction, should be anti-Pauline, and any teaching that he would consider erroneous he would put into the mouth of Simon. But how far does the masque of Simon really conceal Paul?

(*a*) In *Hom.* xvii. 12–19 Simon defends the thesis that the belief obtained by visions is more certain than that from personal intercourse. Peter maintains that the personal knowledge that he possesses is more trustworthy. This may very naturally be referred to the claim of St. Paul, that he was an apostle because he had seen the Lord in a vision; nor are there wanting verbal parallels. Peter says (ch. 19): εἰ κατεγνωσμένον με λέγεις, cf. Gal 2^{11}; so again, εἰ δὲ ὑπ' ἐκείνου μᾶλλον ὥραις ὀφθείς, καὶ μαθητευθεὶς ἀπόστολος ἐγένου, and we know that St. Paul claimed to have visions (2 Co 12^1). This explanation is quite possible; but has not the whole passage probably very much more meaning when applied to the claims made by heretics to have a special revelation superior to the Church revelation?

(*b*) In *Hom.* ii. 17 Simon is said to be ὁ πρὸ ἐμοῦ εἰς τὰ ἔθνη πρῶτος ἐλθών. He preaches the false doctrine, the coming of which must precede the true which Peter taught. Is not this Paul going among the heathen and teaching them falsely, to be followed by Peter, who teaches them what is true? So again *Hom.* iii. 59 Peter says that when he wished to teach the heathen the belief in one God, Simon went further, and taught them to believe in many. In vii. 4–8 Peter tells the people of Tyre that they have been deceived by his forerunner Simon. The second instance clearly takes away from the force of the first, because the false teacher is made to teach the belief in more than one God, and is clearly the first disseminator of Marcionism.

(*c*) In *Hom.* xviii. 6–10 we have a condemnation of indiscriminate teaching. This is Peter condemning Paul; but really it will have equal meaning if we suppose it introduced to explain why this special doctrine of the Clementines has only been known to a few.

(*d*) In *Recog.* iii. 49 Simon is called a *vas electionis . . . maligno*, a chosen vessel for evil, cf. Ac 9^{15}; and in *Recog.* ii. 18 he is said to be *malignus transformans se in splendorem lucis*, cf. 2 Co 11^{14}. But nothing can be drawn from the last sentence, and the first does not mean much. Why, if Paul is called a *chosen vessel* in a good sense, should not Simon be called *a chosen vessel for evil*?

(*e*) Something more may be said for the expression in the letter of Peter prefixed to the book in which he speaks of ἐχθροῦ ἀνθρώπου ἄνομόν τινα καὶ φλυαρώδη . . . . προσηκάμενοι διδασκαλίαν.—Here Paul may well be referred to as 'the enemy' whose doctrine was lawless; but why should not the enemy be simply Simon, who was by tradition the source of all false teaching? Lawlessness does not mean breaking the law, but teaching immorality.

(*f*) The most significant passage is *Recog.* i. 70 (a curious episode peculiar to the *Recognitions*). James by his preaching has very nearly persuaded the high priest and all the people to be baptized when 'homo inimicus' appears and bids them not to be deceived by a magician, and attacks them. He was clearly intended to be Saul (in his unconverted days), *but he is specially distinguished from Simon*, who is introduced as someone different in the next chapter but one. Paul is quite clearly not Simon here.

It seems very doubtful, indeed, whether Simon is ever intended to represent Paul, nor is there any Pauline teaching put into Simon's mouth. The above passages, which are all the more important quoted, are hardly sufficient to establish the theory that Simon is Paul. The author or compiler of the Clementines really starts from the belief that the Simon of the Acts, whom Peter combated, was the source of all heresy, and so he makes his favourite apostle travel from place to place combating in the person of Simon the false Marcionite teaching of which he was believed to be the originator. This will explain the whole situation, and is much less far-fetched than the explanation which finds St. Paul everywhere.

(ii.) But without forcing this too far, and ad-

mitting that the writer may possibly have been intending somewhat delicately to attack Pauline teaching, there is a further question: *Is there any evidence for early Ebionite Acts which contained a narrative of Peter and Simon (concealing Paul)*?

The theory of Lipsius formerly was that there was an original Ebionite *Acts* which was the common source of both the Roman legend and the Clementines. He found an external support for this statement in the passage given above from the *Apostolic Constitutions*, which he boldly said belonged to the earlier portion of that work. This is an admirable illustration of the danger of such statements, and how very untrustworthy are the attempts of any critic, however able, to guess at the original portions of a work. Some years before Lipsius wrote thus, Lagarde had already published his Greek version of the *Didascalia*, the earlier form of the *Constitutions*, and disproved the whole theory. There is no external evidence for the existence of early Ebionite *Acts* as the source of the whole story, and Lipsius has given up the theory in this form, but he still believes in early Ebionite *Acts*. As a matter of fact, there seems very little evidence for their existence. He finds Ebionite tendencies in some passages of the *Acts of Peter and Paul*, but the controversy there is not with Jewish Christianity, but with Judaism—and Simon Magus is the champion of Judaism. That is the position that he occupied in the Leucian *Acts*, and the passages suggest much more a Leucian than an Ebionite origin. It is even more difficult to speak of the sources of the Clementines, but it is very doubtful if it is necessary to assume an Ebionite *Acts* which contained an account of Simon. The contest between Simon and Peter along the Syrian coast is almost absent from the *Recognitions*, perhaps the earlier form. With the exception of the concluding incident, which was clearly not part of the original work, the portion concerning Simon resolves itself into the account of his career, which is obviously based largely on Justin, and the disputes with Peter at Cæsarea, in which Simon is made the protagonist of Marcionism. The latter would probably be the direct work of the author, and does not demand a source. On no subject connected with the Clementines is it possible to speak with certainty; but this much seems clear, that there is no evidence of Ebionite *Acts*, and no need to suppose that they existed. They are merely a hypothesis, invented to support preconceived views.

(iii.) If we examine the chronological order of the development of the legend, the *Catholic account of the first work of Peter and Paul at Rome is older than the story of Simon and Peter*. Both Dionysius of Corinth and Irenæus know the story of their visit, and both ascribe to them the foundation of the Roman Church. There is no certain trace of the story concerning the contest of Simon and Peter at Rome before the 3rd cent., although as a matter of fact it probably existed in the Leucian *Acts* not later than the close of the 2nd century. Chronologically, the Catholic story caused the legend, not *vice versâ*.

(iv.) The same is true of the whole growth of the story. We first of all trace the various elements of it as existing in different sources and varying forms. The more complicated and fuller stories are the result of later growth, and not the original source. The simple narrative of the Acts is the earliest, not the latest account. This will come out more clearly in what follows.

v. THE GROWTH OF THE LEGEND.—We are now in a position to sketch tentatively the growth of the whole legend. Our primary authorities must be the Acts and Justin Martyr, because they are chronologically the earlier, and because the acceptance of them explains the rest. Justin Martyr, who lived in Samaria less than 100 years after the time of Simon, was writing about something that he would know. Whether the fully developed system as described by Justin comes directly from the founder of the heresy or was the product of a later member of the school, may of course still be doubted, but the system harmonizes with what we read in the Acts; nor are there any *a priori* reasons for doubting the story about Simon and the woman he chose to call Helena. The later account of the system which we find in Hippolytus was probably the production of some member of the sect; but it is on the same lines as the older work, and we must remember that the essence of Gnosticism was not orthodoxy but speculation. Different members of the school of Basilides produced very different systems, and in the same way some members of the school of Simon produced the later development described above. The main source of the Clementine literature was directly or indirectly Justin, possibly also Hegesippus, and some of the personal details of his life and connexion with Dositheus may be authentic.

We now pass to the Roman visit. Are there any grounds for thinking that this really took place? Probably not. Of what happened in Samaria, Justin is a first-hand authority; on matters in Rome he would be ignorant and misinformed. He saw the statue, and jumped to the conclusion that Simon, of whom he had known so much, was here represented. It may be noticed that Justin gives no authority for the Roman visit except the statue. In another direction Justin is responsible for the Simon legend, namely, by making him the source and originator of heresy. How far there is an actual historical basis for the idea that Gnosticism was directly or indirectly derived from him may be doubtful. His system exhibits all the elements which go to make up Gnosticism; especially we may notice that there we first find the idea that the highest God was not the creator of the world; but then such tendencies and ideas were in the air. The same influences of dualism and syncretism which worked in his case would work in others. But, anyhow, Simon was the one clear instance of a heretic mentioned in the New Testament. It was natural, therefore, to represent him as the typical arch-heretic, the originator of heresy, and the place which Justin assigned to him at the head of his heretical genealogy was one in which his position was uncontested.

Next comes the Roman contest with Peter. The materials out of which this was constructed were (1) the contest of Peter and Simon in the Acts; (2) the Roman tradition that the Church was founded by Peter; (3) the story of the Simon statue; (4) a story contained in Suetonius (*Nero*, 12). At games initiated by Nero, some one, personating Icarus, attempted to fly, and the emperor was sprinkled with blood when he fell. The story of Simon's flight towards heaven was probably invented at Rome before the close of the 2nd cent., not later at any rate than the beginning of the 3rd. Whether the author of the Leucian *Acts of Peter*—a Gnostic—was the first originator or not we cannot say; very probably he was, as he seems to have helped to give Simon Magus a prominent place. According to Photius (*Cod.* cxiv.) that work taught that the God of the Jews was evil, whose minister Simon was. This would make it very natural that the author we call Leucius should have invented the episode; and the date which we assign later than Justin, but not later than the end of the 2nd cent., harmonizes with other indications. This story, like many other Leucian inventions, was attractive to the orthodox, and therefore we find it here worked up in a com-

paratively speaking orthodox dress. Paul was introduced as a companion of Peter, not because there had been anything anti-Pauline in the original story, but because the combined activity of Peter and Paul became a favourite subject of legend. For an Ebionite form of this legend there appears to be no evidence. There remains a certain chronological confusion to discuss. According to Justin, it was in the reign of Claudius that Simon came to Rome. The origin of this date was probably the date on the statue which he saw. The earlier form of the story, then, would bring Peter to Rome in the days of Claudius; and in the *Actus Petri cum Simone* nothing is said about Nero. But the martyrdom of Peter was by tradition under Nero, so that at a later date the legend was changed to Nero's time. Eusebius, however, had before him the earlier account. He brings Simon to Rome under Claudius, and Peter immediately after him. Is not this probably the origin of the 25 years' episcopate of Peter at Rome?

The origin, then, of the Roman legend was probably the Leucian *Acts*. These are represented for us mainly by the *Actus Petri cum Simone*, the Leucian affinities of which have been shown by James (*Apocrypha Anecdota*, ii. p. xxiv); the πράξεις Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου are an orthodox recasting of the story, with the exaggerated miraculous tendency omitted.

A separate line on which the legend developed is represented by the Clementine literature. A combination of arguments would incline us to put its date at the beginning of the 3rd cent. and its origin in Syria. The sources out of which it was composed must be very doubtful, as we have little to go on, but the story is obviously made up of different elements. There is a story of Clement and his relations; there is a story of a dispute with Apion, which sometimes seems to have been put into the mouth of Peter, but in our texts is put into the mouth of Clement. There are certain κηρύγματα or *Preachings of Peter*, and there is an account of the travels of Peter. But how much of this was derived from earlier sources and how much was the work of the compiler of the legend we have no means of determining. The story of the travels of Peter contained, obviously, an account of his journey from Cæsarea to Antioch, of the Churches that he founded during that journey, and the bishops and presbyters that he instituted. This is preserved in both our texts; but was the dispute with Simon Magus part of the original document? It is usually supposed that it must have been; but in the *Recognitions*, which is generally considered the older form of the story, the part of Simon is confined to Cæsarea, and is an episode by itself. Again, does the author know of the Roman contest? The references to Rome occur mainly in the *Recognitions*, and may have been introduced to adapt the story to a Roman audience. It is quite possible that the introduction of Simon Magus is due to the compiler of the work, and that his only historical source of knowledge about Simon was Justin Martyr and, possibly, Hegesippus.

But if his sources are doubtful, his purpose is more clear. He is an Ebionite Christian by extraction, who has been influenced by the speculative ideas which we associate with Gnosticism, and he writes to reconcile the conflicting claims of Judaism and Christianity. His main tenet is the Divine unity, and therefore he combats the polytheism of the heathen, the dualism of Marcion, and Trinitarianism (if we may use the term). This last feature gives us his date, the period of the Monarchian controversy early in the 3rd cent.; and for this date there is also external evidence. Within the limits of a common Monotheism he hopes to find room for both Jews and Christians, and his references to the establishment of bishops and presbyters by Peter show that he wishes to adopt the existing ecclesiastical organization. There is a certain amount of art in his choice of characters. The defender of polytheism is Apion, perhaps the traditional opponent of Judaism; the attack is put into the mouth of Clement, as obviously more fitted for such work than Peter. The one heretic of the apostolic age, Simon, who was the traditional source of all heresy, is made the exponent of all false Christian teaching, and his natural combatant is Peter. Paul is never mentioned by name, but anything like an overt attack on him would have been quite beside his purpose. There are no doctrines which were ascribed to Paul attacked in the person of Simon. Simon is not Paul, nor intended by the author to be Paul. He was obviously a writer with considerable powers of invention; he had a certain amount of history or legend or tradition, but he may very likely be himself responsible for most of the personal episodes he describes, and for the use he has made of Simon. There is no evidence, at any rate, for any Ebionite *Acts* which he is supposed to have used, nor any need to imagine them. One more feature must be referred to. Simon is with him the magician as well as the false teacher, and a great deal is said about the magical element, which requires all Peter's miraculous powers to dispel. The whole of this side of the legend appears absurdly puerile to a modern reader. But we are apt to forget that all the tricks Simon claimed to perform were believed in at the time, and that those who claimed to perform magical rites were among the most determined opponents of Christianity. Magic was a real danger, and a very subtle form of false teaching. It was the true spiritual force of Christianity which overcame it; but numerous writers always ascribed this triumph to the exhibition of vulgar miraculous power.

It is maintained that this reconstruction of the history of the Simon legend represents a much more probable and consistent account of the origin of the story than the distorted and complicated theories which have appeared since the time of Baur, and have rested chiefly on unproved hypotheses of sources and fanciful reconstructions of the early historical period.*

vi. The Affinities of Simon's System.—The historical nucleus of the legend is, as we have seen, the narrative in the Acts, part of the story in Justin, the system as described by him belonging either to Simon himself or an earlier follower, and perhaps some incidents recorded by the Clementines. When we accept this as original, the affinities of the system suggested by Baur and his followers become a legitimate explanation. Samaria was a country in which a sort of bastard Judaism came in contact with the old Syrian and Phœnician religions and the newer Hellenic paganism. All these different elements are present in Simon's system. That the relation of himself and Helena is a reminiscence of the Syrian male and female deity is equally natural, whether Helena be a real person (as is probable) or only the personification of an idea. The fact that in one account—that of the *Recognitions*—she is called *Luna* (a translation of σελήνη), makes the parallel to the Sun and Moon worship, the Baal and Astarte, more close. Simon represents an almost pre-Christian Gnosticism, and it is significant that only here do we find this very repulsive dualistic element. Simon represents the impostor of the

* It may be objected that nothing has been said about the Simon of Cyprus mentioned in Jos. *Ant.* xx. vii. 4. In the opinion of the present writer the two Simons have nothing to do with one another, and the resemblance of names counts for nothing. There are said to be twenty-four Simons in the Index to Josephus.

period, whose claims are even more improbable than those of Apollonius of Tyana or Alexander of Abonoteichus. His mind is a medley of Hellenism, Judaism, and Orientalism; out of this he forms a system, in which he himself occupies the first position. The influence of Christianity and then the opposition to it give a certain vitality and force to the ideas he suggests, and in other hands they become fertile and prolific. Later Gnostics were more definitely Christian. The founders of the sects never claimed Divine honours for themselves. They discarded more extravagant features. But they shared with Simon the fundamental doctrine that the Creator of the world was an inferior and, perhaps, a malevolent deity.*

vii. SIMON MAGUS AND SIMONY. — In another direction the name of Simon has become used universally for the sin of attempting to purchase spiritual gifts or spiritual preferment for money. Both sorts were included under the sin of Simon. The earliest example seems to be from the *Apostolical Canons*, where it is said: 'If any bishop, presbyter, or deacon obtain this dignity for money, both he that is ordained and the ordainer shall be deposed, and also cut off from all communion, as Simon Magus was by Peter.' And the instance is often quoted in later canons. The use of the term appears to have arisen through the Canon Law.

viii. SIMON MAGUS AND THE FAUST LEGEND.— There are some curious coincidences, if they are nothing more, between the legend of Simon and the story of Faust. The hero of that legend is supposed to have been a certain Dr. Faust, of Knittlingen, who died in 1540. The legend appears first in a written form in 1587, and was obviously the result of a fertile imagination. It is quite possible that in building up the story reminiscences direct or indirect of the legend of Simon Magus may have come in. The following are points of resemblance: (1) firstly and most clearly the introduction of Helena in both; (2) the name Faustus; (3) the *homunculus*; (4) in Simon Magus himself we may have a suggestion of Mephistopheles. This connexion may be due to direct literary influence, or we may have here two different versions of a theme which has been common at various times, the contest between Religion and Magic—a contest which we have to believe is far older and more universal than was once thought.

LITERATURE.—(1) On Simon Magus generally. The two most complete expositions of the two opposing points of view are by Möller in Herzog, *RE*[2] xiv. *s.v.*, and by Lipsius in Schenkel's *Bibel-Lexicon*, v. 301–321. For older works see Mosheim, *Inst. hist. eccl.* i. 389. There are accounts in all the works on heresies in the Early Church, of which the most useful is that of Hilgenfeld, *die Ketzergeschichte des Urchristenthums*, pp. 163 and 453. The most complete account in English is that by Salmon in *Dict. Chr. Biog.* iv. 681. Other treatises referred to are Simson, 'Leben und Lehre Simon des Magiers,' in *Z. f. hist. Theol.* 1841, iii. 39; Baur, *Das Manichäische Religionssystem*, Tübingen, 1831, 467, *Die Christliche Gnosis*, Tübingen, 1835, p. 300 ff.

(2) On Simon and Paul see Baur, 'Die Christuspartie in Korinth,' in *Tübinger Zeitschrift*, 1831–34, p. 116 ff., *Paulus* (1845), p. 85 ff., 218 ff. [2 pp. 97 ff., 246 ff.], *Das Christenthum der drei ersten Jahrhunderte*[2], p. 85 ff.; Hilgenfeld, *Die Clementinischen Recognitionen und Homilien* (1848), p. 317 ff., 'Der Magier Simon,' in *ZFWTh*, 1868, p. 357 ff.; Zeller, *Apostelgeschichte*, 158 ff. (i. p. 250, Eng. tr.); Volkmar, 'über den Simon Magus der Apostelgeschichte,' in *Theol. Jahrbücher*, 1856, p. 279 ff.

(3) The Apocryphal *Acts* may be read in Lipsius, *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*, which supersedes all previous editions. Lipsius' criticism will be found in *Die Quellen der römischen Petrus-Sage kritisch untersucht*, Kiel, 1872, and in *Die Apokryphen Apostelgeschichten und Apostellegenden*, ii. 1, Braunschweig, 1887. In the latter volume he very much modifies his earlier conclusions.

(4) On the Clementines may be mentioned Schliemann, *Die Clementinen*, Hamburg, 1844; Uhlhorn, *Die Homilien und Recognitionen des Clemens Romanus*, Göttingen, 1854; Hilgenfeld, *Die Clementinischen Recognitionen und Homilien*, Jena, 1848, and in *Theol. Jahrbücher*, 1854, 1868; Lehmann, *Die Clementinischen Schriften*; Lipsius in *Protestantische Kirchenzeitung*, 1869, pp. 477–482; and, in English, Salmon's art. in the *Dict. Chr. Biog.*

(5) On Simon and the Faust legend see Zahn, *Cyprian von Antiochien und die deutsche Faustsage*, Erlangen, 1882; and Kuno Fischer, *Die Faustsage*.

A. C. HEADLAM.

* The criticisms of Renan (ii. 154) are interesting and worth quoting. 'Simon de Getton fut le chef d'un mouvement religieux, parallèle à celui du Christianisme, qu'on peut regarder comme une sorte de contrefaçon Samaritaine de l'œuvre de Jésus . . . (*ib.* 269). Hélène, significant par là qu'elle était l'objet de l'universelle pursuite, la cause éternelle de dispute entre les hommes, celle qui se venge de ses ennemis en les rendant aveugles: thème bizarre qui mal compris ou travesti à dessein, donna lieu chez les pères de l'église aux contes les plus banals.'

SIMPLE, SIMPLICITY.—The words tr[d] 'simple' in AV are (1) פֶּתִי (from פָּתָה to be open), 'openness,' inexperience, descending to 'heedlessness.' In Pr 1[22] the abstract use occurs and the word is tr[d] 'simplicity,' elsewhere the meaning is personal, and the translation 'simple' or 'simple one.' In Pr 9[6] the translation is 'foolish' (RV 'simple ones'). It occurs chiefly in Proverbs (see Oehler, *Theol. of OT*, ii. 446; Cheyne, *Devout Study of Criticism*, 388; Schultz, *Old Test. Theol.* ii. 283 f.). (2) פְּתָיוּת, only Pr 9[13], of Folly personified. (3) ἄκακος, 'guileless,' Wis 4[12], Ro 16[18]. (4) ἀκέραιος, 'sincere,' lit. 'unmixed,' Ro 16[19] (see Trench, *Syn.* § lvi.).

Simplicity is the tr. of (1) פֶּתִי in Pr. 1[22]. (2) תֹּם (of which the plu. is תֻּמִּים, the *Thummim* of Heb. oracles) completeness, uprightness (from תָּמַם to finish), only 2 S 15[11]. (3) ἁπλότης, 'one-foldedness,' 'singleness,' 'sincerity,' Wis 1[1], 1 Mac 2[37m], Ro 12[8], 2 Co 1[12] 11[3]. (See Sanday–Headlam on Ro 12[8]; G. Montefiore in *JQR* vi. 469).

The Eng. adj. 'simple' (used also as a subst.) signifies 'one-fold,' 'single' (from Lat. *simplex*, through Old Fr. *simple*). This original meaning is seen, *e.g.*, in its application to medicines: thus Gosson, *School of Abuse* (Arber, p. 37), 'Chiron was . . . a reader of Phisicke, by opening the natures of many simples.' And we still speak of a matter being 'simple' when it is not complicated. When applied to persons the meaning is now 'weakminded,' 'foolish.' But in AV and older Eng. generally the meaning is never quite so strong as that, and, when it approaches it, always implies moral blame.

1. *Inexperienced* or *unsophisticated*, as Gn 25[27] Tind. 'Jacob was a simple man and dwelled in the tentes.' This is perhaps all that is expressed by the word in Pr 1[4] 'To give subtilty (RVm 'prudence') to the simple'; 14[15] 'The simple believeth every word'; and especially Ro 16[19] 'I would have you wise unto that which is good, and simple (AVm 'harmless') concerning evil.'

2. This inexperience may be ignorance to be instructed, or weakness to be defended. Thus Ps 19[7] 'The testimony of the Lord is sure, making wise the simple'; 116[6] 'The Lord preserveth the simple.' Cf. Hamilton, *Catechism*, fol. xv, 'Ye that are simple and unleirnit men and wemen suld expresly beleif al the artikils of your Crede'; Is 53[3] Cov. 'He shalbe the most symple and despised of all'; 60[22] Cov. 'The yongest and leest shal growe in to a thousande, and the symplest in to a stronge people.'

3. But in Proverbs the tendency is to regard inexperience as *heedlessness* and almost *folly*, thus 14[18] 'The simple inherit folly'; and as blameworthy, thus 1[22] 'How long, ye simple ones, will ye love simplicity?' Cf. Bunyan, *Holy War*, 129, 'I heard him say it in *Folly Yard*, at the house of one Mr. *Simple*, next door to the sign of the *Self-deceiver*.'

Simplicity has not quite the same range of meaning as 'simple.' 1. *Ignorance* or *weakness*, descending to folly, as Pr 1[22], cf. Adams, *Works*, i. 29—'God, in regard to thy simplicity, brings to naught all their machinations.' 2. *Guilelessness*, rising to *innocence* and *sincerity*, as 2 S 15[11] 'They went in their simplicity'; Wis 1[1] 'Think of the Lord with a good heart, and in simplicity of heart seek him'; 1 Mac 2[37m]; Ro 12[8] 'He that giveth, let him do it with simplicity' (*ἐν ἁπλότητι*, AVm 'liberally,' RV 'with liberality,' RVm 'with singleness'); 2 Co 1[12] 'in simplicity and godly sincerity' (RV [reading with edd. *ἁγιότητι* for *ἁπλότητι* of TR] 'in holiness'); 11[3] 'the simplicity that is in Christ.' Cf. Elyot, *Governour*, i. 220, 'Trewely in every covenaunt, bargayne, or promise, ought to be a simplicitie, that is to saye, one playne understandinge or meaning betwene the parties'; and Ac 2[46] Rhem. 'They tooke their meate with joy and simplicitie of hart.' It is to be observed that 'simplicity' in its modern sense does not occur in AV or RV: to take 2 Co 11[3] in the mod. sense is wholly to misunderstand the passage.

J. HASTINGS.

SIMPLICITY (ἁπλότης, 'singleness,' LXX tr. of תֹּם as also of יֹשֶׁר) is the characteristic attribute of the man who is whole-hearted and single-hearted. The word ἁπλοῦς is applied by Plato to God, who is

'perfectly simple and true both in word and deed' (*Rep.* ii. 382 E). It is used to describe the man who plays only one part and does one thing, in contrast to him whose energies are not concentrated but divided over a variety of pursuits (*Rep.* iii. 397 E). Simplicity is a mark of the just man who wishes to be and not to seem good (*Rep.* ii. 361 B), while the man of an opposite type who lacks the true virtue of a 'unanimous and harmonious soul' is διπλοῦς, for he is at war with himself, and is virtually two men, not one (*Rep.* viii. 554 D). Its close relationship to ἀκακία (guilelessness) is indicated by the fact that in many passages where the LXX has ἁπλότης, Aq. has ἀκακία as tr. of the same word (Ps 7^{9} $26^{1.\ 11}$ 41^{13} 78^{72}); its relationship to εὐθύτης (rectitude), by the fact that in LXX יֹשֶׁר is tr. by both words (1 K 9^{4}, 1 Ch 29^{17}). Simplicity describes the moral and mental attitude of the man who is absolutely at one with himself in motive, aim, and end, whether in relation to God or his fellow-men. This unity and concentration of the inner nature gives fulness of spiritual perception, as our Lord shows by a comparison taken from another sphere of vision. 'If, therefore, thine eye be single (ἁπλοῦς), thy whole body shall be full of light' (Mt 6^{22}, Lk 11^{34}). Such a man is incapable of insincerity, or artifice, or malice, or finesse. Hence he is opposed to the two-souled man, who is driven now Godwards, now earthwards (δίψυχος, Ja 1^{8}), to the double-hearted (Ps 12^{2}) and the double-tongued (διλόγος, 1 Ti 3^{8}; δίγλωσσος, Pr 11^{13}, Sir 5^{9}). In his walk he does not try to go upon two ways (Sir 2^{12}), but goes straight to the goal, with his face set thitherward, neither halting, nor lingering, nor diverging. In his obedience to Christ there is no reservation, no element of calculation, only unconditional loyalty (2 Co 11^{3}). In his devotion to God there is no bargaining as to the minimum of disobedience which He may permit (2 K 5^{18}), in his work for men is no taint of eye-service (Col 3^{22}, Eph 6^{5}). In his giving there is no admixture of any base element (Ro 12^{8}). For he gives as God gives, without any afterthought (Ja 1^{5}), for no end save the good of the receiver. The simple one is guileless, and as such, though not free from prejudice, he is open to conviction (Jn 1^{47}). Himself incapable of being swayed by ignoble motives, he attributes a similar incapability to others, and thus may be easily deceived; in this way simplicity may so degenerate that it becomes not merely opposed to craftiness, but to prudence (2 S 15^{11}).

In the NT conception prudence is consistent with simplicity, and should be inseparably associated with it (Mt 10^{16}, Ro 16^{19} ἀκέραιος). In the *Test. of the Twelve Patriarchs* there is a graphic picture of the man of simplicity. He is not a busybody in his doings, nor malicious and slanderous against his neighbours. He never speaks against any one, nor censures the life of any one, but walks in the simplicity of his eyes. He is free from lustful desires; he is unselfish in his beneficence. 'The simple coveteth not gold, defraudeth not his neighbour, longeth not after manifold dainties, delighteth not in varied apparel, doth not picture to himself to live a long life, but only waiteth for the will of God, and the spirits of evil have no power against him' (Testament of Issachar, c. 3–4, Sinker's tr.).

Literature.—Suicer, *Thesaurus*; Cremer, *Bib.-Theol. Lex.*; Trench, *NT Synonyms*, pp. 204–209; Kling in Herzog^{2}, vol. iv. 135, 136; Lemme in Herzog^{3}, vol. v. 251–253.

John Patrick.

SIN.—I. *In the Old Testament.—Prefatory.*—The doctrine of sin in the OT must be considered as there given; that is to say, the historical method forbids our taking into account NT interpretations of it—such, for instance, as St. Paul's comments in Romans on the sin of Adam and its consequences. The same method requires that the chronological order of the OT should be followed, but the attempt to do this precisely would so complicate the treatment that it seems best to examine the main divisions of the Heb. Bible as they stand—(1) the Law, (2) the Prophets, (3) the Hagiographa, leaving open such questions as what amount of the Priestly legislation may be considered to be pre-exilic, and what dates are to be assigned to Deuteronomy and the Books of Kings.

Sin is a negative conception, and involves a preceding idea to which it is contrary, namely Righteousness, first attributed to Noah, Gn 6^{9}. The righteousness of God is His conformity to the moral law which is His nature, and to His covenants with man. The righteousness of man is conformity to the same moral law and the same covenants. 'Walking with God' (Gn 5^{24}) is but another phrase for righteousness. Sin as the contrary of righteousness is disobedience to God, departing from God, self-assertion against God. Thus the fundamental OT conception of sin is not sin against other men, or against a man's self, but sin against God. The OT anticipates what modern Christian thought has asserted, that the nearest relation of the human soul is its relation to God (Müller, *Chr. Doct. of Sin*, tr. vol. i. p. 81).

i. The Law.—Starting with this hypothesis, let us first see how far it is borne out in the traditions of pre-Mosaic religion.

(1) There is no occasion to enter into the question whether the story of the Fall is to be regarded as both historical and symbolic (Aug. *de Civitate Dei*, xiii. 21) or merely symbolic (Origen, *de Prin.* iv. 16). One point comes out clearly: sin is set before us at its very beginning as disobedience to Divine law, an exercise of human free will in conscious opposition to that law, a departure from an original state. There is, however, nothing to imply that that state was a perfect one, as scholastic theology described it. The free communications with God, on which much stress has been laid as evidence of a lofty state, continue after the Fall. (On the supposed contradiction between the results of anthropological science and the idea of a Fall, see Illingworth's *Bampton Lectures*, Lect. vi.). It must also be observed that the OT does not anywhere teach a corruption of human nature derived from Adam, still less an imputation of his guilt. All that it teaches is the universality of sin in Adam's offspring. But if the descent of all mankind from Adam is taken as a fact, then the universality of sin may be presumed to have some relation to descent from Adam (see Mozley's *Lectures and Theological Papers*, Lect. on 'Original Sin'). And the prevalent feeling that the nation rather than the individual was the subject of sin (see Clemen, *Lehre von der Sünde*, p. 42 ff.) would prepare the way for the thought of all mankind being involved in the guilt and penalty of Adam and Eve, when religious thought came to reflect on the relation to God of mankind generally, and not merely of Israel. This reflexion, however, belongs to a later date (2 Esdras and Romans), and the absence of reference to the Fall in OT is remarkable. The three passages usually quoted, Job 31^{33} (see RVm), Hos 6^{7} (see RVm), Is 43^{27} (see Dillmann, *ad loc.*), are not to the point. Cf., further, Thackeray, *St. Paul and Jewish Thought*, 31 ff.

(2) The interest of the Cain narrative is, (*a*) that man is not left to himself either before or after sin. There are voices of God warning, promising, condemning. And (*b*) sin is already personified; it has gained a positive existence instead of being a mere negation: 'If thou doest not well, sin coucheth at the door,' Gn 4^{7}; cf. Sir 27^{10}.

(3) The next point is the development and increase of sin (Gn $6^{5.\ 11-13}$). Sin is a parasitic growth

which multiplies in its appropriate soil. It is not merely a number of isolated rebellions, but results in a state of sin both in the individual and in the race. This state of sin takes possession of the thoughts of the heart, and its outward effect is violence (חָמָס) between man and man.

(4) At the Flood the method of God is, so to speak, changed. He recognizes (Gn 6^5) the predominance of 'the evil imagination' (יֵצֶר הָרַע), a term which afterwards plays an important part in Jewish theology (see Weber, *Jüd. Theol.*[2] p. 213 ff., and Dillmann, *ad loc.*). Sin must be dealt with in other ways, by an election and a covenant. The one righteous man is taken, special relations are established with him, and a covenant given. This covenant is followed by those with Abraham, and with Israel at Sinai. But these covenants, while designed for salvation, open out, each of them, new possibilities of sin. It is no longer a matter of transgression against undefined moral law, but there are definite ordinances. Sin is not merely the breach of the universal relation between creature and Creator, but the breach of covenant, a revolt (פֶּשַׁע). Moreover, with patriarchal religion, the contrast of faith and unbelief comes in in a definite way (Gn 15^6). Esau's sin also is plainly unbelief. This is gradually shown to be the root of sin, and every particular sin is regarded as a manifestation of it. When, with Abraham, we reach the distinction between those within and those without the covenant, the question arises, Is there a recognition of the moral law and a consciousness of sin in the Gentile world? The question is answered in the affirmative by the case of Abimelech (Gn 20), and the existence of such a law outside the covenant is implied throughout the OT, *e.g.* Am 1. Thus there is nothing in the OT claim of unique revelation to Israel, which is inconsistent with that consciousness of sin which is to be found in Babylonian, Persian, Vedic, and Greek sources, though there it is sin against Istart, Ahuramazda, or Varuna, not against Jehovah. As to what conduct is sin, the range is narrow, and the moral standard within the covenant does not materially differ from that outside it. Deceit, sensuality, and cruelty are not yet distinctly felt as sinful.

(5) *The Mosaic covenant.* The terminology of sin now increases and becomes definite, and it will therefore be necessary to examine it in detail. The three most important terms occur together in one verse, Ex 34^7 (cf. Ps $32^{1.2}$), iniquity (עָוֹן), transgression (פֶּשַׁע), sin (חַטָּא, חַטָּאת, חַטְאָה).

(*a*) *Sin.*—Three cognate forms in Heb., with no distinction of meaning, express sin as *missing one's aim*, and correspond to ἁμαρτία and its cognates in NT. The etymology does not suggest a person against whom the sin is committed, and does not necessarily imply intentional wrong-doing. But the use of the word is not limited by its etymology, and the sin may be against man (Gn 40^1, 1 S 20^1) or against God (Ex 32^{33}). Clemen's concession (*Lehre von der Sünde*, pp. 22, 23), that sin and iniquity meant failure to comply with national custom (*Volkssitte*), must be qualified by the consideration that national custom was practically religion, and was always associated with supernatural sanction, so that sin against it was considered sin against God, even where God is not mentioned. It is no doubt true that this implicit thought that sin is against God, comes much more distinctly to the surface in Deuteronomy. Two subsidiary uses of חַטָּאת must be noticed. Like עָוֹן, it is used for the punishment of sin, as well as for sin itself (Zec 14^{19}, La 3^{39}). The passage from one sense to the other is seen in Nu 32^{23}. These instances open the question of the meaning of חַטָּאת (and עָוֹן) in a class of passages in the Psalms, where modern expositors take them to signify not *sin* or *guilt*, but *punishment*. See Cheyne on Ps 31^{11}. This double sense of both words is a witness to the Heb. view of the close connexion of sin and suffering, which will demand special attention in Job. Secondly, חַטָּאת is used for *sin-offering* (Lv 4^3). This use of the same word for the offence and the offering meets us again under אָשָׁם (trespass).

(*b*) *Iniquity* (עָוֹן), literally 'perversion,' 'distortion' [but see Driver, *Sam.* 135 n., who follows Lagarde in distinguishing two roots עוה, one='bend, twist,' the other (the root of עָוֹן)='err (from the way)'].—It is to be distinguished from (*a*) as being a quality of actions rather than an act, and it thus acquires the sense of 'guilt,' which might well have been adopted by RV as the rendering of עָוֹן. *Guilt* as distinguished from *sin* may be described as the sinner's position in regard to God which results from his sin. Guilt involves punishment, and thus the connotation of עָוֹן is enlarged still further. As Schultz says (*OT Theol.* ii. p. 306), 'in the consciousness of the pious Israelite, sin, guilt, and punishment are ideas so directly connected that the words for them are interchangeable.' See esp. Gn 4^{13}, Lv 26^{41}. An illustration of this connexion is the phrase 'bear iniquity' (less frequently 'bear sin'), first occurring Gn 4^{13}, and frequent in Ezekiel, H and P. The idea is that of being involved in guilt with the inevitable consequence of punishment (Nu 14^{34}), and the phrase is nearly equivalent to the verb אָשַׁם; cf. Lv 5^{1-6}. It must, however, be noticed that the verb translated 'bear' (נָשָׂא) sometimes has for its subject the person offended against, and is used in the sense of 'taking away' sin. For reff. see *Oxf. Heb. Lex.* p. 671. In Lv 16^{22} the goat for Azazel 'bears iniquities' into a land not inhabited. Here both the senses above mentioned are implied; and the same may be said of the more important passage in Is 53^{12}, where the Servant of the Lord both bears and takes away the sin of many. Thus this phrase lies at the root of the doctrine of the Atonement.

(*c*) *Transgression* (פֶּשַׁע).—The original sense of the noun is clear from the use of the verb (cf. 1 K 12^{19} 'Israel rebelled against the house of David'). It is a breaking away from law or covenant, and thus it implies a law and lawgiver. It implies what חַטָּאת does not necessarily imply, namely, the voluntariness of sin. This distinction comes out clearly in Job 34^{37} 'he addeth rebellion unto his sin.'

(*d*) *Wickedness* (רֶשַׁע).—This is sin become a habit or state. Its adjective רָשָׁע in plur. describes sinners as a class, 'the wicked'; and is invariably the correlative of צַדִּיק ('righteous'); cf. Gn 18^{23}.

Besides the foregoing, three other words require brief notice, אָשָׁם with כַּעַל and רָע. AV does not sufficiently distinguish them, rendering כַּעַל 'trespass,' 'transgression,' and אָשָׁם or אַשְׁמָה 'trespass,' 'trespass-offering'; whereas כַּעַל is strictly an act of unfaithfulness or treachery towards God or man, producing a state of guiltiness designated by אָשָׁם, requiring an offering to atone for it, which offering is also expressed by the same word אָשָׁם (RV 'guilt-offering'). See Oehler, *OT Theol.* § 137. כַּעַל is a word of limited range belonging to the priestly terminology (see Driver, *LOT* 127 [^{6}134]), while אָשָׁם and its cognates run through OT. There is in the latter word the sense of a need of compensation, and the guilt-offering is to be regarded as a compensatory offering for an injury done (see *Oxf. Heb. Lex.* p. 79).

We now proceed to the Mosaic covenant, not merely as contained in Ex 20–23, but as developed in the whole of Ex.-Lv.-Numbers, keeping in mind the widely different dates to which different portions may belong. The object of this law as a whole, if we regard it as providentially developed, appears to be not so much directly to advance morality or to deepen a sense of moral imperfection, as to create a nation within which communion with the One God might be realized and preserved, —or, in other words, to form a hard external shell, within which a higher religious life might be gradually and securely evolved. Hence the political and ceremonial elements were the prominent ones. And hence sin under the Law meant much more neglect, conscious or unconscious, of ceremonial regulations than moral transgression, and no distinction was drawn between the two. This was a necessary first stage. Again, God was the King of the new nation. Thus there was no room for non-religious law. His purview embraced all acts. Therefore there was no distinction between sin and crime. In the present day there are sins which are not regarded by English law as crimes or torts. It was not so in Israel. If an act was outside the Law, it was not sin. He who kept the Law was blameless. Conversely, there are offences against the law of England which the most conscientious would hardly regard as sin; but in Israel all enactments were part of the Divine law, and the breach of any of them was sin. This religious character of law was, of course, not peculiar to Israel. It is characteristic of early Brahmanic law (see Maine, *Early Law and Custom*, c. ii. esp. p. 42 ff.) and of other systems.

If, as seems probable, Deut. is earlier in date than much of Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers, it cannot correctly be called an advance on the views hitherto treated, but at any rate it takes much higher ground. Not only does the love of God and of one's neighbour in Deut. supply the Israelite with new motives for fulfilling express commands, but this love opened new views of duties beyond those commands, and thus enlarged and deepened the sense of sin where these were not fulfilled. There are humane directions which tend to positive virtue. Deut. is not open to Wellhausen's charge against the rest of the Law, 'What holiness required was not to do good, but to avoid sin' (*Hist. Isr.*, Eng. tr. p. 500).

It will now be necessary to examine one class of offences against the Law which has had an important part in providing terminology and forming conceptions of sin. It is acknowledged that the Law of Israel was in great part a reformation and republication of existing Semitic custom, and indeed of customs not exclusively Semitic. This was the case with the class of enactments which related to what was clean (טָהוֹר) and unclean (טָמֵא). These concerned not only food, but persons and things. Offences in respect of these were sin, and punishable with death. There are three explanations of these enactments which must be set aside. Taking them as a whole, it is impossible to regard them as having a *moral* character. Nor are they designedly *allegorical*. So far as they disclose this character they possess it not by virtue of direct Divine appointment, but from their origin long before the birth of Israel. They grew out of man's sense of the unseen, his reverence for it, his consciousness of physical and spiritual dangers besetting him. The proof of this lies in the existence of very similar bodies of law as to cleanness and uncleanness, outside Israel, as for instance in the Vendidad (*Sacred Books of the East*, tr. Darmesteter, vol. iv.). Thirdly, the conception of clean and unclean was not a *sanitary* one, and had nothing in common (except incidentally) with modern notions of cleanliness. It was rather, that certain things, especially everything connected with birth and death, carried with them an infection of danger and an unfitness for worship. The opposite of uncleanness was holiness, and this too in the Law has an infectious character (Lv 6^{27}). The sin-offering is so holy that everything it has touched must be washed, broken, or done away with (see, further, art. Uncleanness, Uncleanness).

The importance of the foregoing in considering the OT doctrine of sin is as follows: (1) All these enactments enlarged the area of sin (Ro 5^{20}), though no doubt they mainly affected the priests (Montefiore, *Hibbert Lect.* ix.). At the same time it must be added that to those who observed them they also increased the area of righteousness and the opportunities of conscious joyful obedience. (2) The notion of the holiness of God, to which the system of clean and unclean had a close relation, was so elevated by the prophets, especially by Isaiah, that the terms connected with the system or their equivalents came to supply much of the vocabulary for sin in the NT and in the Christian Church: *e.g.* the use of such words as καθαρός, καθαρίζω cannot be understood without recalling their source in the Law.

The next matters for consideration are the punishment and the forgiveness of sin under the Law. —(1) *Punishment.* Sin is to be stamped out; the punishment for almost all sin is death. In theory, at any rate, the severity of the Law is amazing. What is taken into account is not so much the ill-desert of the individual, as his guilt involving the nation in guilt, so he must be extirpated (cf. Jos 22^{20}). It is only as regards the nation that punishment is restorative.—(2) *Forgiveness.* The only sin admitting of individual atonement was sin not committed 'with a high hand' (*i.e* not wilful), for which sin-offering and guilt-offering were provided (Lv 4–6^{7}); see Westcott, *Ep. to Heb.* p. 288. The Day of Atonement must also be taken into consideration, though its main object appears to have been the purification of holy things and places. That forgiveness was so difficult of attainment, implied and fostered conceptions of God and His wrath which were strongly anthropopathic. One effect was that God was thought of as injured by man's sin; and the guilt-offering had in it, as we have seen, the notion of compensation for injury done. In Job (7^{20} 35^{6}) we find the first explicit contradiction of this thought. But Deuteronomy, if anterior to the priestly legislation, had already provided an antidote. There God's love for Israel is set forth, and the purpose of all His commands is repeatedly stated to be man's good (Dt 6^{24} 10^{13}). His commands give life. Hence God hates sin against Himself because it hurts, not Him, but the sinner.

ii. The Prophets.—(*a*) *The Former Prophets.*—If the essence of sin is departure from God, then, in whatever form, idolatry must be the worst sin because the most complete. That is its position throughout the historical books. In Judges it is the cause of all Israel's sufferings. In 1 and 2 Samuel it is comparatively absent, and consequently there is a great burst of national vigour and prosperity. In 1 and 2 Kings the standard by which all reigns are measured is the permission or repression of idolatry. The history of the Northern Kingdom is the history of the continuance and effects of the sin of Jeroboam, and the word 'sin' is almost restricted to that special meaning. The sin of idolatry took different forms, such as degrading the conception of Jahweh, identifying Him with Baal, worshipping Him in heathen fashion and with visible representations, combining His worship with that of other gods, or, far less commonly, forsaking Him altogether for other gods. But in one form or another it is regarded in the historical books as the first and worst of all sins, and rightly so, at that stage of national life.

(*b*) Yet this view was too concentrated to be complete. It is not to the retrospective record in 1 and 2 Kings that we look for light on the progress of the national conscience, but to contemporary authorities, the so-called *Later Prophets*, *i.e.* the prophetical books of the 8th cent., Amos, Hosea, Micah, Isaiah. It is they that develop the moral character and moral requirements of J″; and as a necessary consequence the range, depth, and danger of sin.

The history of David supplies us with two examples of sin—one flagrant, and the other difficult to regard as sinful. The points which come out in his sin with Bathsheba are (1) possibility of immediate forgiveness on repentance; (2) punishment after forgiveness, severe and protracted; (3) the punishment of the sinner involves suffering for others. This, however, appears more clearly in the next instance, that of the census ($2\,S\,24^{1}$). The point to notice in this is, that the sin is ascribed to the causation of J″ Himself, just in the same way as the evil spirit which came upon Saul is described as 'from God.' Several other passages, *e.g.* Jg 9^{23}, are of the same character. On them Clemen (*Lehre von der Sünde*, p. 123 ff.) builds the conclusion that God was regarded as the author (*Veranstalter*) of sin. It is more correct to say that we have in them reflexions of that perplexity about the interaction of Divine control and human freedom which has at all times been felt, and not alone in Israel. For later protests against false inferences from such expressions, see Sir $15^{11\text{-}20}$ and Ja $1^{13\text{-}16}$. What was in Hebrew religion only a hesitation and perplexity, which never produced dangerous results, became in Islam a principle fatal to morality. 'The unbelief of the unbeliever, the impiety of the impious, and bad actions, come to pass with the foreknowledge, will, predestination, and decree of God, but not with His satisfaction and approval' (Sell, *Faith of Islam*[1], pp. 118, 173).

Amos leads the way in bringing moral offences to the front. He carries on one side of Elijah's work, and the transgressions denounced in Am 1. 2 are offences against justice and humanity between man and man. *Micah* and *Isaiah* (*e.g.* Is $1^{10\text{-}17}$) follow Amos. To *Hosea* the sin of Israel is heinous because it is sin against God's love. In Hosea we have the OT counterpart to 1 John. What Hosea (and indeed all the prophets) did, was to enlarge and deepen the conception of sin indirectly by making men realize far more fully the moral character of God. This work of the prophets, though by far the most important phase in the history of the OT doctrine of sin, is so obvious on the surface of their writings, and has been so often and so fully dealt with (*e.g.* Robertson Smith, *Prophets of Israel*, Lect. ii.; Kirkpatrick, *Doctrine of the Prophets*, *passim*), that it must here be taken for granted in order to leave room to deal with less obvious contributions and developments. See also Clemen, *Lehre von der Sünde*, p. 70 f.

Another point in the teaching of the prophets as to sin is their preaching of repentance, both national and individual, outside the covenant (cf. *Jonah*) as well as within it. The development of individualism by *Jeremiah* and *Ezekiel* is a moment of great importance in the doctrine of sin. Hitherto the prominent thought has been that of sin affecting the nation through the individual, and entailing guilt on succeeding generations, though it must be noticed that the heredity of guilt is not allowed as a ground for private revenge (Dt 24^{16}, 2 K 14^{6}, but cf. 2 S 21^{6}). Ezekiel attaches his teaching to that of Jeremiah, and works it out. His result is well summed up by A. B. Davidson in his note on Ezk 18, 'the individual man is not involved in the sins and fate of his people or his forefathers.' But even Ezekiel did not dissolve entirely the great predominant OT thought of the solidarity of Israel in respect of sin. There was work for that conception to do in the NT. It made possible the thought of the vicarious atonement of Christ, as representative of the nation and the race (Jn $11^{51.\ 52}$). For a strong instance of the sense of sin as national, see Is 64. The feeling has been well expressed by Montefiore: 'At his worst the individual felt he belonged to the people of God, and shared their righteousness; and at his best he still felt the depressing burden of Israel's national sins' (*Hibbert Lect.* p. 512). The whole question was deeply affected by the obscurity and comparative unimportance of the Heb. expectation of a future life. When that dawned clearly, the importance of the individual dawned with it.

iii. The Hagiographa.—The *Psalms* belong largely, though not entirely, to the prophetic school of thought, and either anticipate or develop its teaching, according to the view we may take of their respective dates. It is in the Psalms that we first have a deep view of sin from the sinner's side. In the Prophets we have the historian or preacher denouncing, but in the Psalms the sinner confessing sin, either personal or national. This deep sense of sin arises invariably out of the pressure of suffering in some form; and in some cases, at any rate, is due to the national suffering of the Captivity and Exile. The Psalmist does not repent for fear of future punishment, but from the pressure of present affliction. It is true that we find the consciousness of uprightness and sincere purpose as well as the consciousness of sin (*e.g.* Ps 26), but this does not contradict the general impression. A special aspect of sin in the Psalms is that of falsehood. The service of J" is thought of as truth, practical truth, much in the same way as in the Gospel and Epp. of St. John; hence sin, its opposite, is untruth, vanity, lies. In the Psalms, as in the Prophets, sin is no longer a matter of strict legalism, of failure to obey. Emotions and affections come in largely (as in some degree in Hosea and Deut.). The Psalmists love God, and look on sin as breaking this happy relation, hiding His face and shutting up His mercies. All this reaches its highest point in Ps 51, with its profound consciousness of sin in the individual and in the race (v.^{5}, cf. Job 14^{4}), hatred of it for its own sake, not merely for its consequences, and hopeful assurance of forgiveness and renewal.

M. Holzman (Lazarus and Steinthal's *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie*, Bd. xv. 1884) contrasts the doctrine of sin in the Rig Veda with that of the Psalms in the following respects: (1) Varuna (the god addressed) is regarded as himself the cause of man's being deceived into sinning; (2) ceremonial offences are regarded as on the same level with moral, which is certainly not the case in the Psalms; (3) guilt is dreaded not for itself, but solely for its punishment.

In *Proverbs* the aspect of sin is, of course, wholly different. It is practical religion which is treated here, and this from an external and an intellectual point of view. Righteousness is wisdom, and sin is folly. The sinner is (1) *simple* (פֶּתִי), (2) a *fool* (נָבָל, see article Fool), or (3) a *scorner* (לֵץ).

Two characteristics may be specially noticed. (1) Men are sharply divided into good and bad; and though in chs. 1–9 the possibility of change is assumed, there is no reference to sorrow for sin, or conversion from bad to good (see Toy, *Proverbs*, Introd. p. xiii). This is the attitude towards sinners which is developed and hardened in Sirach, as noticed below. (2) In Proverbs, and still more distinctly in Job, it is the moral state of the individual which occupies attention; for even if Job be typical of Israel, the type is worked out with thorough dramatic truth. The result is that we obtain in these books far more detailed ethical reflexions than are found elsewhere in the OT. Although the religious consciousness of sin cannot be said to be prominent, yet it does find expression in a verse which is the strongest statement in OT of the universality of human sinfulness, namely Pr 20^{9}; and throughout Pr 10-24 the approval or disapproval of the Lord often recurs as the standard of action.

The Book of *Job* presents features of far greater interest, and represents the furthest advance in the doctrine of sin prior to the NT. Its results may be classed under three heads. (1) The Law being designedly excluded from the drama, the sins which come in question are purely ethical and nowhere ritual. The spread of sin is definitely acknowledged as universal; it is inherent in human nature (Job 4^{17} RVm, 14^{4} 15^{14-16}), and it includes sins of thought and desire. This latter point comes out most fully in Job 31, where we get the author's conception of sin, a very wide and penetrating one, not less remarkable for inwardness than the Sermon on the Mount. (2) The close relation between sin and suffering, believed in by Israel in early times, and implied by the double sense of חַטָּאת and עָוֹן (see above), is in this book shown to be at any rate not a necessary one. Sin does not always bring suffering, and suffering does not always imply sin. But this result is something very different from denying altogether such a relation between the two, a denial which would at a blow cut away the ground from under the religious life of Prophets and Psalmists. (3) The character of sin as affecting God comes in for treatment incidentally. Expression is given to two false guesses: (*a*) that God watches man's transgressions with something approaching satisfaction, Job $14^{16.\ 17}$; (*b*) that human sin cannot affect Him, Job 7^{20} RV; cf. Elihu in 35^{6}. Of these (*a*) is merely one of the rash words which fall from the sufferer, but (*b*), as confirmed by Elihu, shows Jewish thought strongly, perhaps dangerously, in reaction against its earlier anthropopathic conceptions.

Ecclesiastes contributes little except the final decisive conviction of the universality of sinfulness, 'Surely there is not a righteous man upon earth that doeth good and sinneth not' (Ec 7^{20}).

II. *In the Apocrypha.*—*Sirach.*—As in Proverbs, so in Sirach the righteous and the wicked under various names form two great classes over against one another (33^{12-15}), and it is to the former class only that the writer addresses himself. Fools are incapable of amendment. Turning from sin (8^{5}) is only the repentance of the righteous; and, with the exception of $17^{25f.}$, the attitude of Sirach prefigures that attitude towards sinners which it was the great work of Jesus to challenge and set aside by His example (Lk 15^{2}). Yet Sirach denies to sinners the excuse that they cannot help themselves. It is not God who causes man to sin (see above, I. ii.). The author's assertion of human freedom and responsibility is striking and powerful, if somewhat too broad (Sir 15^{11-20}). It is not in any degree limited by the statement of 25^{24} that Eve's sin brought death upon the race, for the inheritance of death by every man does not necessarily imply a doctrine of original sin.* The philosophy of

* See important art. by F. R. Tennant (*Journal Theol. Studies*, ii. 6, p. 207), published since this art. was written. He sums up thus: 'The Fall (according to Sirach) was the *cause* of death, but only the *beginning* of sin.' Cf. Thackeray, *l.c.*

Sirach accounts for physical evil in creation as a necessary complement to moral evil in man, and designed for its punishment; see Sir 39^{28-31} 40^{8-11}.

Wisdom of Solomon. — In this book, notwithstanding the totally different atmosphere produced by (1) a hope full of immortality (3^4), and (2) the practical identification of Wisdom with the Spirit of God (9^{17}), the ground thought is the same as that of Sirach, namely, that sin is ignorance, and that it is the intellectual side of man that must by 'discipline' be fortified against it. The character of the book is therefore, at first sight, in the strongest contrast with the words of Christ, 'I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, that thou didst hide these things from the wise and understanding, and didst reveal them unto babes' (Mt 11^{25}). Yet if the above-mentioned identification of Wisdom with the Holy Spirit be pressed a little further, the contradiction disappears (cf. 1 Co 2^{13}). It should be noted that Wis $12^{10f.}$, which appears to make for a doctrine of inborn sin, applies only to the Canaanites, and not to mankind at large. The idea of the derivation of a universal taint from Adam's transgression is altogether wanting.

Prayer of Manasses.—We here encounter the first unqualified presentation of the later Judaic belief in the complete sinlessness of the patriarchs ('Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, which have not sinned against thee,' 4). This attribute was extended afterwards to many other OT personages (see Weber, *Jüd. Theol.*[2] pp. 32 and 54 ff.). Lk 15^7 does not necessarily admit the existence of absolute human sinlessness, and must be interpreted, *ad hominem*, as addressed to Pharisees and scribes (see 15^2) in a spirit not far removed from irony. St. Paul expressly dissociates himself from the above tendency (Ro 3^{23}), but Rev 14^{1-5} seems to show traces of it.

2 Esdras (chs. 3–14).—This book ought in strictness to be dealt with separately, as being post-Christian (prob. A.D. 81–96). Its close relation (along with Apoc. Baruch, see BARUCH [APOCALYPSE OF]) to the line of thought in the Ep. to Romans has been fully brought out in Sanday-Headlam, *Romans*; see esp. p. 137. We learn from 2 Esdras that at the time at which it was written there was in Judaism a doctrine of inborn inherited sin. It is hard to see how such a doctrine could be expressed more definitely than is the case in 2 Es 4^{30} 'a grain of evil seed was sown in the heart of Adam from the beginning, and how much wickedness hath it brought forth unto this time.' In the light of this passage the less clear utterances of 2 Es $3^{21f.}$ and 7^{48} become unambiguous. On the side of human free-will Sanday-Headlam (*l.c.*) quote 2 Es 8^{59} 9^{11} and esp. Apoc. Bar $54^{15.\ 19}$. They truly remark that both works 'lay stress at once on the inherited tendency to sin, and on the freedom of choice in those who give way to it' (p. 134). If the biblical doctrine of sin finds its most important expression in Romans, then 2 Esdras, as illustrating Romans, has a special value for the study of the subject. Cf. Thackeray, *l.c.*

III. *IN THE NEW TESTAMENT.* — *Terminology.*—

1. The ἁμαρτάνειν group. Ἁμαρτία may mean sin as a habit, a state, a power (so freq. in Romans), and also a single act of sin; while ἁμάρτημα is restricted to the latter; see Westcott, *Epp. John*, Add. Note on 1 Jn 1^9.

2. παράβασις, *transgression*; παράπτωμα, *trespass* (more precisely, *fall* or *declination*). 'These two words are closely allied, referring respectively to the consequences on the agent and to the line transgressed. Both presuppose the existence of a law' (Lightfoot, *Notes on Epp. St. Paul*, Ro 5^{20}), and herein they differ from ἁμαρτία. While law multiplies transgression, it reveals sin.

3. ἀνομία, AV *iniquity*. The word had been so coloured by its LXX use, as a frequent rendering of עָוֹן and other words meaning sin, that its proper sense, violation of law, can be certainly recognized only in one passage, 1 Jn 3^4. In its strict sense it truly represents the conception of sin given in the Epp. of James and John.

4. ἀσέβεια. As ἀνομία is disregard and defiance of God's law, so ἀσέβεια is the same attitude towards God's Person. It expresses the insult and blasphemy involved in sin.

5. ἀδικία. This word brings forward that side of sin which is against our neighbour and does him a wrong, and as such is common to human and to Divine law (see Westcott, *Epp. John* 5^{17}, note for relation of ἀδικία to ἁμαρτία).

6. ὀφείλημα. Though occurring but once, it has a special importance from being the term for sin chosen by the Lord Himself to be used by us in our daily prayer for forgiveness, the Lukan form ἁμαρτίας (Lk 11^4) being probably a paraphrase (see Chase, *The Lord's Prayer*, p. 54 ff.).—Other words for sin are rather aspects of it, such as falsehood, darkness, ignorance, and do not come under terminology.

i. SYNOPTIC GOSPELS. — Looking back on the OT as a whole, we are struck with the range and completeness of the doctrine of sin which it presents. This accounts for a feature in Christ's teaching as given in the Synoptic Gospels which would otherwise be surprising, namely, the paucity of teaching about sin. Sin is mentioned almost exclusively in connexion with its forgiveness. Jesus appears as one who forgives sin, and not as insisting and enlarging on it, or as convicting of it. It is obvious how different would have been the effect of His ministry on the world, if it had been primarily a ministry of conviction of sin. In the Fourth Gospel He explicitly disclaims such an aim (Jn 12^{47}), thus confirming the impression derived from the Synoptists. At the same time it is forgiveness, not indifference. There is no trace of the Ritschlian view, that till He came all sin was practically ignorance, and that sinners only needed to lay aside their sense of guilt. That ignorance, even where it exists, is but a partial and not a sufficient excuse, appears in Lk 12^{47}, and the explanation of that passage is that moral ignorance is never total, and only comes near totality by man's own fault. The sharp distinction between sins of ignorance which are forgivable, and sins without ignorance which are not, is untrue to life. The man who sins from ignorance has still some spark of knowledge which is enough to condemn him, and the man who sins against light has still some ignorance, for how can a man in his present limitations realize the gravity of the issues which are presented to him here? For the first point see Lk 23^{34}; the soldiers in their ignorance, nevertheless, need forgiveness; and for the second see the lament over Jerusalem, Lk 19^{42}.

The Lord's teaching as to sin, so far as He touched it, was not so much to correct OT doctrine regarding it, as much rather to get rid of a spurious development of it, represented by the legalism and casuistry of the Jewish scribes. The character of prophetic invective appears in one class of discourses only—those addressed to the Pharisees. We are next led to consider what exceptions must be made to the general statement above as to the absence in the Gospels of denunciations of sin. They are as follows:—

(1) Hypocrisy, (2) offences (σκάνδαλα), (3) sin against the Holy Ghost. It will be seen that two of these are closely cognate, and all three attach more or less to the same class of persons.

(1) *Hypocrisy*, defined Mt 23^5 'all their works they do for to be seen of men.' It is in a great degree a new revelation of sin, for the words in OT tr. 'hypocrite' have not that meaning (see art. HYPOCRITE). Yet although no corresponding Heb. word occurs, the condition of soul is described in Is 29^{13}, and is quoted as such by Christ (Mk 7^6). Further, it had already been brought as a charge against the Sadducees by the Pharisees, ἀνθρωπάρεσκοι being used to denote hypocrites (Ps-Sol $4^{8.\ 10}$). They were now to have the reproach cast back upon themselves by Christ.—(2) *Offences*. This sin is fairly prominent in OT; as, for instance, the sin of Hophni and Phinehas, who made the Lord's people to transgress (1 S 2^{24}), and still more the sin of Jeroboam. The offence (σκάνδαλον) may be within the man and limited in its operation to him, as in Mt 18^8 and perhaps 1 Jn 2^{10}. Or it may involve two persons, the cause of the offence being in one person and the actual stumbling taking place in another, as in Mt 18^6. Subdividing this latter alternative, we find that the cause of stumbling may be in itself positively sinful, as in the OT instances quoted above, and again as in the attitude of the Pharisees towards Christ, which turned the multitude away

from Him. Another instance is that of Simon Peter, whose counsel was an 'offence' to Christ Himself (Mt 16[23]). Or, secondly, the cause of offence may be in itself quite an innocent act, as in Ro 14[5], and only sinful because of its easily foreseen consequences (Ro 14[21]). This principle explains the otherwise unnecessary payment of the half-shekel (Mt 17[27]). Yet, further, the act causing offence may be not only innocent, but necessary in itself, in which case its incidental consequences cannot make it sinful. Christ Himself, His sayings, His cross, are all described in NT as 'offences.' The general teaching, if we anticipate and include St. Paul's development of the subject, is that we are bound to look forward to the probable consequences of our actions, even when those consequences are far from our intentions. Ro 14 grows naturally out of Mt 18[6]. Nothing is gained by confounding, as Clemen does (*Lehre von der Sünde*, p. 216 ff.), the sin of causing offences with the general topic of the self-propagation of sin, and its power to bring men into bondage, on which see below, § ii. 2.—(3) *Sin against the Holy Ghost.* This was exemplified in, but is not to be limited to, the attribution to evil spirits of the work of the Holy Spirit in the actions and words of Christ. For a probable explanation of the different judgments pronounced by Christ on blasphemy against the Holy Spirit and that against the Son of man, see art. BLASPHEMY. The persistent denial of the inspiration of Jesus by those who in some measure felt the truth of His claims was an unpardonable sin. The three passages, Mt 12[31. 32], Mk 3[28. 29], Lk 12[10], are, like most of the Lord's teaching, not a new unrelated utterance, but rather a republication and adaptation to the Kingdom of God of the ancient law of blasphemy, Lv 24[16]. It must be added that the unpardonable sin does not consist in the utterance of particular words, but in the condition of soul which is expressed by them, namely, that persistent resistance to the Holy Ghost which was afterwards emphasized by Stephen (Ac 7[51])

Taking a general survey, it may be said that there are three points which appear specially in the Synoptists of which the last is by far the most important. (1) An extension of the area of sin by the spiritual interpretation of the Mosaic law, and by the new requirements of the Kingdom of God. (2) A limitation of its area by the great principle now clearly formulated, that sin cannot be contracted by physical contact with things ceremonially unclean, but must proceed from within (Mk 7[15], Mt 15[11]). (3) The Lord's own attitude towards sin in man as a revelation of God's attitude to it, namely forgiveness. The message which He brought and which He entrusted to the apostles (Lk 24[47]) was the forgiveness of sins, and it is this which we find them declaring in Acts and expanding in the Epistles.

ii. THE FOURTH GOSPEL. — The same note is struck by St. John at the outset: 'Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world' (Jn 1[29]). Yet His coming and gracious work opened the possibility of a new sin, that sin of rejection of salvation which overshadows so largely the first twelve chapters of the Fourth Gospel, and reappears under other circumstances in the Ep. to the Hebrews (He 2[3] 4[1] 6[4. 5] 10[26]).

1. In short, the principal teaching as to sin in the Fourth Gospel is the capital nature of the sin of unbelief in Jesus as the Christ the Son of God. There had been unbelief in Galilee, and that unbelief had called forth the severe denunciation in Lk 10[12-16]. But the unbelief of Judæa was far more marked and general, and the gospel of the Judæan ministry is darkened everywhere by collision with it. This is the sin of which the Holy Spirit will specially convict men, 'of sin because they believe not on me.' Could this sin be regarded as a sin of ignorance? It could not, for Christ had come and manifested Himself. 'If I had not come and spoken unto them, they had not had sin: but now they have no excuse for their sin' (Jn 15[22]). We are here close to the sin against the Holy Ghost, which has been already treated. That is a special and aggravated form of the more general sin of unbelief.

It may be added that the sin of unbelief in Jesus as the Christ the Son of God holds in the NT much the same position which idolatry holds in the OT. In each case the sin is the worst sin that can be committed, because it cuts off the soul from God, and so from the source of its life and peace. It is an evil heart of unbelief falling away from the living God (He 3[12]).

2. The second important point in the Fourth Gospel is its emphasis on sin as *bondage*. The direct teaching is brief, contained in six verses in Jn 8[31ff.], but the development afterwards given it by St. Paul in Ro 6 places it in the front of NT teaching on sin. It is perhaps anticipated in Mt 6[24] 'ye cannot serve God and mammon.'

3. There are also lesser points worthy of notice. The old question of the connexion of sin and suffering is raised in Jn 9, and its universality is there denied; while, on the other hand, it is clear that it holds good in some cases, as appears in 5[14] 'sin no more, lest a worse thing befall thee.' The passage in Lk 15 as to the slaughter of the Galilæans is not precisely to the point, as what is there taught is the general guilt of the nation of which only these few had as yet paid the penalty. Another class of passages bearing on the subject is that distinctive one in which this Gospel gives us, far more fully than the others—the Lord's dealings with individual souls. What is remarkable is His gentleness towards their sins, as, for instance, Jn 4[17. 18] and 8[11].

Lastly, we must observe that the principal teaching as to sin in the Gospels, taken as a whole, is that which results from the revelation of a perfect standard of life as shown in Christ. As Ritschl says (vol. iii. Eng. tr. p. 329), 'The only way in which the idea of sin can be formed at all is by comparison with the good.' It is true that Ritschl presses this too far, and seems to imply that no competent standard of morality had existed before the preaching of the Kingdom of God. 'But to affirm the absolute standard is not to deny the relative standard. God was in the preparation for the Kingdom of God as in the realization of that Kingdom in Christ' (Garvie, *Ritschlian Theology*, p. 303). We must, nevertheless, allow that the coming of Christ and the preaching of the gospel did give a new character to sin. Sin was thus placed in a new relation, that of opposition to the Kingdom of God, and yet, further, it was shown, as in the parable of the Prodigal, to be not only sin against power and wisdom, but also against goodness and love.

iii. EPISTLES.—1. *St. James.*—Three passages deserve special consideration. (*a*) The genesis of sin in the individual (Ja 1[14. 15]). It comes from the will consenting to a desire for something not lawful. The desire in itself may be innocent (see art. LUST), but, in the case supposed, it can only be gratified at the expense of transgression of moral law. The will surrenders, and the desire is fulfilled in an act of sin (cf. 4[1. 2]). Desire (ἐπιθυμία) here corresponds nearly to 'the flesh' of St. Paul's theology. To understand the bearing of the passage, see Sir 15[11ff.], which perhaps suggested it. There the source of evil lies in the freedom of the will. The fact that this freedom is God's gift does not make Him the author of evil, for it is freedom. (*b*) Sin in relation to law. The Law, rather than Christ, is the central thought of the Epistle, but it is the Law as revealed and interpreted by Christ in the Sermon on the Mount and in His life. It is a perfect law (1[25]); a law of freedom, *i.e.* not enforced from without, but freely accepted as the aim and desire of the subject of it (1[25] 2[12]); a royal law (2[8]). There is also the thought of the solidarity of the Law, with its consequences on the doctrine of sin. Conscious, wilful transgression of any one point is tantamount to transgression of the whole, for, all being God's will, any transgression is defiance of God's will (2[10]). This, so far from being a pedantic conception, is founded on a true spiritual view of the relation of man to God. It is applied to an apparently small matter—respect of persons within the

Church, and preference given to the rich over the poor. It must be added that the passage does not justify us in inferring the equality of all sins. It is rather a warning against regarding lesser sins as of no consequence. (*c*) Forgiveness of sin (5$^{15-20}$). Two points deserve notice. (1) The mediation of the Christian community, not of the elders only, in the forgiveness of sins (εὔχεσθε ὑπὲρ ἀλλήλων, v.^{16}). This mediation is effected by mutual confession and prayer. It may extend even to the case of a Christian who has actually forsaken the truth (v.^{19}), and every member of the Church is bidden to consider the blessing which may attend his efforts. The sins covered are certainly those of the sinner who is converted (see Toy on Pr 10^{12}). (2) The close connexion in the writer's mind between forgiveness of sin and healing. The passage begins simply with the idea of a case of sickness (v.^{14}), and goes on to assume that it may perhaps be occasioned by sin (cf. the forgiveness of the paralytic, Mt 9^{2}). The removal of the chastisement and the forgiveness of the sin which occasioned it go together; cf. Ps 103^{3}, which was interpreted in this sense.

2. *Hebrews.*—The persons addressed had to the full the sense of sin which the OT had prepared and developed, and they had had to part with the ritual which had hitherto cleansed them and brought them nigh. A main purpose of the Epistle is to show them that better provision than the Law could offer is made for these needs in Christ and His priestly sacrifice. Hence the prominent aspect of sin in this Epistle is that of sin as guilt, as the cause of the separation between man and God, barring access to Him. The work of Christ is the restoration of communion, and the earlier portion of the Epistle reaches its goal in He 10^{19}. Besides the general teaching as to the removal of guilt, the Epistle deals with a particular form of sin, that of falling away from grace. It is written to men in danger of lapsing into their former Judaism, not merely as individuals, but as a body (see 6$^{4ff.}$ 10$^{26ff.}$). The sin as to which the Hebrews are warned is not ordinary sin after baptism to which every Christian is liable, but nothing less than apostasy. It should also be observed that He 2^{10} sets a final seal on the gradually developed conviction that much of human suffering is not a consequence of sin, but a means to perfection.

3. *St. Paul.*—Lechler (*Apostolic Times*, Eng. tr. vol. i. p. 340) asks what is the kernel, the life-centre of St. Paul's Christian feeling and doctrine, and replies, 'God's grace in Christ towards the guilt-laden sinner.' It is not merely that St. Paul as a theologian felt that the most important aspect of the gospel was that of a remedy for sin, but that the gospel was that remedy for himself. He had felt as few men have felt, his own sinfulness. In this respect we recognize a contrast between him and other NT writers. If it is in the Epistle to the Romans that we find the full development of St. Paul's hamartiology, it is because the question there propounded is, How is man to be righteous before God? For that purpose man's present sinfulness must first be set forth, and that is done systematically in Ro 1–3^{20}, and incidentally throughout the Epistle. The teaching of St. Paul, esp. in Romans, on the subject will be considered under the following heads: (*a*) universality of sin; (*b*) heredity of sin; (*c*) the seat of sin; (*d*) sin as a power; (*e*) sin and law; (*f*) sin and death; (*g*) death to sin.

(*a*) *Universality of sin.*—The Jewish and the Gentile worlds had to be dealt with separately. In the Jewish world there had been preparation, but sin against ceremonial law had been so exaggerated as to put out of sight sin against moral law. Here St. Paul follows Christ Himself, and his exposure in Ro 2$^{17ff.}$ reminds us of Mt 23 and many scattered sayings in the Gospels. Another point regarding Jewish sinfulness has already been noticed under II. (*Prayer of Manasses*). St. Paul rejects the supposed sinlessness of the patriarchs. We next take his condemnation of the Gentile world, which in Romans comes first. This had become necessary now that the gospel of forgiveness was offered to the Gentiles. It was true that they had had their preparation. The notion of sin is clear enough in Babylonian, Egyptian, and Persian religion, but it is mainly ceremonial sin. In Greek religion there was a truer conception of sin, which reaches its highest representation in Æschylus, the poet of Divine retribution on the sinner. 'The "Prometheus," the "Seven against Thebes," and the "Orestes" contain a natural testimony of the soul to the reality of sin, and the inevitable penalty which it carries in itself' (Westcott, *Religious Thought in the West*, p. 94).

But to accompany a gospel of forgiveness some clear arraignment was needed. So, in an epistle addressed to the centre of the Gentile world, this clear arraignment stands in the front. And here the doctrine of the universality of Gentile sin is set on a true foundation, not on the popular Jewish conception that every Gentile was a sinner simply as not knowing the Mosaic law (cf. Gal 2^{15}, and Lightfoot, *in loc.*). But, as the sin of the Gentiles did not consist in not having the Mosaic law, so neither did their want of it excuse them. They had the law of conscience or reason (Ro 2$^{14-16}$), and sin against this was sin against God.

(*b*) *Heredity of sin.*—Here we must distinguish two separate ideas, both of which find expression in Romans, namely, (1) participation in guilt; (2) inheritance of sinful disposition.

(1) In the OT (to use Dorner's words, *System Chr. Doct.*, Eng. tr. vol. ii. p. 325) are already found 'the materials for a conception of moral evil as a generic characteristic, and not merely a matter of the individual person.' A family, a tribe, a nation are conscious of a solidarity in respect of guilt and innocence difficult to realize in an age of strongly developed individual responsibility. It is enough to refer to the guilt in the sense of liability to punishment brought about by the sin of Achan, and by David's census; and to the effect of sin on the land itself (Dt 24^{4}). So St. Paul, contemplating not merely a family, tribe, or nation, but all mankind, sees them all affected by the sin of Adam—all reconciled by the obedience of Christ (Ro 5$^{12-21}$ and cf. Sir 25^{24}). The correspondence between Adam and Christ has taken hold of his mind, it helps him to set forth the work of salvation which the Lord has accomplished. It is not that Adam's sin is actually reckoned against us, but that we are because of it involved in punishment.*

This effect on mankind of the sin of Adam may be inferred (according to Ro 5^{13}) from the death of Adam's descendants who lived before the law was given. In the absence of law they were not liable to punishment. To account for their mortality, 'generic' guilt must be assumed. It is evident that such an argument cannot be pressed absolutely, but must be correlated with the statement as to Gentile responsibility without the Law (Ro 2$^{12-16}$); see Sanday-Headlam on Ro 5^{13}.

(2) But besides generic participation in Adam's guilt we have also to consider the doctrine of the inheritance from Adam of a sinful nature. In OT the transmission of a sinful nature from parent to child is clearly admitted (Ps 51^{5}, Job 14^{4}), but it is not traced back to Adam. It is a question whether St. Paul so traces it, for neither Ro 5^{12} nor 5^{19} is decisive on the point. Taking the section (Ro 5$^{12-21}$)

* See Tulloch, *Christian Doctrine of Sin*, p. 193.

as a whole, it is difficult to disentangle with certainty the ideas of a transmitted sinful disposition, or of an actual sinfulness of all men, from the idea of the generic guilt of mankind (described above) with which they are closely interwoven. The latter is certainly the leading though not the only thought (cf. v.[12] ἐφ' ᾧ πάντες ἥμαρτον) of the passage, which is occupied much more with the reign of death than with the reign of sin. The view taken of the sin of Adam is not so much that thereby human nature was infected in itself, but rather that thereby sin, an alien power, got a footing in the world, and, involving all men in actual sin, brought death upon all. This is very far short of the Augustinian doctrine of Original Sin, which appears to be a development of 2 Es 3[21] 4[30] rather than of anything to be found in NT. The language of St. Paul ('sin came into the world,' Ro 5[12]) leaves room for the communication of a sinful tendency, not only by heredity in the strict sense of the word, but also by all that interpenetration of the individuals by the race which makes it impossible to regard them as isolated atoms dependent only on birth for their characteristics.*

(*c*) *The seat of sin.*—Strictly speaking, this is in the will; but in a wider sense its seat is in that which moves the will, namely, in 'the flesh.' 'The flesh' in St. Paul denotes not merely sensual desires and appetites, but 'man's entire life so far as it is not determined by the Spirit of God.' It may thus denote also man's rational nature. The fleshly mind is 'the God-resisting disposition in virtue of which man in self-sufficiency and pride opposes himself to God, and withdraws himself from the spirit of Divine life and love.' † In short, 'the flesh' is man in his selfishness. But neither the flesh in the material sense, nor human nature on the whole, are in themselves evil; for the body may be brought into subjection (1 Co 9[27]), may become a temple of the Holy Ghost (1 Co 6[19]), and its members may be 'servants to righteousness unto sanctification.'

(*d*) *Sin as a power.*—St. Paul regards sin not as an isolated act, nor as an accumulation of acts, but as a power which has gained a lodgment in man (Ro 7[17]), enslaving and paralyzing his will. 'The flesh' is only the material medium in which it works. Cf. above, *Prefatory* (2), and Jn 8[34], and see esp. Sanday-Headlam on Ro 5[12-21], p. 145.

(*e*) *Sin and law.*—Here we have something new, new as the result of conscious reflexion, yet the result of what has gone before. St. Paul looks back on the history of the nation, and of his own spiritual experience, and sees (Ro 8[3]) τὸ ἀδύνατον τοῦ νόμου (the inability of the Law) for the restraint of sin. The result of law, by itself, must always be sin rather than righteousness. It provoked and revealed sin. 'The strength of sin is the law' (1 Co 15[56]).

(*f*) *Sin and death.*—St. Paul, as stated above (*b*), regarded physical death as the consequence of the Fall, and argues from this premiss in Ro 5[12-21]. But it is probable that he (like the author of Wisdom) did not separate strictly the conceptions of physical and moral death. He uses the words 'death' and 'life' with a breadth which makes it difficult to say in any particular case which kind of death he is attributing to sin as its effect, *e.g.* Ro 6[21. 23]. To him physical death is but the symbol of its far more terrible moral counterpart, final separation from God, and the extinction of the life of the Spirit; cf. Ja 1[15]. See Beyschlag, *NT Theol.*, Eng. tr. vol. ii. p. 55 ff.

(*g*) *Death to sin.*—The wide use of the idea of 'death,' illustrated above, enabled it to be applied to any absolute final separation of objects hitherto closely related. Hence the entry into union with Christ is death to sin (Ro 6[1-14]). All that St. Paul has to say on the sinfulness of the flesh, on sin as an inmate of the soul, on sin as a ruling power, relates to the state before justification. The Christian is, as such, dead to sin. St. Paul contemplates the Church (as in Eph. *passim*) and the Christian in their ideal state. But he is no dreamer; he knows how incompletely the ideal is realized. His delineation of it is his mode of expressing the imperative. His hopefulness as to its realization is not mere opinion, but the experience of a man who himself had felt what he taught, of a teacher who had entered into the heart of the gospel. The doctrine of St. John (see below) converges to the same goal, starting from a different point, and expressed in different phrases. And it must be remembered that 'death to sin' is not equivalent to insensibility to temptation; it is rather deliverance from bondage.

4. *St. John* (Epistles).—(*a*) The great contribution which 1 John makes to the doctrine of sin is a paradox. Nowhere is the reality of sin more strongly insisted on as occurring in the Christian life, and nowhere is the sinlessness of the Christian more distinctly asserted. In 1 Jn 1 the sinfulness of Christians is presented in three different aspects (reality, responsibility, fact; see Westcott, *in loc.*). Again, it is involved in the very purpose of the Epistle (1 Jn 2[1], and cf. 5[16]). But in 1 Jn 3[6. 9] and 5[18] he who is begotten of God and abides in God does not, cannot, sin. St. John is not intentionally putting these opposing statements side by side, but they are called out by different forms of error (πλάνη). While some denied in various ways the reality of sin, others were under the delusion that, for the enlightened, conduct is a matter of indifference. The answer to the first was this: we have sin (1[8]); and, to the second, whosoever abideth in Him sinneth not (3[6]). So far as we sin we fall short of our position as children of God abiding in Him. There must be infirmities needing repeated advocacy and propitiation (2[1. 2]), but the choice of the man is against all sin, and towards complete conformity to the will of God. He still needs to purify himself (3[3]); but sin is no longer at the centre of the inner life, it has been driven out to the circumference. Further, St. John goes on to teach a certain security against sin, regarded as coming from without. 'The evil one toucheth him not' (5[18]). The Christian abides in Christ and is 'kept.' The agency of Satan in occasioning human sin is strongly marked in this Epistle (3[8-12] 5[18. 19]), as it had been also in the Lord's teaching recorded by St. John (Jn 8[44]). On the whole section cf. above iii. 3 (*g*). (*b*) A second but less important point in 1 John is the *sin unto death* (5[16]). It is inconceivable that this should be some particular kind of sin, the name of which is concealed. A classification of sins as mortal and venial, though not without its grounds and its uses, is alien from the spirit of the gospel, which teaches us that the guilt of sins is estimated by their conditions rather than by the actual thing done. The sin unto death is nearly related to, but not the same as, the sin against the Holy Ghost; again, it is also nearly related to the sin of wilful apostasy, already treated under *Ep. to Hebrews*. But the three must not be identified. Any sin wilfully persisted in would satisfy the conditions of 1 Jn 5[16], and the 'sin unto death' is perhaps to be regarded as a genus under which the two sins above mentioned are to be classed. St. John does not forbid intercession for such a case, he only says that such a case is not what he is speaking about, and that he cannot attach a distinct promise to such intercession. (*c*) Another

* Cf. Dorner, *System Chr. Doctr.*, Eng. tr. vol. iii. p. 56 ff.

† Dorner, *System Chr. Doctr.*, Eng. tr. vol. ii. p. 319. The whole passage on σάρξ should be referred to. See also art. FLESH.

characteristic of these Epistles is the representation of sin and righteousness in the aspect of falsehood and truth (cf. above, Sin in *Psalms*). Sin is falsehood. It came in with the primal lie, 'thou shalt not die' (cf. Jn 8^{44}). It rests for its power upon deceit. But the life of love is the life of truth; it corresponds with the movement of the Divine government, with its purposes of mercy, with the Being and attributes of God (2 Jn $^{1-4}$).

LITERATURE. — *OT.* — Oehler, *Theol. of OT*, Eng. tr. vol. i. pp. 229–245 (very valuable); Schultz, *OT Theol.*; Clemen, *Lehre von der Sünde*; Tulloch, *Christian Doctrine of Sin*; OT commentaries, esp. Dillmann on Hexateuch, Davidson on Job and Ezekiel, Cheyne on Psalms.

NT.—Dorner, *System of Chr. Doctrine*, Eng. tr. vols. ii., iii. (excellent); Beyschlag, *NT Theol.*, Eng. tr. vol. ii. bk. iv. c. 3; Lechler, *Apostolic Times*, Eng. tr. vol. i. pp. 342–366 (very useful); Weber, *Jüd. Theol.*[2] §§ 46–54; Wernle, *Der Christ und die Sünde bei Paulus*; Ritschl, *Justification and Reconciliation*, Eng. tr. pp. 327–366; Thackeray, *St. Paul and Contemporary Jewish Thought*, ch. ii.; Commentaries, esp. Sanday-Headlam, *Romans* (see 'Sin' in index); Westcott, *Hebrews* (esp. pp. 31, 32), and *Epp. John* (esp. pp. 37–40); Mayor, *St. James*. On the subject as a whole, Müller, *Christian Doctrine of Sin*, is still the only comprehensive work known to the writer. It contains much valuable thought, but is unattractive in form and style, and is largely open to criticism, *e.g.* in its recourse to a theory of pre-existence of souls to account for the origin of inborn sinfulness, bk. iv. ch. 4. E. R. BERNARD.

SIN (סִין; Σάϊς, Σνήνη, A in Ezk 30^{15} Τάνις; Vulg. *Pelusium*).—A city in Egypt mentioned in Ezk $30^{15f.}$ along with Pathros (Upper Egypt), Zoan (Tanis), Sin, No (Thebes), Noph (Memphis), Aven (Heliopolis), Pi-beseth (Bubastis), and Tehaphnehes (Daphnæ). Arranging these in geographical order, we find them to be the most important cities in the N.E. of the Delta and along its eastern edge leading to Memphis, the capital of Lower Egypt, followed by Pathros (Upper Egypt) and its capital No. Sin is characterized by Ezek. as 'the stronghold of Egypt' (RV), yet it is not mentioned by Jeremiah. LXX tr. it by Sais (the capital of the 26th Dynasty, in power at the time of the prophecy), or Syene, the southern frontier. The latter identification is, however, impossible. In all probability Sin is Pelusium. The name Sin seems, like Pelusium, to be connected with 'mud'; and a modern name that clings to the neighbourhood of Pelusium is eṭ-Ṭîneh, which is from the same root as Sîn. Unfortunately, nothing is known of the history of Pelusium before the time of Herodotus, in whose days it was a place of importance owing to the development of commerce by sea; and soon it became the key of Egypt on the N.E., as in the Persian war and long afterwards (Her. ii. 17, 154, iii. 10). From the wording of Ezek. it would seem to have held this position at a date when Daphnæ was still a great garrison city, guarding the approach to Memphis. The ancient Egyptian name of Pelusium is still unknown. In Coptic it is *Peremûn*, in Arab. *el-Fermâ*. The ruins are about a mile distant from the sea in the extreme N.E. corner of the Delta. They consist of a long narrow mound parallel to the sea, containing ruins of a temple and a large red brick enclosure, evidently a Byzantine or Arab fortress. At the E. extremity, after a slight gap, is another high mound, nearly touching the desert, and crowned by a structure of red brick. These brick buildings are of the Arab. period. West and south all is barren salt marsh, without a living soul for miles; the marsh is now indeed intersected by the Suez canal, which brings human beings within 20 miles. Yet even down to the 11th cent. A.D. el-Fermâ was a large city, and the country round, though marshy, was to a great extent cultivated and populous. Near the shore were salt-pans, and places for salting fish. F. LL. GRIFFITH.

SIN, WILDERNESS OF (מִדְבַּר־סִין; LXX ἡ ἔρημος Σ(ε)ίν; Vulg. *desertum Sin*).—This 'wilderness' is described in Ex 16^{1} as between Elim and Sinai; in 17^{1} an encampment in Rephidim is mentioned between Sin and the wilderness of Sinai; and in the itinerary of Nu 33 an encampment by the Red Sea is inserted between Elim and the wilderness of Sin, and two other camping-places besides Rephidim between the wilderness of Sin and the wilderness of Sinai. On the supposition that the traditional site of Sinai is the correct one, the encampment by the sea is generally placed at the end of *Wâdy Ṭayibeh*, near *Râs Abu Selimeh*, and the wilderness of Sin may be the open plain a little to the south of this headland. Others put it in *Wâdy Schellal* or *Wâdy Budrah*. This wilderness appears to be different from the wilderness of ZIN (Nu 13^{21} 20^{1} 27^{14} 33^{36} $34^{3.4}$, Dt 32^{51}, Jos $15^{1.3}$), in which the Israelites encamped after leaving Mt. Sinai, but the student cannot fail to notice the close similarity of the three names Sinai, Sin, Zin. A. T. CHAPMAN.

SINAI, MOUNT (סִינַי, Σ(ε)ινά).—The impressions derived from a study of the wanderings of the children of Israel as they are recorded in the Scriptures, are found to undergo important modifications as soon as the biblical tradition is supplemented by an actual topographical survey of the peninsula at the head of the Red Sea, which takes its name from Mt. Sinai, and is supposed to contain the famous mountain where the Law was said to have been given to Israel. For while the student of the Scriptures without their topographical supplement would conclude that the route of the Exodus lay entirely outside the pale of civilization, the student of the country is able to affirm with certainty that there was an actual civilization in the peninsula itself; that there were important mines, with at least one port of debarkation for ships coming from Egypt; and that the country was intersected by trade routes which connected the upper end of the Red Sea with regions lying farther north and east; the mines alluded to being contemporary with the earliest Egyptian dynasties, and the trade routes being also, in all probability, of extreme antiquity. And not only are there within the limits of the so-called Sinaitic peninsula the marks of an astonishingly early stage of civilization, but there is also the indication of the existence of early forms of religion, far removed from the semi-fetishism of wandering Arab tribes.

One of these forms of religion was the Egyptian, represented by the temples at Sarbut el-Ḳadeem on the northern route to Mt. Sinai; it was the natural concomitant of the imported Egyptian influence which came in with the officials who had charge of the mining operations in the west of the peninsula. But besides this form of religion there is reason to suspect that Babylonian religion was also represented, for there are traces in the Babylonian literature of mining and quarrying operations in the eastern part of the peninsula and in the adjacent country of Midian, and these traces are very suggestive of religious concomitants, especially when we find a reflexion of the Babylonian theology in the very name of the sacred mountain. Mount Sinai, in fact, is named after the moon-god Sin (cf. the formation of Mordecai from the name of Marduk); and if this be so, it was from the earliest times a place of sanctity, and the routes that converge upon it would easily acquire the character of *ḥaj* routes or pilgrim roads. There is therefore no *a priori* difficulty in the account of the wandering of the children of Israel to a sacred mount, nor any need to regard the sanctity of the place as acquired in the time of the Exodus, or projected back upon the story by later chroniclers.

The real problem lies in the identification of the

mountain described in the Pent., especially in view of the fact that the whole of the peninsula is a mass of mountains, many of which are conspicuous objects in the landscape, and certain to have early attracted attention and invited nomenclature. We are assuming that Mt. Sinai is somewhere in the tongue of land at the head of the Red Sea, between the two arms of that sea which constitute respectively the Gulf of 'Aḳaba and the Gulf of Suez. It should, however, be remembered that Sayce thinks he has grounds for locating Mt. Sinai outside the peninsula and in the land of Midian itself. In this he is following in some points an earlier and more fantastic suggestion of Beke. The advantage of such a theory lies in the fact (1) that Mt. Sinai is closely connected with the land of Midian in the biblical account. Thither Moses escapes from the wrath of Pharaoh, and while engaged in pastoral occupations in that land he sees the theophany of the burning bush. Moreover, his wife and her relations are Midianite. The general opinion is that Midian is on the farther side of 'Aḳaba to the east and north, and that special evidence is needed if we would include in it the surroundings of the traditional Mt. Sinai. (2) The theory furnishes a new explanation of the encampment of the Israelites by the sea, which on this theory is the Gulf of 'Aḳaba; (3) it finds a site for the much-disputed Elim in the modern Aileh (ancient Eloth); (4) it explains why nothing is said about the exquisite valley of Feiran by a writer who is so careful to record the palm-trees and springs (certainly of a much inferior quality) at Elim; the identification of Rephidim with Feiran is, on this hypothesis, incorrectly made.

The theory is not lightly to be set aside; the main objection to it lies in the itinerary (which appears to have been one of daily marches along a conventional road). No satisfactory attempt has been made to trace this itinerary to the E. or N. of the Gulf of 'Aḳaba.

Setting aside, then, the theory of a (trans-'Aḳaba) Midianite Sinai as inconsistent with the most natural interpretation of the biblical traditions, we proceed to determine the most likely spot within the peninsula to which those traditions can be referred. And first of all we may clear away the apparent confusion between **Horeb** and Sinai which occurs in the Pent., and has often been perplexing to commentators who had to reconcile such expressions as 'to the mountain of God, even to Horeb' (Ex 3^1), with which cf. 1 K 19^8, where Elijah is said to have come 'to the mountain of God, even to Horeb.' Here and in other places 'the mountain of God' is identified with Horeb, *i.e.* Sinai and Horeb are practically interchangeable. An examination of the sources of the narrative will show that Horeb is the term used for the seat of the Deity in E and D, while Sinai is the term used in J and P. According to the sources, then, we can only say that the centre of the worship of J″ is in Horeb according to the northern tribes, and in Sinai according to the southern; and no further help is forthcoming for the location of Horeb (which may simply mean 'waste').

Returning to the question of the actual mountain involved in the tradition, we have a remarkable divergence of opinion amongst critics and travellers, not a few of whom (especially Lepsius and Ebers) have sought to identify the biblical Sinai with Mt. Serbal, which rises just above the oasis of Feiran to the south. It may be admitted that Serbal is a much more conspicuous object than Jebel Musa (the traditional mountain of the Law), although it is not so lofty. It is also true that the centre of early Christian life in the peninsula in the first centuries of the occupation of the holy places is in the Wady Feiran, which stands for the ancient Paran, the seat of an episcopate and the home of innumerable ascetics, whose caves and rude dwellings may still be traced. We need not be surprised, then, if it should be maintained that the special place of sanctity in the peninsula was not far from the Wady Feiran, in which case Serbal can hardly fail to be the holy mountain. In further support of this it is urged that immediately after the battle with Amalek the Israelites are said (Ex 19^2) to have come to Mt. Sinai, or at all events to the wilderness which bears the name of that mountain, and it would therefore seem that the mountain was at no great distance from Rephidim, which is almost universally identified with the Wady Feiran. So that, when we combine the biblical statement of the proximity of Rephidim to Mt. Sinai with the undoubted fact that Feiran is the primitive Christian metropolis, a strong case is made out for identifying the beautiful and imposing Mount Serbal with the biblical Sinai. Various attempts have further been made, by means of quotations from Cosmas Indicopleustes, Eusebius, Jerome, etc., to show that there has been a monastic translation of the accepted site of Sinai from Serbal to Jebel Musa (cf. Lepsius, *Tour from Thebes and the Peninsula of Sinai*, 1846, tr. by Cottrell; and Ebers, *Durch Gosen zum Sinai*, 2nd ed. Leipzig, 1881). And it has been affirmed in accordance with this hypothesis that there was no monastery or monastic settlement in the neighbourhood of Jebel Musa before the convent, called popularly after the name of St. Catherine, was built by Justinian.

Unfortunately for this ingenious hypothesis, it has been reduced almost to absurdity by the discovery of a document which is in itself one of the most interesting of pilgrim itineraries, and which for the settlement of the early Christian tradition has immense weight. We refer to the document known as the *Peregrinatio Silviæ*, edited in Rome in 1887 by Gamurrini from an imperfect MS, and since reprinted by J. H. Bernard as a volume of the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society. The pilgrimage in question is dated in the years 385–388 by its editor, and its authorship is assigned with good reason to a lady from Aquitaine. The imperfect MS opens with topographical details which certainly identify the plain of er-Raḥah in front of Jebel Musa ('vallem infinitam ingens * planissima et valde pulchram, et trans vallem apparebat mons sanctus Dei Syna'). And, in fact, the whole of the route which Silvia describes between Egypt and Sinai, and the holy places which she visits, coincide closely with the route and the sanctities recorded in modern books of travel. The theory of the displacement of the traditional Sinai from Serbal to Jebel Musa in the early Christian centuries may therefore be abandoned, and this practically amounts to the final abandonment of the Serbal-Sinai theory itself and the acceptance of the traditional site. Any residual difficulties which are connected with the account of the Exodus and the last stages of the journey to Sinai are probably due to unhistorical elements in the tradition. Mt. Sinai must therefore be sought in the cluster of eminences which includes Jebel Katerina, Jebel Musa, etc. Of these the highest is Jebel Katerina, but it does not appear that any attempt has been successful to find at the foot of Jebel Katerina a suitable place for an Israelite encampment. And in so far as this is the case, the traditional site must be allowed to retain the identification until further light can be thrown on the subject from unexpected quarters.

* *Ingens=valde* in this document frequently; but here in its natural sense, for she says a little later *valle illa quam dixi ingens.*

The traditional Sinai is bounded on the north side by the great plain er-Raḥah, out of which it rises precipitously; on its east and west sides are wadis named respectively, the one on the east Wady ed-Deir and the one on the west Wady el-Leja. The former takes its name (Valley of the Convent) from the celebrated convent of St. Catherine, which stands upon the slope of the mountain; the derivation of the other name is more obscure. In this western wady are the remains of the convent of the Forty Martyrs (*Deir el-Arba'in*) and a number of other traces of early monastic life, and by this valley it is customary to make the ascent of Jebel Katerina, which lies to the S.W. of Jebel Musa. The northernmost peak of Jebel Musa is called Ras es-Sufsafeh ('Head of the Willow,' probably from a tree growing in one of its gullies), and is commonly taken as the place of promulgation of the Law, for which it is a very striking and suitable site. The height of Sufsafeh is 6937 ft., while the southern peak is somewhat lower. The latter is the true holy place according to the Greek and Arab tradition. There is an ascent to it by a flight of rude steps commencing not far from the convent, and extending, with slight intermission, almost to the summit.

Additional Note.—*Objections to the traditional site of Mt. Sinai.*—In the foregoing we have found ourselves closely in accord with the traditional view of the route of the Exodus, and of the location of Mt. Sinai. If the Israelites really went into the Sinaitic peninsula, the route and the goal of their wanderings have probably been correctly identified. We have shown that the tradition in favour of *Jebel Musa* is earlier and more constant than has generally been recognized. But the real difficulty begins with the question whether the biblical Mt. Sinai was in the peninsula, after all. Objection after objection has been raised under this head, and some of them are not easy to refute. (1) The biblical references to Mt. Sinai do not seem to warrant an identification in the limits of the peninsula. Dt 1^2 gives a distance of 11 days from Horeb to the mountains of Seir, and this would agree well enough with the distance from Jebel Musa. But in other passages, such as Dt 33^2, Hab 3^3, the contiguity between Sinai and Edom seems to be more pronounced: even if we grant a certain freedom of expression to poetical passages, still such language as Dt 33^2—

> J" came from Sinai,
> And rose from Seir unto them,

might, in view of Heb. parallelism of the members, imply more than that Sinai was in the direction of Seir. It might be urged in reply that the passage continues—

> He shined forth from Mt. Paran,
> And came from Meribah Kadesh,

and Paran has been commonly identified with *Feiran* in the peninsula. But this identification has also been questioned on account of the parallelism with Kadesh and other references.

(2) Some of the places in the itinerary of Exodus have apparently been found outside the limits of the peninsula, as Elim in Elath-Eloth, and the encampment by the sea in the Gulf of 'Akaba.

(3) Mt. Sinai is suspiciously connected with the land of Midian, and it has to be shown that the Sinaitic peninsula could be thus described. At the time of the Exodus it was an Egyptian province.

These and other objections have been raised against the traditional theory; their resolution depends upon the final discrimination of the documents underlying the Pent. and upon the results of further archæological investigations, not only in the peninsula of Sinai but to the N. and E. of it.

Literature.—Robinson, *BRP*² i. 90 ff., 119 ff.; Stanley, *SP* 42 f.; Palmer, *Desert of the Exodus, passim*; Hull, *Mount Seir, Sinai*, etc., 51 ff. [all these support the identification of Sinai with Jebel Musa]; Lepsius, *Briefe*, 345 ff., 416; Ebers, *Durch Gosen zum Sinai*, 392 ff. [both advocate the claims of Mt. Serbal]; Sayce, *HCM* 263 ff. (his view is discussed above). There is a full account of the controversy as to the identity of Sinai in Dillm.-Ryssel on Ex 19^1. For the sacred character of Mt. Sinai see W. R. Smith, *RS*² 117 f., and Smend, *Alttest. Religionsgesch.*², 32 ff.

J. Rendel Harris.

SINCERE.—In 1 P 2^2 'sincere' is used in the sense of 'unmixed,' 'pure': 'Desire the sincere milk of the word' (τὸ λογικὸν ἄδολον γάλα, Vulg. *sine dolo*, Wyc. 'with out gile,' Tind. 'which is without corrupcion,' Cran. 'which is with out disceate,' Gen. 'syncere,' Rhem. 'without guile'; RV goes back to Wyc. and Rhem. 'which is without guile'). For 'sincere' in this sense, cf. Rhem. NT, Preface, p. 16, 'We translate that text which is most sincere, and in our opinion, and as we have proved, incorrupt'; and Cranmer, *Works*, i. 134, 'If there be none other offence laid against them than this one, it will be much more for the conversion of all the fauters hereof, after mine opinion, that their consciences may be clearly averted from the same by communication of sincere doctrine . . . than by the justice of the law to suffer in such ignorance.' J. Hastings.

SINGERS, SINGING.—See artt. Praise in OT, and Priests and Levites.

SINGULAR is properly that which concerns a single person or thing; so AV, after Tindale, in Lv 27^2 'When a man shall make a singular vow' (יַפְלִא נֶדֶר, RV 'shall accomplish a vow,' RVm 'make a special vow').* So also Knox, *Works*, iii. 141, 'Without harnes or weaponis (except my sling, staf, and stonis) I durst interpryes singular battell aganis him'; Bp. Davenant, *Life*, 329, 'For my part, I am of opinion that there is no sane or possible Way for any singular person to attein to the comfortable persuasion that hee is Elected unto Salvation, but a Posteriori.' Cf. the phrase 'all and singular,' as in the Act of Uniformity in K. Edward VI. Second Prayer-Book (1552), 'And for their authority in this behalf, be it further likewise enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that all and singular the same Archbishops, Bishops, and all other their officers exercising Ecclesiastical jurisdiction, as well in place exempt, as not exempt, within their dioceses, shall have full power and authority, by this act, to reform, correct, and punish, by censure of the Church, all and singular persons which shall offend within any their jurisdictions or Dioceses.'

Then the single person or thing may be regarded as *special* and *remarkable*, as Wis 14^{18} 'the singular diligence of the artificer.' Cf. Ridley, *Brefe Declaration*, 144, 'Origen . . . was compted and judged thi singular teacher in his tyme of Christes religion'; Mt 5^{47} Tind. 'And yf ye be frendly to youre brethren onlye, what singular thynge doo ye?' J. Hastings.

SINIM (סִינִים; Πέρσαι; *de terra australi*).—The 'land of Sinim' (Is 49^{12}) must, from the context, have been in the extreme south or east of the known world. In the south, Sin (*Pelusium*, Ezk $30^{15f.}$) and Syene (Ezk 29^{10} 30^6) have been suggested (the former by Saadya, Bochart, and Ewald; the latter by Cheyne [*Introd. to Is.* 275, and in *SBOT*], who would read סְוֵנִים, with J. D. Michaelis, Klostermann, Marti), but these places are perhaps too near. The LXX favours the view that a country in the east was intended, and modern commentators have identified Sinim with China, the land of the Sinæ. The name *Tsin* was known as early as the 12th cent. B.C.; and it was not improbably familiar to the Phœnicians. There was a trade, at a very early date, between the extreme east and southern Arabia and the Persian Gulf. This interpretation of the name *Sinim* as referring to China, which was first suggested by Gesenius, is strongly opposed by Dillm. (*Jesaja, ad loc.*), Duhm, and Richthofen (*China*, i. 436 f., 504). Dillm. *e.g.* points out that no Israelites could have been in China at the time of this prophecy, that we should expect צינים not ס׳, and the name *Tsin* (derived from a dynasty of 255 B.C.) could not have been yet in use in Babylon.

C. W. Wilson.

SINITES (סִנִּי; A ὁ Ἀσενναῖος, Luc. ὁ Ἀσεννεί).—

* On the vocalization and meaning of the Heb. word see the Comm., especially Dillm.-Ryssel, *ad loc.*

A Canaanite people, Gn 10^{17}=1 Ch 1^{15}. Dillm. (*Genesis, ad loc.*) compares the name of the ruined city Ṣin, mentioned by Jerome (*Quæst.*), as not far from Arḳa at the foot of Lebanon. Strabo (XVI. ii. 18) also names a mountain stronghold *Ṣinna(n)* (Σιννᾶν, accus.) on Lebanon, and a Phœn. city *Siânu* is named along with Ṣemar and Arḳa in an Assyr. inscription (Del. *Paradies*, 282; cf. W. M. Müller, *As. u. Europ.* 289).

SIN-OFFERING.—See SACRIFICE, p. 337[b].

SION.—**1.** (ציאן; LXX Σηών) A name of HERMON, Dt 4^{48}. *Sion* is taken by some to be a textual error for SIRION (שִׂרְיֹן), the Zidonian name of the same mountain, Dt 3^{9}. This view is supported by the reading of the Syr., which, however, is as likely to be a correction of the Hebrew text (Driver, *ad loc.*). Like SENIR, *Sion* may have originally been the designation of a particular part of Hermon. **2.** See ZION. J. A. SELBIE.

SIPHMOTH (שִׁפְמוֹת; B Σαφεί, A Σαφαμώ; *Sephamoth*).—One of the places, 'where David and his men were wont to haunt,' to which a portion of the spoil of the Amalekites was sent after David's return to Ziklag (1 S 30^{28}). It is mentioned with Aroer, now *'Ar'arah*, to the east of Beer-sheba, and Eshtemoa, now *es-Semû'a*, in the hill-country S. of Hebron. The site was unknown to Eusebius and Jerome (*Onom. s.* Σαφαμωθ, *Sofamoth*), and it has not yet been recovered. It was probably in the Negeb to the S. of Eshtemoa. Riehm (*HWB*) suggests that Zabdi, the **Shiphmite** (1 Ch 27^{27}), was a native of Siphmoth and not of Shepham—the change from *Sh* to *S* being easily made, and a few MSS reading *Shiph-* for *Siph-* in 1 Samuel. See SHEPHAM. C. W. WILSON.

SIPPAI.—See SAPH.

SIRACH (BOOK OF).—

i. History.
ii. Importance.
iii. Name and Place in the Bible.
iv. Name of the Author.
v. Editions.
vi. Greek Text.
vii. Versions and Quotations.
viii. The Syriac Text.
ix. The Hebrew Texts.
x. Contents and Theology.
Literature.

[Abbreviations in this article :—Ed. = Edersheim, Commentary on Sirach in Wace, *Apocrypha*, ii.; C-N = Cowley-Neubauer, *The original Hebrew of a portion of Ecclesiasticus*; R = Ryssel, Translation of Sirach with Notes in *Die Apokryphen übersetzt*, . . . ed. by E. Kautzsch (1900, i.) and in *SK* 1900, 1901; S-T = *The Wisdom of Ben Sira, Portions of the Book Ecclesiasticus*, ed. by Schechter-Taylor (1899); 𝔊 the Greek, 𝔐 the Hebrew, 𝔖 the Latin, 𝔖 the Syriac Text, 𝔭 the Syriac translation of Paul of Tella].

i. HISTORY.—The history of the book, which in the English Bible retained the Latin name *Ecclesiasticus*, while it is called in German the book (of) Jesus Sirach or, abbreviated, *Sirach*, falls into two periods, the second beginning on 13th May 1896, when S. Schechter, Talmudic reader in the University of Cambridge, wrote in a letter to Mrs. A. S. Lewis there, that the fragment of a Hebrew MS of hers, which he had taken with him, represented '*a piece of the original Hebrew of Ecclesiasticus. It is the first time that such a thing was discovered*' (see A. S. Lewis, *In the Shadow of Sinai:* A Story of Travel and Research from 1895 to 1897; Cambridge, 1898, p. 174). Since that day, 39 out of the 51 chapters of which the book consists have been recovered totally or in part in Hebrew from 4 different MSS, and a new period in the history of this book has thus been opened. What we knew about it before that time or believed we knew, is, perhaps, best summed up in the Introduction and Commentary of A. Edersheim, in the *Speaker's Commentary* ('Apocrypha,' ed. by Henry Wace (London, 1888), ii. 1–239).

ii. IMPORTANCE.—In many respects this book is the most important of the so-called Apocrypha. It is important for the student of history who wishes to trace the Jewish religion in its transition from the OT to the NT, and it is important on account of the influence it exercised and still exercises on the religious life of generations. Both the Jubilee Rhythm of St. Bernard of Clairvaux (partially translated in *Hymns Ancient and Modern*, 178, 177), and what may be called the German Te Deum, *Nun danket alle Gott* (*ib.* 379), are taken from this book. How much has been lost by those parts of the Church which excluded it from their Bibles may be gathered from the use made of it in other parts, not only in the Greek and Roman, which place it on the same footing as the whole Bible, but also in the Lutheran, which placed it among the Apocrypha but made a very large use of it.

On the Latin Church compare especially Augustine. When he collected from the Bible, towards the end of his life, his so-called *Speculum*, *i.e.* those passages which he considered useful for the guidance of the religious life, he found in this book more for his purpose (*plura huic operi necessaria*) than in any other book of the OT or NT (no fewer than 36 pages out of 285 in the edition of Weihrich [*CSEL*, vol. xii. 1887]; from Proverbs 21 pages, from Matthew 18). After the excerpts from those books 'quos et Judæi canonicos habent,' he goes on to say 'sed non sunt omittendi et hi quos quidem ante salvatoris adventum constat esse conscriptos, sed eos non receptos a Judæis recipit tamen eiusdem salvatoris ecclesia. in his sunt duo qui Salomonis appellantur a pluribus propter quandam sicut existimo eloquii similitudinem. nam Salomonis non esse nihil dubitant quique doctiores. nec tamen eius qui Sapientiæ dicitur quisnam sit autor apparet. illum vero alterum quem vocamus Ecclesiasticum, quod Jesus quidam scripserit, qui cognominatur Sirach, constat inter eos qui eundem librum totum legerunt.'

As to the Lutheran Church it may be noted that the protocols of the Meistersinger of Nürnberg alone mention about 100 songs all beginning 'Jesus Sirach' or 'Sirach (the wise man)'—see the Indexes published by K. Drescher in vol. 214 (1897) of the *Literarische Verein*. In 1676 a preacher published the themes and dispositions of 170 sermons on this book,* and the Bible Society of Halle (founded by Francke-Canstein) circulated from 1712–1823 no fewer than 77,105 copies.†

iii. NAME AND PLACE IN THE BIBLE.—(*a*) *Place.* (1) The book had at no time a place among the 24 (or 22) books of the Hebrew Bible, though it is quoted in one passage of the Bab. Talmud (*Berakhoth*, 48*a*) with the quotation-formula כְּתִיב 'as it is written,' which is used elsewhere only of the acknowledged books; but in the parallel passages the name of the book is added. In two other passages two rabbinical authorities actually quote from our book, while believing themselves to be quoting from Scripture (see Strack, 'Kanon des AT' in *PRE*[3] ix. 753). The book is therefore not mentioned in those lists of the canonical books which profess to give the Jewish Canon, as Melito, Origen, Cyril of Jerusalem, Gregory of Nazianzus, Amphilochius, pseudo-Athanasius' *Synopsis*, Canon of Laodicea, *capitulus* (Zahn, *Geschichte des Kanons*, vol. ii.). Epiphanius, *de Mens.* 4 (Lagarde, *Symmicta*, ii. 157), says on the two books, mentioned above by Augustine, Wisdom and Sirach : *αὗται χρήσιμοι μέν εἰσι καὶ ὠφέλιμοι, ἀλλ' εἰς ἀριθμὸν τῶν ῥητῶν οὐκ ἀναφέρονται*‡ *διʼ ὃ οὐδὲ ἐν τῷ ἀρών* (אָרוֹן) *ἐνετέθησαν, τοῦτʼ ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ τῆς διαθήκης κιβωτῷ.*

(2) But Sirach had a sure and prominent place among the books of the Bible in the Greek and

* *Sacrarum Homiliarum Thematicarum e Sapientia* Παναρετω, *sive Ecclesiastico Jesu filii Sirach centum et septuaginta dispositiones, annotationibus textualibus illustratæ, quibus præfixus, liber Siracidis græcus cum variis lectionibus . . .* autore . . . W. M. Stissero, Lipsiæ, 2 pts. (1676), 4to.

† On the use made of the book in the English Church see below, p. 550[b].

‡ Compare with this assertion Luther's definition of the Apocrypha, as 'Bücher, so der Heiligen Schrift nicht gleich gehalten, und doch nützlich und gut zu lesen sind.'

still more in the Latin Churches. In the MSS of the Greek Bibles it was most commonly grouped with the other Poetical books (see the lists in Swete's *Introduction*, pp. 198–214); the order being in cod. S: Psalms, Proverbs, Eccl., Cant., Wisd., Sirach, Job; in B: Ps., Prov., Eccl., Cant., Job, Wisd., Sirach, Esth.; in AN: Ps., Job, Prov., Eccl., Cant., Wisd., Sirach.

On the question whether Clement of Alexandria had Wisdom and Sirach as an Appendix to the NT, see, on the one side, Credner-Volkmar, *Geschichte des neutest. Canons*, p. 387 (on the strength of Photius, cod. 109, *ὁ δὲ ὅλος σκοπὸς* [of his *Ἐκλογαί*] *ὡσανεὶ ἑρμηνείαι συγχέουσι τῆς Γενέσεως, τῆς Ἐξόδου, τῶν ψαλμῶν, τοῦ θείου Παύλου τῶν ἐπιστολῶν καὶ τῶν Καθολικῶν καὶ τοῦ Ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ*), and H. Eickhoff, *Das NT des Clemens* (Progr. Schleswig, 1900, p. 22); on the other side Zahn, *Geschichte des Kanons*, ii. 223.

The 85th of the Apostolic Canons orders: *ἔξωθεν δὲ ὑμῖν προσιστορείσθω μανθάνειν ὑμῶν τοὺς νέους τὴν Σοφίαν τοῦ πολυμαθοῦς Σειράχ.*

The Coptic Church counts 6 books of Wisdom (*ἐξάσοφος*); see I. Guidi, 'Il canone biblico della chiesa copta' (*Revue biblique*, x. 2, 166, 169)=Job + Salomone 5 libri (Prov., Wisd., Eccl., La Sapienza di Bāgor ben Bagy (=יקה בן אגור, Cant.); after the Prophets follows La Sapienza di Gesù figlio di Sirach *scriba di Salomone*.

(3) In the *Western* Church, too, it became at a very early date common to group these 5 books (Prov., Eccl., Cant., Wisd., and Sirach) together and presently to count them all as Solomonic. One passage from Augustine has been already quoted [§ 1]: in *de Doct. Christ.* ii. 13 he says of Wisdom and Sirach: 'de quadam similitudine Salomonis esse dicuntur . . . qui tamen quoniam in auctoritatem recipi meruerunt juxta propheticos enumerandi sunt.' Innocent I. (*Ep. ad Exsuperium*) counts expressly, after Prophetarum libri xvi., 'Salomonis libri v.,' then Psalterium; so also Cassiodorius (*de Inst. Div. litt.* 14; but see Zahn, *Gesch. d. Kan.* ii. 270, 271 n. 5, 272), the Council of Carthage, A.D. 397 (can. 47=39), the stichometrical list from Freisingen published by C. H. Turner (*JThSt* ii. 240), while, in the list of the MS of F. Arevalo (*l.c.* p. 241), in pseudo-Gelasius and in Isidore, 'Salomonis libri iii.' is followed by Wisdom and Sirach (in pseudo-Gelasius in the order Sirach, Wisdom).* The same arrangement is found in mediæval Bibles and translations—for instance in the famous Wenzel Bible at Vienna (on which see Kurrelmeyer, *Amer. Journ. of Phil.* xxi. 62, 69); and this custom of placing Sirach and Wisd. in company with Prov., Eccl., and Cant., and of reckoning all five as books of Solomon, became so prevalent that as late as the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries several separate editions of this group were published, not only in Latin but also in English, either with the express heading 'libri Salomonis' or without it.

See in the Catalogue of the British Museum 'Bible' (OT) the remark before Hagiographa (col. 323, comp. with 718, 720, where Sirach by mistake is called 'the Book of Wisdom'). Latin editions containing these 5 books are in the Brit. Mus. from Antw. 1537; Paris, 1537; Lyons, 1543; Paris, 1564; Antw. 1591; with Psalms, 1629; Psalterium Davidis et Libri sapientiales (without Cant.), Leiden, 1659. Of English editions the two oldest are: *The Bokes of Salomon, namely, Proverbia, Ecclesiastes, Sapientia, and Ecclesiasticus or Jesus the sonne of Syrach* (*The story of Bell, whjch is the xiiij chapter of Daniel after the Latin*), E. Whytchurch, London [1540?], 8vo (in the copy of the Br. Mus. a few MS notes by King Henry VIII.; the text follows that of the Bible of 1535; a reprint 1545, 16mo); *The bokes of Salomon, namely, Proverbia, Ecclesiastes, Cantica Canticorum, Ecclesiasticus or Iesus the sonne of Syrach*, W. Bonham, London [1542?], 8vo (text follows Great Bible of 1539; another ed. Wyllyam Copland, London, Jan. 1550 [1551], 8vo).

The order in the present English editions of the Apocrypha (1 Es., 2 Es., Tobit, Judith, the Rest of Esther, The Wisdom of Solomon, Sirach, etc.) seems to go back in the last instance to the German (Zürich) translation of Leo Jud (Zürich, 1529, fol. and 8vo; Strassburg, 1529–30), which separated '*die Bücher die by den alten onder Biblische geschrifft nit gezelt sind, auch by den Ebreern nit gefunden*' from the rest of the Bible, and arranged them 1–2 Es., Tob., Jud., Bar., Wisd., 'das Buch Ecclesiasticus das man nennen mag die weisen Sprüch Jesu des Suns Sirach,' 1–3 Mac., Sus., Bel and Dragon.

* On Mommsen's list, the *Catalogus Claromontanus*, the *Liber sacramentorum* of Bobbio, see Swete, *Introd.* p. 212 ff. See also the Damasine list published by C. H. Turner, *JThSt*, i. 557.

The first Greek edition of the Bible, which separated *Ἀπόκρυφοι αἱ παρ' Ἑβραίοις* [*sic*] *ἐκ τοῦ τῶν ἀξιοπίστων ἀριθμοῦ συγκαθίστανται*, is that of Lonicerus (Argentorati, Cephaleus, 1524, 26). Its order is: Tob., Jud.; Bar., Ep. Jer.; Song of the Three Children, Esdras, *Σοφία Σολομῶντος*, *Σοφία Ἰησοῦ υἱοῦ Σειράχ*. The ground of Luther's (1534) arrangement (Judith, Wisd.; Tob., Sirach) becomes clear only from his Prefaces, which are now omitted in almost all German Bibles: the story was made to be followed by the *fabula docet*.

In Syriac Lexicographical Notes on the Bible the order is: Kings, Ruth, Wisd., Eccl., Cant., Sirach, Prophets (see *Opuscula Nestoriana*, ed. G. Hoffmann).

(*b*) *Name.*—Luther says in his Preface: 'This book has been called hitherto in Latin *Ecclesiasticus*, which has been rendered the spiritual discipline (*die geistliche Zucht*). Elsewhere its true name is *Jesus Sirach*, after its master, as it is styled in its own Preface and the Greek,* in the same way as Moses, Joshua, Isaiah, and all the books of the Prophets are styled after their masters.' In our documents it is styled (1) *Σοφια Σειραχ* in codex B (inscr.); (2) *Σοφια Ιησου υιου Σειραχ* (or *Σι-*) in codd. ACS, and in the subscription of B. Ch. 50 has the inscription *Προσευχη Ιησου υιου Σειραχ*, and occurs separately under this heading, *e.g.* in cod. Bodl. misc. gr. 205 (xiv cent.); (3) *Σοφια η παναρετος Ιησου υιου Σειραχ* stands in the edition of Camerarius, 1551, before the so-called Prologus incerti auctoris. The expression *πανάρετος* is applied to Proverbs (Eus. *HE* iv. 22), to Wisd. (Athan., *Synops.*, Epiph., subscr. in codex Syro-hexaplaris Ambrosianus), to Sirach (Eus. *DE* viii. 2, Jerome).

Clement of Alexandria quotes: *φησὶν ἡ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ Σοφία, ἡ γραφή* (*Str.* ii. 180), *ἡ Σοφία, παρὰ τῷ Σολομῶντι* (ii. 160), *παρὰ Σολομῶντος, Παιδαγωγός*. Origen (ii. 77): *τοῦ τὸ σύγγραμμα τὴν Σοφίαν ἡμῖν καταλιπόντος Ἰησοῦ υἱοῦ Σιράχ*; (iii. 48) *φησὶν γὰρ ἡ Σοφία*, (139) *λεγούσης τῆς γραφῆς*.

In the official editions of the Latin Bible the book has the heading *Ecclesiasticus*; then follows, 'In Ecclesiasticum Jesu filii Sirach Prologus.' Ch 50 has the heading 'Oratio Jesu filii Sirach.' In the codex Amiatinus the inscription and subscription is *Liber Ecclesiasticum Salomonis*; the subscription standing after 3 Regn. 8^{22-31}, which follows in this MS immediately after ch. 51. The same arrangement is found in mediæval Bibles, as the Wenzel Bible, the first German Bible (Eggestein, Strassburg, *c.* 1461).

Very strange is the heading *Ἐκκλησιαστικός* (because hitherto found only in Latin and the passage of Photius quoted above)† in cod. 248 before

* Of printed Greek texts Luther knew probably only the edition of Lonicerus just mentioned, 1526; the other texts printed at that time were in the Polyglot Bible of Ximenes, 1514, and in the Greek Bible of Aldus, 1518; Melanchthon's edition of the Greek Bible appeared a few months before Luther's death, 1545. Frz. Delitzsch (*Studien zur Entstehungsgeschichte der Polyglottenbibel des Cardinals Ximenes*, Leipzig, 1871, p. 5) states that Luther nowhere mentions the Bible of Ximenes, but that Melanchthon refers to it while Luther was living, and that the library of Wittenberg possessed the copy dedicated to the Elector; two years after the death of Luther it passed into the library of Jena.

† Besides the statement of Zahn, *Gesch. d. Kan.* ii. 233, cf. Oikonomos, *περι των ὁ ερμηνευτων*, ii. 579. On the adjective *ἐκκλησιαστικός* see Clement, *Str.* vi. 125 (ed. Dind. iii. 217), *καινὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὸς*, Origen, ii. 97. 1, iii. 44. 1; Rufinus (*Expos.*

the text of the book and the Prologus incerti auctoris, the latter being inscribed Σοφία Ἰησοῦ υἱοῦ Σειράχ.

The common Latin designation since Cyprian is *Ecclesiasticus*, and means, most probably, the Church-book κατ' ἐξοχήν, from its frequent use in the Church, especially for the instruction of catechumens.

Ecclesiasticus is used in Cyprian once of Ecclesiastes (*Test.* 3, 86. 61), once of Wisd. (3, 112 cod. A), of our book (3, 1. 95. 110. 111); it is ascribed to Solomon in 3, 6. 12. 20. 53. 113, *Op.* 5, *Sent.* 27, *Ep.* 3, 2; it is both ascribed to Solomon and called Ecclesiasticus in 2, 1. 3. 35. 51. 96. 97. 109 (see Rönsch, 'die Alttest. Citate bei Cyprian' in *Zeitschrift für histor. Theol.* 1875, 95). Ambrose writes: 'In Ecclesiastico Syrach, in libro Sapientiæ Syrach'; Lactantius (*Ep.* 25), 'In Ecclesiastico per Salomonem'; it is referred to Solomon also by Vigilius of Thapsus, Anicetus of Buruch; Hilary ('qui nobiscum Salomonis inscribitur, apud Græcos *atque Hebræos* [!] Sapientia Sirach habetur'). Jerome says, 'In Sapientia quæ Sirach inscribitur.'

The (wrongly) abbreviated inscription of codex B and the editio Sixtina have become prevalent in modern books, even in those of Roman Catholic authors.

(*c*) *Name of the original work.*—Jerome (in the Preface to the books of Solomon) writes: 'Fertur et πανάρετος Jesu filii Sirach liber, et alius ψευδεπίγραφος qui Sapientia Salomonis inscribitur; *quorum priorem Hebraicum reperi*, nec Ecclesiasticum, ut apud Latinos sed *Parabolas* prænotatum; cui juncti erant Ecclesiastes et Canticum Canticorum, ut similitudinem Salomonis non solum librorum numero, sed etiam materiarum genere adæquaret,* secundus apud Hebræos nusquam est.' This raises the question, What was the original title of the work? The Syriac version, which is based (see § viii.) on the Hebrew, is in Lagarde's edition (from cod. 12,142 of the Brit. Mus., vi cent.) inscribed חכמתא דבר סירא '*Wisdom* of Bar Sira'; in Walton's Polyglot, כתבא דשמעון אסירא דמקרא הו כתבא חכמתה דבר אסירא 'Book of Simeon Asira, which book is called the *Wisdom* of Bar Asira.' At the end we read (*a*) *Hitherto the words of Jesu bar Simeon, who is called Bar Asira*† and (*b*) 'Endeth to write the *Wisdom* of Bar Sira.' Walton has (see Lagarde, p. ix) 'Endeth the *Wisdom* of Bar Asira. In 20 chapters and to God glory in eternity.' The MSS of Pococke and Ussher add after (*a*) instead of (*b*) 'Endeth the book of the *Wisdom* of Jesus the son of Simeon who is called Bar Asira (cod. Ussher 2, *Sirak*), in which are 2500 words.'

In the *Hebrew* text we read at the end, 'Hitherto the words of Simeon ben Jeshua who is called ben Sirā. The Wisdom (חכמת) of Simeon ben Jeshua ben Eleazar ben Sirā. The name of Jahweh be blessed from now and till eternity.'

From these Greek, Syriac, and Hebrew statements it would appear that the title of the book was 'Wisdom,' Σοφία, in Heb. חָכְמָה (or מוּסָר); but how is this to be reconciled with the statement of Jerome that the title was in Hebrew *Parabolæ* (*i.e.* מִשְׁלֵי)? Is this a confusion with Proverbs, a solution recommended by the fact that in the Hebrew seen by Jerome Eccl. and Cant. followed; or was the copy seen by Jerome not a copy of the original, but a retranslation from the Greek, as already Scaliger suggested? And then, Jewish quotations from Sirach, where they mention not only the name of the author as אמר בן סירא, or in Aramaic בר סירא, or ספר בן סירא, have twice מתלא דאבר 'the *Parabolist* said,' or מתלא אמר בן סירא 'a *proverb* said ben Sira' (see C-N, p. xxiv n. v. liv and p. xx n. x.). The same word מַתְלָא 'proverbs' occurs in the Syriac VS at 50[27]; the Heb. text has there מוסר שבל, and the book is quoted as ספר מוסר by Saadia (C-N, p. ix n. 4). The question of the original title is, after all, a puzzle, and new puzzles as to the author's name arise from the newly discovered texts.

iv. The Name of the Author.—(*a*) Hitherto it has been generally held that the author's name was *Jesus* the son of Sira (Jesus filius Sirach, Jesus Siracida). Especially subsequent to the Reformation this name became current instead of the Latin book-name *Ecclesiasticus*. Compare the title of the first separate edition of the book in Greek by Joachim Camerarius (Basileæ, 1551), 'Sententiæ Jesu Siracidæ Græce.'* But now new difficulties arise. In the Greek text the author himself (50[27]) gives his name as Ἰησους υἱος Σειραχ Ἐλεαζαρ ὁ Ἱεροσολυμειτης;† instead of the last word the first hand of codex S had *ἱερεὺς ὁ Σολυμείτης*; the name Ἐλεαζαρ is omitted by cod. 248 and the Complutensian and Sixtine editions; Ἐλεαζαρου is written in cod. 68 and the Aldine Bible, Ἐλεάζαρος in V 253. The Syriac Hexapla has 'Jesus son of Sirach of Eliezer' (דאליעזר); the Pesh. omits the passage altogether; in the Latin Vulgate it runs, 'Jesus filius Sirach Jerosolymita'; and now in the Hebrew in the twice-repeated colophon, לשמעון בן ישוע בן אלעזר בן סירא 'by Shimeon son of Jesus son of Eleazar son of Sirā.' And so the author is called also by Saadia (see S-T, p. 65). Many recent writers think the Hebrew pedigree *Simeon—Jesus—Eleazar—Sira* a mere clerical error for the sequence *Jesus—Simeon—Eleazar—Sira*. But it must be pointed out that the name Simeon is firmly attached to the author of this book in the Syriac Church. There he was identified with the Συμεὼν ὁ θεοδόχος of the NT, the author of *Nunc dimittis*. On this identification see especially Georg, bishop of the Arabs (*Briefe und Gedichte*, ed. Ryssel, p. 59 f., 80 f., 159 f.), who opposes the identification for chronological reasons, the author of the book having lived, according to Georg, 244 years before Christ, in the 65th year of the Greek era, under Euergetes. Cf. further, Gregory Barhebræus (*Scholien*, ed. Kaatz), who identifies him at the same time with Simeon (II.) son of Onias; *Opuscula Nestoriana* (ed. G. Hoffmann, p. 107,‡ 139 §); *History of the Blessed Virgin Mary*, ed. Budge (p. 36), where cod. B for 'Simeon the old' has 'Simeon Asira'—he becomes priest after

in Symb.), after the canonical books of the OT, among which he mentioned 'Salomonis vero tres': 'Sciendum tamen est, quod et alii libri sunt, qui non canonici sed *ecclesiastici* a maioribus appellati sunt, ut est Sapientia Salomonis et alia Sapientia quæ dicitur filii Syrach, qui liber apud latinos hoc ipso generali vocabulo *Ecclesiasticus* appellatur, quo vocabulo non auctor libri, sed Scripturæ qualitas cognominata est.'

* How are these words to be understood? Just as there are three books of Solomon (Prov., Eccl., Cant.), so there were extra-canonical books equal in number and contents (Sirach+Eccl.+Cant. ?).

† Thus also *Opuscula Nestoriana*, p. 107, and after a remark, 'endeth Bar Sira.'

* There is a good story told by Melanchthon, which, whether it refers to this edition or not, ought not to be suppressed: 'Quidam sacrificulus cum in bibliopolio vidisset Syracidem editum dixit: quam mali homines sunt Lutherani; etiam Christo nomen aliud affingunt: antea vocabatur Christus Jesus, nunc illi vocant eum Jesus Syrach' (see *GGN*, 1894, 180).

† AV 'Jesus the son of Sirach of Jerusalem'; RV 'Jesus the son of Sirach Eleazar of Jerusalem.' Note the Grecized form of the name (instead of Ἱερουσαλήμ).

‡ 'That he was called bar Sirā; they relate that he called his father אסירא, because he is the Simeon whose tongue was bound (אסירא) by the Holy Ghost, till he should see the Christ, and when he had seen Him, he spoke, Let me now part in peace to my fathers.'

§ The Septuagint is said here to have been made 'six years after the return of the children of Israel from Babel, which was the 17th year of the death of Alexander the Greek, and 1400 years after the Law was given to Moses. Simeon the old (סבא), the father of Jesus bar Sira, the Wise, was one of the seventy-two old men just mentioned; and he was the Simeon bar Nethaniah bar Chonja (=Sir 50[1]), and Simeon was brother of the priest Eleazar; and it was he who carried our Lord in his arms, and his life was stretched over 216 years, and he called himself with a contemptible name (בשמא בסירא), like Abraham, who called himself dust and ashes, and David, who said, I am a worm and no man, סירא, *i.e.* dust from the white-washing, which is beaten off the walls. Instead of Sira the Greek says *Asira* (אסירא).'

Zechariah the father of John the Baptist, *Protev. Jacobi*, ch. 24; *The Book of the Bee* (p. 71): 'Simeon the son of Sira died in peace in his own town.' In one Greek recension of the *Lives of the Prophets*, Συμεὼν ὁ ἱερεὺς found a place towards the end between Zechariah the son of Barachiah and Nathan (see Nestle, *Marg. und Mat.* p. 33). That Simeon *θεοδόχος* was one of the Seventy, is stated, among Greek writers, by Euthymius Zigabenus, Kedrenus, Nicephorus Kallisti.

The pedigrees we thus obtain are—

𝔏	𝔊	𝔖	or
Simeon.	Jesus.	Jesus.	Jesus Bar-Sira.
Jesus.	Sirach.	Simeon.	Simeon.
Eleazar.	[Eleazar].	Sira.	
Sira.			

It has been suggested by Blau that 'the two traditions, that of the Greek and that of the Syriac, are mutually complementary.' Thus we should have in 𝔏 a combination of both, what textual critics call a conflation. The decision depends on the general question of the value of 𝔏, see § ix. As to whether Simeon or Eleazar can be identified with one of the known bearers of these names, see below.

(*b*) *The name Sirach.*—The latest contribution to Hebrew lexicography, M. Jastrow's *Dictionary of the Targumim*, etc., contains the following words which come into consideration for the explanation of this name: (1) סִיר 'pot'; (2) סִירָא =Heb. שִׁרְיָה 'coat of mail'; (3) סִירָא 'thorn'; (4) סִירָא=the present proper name; (5) סִירָה, סִרְיָא f. (*a*) '[degenerate growth],' 'thorn,' 'thornbush,' (*b*) 'refuse,' 'foul matter'; (6) סִירָה, סִרְיָא f. 'surrounded place,' 'court,' 'prison.' From *Thes. Syr.* we may add (7) סִיר=*σύρ*, 'Sir'; (8) סִירָא=*σειρά*; and (9) the explanation of the name given by the Syriac lexicographers=שִׁירָא 'thin dust from the walls.' If there was not the constant tradition that the initial letter was ס, the Greek Σ might correspond also to other letters, as ז, or צ, or שׁ, and the name might be connected with זְעִירָא, צְעִירָא, 'small,' 'little,' 'lesser,' זְעִיר or זְעִירָא being, in fact, the name of several Jewish Amoraim.

The χ at the end of the Greek form may correspond to ג (cf. Σερουχ, Φαλεχ), ח (Καλαχ, Μασβαχ), to ך (many names in -μελεχ), to ע (Βαλαχ), to ק ('Αμαληχ, Βαραχ), to still other letters, as ו (Κενεχ, Μαωχ) or ת (Βαιθαναχ, Δειναχ); but it is most probably a mere representation of the *mater lectionis* א; cf. 'Ακελδεμαχ, 'Ιωσηχ Lk 3^{29} = יוֹסִי, the spelling Ἄλλαχ = Allah [Schlatter takes it for υ=*υἱός*]. A. Meyer (*Muttersprache Jesu*, p. 39) takes the word to mean coat of mail or *iris oculi*; Ryssel (p. 234), more probably thorn or thorn-hedge than mail-coat,' referring to Levy, *NHWB* iii. 519, 520. Ryssel takes bar-Sira as name of the family; we should thus have only three generations: Jesus, Simeon, Eliezer—not four as in 𝔏.* In view of the Prologue, 'ὁ πάππος μου 'Ιησοῦς,' it seems certain that the author was Jesus (the son of Simeon), and not Simeon the son of Jesus. Whether the translator, too, bore the name of his grandfather, as is stated by the Prologus incerti auctoris, is not certain. This second Prologue, which was first printed from cod. 248 in the Complutensian Polyglot, and was first shown by Hoeschel (1604) to be part of the so-called pseudo-Athanasian *Synopsis*, begins—

'Ιησοῦς οὗτος Σιρὰχ μὲν ἦν υἱός, ἔγγονος δὲ 'Ιησοῦ ὁμωνύμου αὐτῷ . . . ὁ οὖν πάππος αὐτοῦ . . . φιλόπονός τε γέγονεν ἀνὴρ ἐν 'Εβραίοις . . . ἐπεὶ οὖν τὴν βίβλον ταύτην ὁ πρῶτος 'Ιησοῦς σχεδόν τι συνειλεγμένην καταλιπὼν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ᾤχετο, Σιρὰχ οὗτος μετ' αὐτὸν πάλιν τῷ οἰκείῳ παιδὶ κατέλιπεν 'Ιησοῦ· ὃς δὴ αὐτῆς λαβόμενος εἰς ἓν ἅπασαν ἐναρμόνιον σύνταγμα συνήγαγε Σοφίαν ἐπί τε αὐτοῦ καὶ τῷ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τῷ πάππου* ὀνόματι (*κ*)εκληκώς.

Thus we have the pedigree: Jesus [II, the translator]—Sirach [II]—Jesus [I, the author]—Sirach [I, Eleazar].

Another enlargement has taken place in the translator's Preface, as it seems, in Latin MSS, though it is known to the present writer only from the pre-Lutheran German Bible. There it is stated that the 'anherre' (*avus*, *πάππος*) was a son of Josedek (see ch. 49^{12}), and one of the Seventy, and that the grandson Jesus the son of Sirach pursued higher studies. Finally, Euergetes is stated in the same connexion to have reigned after Philadelphus, *his brother*, under whom the Bible had been translated from Hebrew into Greek (see Nestle, 'Zum Prolog des Ecclesiasticus' in *ZATW*, 1897, p. 123 f.). Already Isidore of Seville identifies Jesus the son of Sirach with Jeshua the son of Jozedek. This is of course impossible. For the translator states: *ἐν γὰρ τῷ ὀγδόῳ καὶ τριακοστῷ ἔτει ἐπὶ τοῦ Εὐεργέτου βασιλέως παραγενηθεὶς εἰς Αἴγυπτον καὶ συγχρονίσας εὗρον οὐ μικρᾶς παιδείας ἀφόμοιον.* This date is not to be understood of the 38th year of the life of the translator (Camerarius) nor of any unknown era, but of the reign of Euergetes (see especially Deissmann, *Bibelstudien*, i. 255 [Eng. tr. 339 ff.]; R 235; Ed. 4 ff. As only Euergetes II. reigned more than 38 years (from B.C. 170 with his brother, from 145 alone, reckoning his years from 170),† it is the year B.C. 132; and as he states that he stayed some time in Egypt (*συγχρονίσας*) before he undertook his task, we may place the translation about 130, and the original some forty or fifty years earlier (B.C. 190–170). Then we must understand the high priest Simon, who is so highly praised in Sir $50^{1ff.}$, from personal knowledge as it seems, to be Simon II. Others, taking *πάππος* in the sense of 'ancestor,' prefer to place the author more than a hundred years earlier, under Simon I. In the former case it would be possible to identify our author 'Ιησοῦς with the high priest 'Ιάσων (175–172); but beyond the identity of the time and name nothing leads to this identification. That the author of our book was high priest is stated by Syncellus (*Chron.*, ed. Dindorf, i. 525); the reading ἱερεὺς ὁ Σολυμείτης by the first hand of S cannot be more than a clerical error.‡

v. EDITIONS.—(*a*) The first editions of the Greek text are in the Complutensian Polyglot (*c*) 1514, from cod. 248 § (see below, p. 544[a]), in the Aldine Bible (*a*) 1518, which has been taken for this book

* This is possible; cf. Josephus, *Vita*, 1: ὁ πρόσαππος ἡμῶν Σίμων ὁ Ψελλὸς ἐπικαλούμενος . . . γίνονται δὲ τῷ Ψελλῷ Σίμωνι παῖδες ἐννέα· τούτων ἐστὶν Ματθίας ὁ 'Ηφαίου (*v.l.* 'Ηφλίου) λεγόμενος.

* The word *πάππος* used here and in the Preface may have the more general meaning 'ancestor,' but in this connexion it will be 'grandfather.' In the Concordance of Hatch-Redpath it is quoted from Symmachus on Zec 1^1, where it seems to belong to 'Αδδώ.

† On the reign of Euergetes we are well informed through the inscriptions of the temple of Edfu (see Dümichen, *Die erste bis jetzt aufgefundene sichere Angabe über die Regierungszeit eines Ägyptischen Königs aus dem alten Reiche*, Leipzig, 1874, p. 20 ff.; and *Ztschr. f. äg. Sprache*, 1870). There the years 28, 30, 46, 48, 54 (as the last of this king) are mentioned; the first Toth of his 28th year fell on the 28th Sept. B.C. 143, the first Payni (rise of Sirius) on the 20th–19th July 142.

‡ Here it may be mentioned that in a late compilation (see C-N, pp. xiv f., xxix) Ben-Sira is made the son or grandson of Jeremiah, and has a son Uziel and a grandson Joseph. See *Proverbia Ben-Siræ Autoris antiquissimi, qui creditur fuisse nepos Ieremiæ prophetæ*, Opera J. Drusii, Franeker, 1597. In the Preface Drusius thinks it a probable inference, 'interpretem Græcum Ecclesiastici Josephum fuisse Vzielis filium.' Cf. on this literature the edition of Steinschneider, *Alphabetum Siracidis utrumque*, Berolini, 1858; and Schürer, *GJV*[3] ii. 161.

In other legends he has been brought into connexion with Solomon as his *wezir* or secretary; see above, p. 540[a]; a legend about Aphkia (the wife of Sirach) and Solomon has been published in Arabic by Mrs. M. D. Gibson in number viii. of the *Studia Sinaitica*, London, 1901.

§ Sirach was committed with the rest of the 'libri Sapientiales' to the care of Johan de Vergara, who, at the end of his life, had no greater wish than to illustrate Sirach by notes (Alvarus Gomez, *de rebus gestis a Franc. Ximenio*, lib. 2).

without any doubt from cod. 68; and cod. 68 itself is, to all appearance, for this book a copy of cod. B, so that *a* represented the text of cod. B in many passages more faithfully than the Sixtine of 1587.* A reprint of *a* is the edition of Lonicerus† (Argent. 1526); but the editor introduced many changes: for instance, in 3[1], where *a* has *ἐμοῦ τοῦ πατρός*, Lonicerus put (from the Latin) *κρίμα τοῦ πατρός*. That Lonicerus changed his text has been overlooked by subsequent editors and commentators, hence in later books a number of misstatements as to the text of *a*;‡ Lonicerus in turn was followed by Melanchthon (Basle, 1545), Melanchthon by the edition of Wechel (1597, see art. SEPTUAGINT, p. 440[a]).§ The editors of the Sixtine (*b*) made use not only of B, but of *c a* Lonicerus, Melanchthon, and the codd. V 106, 155, 253‖ (see on *b*, above, p. 440[a]); on Grabe's edition, see p. 440[b].

(*b*) *Separate editions of the Apocrypha* are mentioned, p. 441[b]. The edition of Fritzsche (1871) is the best, but for our particular book quite unsatisfactory (see Nestle, *Marg.* 1892, pp. 48–58).

(*c*) Of separate editions of Sirach alone the oldest is: *Sententiæ Jesu Siracidæ, Græcè summa diligentia et studio singulari editæ, cum necessariis Annotationibus*, Joachimo Camerario, Pabepergen., autore, Basileæ, 1551, 8vo.¶

It has both Prologues, is the first which numbers the verses, and has useful notes, especially parallels from the classics, but also various readings. In the Prologue, Camerarius writes *ἐφόδιον* for the doubtful *ἀφέμοιον* (*v.l.* *ἐφόμοιον* and *ἀφορμήν*), which reading has been mentioned in the notes of *b* and other editions and received into the text by Grabe.

Then comes *Σοφια Σειραχ, sive Ecclesiasticus Græce ad exemplar Romanum, et Latine* ex interpretatione J. Drusii, cum castigationibus sive notis eiusdem, Ad Reverendissimum in Christo patrem D. Johannem Whitgiftum archiepiscopum Cantuariensem, etc., Franekeræ, 1596, 4to; with a double appendix, 'Proverbia-Bensiræ' and 'Adagiorum Ebraicorum Decuriæ aliquot nunquam antehac editæ.'

Besides the previous printed editions—among them '*Biblia R. Stephani quæ vulgo Vatablo attribuuntur*,' apparently the edition [Geneva, Ist March] 1557–58—Drusius made use from ch. 20 onward of a collation sent to him through Jan Gruter from Heidelberg. 'Huius enim hortatu Jacobus Kimedontius iunior . . . codicem Palatinæ bibliothecæ vetustissimum membranaceum cum editione Camerarii anno 1578 [*sic*; in his notæ he writes 1570] Lipsiæ cusa diligentissime contulerat.' This is apparently the codex 296 of HP.

A most conscientious edition is that of Hoeschel: *Sapientia Sirachi sive Ecclesiasticus, Collatis lectionibus variantibus membranarum Augustanarum vetustissimarum et xiv præterea exemplarium. Addita versione Latina vulgata, ex editione Romana, cum notis Davidis Hoeschelii Augustani. In quibus multa SS. Patrum loca illustrantur*, Augustæ, 1604.

His codex Augustanus ('H' in the edition of Fritzsche, p. xxii) is apparently codex 70 of HP, now at Munich 551, and deserves the more a fresh collation, as HP gave it only for the first chapter, and as the codex is closely related to 253 and the Syriac Hexapla.

The source and present place of another MS used by Hoeschel ('Fragmentum MS variæ lectionis aliquot capitum e scidis Fr. Sylburgii') are unknown to the present writer.

From Hoeschel till Fritzsche not much was done for the textual criticism of a book which needed it greatly. We have—*Sententiæ Jesu Siracidæ, Græcum textum ad fidem codicum et versionum*, emendavit et illustravit, Linde (Gedani, 1795); and *Liber Jesu Siracidæ Græce, Ad fidem codicum et versionum emendatus et perpetua annotatione illustratus*, a C. G. Bretschneider (Ratisbonæ, 1804), xvi. 758 pp.

Br. is not accurate enough, but he has the merit of having called attention to a witness in textual criticism, the *Florilegium* of Antonius and Maximus, neglected by most workers in this field.

Hart's edition must find its place among the MSS (see below).

vi. THE GREEK TEXT.—The problem of textual criticism in this book is of exceptional interest. Luther declares in the Preface to his translation (what pains it had taken him to translate this book may be judged from a comparison with all other copies, Greek, Latin, or German, old or new): 'There have come so many "*Klüglinge*" over this book, that it would be no wonder if it were totally disfigured, not to be understood, without any use. Like a torn, trampled, and scattered letter, we have gathered it, wiped off the dust, and brought it as far as can be seen.' Some idea of this may be gathered by the English reader from a glance at the margins of RV. There are about eighty marginal notes; fifty times it is stated that a verse or part of a verse or even a series of verses is omitted by many or by the best or the oldest authorities (cf. $1^{4.\ 18.\ 21}$); once only (17^{10}) 'this line is added by the best authorities'; at other places we read, 'The Greek text here is probably corrupt,' 'the Greek text is here very confused.' The numbering of verses and even of the chapters does not agree. The latter is caused by the misplacement of some leaves (Ryssel says 'two'; and it may have been two, which must have been the inner leaves of a layer, and somewhat more closely written than A and still more than BS*) in the copy from which all the Greek MSS hitherto known have been derived. This fact, first pointed out by O. F. Fritzsche (*Ausleg.* 169, 170), who was led to his discovery by a similar observation of H. Sauppe on a Heidelberg MS of Lysias†, would not have been recognized with such certainty but for the Latin and Syriac texts, which have the different order.‡ Already Nobilius declared the Latin order to be the better, calling attention especially to the reading *κατακληρονόμησον* 'in non nullis (libris),' 'quod optime convenit, si conjungatur cum illis quæ in vulg. c. 36' (a reading received into the text by Grabe, but not to be found elsewhere in HP, quoted by Hoeschel from his codex Augustanus; Camerarius put *κατακληρονόμησαι*). Where did the Roman editors get it from? and which is the 'unus vetustus codex,' which according to their repeated statement has, like the Complutensian, the Latin order? It is *not* the cod. 248,

* More than thirty readings quoted by Holmes-Parsons as singular from *a* turn out to be in reality readings of B. How did 68 really read in these passages? it seems very badly collated, for Holmes-Parsons.

† See above, pp. 440[a], 540[b].

‡ Comp. Bretschneider on 3[1] '*Aldina*, Melanth. et Bas. minor: *κρίμα τοῦ πατρὸς quod et codd. quidam Hoeschelii.*' The first and last statements are quite incorrect.

§ D. Hoeschel quotes amongst the editions used by him frequently 'Biblia Parisiis impressa a R. Stephano, A 1555.' From his quotations it would appear that it is in Greek and Latin with notes. Is there such an edition?

‖ This follows from a comparison of the scholia and the Notes of Nobilius in the edition of 1588; comp. on 3[1] 'in aliquibus libris est *κρίσιν τοῦ πατρὸς*' [=cod. 253], 'in aliquibus aliis *κρίμα*' [=Lonicerus]. Nobilius quotes at least a dozen readings from *a* and MSS which are not found in HP.

¶ Kolde (art. 'Camerarius' in *PRE*[3] iii. 689) mentions only the second edition (Lipsiæ, 1568); the same year is given by Hoeschel (1604); but Drusius (1596) and the Catalogue of the British Museum give 1570, 2 vols.

* Toy (*Encyc. Bibl.* vol. ii. col. 1173) speaks of the displacement of *rolls* of the Ⓜ MS, or possibly of the Hebrew MS from which the Gr. translation was made.

† This accident occurs very often in ancient MSS. In the British Mus. there is a German Bible which has Mt 11–54 after Deuteronomy; at Gotha there is another with the same misplacement. On a misplacement in cod. S see Swete, *Introd.* p. 131; in a MS of ecclesiastical canons see Turner, *JThSt* ii. 269; in the Church History of Zacharias of Mitylene see the edition of Brook-Hamilton; in the Homilies of Origen on Jer. see E. Klostermann (*Or.* III. p. xiii). For other examples (Plautus, *Mostellaria*, etc.) see Ed. p. 154.

‡ The strange confusion Melanchthon produced in his edition, by placing the verse *καὶ κατεκληρονόμησα* in the middle of ch. 33 and *λαμπρᾷ καρδίᾳ* in the middle of ch. 36, has been partially amended in the edition of 1597.

in spite of the definite statement of Edersheim and others* (see Nestle, *Marginalien*, 1892, p. 58; J. K. Zenner, 'Ecclesiasticus nach Cod. Vat. 346' in *Z. f. Kath. Theol.* 1895; Ryssel, p. xxviii; and now the edition of Hart).†

Parsons used for this book fourteen MSS; the two uncials iii. and 23, *i.e.* AV, but cod. 70 (Hoeschel's Augustanus) only for the Prologue and ch. 1. In the Addenda is to be found for the Prologue the collation of a fifteenth MS (234). Fritzsche excerpted the apparatus of Parsons, but in an insufficient way, and added the collation of C, S, and Hoeschel's Augustanus from his edition of 1604.‡

In Swete's *OT in Greek* we have a faithful representation of the readings of BACS (=ℵ); but it is now generally acknowledged that the text of these uncials is a very bad one in Sirach.§ It is therefore a great boon that the Syndics of the Cambridge University Press are to publish shortly an edition of the codex Vaticanus 346 (=HP 248, the basis of *c*) by J. H. A. Hart, who, with the assent of the Syndics, had the kindness to communicate to the present writer, for the benefit of this article, the proofs before publication.‖

Of MSS not yet laid under contribution there are known to the present writer:—(1) A palimpsest of the 6th or 7th cent. at St. Petersburg, written in three columns (see *Urtext*, p. 74; Swete, *Introd.* p. 147 n. 12). (2) Two palimpsest leaves belonging to cod. 2 in the Patriarchal Library at Jerusalem, ascribed to the 6th cent., containing Prol. and $1^{1\text{-}14}$ $1^{29\text{-}31^{11}}$, published by J. R. Harris, *Biblical Fragments from Mount Sinai*, No. 5.

(3) The προσευχη (ch. 51) is to be found in Cod. Bodl. Misc. 205 (xiv sæc.); see Coxe, *Catalogus*, i. 762. This chapter is missing in the MSS 296 and 308* of HP and (at present) in the codex Syro-Hexaplaris Ambrosianus; but there only through the deplorable loss of a leaf.

Of minuscles, two Vienna MSS, Cod. Theol. Gr. xi. and cxlvii., both of which were brought by Busbecq from Constantinople, have been partially collated by Edw. Hatch and quoted as Vienna 1 and 2 in his Essay on the text of Ecclesiasticus (*Essays in Biblical Greek*, p. 247 ff.). On the confusion about the 308 (or 308*) in HP see Hatch, *l.c.* 248; and Swete, *Introd.* p. 159, No. 149.

Now comes the strange fact that our Greek MSS—which, as stated, go back, without any exception, to one and the same copy, in which the dislocation had taken place—show the greatest divergences. For instance, after 1^{4} two lines are inserted by six MSS of HP (23, 55, 70, 106, 248, 253); after $v.^{5}$ again two lines by five MSS (the above without 248); after $v.^{10}$ and $v.^{12}$ two lines, but only by two MSS (70, 253); after $v.^{17}$ one line by two MSS (here, however, not 70 and 253, but 70 and 248); after $v.^{20}$ two lines by four MSS (70, 106, 248, 253); in $v.^{10}$ two words, ἀπ' αὐτῆς, by *one* MS (70). How is this possible if all go back to the same original? And the variation is increased by the second and third class of our witnesses, the ancient Versions and Patristic Quotations.

vii. VERSIONS AND QUOTATIONS.—(*a*) In the first place has to be mentioned the Syriac version by Paul of Tella (*c.* 616 A.D.), the so-called Syro-Hexaplar, preserved to us through the codex Syro-Hexaplaris Ambrosianus. If we retain the designation Syro-Hexaplar, we must bear in mind that Sirach had no place in Origen's Hexapla; but in one particular respect this Syriac version reminds us of the Hexapla: one of the critical marks of Origen, the asteriscus, appears also in Sirach, at least in its first part up to ch. 13. There are altogether 45 asterisks, and they mark just some of the additions mentioned above. No Greek MS of Sirach seems to have been found as yet with asterisks; but there is scarcely a doubt that the asterisks were not added by Paul of Tella, but were taken over by him from the Greek MS which he translated. This MS contained, before the text of the book, the capitulation, which is found in the so-called *Synopsis* of Chrysostom (Migne, *Patr. Gr.* lvi. 575), and some good corrections of the printed text may be gathered from it. Now the question arises the more: Where did these additions come from in this Greek copy? Take the very first one, which has an asterisk in 𝔓, 1^{7} ἀπ' αὐτῆς, given in the text in Syriac as ܡܢ ✻, and on the margin, to remove any ambiguity, in Greek letters as ΑΠΑΤΤΗΣ. There is a slight difference between 𝔓 and the solitary Greek witness, from which this addition is known hitherto, Hoeschel's Augustanus (70), inasmuch as the latter gives it after μετὰ πάσης σαρκὸς ('alii non agnoscunt has voculas neque Athanasius Orat. 3. contra Arian.'), while 𝔓 has it after κατὰ τὴν δόσιν αὐτοῦ. This makes no difference of sense; in both cases ἀπ' αὐτῆς is a limitation of the preceding αὐτὴν (retained by 70 𝔓): God does not shed out His whole wisdom (αὐτήν) on all flesh, but only ἀπ' αὐτῆς; it is a mere dogmatical correction; but while appearing hitherto only in a single and late Greek MS—70 is of the 15th cent.—it gains suddenly in strength when shown by 𝔓 to be perhaps 1000 years older; nevertheless it is a mere gloss, which might be added by any copyist from his own brain, without any source. But what about the lines immediately following, put in 𝔓 under asterisks in quite the same way?—

✻ and he gives it to them that love him,
✻ the gift of the Lord is Wisdom,
✻ glorious,
✻ to them to whom he appears he deals
✻ it in his appearance;

or with the two lines after $v.^{12}$,

✻ the fear of the Lord is a gift from the Lord,
for on love he raises paths.*

Both additions are found not in 70 alone, but in 70 and 253. Where do these additions come from?† We must look for more witnesses—versions and quotations.

The versions to be mentioned are the Armenian, Georgian, Ethiopic, Coptic, Arabic.

On the *Armenian* version and its complicated history see *PRE*³ ii. 68, 69 (=*Urtext*, p. 128 f.); Ryssel, p. 129; Margoliouth-Edersheim, § ix.; Conybeare (vol. i. p. 153ᵃ); Herkenne, pp. 28–33. The older text rests on the authority of a single MS, which breaks off at 42^{27}, and has a lacuna from 35^{19}–38^{14}, and several omissions besides—*e.g.* the whole of ch. 8.

* *e.g.* C. H. Toy (art. 'Ecclesiasticus' in *Encyc. Bibl.* vol. ii. col. 1173).

† At present the Latin order is found in the edition of Camerarius; can this be meant?

‡ Bretschneider, p. 694: 'Cum Compl. textu maxima ex parte consentit codex Augustanus, cuius lectiones Hoeschelius *in criticis sacris* t. v. nobis dedit, quod modo accuratius ac clarius fecisset voluerim. . . . quum . . . haud raro lectiones, neque eas spernendas haberet, quorum nullum in reliquis deprehenditur vestigium.' That Hoeschel's codex E is identical with 'Drusii MS Heidelbergense' Bretschneider failed to recognize.

§ Edw. Hatch closes his examination of the text of Sirach with the remark, that as one of the points established by his investigation will be acknowledged 'the inferior value of some of the more famous uncial MSS as compared with some cursives' (*Essays*, p. 281).

‖ One of the characteristics of this MS is the insertion of about 130 glosses, to guard the text against misunderstanding, especially in chs. 1–30; see 1^{31} ἐν ἀληθείᾳ, 2^{4} ἀσμένως, 3^{21} ἀναισθήτως and ἀφροσύνῃ, ^{22} ὁσίως and βλέπειν ὀφθαλμοῖς, ^{24} ἡ ματαία, 4^{8} ἀλύπως, ^{25} κατὰ μηδὲ ἕν, 5^{11} ὀρθήν, 6^{37} τελείως, ^{38} εὐμαρῶς, 13^{10} ἀκρίτως, 16^{4} ἐν τάχει, ^{11} διὰ τάχους, ^{20} ἀξίως, 17^{9} συνετῶς, ^{29} ὁσίως. Interesting is 19^{15} πολλάκις γὰρ γίνεται διαβολὴ ματαία, because the motive is quite the same as led to the addition of ἐλεᾷ in Mt 5^{22}. Some of them are found in the Syro-Hexaplaric MS under asterisks, one of these (5^{11}) also in one of the Hebrew texts, others in the Latin texts.

* That the critical marks are not absolutely to be trusted is shown by these examples: in the first a line is placed under asterisk ('and he gives it,' etc.), which ought to be free from it; in the second, the second line ('for on love,' etc.) ought to have the asterisk.

† Starting from the same observation, that some of the characteristic additions of the cursives 106, 248, 253 are to be found in the Syr.-Hex. with asterisks prefixed, the editor of cod. 248 raises (in a private communication to the present writer, 8th June 1901) the question: Is it possible that Sirach also was found in Origen's Hexapla, and that *he knew a Hebrew original and compared the Greek text therewith?*

On the *Georgian* version no more is known to the present writer than what is stated by Holmes at the end of the *Præf. in Pent.*: 'In Bibliis Georgianis Moscuæ curatis, liber Ecclesiastici et duo libri Macchabæorum, critico usui forte haud inservient.'

The *Palæo-Slavonic* version, says Margoliouth, 'follows a text similar to that of the Complutensian version, but with only a portion of the additions.' As in other books it is revised from *a*, the question must be put, whether this be not the case in Sirach also.

The *Ethiopic* version was published in 1894 as the last work of A. Dillmann (*Veteris Testamenti Æthiopici tomus quintus, quo continentur libri Apocryphi, Baruch . . . Judith, Ecclesiasticus, Sapientia . . .* Berolini, 1897, 4to. On its confused state see Nestle, *Marginalien*, p. 58; Dillmann's *Epilogus*, p. 113 ff.; Herkenne, pp. 33–38: Margoliouth believed he could find in a few places signs of contamination from the Syriac (8^5 22^{15} 38^{30} etc.); but they are of rather doubtful character.

Of *Coptic* versions the one in the *Sahidic* dialect is almost complete, existing in a unique MS of the 6th cent. at Turin, and published by P. de Lagarde in his *Ægyptiaca* (Göttingen, 1883; Anastatic reprint, 1897; see his *Mittheilungen*, i. p. 176 n.). From a MS in the Museo Borgiano, A. Ciasca published short fragments from chs. 1 and 2 (*Sacrorum Bibliorum fragmenta Copto-Sahidica*, vol. ii. (1889) p. 218); and the same by E. Amélineau (*Fragments de la Version Thébaine de l'Écriture Ancien Testament*, Parisiis, 1889), together with two leaves from a MS at Berlin, containing 6^{17}–7^{18}, $21^{8\text{-}23a}$, supplying and emending some defects in Lagarde's codex (see Herkenne, pp. 23–27, and Norb. Peters, *Die sahidisch-koptische Übersetzung des Buches Ecclesiasticus auf ihren wahren Wert für die Textkritik untersucht* Freiburg, 1898).—A fragment in the *Bohairic* dialect (ch. $2^{1\text{-}9}$) has been published by Lagarde, *Orientalia*, i. (1879) p. 69; the same piece with some more fragments (chs. 1. 4^{20}–5^2 12^{13}–13^1 $22^{7\text{-}18}$ $23^{7\text{-}14}$ $24^{1\text{-}11}$) by U. Bouriant, *Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes*, vol. vii. (Paris, 1886), p. 81 ff.—One piece, finally, has been published by U. Bouriant in the dialect of *Akhmîm* in the *Mémoires publiés par les membres de la mission archéologique française au Caire sous la direction de M. Maspero*, i. 2. (Paris, 1885), 255 ff., containing 22^{16}–23^6.

In *Arabic* there seem to exist several versions. One MS, said to be corrected from the Greek, is preserved in the Medicean Library at Florence: in the Prologue the grandson is made to say that he translated the work into Syriac. A compendium of the Arabic version in an imperfect state (5 pages) is preserved, according to Margoliouth, in the Bodleian Library (Hunt. 260).

The version contained in *Karshuni* in cod. Syr. 179, i., at Paris, is said to be due to Basilius, bishop of Tiberias, but goes back to the Syriac, not the Greek text of Sirach.

All these versions, except the last, rest on the common Greek text; and so do most of the quotations in Greek Fathers. An exceptional position among them is held by Clemens Alexandrinus, whose quotations in important details agree with cod. 248, 253, and the monks *Antonius* and *Maximus*.

Of greater importance than the other versions, and of greater value than for other parts of the Greek OT, is—

(*b*) *The Latin Version.* It is true that the suggestion first broached by the Roman Catholic commentator Cornelius a Lapide (†1637, *Comm.* on Sirach, 2 vols., 1634), next mooted by Sabatier, then discussed in a special paper by Ernst Gottlob Bengel (1769–1826),* that the Latin version was based immediately on the lost Hebrew original, has turned out to be wrong; but even the latest investigation (H. Herkenne, *de Veteris Latinæ Ecclesiastici capitibus* i–xliii, Leipzig, 1899) has arrived at the result: 'Nititur Vetus Latina textu vulgari græco *ad textum hebraicum alius recensionis Græce castigato.*' It is all the more to be regretted that its text has not yet been published in a satisfactory way.

It is generally believed that the text in our ordinary editions of the Vulgate is the Old Latin untouched by Jerome.† But his expression 'calamo temperavi' does not exclude, in our opinion, those stylistic emendations which we perceive when comparing the current Latin text with older documents, either MSS or quotations.‡

The most convenient edition of the Latin Vulgate is that of van Ess (pub. 1824), which gives on the margin the variations of the Sixtina and Clementina after the Vatican editions of 1590, 1592, 1593, and 1598.

Sabatier (see vol. ii. 53) reprinted the official text with the collation of four MSS 'optimæ notæ' (*ib.* 389, 'Corbeienses duos, unum Sangermanensem, & alium S. Theoderico ad Rhemum'). The Corbeiensis I. is now Paris 11,532 (9th cent.; Berger, *Histoire de la Vulgate*, 104, 107); Sangermanensis 15, now Paris 11,553 (9th cent.; Berger, 65, 408).

In 1740 J. Blanchinus published, in his *Vindiciæ canon. script. Vulgatæ Latinæ editionis*, a collation of the codex Toletanus, with Henten's edition (1569); repeated in Migne, *Patr. Lat.* xxix. 985.

After the collations of the Amiatinus by Heyse-Tischendorf (Lips. 1873) the whole text of this MS was published for Wisd. and Sirach by Lagarde, *Mitth.* i. 283–377; see also p. 191.

Ph. Thielmann devoted to the Latin Sirach two articles in Wölfflin's *Archiv*, and showed that chs. 44–50 were due to another hand than the rest of the book; the former of European, the chief part of African origin (*Archiv für lat. Lexikogr.* viii. 501–561, ix. 2, 247 ff.); see vol. ii. p. 10.

The text published by C. Douais (*une ancienne version latine de l'Ecclésiastique*, Paris, 1895, 4to) is, according to Thielmann and Kennedy, an apparently Spanish text, a revision of the primitive African version (ch. 21^{17}–22^{22}). In the judgment of the present writer it may be just as well a new translation, independent of the former.

Ph. Thielmann ('Bericht über das gesammelte handschriftliche Material zu einer kritischen Ausgabe der lateinischen Übersetzungen biblischer Bücher des alten Testamentes' in *Münchener Sitz.-Ber.*, 1899, ii. 2, 205 ff.) gives for Sirach the collation of twenty-three MSS (1–4 Spanish, 5, 6 Anglo-Saxon, 7–12 French before Charlemagne, 13–16 St. Gall and Italy, 17–19 Theodulf, 20–23 Alcuin), and specimens from fourteen MSS more; some fragments cod. Veron. i. and cod. Ambr. D. 50 f. (olim Bobb.) are of the 6th cent. But still older are the—

QUOTATIONS OF THE LATIN FATHERS.—Augustine's *Speculum* is mentioned above; it contains whole chapters from Sirach, and its text agrees closely with that of the codex Amiatinus; but other quotations in the writings of Augustine

* 'Ueber die muthmassliche Quelle der alten lateinischen Uebersetzung des Buches Sirach' in Eichhorn's *Allgemeine Bibliothek der bibl. Litt.*, 1796, vii. pp. 832–864.

† Edersheim: 'Jerome tells us expressly that he had left the text of the Vetus Latina untouched (*calamo temperavi*) in the (apocryphal) Wisdom of Solomon, and in Sirach' (*Præf. in edit. libr. Salom. iuxta Sept. interpr.*, ed. Vallarsi, 10,436).

‡ Comp. the same expression on his version of the Latin Gospels in the *Epistula ad Damasum*: 'quæ ne multum a lectionis Latinæ consuetudine discreparent, ita *calamo temperavimus*, ut his tantum quæ sensum videbantur mutare correctis, reliqua manere pateremus ut fuerant.'

(collected by Sabatier and Lagarde) show strange variations.

See, for instance, 15^{21} '*laxamentum* peccandi' for 'spatium p.' ('spatium' also in the *Speculum*).* Not a single one of his MSS, as Thielmann informs the present writer, has this word 'laxamentum'; yet it is found for this passage also in that other *Speculum* falsely ascribed to Augustine, now called *liber de divinis scripturis* (edited together with the former by Weihrich), and must for internal reasons be considered as the original reading of the Latin version.

For 'opprobrium,' 20^{26}, this *Speculum* has 'supervacuitas' (in no MS of Thielmann); further, 22^{23} 'conservationem' instead of 'custodiam' (no Biblical MS); Augustine 'signaculum *astutum*' instead of 'certum'; 25^{32} instead of 'beatificat virum suum' the *Liber* has 'consentit in angustio viro suo'; in this case Complutensis 1 agreeing with it (only 'angustiis'); 23^{5} instead of 'dum caro sit servat iram' (σαρξ ὢν) the *Liber* has 'cœpit retinere iram' (=ἄρχων); 29^{11} we find in the *Liber* the imperative 'animæquitarda' (=μακροθύμησον), a word to be added to the new *Thesaurus Latinæ linguæ* for 'animo fortior esto' of the Vulgate, or 'animæquior esto' of Compl. 1, Metz 7 (first hand, second hand=Vulgate). Here we have three stages of subsequent revisions.

The greatest surprise is 31^{5}. By a comparison with the Syriac it seemed clear that instead of διαφθοράν we must read διάφορα, and πλανηθήσεται instead of πλησθήσεται (see Ball, *Variorum Apocrypha*; Nestle, *Marginalien*, p. 56. The RV does not materially alter the AV: 'he that followeth destruction shall have the fill of it'); 'qui insequitur destructionem replebitur ea': for this the *Liber* has 'qui ins. *multa*, in illis *implanabitur*,' *i.e.*, just as proposed, διάφορα and πλανηθήσεται. Of all MSS collated by Thielmann, only the first hand of Metz 7 has preserved a remembrance of this rendering, reading '*multa in illis inplicabitur*' (sic).†

Now the questions arise—(1) How have this quotation and the codex of Metz preserved this true reading? (2) How did the wrong text find its way into all the other MSS? Is the latter circumstance due to an intentional revision, and may this revision have been made through Jerome? The former may be due either to a *Greek* MS which preserved the original text, or to recourse to the Syriac version, or to derivation from the original Hebrew.‡

In all cases the importance of 𝔏 in its original form and of the early quotations is evident—the worse therefore the neglect of these studies; but still more evident is the value of the Syriac and the Hebrew texts.

viii. THE SYRIAC TEXT.—In his edition of the *Libri Veteris Testamenti Apocryphi* (or *deuterocanonici*, as he wished to read afterwards) *syriace* (1861), Lagarde gave to Sirach the first place, to show that he believed with Bendtsen (*Specimen exercitationum criticarum in V. T. libros apocryphos e scriptis patrum et antiquis versionibus*, Göttingen, 1789), that this version was not made from the Greek, but from the 'Hebrew' (see Lagarde, *Symm.* i. 88, 17; *Mitth.* i. 191). As this view is now almost universally accepted—it was still debated by Bretschneider and Fritzsche—it need no longer be proved. The question is only whether the translation was not influenced, like other books in the Peshiṭta, here and there by the Greek version, and whether its text has come down to us in good preservation.

It was first published in the great Polyglot Bibles of Paris and London,—in the latter on the basis of three MSS of Ussher and Pococke; then by Lagarde from the cod. 12,142 in the British Museum, which belongs to the 6th cent. (with a collation of Walton's text), and lies before us further in Ceriani's photo-lithographic reproduction of the codex Ambrosianus of about the same age (Milano, 1876–83, folio). It suffered, of course, some textual corruptions, but on the whole there are no such difficulties as arise in connexion with 𝔊 and 𝔏. The other question whether it was influenced by 𝔊 must, it seems, be answered in the affirmative. This may have been the case already when the version was made, or at a later though very early and only partial revision. The former view seems the more probable (see Ryssel, p. 253). It is a drawback for our purposes that 𝔖 is rather a paraphrase than a version; nevertheless, the great progress made in the explanation of Sirach by Margoliouth-Edersheim depends on the use made especially of 𝔖 for the corroboration or correction of 𝔊 and the restoration of the original Hebrew. These two texts were, so to speak, our Röntgen apparatus, enabling us to see the Hebrew text underlying them.

ix. THE HEBREW TEXTS.—Especially among those who knew the precarious state of the present Greek, Latin, and Syriac texts of Sirach, the surprise and joy were great when the news spread that a fragment of the original Hebrew text had been discovered, and when, after its publication, more and more parts of a Hebrew Sirach came to light, of which in the Church at least, since the days of Jerome, nobody had heard or seen anything, while even among the Jews few scattered quotations had survived, partially in Hebrew and partially in Aramaic (see their collection in C–N). It is impossible to notice all that has been published on these finds. Suffice it to say that after the first private communication (see above, p. 539[a]) the first public announcement appeared in the *Academy* of 16th May 1896. (1) The first publication of the text was in the *Expositor*, July 1896, 1–15 (see on it D. S. Margoliouth in the same periodical, Aug., 140–157); (2) then came nine leaves, which had found their way into the Bodleian Library, published by Cowley and Neubauer, 1897, and republished by R. Smend (*Abhandlungen der K. Ges. der Wiss. zu Göttingen*, N.F. ii. 2); after this (3) the chief publication of Taylor-Schechter (Camb. 1899), containing, besides fourteen pages from the first MS (now called B), eight pages from a new MS, now called A; (4) in the *Jewish Quarterly Review* for Oct. 1899, G. Margoliouth gave four pages from MS B, acquired by the British Museum; (5) I. Lévi published in the *Revue des Études Juives* for Janvier–Mars, 1900, two pages from a third MS (C) and two from a fourth MS (D), both in the library of the Consistoire Israélite at Paris. The *JQR* for April 1900, finally, gave four pages of MS A published by E. N. Adler and four of MS C by S. Schechter (6, 7), and (8) in the number for July 1900 (p. 688 ff.) two pages of C belonging to M. Gaster. All the publications were at last brought together most conveniently—if it may be called convenient to study torn and faded leaves of Hebrew MSS—in a splendid publication, *Facsimiles of the Fragments hitherto recovered of the Book of Ecclesiasticus in Hebrew* (Oxford and Cambridge, MDCCCCI, 60 plates in case).* C, it should be added, consists only of excerpts (see p. 548[b]).

But in the meantime—between the second and third publications—there had suddenly fallen a bitter drop into the general joy. D. S. Margoliouth, who had published in 1890 as his Inaugural Lecture an *Essay on the place of Ecclesiasticus in Semitic Literature*, and before that time had contributed largely to the commentary of Edersheim, declared in a paper on *The Origin of the* '*Original*

* The variations are partially mere lexical: 4^{33} 'veritas' instead of 'iustitia'; 6^{36} 'limen' instead of 'gradus'; 14^{12} 'sæculum' instead of 'mundus'; others touch the sense or even the underlying Greek text, as 38^{16} 'flectet *fortitudinem*' (=ἰσχύν) against 'flectet *cervicem*' (αὐχένα ?).

† Another trace of this reading is found in the 25th epistle of Paulinus (p. 167*c*); 'qui terrenas possessiones concupiscit, in illis implanabitur.' Sabatier, who quotes this passage, remarked: 'at hæc postrema ex alio loco desumpta videntur.'

‡ For mere conjectural emendation the rendering seems too clever, or rather not clever enough, for the proper meaning of διάφορα='property' has not been recognized. It is quite the same with the preservation of the original order in chs. 31–36 in 𝔏. This may be due either to the fact that 𝔏 was made from a Greek MS which was independent of the one from which our present 𝔊 texts are derived, or it may have been restored after the Syriac or after the Hebrew. 𝔏 shares some of the strangest misspellings with 𝔊; see 43^{25} 'dominus Jhesus' Ἰησοῦς instead of νήσους '*insulas*' (in the official Vulg.).

* With 'New York, Frowde, 5 dollars,' mentioned by W. Muss-Arnolt in the *Theol. and Sem. Lit. for* 1900, p. 32.

Hebrew' of Ecclesiasticus (Parker, 1899, 20 pp.), that the newly-discovered Hebrew was not the original, but a retranslation; a certain reading, 43^{13}, appeared to him to be *a translation of a corruption of a Persian translation of a corrupt reading in the Greek*, the work of a Jew, whose native language was Arabic, about the 10th cent. He closed his paper with the remark that 'Mrs. Lewis by her precious discovery has hit biblical criticism harder than it was ever hit before, or is ever likely to be hit again. For, the next time we proceed to parcel out Isaiah, will not our very street boys call out to us, "You who misdate by 1300 years a document before you, what do *you* know of the dates of the Prophecies and Psalms"?'

Startling even as this was, a similar verdict was pronounced by such a scholar as Bickell, who in earlier years had discovered under the Greek disguise that the closing chapter must have been an alphabetical poem ('Ein alphabetisches Lied Jesus Sirach's. Nachgewiesen von G. B.' in *Z. f. kath. Theologie*, vi. 319–333), and had tried to restore the very metres of the Hebrew ('Die Strophik des Ecclesiasticus' in *Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, 1892, 87–96). Bickell published his view in a short paper on this alphabetical poem ('Der hebräische Sirachtext eine Rückübersetzung,' *ib.* 1899, 251–256). Other scholars took up the challenge of Prof. Margoliouth—among them Th. Nöldeke ('Bemerkungen zum hebräischen Ben Sīrā' in *ZATW* xx. [1900] 81–94); Smend (*ThLZ*, 1899, col. 506); M. D. Gibson (*The Record*, June 23, 1899, p. 641); Ed. König in a series of papers in the *Expos. Times*, 1900, and separately (see Literature, 6, at end of present art.) and in other periodicals; see Muss-Arnolt, p. 33.

Fortunately, the new documents which came to light afterwards enable us to place our judgment on a broader basis. The four MSS seem to be all of about the same age, the 11th cent. D is apparently the oldest of them, but even on C Adler remarked: 'From a comparison of paper and character with my earliest fragment from the Genizah, dated 832, there is nothing to induce one to assume that its date is later.' Some passages of Sirach occur in these four MSS twice, a few even three times. Now if 𝔎—to use this symbol for the Hebrew texts—*were the original, the MSS of* 𝔎 *must agree*,—apart, of course, from such transcriptional variations as are common to the transmission of works before the invention of Gutenberg,—according to the rule laid down by Jerome on the Latin texts of the Gospels as compared with the Greek, *verum non esse quod variat*. But what do we find? One of the first verses now lying before us in two MSS of 𝔎 is 4^{30}—

𝔊 *μὴ ἴσθι ὡς* **λέων** *ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ (v.l. τῇ οἰκίᾳ) σου καὶ* **φαντασιοκοπῶν** *ἐν τοῖς* **οἰκέταις** *σου.*

𝔏 Noli esse sicut *leo* in domo tua;
evertens domesticos tuos et opprimens subiectos tibi.

𝔖 לא תהוא כלב בביתך
ועיף ודחיל בעבידתך

'be not a *dog* in thy house,
and *rebuking* and *fearful* in thy *works*.'

Nobody doubted that '*ὡς λέων*' and 'a dog' went back to an original כְּלְבִי, read כָּלְבִי by 𝔖, and that 'as a lion' was right. Again, in the second member it appeared necessary to seek a common Hebrew equivalent for *φαντασιοκοπῶν* on the one hand, and 'rebuking and fearful' on the other; further, for 'slaves' and 'works.' The latter was, so it seemed, found easily: עֲבָדִים from עָבַד, would = 'slaves,' from עֲבֹד (Ec 9^{1}) = 'works'; the other was more difficult to guess, because *φαντασιοκοπῶν* is a *hapax legomenon* in the Greek Bible, and a rare word, with doubtful meaning; some good examples of it from Ecclesiastical authors may be found in the edition of Hoeschel.*

And now for the texts of 𝔎—

A אל תהי ככלב בביתך
ומוור ומתירא במלאכתך

C אל תהי כאריה בביתך
ומתפחז על עבורתך

i.e. A 'be not *like a dog* in thy house,
and [—?] and *fearful* in thy *labour*.'
C 'be not *like a strong lion*† in thy house,
and *raging* over thy *works*.'‡

Can there be any doubt that A agrees with 𝔖 and C with 𝔊? Compare especially the second clause, where 𝔖 has two words, A has also two,§ C for one word of 𝔊 has one word. What is more natural than the conclusion that A and C are not the original, but dependent upon 𝔖 and 𝔊, *retranslations*, as Margoliouth affirmed of B? But we must not be too rash: we ask, How would a late Jewish translator hit upon מתפחז to render so obscure a word as *φαντασιοκοπῶν*? פחז is rare in biblical Hebrew (Gn 49^{4}, Jer 23^{32}); it suits the context very well; it might be easily confounded with פחד 'fear,' and thus explain the rendering of 𝔖, and it is a favourite word with Sirach (see 𝔎 8^{2} 19^{2} $41^{17\,mg.}$ $42^{10\,mg.}$, 𝔖 19^{2} $23^{4.\,6.\,16.\,17}$); *it may therefore have preserved the original.*‖ This supposition gains probability from a comparison of Zeph $3^{3.\,4}$ 'her princes are *lions in her midst* . . . her prophets are פְּחָזִים,' where the two words stand together just as here in clause *a* and *b*. Schechter has shown that the whole text of 𝔎 is full of allusions to the OT (cf. p. 548[b]: 11^{30} a reminiscence of Gn 42^{9}). These are used, of course, also by pious Jews of later times; but when the grandson testifies in his prologue that his grandfather 'having given himself to the reading of the Law and the Prophets and the other books of our fathers, and having gained great familiarity therein, was drawn on also himself to write somewhat pertaining to instruction and wisdom,' why should we hesitate to consider those characteristics as belonging to the original?

Take the next verse which lies before us in two MSS of 𝔎—

4^{31} 𝔊 *μὴ ἔστω ἡ χεὶρ σου ἐκτεταμένη εἰς τὸ λαβεῖν καὶ ἐν τῷ ἀποδιδόναι συνεσταλμένη.*

𝔖 לא תהוא פשיטא אירך למסב
ותהוא קפיסא למתל

* In the *Thesaurus* of Stephanus-Hase 'Eccl 4' and 'Sir 4^{33}' are quoted as different passages! The wrong form *φαντασιοσκοπῶν* is translated *suspicax* by Grotius. Nobilius gives *arrepticius*; even Ryssel translates as if it came from *σκοτεῖν*, 'Gespenstersehr,' *i.e.* argwöhnisch, misstrauisch ohne thatsächlichen Grund. AV 'frantick' (see vol. ii. 65), RV 'fanciful'; Frankel translated אַכְזָר 'cruel' (for 'lion' לָיִשׁ); ק מְזַדַּעֲף נְפְקָחַיִת 'boisterously rebukeful' (whether influenced by 𝔖? or reading *φυσιο-*?); on the Coptic see Herkenne, who thought for 𝔊 of some word from √שעף (Job 4^{13}), for 𝔏 of √סעף (Is 10^{33}), and adduced from the *Apophthegmata Antonii et Maximi*, p. 602 ('morosus') *ἐν τοῖς οἰκ. σου καὶ ταπεινῶν τοὺς ὑποχειρίους σου* (= 𝔏).

† The Hebrew word is different from לביא.

‡ Or *slaves*, if we derive עבודה from עֲבֹדָה (Job 1^{3}), as suggested to the present writer by Dr. Driver, and independently to the editor by Dr. A. B. Davidson.

§ The first of them מוור is not clear; see C-N and R (*SK*, 1900, 378); the latter compares Ps 69^{9}. We suspect a corruption of זוף = זעף, see *Expos. Times*, xi. 336 note; for מתירא R proposes מְתִין or מָתַן 'zuwartend, langsam'!

‖ The passage is discussed with a different result by Taylor (*JThSt*, i. 576). He considers אריה *aryeh* and מתירא *mithyaré* to be the original; 𝔊 may have turned the latter into מתראה; 'the synonymous מתפחר with a clerical error accounts for מתפחז C.' The first two suppositions are natural, but when, where, and why should מתירא have been turned into מתפחר, so as to arrive at מתפחז?

𝔓 agrees in the first clause completely with 𝔖, in the second it has

ולפניו קפיסא

Now take A and C—

A אל תהי ידך פתוחה לקחת
וקפוצה בתוך מתן
C אל תהי ידך מושטת לשאת
ובעת השב קפודה

that is to say: *instead of a common original we have two versions differing more from one another than the two Syriac,* every word for which there is more than one Hebrew equivalent available being rendered differently—

stretch out	√ פתח and ישט
receive	לקח and נשׂא
in	בתוך and בעת
give (back)	נתן and השיב
shut	קפץ and קפר

A third passage is—

5^{9b} 𝔊 *καὶ μὴ πορεύου ἐν πάσῃ·ἀτραπῷ*
𝔖 ומתפנא לכל שביל
A ופנה דרך שבולת
C ואל תלך לכל שביל

A is translated by Taylor, 'and turning the way of the stream,' C agrees with 𝔊.

Further, v.[11]—

A ובארך רוח השב פתנם
C ובארך ענה תענה נבונה

C=𝔊 with the addition *ὀρθήν, which is found only in* 248, 253 *and* 𝔓 *sub* ✻

V.[13a] 𝔊 *εὐλαλιᾷ*
𝔖 ביד מן דמכלל 'through him that is speaking.'
A ביוד בוטא
C ביד בוטה
V.[13b] 𝔊 *ἡ πτῶσις αὐτῶν*
𝔖 רמא להון 'throws them down'
A מפלחו
C מפליטו

(C being, of course, a corruption of A).

7^{25} 𝔊 *δώρησαι αὐτήν*
𝔖 הביה give her
A חברה join her
C וברה grant her.*

What follows from these passages? That the question is a very complicated one. Not even of C is it possible to say that it is a *simple retranslation* of 𝔊, for even in C there are passages which are at variance with 𝔊. On the other hand, it is equally impossible to maintain that 𝔓 has preserved everywhere the original, independent of 𝔊 and 𝔖. There are passages in 𝔓 which cannot be explained in any other way than by the supposition that they rest on a corrupt and glossed text, sometimes of 𝔊, sometimes of 𝔖.

A passage which, for the present writer at least, is perfectly convincing is—

25^{17}. 'The wickedness of a woman . . . darkeneth her countenance like *sackcloth*,' AV (mg. 'Or, like a bear'), RV *as a bear doeth* (without even mentioning the other reading).

* 7^{25} AC והוצא בת ויצא עסק 𝔊 *καὶ ἴσῃ τετελεκὼς ἔργον μέγα,* 𝔖 ונפוק עשוקיא AC ויצא עסק; 'and the trouble (or strife, see S-T p. 47) has gone'; cf. the witty though rude saying of Schopenhauer at the death of an old woman whom he had to care for: *obit anus, abit onus.* It is clear that here C cannot rest on 𝔊.

𝔊 B, etc. *ὡς σάκκον*; 𝔊 AS, etc. *ὡς ἄρκος.*

𝔏 combining both readings: *tanquam ursus et quasi saccum.*

𝔖 . . . 'makes pale the face of *her husband* and makes it black like the colour of a *sack*)'; * now C has לדוב ויקריר פנ** 'makes black (*his* or *her*; the letters are torn away) face . . . to a *bear.*'

All rules of textual criticism (the general one: scriptioni proclivi præstat ardua, and the special one for Sirach, the agreement between 𝔊 and 𝔖) must be nought, or C is here *the retranslation of a corrupt Greek text.*

The close connexion of C with 𝔊 is corroborated by other passages. The very first words preserved in C—it begins 4^{23} תקפוץ (את חכמתך), for which A has the synonymous תצפין—do not occur, it is true, in the received Greek text, but in the MSS 106, 248, 253 (*c*); C even preserved such glosses (mentioned above, p. 544[a]) as 5^{11} *γίνου ταχύς* (C נבון=?) *ἐν ἀκροάσει σου+ἀγαθῇ* (C מובה=106, 248, 253 𝔓), *καὶ ἐν μακροθυμίᾳ φθέγγου ἀπόκρισιν+ὀρθήν* (C נבונה=248, 253 𝔓 ✻).

Again, all rules of textual criticism are nought if such additions be not *glosses*, and glosses added to the Greek, not to the original Hebrew text; and yet they occur in C. 𝔓[C], therefore, is dependent —partially at least—on a glossed text of 𝔊, as it is represented by 248, 253.

It is to be hoped that scholars will agree in this, and they may do so the more because this concession does not decide the question for the other MSS ABD, nor even for the whole content of C; C being an exception also in this respect, that it does not give a continuous text, but mere excerpts from chs. 4^{23}–7^{25} 18^{31}–20^{7}; then come suddenly $37^{19.\ 22.\ 24.\ 26}$,† followed by 20^{13}, and, finally, 25^{8}–26^{2}.

If 𝔓[C] is chiefly dependent on 𝔊, there abound in the other MSS 𝔓[ABD] traces of the influence of 𝔖, especially in so-called *doublets*, passages appearing twice. Cf. 11^{30}—

In 𝔊 we have two lines—

Πέρδιξ θηρευτὴς ἐν καρτάλλῳ, οὕτως καρδία ὑπερηφάνου·
καὶ ὡς κατάσκοπος ἐπιβλέπει πτῶσιν.

In 𝔏 three—

sicut perdix inducitur in caveam (*v.l.* foveam)
et ut caprea in laqueo, sic et *cor* superborum
et sicut prospector videns casum *proximi sui.*

In 𝔖 five—

like a partridge caught in a cage is the heart of the proud,
and like a spy who looks on the fall;
How many are the iniquities of the ungodly! [cf. 𝔊 v.[29]]
like a dog which enters into every house and robs,
so enters the ungodly into every house and disturbs.

In 𝔓 six or more—

As a bird caught in a cage so is the heart of a proud man;
As a wolf that lieth in wait to tear.
How many are the iniquities of the covetous man!
As a dog is he among those that eat in the house.

* It is difficult to understand how Bickell, Zöckler, Ryssel, RV could prefer the *bear*, which crept in from the mentioning of lion and dragon in the context; 𝔖 being independent of 𝔊 decides for the sack; and then compare parallels like Rev 6^{12}, but especially 1 Clem. *ad Cor.* 8, *αἱ ἁμαρτίαι ὑμῶν . . . μελανώτεραι σάκκου*; see on these variants Nestle, *Marginalien*, p. 51.

† It is owing to this insertion that we have these fragments three times in B, C, D, with slight variations.

He doeth violence to all . . .
The covetous man cometh and maketh strife
in all their goods;
The tale-bearer lieth in wait as a bear for
the house of the scorners;
And as a spy he seeth nakedness.

On the two lines of 𝔊 Bochart has written a whole chapter in his *Hierozoicum*. More than one article would be necessary on the correspondence between *κατάσκοπος* (and its equivalents ܟܘܪܨ = רוב = זאב) and the other equivalents. It seems clear that the dog כלב owes its existence to the *κάρταλλος* = קֶלֶב.

On the arguments adduced by Margoliouth from the Persian we must refer to Nöldeke (*ZATW* 1900, p. 94); on the question raised by Margoliouth, whether the *Sepher ha-galūy*, which betrays knowledge of the Cairene texts, is by Saadia or not; and on the age of the Talmudic quotations from Ben-Sira, cf. the papers of Margoliouth on the one hand, and König, Schechter, Abrahams, Bacher, Harkavy, etc., on the other (see Literature).

But that even in C *fragments of the original are preserved*, see above on 7^{25}. What Jew of later times, who had nothing before him except 𝔊, *ἔκδου θυγατέρα καὶ ἔσῃ τετελεκὼς μέγα ἔργον*, could have hit on הוצא בת וצא עסק? Even with the help of 𝔖 it would have been difficult to arrive at this text. But there are passages where 𝔍 offers readings different alike from 𝔊 and 𝔖.

A good example occurs in the very first leaf discovered of 𝔍, $4^{0 18}$—

𝔊 *ζωὴ αὐτάρκους ἐργάτου γλυκανθήσεται*
καὶ ὑπὲρ ἀμφότερα ὁ εὑρίσκων θησαυρόν.

The very context shows that 𝔊 is wrong; instead of the one member *αὐτάρκους ἐργάτου* there must have been two. Grotius, Grabe, Fritzsche, AV, RV, inserted *καί* and spoiled the sense; for the life of the *αὐτάρκης* is sweet (*ipse suis pollens opibus*, Lucretius), but not that of the *working man*. 𝔖 gave no help; for the first member is wanting. What a pleasure, then, to read in 𝔍—

חיי יין ושכר יכתקו

a life of wine and strong drink is sweet; cf. the same pair in v.[10] in 𝔍, where 𝔊 had *οἶνος καὶ μουσικά* = שיר, and 𝔖 חמרא עתיקא 'old wine.' And what a surprise to find on the margin an additional (though wrong) reading: יותר שכל (C-N = 'that excels in prudence'; but יותר perhaps = *αὐτάρκης*). The grandson mistook שֵׂכָר 'strong drink' for שָׂכִיר 'hired worker.'* What a surprise, again, to find the whole margin of this leaf covered with various readings, spellings, notes—one in Persian referring to a different MS.

V.[20], where we had read in 𝔊 that 'better than wine and music is the love of *wisdom*,' in 𝔖 'better than old wine the love of a *friend*,' we now find that the grandfather had written, 'Wine and strong drink make the heart exult, but the love of *lovers* (דּוֹרִים) is above them all.'

Surely it is not going too far to say that with the finding of these texts a new period begins in the history of our book. Where we hitherto were bid (7^{23}) to bow down *the neck* of our children from their youth (*κάμψαι τὸν τράχηλον αὐτῶν*—but *τὸν τράχηλον αὐτῶν* is correctly omitted by 𝔏 and Clemens Alexandrinus (i. 186, 2, ed. Dind.†),—we are now advised to *marry them* early (𝔖 𝔍^{AC} = confusion between שת and שא).

It is neither possible nor necessary to go on multiplying examples of this kind. A great field waits for patient workers. The task for future editors of Sirach will be to compare most carefully—(1) the witnesses for 𝔊 (MSS,* Versions, Quotations†); (2) the witnesses for 𝔖 — on the whole, an easy task; (3) the witnesses for 𝔍^{ABCD}; and the quotations to be compared with each other, where there is more than one, then with 𝔊𝔖. The text, in translation, would have to be given in parallel columns: in the middle what is common to all, at the right and the left the variations, at the bottom would be shown how the variations originated.

* Bacher, Ryssel, Smend are not satisfied with 'wine and strong drink.' Bacher, comparing Ex 5^{11}, wishes to read יָשֵׁן וְשָׁכִיר 'who can sleep and has work'; Ryssel with Smend, יותר וְשָׂכָר 'who has plenty, and has paying work.'

† The agreement between 𝔏 and Clement is of great importance.

On the *language* of 𝔍 see in C-N p. xxxi ff. the 'Glossary of Words not found in the Hebrew of the OT, or found in it only in the passages quoted or referred to'; and cf. Nöldeke (*ZATW*, 1900, p. 94), who was at first in favour of the *Oxf. Heb. Lex.* beginning to take notice of Ben Sira, but afterwards thought it a safer course that his words should be gathered into an Appendix. The Concordance to the Septuagint by Hatch-Redpath promises for the second part of the Supplement 'A Short Concordance showing the Hebrew equivalents to the Greek in the lately discovered fragments of Ecclesiasticus.' This will be very welcome. To learn what interesting questions are raised, see, for instance, 10^{10} מחלה שׂנאץ = *μικρὸν ἀρρώστημα*; ‡ 18^{32} (C) תענוג שכוח = *μικρὰ τρυφή*; שכמים = *μέρη* 37^{18} (cf. Gn 48^{22}); עליל (see I. Löw, 'Marginalien zu Kohut's Aruch' in *Semitic Studies in Memory of A. Kohut*, p. 374); אפנים 50^{27} with אבני 50^{9} and Pr 25^{2}. The similarity to the language of the 'Paitanim,' the late Jewish hymn-writers, seems to militate against the originality of 𝔍; but even Schechter cannot deny it: 'If he thought like a Rabbi, he wrote like a Paitan' (cf. Toy in *Encyc. Bibl.* p. 1167 f.; D. Strauss, *Sprachl. Stud. zu den heb. Sirachfragmenten*, Zürich, 1900; W. Bacher, *Die älteste Terminol. der jüd. Schriftauslegung*, Leipzig, 1899, p. 207).

x. CONTENTS AND THEOLOGY.—1. It is clear that in many details our views about the contents of the book must be revised since the recent finds; but on the whole the standpoint of the book has been correctly estimated. It has been considered as the *chief monument of primitive Sadduceism*, and this found corroboration in an unexpected way.

C. Taylor wrote (1877) in the first edition of the *Sayings of the Jewish Fathers*: 'It has been suggested, with a certain plausibility, that the Book Ecclus. approximates to the standpoint of the primitive Çaduqim as regards its theology, its sacerdotalism, and its want of sympathy with the modern Soferim. The name of *Ezra* is significantly omitted from its Catalogue of Worthies.' At the same time he called attention to the fact that the Book of the Sadducees and the Book of Ben Sira are placed side by side on the 'Index Expurgatorius' (*Sanh.* 100*b*). It must have been gratifying to be able to publish twenty years later, at the end of the Hebrew Ben Sira, a hymn, not to be found in the earlier texts, which ends with praise of the Sons of Ṣadok. See S-T p. 41, the hymn (after ch. 50^{12})—

'O give thanks unto the Lord, for he is good;
For his mercy endureth for ever.'
. . . . . .
O give thanks unto him that maketh to bud a horn for the
house of David;
For his mercy endureth for ever.
O give thanks unto him that chose the sons of Sadok to be
priests;
For his mercy endureth for ever.'

לבוחר בבני צדוק לכהן.

* Special attention is due, amongst these, to those of the longer recension, called 'Alexandrian' by Ryssel; cf. A. Schlatter, *Das neugefundene hebräische Stück des Sirach. Der Glossator des griechischen Sirach und seine Stellung in der Geschichte der jüdischen Theologie*, Gütersloh, 1897 (='Beiträge zur Förderung christlicher Theologie,' i. 5, 6). On the passage $26^{18 ff.}$, especially 'the tower of death' (=2 Mac 13^{5}; Valerius Maximus, ix. 2), see Nestle, *Marginalien*, p. 52.

† On the quotations of Clement see esp. O. Stählin, *Clemens Alexandrinus und die Septuaginta* (Nürnberg, 1901, Progr.), pp. 46–58; note in 18^{22} *μικρῷ*.

‡ *μακρὸν ἀρρ.* all Greek MSS; most *σκώπτει*, four *κόπτει* or *ἐκκόπτει*, one *σκόπει*; instead of *ἰατρός* Hitzig and the corrector of S *ἰατρόν*; AV 'The physician cutteth off a long disease'; RV '*It is* a long disease, the physician mocketh'; 𝔏, combining both readings, 'Languor prolixior gravat medicum; brevem languorem præcidit medicus'; 𝔖 'and his bowels the physician tears' (נצרא); but, with Herkenne, we may perhaps read נצרא (=*σκώπτειν*). Adler's translation of 𝔍 ('of course quite tentative') is, 'A trace of disease that maketh the physician serene' (צהיב). It seems best to combine the translation of Hitzig with the reading *μικρόν*: 'A little disease baffles the physician.'

2. Among former descriptions of its contents see especially T. K. Cheyne, *Job and Solomon, or The Wisdom of the OT*, 1887, pp. 179–198, 247 (ch. i.: The wise man turned Scribe—Sirach's moral teaching; ch. ii.: his place in the movement of thought); then the Introduction of Edersheim, and now the article of C. H. Toy (*Encyc. Bibl.* 1164–1179).

3. In its form and substance the book is a fine example of Hebrew *Ḥokmah*-literature, with its lights and shadows. It is no longer the *prophet* that speaks in it, neither the prophetic speaker of earlier times, nor even the prophetic writer like Ezekiel or Malachi; nor is it a *poet* like the author of Job; on the other hand, the *Rabbi* of the Talmud has not yet taken their place; there is scarcely a trace of Haggadah and Halachah in the book. The author is full of respect for the religious literature of the past; he knows himself to be an epigone, but nevertheless he dares to give something of his own. He does not preach as yet from given texts (33[16] 'I awaked up last of all, as one that gathereth after the grape-gatherers; by the blessing of the Lord I profited (got ahead) and filled my winepress like a gatherer of grapes'; cf. also the Prologue). What he has to give is *Ḥokmah*, Wisdom, an outcome of that Divine Wisdom which is from the Lord, and is with Him for ever, but given by Him to them that fear Him, especially among His chosen people Israel (17[17ff.] 24[7ff.]). But the author does not dwell long in those lofty regions, but turns himself to the wisdom of daily life, giving counsels for all kinds of emergencies, and communicating his observations on men and women, rich and poor, high and low.

4. The book has not received, apparently, its final shape; its contents at least are so varied and loosely arranged that it is difficult to give a *table* of contents.

See the headings, which are partially preserved in the book itself, in the Greek text from 18[30] onwards (ἐγκράτεια ψυχῆς; 20[27] λόγοι παραβολῶν; 23[7] παιδεία στόματος; 24[1] αἴνεσις σοφίας; 30[1] περὶ τέκνων; 16[πρὶ] βρομάτων; 44[1] Πατέρων ὕμνος; 51[1] Προσευχὴ Ἰησοῦ υἱοῦ Σειράχ); the capitulations placed before the book in ancient Greek and Latin texts; the *Synopsis* of pseudo-Chrysostom; the headings of the AV, which are dropped instead of revised in the RV; careful superscriptions in the German translation of Ryssel; the attempts in the Comm. to find out a plan of the book.

But it would be a pleasant task to give more than a sketch of its moral and religious teachings.

(*a*) The author's idea of God shows an interesting combination of Jewish piety and Greek philosophy, the former decidedly predominating. What Edersheim considered, on account of its pantheistic ring, as a bold later addition of the younger Siracide, namely 43[27] 'We may speak much and yet come short: wherefore in sum *he is all*' (τὸ πᾶν ἐστιν αὐτός), is found in 𝔊, and means nothing more than that God is to be found in all His work; it does not deny His unity or personality, which is emphasized by the new reading in 𝔊 42[21] 'he is *one* from everlasting' (εἷς instead of ἕως or ὡς or ὅς). God is the absolute Lord, the righteous judge, the wise ruler, rich in forbearance, though the full conception of Divine fatherhood finds no expression (18[10ff.]).

(*b*) Of *angels* and *demons* there is scarcely any mention, quite in agreement with the Sadducean standpoint; the central idea is the personified Wisdom, which is seen in nature and history, especially in the history of Israel, first of all in the *Law*. The prominence given to the Law, both its moral and ritual parts, is one of the features which distinguish Ben Sira from Proverbs, leading over to the later Rabbinism. But from the latter our author is far removed, especially in his attitude towards the *heathen* world. He does not despise it, like the Pharisees, nor does he expect any special manifestation of Jahweh for the benefit of His people or the conversion of the nations. As regards the individual, he speaks neither of the resurrection of the body nor of the immortality of the soul—ἀθανασία occurs only in the glossed text 19[19] γνῶσις ἐντολῶν κυρίου παιδεία ζωῆς, οἱ δὲ ποιοῦντες τὰ ἀρεστὰ αὐτῷ ἀθανασίας δένδρον καρποῦνται; see on this point especially Schlatter, pp. 110, 176;—of death and *Sheol* he thinks like the psalmists.

5. A much larger space is taken up in the book by the ethical and social teachings. Through their pointed form many of Ben Sira's sayings have remained popular. Much, of course, is to be taken *cum grano salis*; to guard against misunderstanding, the glosses have been added in MSS like 248, 253. The author is 'generally acute, sometimes a little cynical, never pessimistic' (Toy, *l.c.* 1178). Most unfavourable is his judgment on the female sex (25[13ff.]); friendly is that on physicians (ch. 38); he does not despise wine and music. A great rôle is played by money matters and trade; but almsgiving is the chief part of righteousness, and readiness to forgive is a primary condition of obtaining Divine forgiveness. In some of his precepts he comes near to those of the gospel; the Golden Rule, however, does not occur. No wonder that this book was used in the Church, especially for instruction of the young, almost like a catechism of morals and religion (85th Can. Apost.), and that Augustine embodied so many of its sayings in his *Speculum*. In modern times one of the few attempts made in England to employ its teaching for religious instruction is the small selection published by E. J. Edwards, *School Lessons from Ecclesiasticus* (1853). It is to be hoped that, when the critical questions about the book are settled, it may gain in popularity.

Note.—*Use of the Book in the Christian Church.*—Cf. Daubney, *The Use of the Apocr. in the Christian Church* (London, 1900). For the use of Sirach in NT, he compares about 20 passages, *e.g.* Mt 6[14] with 28[2], 6[19] with 29[12], 16[27] with 32[24]. On Lk 1[17] Bengel quoted 48[10] and remarked: 'Minime proletarium esse Siracidæ librum, convenientia eius cum angeli sermone docet.' For the Epistle of James, J. B. Mayor (1897) collected thirty-two resemblances to Sirach. The question whether St. Paul did not quote from the Hebrew Sirach in 1 Co 15[40] has been raised by Müller ('zum Sirachproblem,' in the *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, June 1900).

Early Christian writers made such extensive use of Wisdom, Sirach, and Baruch that they appear more familiar with them than with several books of the NT. Allusions to Sirach may be discovered in Polycarp, i. (6[29. 30]); *Didache*, iv. 5 (4[31]); undoubted quotations from Sirach occur in Barnabas, Tertullian, etc.; Eusebius introduces a quotation from 32[9] by the formula: διδασκάλῳ χρώμενος παραγγέλματι θείῳ διδάσκοντι (*Dem. Ev.* I. i.). On the use made of Sirach in the Roman Church (Breviary and Missal) see W. Schenz, *Einleitung in die kanonischen Bücher des alten Testamentes* (Regensburg, 1887, 409). In Britain, Alfred († 1005) seems to have been the first writer to make any investigations touching the Canon, especially the two books Wisd. and Sirach, 'placed with Solomon's works as if he made them; which for likeness of style and profitable use have gone for his; but Jesus the Son of Sirach composed them . . . very large books and read in the church, of long custom, for much good instruction.' In the Prayer-Book of 1549 there were 108 daily lessons from the Apocrypha; that of 1552 had 110, that of 1558 had 125. On the use of Sirach in the 'Homilies' see Daubney, p. 67; on that made by English divines, p. 71 ff. To Archbishop Whitgift († 1604), who declared the Apocrypha 'Parte of the Bible,' and gave command for them to be bound up with the Bible, Drusius dedicated his edition of Sirach (1596).

Literature.—Only a selection can be given. 1. Commentaries: Camerarius, Drusius, Bretschneider (see p. 543), Grotius (best edition: *Hug. Grotii Annotationes in VT*, curavit Geo. Jo. Lu. Vogel, Halæ, t. iii. 1786, pp. 63–236, 4to), Cornelius a Lapide (Antw. 1634 f.; often, at last Paris, 1859 f.), Fritzsche (*Kgf. exeg. Hdb. zu den Apokryphen*, vol. iii. 1859), E. C. Bissel (*The Apocrypha*, New York, 1880); the place of a Commentary is filled by the Notes in the *Variorum Apocrypha*, ed. by C. J. Ball (Eyre & Spottiswoode, no date); Edersheim (in Wace, 'Apocrypha,' see p. 539[b]), Zöckler (in Strack-Zöckler's *Kgf. Kommentar*, 1891, weak in textual criticism), Ed. Reuss, *Das Alte Testament übersetzt* (vol. vi. 1894, p. 289 ff.), Ryssel (in 'Die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des AT . . . übersetzt und herausgegeben von E. Kautzsch,' i. 1900, pp. 230–475).

2. Monographs: Tetens, *Disquisitiones generales in Sapientiam Jes. Sir.*, Hauniæ, 1779; B. G. Winer, *De utriusque Siracidæ ætate*, Erlangen, 1832; H. Ewald, 'Über das grie-

chische Spruchbuch Jesus' des Sohnes Sirachs,' in *Biblische Jahrbücher*, iii. (1851; cf. *Geschichte Israels*, iv. 340 ff.); Vaihinger in *SK*, 1857, 93 ff.; A. Geiger, 'Warum gehört Sirach zu den Apokryphen' (*ZDMG* xii. [1858] 536 ff.); Horowitz, 'Das Buch Jesus Sirach,' in *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, xiv. and separate (Breslau, 1865); H. Grätz, 'Die Söhne des Tobias, die Hellenisten und der Spruchdichter Sirach' (*ib.* 1872); A. Astier, *Introd. au livre de l'Ecclésiastique* (Strassb. 1861); Merguet, *Die Glaubens- und Sittenlehre des Buches Jesus Sirach* (Königsberg, i., 1874; ii., 1901); Seligmann, *Das Buch der Weisheit des Jesus Sohn des Sirach* (*Josua ben Sira*) *in seinem Verhältniss zu den salomonischen Sprüchen und seiner historischen Bedeutung* (Breslau, 1883); F. E. Daubanton, 'Het apokryphe boek Σοφία Ἰησοῦ υἱοῦ Σιράχ en de leertype daarin vervat' (in *Theol. Studiën*, 1886–1887).

3. On the *milieu* of the Book: Dähne, *Darstellung der jüdisch-alexandrinischen Religionsphilosophie* (1837); J. F. Bruch, *Weisheitslehre der Hebräer* (1851); Faure, *La sagesse divine dans la littérature didactique des Hébreux et des Juifs* (Montauban, Inaug. Diss. 1900, 73 pp.).

4. On questions of textual criticism: B. Bendtsen (see p. 546a); E. G. Bengel (see p. 545b); J. Fr. Gaab, *De locis quibusdam sententiarum Jesu Siracidæ* (Tubingæ, 1799), and *Versio carminum quorundam Arabicorum . . . cum animadversionibus ad sententias Jesu Siracidæ* (Tüb. 1810); Dyserinck, *De Spreuken van Jesus den Zoon van Sirach* (1870); Edw. Hatch, 'On the text of Ecclesiasticus,' in *Essays in Biblical Greek*, 1889, pp. 246–282; Eb. Nestle, *Marginalien* (Tüb. 1893, p. 48 ff.); Ph. Thielmann, 'Die lateinische Uebersetzung des Buches Sirach,' in *Archiv für lat. Lexikographie*, viii. 501–561 (1893), and 'Die europäischen Bestandtheile des lateinischen Sirach' (*ib.* ix. 1896); H. Herkenne, *De Veteris Latinæ Ecclesiastici capitibus* i.–xliii. *Una cum notis ex eiusdem libri translationibus æthiopica, armeniaca, copticis, latina altera, syro-hexaplari depromptis* (Leipzig, 1899), and 'Die Textüberlieferung des Buches Sirach,' in *Biblische Studien*, ed. Bardenhewer, vi. 1, 2 (1901), 129–140; Norb. Peters, 'Die sahidisch-koptische Uebersetzung des Buches Ecclesiasticus auf ihren wahren Werth für die Textkritik untersucht' (*ib.* iii. 3 [1895]).

5. On the Alphabet of Ben Sira cf. I. Löw, *Aramäische Pflanzennamen* (Leipzig, 1881, pp. 2 ff., 417).*

6. Literature since the discovery of the Hebrew texts: On the *publication* of the texts by Schechter, Cowley-Neubauer (Smend, Lévi), Schechter-Taylor, G. Margoliouth, I. Lévi, E. N. Adler, Schechter, Gaster, see above, p. 546b. The *Expository Times*, vol. vii., has two, vol. viii. again two references to Sirach (p. 262, a review of Hogg on C-N), vol. ix. one, vol. x. seven, vol. xi. twenty-four such references (by the editor, König, D. S. Margoliouth, S. Schechter, J. A. Selbie, I. Abrahams, Eb. Nestle, C. Taylor, W. Bacher). The record of 'Theological and Semitic Literature for the year 1900,' published by Muss-Arnolt (Chicago, 1900), enumerates thirty papers, published (1900) in twenty-two different periodicals. See also *JQR:* Adler, Harkavy, D. S. Margoliouth, Lévi, Schechter, Tyler; *REJ:* Bacher, Chajes, Lambert, Lévi; *ZATW:* Bacher, Nöldeke; *RB:* Condamin, Grimme, Touzard. Ed. König, in addition to his papers in the *Expository Times*, which were published separately in German (*Die Originalität des neulich entdeckten Sirachtextes*), wrote in four other periodicals. Cf., further, in Muss-Arnolt, pp. 32–34, the names: Buhl, Flournoix, Halévy, Houtsma, Méchineaux, Noordtzij, Peters, Ryssel (in *SK*, 1900, 3, 4, 1901, 1, 2, 4, a very careful comparison of 𝔐 with 𝔊 and 𝔖, to be continued), Schlögl, Strauss, Wilson, Zenner. B. Baentsch, in *Theol. Jahresb.* for 1900, notes 51 books or papers on Sirach.

Even on the Strophic structure of Sirach several papers have been published by H. Grimme (at first in *RB*, 1900–1901; then separately, Leipzig, Harrassowitz); by Norbert Peters (*Theol. Quartalschrift*, 1900, pp. 180–193); † by Nivard Schlögl in *ZDMG* liii. (1899), pp. 669–682, and *Ecclesiasticus* (39[12]–49[16]) *ope artis crit. et metr. in formam originalem redactus*, Wien, 1901, xxxv. 72, 4to.

It will be a long time before all the questions connected with Sirach are settled and a critical edition becomes possible

EB. NESTLE.

SIRAH, THE WELL OF (בּוֹר הַסִּרָה; BA τὸ φρέαρ τοῦ Σειράμ, Luc. Σειρά).—The place at which Joab's messengers overtook Abner, and brought him back to Hebron, where he was assassinated by Joab (2 S 3[26]; Jos. *Ant.* VII. i. 5, Βηειρά). It lay on the road from Hebron to Jerusalem, and is now probably *'Ain Sûrah*, near Hebron, the 'spring' (*'ain*) having taken the place of the 'well' (*bîr*). The spring flows from a spout into a small tank, and stands back from the road in a little alley with walls of dry stone on either side (*PEF Mem.* iii. 314).

C. W. WILSON.

SIRION (שִׂרְיֹן in Dt 3[9]; שִׂרְיוֹן MT and Baer, but Mich. שִׂרְיוֹן, in Ps 29[6]).—The name said to be given by the Zidonians to MT. HERMON, Dt 3[9] (Σανιώρ). Like SENIR, it may have originally been the designation of a particular part of the mountain. In Ps 29[6], where Sirion is coupled with Lebanon, the LXX (confusing with ישרון *Jeshurun*; cf. its rendering in Dt 32[15] 33[5. 26], Is 44[2]) reads ὁ ἠγαπημένος.

SISERA (סִיסְרָא; Σεισαρά, meaning doubtful; cf. Assyr., *sasur* 'progeny,'—Sayce, *Hibbert Lects.* 373. Ball, *Light from the East, s.v.*, gives the Assyr. form *sisseru, seseru,* 'child.' Moore, *Judges*, 112, thinks that the name is not Semitic, and compares Hittite names ending in *-sira*, Ḥtasira, Manrasira, etc.,—W. Max Müller, *Asien u. Europa*, 332).—**1.** Jg 4 and 5, 1 S 12[9], Ps 83[9]. The history of Sisera is told in a poetic (Jg 5) and a prose form (Jg 4). In the main particulars both agree, but they differ considerably on some important points. The Song of Deborah, as being nearer in date to the events recorded, must be treated as the more authentic source. (1) In 4[4-22] Jabin, king of Hazor, is introduced into the history of Sisera. He is not mentioned in ch. 5, he takes no part in the battle, and his city Hazor, if=*Merj Ḥadire* (or near it), a little S. of Kedesh and W. of the lake of Ḥuleh, is far away from the scene of the conflict, and brings impossible situations into the narrative. Sisera is throughout the actual and independent leader; his forces are his own (cf. 4[13] with 4[3]); to slay him is to carry off the honours of the fight (4[9]). This Jabin-tradition is of the same character as the fragments preserved in Jg 1, and forms the basis of the history in Jos 11[1-9] [JE]. How it came to be combined with the Sisera-tradition is not clear; perhaps because both were concerned with fighting in Upper Palestine, and because the northern tribes and Canaanites were the combatants in both cases.* The combination must be earlier than the work of the redactor (4[1-3. 4b. 9aβ. 14a. 23. 24]), who provided the narrative with an introduction and conclusion (vv.[1-3. 23 f.]), and gave Jabin, who is called merely king of Hazor in v.[17], the unhistorical title of 'king of Canaan' (4[2. 23f.]). It is noticeable that 1 S 12[9] and Ps 83[9] imply the combination of the Jabin- and Sisera-traditions. (2) In order to harmonize these, Sisera had to be made the general of Jabin's army (4[2. 7]); and this must have been done before the redactor dealt with the narrative. (3) The campaign is on a larger scale in ch. 5 than in ch. 4. In the former Sisera appears at the head of a federation of Canaanite kings (5[19]), and attacks the six tribes bordering on the Central Plain. In ch. 4 only Naphtali and Zebulun are engaged (v.[6]); the mention of these two tribes only and of Kedesh their headquarters (v.[10]) was probably an element in the Jabin-story. (4) The scene of the battle in 5[19] is the left bank of the Kishon; this implies that Barak advanced against Sisera from the S.W. and fell upon him from the Carmel range. In 4[12. 14] Barak attacks the Canaanites from Mt. Tabor, and the battle apparently takes place at its foot. (5) The accounts of Sisera's murder present a striking divergence. In ch. 5 Jael, by an ingenious stratagem, kills him with a tent-mallet while he is standing and drinking out of a deep bowl; in ch. 4 she hammers a tent-peg through his temples while he lies asleep in her tent. Some explain this divergence as a prosaic misunderstanding of the parallelism of 5[26] (so Wellhausen, *Composition* 222; Robertson Smith, *OTJC*[2] 132), but it is more likely to be due to a different tradition. One important detail is preserved in ch. 4 alone—that Sisera's stronghold was Ḥarosheth hag-goyim (4[2. 13ff.]). This place has been plausibly identified with *el-Ḥārithîyeh*, on

* Nebuchadnezzar wishes to know whether Ben Sira is a prophet, and asks of him the number of trees in the royal gardens. Ben Sira answers that there are thirty kinds: of ten the whole fruit may be eaten; of ten the kernel; of ten the outer parts. Löw gives the list, which is found also in the *Bundehesh*, on the basis of five texts.

† A great work on Sirach by Norbert Peters is advertised for 1902 by Herder of Freiburg.

* Budde (*Richter u. Samuel*, 69) thinks that the person of Barak was the link which connected the two, and that tradition ascribed both victories to him (cf. Jos. *Ant.* v. v. 4).

the right bank of the Kishon, commanding the road from the Central Plain to the sea. Perhaps $4^{13.\ 16}$ imply that Harosheth was at some distance from the battlefield; so the identification cannot be called certain, and the resemblance of the names, though philologically correct, may be accidental (see Buhl, *GAP* 214). See arts. DEBORAH and JABIN.

2. A family of the Nethinim, Ezr 2^{53} (B om., A Σκεραά, Luc. Σισαρά), Neh 7^{55} (B Σεσειράθ, A Σεσιαράθ, Luc. om.). G. A. COOKE.

SISINNES (Σισίννης).—The governor (ἔπαρχος) of Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia under Darius, and a contemporary of Zerub., 1 Es $6^{3.\ 7.\ 27}$ 7^{1}. In Ezr 5^{3}, etc., he is called TATTENAI, 'the governor (פַּחַת) beyond the river,' *i.e.* satrap of the whole of Syria west of the Euphrates.

SISMAI (סִסְמַי; BA Σοσομαί, Luc. Σασαμεί).—A Jerahmeelite, 1 Ch 2^{40}.

SISTER.—See FAMILY.

SITH.—The Anglo-Sax. prep. *sith* (originally an adverb='after') with the pron. *dam*=them, formed *siththan* 'after that' (=Ger. *seitdem*). Then *siththan* was contracted to *sithen*, which again became sometimes *sith* and sometimes *sin*. The adv. suffix *s* being added to *sithen* gave middle Eng. *sithens*, afterwards spelt *sithence* to keep the *s* sharp in pronunciation, like *pence* for *pens*, *dice* for *dies*; and this was contracted to *since*, the contraction being helped by the form *sin*. 'Sith' was used as a prep., an adv., or a conjunction. Thus as adv., Wyc. *Works*, iii. 114, 'Ffyrst they trow in the Ffadyr, for he ys fyrst persone; aftyr they trow in Jesus Crist, be dyvers artyclys; and sytthe they trow in the Holy Gost'; as prep., Knox, *Works*, iii. 278, 'Transubstantiation, the byrde that the Devel hatched by Pope Nicolas, and sythe that time fostered and nurryshed by al his children'; and as conj., Berner, *Froissart*, Pref., 'Among all other I read diligently the four volumes or books of sir John Froissart of the country of Hainault, written in the French tongue, which I judged commodious, necessary and profitable to be had in English, sith they treat of the famous acts done in our parts.'

'Sith' occurs in AV 1611 in Jer 15^{7} 23^{38}, Ezk 35^{6}, Zec $4^{10\text{marg.}}$, 2 Es 7^{53}, and Ro 5^{heading}, and 'sithence' in 2 Es 10^{14}. As early as 1616 'sithence' was changed into 'since,' and 'sith' was in time changed (by Paris or Blayney) into the same mod. form in all places except Ezk 35^{6}, Ro 5^{head}. For 'sithence' cf. Lk 20^{33} Rhem. 'In the resurrection therefore, whose wife shal she be of them? sithens the seven had her to wife.' 'Sith' often occurs in the *Psalms in metre*, viz. 16^{8} 22^{8} 31^{4} 33^{21} 50^{17} (both versions) 73^{10} 86^{3} 109^{21} 119^{45}, always as a conjunction. J. HASTINGS.

SITHRI (סִתְרִי; B Σεγρεί, A Σεθρεί, Luc. Σετρί).—A grandson of Kohath, Ex 6^{22} (P).

SITNAH (שִׂטְנָה 'enmity'; Ἐχθρία; *Inimicitiæ*).—The second well dug by the servants of Isaac, and for which they strove with the herdmen of Gerar (Gn 26^{21}). The name of the well is derived by J from the disputes over its construction. The site is unknown, but it is supposed to have been in the valley of Gerar, though this is not distinctly stated in the narrative. Palmer (*PEFSt*, 1871, p. 35) finds a reminiscence of the name in *Shutnet er-Ruheibeh*, a small valley near *Ruheibeh* (Rehoboth). Riehm (*HWB*) apparently means the same place, which he calls *Wâdy esh-Shetein*.

C. W. WILSON.

SIVAN (סִיוָן).—The third month, according to the later (Babylonian) mode of reckoning. See TIME.

SKILL.—Skill comes from a Scand. root meaning to separate, discern, and means discernment, understanding. The verb to skill, *i.e.* to discern or understand, has now gone out of use, but occurs in AV in 1 K 5^{6} 'There is not among us any that can skill (so RV, Amer. RV 'knoweth how') to hew timber,' 2 Ch $2^{7.\ 8}$ (all יָדַע to know), and 2 Ch 34^{12} 'all that could skill of (Amer. RV 'were skilful with') instruments of musick' (הֵבִין to be skilled in, Hiphil of בִּין to separate, understand). Cf. Milton, *Areopag.* (Hales' ed. p. 39), 'A wealthy man addicted to his pleasure and to his profits finds Religion to be a traffick so entangl'd and of so many piddling accounts, that of all mysteries he cannot skill to keep a stock going upon that trade'; Elyot, *Governour*, ii. 181, 'Whether he be a gentyll man or yoman, a ryche man or a poore, if he sitte nat suerly and can skill of ridynge, the horse casteth him quickely'; and Lk 12^{56} Tind. 'Ypocrites, ye can skyll of the fassion of the erth and of the skye.'

J. HASTINGS.

SKULL, PLACE OF A.—See GOLGOTHA.

SLANDER or **EVIL-SPEAKING** (noun דִּבָּה, from [דָּבַב] 'glide'; verbs [לָשׁן], lit. 'use the tongue'; רָגַל, lit. 'slink about,' and other roots. Greek βλασφημέω, 'speak injuriously'; adj. and subst. βλάσφημος; subst. βλασφημία; διαβάλλω, 'throw over,' 'slander'; διάβολος, adj., and subst. ὁ διάβολος =הַשָּׂטָן).—This sin, of which the tongue is the organ (Pr 18^{21}, Ja $3^{8.\ 9}$), springs from the heart, as the seat of inner life (Mt $12^{34.\ 35}$ 15^{19}, Mk 7^{21}, Lk 6^{45}). As a rule, its mental feature is falsehood (Pr 10^{18} 12^{17} $14^{5.\ 25}$) and its emotional hate (1 P 2^{1}); but even truth may be circulated from motives of malice, and falsehood may be told simply from a perverse pleasure in lying. Hence all tale-bearing, whether false and ill-tempered or not, is blameworthy and injurious (Lv 19^{16}, Pr 11^{13} 26^{20} 18^{8}, Ezk 22^{9}). Against slander and evil-speaking, from which arises much strife (Pr $16^{27\text{-}30}$ 30^{10}), warnings abound in the OT (Ps 34^{13}, Pr 15^{28} 30^{32} 24^{28}) as in the NT (Eph 4^{31}, Col 3^{8}, Ja 4^{11}, 1 P 3^{10}), and threats of punishment are not wanting, alike from God (Ps $50^{19\text{-}22}$ 109^{20} 140^{11}, Pr 8^{13} 21^{28}) and from man (Ps 101^{5}, Pr 19^{5}; cf. Ro 3^{8}). Slander is a sign of moral corruption (Jer 6^{28} 9^{4}, 2 Ti 3^{3}). As angels abstain from all reviling (2 P 2^{11}, Jude ^{8}), so proneness to slander is regarded as disqualifying for citizenship in the Hebrew commonwealth (Ps 15^{3} 24^{4}) and for membership or office in the Christian Church (Tit 2^{3}, 1 Ti 3^{11}). Instances of slander are recorded (2 S 19^{27}, Dn 3^{8}, Neh 6^{13}, Ezr 4^{6}) against persons, and even against a land (Nu 13^{32} 14^{36}). Among other forms of persecution to which the pious in Israel were exposed was slander (Ps 31^{13} 41^{5} 27^{12} 35^{11}, Jer 20^{10}), from which also the members of the Christian Church (1 P 2^{12} 4^{4}), and especially the apostles, suffered (Ac 19^{9} 24^{5} 28^{22}, 2 Co 6^{8}), even as Christ Himself did (Lk 2^{34}, Mk 9^{39}, Mt 11^{19}), and as He foretold that they would (Mt 5^{11}, Lk 6^{22}). Christians are warned to give no occasion for it (Tit 2^{8} 3^{2}, 1 P 3^{16}), as thereby they may bring discredit on the gospel and the Church (Ro 14^{16}; cf. Ro 2^{24}, 2 P 2^{2}, Tit 2^{5}, 1 Ti 6^{1}). Among charges later brought against them falsely were cannibalism, incest, atheism, hatred of human race, licentious orgies. When suffering from such slander innocently, they are urged to bear with patience (1 P 3^{9}; cf. 1 Co 4^{12}) even as Christ did (1 P 2^{23}; cf. Mt 27^{39}, Mk 15^{32}, Jn 9^{28}), and even to rejoice therein (1 P 4^{14}).

False witness is but slander carried into a court of justice, and against this sin the ninth command-

ment is directed (Ex 20[16]; cf. 23[1], Dt 5[20]). Its prevalence in the East (Ezr 4[6], Lk 3[14] 19[8]) necessitated great severity in punishing it, and in the Pentateuch the law of retaliation is literally enforced regarding it (Dt 19[16-19]). To avoid miscarriage of justice, the testimony of one person was not accepted as sufficient by the Jewish law (Nu 35[30], Dt 17[6] 19[15]), and this rule was adopted in the Christian Church (2 Co 13[1], 1 Ti 5[19]; cf. Mt 18[16]). When the charge involved a death sentence, the witnesses had to be first in carrying it out (Dt 17[7]; cf. Ac 7[58]). Yet false witnesses could be found (Dn 6[24], 1 K 21[10]), as against Jesus (Mt 26[59. 60], Mk 14[55-57]), Stephen (Ac 6[13]), and Paul (Ac 24[13]).

The heinousness of slander is shown by the use of the same Gr. word in NT for sins of speech against God and man (Mt 27[39], Lk 23[39] 22[65], Ac 13[45] 18[6] 26[11], 1 Ti 1[20], Tit 3[2], Ja 2[7]); by our Lord's warning about the unpardonable sin (Mt 12[31], Mk 3[28], Lk 12[10]); and by the name *ὁ διάβολος*, given to the spirit of evil, who is represented as playing the part of slanderer against Job (Job 1[9-11]), Joshua the high priest (Zec 3[1]), and Christians (Rev 12[10]).

A. E. Garvie.

SLAVE, SLAVERY.—See Servant.

SLAVONIC VERSIONS.—See Versions.

SLEIGHT.—Eph 4[14] 'By the sleight of men' (*ἐν τῇ κυβείᾳ* [Tisch. WH *κυβίᾳ*] *τῶν ἀνθρώπων*, lit. 'by the dice-playing of men,' from *κύβος*, a cube, die). Tindale translates 'by the wylynes of men,' which is the meaning of AV 'sleight.' It is of the same root as 'sly,' as if for *slyth* = 'slyness.' Cf. Ridley, *Works*, 31, 'The sleights and shifts which craft and wit can invent'; Tymme's *Calvin's Genesis*, 569, 'Nowe, seeing a lye is damnable of it selfe, therein she sinned the more, that she durst use such deceiveable slightes in so holy a matter.' But the word properly means a device, and may be used in a good sense, as Udall's *Erasmus' Paraph.* i. 106, 'If this invencion and sleight be brought unto your presidente, we will perswade hym, and deliver you from all daunger of this matter'; Elyot, *Governour*, i. 173, 'It hath ben sene that the waiker persone by the sleight of wrastlyng, hath overthrowen the strenger.' We still have the phrase 'sleight of hand.'

The adverb **sleightly** is used in the Preface to AV, 'Now, when the father of their Church, who gladly would heale the soare of the daughter of his people softly and sleightly, and make the best of it, findeth so great fault with them for their oddes and jarring, we hope the children have no great cause to vaunt of their uniformitie.'

There is no connexion either in origin or meaning with 'slight,' 'slightly,' which means originally 'flat,' 'smooth.' J. Hastings.

SLIME.—See Bitumen and Mortar.

SLING (קֶלַע *ḳela'*, *σφενδόνη*).—A weapon used by the Hebrews, Egyptians, Assyrians, and other Eastern nations, from whom it passed over to the later Greeks. During the best days of Rome, slingers appeared only among the foreign auxiliaries — Greek, Syrian, and African. We know nothing definite concerning the form of the Hebrew sling, but on the Assyr. reliefs slings are shown, made of two thongs, one of which was doubtless released in the act of discharging the stone. The hollow in which the stone was placed was called the *hand* (כַּף *kaph*, 'the bent hand'). Smooth stones (1 S 17[40], Job 41[28 (20)]) * were used by the Hebrews, stones or leaden bullets (*μολυβδίδες*) by the Roman auxiliaries, as missiles. Slings were employed in attacking fortresses (2 K 3[25], 1 Mac 6[51]). Among the Israelites the Benjamite left-handed slingers were famous (Jg 20[16], 1 Ch 12[2]); David the Judæan appears as a slinger only in his contest with Goliath (1 S 17[40], Sir 47[4]). From the prominence given to David's 'staff' in 1 S 17[40. 43] it is not improbable that his 'sling' was mounted on a staff; the weapon may in fact have been that described by Vegetius, iii. 14, '*Fustibalus* fustis est longus pedibus quattuor, cui per medium ligatur funda de corio, et utraque manu impulsus prope ad instar onagri (a powerful military engine) dirigit saxa.' The 'sling' of v.[40] is a gloss on 'staff,' just as 'scrip' is a gloss on 'shepherd's bag.' The slingstones might be carried either in a bag (so David, 1 S 17[40]) or in the bosom of the outer garment (so the Roman slingers). Abigail (1 S 25[29]) predicts that God will take the lives of David's enemies out of the bag or purse (צְרוֹר *ṣĕrōr*) in which He holds the lives of men, and will 'sling them out,' *i.e.* cast them away. In Zec 9[15] hailstones are spoken of as God's slingstones (tr. 'and [His] slingstones shall devour and subdue'; cf. v.[14] 'His arrow shall go forth as the lightning'). On the difficult verse Pr 26[8] 'As he that bindeth a stone in a sling' (כִּרְגֻמָּה *margēmah*), see Toy in *Internat. Crit. Comm.* and RV ('a heap of stones').

W. Emery Barnes.

* Cf. 'Teretes lapides de funda vel fustibalo destinati' (Vegetius, i. 16).

SMITH.—חָרָשׁ an artificer, a workman, 1 S 13[19], Is 54[16]; חָרַשׁ בַּרְזֶל a smith (lit. a worker in iron), Is 44[12]; מְסַגֵּר (lit. locksmith?) 2 K 24[14. 16], Jer 24[1] 29[2]. The name smith is common to several metal workers: the goldsmith, the silversmith, the coppersmith, and the ironsmith. The most important of these in ancient times was the coppersmith. Though iron seems to have been known at a very early period, it did not come into common use. Copper, being more easily worked, was the universal metal for tools, arms, and all kinds of utensils. Alloyed with tin it became hard, and was capable of taking a sharp edge: thus it was suitable for knives, swords, spears, axes, etc. The coppersmith is still a very important workman in Syria, for almost all domestic utensils are made of that metal. Pans, pots, trays, caldrons for boiling the grape juice, are made of copper. The goldsmith and silversmith are next in importance, and their methods of working are almost the same as the pictures on the tombs in Egypt show to have been followed by the ancient Egyptians. The silversmith is usually also the tinsmith of a Lebanon village.

Iron ore of the very best quality is abundant in the Lebanon range, and has been worked for ages by the smiths. The forests around supplied the fuel, and the iron obtained was similar to what is known as Swedish iron. It was probably from this iron that the smiths of Damascus made their famous steel. Nearly every village in Syria has its smith, whose business it is to make and repair ploughs, pickaxes, hoes, and the tools for the masons and carpenters. He makes shoes also for horses, mules, donkeys, and for the oxen used for ploughing. The fuel of the smith is charcoal, and two very large circular bellows keep up a steady blast. Smiths in ancient as well as in modern times were noted for the strength of their arms, Is 44[12].

The discovery of the smith's art is ascribed in Gn 4[22] (J) to Tubal-cain (which see) the son of Lamech (see Dillmann, *ad loc.*, and Benzinger, *Heb. Arch.* 214). A smith at work is graphically portrayed in Sir 38[28]. W. Carslaw.

SMYRNA (Σμύρνα) was an ancient city in the west of Asia Minor, situated at the head of a gulf which runs up about 30 miles into the country. It was at first a colony of Aeolic Greeks, but was taken by an attack from the Ionian colony of Colophon and transformed into an Ionian city.

The original Aeolic and Ionian Smyrna was captured by the Lydians, who broke up its constitution as a Greek city about the end of the 7th cent. B.C.; and it existed as a mere Oriental town or series of villages for more than three centuries, till Lysimachus (301–281) refounded it as a Greek city, in a new situation about 3 miles south-west from the ancient site. It has continued ever since an unbroken history as one of the greatest cities of Asia.

Smyrna was a faithful ally of Rome, from the time when the great Italian republic began to interfere in the affairs of the East, choosing that side before Rome had become all-powerful, and remained true to it even during the Mithridatic wars, when a Smyrnæan assembly, hearing of the distressed condition of Sulla's army, stripped off their own clothes and sent them to clothe the soldiers; and it was accordingly favoured in the Roman policy, though it suffered during the Civil War after the death of Cæsar. That early appreciation of the value of the Roman alliance was undoubtedly due to the position of Smyrna as a great trading city: the exact circumstances are unknown to us, but Smyrna must have been as early as B.C. 200 brought into such relations with the general Mediterranean trade that its interest lay in supporting Rome against Carthage and the allied Seleucid kings of Syria, and against Rhodes (just as the old friendship of Massilia and Rome was due to their common dread of the competition of Carthaginian merchants).

Smyrna was the port at the end of one of the great roads leading from the inner country, Phrygia, Galatia, etc., across Lydia towards the west. It was also the harbour for the whole trade of the fertile Hermus Valley, and was probably hardly second even to Ephesus as an exporting city. Its great wealth is attested by its abundant coinage. It was the chief city of a *conventus*, and was one of those cities that were dignified with the title of *metropolis*. It vied with Pergamus and Ephesus for the title of 'First (city) of Asia' (*πρώτη Ἀσίας*); and the contests between the three great cities were carried to a great height, as each invented new titles for itself or appropriated the titles of the other. In one case, at least, their jealous rivalry led to an appeal to the imperial decision.

In A.D. 23 the cities of Asia obtained permission to found a temple in honour of Tiberius and his mother Julia Augusta, and in 26 several contended for the privilege of having the temple within their walls. The pleadings of the different cities which claimed that honour throw considerable light on the state of the great Asian cities under the early Roman emperors, though only a very brief report has been preserved by Tacitus (*Annals*, iv. 55, 56). The claim of Pergamum was rejected because it already had the temple dedicated by the province to Augustus: that of Ephesus because it was sufficiently weighted by the worship and the temple of Artemis: that of Laodicea, Tralles, etc., because they were not sufficiently great. Halicarnassus was carefully considered, but at last the choice lay between Sardis and Smyrna. Sardis relied especially on its past history, and quoted, amidst other evidence on its side, a decree passed in its honour by the twelve ancient Etruscan cities. But the Smyrnæans could appeal to their faithful friendship and alliance with Rome; and they mentioned that they had dedicated a temple to the goddess Rome in B.C. 195, before the eastern cities had learned by experience that Rome was the one supreme power in the world. The claim of Smyrna was preferred to that of Sardis, thus marking the superior dignity of the former in the province. The temple was erected by the provincial council (see ASIARCH) in Smyrna, which henceforward could claim the Imperial Neokorate, *i.e.* the title of temple-warden (*νεωκόρος*) of the emperors. The title was not so much prized in the 1st cent.; and the earliest proof that Smyrna had assumed it is in A.D. 98–102. A second and a third Neokorate were afterwards granted to Smyrna (as to Pergamum and Ephesus)—the second by Hadrian (though not mentioned on coins till the reign of his successor Pius), the third by Severus towards the end of his reign (along with the same compliment to Ephesus)

In the Roman time Smyrna was perhaps the most brilliant and splendid of the cities of Asia. No other city of the province could vie with it for the handsomeness of its streets, the excellence of the paving, and the skill with which it was laid out in rectangular blocks; but it was badly drained, and the streets were liable to be flooded in rain. It stretched along the southern shore of the gulf, not far from its eastern extremity. On the west a hill which overhangs the sea was enclosed within its walls; and on the south a still loftier elevation called Pagos, 'the hill,'* 460 ft. high, served as its acropolis, and afforded a strong line of defence for the walls of Lysimachus. The modern city stretches beyond the ancient walls on the east side, but leaves out part of the ancient city on the west. On the lower ground west from Pagos, about the south-western extremity of the city, was the 'Ephesian Gate,' whence issued the ancient road to Metropolis, Ephesus, and the south generally.

Another gate near the modern station of the Hermus Valley Railway is still called the Black Gate (Kara Kapu). The most splendid street in ancient Smyrna was called the Golden Street; it led perhaps from the temple of Zeus on the hill over the sea to the temple of Cybele on the hillock east from Smyrna called Tepejik (if, as is probable, the temple stood there), issuing from the city probably through Kara Kapu.

There was, in addition to the mooring-ground in the open gulf, an inner harbour nearly land-locked, which was sufficiently commodious for ancient vessels. It was in the heart of the modern city; and the Bazaars now occupy part of its area. In A.D. 1402 the entrance to it was blocked by Tamerlane with a mole, to facilitate his assault on the stronghold of the Rhodian Knights beside the sea. Even before that, it had probably been a good deal neglected in the troubles and the weak government that prevailed for centuries; and afterwards under Turkish rule the harbour became more and more choked up, till in the 18th century it finally disappeared.

Smyrna has suffered much from earthquakes. A severe one occurred in A.D. 180, and great shocks seem often to be felt in the latter part of a century. The last was in 1880.

* Pagos is, indubitably, an ancient name; but the hill appears also to have had the special name Mastusia, alluding to its shape as seen from the sea (though the likeness to a breast is seen to be illusory when one goes round it, or ascends).

There was no specially famous cultus at Smyrna. The 'Mother of Sipylos' was worshipped in a great temple, which probably stood on the already mentioned mound outside the city on the east side; the priestess of the goddess in front of the city (*ἱέρεια Προσπόλεως*) is mentioned in an inscription; and the *Meter Sipylene* is a common type and legend on the coins of Smyrna. But her cultus was common to other cities round Mt. Sipylos, and the Smyrnæan worship did not become famous and important like those of Ephesus, Magnesia, etc. The temple of the Nemeseis, or Fates, and a Hieron of the *Kledones*, in which divination was practised from chance words or phrases or acts, are mentioned; but it seems very probable that those two foundations may have been only a single holy place. According to the legend, the two Nemeseis had appeared to Alexander the Great in a dream, and ordered him to rebuild Smyrna. In Smyrna alone was the ordinary singular conception of Nemesis doubled as a pair of divine figures.

Smyrna was one of the cities claiming to be the birthplace of Homer. The poet is often represented on its coins; and there was a building in or near the city, called the *Homereion*. Tradition connected him with the sacred river, called Meles. The descriptions of the river by Aelius Aristides, and its sacred character, show that it was not any of the varying streams, dry in summer and torrents in the rainy season, which have been identified by different authorities as the Meles (especially the stream on the eastern skirts of the modern city, crossed by Caravan Bridge on the great road leading to the east). The Meles was the unvarying stream rising in the splendid sacred springs called Diana's Bath, more than a mile east from Caravan Bridge, and flowing in a steady uniform stream through a partly artificial channel (as Aristides says) into the gulf. The whole character of the localities, both springs and channel, has been changed by modern engineering operations.

The Church of Smyrna has had an honourable history. The message sent to it among the letters to the seven Churches, Rev 2 and 3, is more uniformly laudatory than those sent to the other Churches; even Philadelphia is hardly praised so highly as Smyrna, and the others are all blamed in varying degrees. But the Smyrnæan Church was apparently kept pure by continual suffering: the Church was poor and oppressed: it was not exposed to the dangers of riches, but was rich spiritually. The Jews of Smyrna are described as bitterly hostile. Few or none of them seem to have adopted Christianity, and they are described as not being really Jews, but merely a synagogue of Satan. This probably means both (1) that the Gentile Church of Smyrna represents the true

stock of Abraham, while the Jews say they are Jews, claiming the name, but losing the reality of Jewish inheritance; and (2) that the Jews in the city had given way to the temptations of luxury and civilization, and degenerated from Jewish purity and religion. It is an interesting point that, in an inscription of the 2nd century (*CIJ* 3148), we find mentioned as one of the classes of the population 'the erstwhile Jews' (*οἱ ποτὲ Ἰουδαῖοι*), an enigmatic phrase which probably means 'those who formerly were the nation of the Jews, but who have lost the legal standing of a separate people and are now merged in the numerous class of resident strangers, sprung from various parts of the empire.'*

In the popular outburst which led to the martyrdom of Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna in A.D. 155,† the Jews are described as playing a prominent part. The ASIARCH Philippus, who was presiding at the games (which therefore must have been those called *Κοιναὶ Ἀσίας*, celebrated by the provincial council called the *Koinon*, and held at the various metropoleis in turn), was very unwilling to authorize the deed, and without his permission it could not have been carried out in the stadium on the occasion of the games; but the popular clamour constrained him. The Jews were active also in fetching and arranging the wood to burn the aged bishop. The view that the Jews of Smyrna are described in the Apocalypse as degenerate from the pure religion of their race seems to be confirmed, when we observe that Polycarp's martyrdom occurred on a Saturday afternoon, and the Jews, who were so active against him, must have appeared in the stadium at games which should have been an abomination to them on the Sabbath day.

It is a noteworthy coincidence, which may be intentional, that the Divine Sender of the message to Smyrna, the city which had been destroyed and after 340 years refounded, calls himself 'the first and the last, which was dead and lived *again*.' The various titles which the Sender of the messages to the Seven Asian cities assumes in each case have sometimes at least an obvious relation to the circumstances of the city to which the message is addressed: that is evidently the case at THYATIRA, and may be in other cases, though we cannot trace the relation. Here, however, it seems very clear. That, of course, is not inconsistent with the equally obvious relation of the title to the immediate circumstances of the Smyrnæan Christians as described in Rev $2^{10.11}$ 'Fear not the thing which thou art about to suffer; behold, assuredly, the devil is about to cast some of you into prison that ye may be tried; and ye shall have tribulation *for a term of* ten days [*i.e.* a time not unlimited, but with an end fixed]. Be thou faithful unto death; and I will give thee the garland of life [*i.e.* the prize which consists in life]. As your city was destroyed, and lived again more glorious than before, so I who died and lived again will give to thee [each individual Christian is singled out and addressed], if thou be true to death, the reward of the true life (*τῆς ζωῆς*).'

On the other hand, it seems highly improbable that there is here intended any 'allusion to the ritual of the pagan mysteries which prevailed in that city' (as is suggested by Rev. J. W. Blakesley in Smith's *DB* iii. p. 1335): 'the story of the violent death and reviviscence of Dionysos' was not specially characteristic of Smyrna, or likely to be specially familiar to the Smyrnæan Christians. It seems quite unnatural that the Divine Sender of the message should be represented in a character designed to recall that of Dionysos.

It is probable that the writer had in his mind the prize of victory (as in the Greek games), when he spoke of the 'garland of life.' It is indeed quite out of keeping with his usual custom to take a metaphor from such a source: he was not, like St. Paul, brought up in Greek surroundings and accustomed to draw his illustrations from the social life of the Greek cities. But that special metaphor had entered so completely into current language that the writer was hardly conscious of its source: he was probably thinking more of St. Paul's garland of righteousness (2 Ti 4^8), St. Peter's garland of glory (1 P 5⁴), and above all St. James's garland of life* (1^{12}), than of the athlete's garland. At the same time it is possible, and even probable, that another pagan usage was also in his mind. The worshipper, while engaged in the service of a deity, wore a garland of the kind sacred to that deity,—myrtle in the service of Aphrodite, ivy in that of Dionysos, wild olive in that of Zeus Olympius (out of which, indeed, developed the victor's garland in the Olympian games), and so on. The meaning then would be: 'Be thou faithful to death, and I will give thee the garland of my service, which is of life.' Yet the idea of *prize* or *reward* seems inseparable from the passage; and it is only through the victor's garland that the *stephanos* acquired that connotation. Probably both ideas are united in this passage. The magistrates of hieratic origin, called *Stephanephoroi*, who were found in Smyrna and the other Asiatic cities generally, are not alluded to in this passage (as has been suggested): such an allusion lends no point to the words.

Again, we notice that, whereas Sardis, the city whose impregnable fortress had twice been captured while its people slept and neglected to watch, is advised to 'be watchful,' Smyrna, the city which boasted of its faithfulness to the Roman alliance, is counselled to 'be faithful [not now to an earthly power, but to God].'

Throughout the messages to the Seven Cities it is evident that the writer knew the circumstances of each city, and alluded to many facts of its present or past life. The references to past history are not gathered from reading and literature. The facts alluded to are of that marked type which would be universally known in each city, and would be appealed to by orators addressing popular assemblies.

The Church in Smyrna is addressed rather as separate from (and persecuted by) the city, than as forming part of the city and characterized by its qualities and sharing in its works (like Sardis and Laodicea). Only the faithfulness and the resurrection of the city are alluded to as proper to the Church. In its separation from and superiority to the society by which it was surrounded lay the glory of the Smyrnæan Church; and life is to be its reward for its faithfulness and its patient endurance. Life is the dominant tone in the letter to Smyrna, death in that to Sardis, weakness and indecision in that to the Phrygian LAODICEA. It is remarkable how later history has confirmed the prophecy and the character ascribed to the Church.

Smyrna had a chequered history during the Turkish wars; and it was the last independent Christian city in the whole of Asia Minor. It was thrice captured by the Seljuk Turks in the end of the 11th and beginning of the 12th cent., but was recovered by the Byzantine government; and the emperor John III. Ducas Vatatzes, who resided frequently at Smyrna or at Nymphaion, rebuilt the castle on Mount Pagos (1221–1254). Early in the 14th cent. it passed into Mohammedan possession, and formed a part of the dominions of Aidin, the lord of Guzel-Hissar, 'the Beautiful Castle' of Tralles; but the Knights of Rhodes seized the lower city, and strengthened the fortifications of the harbour, though the castle on Pagos overhanging the city remained in Turkish hands. Two Osmanli Sultans, Amurath I. and Bayezid, besieged the city and castle of the Knights, but without success. At last in 1402 the hosts of Tamerlane captured the castle; and after he retired the city passed quietly under the power of the Seljuk chiefs of Ayasaluk (Ephesus) and Guzel-Hissar, until they were reduced by Amurath II. under the Osmanli sway.

The last stronghold of Christianity in Asia Minor, Smyrna still is more occidental in character and more solidly flourishing than any other city of Turkey. It is called by the Turks, accordingly, Giaour Ismir, Infidel Smyrna. The

* See Mommsen in *Historische Zeitschr.* xxviii. p. 417. The meaning 'who were once Jews, but have abandoned their religion,' seems quite impossible: renegade Jews would not be called so in an inscription which mentions them in a complimentary way.

† The date, as fixed by Waddington, is nearly, but not absolutely, certain. Harnack considers Waddington's reasoning to be entirely erroneous, but accepts the date on different grounds (*Chronol. der altchristl. Litt.* i. pp. 355, 721).

* Zeller's idea, that St. James imitated this passage of the Apocalypse, seems not acceptable.

Mohammedans number less than a quarter of the population, which totals over 250,000: more than a half is Greek: there are large Jewish and Armenian quarters: colonies from all the chief countries in Europe, from the United States, and from Persia, also are settled there. The views from the sea, and from the summit of Mount Pagos, are among the most exquisite in the whole Mediterranean lands; and the prosperity within the city is, in comparison with all other Turkish towns, plain to the eye. As in the message to the Church, so at the present day, life is the prominent note.

In the early ecclesiastical system Smyrna was a bishopric under the authority, probably, of Ephesus; but, soon after, it was raised to be independent and *autokephalos*. In the later *Notitiæ* it appears as a metropolis, having six bishoprics subject to it — Phocæa, Clazomenæ, Magnesia *ad Sipylum*, Archangelos, Sosandra, and Petra.

LITERATURE.—Though Smyrna has been so frequently visited by European travellers of every kind, very little has been written on its history, and no proper study has ever been made of the literary and monumental evidence on the subject. The account given in Sir Charles Wilson's Handbook to Turkey (Murray) is the best, though necessarily very brief. In the *Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, Ramsay, there are only some inadequate notes, pp. 107–109, 115, 116. An old book in French, by Slaars, on Smyrna, published there, is practically unprocurable. An article by Arist. M. Fontrier, in *Bulletin de Corresp. Hellénique*, xvi. pp. 379–410, on *le Monastère de Lembos* (five miles east of Smyrna and one south of Bunar-Bashi) is by far the best study that has been written on the subject. Numerous picturesque descriptions of the scenery may be found in the books of travellers and tourists.

W. M. RAMSAY.

SNAIL.—Two Heb. words are tr^{d} 'snail' in AV.

1. חֹמֶט *ḥômeṭ*, *σαῦρα*, *lacerta* (Lv 11^{30}). There seems to be no foundation for the AV 'snail.' Other ancient VSS besides the LXX and Vulg. understand the word as referring generically to the lizard. It is in a list of those animals, and prob. one of them. RV tr. it by **'sand-lizard,'** which is *Lacerta agilis*, L., a species of wide distribution. This rendering, however, is a mere surmise.

2. שַׁבְּלוּל *shabbĕlūl*, *κηρός*, *cera* (Ps 58^{8}). The Heb. is Shaph. form from the root בָּלַל *bālal*, similar to the Arab. *balla*, 'to moisten.' The rendering 'wax,' of the LXX and Vulg., is amplified by the expressions *ἔπεσε πῦρ*, *supercecidit ignis* (from a confusion of נָפַל אֵשׁ with נָפַל אֵשֶׁת). Nevertheless, the modern VSS are unanimous in the rendering 'snail.' The allusion to 'melting away' is explained in two ways: (*a*) that a snail, in moving from one place to another, leaves a slimy track, which was popularly referred to the dissolution of its body. The Arab. popular name for the snail, *bizzâḳ*, 'the spitter,' is derived from this characteristic; (*b*) Tristram explains it by the fact that, in the dry season, snails attach themselves to rocks, trees, shrubs, or the soil, if possible in a moist situation, or at least one sheltered from the direct rays of the sun. If, however, a snail be long exposed to the sun, it will be dried up in its shell. Tristram thinks that this explains the metaphor of the text.

A large number of species of land and fresh-water snails are found in Palestine and Syria. They emerge from their hiding-places after the early rains, and are collected by the natives, and boiled and eaten with great relish.

G. E. POST.

SNOW (שֶׁלֶג; Aram. תֶּלֶג [Dn 7^{9}]; Gr. *χιών*) * is mentioned in Scripture with a degree of infrequency corresponding to the rarity of its appearance in Palestine proper. Of an actual fall of snow we read only twice in the biblical narrative—in 2 S 23^{20} =1 Ch 11^{22}, where Benaiah, one of David's mighty men, is described as going down and slaying a lion in a cistern on a snowy day; and in 1 Mac 13^{22}, where the horsemen of Tryphon, the usurper king of Syria, were prevented from attacking Simon at Adora (or Adoraim) by reason of 'a very great snow' which fell in the night.

Snow is unknown on the seaboard of Philistia, Sharon, and Phœnicia, and seldom whitens the ground inland below an elevation of 2000 feet. In the Ghôr and the plain of Jericho it never falls. South of Hebron it is rare. Along the summits of the central ridge of Palestine and on the high tableland east of the Jordan snow falls nearly every winter.

The snowfall at Jerusalem, which is 2500 ft. above sea level, may be taken as typical of the whole central ridge. A table is given by Dr. Chaplin in the *PEFSt* (vol. for 1883, p. 32), covering the winters from 1860–1861 to 1881–1882. Out of the twenty-two seasons to which his report refers there were eight when no snow fell, four of these being consecutive (1863, 1864, 1865, 1866). It is not wonderful that in 1864–1865 (see JERUSALEM, vol. ii. pp. 585, 586) the water supply from the chief springs entirely failed. From Dr. Chaplin's table we learn that the last few days of December, the months of January and February, and the first fortnight of March make the period within which the snow falls in and around Jerusalem. In 1870 there was a fall of nearly two inches on April 7th and 8th, but this was a very remarkable and extraordinary occurrence. 'For the most part,' says Dr. Chaplin, 'the snow is in small quantity and soon melts, but heavy snow-storms sometimes occur, and the snow may then remain unmelted in the hollows on the hillsides for two or three weeks. The deepest snowfall was in Dec. 28 and 29, 1879, when it measured 17 inches where there was no drift. In Feb. 1874 it was 8½ inches deep, and on March 14, 5 inches.' Sir J. W. Dawson (*Egypt and Syria*, p. 113) reports that at the Jaffa Gate in Jan. 1884 there were snowdrifts 5 ft. deep. Wallace (*Jerusalem the Holy*, p. 252) mentions that three heavy falls of snow occurred during Jan. and Feb. 1898, when the weather was exceptionally cold, and much suffering was endured by the people.

Galilee, with a general elevation of 2000 to 2500 ft., is less liable to snowfalls. But sometimes these are heavy. In March 1884 a party riding through N. Galilee was overtaken by a snowstorm which covered the ground to the depth of several inches. It lay during the night, and when the members of the party set out next day after a comfortless encampment the snow still lay white over the landscape, and its glare was almost blinding as the sun poured down his rays in a blaze that threatened sunstroke.

The snow of Lebanon was proverbial (Jer 18^{14}, Ca 4^{15}). It is 'the *white* mountain,' probably because the snow never fails altogether from its summits (for another explanation of the name see LEBANON, *ad init.*). On the highest cultivated lands the snow covers up the wheat sown by the peasantry and protects it from the cold in winter. The lofty dome of Hermon is white all the winter, and through the summer broad patches and long streaks of snow are to be seen upon its widely-extended mass.

Snow is an emblem of refreshment in Scripture. It may be the glowing aspect of the distant mountain tops that is in the mind of the psalmist when, speaking of the scattering of Jehovah's enemies and the consequent elation of the people, he says, 'Then fell snow on Zalmon' (Ps 68^{14}; see Delitzsch, *in loc.*). Lebanon and Hermon with their snowy sides have a delightfully refreshing aspect as the inhabitants of the sultry lowlands look up to them from afar. 'The cold of snow in the time of harvest' (Pr 25^{13}) may refer to the sight of snow upon the mountain, but more likely to the snow which is preserved and stored to make cooling drinks in the heat of summer. Just as snow from Lebanon and Hermon was carried as a luxury in Jewish times to Tyre and Sidon and Tiberias, so it is to-day used in Beyrout and Damascus for mixing with beverages. 'Water like snow' is still the beverage most grateful to the fellahîn or to the thirsty traveller. Snow-water is mentioned for its cleansing properties (Job 9^{30}; but the text is doubtful, see Dav. *ad loc.*); and the rapidity with which

* The verb שָׁלַג occurs in Ps 68^{14} and is tr. in LXX by *χιονοῦσθαι*. שָׁלֶג is tr. by *δρόσος* in Pr 26^{1}, and in Pr 31^{21} *χρονίζη* appears to be a corruption of *χιονίζη*.

the snow disappears in the heat of the sun is noticed by the sacred writers (Job 6^{16} 24^{19}). Snow by reason of its rarity and beauty is one of the wonders of God's power (Job 37^{6}, Ps 147^{16}); the hail and the snow are conceived to be stored in the heavens for use by God in the productiveness of nature (Is 55^{10}), and in the accomplishment of moral ends (Job $38^{22.\ 23}$; cf. Jos 10^{11} and 1 Mac 13^{22}). To be prepared against its coming, seeing that it keeps its season so precisely, is one of the virtues of the ideal woman (Pr 31^{21} 26^{1}). Snow is taken to express whiteness in the realm of nature—the whiteness of wool, hoary hairs, leprosy, milk (Rev 1^{14}, cf. Dn 7^{9}, Ex 4^{6}, Nu 12^{10}, 2 K 5^{27}, La 4^{7}). Snow is the chosen Scripture emblem of stainless moral purity. We are perhaps not at liberty to say it is used of the transfigured Christ (Mk 9^{3}), because the best MSS omit ὡς χιών. But it is taken to describe the purity of the Nazirites of Zion (La 4^{7}), of the Ancient of Days (Dn 7^{9}), of the Angel of the Resurrection (Mt 28^{3}), of the Risen Lord (Rev 1^{14}). As against the defilement and condemnation and persistence of sin, it describes the righteousness, forgiveness, and complete acceptance of the penitent believer (Ps 51^{7}, Is 1^{18}).

LITERATURE.—Mackie, *Bible Manners and Customs*, v. p. 8; Conder, *Handbook to the Bible*, p. 221; G. A. Smith, *HGHL* p. 64 f., *PEFSt*, 1883, p. 32.

T. NICOL.

SNUFFERS, SNUFFDISH.—In three passages of the Priests' Code mention is made of two utensils connected with the golden candlestick, named respectively מַלְקָחַיִם *melḳāḥáyim*, and מַחְתֹּת *maḥtôth*, and rendered by AV in Ex 37^{23} 'snuffers' and 'snuffdishes,' in 25^{38} Nu 4^{9} 'tongs' and 'snuffdishes' (so RV also in Ex *l.c.*).* The *maḥtôth* bear the same name, and were probably of the same shape, as the censers or fire-pans (so Tindale, 1530, 'snuffers and fyrepanns'). In them were deposited and removed from the sanctuary the burnt portions of the wicks (see CENSER and TABERNACLE, section on the Candlestick). The *melḳāḥáyim*, as the etymology and the dual form show, was clearly a snuffers (Vulg. *emunctoria, forcipes*, LXX, Ex 38^{17}, Nu 4^{9} λαβίδες),† resembling in shape a pair of tongs, like the Roman *forceps* (illustrs. in Smith, *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Ant.*[3] i. 872), since the same word is used of the tongs with which, in Isaiah's vision, the live coal was lifted from the altar-hearth (Is 6^{6}). It was used to trim and adjust the wicks of the lamps, like the *acus* (the pin for pushing up the wick) which figures in representations of Roman lamps. In later times we hear of a wool or flax comb, reduced to a single tooth, being used for this purpose (Mishna, *Kelim* xiii. 8 end). The same instrument (*melḳāḥáyim*) is mentioned (1 K 7^{49}) in connexion with the lamps of Solomon's temple, in a late addition to 1 K 7 (for 7^{48-50} see KINGS, vol. ii. p. 864[a], the commentaries of Kittel and Benzinger, and esp. Stade's essay cited there), and its parallel 2 Ch 4^{21}, in both passages tr[d] 'tongs' in AV and RV.

It will thus be seen that in RV 'tongs' is now the uniform rendering of *melḳāḥáyim* in all the passages where it occurs, 'snuffers' being reserved for another word מְזַמְּרוֹת *mĕzammĕrôth* (from זָמַר to prune, trim), also mentioned among the temple furniture (1 K 7^{50}=2 Ch 4^{22}, 2 K 12^{13} [MT 14], 25^{14}= Jer 52^{18}). This, as the etymology again shows, also denotes some species of scissors or snuffers for trimming the lamp-wicks. From a survey of the passages cited in this art. it would appear that *mĕzammĕrôth* is the older term of the two, *melḳāḥáyim* being found first in P, and in the later additions influenced by it, in which indeed both terms occur side by side. In all these, further, the material is given as gold, and even 'perfect gold' (2 Ch 4^{21}), while in the older and historical sources the material is bronze (cf. 1 K 7^{45}).

A. R. S. KENNEDY.

SO (king of Egypt [*Miṣraim*]; סוֹא מֶלֶךְ מִצְרַיִם, LXX Σηγώρ, Vulg. *Sua*).—According to 2 K 17^{4} (AV and RV), Shalmaneser, 'king of Assyria, found conspiracy in Hoshea (king of Israel); for he had sent messengers to So, king of Egypt, and offered no present to the king of Assyria.' This was the cause of the invasion that ended in the captivity of Israel. Kings of the Ethiopian dynasty (25th) were reigning at this time in Egypt, and it has been supposed that one of these, either Shabaka or Shabataka, was intended by 'So.'

From cuneiform sources, however, we learn that there was at this time a certain Pir'u, king of Muṣri, and that in B.C. 720, shortly after the fall of Samaria in 722, Sib'i, *tartan* (commander-in-chief) of Muṣri, was sent by him to the help of Hanno, king of Gaza, against Sargon. It was formerly thought that 'Pir'u, king of Muṣri,' must be 'Pharaoh, king of Egypt,' Muṣri corresponding in general to the Hebrew Miẓraim; but Winckler has recently shown that this Muṣri must be distinct from Egypt, and belong rather to North Arabia, in the country of the Nabatæans. He finds the same Muṣri also in the Bible under the name Miẓraim, and identifies the biblical 'So, king of Egypt' (Miẓraim) with Sib'i, the *tartan* of the North Arabian Muṣri, proposing to read סבא *sb'* for סוא *sw'* (So) (see his art. 'Pir'u, king of Muṣri,' in *Mittheil. d. vorderas. Gesellsch.* 1898, 5).

The identification of So with Shabaka or Shabataka seems impossible. Shishaḳ of the 22nd dynasty, who invaded Judah and Israel in the reign of Jeroboam, is indeed entitled in the Bible מֶלֶךְ מִצְרַיִם 'king of Miẓraim,' as were the later 'Pharaohs,' Necho and Hophra. But the position of the somewhat obscure 25th dynasty with regard to the throne of Egypt was peculiar. Tirhaka, who was the last important king of Shabaka's dynasty, is entitled מֶלֶךְ כּוּשׁ 'king of Cush (Ethiopia)' in 2 K 19^{9}, and in the cuneiform 'king of Cusi'; we might expect, therefore, to find the other kings of that dynasty bearing the same title 'king of Cush,' rather than 'king of Egypt,' if referred to in any Hebrew or Assyrian record. This is a slight additional argument in favour of Winckler's theory. To the Egyptians themselves every king of Egypt in these later times, whether the Persian Darius, the Macedonian Alexander, the Roman Augustus, or the Ethiopian Tirhaka, was known as the 'Pharaoh,' and this is the title which they all bore in Egyptian legal documents. To the rest of the world Shabaka, the Ethiopian conqueror of Egypt and the founder of the 25th dynasty, presumably would be known as 'king of Ethiopia.'

F. LL. GRIFFITH.

SOAP, SOPE (בֹּר, בְּרִית; πόλα) is a general name for the class of substances obtained by decomposing fats or oils by an alkali such as soda or potash. Fats and oils are compounds of certain 'fatty acids' with glycerine, and in the process of 'saponification' the alkali combines with the acid to form a soap, while the glycerine is set free. Soaps dissolve readily in water, imparting to it a peculiar slippery or greasy feeling, forming a lather easily, and adding greatly to its cleansing powers.

According to Pliny (*HN* xxviii. 51), soap was an invention of the Gauls, who prepared it from tallow and ashes. They had two kinds of it, the hard and the liquid. Soap-making is the chief industry of modern Palestine. It is carried on in Jaffa, Nâblus, Jerusalem, and elsewhere, and the

* The American Revisers, however, prefer 'snuffers' in all three passages.

† But Ex 25^{38} and elsewhere ἐπαρυστήρ and ἐπαρυστρίς, a funnel or other appliance for feeding the lamps with oil.

product is exported along the coast, and even to Egypt and Asia Minor. Olive oil is used, and the poorer qualities of it especially are turned to account in this way. The alkali employed is potash, and is locally known as *kŭly*. It is obtained by burning certain saliferous desert plants, the chief of which is *Salsola kali*. This alkali resembles cakes of coarse salt, and contains many impurities, and these accumulate to form great rubbish heaps in the places where soap is made. The potash obtained from the ashes is in the form of a carbonate. This is dissolved in water, and made caustic by treatment with lime. The solution or 'lye' is then boiled, the refuse from the oil-press being used as fuel. Olive oil is added, and after repeated boilings and additions of oil the solution is allowed to cool, when the soap sets in a solid mass.

'Soap' (AV 'sope') appears twice in EV (Jer 2^{22}, Mal 3^{2}). In each case it is the translation of בֹּרִית, a word connected with the root בָּרַר 'to cleanse.' The previous clause in Jer 2^{22} refers to נֶתֶר or mineral alkali (see NITRE). LXX translates בֹּרִית in both places by *πολία* ('grass'). These facts suggest that vegetable alkali is to be understood rather than soap in the strict sense. The carbonate of potash contained in the ashes of plants has detergent properties similar to those of washing-soda.

Another word, בֹּר, from the same root, usually rendered 'cleanness,' is tr. 'lye' in RVm in Job 9^{30}, Is 1^{25}, on the supposition that it means the same thing as בֹּרִית, vegetable alkali or a solution of it.

LITERATURE.—Thomson, *Land and Book*, i. 130; Warren, *Underground Jerusalem*, 500 ff.; *SWP*, Flora, 398.

JAMES PATRICK.

SOBER, SOBRIETY.—Both 'sober' and 'temperate' are used in AV in the narrower meaning of 'not drunk' or 'not drunken,' and in the wider meaning of 'moderate,' 'reasonable.' The earliest sense of 'sober' is 'not drunken' (from Fr. *sobre*, Lat. *sobrius*, i.e. *se-ebrius*), and that is now its only meaning; but it early adopted the wider signification, as Piers Plowman, B. xiv. 53—

> 'Be sobre of syghte and of tonge,
> In etynge and in handlynge and in alle thi fyne wittis.'

For an example of sober = not drunk, take Tindale's tr. of Nu 6^{18} 'And the absteyner shall shave his heed in the door of the tabernacle of witnesse, and shall take the heer of his sober heed and put it in the fyre which is under the pease offerynge.' Soberly (Wis 9^{11}, Ro 12^{3}, Tit 2^{12}), soberness (Ac 26^{25}), and sobriety (1 Ti $2^{9.\ 15}$) are all used in both senses. Cf. Tindale, *Pent.* (Prologe), 'Behold how soberly and how circumspectly both Abraham and also Isaac behave them selves amonge the infideles'; Tindale, *Expos.* 127, 'With their fast they destroy the fast which God commandeth, that is, a perpetual soberness to tame the flesh'; Ac 26^{26} Rhem. 'I speake wordes of veritie and sobrietie'; Ro 12^{3} Rhem. 'For I say by the grace that is given me, to al that are among you not to be more wise than behoveth to be wise, but to be wise unto sobrietie.'

The words rendered 'sober,' etc., or 'temperate,' etc., in AV and RV, are the following :—

1. (*a*) *νήφω*, 1 Th $5^{6.\ 8}$, 2 Ti 4^{5}, 1 P 1^{13} 4^{7} 5^{8} (all 'be sober' in AV except 2 Ti 4^{5} 'watch'; in RV all 'be sober'). In every case the Greek word has the wider meaning of 'moderate.'
   (*b*) *νηφάλιος*, 1 Ti 3^{2} (AV 'vigilant'), 3^{11} (AV 'sober'), Tit 2^{2} (AV 'sober'; all 'temperate' in RV). In all these cases the meaning of the Greek is 'not drunken.'
2. (*a*) *σώφρων*, 1 Ti 3^{2} (AV 'sober'), Tit 1^{8} (AV 'sober'), 2^{2} (AV 'temperate'), 2^{5} (AV 'discreet'; all 'sober-minded' in RV).
   (*b*) *σωφρονως*, Tit 2^{12} (AV and RV 'soberly').
   (*c*) *σωφρονέω*, Mk 5^{15} = Lk 8^{35} (AV and RV 'in his right mind'), Ro 12^{3} (*φρονεῖν εἰς τὸ σωφρονεῖν*, AV and RV 'to think soberly'), 2 Co 5^{13} (AV 'be sober'), Tit 2^{6} (AV 'be sober-minded'), 1 P 4^{7} (AV 'be sober'; RV in last three 'be of sober mind').
   (*d*) *σωφροσύνη*, Ac 26^{25} (AV and RV 'soberness'), 1 Ti $2^{9.\ 15}$ (AV and RV 'sobriety').
3. (*a*) *ἐγκράτεια*, Ac 24^{25}, Gal 5^{23}, 2 P 1^{6} *bis* (AV and RV always 'temperance,' RVm always 'self-control').
   (*b*) *ἐγκρατής*, Tit 1^{8} (AV and RV 'temperate').
   (*c*) *ἐγκρατεύομαι*, 1 Co 7^{9} (AV 'contain,' RV 'have continency'), 9^{25} (AV and RV 'be temperate').

It thus appears that in RV 'sober,' 'sober-minded,' etc., represent *σώφρων* and its derivatives, as well as *νήφω*; 'temperate' is the tr. of *νηφάλιος* and of the derivatives of *ἐγκράτεια*; while for *ἐγ.* itself 'temperance' is retained from AV, with the marg. 'self-control.'

For the difference between *ἐγκρατής* and *σώφρων* see Page on Ac 24^{25}.

J. HASTINGS.

SOCO, SOCOH (שׂוֹכוֹ, שׂוֹכָה 'branches'; *Soccho*, *Socho*). — The form of the name varies in the LXX (see below), and quite needlessly in AV. RV has *Socoh* everywhere except in 1 Ch 4^{18} and 2 Ch 28^{18}, where it has *Soco*.

1. A town in the lowland of Judah, mentioned with Adullam and Azekah (Jos 15^{35} B Σαωχώ, A Σωχώ). The Philistines, before the battle in which Goliath was slain, assembled at Socoh, and camped between Socoh and Azekah, at Ephes-dammim (1 S 17^{1}; Jos. *Ant.* VI. ix. 1). It was in the district of Ben-hesed, one of Solomon's commissariat officers (1 K 4^{10}); and was fortified by Rehoboam (2 Ch 11^{7}; *Ant.* VIII. x. 1). In the reign of Ahaz it was taken by the Philistines (2 Ch 28^{18}).

Eusebius and Jerome (*Onom.*) mention two villages—one in the mountain, the other in the plain, or an upper and lower Socoh—which were 9 Roman miles from Eleutheropolis, on the road to Jerusalem, and were called Socchoth (Σοκχώθ). Socoh was passed by St. Paula on her way from Jerusalem to Eleutheropolis (Horræi, *Ep. Paul.* xviii.). This place is now *Khurbet Shuweikeh* (a diminutive of *Shaukeh*, the Arabic form of Shoco), on the left bank of *Wâdy es-Sunṭ*, 'the Valley of Elah.' The position, strong by nature, was of strategical importance, for it commanded one of the great highways from the coast to the hill-country of Judah. Beneath *Shuweikeh*, the *Wâdy es-Sunṭ* makes a great bend, and runs westward instead of from south to north. And here, at the foot of the highland district, the roads from Jerusalem and Hebron unite, before running onwards down the valley to the plains of Philistia. The important part played by Socoh in the wars between the Jews and the Philistines is clearly indicated in the Bible narrative (Rob. *BRP*^{2} ii. 21; *PEF Mem.* iii. 125; Guérin, *Judée*, i. 201, 332).

2. A town in the hill-country of Judah, named with Jattir, Dannah, and Debir (Jos 15^{48} B Σωχά, A Σωχώ). The Soco of 1 Ch 4^{18} is apparently the same place. It is now *Khurbet Shuweikeh*, to the S.W. of Hebron, and near Eshtemoa. There are some insignificant remains (Rob. *BRP*^{2} i. 494; *PEF Mem.* iii. 410).

At Socoh, according to the Talmud, was born Antigonus,—the first Jew known to have taken a Greek name,—who was noted as the disciple of Simon the Just, and the master of Sadok, the reputed founder of the Sadducees. It is not, however, known of which of the two Socohs he was a native (Neubauer. *Géog. du Talmud*, p. 121).

C. W. WILSON.

SOD, SODDEN.—See SEETHE.

SODI (סוֹדִי, perh. = סוֹדִיָה 'intimacy of Jah').—The father of the Zebulunite spy, Nu 13^{10} (B Σουδεί, A Σουδί).

SODOM (סְדֹם, Σόδομα).—One of the five 'cities of the Plain' in the time of Abraham and Lot, destroyed by fire from heaven (Gn 19^{24}) for the wickedness of the inhabitants.* Its position, in

* The five cities were Sodom, Gomorrah, Admah, Zeboim, and Zoar (Gn 14^{2}, Dt 29^{23}). That the language of St. Jude is not

the opinion of the present writer, was on the Arabah north of the Dead Sea not far from GOMORRAH (which see). Weighty authorities, however, can be cited in favour of a site at the S. end of the Sea (Dillm. *Genesis*, 111 f.; Robinson, *BRP*[2] ii. 187 ff.; G. A. Smith, *HGHL* 505 ff.; Blanckenhorn, *ZDPV* xix. (1896) 53 ff.; Baedeker-Socin, *Pal.* 3, 146; Buhl, *GAP* 117, 271, 274; see also art. ZOAR). The wickedness of the Sodomites appears to have been so heinous and debasing as to have become proverbial (Gn 13[13] 18[20], La 4[6], Is 3[9], cf. 2 P 2[6], Jude[7]). The term 'Sodomite' (קָדֵשׁ) is used in Scripture to describe offences against the laws of nature which were frequently connected with idolatrous practices (cf. Dt 23[17], 1 K 14[24] 15[12], 2 K 23[7]; see art. SODOMITE). The fate of Sodom and Gomorrah is referred to by our Lord as a warning to those who reject the offer of the gospel (Mt 10[15]; cf. Jude[7], 2 P 2[6]). A spiritual or typical meaning is applied to the word in Revelation (11[8]).

E. HULL.

SODOM, VINE OF.—See VINE.

SODOMITE (קָדֵשׁ, lit. 'sacred'; fem. קְדֵשָׁה, inadequately tr. by EV 'harlot,' see note in RVm at Gn 38[21]).—The Eng. word is derived from SODOM [in 2 Es 7[36] 'Sodomites' of AV is used in lit. sense for 'people of Sodom' (so RV)], where unnatural offences prevailed. But the Heb. *ḳādēsh* and *ḳĕdēshāh* have in view not ordinary immorality but *religious prostitution, i.e.* 'immorality practised in the worship of a deity and in the immediate precincts of a temple' (Driver, *Deut.* 264, where see references to authorities for the widespread existence of this practice). Such ἱερόδουλοι of either sex were not tolerated in Israel by the Deuteronomic law (Dt 23[18. 19 (17. 18)]). The *ḳĕdēshîm* are said to have been banished from Judah by Asa (1 K 15[12]). References to them are found also in 1 K 14[24] 22[47 (46)], 2 K 23[7], Job 36[14], while we meet with *ḳĕdēshôth* in Gn 38[21f.] and Hos 4[14].

J. A. SELBIE.

SODOMITISH SEA, THE (*mare Sodomiticum*), 2 Es 5[7].—A name for the Dead Sea. One of the signs of the times to come there given is that 'the Sodom sea shall cast out fish (cf. Ezk 47[9] for the belief that fish could not live in its waters), and make a noise in the night which many have not known.' This is the only passage in the Bible or the Apocr. which directly connects the lake with the Cities of the Plain; and even here the name may be derived from the closeness of Sodom to the lake, and not from the incorrect theory of that city having been submerged by the Dead Sea.

H. ST. J. THACKERAY.

SOJOURNER.—See GER.

SOLEMN, SOLEMNITY.—Derived through Old Fr. *solempne* from Lat. *sollemnis* (from *sollus*, entire, and *annus*, a year), 'solemn' means properly that which occurs annually, and is thence applied to any stated or regular occurrence. Thus Mt 27[15] Wyc. 'But for a solempne day (Rhem. 'upon the solemne day') the justise was wonte to delyvere to the puple oon bounden'; Lk 2[41] Wyc. 'And his fadir and modir wenten eche yeer into Ierusalem, in the solempne daie of pask' (Rhem. 'at the solemne day of Pasche'). And then, as that which was stated, especially when public, was frequently grand or ceremonious, 'solemn' assumes this meaning; thus Shaks. *Tit. Andron.* II. i. 112, 'A solemn hunting is in hand'; *Macbeth*, III. i. 14, 'To-night we hold a solemn supper, sir.' Such an occasion might be merry or sad, according to its nature; whence Chaucer, *Prologue*, 209—

> 'A Frere ther was, a wantoun and a merye,
> A limitour, a ful solempne man.'

Chaucer uses the word simply in the sense of 'public' in *Persones Tale*, 105, 'The spyces of Penitence been three. That oon of hem is solempne, another is commune, and the thridde is privee.'

These examples illustrate the use of the word in AV. In all its numerous occurrences it signifies 'stated' or 'public,' having no Heb. word corresponding to itself, but being used along with *assembly* or *meeting* for עֲצֶרָה or עֲצֶרֶת (see Driver on Am 5[21]); with *feast* or *day* sometimes (as Nu 10[10], La 1[4], Hos 2[11]) for מוֹעֵד* (prop. *stated time*, then used esp. of *stated sacred seasons* [see Lv 23[2] RVm 'appointed seasons']) 'solemn feast'; also thrice in AV (Nah 1[15], Mal 2[3], Ps 81[3]) for חָג, and (with *keep*) for חָגַג Dt 6[13] [RV omits 'solemn,' harmonizing with Lv 23[39]].† It is easy to understand how the modern sense of 'serious,' 'grave,' or 'gloomy' arose, but in AV that sense is never present.

The expression 'with a solemn sound' occurs in Ps 92[3] ('Upon the harp with a solemn sound'), on which de Witt remarks, 'Heb. *higgāyōn*, from the verb *hāgāh*, which is imitative of any low, suppressed sound, and especially applicable to the soft trill of the harp. The English Bible has the rendering "solemn sound," which does not at all represent the meaning of the word.' Not now, for the next verse says, 'For thou, LORD, hast made me glad'; but 'solemn' once expressed gladness as readily as gravity. Elyot (*Governour*, i. 41) speaks of the theatre as 'an open place where al the people of Rome behelde solemne actis and playes.'

In accordance with the meaning of 'solemn,' **solemnity** always means a sacred or ceremonious occasion. It is the tr. of *ḥāg*, a feast, in Is 30[29] ('in the night when a holy solemnity [RV 'a holy feast'] is kept'); and of *mô'ēd*, a (sacred) season, in Dt 31[10] (RV 'set time'), Is 33[20] (RV 'solemnity,' RVm 'set feast'), Ezk 45[17] (RV 'appointed feast'), 46[11] (RV 'solemnity,' RVm 'appointed feast'). The word also occurs in Sir 50[19] 'the s. of the Lord' (*κόσμος Κυρίου*, RV 'worship of the Lord,' RVm '*Gr.* adornment'); and 2 Mac 15[36] 'in no case to let that day pass without s.' (*ἀπαρασήμαντον*, RV 'undistinguished'). Cf. Shaks. *Mids. Night's Dream*, v. i. 376—

> 'A fortnight hold we this solemnity,
> In nightly revels and new jollity.'

And so also **solemnly** means sacredly or ceremoniously, Gn 43[3] 'The man did solemnly protest unto us' (AVm '*Heb.* protesting he did protest'); 1 S 8[9] 'Howbeit yet protest solemnly unto them'; 2 Mac 14[4] 'of the boughs which were used solemnly in the temple' (*τῶν νομιζομένων θαλλῶν τοῦ ἱεροῦ*). Cf. Fuller, *Holy War*, 338, 'His [the prince's] clothes are such as may beseem his Greatnesse, especially when he solemnly appears, or presents himself to forrein Embassadours.'

J. HASTINGS.

SOLOMON (שְׁלֹמֹה; BA Σαλωμών, Luc. Σολομών and Σαλομών, NT and Josephus Σολομών).—The third king of Israel, a son of David and Bathsheba.

1. *The Name.*—Another name **Jedidiah** (יְדִידְיָה 'beloved of Jah'; B 'Ιδεδεί, A Ειεδεδιά, Luc. 'Ιεδδιδιά) was given him by the prophet Nathan as a pledge that the Lord would be specially gracious to him, and that his father was restored to the Divine favour. As that name, however, occurs only once (2 S 12[25]), we may infer that it never came into common use. Not improbably it may have been deemed too sacred for such use. The name *Jedidiah* has the same root as *David*, viz. דוד 'a primitive caressing word.'‡ Wellhausen and others conform the Heb. text of 2 S 12[25] to the Vulg. and represent David as the originator of the name. The hypothesis is unlikely considering the difference of the relations of David and Nathan to J" at

overstrained in describing the habits of the Gentile inhabitants of Eastern countries will be clear from the account given by Prof. Rawlinson of the character of even the highly civilized Phœnicians of Tyre and Sidon: *History of Phœnicia.*

* מוֹעֵד once also of *solemn assembly.*

† On the distinction of חָג and מוֹעֵד see vol. i. p. 860[a].

‡ See *Oxf. Heb. Lex. s.v.*

the time when the name was given, and that the name was a sacred one and the vehicle of a Divine message. Cheyne (art. 'Jedidiah' in *Enc. Bibl.*) not only alters the text but makes for it a new context, and so arrives at the original and remarkable result that Jedidiah was David's first son by Bathsheba, and that he called his second son by her not *Shĕlōmōh*, but '*Shillūmō* (שִׁלֻּמוֹ, *i.e.* 'his compensation') because of Jedidiah.' According to that finding, Solomon was never called Jedidiah. Nor was he entitled to the name of Solomon. His real name was Shillumo, although no Hebrew king is known to have borne that name. It is difficult to see where, on the hypothesis of Cheyne, the consolation of David could come in. Nor is it probable that any Hebrew king would call his son by the name Shillumo. *Shillūmah* is only used in the OT once (Ps 91[8]), and it is in the sense not of *compensation* but of *retribution*, the reward of the wicked (so *shillūm* in Hos 9[7], Is 34[8]). *Shillūm* and *shalmōnīm* are also each used once (Mic 7[3], Is 1[23]) of 'rewards' in the sense of *bribes*.

According to one reading of 2 S 12[24], it was Bathsheba that gave her son the name of Solomon. She may have done so. In the OT more instances are mentioned of the names of children being given by their mother than by their father. In a number of cases the names are said to have been given by both parents, and that may have been so as regards Solomon, although the evidence for David's participation in the act is positive, and that for Bathsheba's only problematical. According to one account of David's naming of Solomon, he is represented as having acted under the belief that God had expressly directed him to give the child the name he did. The Chronicler (1 Ch 22[9]) describes him as telling his successor that he had himself proposed to build a temple to J″, but that the word of J″ had forbidden him because of the blood he had shed, while promising him that the work would be accomplished by a son who would bear the name of Solomon, and have a reign of peace and quietness. Whether that statement be historically accurate or not cannot be decided by the merely historical evidence in our possession. There is, however, no internal impossibility in the account of the state of mind ascribed to David. On the contrary, that is psychologically quite natural. The name *Shĕlōmōh* (Solomon) means 'peaceful,' 'pacific,' like the Gr. *Irenæus* and Ger. *Friedrich*. And when Solomon was born, David was a man whose strength had been exhausted in warfare, and who was keenly sensible of the blessings of peace both for a king and a kingdom. Hence it was altogether natural that at that period of time he should have given the name Solomon to a son on whom he placed high expectations and for whom he desired a happier life than his own, and very conceivable even that he may have felt that God directed him to name his child as he did. The name was certainly one which indicated well a prominent and distinctive feature of both the character and reign of Solomon. Although he ruled as an absolute monarch, allowed no rivals, and did not hesitate to crush dangerous adversaries, he was not naturally cruel, and had no taste for war. He was a man of peace—the most peace-loving, perhaps, of the Hebrew kings; and under his sway there was for about forty years in Palestine, not absolute peace indeed, either as regards contentment within or cessation of hostility from without, but such peace as the Hebrew nation had never known before or was ever to know again.

2. *The Sources.*—The chief sources of information regarding the life and reign of Solomon are contained in the books of Kings and Chronicles. The narrative in Kings (1 K 1–11[43]) is closely connected with a section of the books of Samuel (2 S 11–20). The latter is also a continuous narrative. It leads steadily up to the story in Kings, and shows in a graphic and picturesque way what obstacles blocked the way of Solomon's accession to the throne, and how unlikely it was that he would have reached it had J″ not specially loved and favoured him. Along with the narrative in Kings it forms a whole in which there is both unity of plan and similarity of style. Both of our oldest sources are far from being contemporary documents. The record in Kings is historically much the more valuable; but the compilation even of Kings cannot have been completed until about 400 years after the death of Solomon. The compilation of Chronicles was not completed until at least three centuries later.

The author of the account in Chron. made use of the account in Kings, and added to it only little information of a strictly historical character. The author of the account in Kings refers (1 K 11[41]) to an older account 'the book of the annals of Solomon.' The author of the account in Chron. refers (2 Ch 9[29]) to (*a*) 'the words of Nathan the prophet,' (*b*) 'the prophecy of Ahijah the Shilonite,' and (*c*) 'the vision of Iddo the seer.' See artt. KINGS and CHRONICLES. Through the hands of what authors and editors Kings and Chron. passed before they reached their present form no one knows, and even the process by which they became what they are has been only vaguely ascertained. The loss of older records than those which we possess is all the more to be regretted, as both Kings and Chron. were written largely under the influence of religious motives and with a view to religious edification. Merely to record events and trace their connexions, causes, and course of movement had no interest for the authors of them. What they were chiefly concerned with was how they might make known the hand and voice of God in His dealings with Israel, and with her friends and foes. The authors of the accounts in Samuel, Kings, and Chron. were manifestly men of limited views, men of their time, and much influenced in what they wrote by the feelings and beliefs prevalent in their social medium. They are entitled, however, to be credited with honesty and piety in intention. Their account has its faults. Although they assign a comparatively large space to Solomon, they give us no very precise or vivid description either of his private life or public career, and no distinct view of the order of succession of events in his reign. They may not be wholly to blame for that, nor may it be much to be regretted that they did not succeed better. Seemingly, the character of Solomon was one exceptionally difficult to portray. Saul and David were far more interesting personages, and it is natural that they should have been presented in a far more lifelike manner. Solomon is left by his biographers an imposing but very indistinct figure. Was that, however, not just as it should be? Was not want of reality his great want? If so, could he have been more truly and wisely represented than he was? The accounts given of him in both Kings and Chron. are priestly in tone and tendency, but that in Chron. is much more so than that in Kings. The general view given of the character and reign of Solomon in the latter is far more discriminating than that in the former. While in Kings the glory of Solomon is dwelt on with patriotic pride, the mischievousness of his conduct is also clearly set forth, whereas in Chron. what tends to glorify him is alone dwelt on, and what was unworthy of his reputation, judged of from a Levitical point of view, is either passed over unnoticed or very slightly indicated. There are no traces, however, of conscious dishonesty in the Chronicler, no grounds for holding him to have stated what he did not believe, while it is of great advantage to have two accounts which so far agree and so far differ. The Chronicler assumed certain preconceptions current in his age as to the history of his people to be unquestionably true, and wrote his history in conformity with those preconceptions. That, however, is what all historians do, even the most advanced and critical. History cannot be written without preconceptions, and preconceptions cannot but lead to conclusions which must appear to those who do not accept them falsifications of the historical data. The Chronicler's pride in the glory of Solomon and in the position attained by Israel under him, the exaggerated importance which he assigned to priests and priestly things, his prodigality as regards number, and other peculiarities, are themselves most instructive, because characteristic of him not as an individual merely, but also as a representative of the time and society to which he belonged. His estimate of the conduct of Solomon does not substantially differ from that given in Kings. It amounts to a severe condemnation—one all the more severe coming as it does from a writer so biassed in his favour—of the evil which he had done notwithstanding his vast means and opportunities of doing good.

The fragments of ancient historians quoted by Josephus (*Ant.* VIII. ii. 6), by Eusebius of Cæsarea (*Præp. Ev.* ix. 34), and by Clemens Alex. (*Strom.* i. 386) add little, if anything, to our knowledge of Solomon beyond what is stated in Kings and Chronicles. The narrative of Josephus himself in *Ant.* VIII. i.–viii. depends almost entirely on the Biblical records. Where he deviates from them, he is rarely to be trusted. It is noteworthy that he describes Solomon as a powerful sorcerer. That had already become in his time a generally accepted belief among the Jews, and probably was not confined to them. It is especially as a sorcerer and lord over the elements, animals, *aphreets* and *jinn*, that he is renowned in the East. The Oriental imagination has run riot in the invention of legends regarding him.*

The writings long attributed to Solomon, to be found in the OT or the Apocrypha, cannot in the present state of opinion among Biblical critics as

* Jewish legends of the kind referred to are to be found in the Targum on Eccles. and II. Targ. on Esther. For those in the Koran see suras 21. 27. 28. 37. For the opinions of Jewish Rabbis see Eisenmenger, *Entdeck. Jud.* 351 ff., 440 ff. For Mohammedan stories, Weil, *Bibl. Legenden der Musselmänner*, 225 ff.; Baring Gould, *Legends of OT Characters*, vol. ii. ch. xxxvii. f.; and Lane's *Thousand and One Nights* (Index, *s.* 'Suleiman ibn David'). Hottinger's *Hist. Or.*, Herbelot's *Bibl. Or.* 333, and the historians Abulfeda, Tabari, and Ludolph (*Hist. Eth.*) may also be referred to. M. D. Conway in his *Solomon and Solomonic Literature* (Open Court Pub. Co., Chicago, 1900) deals with the Solomon mythology as a whole in an ingenious but often very arbitrary way. He considers 'the external and historical data insufficient to prove certainly that an individual Solomon ever existed' (p. 1).

to their authorship be assumed to supply materials for his biography. He may have been the author of a few of the Psalms and a number of the Proverbs, but to prove him so and to establish which are his is difficult. The SONG OF SONGS cannot be his, but it has a historical value dependent neither upon its date nor its authorship, but on its testimony to the impression which Solomon's character had left on certain Jewish minds. The WISDOM OF SOLOMON, which professes to have Solomon for author, shows what impression he had left on a very different class of minds at a still later date. As to the relation of ECCLESIASTES to Solomon, see art. in the present work and in *Enc. Biblica*; cf. also Sir 42[13-23]. Considerable sidelight has been cast on the Solomonic age in Israel by archæological and historical investigations, but it has not so much increased our knowledge of Solomon himself as of his buildings, the topography of his capital, the geography of his kingdom, the ethnology and ancient history of it, and the state of the countries with which the Israel of his time was brought into contact,—subjects which cannot be dealt with in this article. Modern criticism of the Biblical sources has dispelled many erroneous views regarding Solomon's life and reign; but it has, of course, not increased, and cannot be expected to increase, that knowledge of positive facts regarding them, which is the great desideratum.

3. *Birth, parentage, and training.*—The account of the birth of Solomon in 2 S 12[24, 25] conveys the impression that he was the second child of David and Bathsheba. The lists of their children in 2 S 5[14], 1 Ch 3[5], and 1 Ch 14[4], on the other hand, seem to imply that he was their fourth child, their youngest son, and that Shammua (or Shimea), Shobab, and Nathan had been previously born to them, as in all those lists his name is mentioned last. No quite satisfactory explanation of the apparent discrepancy has yet been given. The likeliest, perhaps, is that Solomon was mentioned last as being the most important member of the family group, the heir to his father's throne.

Nathan, by his rebuke of David, lost none of his influence with either him or Bathsheba, and continued to be the friend of both. He prophesied good for their child, and strongly supported his cause at the moment when it was most in danger. Owing to that and the vagueness of a phrase in 2 S 12[25], he has very generally been held to have had the charge of Solomon's education. There is, however, no real foundation for the opinion. Scarcely any information is given us regarding Solomon previous to his elevation to the throne. It may safely be inferred from what he was in manhood that his education had not been neglected in youth, and that he must have been very receptive of learning and eager to excel in accomplishments; but there is nothing to indicate that he was trained under any prophet, or that he was in sympathy with anything distinctive of prophetic teaching or prophetic ideals of life. There is no trace of Nathan, or any other prophet, having had any influence over him when king. The prophetic ministry almost disappeared during his reign. What prophets there were in Israel in his day were opposed to his policy. Far more probably he was educated in his father's palace. In various respects the court of David must have been the best school possible for the education of David's successor, while in others one most apt to develop the defects so conspicuous in Solomon's after-life. The atmosphere of a court presided over by David, and agitated by the internal dissensions and conflicting passions to which despotic power and polygamy combined necessarily gave rise, cannot have been favourable to his healthy moral growth. There is no definite information given us as to how far or in what ways he was influenced by his mother; but there can be no reasonable doubt that her influence was considerable. To have retained the hold which she had upon David and the rank which she held among his wives, she must have been more than merely 'a very beautiful woman' (2 S 11[2]). She must have been also a talented and sagacious one. That she was in close alliance with Nathan, that Adonijah sought her aid on his behalf in the belief that her son would refuse nothing that she asked, and that Solomon received her with the utmost reverence when she presented herself before him, are indications of fact which all point in one direction. We may accordingly infer that she had considerably contributed to the formation of Solomon's character.

4. *Adonijah's rebellion.*—There is very little further information given regarding Solomon previous to his accession to the throne. The account in 1 Ch 22[2-19] describes David's preparation for the building of the temple, and records his charges to Solomon and the princes. If it be in its proper place in the book—a point on which there is room for difference of opinion—it clearly shows that Adonijah's rebellion was inexcusable. There is, however, nothing elsewhere to correspond to it, nor are there any means afforded us of verifying what needs verification in it. The rebellion of ADONIJAH was what necessitated the elevation of Solomon to the throne before his father's death. Adonijah was then, perhaps, his father's eldest son, and may naturally have considered himself to have had on that ground a preferential claim to the throne. There was at that time, however, no authoritative law or settled precedent to regulate the succession.

Adonijah himself does not seem to have rested his claim on right or precedent, but on the goodwill of the people. 'Thou knowest,' he said to Bathsheba when obviously trying to make the most of his own cause,—'thou knowest that the kingdom was mine, and that all Israel set their faces on me, that I should reign: howbeit the kingdom is turned about, and is become my brother's: for it was his from the Lord' (1 K 2[15]). That is a very intelligible view, and all the more so that we know the people of Israel in the time of David and Solomon unquestionably felt that they had some right to consideration in the appointment of their kings. The Northern tribes unmistakably showed that when they rejected Solomon's only son. It is none the less very misleading to speak of Adonijah as 'the rightful heir' to the throne, as Stade and some other critics do. The 'rightful heir to the throne' in an absolute monarchy such as Israel had become under David, was the son nominated by the reigning monarch. It has been so in all such monarchies; and wherever polygamy has prevailed in these monarchies, younger sons have been often appointed to the exclusion of the eldest. The present Shah of Persia is an instance of 'a rightful monarch,' although he has an older and, it is said, exceptionally able brother. The appointment of the youngest son to the throne was very common in the despotisms of India.

Adonijah, it would seem, was 'a very goodly man,' captivating in his manners, fond of display and magnificence, ambitious, and scheming. He made it quite apparent that he wished to be king, assumed royal honours, and gained over to his side powerful allies, in Joab the general of the army, Abiathar the priest, and the princes of the royal house. In a word, he began to play the rôle of the ill-fated Absalom. The conspirators may possibly have deemed that his seniority of birth or superiority of qualifications gave him a right to reign. They may also have possibly deemed that it was expedient for him to ascend the throne at once owing to David's bodily weakness. But they were certainly engaged in a real and formidable conspiracy kept secret from the king, and meant to set him aside and to thwart his wishes. Their attempt does not seem to have been either skilfully planned or strongly supported in popular feeling. The account given of it and of its failure in 1 K 1[5-50] distinctly conveys that impression.

As soon as divulged, the whole plot came to naught.*

5. *Commencement of reign and first acts.*—David soon afterwards died, and Solomon succeeded him without opposition. The year in which he began to reign has not been determined, nor are there yet known data for doing so exactly. He is said both in Kings and Chron. to have reigned forty years; but that may be a round, not an exact, number. If exact, however, we may assign about B.C. 970 as the time at which he began to reign, since there are good reasons for considering B.C. 930 as about the first year of Jeroboam's reign—the year in which Solomon died.

The Jewish and Arabic tradition that Solomon was only twelve years old when he began to reign, obviously originated in misconception of the meaning of the words in 1 K 3^7 'I am but a little child; I know not how to go out or come in,' etc.; words not to be taken literally, but as a humble confession of inadequacy, owing to youth and inexperience, for the great task of royalty. The generally received view that he was about twenty years old when he began to reign cannot be far amiss. According to Josephus, Solomon began to reign when he was *fourteen* years of age; but, in the same sentence he tells us he reigned *eighty* years, and died at the age of *ninety-four* (*Ant.* VIII. vii. 8). He does not mention the source of his information.†

The first concern of Solomon as king naturally was to make his seat secure. The Chronicler characteristically says nothing regarding the way in which he established himself in his kingdom. The whole account, however, in 1 K 2^{13}–3^8 seems worthy of credence. It represents Solomon as acting with great decision and vigour, and yet as not inflicting punishment beyond what was deemed necessary. He struck only at the heads of the conspiracy which had been formed against him. Considering that he was an Oriental ruler, not his cruelty but his clemency was exceptional. David is not recorded to have advised the taking of any strong measures against Adonijah, and Solomon had granted him a pardon accompanied with a stern warning. Very naturally, however, and probably quite correctly, he interpreted his request to have Abishag for a wife as a proof that he had not abandoned his pretensions to the throne. Bathsheba, it has been argued, would not have communicated the request to her son if she had deemed it treasonable in intention. Perhaps not, but perhaps also she did not act in earnest for the good of the son of Haggith. Abiathar was leniently dealt with in consideration of his past loyalty. David, according to 1 K 2^6, had advised the putting to death of Joab; but, even if he did not do so (see art. JOAB), Solomon could not have been expected to spare his life. Joab was the most dangerous enemy he could possibly have in all Israel. He was so resolute, so able, so much a favourite with the army, that even David had not been able to keep him in check. Not inferior, and seemingly even superior, to David as a commander, there was no one left in Israel to compare with him in military ability. His successor Benaiah was a valiant warrior, and an efficient tool for an absolute ruler to have at hand, but there is no evidence that he was a great general. Joab could neither have respect for the character of a man like Solomon, nor sympathy with his policy; indeed a reign like that of Solomon could hardly have been possible so long as Joab was at the head of the Hebrew army. The view of Guthe and others, that David and Solomon hoped that the putting of Joab to death would avert the vengeance which his crimes might otherwise bring upon the house of David may be correct, but it is not necessary to account for his death. Resentment and policy are sufficient to account for it. They also account best for the way in which Shimei was dealt with. It does not appear that he was implicated in the conspiracy, but he had been a bitter enemy of David, was suspected of being still disloyal and hostile to the house of David, and, on account of his influence with the Benjamites, was deemed dangerous to the peace and comfort of the new monarch.

6. *Convocation at Gibeon, dream and request.*—The way in which Solomon dealt with the enemies whom he had recently feared could not fail greatly to 'strengthen him in his kingdom.' He not only thereby got rid of them, but showed to his subjects that young as he was he was neither weak nor foolish, but a shrewd and capable man who could effectively discharge the functions of a king, and might be hoped to act neither capriciously nor cruelly. To have gained so great a triumph at the very commencement of his reign was enough to secure his popularity, for with the populace of all times and places 'nothing succeeds like success.' When he felt himself secure on his throne he resolved to make manifest his gratitude to J″, and proceeded to do so on a scale indicative of his taste for magnificence and display in worship, as in other things. He called a convocation of his captains, judges, governors, and heads of houses, at the ancient city of Gibeon, where was a famed *bāmāh*, 'a great high place,' and there, surrounded by his dignitaries, he offered in thanks to God a thousand burnt-offerings—'a thousandfold holocaust'—on the brazen altar which stood before the sanctuary and could be seen from afar. On the following night the king dreamed that J″ appeared to him and asked what He should give him, and that he replied by asking 'an understanding heart to judge aright' the great people entrusted to his charge while so young and inexperienced. He dreamed also that, because such had been his request, God promised him not only what he asked for—wisdom and knowledge—but also wealth and honour, and, conditionally, however, on conformity to the Divine law, length of days. The dream was naturally accepted by the king as a Divine communication. To Solomon there seems to have never been vouchsafed any clearer or higher form of Divine revelation than the dream.

7. *Solomon's judgment.*—According to his biographer in Kings, he was soon afforded an opportunity of displaying the wisdom which he had asked for and received. From Gibeon he returned to Jerusalem, where the ark of the covenant was now located in the tabernacle erected by David on Mount Zion, and there also presented offerings to J″, and likewise made a feast to all his servants. At Jerusalem he was forthwith called to pronounce a decision between two harlots who both claimed the same live child while each affirmed that a dead one was her neighbour's. The way at which he at once arrived at the truth immediately made him famous, and has greatly helped to maintain his reputation for wisdom ever since. It showed an instinctive insight into the workings of the human heart very remarkable in so young a man, and a keenness of practical discernment of a kind invalu-

* Wellhausen, Stade, and other eminent critics represent Nathan and Bathsheba, Zadok and Benaiah, as conspirators, and the choice of Solomon by David as the result of a palace intrigue. It is possible to think so, but the supposition appears to the present writer to be merely conjectural. As to what is related of David's advice to Solomon in 1 K $2^{1\text{-}12}$ and 1 Ch $21^{6\text{-}19}$ and $28\text{–}29^{1\text{-}22}$, see the art. DAVID in the present work, and *Enc. Bib.*, and the commentators mentioned under heading of *Literature*.

† Perhaps 1 K 3^{14} sufficed to suggest to him the eighty years' reign and ninety-four years of life. It is not unlikely, however, that earlier Jewish authors may have written to the same effect. The promise of length of days was a merely conditional one, and Solomon did not fulfil the condition. Stade rightly holds it as certain that Solomon must have reigned over thirty years, but inconclusively infers from 1 K 15^1 and 2 Ch 12^{13} that he could not have reigned forty years (see his *GVI* i. 307).

able in one whose chief duty was to act as the supreme judge in all disputed cases throughout Israel. That 'all Israel heard of it, and feared the king, for they saw that the wisdom of God was in him, to do judgment,' may well be believed. That there was nothing miraculous in it may as reasonably be admitted. Innumerable examples of the same kind of wisdom as remarkable and as well authenticated might easily be given. Far more wonderful stories of a similar kind are told of Solomon himself, but they are entirely fictitious. The story, as told in 1 K 3^{16-28}, can alone be regarded as historical narrative. Josephus (*Ant.* VIII. ii. 2) seems to have had no other source of information, yet he gives a very distorted version of it. He represents the king as proposing to divide both the dead and the live child, and the people as privately laughing at the proposal as that of a mere youth.*

8. *Solomon's policy dependent on David's.*—The task which fell to Solomon was that of building up a kingdom on a foundation already laid and on lines already drawn. A reign like his was only made possible by what Samuel, Saul, and David had accomplished. Samuel, the last of the Judges, was also the first of them whose influence extended over all Israel, and was powerful enough to reconstruct the theocracy on a monarchical basis. Saul, by his struggles with the Philistines, Moabites, Ammonites, Edomites, and Amalekites, rendered comparatively easy the consolidation of all the tribes of Israel into a nation under David. It was David, however, who made the policy of Solomon feasible, who indicated both by his counsels and example how it could be carried into effect, and who enabled him to start with a sufficiency of the means necessary to enter on his schemes of ambition and to revolutionize the manners and the ideals of Israel. Solomon seems to have done little which his father had not initiated: both imitated the doings and methods of Oriental despots.

9. *His military policy.*—Solomon had not the genius requisite to extend his kingdom. He seems to have had no military taste or talent; and certainly the glory of the conqueror he but little sought and little won. He was content to maintain and develop what he had inherited, and to abstain from dangerous adventures. The weak condition of the surrounding States would have presented to an ambitious warrior-king a strong temptation to attempt to create a powerful Semitic empire, which, if unified and vivified by faith in J", might have anticipated Islam by a millennium and a half and given the history of Israel a very different direction. Yet Solomon, far from being a feeble or incapable monarch, was an able, shrewd, and enterprising one, who knew well how to magnify his office, further his interests, and attain his ends. He must have had very exceptional administrative talent, and he applied it to military as well as civil organization. Not otherwise could he have preserved for forty years the security and unity of a nation so recently and loosely constituted; kept down its strong disruptive tendencies; and prosecuted a policy which must have been obnoxious to the majority of his subjects. Although he did not increase his territory, he kept a firm hold of it, and made his sphere of influence much wider than his father's had been. His troubles with HADAD, REZON, and JEROBOAM prove nothing to the contrary. The account of them given in 1 K 11^{9-40} is placed—obviously with a view to religious edification—in the closing period of his reign, instead of at or near its commencement; and the information which it conveys, although it may be received as trustworthy so far as it goes, is scanty, and cannot be supplemented either from other Biblical or non-Biblical sources. It does not appear that Solomon's adversaries gained much advantage over him. Hadad was doubtless, and very excusably, as troublesome a neighbour to him and his people as he could be, and did them all the 'mischief' in his power; but there is no evidence that he became king of Edom, or that Edom under him secured independence. The fact that the port of Elath remained in Solomon's hands showed that the king of Israel was the overlord of Edom. As regards Rezon ben-Hadiada, he may have made himself master of Damascus even in the lifetime of David. There is no evidence of David's having had an acknowledged and effective suzerainty over Syria. And, besides, although we are told that Rezon 'was a foe to Israel all the days of Solomon,' it does not appear that he succeeded in seizing any portion of Israelitish territory. Jeroboam's attempt to stir up sedition against him can still less relevantly be referred to as evidence of his weakness, seeing that it was a failure, and Jeroboam did not venture to return from Egypt until he heard that Solomon was dead.

Solomon left out of his military calculations the possibilities neither of invasion from without nor of insurrection from within. He strengthened his capital by the construction of fortifications which David had only begun or merely contemplated. See art. MILLO. He established fortified cities, well-garrisoned and well-provisioned, at well-chosen strategic points (see HAZOR, MEGIDDO, GEZER, BETH-HORON, BAALATH, TAMAR). He thus guarded the kingdom against attack at all its more vulnerable points, as well as increased the safety of the sacred city. By adding to his army a force of 12,000 horsemen and 1400 war chariots, he must have greatly increased its efficiency. The innovation was unpopular among the ultra-conservative and superstitious portion of the community, but it was a real improvement. In the plains of N. Palestine, on the borders of Philistia, and in most directions beyond the national boundaries, cavalry could not fail to be of great advantage. The Canaanites had employed it with success against the Israelites in the time of the Judges. Before its adoption by Solomon it had come into use in all the neighbouring States. Once introduced, it was adhered to so long as Israel and Judah retained their independence.

10. A prominent feature of Solomon's policy was his full recognition of the importance of *interna-*

* There is no mention of the incident in Chronicles. The story told by Diodorus Siculus of Ariophanes, king of Thrace, in general character resembles very closely that of Kings. On the death of the king of the Cimmerians, three young men appeared before Ariophanes claiming to be the only son of the deceased king, without producing adequate evidence for the truth of their claims. Ariophanes ordered them to hurl a javelin at the corpse of their alleged father. Two consented, but one refused, and he was declared to be the true son and heir of the deceased monarch. Another parallel is the account which Suetonius gives of a judgment of Claudius (*Lives of the Twelve Cæsars*). A woman refused to acknowledge that a young man who claimed to be her son was so. In the absence of other means of deciding on which side was the truth, the emperor ordered the woman to marry the youth, and so obliged her to acknowledge that the latter was her son. Most of the Oriental parallels have a manifestly mythical and fabulous setting. In some of them, however, the resemblance is so close as to amount almost to verbal repetition. See Benfey's *Pantschatantra*, i. 894-896, ii. 544, also *Kleine Schriften*, 3rd Abt. 171 ff.; Eng. tr. of the 'Kah-Gyur' (Trübner's *Or. Ser.*)—the tale of Visâkhâ; Weber's *Indische Streifen*, iii. 60 (also T. Steele's *An Eastern Love Story*, Trübner, 1871, pp. 218 f., 248 f.); Reinh. Köhler, *GGA*, 1872, pp. 1219-1221; Fausböll, *Buddhist Birth Stories*, tr. by Rhys Davids, vol. i. xiv-xvi; and *Rev. de l'Histoire de Rel.* xxxviii. (1898), art. by Leclère, 'Une version cambodgienne du Jugement de Salomon,' 176-187. In the last-mentioned version, a mother, her child, a female ogress in woman's form, and a Buddhist Solomon, 'the noble Mohosoth,' are the parties. To the questions whether the stories of the judgments of Solomon, Ariophanes, and Claudius are legendary or historical, and whether the judgment of Solomon originated in the Indian stories or had its origin in India, definite answers do not seem to have been as yet arrived at.

tional alliances. He immensely increased his power and influence by the treaties which he formed with the rulers of neighbouring States. The most advantageous of them was that formed with Hiram, king of Tyre—the continuation of an alliance formed in the time of David, but utilized by Solomon to an immensely greater extent than by David. Without it Solomon could not have given effect either to a commercial policy or to his desire to build the temple and beautify Jerusalem. It was for the manifest benefit of both the contracting parties. To Hiram it ensured, in case of attack from the landward side of his kingdom, the aid of a powerful army in its defence; an abundant supply at all times of such commodities as corn, oil, and wine; an enlarged traffic with the Hebrews by way of Joppa; and the opening up of the *Yâm Sûph* (so-called Red Sea), and of the ocean beyond it, to the enterprise of his mariners and merchants. To Solomon it was equally advantageous. It enabled him to enter into mercantile copartnership with Hiram, and in conjunction with him to have ships trading both in the Mediterranean and the Red Sea. Whatever may have been the exact position of TARSHISH and OPHIR, Solomon must have had vessels on both seas. If Elath and Ezion-geber were open to him, Joppa or Dor was still more so. He was not the man to make a foolish bargain, or to prefer doing business on a small to a large scale. That he derived annually from his foreign trade as much revenue as his historians (1 K 10^{14}, 2 Ch 9^{13}) state is very difficult to believe. The trade, however, may well have been a very lucrative one. And, obviously, without the aid of Hiram and his subjects Solomon could have found neither the ships nor the men necessary to him for engaging in it. Nor was he less dependent on the skill and tastes of Phœnician artists and artisans for the construction and ornamentation of the buildings on which his desires were set, and to which he was to owe so much of his fame in future ages. His own subjects were incapable of supplying workmen of the kind needed, whereas the Phœnicians were famous for their proficiency in architecture and the plastic arts. It was chiefly from Phœnicia that Hebrew art was derived. In that sphere the influence of Egypt on Israel was not direct, but through Phœnicia.*

Next in importance to the Tyrian was the *Egyptian* alliance (1 K 3^{1}). The Pharaoh with whom Solomon entered into alliance is not named in the Bible, but must have been one of the last of the Tanite Pharaohs (perhaps the last—Pasebchanu II., called by Manetho Ψουσενής). Solomon obtained a daughter of the Pharaoh for his wife, and received with her as a dowry the town of Gezer, which her father had captured. Gezer was a valuable gift, and the marriage itself seems to have flattered the pride both of Solomon and of his subjects. In the age of the Chronicler and of the Jews of later times the marriage came to be regarded by the pious as disastrous, but there is no trace of such a feeling in the older historical sources. The first great edifice which Solomon caused to be built was not the temple of J", but a palace for the Egyptian princess. The daughter of Pharaoh was always the chief personage in his harem. In all probability she had received a much more comprehensive and refined education and training than his Moabite, Ammonite, Edomite, Sidonian, and Hittite wives and concubines. His own tastes, indeed, were of a kind which would have disposed him to imitate the style of life of a Pharaoh, but they must have been strengthened by his marriage with a Pharaoh's daughter. However explained, his ideal of kingship was the ideal which had for ages been conspicuously exemplified in Egypt. Like the Tyrian alliance, the Egyptian alliance was uninterrupted throughout his reign, and of the latter as of the former he would seem to have taken full advantage.* That he bought droves of horses and large numbers of chariots in Egypt and sold them at high prices to Hittite and Syrian kings may be fairly inferred from 1 K $10^{28.\,29}$ and 2 Ch $1^{16.\,17}$, if by *Miṣraim* in those verses Egypt be meant.† He also promoted and protected the carrying and caravan trade, which extended almost from the Nile to the Euphrates. He saw that the geographical position of Palestine—between the Mediterranean, Red Sea, and the Desert—gave him command of the chief highways of Asiatic commerce, and power to secure to himself a share of the profits of the greatest markets of the then known world (those of Egypt and Chaldæa), fully recognized the importance of trade and commerce, and acted accordingly. Therein lay, perhaps, his greatest originality as a Hebrew ruler. His predecessors—the Judges, Saul, and David—could not do so, continually engaged as they were in fierce struggles with their enemies in and around Palestine. The general result of their struggles made his wider and more humane views and schemes of policy possible and so far realizable; but to himself belongs the credit of their inception and prosecution.‡ Looked at in itself, his foreign policy must be pronounced on the whole a reasonable one. And it had good results. It was a policy of peace; it saved his subjects from the miseries of war; it enriched certain classes and benefited in some degrees other classes; it made the Hebrews better acquainted with the greatness, the wealth, and the state of civilization of the world around them, widened their views, corrected sundry prejudices, suggested improvements, and stimulated activity. It was, perhaps, the chief factor in making the Solomonic age the period of greatest material progress in the history of Israel. Yet it is quite possible to estimate too highly the external policy of Solomon, while quite impossible to estimate it aright without viewing it in relation to his internal policy. There is no evidence that it was disapproved of by his subjects, and he did not enter into, what would have been abhorrent to them, any alliance with the Canaanites; but it was the expression merely of the king's will, not of the national desire, and when the king died no one thought of continuing his policy. On the contrary, so long as the nation retained its national existence, it tended increasingly to self-isolation.

11. As regards the *domestic policy* of Solomon, the list of his chief officials in 1 K 4 is of special in-

* In the Histories of Phœnicia by Kenrick, Rawlinson, Movers, Pietschmann, in Renan's *Mission en Phénicie*, in *CIS* ii. tome 1 and 2, and in Perrot and Chipiez' *Hist. de l'Art*, much information is to be obtained as to the relations between the Phœnicians and the Hebrews. The reigns of Hiram and Solomon appear to have been contemporary almost all through, as the former is said (Menander, fr. 1) to have begun to reign when nineteen years old and to have been fifty-three years old when he died. The enumeration given in 1 K $7^{13ff.}$ of the qualifications of the Hiram who was Solomon's chief architect and artist, indicates what the Phœnicians could teach the Hebrews during the reign of Solomon.

* Neither the general Histories of Antiquity nor the special Histories of Ancient Egypt make any appreciable addition to what the Biblical historians tell us of the connexion between Israel and Egypt during the reign of Solomon. The lack of information is strange.

† Winckler holds that by *Miṣraim* a N. Syrian Muṣri is meant (*Alttest. Untersuch.* 168 ff., and *Altor. Forsch.* i. 24–41, 337, 338). Kittel, Benzinger, and others have accepted his view. Valuable, however, as his new facts are in themselves, they do not prove his *Muṣri* to be the *Miṣraim* of Kings and Chronicles.

‡ According to Eupolemus, as quoted by Eusebius (*Præp. Ev.* ix.), David began the maritime trade. The statement appears to be merely a conjecture suggested by the fact recorded in 2 S 8^{14}, 1 K $11^{15.\,16}$, and 1 Ch 18^{13}, that David conquered the kingdom of Edom. Possibly David foresaw and suggested the use to which his conquest might be put. It is very unlikely, however, that at so late a stage of life he should have begun such an enterprise, and still more unlikely that, if he had begun it, he should not have got the credit of it.

terest, particularly when compared with the lists of those of David in 2 S 8^{16-18} and 20^{23-26}, although of too general a nature to be definitely referable to any particular period. The comparison will show that David in the later years of his life had gone far in the direction followed by his son, and that between them they had effected a great revolution—economic, social, and political—in the national life of Israel. The old tribal system had been undermined and shattered, and a monarchical despotism of the only kind known in the East—one none the less a despotism in reality for being a theocracy—had been built up. The will of Solomon was practically the supreme law of his people, and neither priests nor prophets ventured to oppose it or to attempt to limit it. Throughout his reign all power in Israel was centred in himself and carried into effect by his officials. The list of his *sārîm* (princes or chief ministers) in 1 K 4^{2-6} does not contain the name of a single individual who can be supposed to have been an independent adviser. The name of Abiathar should not be in it, as he was a degraded and banished man during Solomon's reign. The sons of Nathan mentioned were much more probably the king's own nephews, the sons of his brother Nathan, than the sons of the prophet Nathan [but see vol. iii. p. 488^{b}]. There was no prophet among Solomon's princes, nor any man not directly and entirely dependent upon him. We are not told that he made any direct attack on the old tribal systems. It seems erroneous to represent as such his division of the territory of Israel (that of Judah was exempted) into twelve districts, over which were appointed twelve 'officers' (*nizzābîm*), each bound to provide in regular monthly succession victuals for the king and his household, and provender for his horses and dromedaries. Those districts were not coextensive with the tribal territories. The officers to whom they were assigned did not displace the tribal chiefs, and had only a definite specific duty to perform. They were merely 'purveyors' or 'providers' for the king, his *annonæ curatores*. But, although the old tribal system and its chiefs may not have been assailed, the claims of the monarchy were asserted and its powers exercised independently of them. The tribal system and the monarchy coexisted under Solomon, but the latter was so dominant that the king could introduce what changes he pleased. Tribal and personal privileges, rights, and liberties were at his mercy. Doubtless the nation realized only slowly that such was the case, and how dangerous a state of things it was. The monarchy had been a great success, and was regarded as a sacred institution. The king was 'the Lord's anointed.' The new king was young, beautiful in person, a rarely brilliant, attractive, and imposing personality; to outward seeming a perfect king. He was well aware that a great trust had been assigned to him, and he set a high value on equity in judgment and orderliness in administration. Many of his innovations must have been improvements. Some of his enterprises were largely successful. For a season the sun of prosperity shone so brightly on his reign that there may well have been great contentment and rejoicing in Israel. 1 K $4^{20.\ 25.\ 34}$ may be regarded as echoes of that time. But disillusionment was bound to come, and gradually came as what was radically evil in the government of Solomon gradually displayed itself. Entrusted with unlimited power, he yielded to the temptation to abuse it, and to enjoy it mainly for what he deemed his own honour and advantage. His policy, although not uninfluenced by worthy and pious aspirations, must be pronounced essentially selfish. The chief motives of it were the love of pleasure and power, of wealth and splendour and fame; its main object was to promote his own interest, to enrich and glorify himself, and to strengthen and magnify the Davidic dynasty. To obtain his ends he required to have recourse not only to measures obnoxious to chiefs of tribes, elders of cities, and holders of landed property, but to such as were most oppressive to the poorer classes. He reduced the Canaanites to slavery, and employed 160,000 of them in quarrying stones and bearing burdens. From the Israelites he exacted less labour; but they, too, were constrained to give personal services and to submit to heavy exactions. Thirty thousand of them were required to work by relays of ten thousand, every third month, in the forest of Lebanon. The statement to the contrary in 1 K 9^{22} and 2 Ch 8^{9} is an instructive, patriotic gloss, inconsistent with the general narratives either in Kings or Chronicles. The Hebrews under Solomon were no longer a free people. While not slaves in the strict sense of the word, they were subject to forced labour, 'the levy,' the *maṣ*—a term as hateful to them as were its equivalents, *corvée* or *Frohn*, in mediæval Europe. David had introduced the form of servitude denoted by it (2 S 20^{24}), but Solomon greatly increased it. The favouritism which he showed towards Judah in connexion with it must have made it all the more offensive to Israel, while it was doubtless one reason why Judah did not join Israel in the revolt against Rehoboam. The evils of the 'levy' could not fail to make themselves increasingly felt in the course of the building operations which were so conspicuous a part of the king's domestic policy. One of his chief aims was to have a strong and magnificent capital. It was a very reasonable aim within proper limits, but these he failed to recognize. To render Jerusalem as far as possible impregnable, and to make it a capital worthy of Israel and of being the centre of its political and especially of its religious life, was manifestly desirable. The fortifications and the temple of Jerusalem were for the benefit of all Israel. Like so many kings of his type, however, Solomon failed to see that there should be limits set to expensive building. He did not adequately realize that the territory of Israel was a very small one, and that, although he and those around him were rich, the general population—one in a transitional stage from pastoral to agricultural—was not. The cost of the superb buildings erected for himself and his dependants, added to the provisioning of a household containing many thousands of persons, the supply of what was required besides food to gratify the desires of his wives and concubines, and the expenditure on his splendid pageants, must have been an enormous burden on his subjects. No truly wise king would have persisted in such a policy. The natural result of it was just what actually happened. Whatever Judah thought, all Israel felt his yoke to have been intolerable; and when his son refused to lighten it, cried out, 'What portion have we in David? neither have we inheritance in the son of Jesse: to your tents, O Israel: now see to thine own house, David' (1 K 12^{16}). Solomon was responsible for the disruption of the united kingdom of Israel and Judah, and for the consequences of it. That disruption, which led to the loss of the independence of both, was the natural result of the policy on which he acted throughout a forty years' reign.

12. The foregoing observations raise the question, *What really was the wisdom which the Biblical historians attributed to Solomon?* Certainly it was not wisdom in the higher significations in which the term is used either in the OT or the NT. There is teaching in Job, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and a few of the Psalms as to a

'wisdom' which is nowhere in Scripture attributed to Solomon. The wisdom of Solomon as described either in Kings or Chron. has very little in common with the wisdom inculcated by St. Paul, St. Peter, and St. James. Further, in what the Biblical writers say of the wisdom of Solomon there is nothing which implies that it included any of the supernatural attainments attributed to him in Jewish, Arabian, and Persian traditions, or even of any scientific or philosophic knowledge properly so called.* And it must be added, that although they ascribe his 'wisdom' to God, a gift in answer to prayer, they do not represent piety—the fear and love of God—as a prominent feature in his 'wisdom.' While declaring him to be the wisest of all men, they do not represent him as an especially devout or righteous man. In that respect David, notwithstanding his many defects and crimes, was regarded by them as far superior to him. So much, then, as to what the wisdom of Solomon was not. As to what it was, it comprehended at least the following elements:—(*a*) Possession of the qualities of mind—the quickness and accuracy of discernment and the practical sagacity—which are most indispensable to one who constantly requires to decide readily and correctly on which side truth and justice lie in disputed cases. Those qualities were of the utmost importance to a Hebrew king. Judicial functions had been the chief function of the 'judges,' and continued to be so of the kings. The king was the chief justice of the realm. David in his later years had been blamed for neglecting his judicial duties. The prayer of his son, on his accession to the throne, was for the knowledge and wisdom which would qualify him for the fulfilment of those duties. The judgment which he pronounced on the dispute between the two harlots was regarded by the people as evidence that his prayer had been granted. Seeking justice was by the Hebrews held to be sacred, inasmuch as it involved 'inquiry of God.' Almost all the Oriental legends regarding Solomon's wisdom which are not utterly extravagant are those which give the same kind of instances. An excellent and able judge, however, may not be an eminently good and wise man. He may be sadly lacking in true wisdom. (*b*) Possession of comparatively extensive knowledge and varied culture for a man of the time in which he lived. That Solomon was widely observant and inquisitive, interested in all that came under his notice and was likely to add to his knowledge, and that he could talk instructively on a great variety of subjects,—on trees and plants, beasts and fowls, creeping things and fishes, etc.,—must be admitted. 'The largeness of heart (*rōḥabh lēbh*), even as the sand that is on the seashore,' ascribed to him in 1 K 4^{29} [Heb. 5^{9}], means merely, if properly understood, a comprehensiveness of mind, a many-sidedness of intelligence, of great and indefinite extent. There is nothing exaggerated or incredible in the phrase, which may perhaps have suggested what has been so finely said of Plato: 'His pliant genius sits close to universal reality, like the sea which fits into all the sinuosities of the land. Not a shore of thought was left untouched by his murmuring lip' (Ferrier, *Inst. Met.* p. 165). The wisdom of Solomon was wisdom at a very different stage from the wisdom of Socrates or Plato; but they may have been alike in implying 'largeness of heart,' universality of intellectual interests and activity. (*c*) There have also to be included in the wisdom of Solomon skill in propounding and solving riddles, in putting and answering hard and abstruse questions, and the faculty of expressing himself in *mĕshālîm*, similitudes and parables, and proverbial or gnomic sentences which sum up in a pithy and memorable form the findings of prudential sagacity and moral reflexion. 1 K 4^{32} states that he 'spake three thousand proverbs.' One reason given for the visit of the queen of Sheba to his court was her desire to test the report which she had heard of him by 'proving him with hard questions.' The Phœnician historians quoted by Josephus (*Ant.* VIII. v. 3) relate that the Hebrew and the Tyrian king entered into a contest to determine which of them could solve riddles best, and that the former was at first successful, and won largely from his opponent, until the latter got the assistance of a very acute youth called Abdemon, when Solomon was always defeated, and had to pay much money back to Hiram (see art. RIDDLE). In the time of Solomon, Israel passed from its heroic and imaginative age into a positive and practical one, resembling the stage in Hellenic history in which originated the practical maxims of the Greek 'sages' and the verses of the Greek 'gnomic' poets. The result in Israel was the rise of a new way of thinking and the beginnings of a new kind of literature, the whole development of which must have been greatly influenced by the character and reign of Solomon. How much, if anything, he personally contributed by speech or writing to the 'Wisdom literature' we do not know, and yet perhaps the whole of it, Biblical and Apocryphal, may be not inappropriately termed Solomonic. At the same time no one has probably been so overpraised for 'wisdom' as he, and that alike by Mohammedans, Jews, and Christians.* See, further, art. WISDOM.

13. Solomon is represented as excelling all contemporary kings *in wealth as well as in wisdom*. His father is said to have left him for building the temple 'one hundred thousand talents of gold and a thousand thousand talents of silver' (1 Ch 22^{14}), a sum calculated to be equivalent to £1,025,000,000 sterling.† His annual revenue in money is stated (1 K 10^{14}, 2 Ch 9^{13}) to have amounted to 666 talents of gold, equal to £4,095,900 (see art. MONEY, vol. iii. p. 420[b]); and besides payments in money he received large payments in kind, both from his own subjects and from foreigners. Hence he was able to spend vast sums in luxury and display. His great ivory throne, which came to figure so largely in Oriental tradition, was overlaid with pure gold; the shields of his bodyguard and the utensils of his palace

* The knowledge of the language of birds attributed to Solomon in Jewish, Arabic, and Persian traditions was in Greek mythology ascribed to Tiresias. The Rabbis represented Solomon as the originator of the science and philosophy of the Greeks, Romans, and their successors. Aristotle was supposed to have gained his knowledge of natural history by appropriating Solomon's MSS when Alexander entered Alexandria. The Spanish theologian J. de Pineda, in lib. iii. pp. 111-208 of his *De Rebus Salomonis*, attributes to him mathematical, physical, astronomical, botanical, economic, ethical, and political writings, as well as many scientific discoveries. Theophilus Gale, *Phil. Gener.* § 8, maintains that Pythagoras and Plato got their symbolical and the Stoics their ethical philosophy, Hippocrates his knowledge of medicine, Aristotle of animals, and Theophrastus of plants—*ex Salomonis schola*. How greatly exaggerated, down even to recent times, has been his knowledge of theology may be learned from many of the commentaries published on the 'Song of Solomon,' and even from the 'headings' of our AV of that book.

* For an admirable comparative study of Hebrew and Greek proverbial literature see H. Bois, *La Poésie Gnomique chez les Hebreux et les Grecs: Salomon et Theognis*, Toulouse, 1866. A careful comparative study of Hebrew and Egyptian proverbial wisdom is a great desideratum. Wisdom books akin to the Proverbs of the OT, and partly to Ecclesiastes, were produced in Egypt from about B.C. 3500 until about A.D. 200. It cannot reasonably be supposed that in the age of Solomon they were wholly unknown to the Hebrews. The sayings in the oldest of them — the *Instructions* or *Maxims* of Ptahhotep — often strikingly resemble those in *Proverbs*. Before and during the reign of Solomon Egypt was open both to Greeks and Jews. It does not follow that any of the Hebrew Wisdom books were composed in the time of Solomon.

† Prideaux's estimate, long generally accepted, was considerably less, viz. £833,000,000. Yet he added, 'the sum is so prodigious, as to give reason to think that the talents whereby the sum is reckoned were another sort of talents of a far less value than the Mosaic talents, of which an account is given in the preface' (*Old and New Testament Connected*, p. 5).

were all of gold. Silver, we are told, was nothing accounted of in his days; he made silver to be in Jerusalem as stones. Such is the account given us of his wealth. What are we to think of it? The statement as to the sum amassed by David for the building of the temple is, of course, incredibly large. The amount of annual revenue assigned to Solomon is not so, although very large. Probably it may have been his income merely for an exceptional year or years. That he was the wealthiest king known to his Hebrew contemporaries may well be believed. But even what is said of his wealth in Kings and Chron. suggests that he was only rich after the fashion of Oriental kings. His golden targes, golden utensils, and throne overlaid with gold, seem to imply that he could find little productive use for his gold. Gold came into circulation as money among the Hebrews only in the time of David, and probably it was little used by them as such in the time of Solomon. Various peoples have passed through a stage in which a pound of gold was willingly exchanged for a pound of silver or even of copper. The Shahs of Persia and Emirs of Scinde were not wealthier than are European monarchs, although they had, as a rule, vastly more treasure in the form of jewels and the precious metals. The value of the material of money depends largely on its purchasing power and rapidity of circulation. Had Solomon's silver, and still more had his gold, much of either? It is not likely that they had. Although he may have made silver as stones 'in Jerusalem,' there is nothing to indicate that it was plentiful outside of Jerusalem. There was gold in abundance at the court and among the king's officers and favourites, but there is no evidence of its having reached the farmers and peasants of Palestine. Probably in the form of money most of it got into the hands of the Phœnicians and other foreign traders. By the great extension of the royal domains during his reign, Solomon must have increased his real wealth more than by the importation of gold; but such enrichment of himself implied the impoverishment of his subjects, and that in a country of very small extent, and of which the real prosperity mainly depended on agriculture. The money spent on magnificent buildings must have been to a large extent wasted. We may believe, therefore, almost all that we are told about the wealth of Solomon, and yet believe also that even his economic policy was foolish, and tended to national bankruptcy and the ruin of his dynasty.

14. Closely connected with the wisdom and wealth of Solomon was his '*fame*' and '*glory*.' The 'fame' of Solomon denoted by the Hebrew words *shēm* (1 K 4^{31}), *shĕmû'ah* (1 K 10^{7}, 2 Ch 9^{6}), and *shēma'* (1 K 10^{1}, 2 Ch 9^{1}),—name, hearing, report,—was, like all fame, an external thing, 'a fancied life in others' breath.' The 'glory' of Solomon, although denoted in the NT by the same term (*doxa*) as 'the glory of the Son of Man,' was a very different kind of glory. It was not glory of the highest order, the glory of essential excellence, but a superficial glory attainable by striving after effect, by the lavish display and expenditure of wealth, by showy talents, by courting popularity, and the like. The glory which Solomon sought for he obtained in an extraordinary measure in his lifetime, and it grew in the course of ages to the most extravagant proportion. Orientals are fond of display and pomp, and doubtless, at least for a lengthened period, Solomon, with his good disposition and brilliant gifts and conspicuous success, must have seemed to his subjects an almost ideal king. He gave Israel a place among the nations which it had never previously held, secured to it peace and prosperity, perfected its organization and administration, and so transformed, adorned, and enriched Jerusalem as to make it appear the central city, the joy and pride of the whole earth. Not only to the Hebrews but to all the peoples of the Semitic world he must have seemed the foremost monarch of the age. His intellectual gifts and acquisitions were so displayed as to cause him to be regarded as a paragon of wisdom, one whose knowledge and judgment had never been equalled, a sage and ruler superior to all others on the earth. Hence we are told many princes and renowned men came from afar to visit him, to see the grandeur of his court, to hear the wisdom of his words, and to pay him homage and present him with gifts. Of all his visitors, the queen of SHEBA naturally made the greatest impression. She was a much more exalted personage than the princes and sheikhs with whom the Israelites were familiar. She came from 'the uttermost parts of the earth' (Mt 12^{42}); came in high state 'with a very great train with camels that bare incense and very much gold and precious stones' (1 K 10^{2}); came, it would appear, attracted purely by the fame of the wisdom, and especially of the religious wisdom, of Solomon; and departed leaving magnificent gifts, confessing that what she had heard was not half of what she had found to be true, and thanking and blessing the God of Israel.

The above is, in substance, all that is related of the famous visit of the Sabæan queen to Solomon; and it is also the origin and basis of all that has been fabled about herself and her visit by the Rabbis, Arabs, Persians, and Abyssinians. Many modern critics pronounce even the Biblical account of it (1 K 10^{1-13}, repeated in 2 Ch 9^{1-12}) to be manifestly legendary. And it may be a legend. There is no historical evidence to the contrary except the clear and positive statement made by Kings. But it is certainly not *manifestly* legendary. Wellhausen, Stade, Klostermann, Benzinger, and other eminent critics all content themselves with mere assertion to that effect.

The fame of the glory of Solomon was largely posthumous. Great as it was among his contemporaries, the whole course of subsequent Hebrew history tended to increase it. After his reign the Hebrew people passed through stages of humiliation and affliction while clinging tenaciously to the belief that they were God's elect and had a glorious future before them. To endure the present, they were always providentially constrained to magnify the past. The more they sank, the more they comforted themselves by thinking of what they had been and imagining what they could be. And the age of Solomon was the golden age of their history, and Solomon himself their most brilliant and renowned king. Hence there was in the OT an idealization of kingship founded on the character of the personality, life, and reign of Solomon, and impelled and guided by a truly Divine inspiration which has been of immense significance to the world. It forms a large and precious portion of Messianic prophecy. The initial impulse to the close connexion of Solomon with it may, perhaps, have been Nathan's promise to David (2 S 7^{11-16} and 1 Ch 17^{10-14}) that J" would raise up to him a seed that should build up the house of the Lord, and whose kingdom and throne would be established for ever. As soon, however, as we go further we find ourselves in an altogether unreal world. Jewish Rabbis indulged in the most extravagant exaggerations as to the gifts and glory of Solomon. Christian writers followed suit, and showed themselves almost as credulous and inventive.

15. *Religion of Solomon.*—The Biblical historiographers who have treated of the reign of Solomon regarded him as having fallen far short of his father in *piety*. While pronouncing David a man according to God's own heart (1 S 12^{14}, 1 K $11^{33.38}$), they have so spoken of Solomon's death (1 K 11^{43}, 2 Ch 9^{31}) as to have given rise to a long controversy among the Church Fathers as to his salvation.*

* St. Augustine and the Latin Fathers generally pronounced against, and St. Chrysostom and the Greek Fathers in favour of, belief in his salvation. Calmet, in his *Dict.*, *s.v.* 'Salomon, Nouvelle Dissert. de la salut du Salomon,' has collected the opinions. Dante unites him in Paradise with the four great schoolmen, and makes Aquinas thus describe him:—

'The fifth light,
Goodliest of all, is by such love inspired,
That all your world craves tidings of his doom:
Within there is the lofty light, endowed
With sapience so profound, if truth be truth,
That with a ken of such wide amplitude
No second has arisen.'

—*Par.* x. 108–114 (Cary's tr.)

The third line is the rendering of Dante's:

'Che tutto il mondo
Laggiù ne gola di saper novella.'

Now, that Solomon's piety was not so warm and intense as David's is what no one will question, yet that it was in some respects superior may well be maintained, and can even scarcely be denied by any one who attempts to judge of David and Solomon from a Christian standpoint. With good gifts and great qualities, David had terrible defects. While intensely real, his faith in J″ was comparatively crude and unenlightened. Hence his piety was compatible with such horrid deeds as his conduct towards Uriah, his allowing the innocent sons of Saul to be 'hung up unto the Lord in Gibeon' (2 S $21^{5.9}$), and his ruthless treatment of the Moabites (2 S 8^{2}) and Ammonites (2 S 12^{31}).

The memory of Solomon is unstained by such acts. His faith in J″, however otherwise inferior to David's, was so much more rational and ethical as to save him from much which David did. He too had faith in J″, but a considerably different faith, and one implying a higher and worthier conception of J″. The general tendency of his reign was towards spiritual enlightenment. The Solomonic age was not one of spiritual decadence on the whole, but a distinct spiritual advance in important respects on the age of the 'judges' and of the first two kings; and doubtless Solomon contributed more to its being so than any other person. The interest of revelation required a Solomon as well as a Samuel, Saul, or David. David's significance as a king in relation to the Messiah was as a victorious warrior; Solomon's as the prince of peace—no inferior honour. There is no warrant for reckoning Solomon among the sceptics. The son of David could not fail to have been taught to revere and honour J″. The commencement of his reign was marked by a display of ardent piety towards J″, and the expression of humble dependence on His guidance. Throughout his reign he acted as temporal head of the Hebrew theocracy, as chief of the ministers of J″ in Israel. He delighted in the offices of Divine worship. Some have denied, but without apparent proof, that he took part in what have been called distinctly priestly acts—slaying the victims and offering incense. All the other acts of worship—all those which the Hebrew prophets deemed most sacred and spiritual — he is clearly recorded to have performed. In connexion with the building of the temple, he showed his anxiety to render to J″ a worthy expression of gratitude for His kindness towards David and himself. His prayer at the dedication of the temple, the substantial authenticity of which there seems to be no reason to doubt, is one of the grandest devotional utterances to be found in pre-Christian devotional literature.

Solomon evidently desired to render the service in the temple beautiful and impressive, the temple itself the chief and central sanctuary in the land, and Jerusalem not only the royal residence and national capital, but the holy city. He thereby, however, displeased those who disliked changes in religion and preferred the old simplicity and rudeness of worship to innovations. They included probably most of the uncultured tribesmen of the north. The seer AHIJAH was at their head. They may have had a considerable amount of truth and reason as well as piety on their side, but not more than the innovators—Solomon, the priests, and all others who were in favour of progress. The changes introduced by Solomon tended to further the spiritual education of the Jewish people, to suggest to receptive minds among them larger and worthier thoughts of God, and to contribute to the permanence and progressiveness of religion in Israel.

16. *Alleged Apostasy of Solomon.*—The age of Solomon was in the main one of intellectual liberation and religious enlightenment, although to many of his subjects it may have appeared one of scepticism and impiety. That the king abandoned his faith in J″ and became an idolater is difficult to believe, while it is easy to conceive how the *fama* to that effect may have arisen. Solomon built altars for his foreign wives, and allowed them to worship their national gods on earth brought from their native lands and in the language and forms of devotion which were familiar and sacred to them. He did not allow them to proselytize or to attempt to act the part which was afterwards played by Jezebel; and it is even very unlikely, seeing that they were all members of his own household, that he permitted either the cruel or the licentious acts sometimes practised in the worship of certain of their deities. But to Ahijah and his partisans toleration of any worship in Israel except that of J″ appeared tantamount to apostasy from J″, and the worship of a strange god. They necessarily saw therefore in Solomon's conduct proof that his heart was turned away from J″ and given to the foreign gods whom he allowed his wives to worship. They judged of it by a crude and immoral conception of J″, while Solomon himself must have seen in it no treason against J″, and believed it to be reasonable and right. The religious toleration granted by him to his wives was an almost inevitable consequence of his policy of alliances with foreign rulers through marriages. There was, however, apparently no opposition given or offence taken by his subjects either to his polygamy or his marriage with foreign women. They seem to have regarded his multitude of wives complacently as a sign of his wealth and grandeur. In his polygamy he only followed the example, and probably the advice, of his father. Nor was his offence marriage with foreign wives, although he is not recorded to have married any of his own subjects. Perhaps few of them would have been considered suitable wives for so great a king, and marriages with them could have had no political advantages. It was his religious toleration *per se* which was condemned, and held to imply disloyalty to J″ and the worship of other gods.

That he should have been guilty of the apostasy and sin alleged seems incredible and inexplicable on any supposition except one, viz. that his mode of life had left him prematurely worn out both in body and mind, so as to be, even in the fifth decade of his age, in a senile condition, and hardly responsible for his actions. That is little if anything more than a supposition. Yet it seems to be hinted at by the author of 1 K 11^{1-8}, who writes as if willing to excuse and yet unwilling to express himself plainly, when telling us of Solomon's 'cleaving in love to many strange women,' and that 'his heart was turned away after strange gods *when he was old*' (say over fifty years of age). The erotic element in the Song of Songs, so far as it refers to Solomon, is also, perhaps, in this connexion not to be overlooked. The apocryphal book Sirach, while otherwise glorifying Solomon in the most generous manner, distinctly singles out for condemnation his sensuality as 'what stained his honour and polluted his seed, brought wrath on his children, divided Israel, and made Ephraim a rebel kingdom' (42^{19-23}). The censure was fully deserved. However numerous and attractive may have been the gifts and good qualities of Solomon, he had two great faults—self-love and self-indulgence. He was blind to the claims of self-sacrifice and self-restraint, and hence was no wise man in the highest sense, but merely the wisest fool of his day. His harem may suffice for proof. If his wives and concubines together really amounted to a thousand women, it would seem to have been the largest of which there is any record in history. It was doubtless monstrously large, and 'eunuchs' were among the

attendants in it. Yet Solomon had only one son, and that son was Rehoboam—'ample,' as Ben Sira says, 'in foolishness and lacking in understanding, who by his counsel let loose the people' (Sir 47[23]). God's violated law of married love clearly avenged itself on Solomon and condemned his polygamy.

17. *Close of Solomon's Career.*—Before his death Solomon had largely lost the popularity which he had enjoyed in the earlier years of his reign. He had overtaxed and overburdened his subjects, and made a lavish and wasteful use of the national resources, and the selfishness which led him to do so had defeated its own ends. He had given offence, in a considerable measure, perhaps unnecessary offence, to the prophets and their adherents and to the Ephraimites generally. But the fame he had acquired could not be forgotten, and he had done too much for Israel to be despised or assailed. His reputation was a part, and a large part, of that of the nation. Hence none of his 'adversaries rose against him.' The recollection of what he had been protected him even against his bitterest enemies among the Ephraimites; and Ahijah himself preached the very strange doctrine that God desired Solomon's sins to be overlooked for David's sake, and Rehoboam punished for the transgressions of Solomon (1 K 11[27-36]). But, even although left unmolested, he must surely, when he began to realize that death was not far away, have looked back on his lengthened reign with great dissatisfaction. He had abundant cause for contrition and regret. He had not been a good shepherd of his people. He had sought his own glory far more than their good. He had preferred low aims to high, and could not fail to be conscious thereof. He had impoverished and oppressed large numbers of his subjects. He had not made Israel a thoroughly consolidated nation, as he might and should have done. He had talked wisdom and practised folly. He had through selfishness failed to take advantage of the precious gifts and grand opportunities for usefulness which J" had granted him. He had professed piety and preached righteousness, yet dishonoured God, degraded himself, and set an evil example to others by his luxury and licentiousness. Looking seriously over his past, he could not but realize that, with all its appearance of splendour, it had been essentially, so far as he was concerned, a deplorable failure, a vanity of vanities, whatever might be made of it by an overruling Providence. He may have been spared the misery of foreseeing that immediately on his death his son would be so foolish as to provoke a disruption of the kingdom, and therefore bring innumerable woes both on Judah and on Israel, but he can hardly have failed to forecast that troublous times for the monarchy were approaching. Throughout almost the whole of his reign the relations between Israel and Egypt had been friendly; by the time of his death the Pharaoh Shishak was meditating war, and five years later he captured Jerusalem, plundered Solomon's temple and palace, and left Rehoboam to substitute shields of brass for his father's shields of gold. The disruption of Israel and Judah was fatal to both, and Solomon even more than Rehoboam was responsible for it. It is not surprising, therefore, that both in Kings and Chronicles, when his death is recorded, he should, notwithstanding all the glory he had gained, receive no word of commendation. All that is said is that 'he slept with his fathers, and was buried in the city of David his father; and Rehoboam his son reigned in his stead' (1 K 11[43], 2 Ch 9[31]).

LITERATURE.—Milman, *Hist. of the Jews* (1866), i. 307 ff.; Stanley, *Hist. of Jewish Church*, ii. 139 ff.; Fr. Newman, *Hist. of Heb. Monarchy*, ch. iv.; the Histories of Ewald (iii. 204 ff.), Stade (1884, p. 374 ff.), A. Köhler (1884, ii. 374 ff.), A. Klostermann (1896, p. 168 ff.), Wellhausen (1897, p. 65 ff.), Guthe (1899, p. 110 ff.), Cornill (1898, p. 86 ff.), Kent (1896, p. 169 ff.), Kittel (ii. 177 ff.), Renan (ii. 96 ff.), Piepenbring (1898, p. 167 ff.); cf. also Winckler, *Alttest. Untersuchungen*, (1892) 60 f., (1894) 1 ff.; McCurdy, *HPM* § 205 ff.; B. W. Bacon, 'Solomon in Tradition and in Fact,' in *New World*, June 1898, p. 212 ff.; and articles in Herzog, Riehm, and Schenkel. As regards commentaries, etc., on the sources, see the bibliographical lists appended to articles on KINGS and CHRONICLES.

R. FLINT.

SOLOMON'S PORCH.—See PORCH, and TEMPLE, p. 713[b].

SOLOMON'S SERVANTS (עַבְדֵי שְׁלֹמֹה; LXX usually δοῦλοι Σαλωμών [but see *ad fin.*]).—In the two lists of exiles who returned to Jerusalem from Babylon with Zerubbabel, *the sons of Solomon's servants* are first mentioned immediately after *the Nethinim* (Ezr 2[55-57], Neh 7[57-59]), and then included with them, as though they were subdivisions of the same class: 'All the Nethinim, and the children of Solomon's servants, were three hundred and ninety-two' (Ezr 2[58], Neh 7[60]). At Neh 10[28] the sons of Solomon's servants appear to be included amongst the Nethinim. At Neh 11[3] they are again mentioned along with them; but the parallel list of 1 Ch 9[2] contents itself with using the more familiar of the two titles, as though the person who inserted this list did not distinguish between Nethinim and sons of Solomon's servants. As to their position and functions it will therefore be sufficient to refer to art. NETHINIM.

It is clear from Ezk 44[8f.] that non-Israelites were employed for many menial duties connected with the temple service. The caste of foreigners thus referred to may have originated from the body of forced labourers whom Solomon is said to have used in building the temple and other structures (1 K 9[20. 21]). These would not unnaturally be called Solomon's slaves or servants. After the temple was finished, some of them might be retained for the inferior offices of the house of God, and the title originally bestowed on them would cling to them. In succeeding generations the composition of the class would vary from a number of causes: some families would die out, others would be added from prisoners of war and other sources. Nor is there any difficulty in conceiving of them as holding together in the Exile. We can readily imagine members of the minor orders in the Roman Catholic Church doing so in like circumstances. Torrey (*Comp. and Hist. Value of Ezra-Nehemiah*, p. 40) thinks that the mention of them is simply an instance of the Chronicler's determination to connect every institution belonging to his own day with David and Solomon. But it may fairly be argued that the very lowliness of the title 'Solomon's slaves' is in favour of its genuineness. No body of men would have been willing to bear it if it had been arbitrarily imposed from without in the days of the second temple. But if it were inherited, the disagreeable connotation would be worn off in the process of time.

The remark made respecting the family names of the Nethinim must be repeated here. They indicate a foreign origin. There can have been only a small number of persons in each of the families, as will be seen by dividing the total number by that of the families. The spelling of the names varies slightly in the two lists, but there is no ground for the distinction *Pochereth of Zebaim* (Ezr 2[57]) and *Pochereth Zebaim* (Neh 7[59]) in AV; in both places RV rightly reproduces *Pochereth-hazzebaim*. The Pesh. differs from MT in two points. At Ezr 2[57]—but not at Neh 7[59]—it gets rid of Solomon's servants entirely, reading ; LXX B has *vlοί*

'Αβδησέλ, v.[55], and υἱοὶ 'Αβδησελμά, v.[58]. At Neh 11[3] it makes them dwell at Jerusalem, not in the cities of Judah. J. TAYLOR.

SOMEIS (Σομεεῖς, AV Samis), 1 Es 9[34]=Shimei, Ezr 10[38].

SOMETIME, SOMETIMES.—These forms are used indiscriminately in AV, and (except Sir 37[14]) always in the sense of 'once upon a time,' 'formerly.' The Gr. is always ποτέ. RV changes in every case: in Wis 5[3], Col 3[7], Tit 3[3], 1 P 3[20] into 'aforetime'; in Eph 2[13] 5[8] into 'once'; in Col 1[21] into 'in time past.' For the indiscriminate spelling, cf. Melvill, *Diary*, lx., 'He tuik him to rest, and passed ouer that haill day, sum tyme in rest, as it seimed, and sum tymes in paine.' For 'sometime,' meaning 'formerly,' cf. La 1[1] Cov. 'Alas, how sitteth the cite so desolate, yt some tyme was full of people?'; and for 'sometimes,' Shaks. *Rich. II.* I. ii. 54, 'Thy sometimes brother's wife.' Abbott (*Shaks. Gram.* p. 51) thinks this is the meaning also in *Merch. of Venice*, I. i. 163—

'Sometimes from her eyes
I did receive fair speechless messages.'

In the mod. sense of 'occasionally' the only example in AV is Sir 37[14] (Gr. ἐνίοτε). But that meaning was quite common at the time. Thus Elyot, *Governour*, ii. 225, 'Some tyme it [*fides*] may be called faythe, some tyme credence, other whyles truste'; Tindale, *Expos.* 30, '*Centurion* is a captain of a hundred men; whom I call sometime a centurion, but for the most part a hundercaptain.' J. HASTINGS.

SON.—See FAMILY.

SON OF GOD.—

Use of the title 'Son of God' in—
I. OT AND JEWISH WRITINGS.
1. OT.—Title applied to:
(*a*) angels;
(*b*) judges or rulers;
(*c*) the theocratic king;
(*d*) the theocratic people;
(*e*) the Messiah—Ps 89 and Ps 2.
2. Jewish Writings:—
(i.) Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha.
(ii.) The Talmud.
II. NT.
1. The Gospels.
(*a*) Use of the term 'Son of God.'
(i.) Incidental uses.
(ii.) St. Peter's confession.
(iii.) The voice from heaven at the Baptism and at the Transfiguration:
(*α*) The textual question.
(*β*) Nature of the manifestations.
(*b*) The correlative terms 'Father' and 'Son.'
2. Rest of NT.
(*a*) The title 'Son of God.'
(*b*) The titles 'Father' and 'Son.'
Note on the use of παῖς θεοῦ.
3. The significance of these titles—
(*a*) For contemporaries, Jewish and non-Jewish—
(i.) The populace.
(ii.) The centurion.
(iii.) The ruling classes.
(iv.) The disciples.
(*b*) For Jesus Himself—
(i.) The filial consciousness of Jesus.
(ii.) The testimony of the Father.
(iii.) Messiahship and Divinity.
(iv.) Pre-existence.
(*c*) For the Apostles—
He 1[1-3].
Col 1[(13)-15].
Ro 8[3].
Note on the origin of the Christian use of the title 'Son of God.'
III. THE EARLY CHURCH.
1. The sub-Apostolic Fathers.
Note on the meaning of 'Son' in the Apostles' Creed.
2. Marcellus of Ancyra.
Conclusion.
Literature.

I. THE OLD TESTAMENT AND JEWISH WRITINGS.—The history of the term 'Son of God' in the pre-Christian period is the history of a gradual heightening and concentration of meaning in connexion with the culminating point of biblical revelation. The use of the term is at first rather poetic or rhetorical than in the strict sense theological. It is applied to a number of objects in such a way as to invest them with a special dignity and value, or to hint at a special relation of nearness and appreciation on the part of God; but it did not denote any essential partaking in the Divine nature. Only in Christian times does this latter sense come to attach to it.

1. *OLD TESTAMENT.*—In OT the phrase, or something like it, is used of angels, of human judges, of the theocratic king, of the theocratic people, and of the Messiah. It is this last use which is taken up and further developed in Christianity.

(*a*) In the first passage that meets us, Gn 6[2. 4] (ascribed to the 9th cent. document J), the term is applied to the race of demigods or *angelic beings* which is conceived as existing before the Flood.

This passage proved rather a stumbling-block to the later Jewish exegesis, and was variously explained. The main body of Septuagint MSS (ℵ B are not extant) tr. literally οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ θεοῦ (so also Theodotion). A group, including A, paraphrases this (in v.[2] but not in v.[4]) as οἱ ἄγγελοι. Aquila tr. still more literally οἱ υἱοὶ τῶν θεῶν, leaving an opening, as it would seem, for some such sense as that given in the next paragraph. Symm. interprets less equivocally οἱ υἱοὶ τῶν δυναστευόντων, as though the reference was to the profligate sons of the upper or ruling classes. So most Jewish commentators; some, however, with Field (*Hexapla*, i. 22), make the 'sons of God'=the descendants of Seth, and the 'daughters of men'=the descendants of Cain. But there can be little doubt that the sense is as in Job 1[6] 2[1] 38[7]; cf. Ps 29[1] 89[6], and Dn 3[25].

(*b*) In one remarkable verse the title seems to be applied to *judges* or *rulers* (Ps 82[6]), 'I said, Ye are gods; and all of you sons of the Most High' (cf. v.[1]; also Jn 10[34]). And in a number of places 'judges' are in some way or other equated with 'gods' (Ex 21[6] RVm and AV, 22[8. 9] RVm and AV, 1 S 2[25] RVm and AV; in all these places 'God' in RV is lit. 'gods,' *'ĕlōhîm*, according to the familiar idiom).

The origin of this latter usage is not quite clear. It appears to be connected with the fact that judicial or quasi-judicial decisions were given in early times in the form of *oracles* at some sacred place and in the name of the deity.

It is a further question whether or how far Ps 82[6] was suggested by this usage. That it was so suggested was the older view; and Duhm (*e.g.*) still explains of the Hasmonæan princes; Baethgen, of heathen rulers. But some recent writers, not without precursors in the earlier days of criticism, take more literally: *e.g.* Cheyne, of the 'patron angels' of oppressive heathen nations; Wellhausen (*ad loc.*) and Smend (*AT Theol.* p. 394 ff.), of the gods of these nations. Most commentators compare Ps 58, reading 'O ye gods' in v.[1].

(*c*) Of more importance, and indeed on the direct line of Messianic promises, is the designation as applied to the *theocratic king*. For this the leading passage is the assurance given by Nathan to David, 'I will be to him a father, and he shall be to me a son' (2 S 7[14]). Many other places point back to this, esp. Ps 89[26. 27]. But these will meet us again under (*e*).

(*d*) Closely associated with the application to the theocratic king is that to the *theocratic people*. For this we go back primarily to Ex 4[22] 'Thou shalt say unto Pharaoh, Thus saith the LORD, Israel is my son, my firstborn,'—an announcement that seems to have been present to the mind of the prophet Hosea when he wrote, 'When Israel was a child, then I loved him, and called my son out of Egypt' (Hos 11[1]).

(*e*) If the title 'son' is given both to the theocratic king and to the theocratic people where these are clearly distinguished from each other, still more inevitable was it that the same title would belong to them when the two ideas coalesce into one, as they do in the passages that may be called *more directly Messianic*. Conspicuous among these are Pss 89 and 2.

Ps 89.—This psalm is based upon the promises of 2 S 7, but also in v.[27] clearly takes up Ex 4[22]. Hence, while it is agreed that both king and people are in view, opinions differ somewhat as to the degree of prominence to be assigned to each. Cheyne (Comm. on v.[39]) has 'no doubt that the Davidic king (or rather 'the Davidic royalty') is meant.' But 'the Davidic house has long been overthrown, and the fate of the nation has a more practical interest for the writer, whose description partly fits the king, partly the people, now become the heir of the old Davidic promises.' In *OP* p. 118 he pronounces more decidedly for the 'post-exile Jewish Church' in the Persian period (Artaxerxes II. and III.). Strack points out a close resemblance to the state of things under Josiah; Duhm, to that under Alexander Jannæus (*c.* 88 B.C.). Wellhausen, like Cheyne, explains of the community, which 'in the history of the theocracy succeeded to the place formerly occupied by the kings.'

Ps 2.—Even more central in its bearing upon the history of Christian thought is Ps 2, esp. v.[7b] 'Thou art my son; this day have I begotten thee'; *i.e.* from the day of thine enthronement I have adopted thee for my own son. Opinion is leaning rather more than it did to the view expressed by Cheyne, that this psalm has not 'a contemporary historical reference' (Cheyne himself thinks that the writer 'throws himself back' into the age of David or Solomon, to which, according to Strack, he belongs). What might be called the most modern view is concisely stated by Wellhausen (*PB*, 'Psalms,' *ad loc.*): 'The Messiah is the speaker, and the whole psalm is composed in His name. It is not merely the hopes concerning the future to which he gives expression; it is the claims to world-wide dominion already cherished by the Jewish Theocracy. All the heathen are destined to obey the Jews; if they fail to do so, they are rebels. The Messiah is the incarnation of Israel's universal rule. He and Israel are almost identical, and it matters little whether we say that Israel *has* or *is* the Messiah. . . . On the day when JHVH founded the Theocracy, He gave it the right to unlimited earthly dominion. This right is involved in the very idea of the Theocracy. Zion, as being the seat of the Divine rule, is, *ipso facto*, the seat of universal rule.'

It will be seen how the most advanced science of our time is by degrees giving back a full equivalent for the old naïve conception that would make the passages above quoted direct unmediated predictions of the personal Messiah. As applied to the Messiah these prophecies are not unmediated. The steps are one thing, the shrine to which they lead is another. The Scriptures of which we have been speaking mark so many separate contributions to the total result; but the result, when it is attained, has the completeness of an organic whole. A Figure was created—projected as it were upon the clouds—which was invested with all the attributes of a person. And the minds of men were turned towards it in an attitude of expectation. It makes no matter that the lines of this Figure are drawn from different originals. They meet at last in a single portraiture. And we should never have known how perfectly they meet if we had not had the NT picture to compare with that of OT. The most literal fulfilment of prediction would not be more conclusive proof that all the course of the world and all the threads of history are in one guiding Hand.

2. *JEWISH WRITINGS.*—Ps 2, as it has been rightly observed, stands at the head of a long line of subsequent development. The conception of the Messiah as also 'Son' became a fixed part of the tradition, not perhaps quite so widely extended as might have been expected,—it does not figure at all largely in the Talmud,—and yet sufficiently attested in those forms of Judaism which present the nearest affinities to Christianity.

(i.) *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha.*—The title 'Son' as applied to the Messiah occurs only once in the Book of Enoch (105[2]) in a passage the origin and date of which are uncertain. It does not occur at all in Apoc. of Baruch. But in 4 Ezra (2 Esdras) it seems to be fairly well established. This book is lost in the original (Gr. or Heb. ?), but is preserved in no fewer than five versions, Lat., Syr., Æth., Arab. (two forms), Arm., which are commonly supposed to rank in this order, though the subject has not yet been thoroughly investigated.

The text printed in our Bibles is from the Latin. In 7[28. 29] this version has evidently passed through Christian hands; Syr. has twice and Arab. once 'my Son Messiah,' Æth. once 'my Servant Messiah' (perhaps = παῖς), and Arm. once 'the Messiah of God.' From this rough statement, which can hardly be pursued into close detail, it will be seen that there is some doubt. In 13[32] and [37] Lat. Syr. Arab., and in 13[52] Lat. Syr. identically, and Æth. Arab. approximately, all have 'Son,' which, however, does not appear in the Armenian. A like relation is found in 14[9], where Lat. Syr. Æth. codd. Arab. have 'Son'; Æth. codd. 'sons,' while Arm. drops and paraphrases. The edd., including Hilgenfeld and Gunkel in Kautzsch, *Apokr. u. Pseudepig. d. AT*, read 'Son' in all these places; but the reading cannot be regarded as quite secure (cf. Drummond, *Jewish Messiah*, pp. 285–288).

The strongly Messianic passage in Ps-Sol 17[23-51] has not the title 'Son,' but clearly borrows from Ps 2 in v.[26].

(ii). *The Talmud.*—Apart from the above instances there is not much evidence for the Messianic interpretation of Ps 2 in the Rabbinic literature. Dalman (*Worte Jesu*, p. 222) gives three examples of this, one dating *c.* 240 and another *c.* 350 A.D.

Two other comments quoted by him are of some interest. The Midrash on Ps 2[12] concludes thus: 'To whom is this like? To a king who is wroth with his subjects, and the subjects go and make their peace with the king's son, that he may make peace for them. Then when the subjects go to give thanks to the king, he saith to them: Would ye give thanks to me? Go and give them to my son; since, but for him, I should long ago have blotted out the people. So saith God to the nations of the world when they would give thanks to him. Go thank the children of Israel, for without them ye would not have continued for a single hour.'

A late comment in Midr. *Tehill.* ii. 7 is expressly directed against the Christian interpretation: 'From this passage (Ps 2[7]) an answer may be given to the Minim (Christians) who say the Holy One—blessed be He—has a Son, and thou canst reply to them: it does not mean "A Son art Thou to Me," but "Thou art My Son"; like a servant whom his master encourages by saying to him, "I love thee as my son!"' Although this is set down as 'very late,' it is just the interpretation that would be natural to a Jew.

II. THE NEW TESTAMENT.—In passing over to NT it is important to observe that we should not form an adequate conception of the significance of the title 'Son of God' if we were to confine ourselves to the use of that title alone. It is true that it occurs in some central passages, and true that in these passages the phrase is invested with great depth of meaning. But we should not adequately appreciate this depth, and still less should we understand the mass and volume of NT teaching on this head, if we did not directly connect with the explicit references to the 'Son of God' that other long series of references to God as pre-eminently 'the Father,' and to Christ as pre-eminently 'the Son.' These two lines of usage are really convergent. And we must first consider them separately before we bring them together. It has seemed best first to collect and sift the evidence before seeking to penetrate further into its meaning.

1. *THE GOSPELS.*—(*a*) *Use of the term 'Son of God.'*—The use of this term is perhaps more sparing than we might suppose. And the number of instances on which we can really lay stress will be found to shrink somewhat on examination.

(i.) *Incidental uses.*—Only in the Fourth Gospel (5[25] 9[35] [*var. lect.*] 10[36] 11[4]) is the title 'Son of God' used by our Lord expressly of Himself. And although three at least of the places in which it

is described as used of Him are of salient importance, this is not the case with others. Instances like Mk 1^{1} (where the reading is also not quite certain), Jn 3^{18} 20^{31} belong to the evangelists, and are therefore evidence for a later stage of belief than that of the narrative. And we must allow for the possibility that to this later stage are really to be assigned words such as those ascribed to the Baptist in Jn 1^{34} and to Nathanael in Jn 1^{49}. Nor can we be too confident as to the exact wording of the discourses or sayings in Jn 3^{18} 5^{25} 9^{35} [*v.l.*] 10^{36} 11^{4}. St. John, even more than the other evangelists, was so intensely absorbed in his own belief in the Godhead of Christ that it was natural to him to antedate expressions which really would be exceptional at the time to which they are referred. Even in the First Gospel (Mt 14^{33} 26^{63}) the absence of the phrase from the Synoptic parallels must cast some doubt upon its originality.

On the other hand, in the cases of the demoniacs (Mk 3^{11} ‖ 5^{7} ‖) and of the centurion at the Cross (Mk 15^{39} ‖) the attestation indeed is excellent, but we cannot deduce anything very tangible (see below, 3 (*a*)).

(ii.) *St. Peter's Confession.*—We cannot be surprised if by an application of similar critical methods some scholars (*e.g.* Dalman, *Worte Jesu*, p. 224) should also cancel the phrase in the more important connexion of Mt 16^{16}. Here, in the version of Matthew, Peter's confession runs: 'Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God'; where Mark has only, 'Thou art the Christ,' and Luke 'The Christ of God.' And no doubt it follows from this that the Marcan document had no more than our present Gospel. Still this passage is not really on all fours with the others that have come before us. For the context clearly proves that Matthew had before him some further tradition, possibly that of the *Logia*, but in any case a tradition that has the look of being original. Whether this originality extends to the whole phrase may be more than we could assert positively, but to the present writer it appears to be probable that it does. We should more easily understand the apostolic use of the title 'Son of God' if there had been precedents for it on important occasions like this, when it is represented as receiving the sanction of Christ Himself. The whole phrase as it stands, including the epithet 'living God,' calls up such a host of OT associations, and at one step sets the confession so conspicuously in its place amid the whole series of biblical revelations, that we may be loth to let it go.

(iii.) *The voice from heaven at the Baptism and Transfiguration.*—The next two places that we have to deal with are encircled, like the last, with critical considerations. It may be well first to state the textual facts, so that the reader may have the evidence fully before him.

a. The textual question.—

The Baptism:—

Mt 3^{17} *καὶ ἰδοὺ φωνὴ ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν λέγουσα· Οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ υἱός μου ὁ ἀγαπητὸς ἐν ᾧ εὐδόκησα.*

Mk 1^{11} *καὶ φωνὴ ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν· Σὺ εἶ ὁ υἱός μου ὁ ἀγαπητός, ἐν σοὶ εὐδόκησα.*

Lk 3^{22} . . . *καὶ φωνὴν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ γενέσθαι· Σὺ εἶ ὁ υἱός μου ὁ ἀγαπητός, ἐν σοὶ εὐδόκησα.*

Σὺ εἶ, κ.τ.λ. codd. Græc. et verss. (*inc.* Syr. Sin.) *fere omn.*

Τίός μου εἶ σύ (+ *ἀγαπητός*, Clem. Alex.). *ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε*, D a b c ff^{2} * l r.

Hanc lectionem quasi evangelicam agnoscunt (*nisi psalmum alicubi respiciant*), Just. Mart., Clem. Alex., Method., Juvenc., Tycon., Aug. *Habet etiam*, Ev. Ebionit. *ap.* Epiph. 1/2.

The Transfiguration:—

Mt 17^{5} *καὶ ἰδοὺ φωνὴ ἐκ τῆς νεφέλης λέγουσα· Οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ υἱός μου ὁ ἀγαπητὸς ἐν ᾧ εὐδόκησα· ἀκούετε αὐτοῦ.*

Mk 9^{7} *καὶ ἐγένετο φωνὴ ἐκ τῆς νεφέλης· Οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ υἱός μου ὁ ἀγαπητός, ἀκούετε αὐτοῦ.*

Lk 9^{35} *καὶ φωνὴ ἐγένετο ἐκ τῆς νεφέλης λέγουσα· Οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ υἱός μου ὁ ἐκλελεγμένος, αὐτοῦ ἀκούετε.*

We may also compare Ac 13^{33} . . . *ἀναστήσας Ἰησοῦν, ὡς καὶ ἐν τῷ ψαλμῷ γέγραπται τῷ δευτέρῳ* (*v.l. ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ ψαλμῷ γέγρ.*)· *Τίός μου εἶ σύ, ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε.* Cf. He 1^{5} 5^{5}.

The main question here is as to the reading of Lk 3^{22}: *ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε* is clearly Western, with strong Latin support, though even here the whole family is not included, e f going the other way; the absence of Syriac evidence is also important. The natural inference would be that the reading, although, no doubt, very ancient, was not really primitive. And when we think how strong the temptation would be to assimilate the text of the Gospel to that of the psalm, and how readily this latter text would fall in with ideas that are known to have been current in the 2nd cent., the presumption against its originality is increased. In any case Luke is the only Gospel affected. The agreement of Matthew and Mark is sufficient guarantee that the reading found in them was found also in the common Synop. document. Luke can at most represent only a separate tradition, which hardly in this instance carries with it so much weight as the others.

If the common reading is to be preferred, then the first half of the words presents a coincidence with Ps 2^{7}, the second half with Is 42^{1}. The words heard at the Transfiguration also present a general resemblance to Ps 2. That psalm is directly quoted in Acts and Hebrews.

β. The nature of the Manifestations.—It is characteristic of the OT prophets that the revelations made to them sometimes took the form of remarkable sights and sometimes of remarkable sounds. At least these are the terms in which they are described to us; what exactly were the psychological phenomena corresponding it is beyond our power to say. They belong to the peculiar experience of the Hebrew prophets. The Jewish notions about the *Bath Kôl* are an extension of the same idea (Weber, *Jüd. Theol.*[3] p. 194 f.).

It is natural to suppose that the manifestations at the Baptism and at the Transfiguration were similar in kind. It is possible that they were known only to Jesus Himself, perhaps in the one case also to the Baptist, and in the other to one or more of the apostles who possessed the prophetic endowment. Through such a channel as this the Divine approval of the Son was in all probability communicated to men. The significance of this Divine testimony will come before us later.

(*b*) *The correlative terms 'Father' and 'Son.'*—We are told (Dalman, *Worte Jesu*, p. 156) that it is contrary to Jewish usage to speak of God as 'Father' absolutely without some such addition as 'who is in heaven.' The only exceptions occur in prayers. It also appears that great care and reserve were used in the application of this title generally. The Targums, where they have occasion to refer to it, adopt a paraphrase.

In this respect the Gospels show a marked contrast. Our Lord does, indeed, make use of the Jewish form (which is found most frequently in Matthew, but cf. also Mk 11^{26}, Lk 11^{13}); and it is probable enough that the real instances of this use may have been more numerous than would appear from our Gospels.

At the same time the Christian use goes far beyond the Jewish limitations. And besides the general use as applied to the disciples, there is a special use in which our Lord reserves it in a peculiar manner to Himself. He nowhere speaks of '*our* Father,' numbering Himself with His followers. The Lord's Prayer is not an exception, because it is a form prescribed to the disciples, and constructed entirely for them. The prayers of the Son to the Father are different.

On the other hand, our Lord constantly speaks of 'my Father,' whether with (Mt 7^{21} 10^{32} 15^{13} 16^{17} $18^{10.\ 19.\ 35}$) or without addition. And this use apparently goes back even to His childhood (Lk 2^{49}).

The use in question is illustrated in a number of ways. So in the parable of the Wicked Husbandmen, where the 'beloved son' (Mk 12^{6}), who is also 'heir,' is distinguished from all other messengers. So again in the parable of the Marriage Feast, which the king makes for his son (Mt 22^{2});

where, though the parallel in Lk 14[16] may point to this description as added later, the instance just given would at least show that it lay near at hand; and some further support is given to it by the part played by the 'bridegroom' in the parable of the Ten Virgins.

In any case the whole argument of Mt 17[25] turns on the distinction between 'son' and 'stranger.' And the point of the discussion about Ps 110[1] (Mk 12[35-37]) is just to prove that the Messiah is not 'son of David' in the same sense in which other members of his lineage are spoken of as sons. We shall have occasion to come back to some of these passages presently.

We observe in our Lord's use of the titles 'Father' and 'Son' in connexion with Himself an ascending scale. First, there are the places where He speaks of God as His heavenly Father, or Father in heaven, after ordinary Jewish usage (Mt 7[21] etc., see above). Then there are the places where He speaks of God as 'my Father' without addition, which are too numerous to need specification. Then we come to a smaller number of passages in which 'the Son' and 'the Father' are at once opposed and associated. And lastly, there are the cases in which mention is made of 'the Father' and 'the Son,' where the correlation is not expressed but implied. The last two classes of passages alone will require some discussion.

The classical passage in the Synoptic Gospels for the correlative use of 'the Father' and 'the Son' is, of course, Mt 11[27] ‖. By the side of this we have Mk 13[32] ‖ [*v.l.*] and the important and much debated verse Mt 28[19].

Dalman (see pp. 231–235) allows the first of these passages to stand, explaining it as a figurative application of the relation of 'father and son.' The relation of Jesus to Him whom we call 'the Father' is such a relation, and therefore implies mutual knowledge. But the other places, he thinks, bear too close a resemblance to the theological language of the Early Church; and he would set them down, in their present form, to the reflex influence of that language. He questions the use by our Lord Himself of either phrase as a theological term. And this kind of view is, no doubt, widely spread in critical circles.

Now, in the first place, we note that the passages just referred to are not the only evidence for bringing the use in question within the cycle of Synoptic language. We may fairly add to these for this purpose Ac 1[4. 7] 2[33]; for not only is the author of Acts the author also of one of our Synoptic Gospels, but it is probable that these early chapters are based upon a document that is very much upon the same level with the sources used in the Synoptics.

Next, we observe that if the use of 'the Father' and 'the Son' as theological terms belongs to the Early Church, it at least goes back to the very first moment at which we possess contemporary evidence for the vocabulary of that Church, and indeed to a date which is not more than 23 years from the Ascension (see 1 Th 1[1]). And at the time when we thus first meet with it the use is no novelty, but already firmly and deeply rooted, a thing generally understood in all the Pauline Churches, and, so far as we can see, without any hint of question or dispute beyond their borders. As we shall have to illustrate this more at length in the next section, we need not pursue the point further.

These facts demand an explanation. How are we to account for the rapid growth within some 23 to 26 years of a usage already so fixed and stereotyped? Where is the workshop in which it was fashioned, if it did not descend from Christ Himself? When we think of the way in which the best authenticated records of His teaching lead us up to the very verge of the challenged expressions, it seems altogether an easier step to regard them as the natural continuation of that teaching than to seek their origin wholly outside it. Of the two alternatives the former seems not only in other ways the more satisfactory, but really the easier and the more critical.

2. *The Rest of the New Testament.*—The same two convergent lines of doctrine may be traced in the rest of the NT as in the Gospels. Here again we have two groups of passages, the one introducing the title 'Son of God,' and the other speaking rather of 'the Father' and 'the Son.' And here again we find the two groups approach and mutually support each other.

The main difference between the Gospels and the rest of the literature is that, whereas we have seen that in the Gospels there is an ascending scale of expression, corresponding to the gradual unfolding of the new conception in the course of the history, in the Epistolary and other books (which though, as writings, for the most part earlier than the Gospels in point of composition, are later than them in the stage of development to which they have reference),—in these books the process reflected in the Gospels is seen as complete. Both titles, or sets of titles, 'Son of God' and 'Father and Son,' have come to represent definite *theologumena*. Their content is fixed, and carries with it a distinct doctrinal meaning. The climax to which we have been advancing has been reached, and now simply perpetuates itself. The point gained is not lost again.

(*a*) *The title 'Son of God.'*—We open the Epistle which stands at the head of the collection in our Bibles, and the state of belief implied in it is revealed to us in the very first verses (Ro 1[1-4]). We read there that the main subject of the Gospel, or new announcement to mankind, is just this, 'the Son of God.' And the nature of the announcement respecting Him is, that while on one side of His Being He satisfies the conditions expected in the Jewish Messiah by His descent from David, on another side of His Being He is defined or marked out as attaining to a higher designation still. He is nothing less than 'Son of God.' And the incontrovertible proof of His higher nature is to be seen in His victory over death by the Resurrection.

The term 'Son of God' is evidently by this time chosen and established as the standing formula to express what we mean by the *Divinity of Christ*. If in the OT the term did not necessarily imply Divine origin in the strict sense at all, that state of things has once for all been left behind; and this particular formula has been fixed upon by the Christian consciousness as the shortest and most decisive expression for the proposition in which its whole faith centres.

The inference which we thus draw from the opening verses of Ep. to Romans is confirmed on all hands, and shown to hold good for every branch of the Church. We need not stay to illustrate it further from such passages as Gal 2[20], Eph 4[13] for the Epp. of St. Paul. But Ac 9[20] shows that to preach 'that Jesus is the Son of God' was a current way of describing the gospel. A like result follows from 1 Jn 3[8] (where 'the Son of God was manifested' is a name for what was afterwards called 'the Incarnation'), and 1 Jn 4[15] 5[5. 10. 13] prove clearly that the confession of Jesus as the Son of God was the cardinal point in the Christian faith. Somewhat more indirectly the same conclusion follows from He 4[14] 10[29] and Rev 2[18] (taking up the description of 1[13-16]). The Gospel of St. John (1[14. 18]) identifies the Only-begotten with the Logos of God.

(*b*) *The titles 'Father' and 'Son.'*—In the Prologue to the Fourth Gospel we are in the region of high theology. But the fundamental assumptions of the Epistles (Pauline, Petrine, Johannean, Hebrews) are on the same plane. From the first we have in the greetings of such as begin with greetings frequent reference to the standing correlatives 'the Father' and 'the Son.' There never was a time within the range of this literature when the two correlative terms were not understood and accepted as part of the essential vocabulary of Christianity.

When, therefore, we read in Mt 28^{19} the command to baptize in the name of the Father and the Son, this combination is one proved to have been in common use less than 25 years after the command is said to have been given; and the complete triad is proved to have been recognized very little later.

We repeat that the matured form in which these conceptions are found in the earliest Epistles seems to us abundantly to justify not only the few places in which they enter into the Synoptic Gospels, but, *in principle* at least, the more numerous places in which they occur in the Gospel that bears the name of St. John (see below, 3 *b* i).

Note on the use of παῖς θεοῦ.—We must reckon with the possibility that παῖς (θεοῦ) in Ac $3^{13.\ 26}$ $4^{27.\ 30}$ was intended to be taken in the sense of 'Son.' It certainly has this sense in a number of places in the Apostolic Fathers (see below, III. 1). It is, however, more probable that (as in Mt 12^{18}) the earlier writers distinctly have in view the 'Servant of Jehovah' of Is 42^{1} etc. Only when the preaching of the gospel left Jewish ground and began to spread among peoples ignorant of Heb. were the two senses wholly confused. This process, indeed, was rapid; and the effect was so far good that it blended with the conception of Christ as 'Son' a quantity of valuable teaching relating to the 'Servant' which was most truly applicable to Him (though under another name), and which, but for this, might have met with less attention. On the passages in Acts see esp. an excellent note by Knowling on Ac 3^{13}; cf. also what is said by the same writer on 'St. Peter's Discourses,' p. 119 ff.

3. *The Significance of these Titles.*—We have now collected most of the data bearing upon our subject. The next step must be to consider their significance under the different conditions in which we have found the titles used. In other words, we shall have to ask what they really meant, in the fulness of their meaning, (*a*) for the contemporaries of Jesus, both Jewish and non-Jewish; (*b*) for Jesus Himself; (*c*) for the apostles, looking back upon and interpreting them.

(*a*) *For contemporaries, Jewish and non-Jewish.*—(i.) *The populace.*—Not much can be extracted from the witness of the demoniacs (Mk 3^{11} ‖ 5^{7} ‖). If we read into it a higher meaning than the words conveyed to the mind of the speaker, it could only be by assuming a providential action outside the working of ordinary laws. The prophecy of Caiaphas (Jn 11^{49-52}) is perhaps sufficiently parallel to justify us in introducing this; and it is a common belief that, where the human will is most dormant, Divine influences are felt most readily. But, looked at psychologically, the confessions of the demoniacs could not mean more than that they believed themselves to be in the presence of the expected Messiah.

(ii.) *The centurion.*—In spite of the divergent report of the words of the centurion at the cross in Lk 23^{47}, there can be little doubt that the common source of the Synoptic narrative is rightly reproduced by Mark and Matthew, 'Truly this was the Son of God.' As, however, there is no obvious reason why Luke should have altered this, and as there are other details in the history of the Passion for which he appears to have independent authority, it is possible that another version of the words may have reached him; and that version may have as good a chance of being true as that which competes with it. If the words 'Son of God' were really used, the sense attaching to them would depend to some extent on the nationality of the centurion, in regard to which we are in the dark. Probably what was in his mind would be an undefined feeling of awe, and a consciousness that events were happening that transcended his experience and apprehension.

(iii.) *The ruling classes.*—The question was directly put to our Lord by the high priest, 'Art thou the Christ, the Son of the Blessed?' (Mk 14^{61}). And the assenting answer was treated as blasphemy. Still, it would not follow that this was taken as an assertion of full Divinity. It probably was taken as a claim to be the Messiah. But if the Jews in general thought of the Messiah as superhuman indeed, but not strictly Divine, the high priest (unless it were by such an overruling as we have considered above) is not likely to have meant more than this. The claim might well seem so audacious as to amount to blasphemy even without this aggravation (cf. Holtzmann, *Neutest. Theol.* i. 266), more especially as it includes the prophecy of a second coming as Judge.

(iv.) *The disciples.*—The highest point of recognition of our Lord's true nature was no doubt reached in St. Peter's confession. We have seen that there is some presumption (the extent of which we would not exaggerate, though it seems to us real) that St. Peter did actually use the words attributed to him by Matthew. If so, 'the Son of the living God' would be stronger still than the more common phrase without the epithet. Not only (as we have suggested) does this at once bring before the mind a whole mass of most central OT teaching, but by the very fact of varying from and adding to the current phrase it prepares us for a variation from and addition to the meaning. 'The Son' is emphatically taken out of the common category of all others who may be described as 'sons.' And, 'the Son of the living God' is as much as to say 'the Son of Jehovah Himself,' the God of Revelation and Redemption, and the expression of His Personal Being. We are on the way towards the ἀπαύγασμα τῆς δόξης καὶ χαρακτὴρ τῆς ὑποστάσεως of He 1^{3}.

(*b*) *For Jesus Himself.*—But the question that concerns us most is, of course, What sense did the title and its equivalents bear for Jesus Himself? And here again we shall have to regard the question from several distinct points of view. We shall do well to look at it, (i.) in the light of our Lord's own filial consciousness; (ii.) in the light of the external testimony borne to Him by the Father; (iii.) with reference to the two distinct things, Messiahship and Divinity; (iv.) and lastly, with reference to the extent to which the Divine Sonship is to be carried back behind the Incarnation.

(i.) *The filial consciousness of Jesus.*—We have expressed our reluctance to speak too freely of the human consciousness of our Lord (art. Jesus Christ, ii. 603). But there can be no question that the central constituent in that consciousness was the complete and unclouded sense of the filial relation, evidenced at once by perfect mutuality of knowledge between the Son and the Father, and perfect submission and response on the part of the Son to the Father's will. On this head it may be said that critics of all shades are agreed (see, *e.g.*, Holtzmann, *Neutest. Theol.* i. 281 f., with numerous authorities quoted on p. 282; also Harnack, *What is Christianity?* p. 127 ff.).

But, that being so, it is rather strange that the references to this filial relation in the Synoptic Gospels should be so comparatively few. It is indeed implied in the many places in which (as we have seen) Jesus speaks of '*My* Father' in a sense peculiar to Himself. But, apart from these, there are but two conspicuous passages in which

the relation in question is described. On the side of action we have the supreme 'obedience unto death' of Mk 14^{36} ‖ 'Abba, Father, all things are possible unto thee; remove this cup from me: howbeit not what I will, but what thou wilt': with which we may compare the intimacy of inward converse throughout the Passion (Lk 23^{34}. [*v.l.*] ^{46}). And on the side of knowledge we have the one great passage, Mt 11^{27} 'No one knoweth the Son, save the Father; neither doth any know the Father, save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son willeth to reveal him.' It is in consequence of this relation that 'all things have been delivered' unto the Son by the Father (*ib.*), and that whosoever receives the Son receives really the Father who sent Him (Mk 9^{37} ‖).

In the Synoptic Gospels, with these few exceptions, the filial relation is rather felt as an underlying presupposition of the narrative than directly expressed in it. But when we turn to the Fourth Gospel, what has been hitherto of the nature of incidental comment or implication becomes nothing less than a standing theme, worked out in great variety of detail.

The Son is come forth from God, from the Father (Jn 1^{33} $16^{27.\ 28}$); He is not come of Himself, but is sent by God (8^{42} 17^{8}); and as He comes forth from God, so also He returns to God (13^{3} 16^{28}). He is come in the Father's name (5^{43}); not to seek His own will, but the will of Him that sent Him (5^{30} 6^{38} 14^{31} 17^{16}); to do that will is the support and stay, the ruling function, of His whole being (4^{34}). It follows that the Son does not seek His own glory but the Father's (7^{18} 8^{50} 17^{4}); and, as the converse of this, He does not glorify Himself, but is glorified by the Father (12^{28} 13^{32} 17^{5}), though the Father is glorified in the Son. The acts of the Son are really the acts of the Father, the natural expression of that perfect intimacy in which they stand to each other ($5^{19.\ 20}$ 8^{29} $10^{25.\ 37.\ 38}$). The reciprocity between them is complete, it is seen in the perfection of their mutual knowledge (7^{29} 8^{19} 10^{15} 17^{25}); so that the teaching of the Son is really the teaching of the Father (7^{16} $8^{26.\ 28.\ 38}$ $12^{49.\ 50}$ $14^{10.\ 24}$ 15^{15}). [It is important to note that the after-teaching of the Spirit comes under the same description; He too will 'not speak from himself; but what things soever he shall hear, these shall he speak' (16^{13}; cf. 15^{15})]. Hence the life and character and words of the Son, taken as a whole, constitute a revelation of the Father such as had never been given before (6^{46} $14^{7\text{-}10}$; cf. $1^{14.\ 18}$). The great fundamental fact is that the Son is *in* the Father and the Father *in* Him (10^{38} 14^{11} 17^{21}); or, in other words, the Son and the Father are one (10^{30}); a claim which the Jews appear to have understood, for they accused our Lord of 'making himself equal with God' (5^{18}).

It was but another aspect of His filial relation that the Son was the object of the Father's unwavering and unfailing love (Jn 3^{35} 5^{20} 10^{17} $15^{9.\ 10}$ $17^{23.\ 24.\ 26}$; cf. 11^{41} 14^{23}); that the Father bears witness to Him (5^{37} 8^{18} 12^{30}) [and we observe here again that the witness which is borne to the Son by the Father is also borne by the Spirit (15^{26})]; or, to use a summary Jewish expression, 'him the Father, even God, hath sealed' (6^{27}). Nor is it surprising that the prerogatives of the Father are committed to the Son (3^{35} 13^{3} 16^{15} 17^{7}), more particularly the prerogative of judgment ($5^{22.\ 27}$ 9^{39}), and the power of both possessing and imparting life (5^{26} 11^{25} $14^{6.\ 19}$ 17^{2}; cf. 1^{4}); or that the Son is to be honoured as the Father is honoured (5^{23}; cf. $15^{23.\ 24}$); or that mankind are invited to 'come' to the Son as the source of all highest nourishment (4^{14} 6^{35} 7^{37}), and as the way to the Father ($6^{37.\ 44.\ 45}$ 14^{6}).

It is open to us, if we will, to think that in this collection of sayings there is an element—possibly a somewhat considerable element—that represents not so much what was actually spoken as enlargement or comment embodying the experience and reflexion of the growing Church. It is open to us, if we will, to think that the part played by such sayings in the Gospel is proportionately greater than they would have seemed to bear to any average disciple who had heard the Lord. That it should be so would be perfectly consistent with the Gospel being the work of an apostle. It would be the natural and deliberate result of his setting himself to write a *πνευματικὸν εὐαγγέλιον*, the object of which was not so much to furnish a photographic reproduction of the events as to fill up gaps and deficiencies in the records of preceding evangelists. But, when every deduction is made, the fact remains that sayings of this character there most certainly were; and not only so, but on the showing of the most critical of critics they supplied the real keynote to the whole history. A scientific examination of the Gospels, whatever else it brings out, brings out this, that the root-element in the consciousness of Jesus was a sense of Sonship to the Divine Father, deeper, clearer, more intimate, more all-embracing and all-absorbing, than ever was vouchsafed to a child of man.

(ii.) *The testimony of the Father.*—We have spoken so far of what might be called the subjective consciousness of Jesus. As much at least as this not only follows from the logic of the history, but is distinctly revealed to us—in the Synoptic Gospels sufficiently, in the Fourth Gospel abundantly. But to this subjective conviction on His part the narratives tell us that there was also added an objective confirmation. The confirmation was given in the two voices at the Baptism and at the Transfiguration (Mk 1^{11} ‖ 9^{7} ‖), and also—if we take in St. John—by the voice heard at the visit of the Greeks (Jn 12^{28}). How are we to explain these utterances?

If the narratives are well founded, we are not limited in our explanation by any inquiry as to the current contemporary interpretation of such texts as Ps 2^{7}, Is 42^{1}, Dt 18^{15}, however much the words said to have been spoken contain reminiscences of or allusions to those texts. For the hearing of the voices was what might be called a prophetic hearing. The probability is, as we have hinted above (p. 572[b]), that just as on the third occasion, while the crowd said, 'It thundered,' or 'An angel spake to him,' either in the first instance the Baptist, or in the second instance the three apostles, or perhaps in all three, Jesus Christ Himself alone was aware of something that conveyed a more articulate sense than this. But in any case the sense thus conveyed was conveyed to the spiritual ear by a method analogous to that of prophetic inspiration.

And if, on the occasions in question, the Spirit of God did intimate prophetically to chosen witnesses, more or fewer, a revelation couched partly in the language of the ancient Scriptures, it would by no means follow that the meaning of the revelation was limited to the meaning of those older Scriptures. On the contrary, it would be likely enough that the old words would be charged with new meaning—that, indeed, the revelation contained in them, though linking on to some message of the past, would yet be in substance a new revelation.

We have seen that the ancient Scriptures of which we are speaking contributed, each in its way, to create that Ideal Figure which, in dimensions varying with the apprehending eye and mind, hovered before the imaginations of the contemporaries of Jesus. To Jesus Himself it reached the fullest dimensions of which it was capable. And we may assume that to His mind the announcement 'Thou art my Son' meant not only all that it had ever meant to the most enlightened of seers in the past, but, yet more, all that the response of His own heart told Him that it meant in the present.

It might well content us to put into the words this, and no more. But it is possible, and we should be justified in supposing—not by way of dogmatic assertion, but by way of pious belief—in view of the later history and the progress of subsequent revelation, that the words were intended to suggest a new truth not hitherto made known, viz. that the Son was Son not only in the sense of the Messianic King, or of an Ideal People, but that the idea of Sonship was fulfilled in Him in a way yet more mysterious and yet more essential; in other words, that He was Son, not merely in prophetic contemplation but in actual transcendent fact, before the foundation of the world.

(iii.) *Messiahship and divinity.*—This last possibility brings us to the question, which in any case we shall have to face: What exactly is the meaning of the title 'Son of God'? There is no doubt that it means the expected Messiah,—that at least. But how much more does it mean than that? In particular, does it mean *the Son as incarnate*, or does it go behind and beyond the Incarnation?

We reserve the last part of this question for a moment. In the meantime we must attempt to define rather more exactly the relation of the title 'Son of God' to the conception of the Messiah. In the popular mind, at the period with which we are concerned, the two things would be simply identical. But, as we so constantly see, our Lord was not content merely to take a popular idea with the conventional stamp upon it. In His hands the popular idea is nearly always remoulded, renewed, brought into harmony with some fresh and powerful reality, and reissued with the signature of that reality.

He had done this with the title SON OF MAN. For the author of the Similitudes in the Book of Enoch and for those who inherited his tradition, the Son of Man was just the Messiah as Judge. But our Lord went back to the original sources of the title, Dn 7^{13} and Ps 8^{4}; and He thus brought it into living contact with the conception of Man as Man. In His lips it was the Messiah as Man, the perfect Man, in the sense of being *more man*—more completely embodying in Himself the essence of all that went to make man, more utterly in touch with everything in man—than any who had ever borne the name of man before.

So, too, with the title 'Son of God.' Its meaning was very far from being exhausted by the holding of a certain office or function, such as that of the Messiah. For Jesus the phrase means the absolute fulness of all that it ought to mean—the perfection of Sonship in relation to God; in a word, just all that sum of relations and habitudes of feeling and thought and action that we have seen so amply set before us in the Gospel of St. John. It is the picture of a mind lying open without flaw or impediment to the stream of Divine love pouring in upon it, and responding to that love at once with exquisite sensitiveness and with entire completeness. It is indeed the very perfection of what we mean by religion and the religious attitude of the soul to God.

It thus appears that in the mind of Christ the Jewish conception of the Messiah parted in two directions—one covering all the relationships of man to man, and the other in like manner covering all the relationships of the perfect Man to God. It parted in these directions, and it was resolvable into the two complementary ideals to which they led. And as a matter of fact the life of Christ on earth was the consummate realization of those ideals. [Compare with the above an admirable paragraph in Holtzmann, *Neutest. Theol.* i. 281 f.].

The Jewish title 'Messiah' had upon it the stamp of something local and temporary; and as such it has lost much of its interest for the modern world. But the two other titles of which we have been speaking imply what is neither local nor temporary, but as permanent as Humanity itself. It is therefore specially under these titles that our Lord most freely revealed Himself.

There is, however, something in the title 'Messiah' which although present was not quite so prominent in the other two. They convey to us as fully as it could be conveyed what Jesus was in Himself. But they do not bring out in the same relief the historical mission that He had in the first instance for His contemporaries and through them for all after-ages. The wonderful birth, the wonderful works, the crucifixion, the resurrection, and the ascension may be viewed as aspects of the work of the Son of Man and of the Son of God,—they are aspects of the work of salvation and of the coming forth from and return to the Father,—but as enacted in space and time they might be more appropriately described as belonging to the manifestation of the Messiah.

What deeper implications are there in the title 'Son of God'? Were the 4th cent. Fathers right in claiming that He who bore this title was not only in the full sense 'Son' but in the full sense 'God,'—that to be the Son of God implied identity of nature or of essence?

We may say with confidence that a Sonship such as is described in the Fourth Gospel would carry with it this conclusion. How could any inferior being either enter so perfectly into the mind of the Father or reflect it so perfectly to man? Of what created being could it be said, 'He that hath seen me hath seen the Father'? We need not stay to pick out other expressions that admit of no lower interpretation, because the evangelist has made it clear by his Prologue what construction he himself put upon his own narrative.

But, although this conclusion can really be made good independently of the next and last point that we have to consider, it is to some extent mixed up with it, and it may be well to pass on to this point.

(iv.) *Pre-existence.*—When we use the title 'Son of God,' how much does it cover? Is it strictly and properly applied to the *incarnate* Christ, or does it extend backwards before the Incarnation? In other words, does it, or does it not, imply pre-existence? We cannot discuss this question adequately without taking in the rest of the NT. We may, however, provisionally ask what inference would be drawn from the Gospels.

And in regard to these there is no doubt that in the great majority of cases the words would be satisfied by a reference to Christ *as incarnate*. All the instances in the Synoptic Gospels would come under this head. On the other hand, it is equally little open to question that in the Fourth Gospel Christ is conceived as pre-existent. Nothing could be more explicit than the opening verse. Christ as the Logos was in the beginning with God, and was God. But does this hold good of Him also *as the Son*? That is more debatable. We have to look about somewhat for expressions that are free from ambiguity. Perhaps there are not any.

The clearest would be the verse Jn 1^{18} (which belongs to the evangelist), if we could be sure that the common reading is correct: 'the only-begotten Son, which is in the bosom of the Father,' seems to speak of this pre-existent condition (=πρὸς τὸν θεόν of v.[1]) as though it belonged to Him as Son. But then we are confronted by the well-known question of reading. It must be enough to refer to the elaborate note in WH, and to Dr. Hort's dissertation (1876), with which the present writer, so far as his judgment goes, would express his agreement. But the reading would then be not 'the only-begotten Son,' but 'God only-begotten.' Places like 3^{13} [*v.l.*][31], which are unambiguous as to pre-existence, do not clearly connect it with 'the Son.' Indeed the first of these introduces somewhat unexpectedly not the 'Son of God,' but the 'Son of Man,' who must be the Son incarnate. At the same time the terms 'Father' and 'Son' are so correlative that the frequent occurrence of such phrases as 'My Father which sent me,' 'Not any man hath seen the Father save he which is from God,' 'I speak the things which I have seen with my Father,' would seem to suggest that the relation of Father and Son existed before the Son became incarnate. At any rate the great emphasis on the two terms would seem to show that the relation to

which they point is not a passing phase, but something that goes deep down into the essence of being.

Or perhaps the case might be stated thus. The burden of proof really seems to lie with those who would refuse to associate the idea of pre-existence with that of Sonship. The many examples in which the term 'Son' is used without any such implication go but a very slight way to exclude it where it is really suggested. In the case of St. John there is a clear presumption that it is so suggested; while in the Synoptic Gospels it is probable that the writers had not reflected upon the subject at all, and did but reproduce a portion of our Lord's teaching upon it. The decision as to how far the Johannean presentation is to be accepted will depend upon the general estimate of the Fourth Gospel as a historical authority. To the present writer it seems in this instance, as in so many others, just to supply what the other Gospels lead us to the verge of without directly supplying.

(*c*) *For the apostles.*—We have seen that the apostolic writers freely make use of the title 'Son of God' as a formula to express their Christian faith, or, as we may say in other words, in order to bring out their belief in the Divine side of the nature of Christ. What they meant would be very similar to the well-known exordium of the Second (so-called) Epistle of Clement: 'Brethren, we ought so to think of Jesus Christ as of God (ὡς περὶ Θεοῦ), as of the Judge of quick and dead.' The phrase, in each case, is vague; to define it more exactly will be the work of centuries; but the frame or mould has been provided by which the work of those centuries is to be circumscribed.

The principal question that meets us is the same as that with which we have just been dealing in regard to the Gospels. Does the term 'Son of God,' as used by the apostles, contain any implication of pre-existence, or is it limited to Christ as incarnate?

Here again by far the greater number of passages are ambiguous; if they do not suggest pre-existence and pre-existent relations, they also do not exclude them. There are, however, two passages that bear upon the question more directly.

One is the opening of the Ep. to the Hebrews: 'God, having of old time spoken unto the fathers in the prophets . . . hath at the end of these days spoken unto us in his Son, whom he hath appointed heir of all things, through whom also he made the worlds; who being the effulgence of his glory, and the very image of his substance, and upholding all things by the word of his power, when he had made purification of sins, sat down on the right hand of the majesty on high.'

Two ways of taking this passage are possible. On the one hand, if we argue strictly, it may be urged that there is but one principal clause in the sentence, to which all the other subordinate and relative clauses are referred. This principal clause speaks of the Son [of God]. It would therefore follow that all the relative clauses point back to Him as Son. That is to say, that *as Son* He 'made the worlds'; as Son He is the effulgence of the Divine glory, the image of the Divine substance; as Son He upheld and upholds all things. That would carry back the Sonship to the time before creation, and would make it an attribute pertaining to the essence of Christ's Godhead.

But, on the other hand, it may be questioned whether we ought in this case to argue strictly. Because the relative clauses refer to the Son, it does not quite necessarily follow that they refer to Him as Son. It may be urged that the main contrast in the passage is between the previous revelations through the prophets and the final revelation through the Son, *i.e.* the incarnate Son, and that this contrast dominates the whole passage, many parts of which do indeed point to the Son as incarnate ('whom he appointed heir of all things,' 'when he made purification of sins,' 'sat down at the right hand'). The other clauses, which imply pre-existence, would then be referred to the Son not strictly as such, but by a slight and quite natural laxity of language to Him who [afterwards, in view of His incarnation] came to be specially called 'Son.' This second way of taking the passage is not really stretched beyond what is common enough in language, though the first would be more accurate.

The other passage is Col $1^{(13).15}$ 'the Son of his love . . . who is the image (εἰκών) of the invisible God, the firstborn of all creation' (πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως). Now, it is true that in biblical usage the leading idea in πρωτότοκος is that of the legal rights of the firstborn, his precedence over all who are born after him (cf. Ro 8^{29}). But in a context like this, in view of the defining genitive πάσης κτίσεως, it seems wrong to exclude the idea of priority as well (πρὸ πάσης κτίσεως γεννηθείς, Theodrt.; otherwise Haupt, *Gefangenschaftsbriefe*, p. 27). There is not a direct allusion to Ps $89^{27\,(28)}$, though it is very possible that the Messianic application of that verse led by several steps to the use of the term here. It brings in another cycle of expressions which help to carry back the conception of sonship from the historic to the prehistoric stage. See, further, Lightfoot, *Col. ad loc.*

Ro 8^{3}, where the Son does not become the Son by being sent, but is already 'God's own Son' (emphatic) before He is sent, tends the same way.

In the Epp. of St. John there is nothing quite conclusive. We are really at the same level as in the Gospel. But, as there, the absolute use of 'the Father' and 'the Son' and of 'God the Father' (1 Jn $2^{22\text{-}24}$ 4^{14} 5^{12}, 2 Jn $^{3.4.9}$, cf. 1 P 1^{2}, Jude ^{1}) suggests a conception of Sonship which dates back behind the historic manifestation. On Jn 1^{18} see above.

Note on the origin of the Christian use of the title 'Son of God.'—In his able and interesting but far too confident and sweeping book, *Die Anfänge unserer Religion* (Tübingen u. Leipzig, 1901), p. 295, Prof. Wernle of Basel commits himself to the proposition that 'from the OT and from Rabbinism there is no road that leads to the doctrine of the Divinity of Christ.' He allows that the title 'Son of God' is strictly Jewish, but he appears to think that the further step 'Son of God = God' was taken upon Gentile ground, through the lax ideas brought in by the converts from paganism, and their readiness to admit new divinities to the Pantheon. Against this, indeed, ought rightly to be set the fact that the first lesson that they learnt on coming over to Christianity was the great lesson that God is One. But it was not really left to the Gentile Christians to crown an edifice that was incomplete without them. Wernle himself evidently feels that St. Paul had already gone far by identifying Christ with the 'Lord' of OT. He is obliged further to say that in his Christology St. Paul is not really a Jew, and to set down this side of his teaching to a supposed 'mythological tendency' which he himself is unable to account for.

It is one of the ground fallacies of Wernle's book to attribute far too much to the initiative of St. Paul. If the deification of Christ had been really due to him, and if in carrying it out he had been acting in opposition to the sense of the Christian community, we should most certainly have heard of it. But it is quite beyond question that Christ Himself was accused before the Sanhedrin of an extreme form of blasphemy, and that it was upon that charge that He was condemned (Mk $14^{61\text{-}64}$ ‖). In the Fourth Gospel we are expressly told that the Jews regarded the claim of Christ as 'making himself equal with God' (Jn 5^{18}). It is, however, another of Wernle's ground fallacies to treat especially the Jewish element in this Gospel with great one-sidedness (see *Synopt. Frage*, p. 255, a real blot upon an otherwise excellent book).

The only at all contemporary attempt known to the present writer to distinguish radically between υἱὸς θεοῦ and θεός is in *Clem. Hom.* xvi. 15, 16 (cf. x. 10). It is characteristic of the teaching of that curiously isolated production. At a later date the distinction became the main fulcrum of Arianism.

III. THE EARLY CHURCH.—We might sum up at the point we have reached; but it seems better to pass on a few steps beyond the close of NT, which is not a real break.

1. *The sub-Apostolic Fathers.*—In the sub-Apostolic writings we find a state of things very similar to that which we have just left behind. There is no doubt a certain amount of usage in which the term 'Son' may be appropriately explained of the Incarnate.

Such would be, *e.g.*, Ignatius, *Smyrn.* i. 1, 'persuaded as touching our Lord that he is truly of the race of David according to the flesh, but Son of God by the Divine will and power, truly born of a virgin.' This is clearly modelled on Ro 1^4 (similarly Barn. v. 9, 11).

But even in this writer there are instances where a less restricted sense would seem to be intended, as in the Trinitarian passage, *Magn.* xiii. 1, 'that ye may prosper in all things . . . in the Son and Father and in the Spirit' (*ἐν υἱῷ καὶ πατρὶ καὶ ἐν πνεύματι*); and in Rom. inscr., '[the Church] which I also salute in the name of Jesus Christ, the Son of the Father' (*υἱοῦ πατρός*). We seem to have here the absolute use of 'Father' and 'Son' as correlative to each other, without reference to the Incarnation. Cf. *Magn.* vi. 1, 'Jesus Christ, who was with the Father before the worlds and appeared at the end of time'; if the Fatherhood is pre-mundane, the Sonship must also be pre-mundane.

All ambiguity is removed in Barn. vi. 12, where we have the first express reference of the plural in Gn 1^{26} to 'the Son,' 'For the scripture saith concerning us, how he saith to the Son: Let us make,' etc. (cf. v. 5). The strange reading 'Son of God,' foisted into the free quotation of Ex 17^{14} in Barn. xii. 9, can hardly be adduced, because Joshua is regarded as a type by anticipation of the Incarnate.

Another quite clear passage is Herm. *Sim.* ix. 12. 2, where the Son of God, *eo nomine*, is described as 'anterior to all creation, so that he became the Father's adviser in his creation' (*ὁ μὲν υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ πάσης τῆς κτίσεως αὐτοῦ προγενέστερός ἐστιν, κ.τ.λ.*). This evidently takes up the *πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως* of Col 1^{15}, assuming the doctrine if not actually referring to the words.

Of the group of passages in Patr. Apost. where *παῖς* is certainly used in the sense of 'Son,' one at least, Ep. Diogn. viii. 9–11, refers unequivocally to the pre-Incarnate, 'having conceived a great and unalterable scheme, he communicated it to his Son alone' (*ἀνεκοινώσατο μόνῳ τῷ παιδί*). The state of the case appears to be, that while in Patr. Apost. the title is still predominantly referred to the incarnate state, the writers have no sense of being confined to this, and are quite prepared to go beyond it.

When we come to Justin all distinction is obliterated, and the Son is frankly identified with the Logos; *Apol.* ii. 6, 'But to the Father of all, who is unbegotten, there is no name given. . . . And his Son, who alone is properly called Son, the Word, who also was with him and was begotten before the works, when at first he created and arranged all things by him,' etc. (*ὁ δὲ υἱὸς ἐκείνου, ὁ μόνος λεγόμενος κυρίως υἱός, ὁ λόγος πρὸ τῶν ποιημάτων καὶ συνὼν καὶ γεννώμενος, κ.τ.λ.*). Here we not only have 'Son' and 'Word' used as convertible, but a special stress is laid on the idea of 'generation' as involved in 'Sonship,' which a little later in Origen took shape in the doctrine of the Eternal Generation (*de Princ.* I. ii. 4, 9). Before this, in Ignat. *Eph.* vii. 2, both words *γεννητός* and *ἀγέννητος* (*v.l. γενητός* and *ἀγένητος*) had been applied to Christ, but with quite untechnical freedom (cf. Lightfoot, *ad loc.*, and ii. 90–94; also Robertson, *Athanasius*, pp. 149, 475 n.).

The passage of Justin is very important as a landmark. From that time forwards what might be called the metaphysical treatment of the title 'Son' becomes more and more common until it reaches its climax in the writers of the 4th century.

Note on the meaning of 'Son' in the Apostles' Creed.—There arose in Germany in the years 1892–1894 a rather sharp discussion about the Apostles' Creed, begun by Harnack and taken up by Zahn, Kattenbusch, Cremer, and others. This also produced in England an admirable little volume of lectures by Dr. Swete (*The Apostles' Creed*, Cambridge, 1894), which gives a concise account of most of the points at issue. Among these was the question as to the interpretation of the term 'Son' in the Creed, which Harnack wished to limit to the historic, as contrasted with the prehistoric, Sonship. Dr. Swete perhaps (p. 26 ff.) a little overstates both Harnack's contention and the strength of the arguments against it. And yet that contention is really too sweeping, though the point made by Kattenbusch in his recently completed larger work (*Das Apost. Symbol*, ii. 566 f.), that the clause *τὸν γεννηθέντα ἐκ πνεύμ. ἁγ. κ. Μαρίας τῆς παρθ.* shows that the *historic γέννησις* was in the author's mind, appears to be valid. It is true that the first interest in this paragraph of the Creed is in historical facts. But at the same time, as Kattenbusch also very rightly observes, there is no antithesis to the Christology of Pre-existence. The question is not really raised; and yet, as we might perhaps put it, the conception of Sonship *is left open on that side.* We are reminded that the Creed is in its origin Western and not Oriental. And for Western thought more especially, the denial of a purely natural birth may be taken to imply pre-existence.

It should be added that recent research places the origin of the Creed with confidence in the first half of the 2nd cent., and many would say in the first quarter; so that it would be strictly parallel to the Apostolic Fathers.

2. *Marcellus of Ancyra.*—One episode in the controversies of the 4th cent. has a not inconsiderable reflex bearing on the interpretation of NT.

Marcellus of Ancyra was one of the keenest supporters of Nicene doctrine. He seems, however, to have asserted it on different grounds from those commonly brought forward. The position he took up was in the first instance biblical. We have seen that the Arians exploited in their own interest the title 'Son.' They inferred from it the posteriority and inferiority of Him by whom it was borne. Marcellus appears to have met them by saying that the use which they made of the title was unwarranted and indeed altogether wide of the mark. According to him, the title 'Son' had no reference to origin or to the pre-existent relation of Christ to the Father. The proper term to denote this relation was in his view not 'Son,' but 'Logos.' It appears to be a mistake to say that he denied the 'Trinity' or the distinct hypostatic existence of the Logos, though some of his speculations were not quite easily reconcilable with this. But his main contention was that 'Logos' was the proper name of the pre-Incarnate and 'Son' of the Incarnate, and that the biblical writers observed this distinction, the only apparent exception being cases in which the title 'Son' was used 'prophetically.' Eusebius of Cæsarea, who replied to him, marshals an imposing array of no fewer than thirty separate designations which he maintains to have been also used of the Son before the Incarnation; but they are nearly all wide of the mark, and it must be confessed that on this ground the victory rests rather with his opponent (see Euseb. *de Eccl. Theol.* i. 17–20, Migne, *Pat. Gr.* xxiv. 856–896; and on the whole controversy, esp. the monograph by Zahn, *Marcellus von Ancyra*, Gotha, 1867; and Moberly, *Atonement and Personality* (London, 1901, pp. 208–215).

Conclusion.—From what has been said, it will be seen that the assertion of Marcellus in regard to the biblical usage was really very much in the right direction, though—as is so often the case with the ancients, when they have got hold of a right principle in criticism or exegesis—it is rather too sweeping and unqualified.

As compared with Marcellus and the modern revivers of his opinion, our own conclusion from the evidence passed in review would be, that while it is undoubtedly true that the biblical writers and the other early Christian writers before Justin,

start from the Incarnation and are thinking primarily of this, their thought does not necessarily end with it. It seems to point backwards into the dim past behind it. Certainly there is no sharp line of demarcation restricting the meaning of the title to the incarnate state and no other. The writers are so far from guarding themselves against any reference beyond the Incarnation that they seem rather naturally to suggest it. The Son is so called primarily as incarnate. But that which is the essence of the Incarnation must needs be also larger than the Incarnation. It must needs have its roots in the eternity of Godhead. [See esp. a very instructive and carefully balanced discussion in Moberly, *Atonement and Personality*, pp. 185 ff., 211–215].

LITERATURE.—The most important literature will have been sufficiently indicated in the course of the article. The works to which the writer himself owes most are Dalman's *Worte Jesu* (Leipzig, 1898), and H. J. Holtzmann's *Neutest. Theologie* (Freiburg i. B. u. Leipzig, 1897). To these should now be added Harnack's *Das Wesen des Christentums* (admirably translated under the title *What is Christianity?* London, 1901), which has a very suggestive treatment of the subject, though too impatient of formulated doctrine; and the portion of Moberly, *Atonement and Personality*, just referred to. Younger students should not fail to have recourse to Dr. Swete's *Apostles' Creed* (Cambridge, 1894). W. SANDAY.

SON OF MAN.—1. An expression occurring in both OT and NT, and used in the following applications. (1) A poet. synonym of 'man,' found in parallelism with 'man' (the word for 'man' in the two clauses being in the original a different one). See the occurrences in § 6; and add Ps 144^{3b} (for אֱנוֹשׁ; ‖ אָדָם). (2) In Ezek. the title under which the prophet is regularly addressed by J", $2^{1.3}$ $3^{1.3}$ and upwards of 90 times besides. Ezek. has a profound sense of the majesty of J"; and the expression is no doubt intended to mark the distance which separated the prophet, as one of mankind, from Him. The title is borrowed from Ezek. in Dn 8^{17}. (3) In the vision in Dn 7 the glorious being whom Dan. sees brought 'with the clouds of heaven' to the Almighty, after the fourth beast (representing the empire of the Seleucidæ) is slain, to receive an everlasting and universal dominion (v.^{14}), is described as 'one like unto a son of man' (Aram. כְּבַר אֱנָשׁ). The expression means simply a figure in human form. What the figure was intended to denote has been the subject of much controversy. At an early date (see § 11) it was undoubtedly interpreted of the Messiah, and the same view has been largely held down to the present time (*e.g.* by Ewald, Riehm, and Behrmann); but in the author's own interpretation of the vision (vv.$^{18.22.27}$) the 'saints of the Most High' take the place of the 'one like unto a son of man'; and this constitutes a strong ground for concluding that he himself understood by it the glorified and ideal people of Israel (see, further, the present writer's *Comm. on Dan.* p. 103 ff.). The same expression in Greek (ὅμοιος υἱῷ ἀνθρώπου: see RV) is applied also in Rev 1^{13} 14^{14} to the risen and glorified Christ.

2. '*The* Son of man' (ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου) is a designation of Christ, though one confined to the Gospels and Ac 7^{56}, and, except Ac 7^{56} (where it occurs in Stephen's dying exclamation*), found only in the mouth of Christ Himself (the quotation in Jn 12^{34} forming no real exception).

3. The following is a synopsis of the occurrences in the Synoptic Gospels, in the order given, or suggested, by St. Mark:—

Mt	Mk	Lk	
9^{6}	2^{10}	5^{24}	(hath authority on earth to forgive sins)
12^{8}	2^{28}	6^{5}	(is lord of the sabbath)
12^{32a}	[3^{28}f.*]	12^{10a}	(whosoever shall speak a word against the Son of man, etc.)
[5^{11}†]		6^{22}	(when men reproach you, etc., for the Son of man's sake)
10^{23}‡			(shall not have finished the cities of Israel, till the Son of man be come)
[10^{32}†]‡		12^{8}	(him shall the Son of man also confess before the angels of God)
11^{19}		7^{34}	(came eating and drinking)
8^{20}		9^{58}	(hath not where to lay his head)
[16^{4}*]	[8^{12}*]	} 11^{30}§	(as Jonah was three days, etc. [Mt]; as Jonah became a sign unto the Ninevites, etc. [Lk])
12^{40}			
13^{37}			(he that soweth the good seed is the Son of man) ‖
13^{41}			(will send forth his angels, etc.) ‖
16^{13}	[8^{27}†]	[9^{18}†]	(who do men say that the Son of man is?)
[16^{21}†]	8^{31}	9^{22}	(must suffer many things, be killed, and rise again)
16^{27}	8^{38}	9^{26}	(of him shall the Son of man be ashamed, when he cometh in the glory, etc. [Mk, Lk]; for the Son of man shall come in, etc. [Mt])
16^{28}	[9^{1}†]	[9^{27}†]	(shall not taste of death, till they see the Son of man coming, etc.)
17^{9}	9^{9}	[9^{3}*]	(to tell the vision to no man till the Son of man be risen from the dead)
17^{12}	9^{12}		(to suffer like Elijah [John the Baptist])
17^{22}	9^{31}	9^{44}	(shall be delivered into the hands of men, etc., and [Mt, Mk] rise again)
19^{28}	[10^{29}*]	[18^{29}*]	(in the regeneration, when the Son of man shall sit on the throne, etc.)
20^{18}	10^{33}	18^{31}	(to be delivered to the chief priests, etc., and rise again)
20^{28}	10^{45}	[cf. 22^{27}]	(to give his life a ransom for many)
		17^{22}	(when ye shall desire to see one of the days of the Son of man)
24^{27}		17^{24}	(as the lightning . . . so shall be the coming of the Son of man)
24^{30a}	[13^{26}*]	[21^{27}*]	(then shall appear the sign of the Son of man)
24^{30b}	13^{26}	21^{27}	(shall see the Son of man coming in (on) the clouds of heaven)
		21^{36}	(watch . . . that ye may be able . . . to stand before the Son of man)
24^{37}		17^{26}	(as were the days of Noah, so shall be the coming of the Son of man)
24^{39}		[17^{27}*]	([as they were in those days . . .,] so shall be the coming, etc.)
		17^{30}	([as the days of Lot . . .,] so shall it be in the day that the Son of man is revealed)
		18^{8}	(when the Son of man cometh, shall he find faith on the earth?)
		19^{10}	(came to seek and to save that which was lost)
24^{44}	[cf. 13^{33}†]	12^{40}	(in an hour that ye think not, etc.)
25^{31}			(when the Son of man shall come in his glory)
26^{2}	[14^{1}*]	[22^{1}*]	(after two days the passover cometh, and the Son of man is delivered, etc.)
26^{24a}	14^{21a}	22^{22a}	(goeth even as it is written of him)
26^{24b}	14^{21b}	[22^{22b}†]	(woe unto that man through whom the Son of man is betrayed)
26^{45}	14^{41}		(is betrayed into the hands of sinners)
[26^{49}*]	[14^{45}*]	22^{48}	(betrayest thou the Son of man with a kiss?)
26^{64}	14^{62}	22^{69}	(from now ye shall see the Son of man sitting at the right hand of power)
[28^{6}*]	[16^{6}*]	24^{7}	(saying that the Son of man must be delivered, etc., and rise again)
30	14	25	=69 times

Mt 18^{11} (‖ Lk 19^{10}, though in a very different connexion), in Mt 25^{13} the words 'in which the Son of man cometh,' and in Lk 9^{56} the clause 'For the Son of man came not to destroy men's lives but to save them,' are not in the best MSS; cf. RVm on Mt 18^{11}, Lk 9^{56}.

The occurrences in the Fourth Gospel are Jn 1^{51} $3^{13.14}$ $6^{27.53.62}$ 8^{28} 9^{35} (ℵBD: cf. RVm), $12^{23.34}$ (see 3^{14} 8^{28}), v.^{34} 13^{31} (11 [or 12] times). None of these occurrences are parallel to any of those in the Synoptists. See, further, § 23.

4. If the occurrences in the Synoptic Gospels are analyzed, it will be seen that the expression is attributed to Christ upon (probably) 40 distinct

* Cf. the words spoken by James, the brother of the Lord, just before his martyrdom, as reported by Hegesippus, *ap.* Euseb. ii. 23 (see vol. ii. p. 542b).

* The corresponding clause, or verse, entirely omitted (in Mk 3^{28} either omitted or modified; see p. 588).

† 'Son of man' represented by a pron., or (Mk 9^{1}, Lk 9^{27}) by a paraphrase ('the kingdom of God').

‡ In instructions to the disciples, attached to $10^{1.5.7.9\text{-}14}$=Mk $6^{7\text{-}11}$=Lk $9^{1\text{-}5}$.

§ Observe that Lk 11^{29b}=both Mt 16^{4} and Mt 12^{39}, and that Lk $11^{31.32}$=Mt $12^{42.41}$.

‖ In the explanation of the parable of the Tares (no ‖ in Mk, Lk).

occasions,* of which 8 are reported by the three Gospels, 13 by two, and 19 by one. No instance is, however, reported in Mark which is not in one (or both) of the other two Gospels. The occasions fall naturally into two great groups: (1) those in which the reference is to some aspect or other of the *earthly work* of Christ, in the time of His humility (including, in particular, His sufferings and death); (2) those in which the reference is to His *future coming in glory*. It is important to bear in mind the fact of these two applications of the expression; for it has some bearing upon recent discussions of the subject. On the crucial passage, Mt 16^{13}, see § 19.

5. Before, however, we can proceed to examine the meaning of the title, a prior question must be considered, which has assumed, within recent years, great prominence. Jesus, it is not doubted, spoke, at least as a rule, not Greek but *Aramaic*; a proper method, therefore, it is urged, requires that we should begin by inquiring how the title would be expressed in Aramaic, and what meaning it would there possess. And when we proceed to translate back ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου into Aramaic an unexpected and startling result discloses itself, which has involved students of the NT in great perplexity.

6. Let us first, for clearness, explain briefly the usage of the expression in Biblical Hebrew.

In Biblical Hebrew, בְּנֵי אָדָם or בְּנֵי הָאָדָם 'sons of man' (or 'of men,'—אָדָם being a collective term) occurs frequently,—though not so frequently as (הָ)אָדָם alone, and chiefly in poet. and later Heb.,—to denote mankind in general (Gn 10^{5}, 1 S 26^{19}, 2 S 7^{14}, Ps $11^{4\,(5)}$ $12^{1.\,8\,(2.\,9)}$ 14^{2} etc.).† The sing. בֶּן־אָדָם 'son of man' (*i.e.* not son of an individual man, but son (*i.e.* member) of the *genus* man) also occurs, viz. (*a*) in the address to Ezekiel $2^{1.\,3}$ $3^{1.\,3}$, and more than 90 times besides (so also Dn 8^{17}; cf. Enoch 60^{10} 71^{14}); (*b*) occasionally in poet. parallelism with אִישׁ or אֱנוֹשׁ Nu 23^{19}, Is 51^{2} 56^{2}, Jer 49^{18} (=v.^{33}=50^{40}= (nearly) 51^{43}), Ps $8^{4\,(5)}$ $80^{17\,(18)}$ 146^{3} (‖ נְדִיבִים 'nobles'), Job 16^{21} (‖ גֶּבֶר 'man')‡ 25^{6} 35^{8}.

7. In Aramaic אדם is not found.§ The term which, speaking generally, corresponds is אֱנָשׁ, אֱנַשׁ (in some dialects contracted, without difference of meaning, to בְּנָשׁ), in the *status emphaticus* (corresponding to the def. art. in Heb.) אֱנָשָׁא, אֱנַשָׁא (contr. נָשָׁא). *'Ĕnāshā* (*nāshā*) mostly denotes 'man' in a general or collective sense, though it occurs occasionally (p. 582[b]) in an individual sense: *'ĕnāsh* (*nāsh*), on the other hand, not infrequently possesses an individual sense, and also often sinks to express nothing more than τις, or 'one' (as in 'every *one*,' 'no *one*').

In some Aramaic dialects, however, though not in all, 'son (*or* sons) of man (men)' is common—in prose, and not merely, as in Heb., chiefly in poetry—in the ordinary sense of *man* (or *men*), the distinctive force of *bar*, 'son,' being no longer felt. The following are the main details of this usage:—

(*a*) *Judæan* Aramaic.—In Biblical Aramaic, the plur. בְּנֵי אֱנָשָׁא 'sons of men' occurs Dn 2^{38} 5^{21} ('driven from the sons of men,'—interchanging with 'driven from men' (אנשא), $4^{25.\,32.\,33\,(22.\,29.\,30)}$): elsewhere *'ĕnāshā* is used, 2^{43} ('the seed of *men*'); $4^{16\,(13)}$ ('changed from (the heart of) *men*'); $4^{17.\,25.\,32\,(14.\,22.\,29)}$ 5^{21}; $4^{25.\,32.\,33\,(22.\,29.\,30)}$ (just quoted); 7^{8} ('eyes like the eyes of *men*'); Ezr 4^{11} (בְּנָשׁ determined by the foll. gen.). *'Ĕnāsh* occurs in the indeterm. sense of 'a man,' 5^{5} $6^{7.\,12\,(8.\,13)}$ ('of any god or *man*'), $7^{4.\,14}$; and in 'every *man*,' 'no *man*,' 2^{10} 3^{10} 5^{7} $6^{12\,(13)}$, Ezr 6^{11}.* *Bar 'ĕnāsh*, 'a son of man,' occurs only in the passage, of which more will be said below, Dn 7^{13} 'one like unto *a son of man*.'

In the Targ. of Onḳelos the plur. בני אינשא occurs Gn 6^{1} 11^{5}, Nu 23^{19}, Dt $32^{6.\,26}$; the sing. *bar 'ĕnāsh* does not occur at all, 'man'—where it is not expressed by גַּבְרָא, גְּבַר (*vir*)—being represented always by *'ĕnāsh*, *'ĕnāshā*.

In the Targ. of Jonathan (on the prophets) the plur. בְּנֵי אֱנָשָׁא occurs at least 20 times (as 1 S 15^{29} $16^{7.\,7}$ 24^{10} 26^{19}); *'ĕnāsh* frequently (as Jos 1^{5} 2^{11} 8^{17} 10^{8}); *bar 'ĕnāsh* only Is 51^{12} [cod. Reuchl., in ed. Lag., בר אדם] 56^{2}, Jer $49^{18.\,33}$ 50^{40} 51^{43}, Mic 5^{6}—in each case being suggested directly by the Hebrew.

(*b*) In *Nabatæan* Aramaic (some 30 inscriptions, chiefly sepulchral, mostly of 8–14 lines each, dating from B.C. 9 to A.D. 75),† *bar 'ĕnāsh* does not occur at all. *Ĕnōsh*, *ĕnāsh* occur pretty frequently, very much as in Daniel, in 'every *one*,' 'no *one*,' etc. (see *CIS* II. i. 197^{7} $206^{3.\,6}$ $209^{5.\,6}$ $210^{3.\,5}$ 212^{7} etc.).

(*c*) *Galilæan* Aramaic.—In the Palest. Talm. (3–4 cent. A.D.) *bar nāsh* (determ. *bar nāshā*) occurs with great frequency, and means simply *a* (single, individual) *man*, as חד בר נש 'a certain *man* (did so and so),' הוא בר נשא 'that man,' הדין בר נשא 'this man,' and in a weakened sense, with a neg. or כל 'all,' as 'he went out ולא אשכח בר נש and found no *one*,' כל בר נש ובר נש (=late Heb. כל איש ואיש) 'every one.'‡ Obviously, in all these cases it would be absurd to render *bar-nāsh(ā)* by '*son of* man.'

In the Palest. Lectionary (the 'Evangeliarium Hierosolymitanum,' ed. Erizzo, 1861, ed. Lagarde, in his *Bibl. Syr.* 1892), of the 5th cent. A.D., the usage is similar: *barnāsh* standing regularly for 'a man' (as חד ברנש=ἄνθρωπός or ἄνθρωπός τις, Lk 2^{25} 4^{33} 6^{6} 10^{30} 15^{11} etc.); and *barnāshā* (determ.) for ὁ ἄνθρωπος, as Mt 4^{4} $12^{35.\,35}$ $26^{24.\,24}$, Lk $8^{29.\,33.\,35}$ etc.

The same usage prevails in the Palest. Targums on the Pent.§, and on the Hagiographa (*c.* 7th cent. A.D.): see, for instance, *bar nāsh* in Lv 2^{1} 4^{2} $5^{1.\,2.\,4.\,21}$ etc. ('if a man do so and so': Onḳ. in all such passages (אינש), Ps 80^{18b} (for בן אדם) 115^{4} $118^{6.\,8}$ $144^{3a.\,4}$ etc.; ‖ and *bar nāshā* in 'that man,' Lv $7^{20b.\,21b.\,27b}$ $17^{4.\,9}$ 19^{8} etc. (Onḳ. always אינשא), Ps $8^{5.\,5}$ 56^{12} 60^{13} 119^{134}.

(*d*) In *Syriac*, *barnāsh*, *barnāshā*, in the meaning 'man,' are very common. Examples: for אָדָם Ex 13^{13}, Is 44^{13}, Jer 26^{10} 10^{14}, Ezk $18^{.\,10.\,26}$ $10^{8.\,14}$, Dn 7^{8}; for ἄνθρωπος, Curet. and Pesh., Mt 4^{4} $12^{12.\,43}$ $15^{11.\,11.\,18}$ 19^{6}, Pesh. Mk $8^{36.\,37}$, Jn 2^{25} $7^{22.\,23.\,23}$, and (in 'every man') Ro 2^{9} 3^{4} 12^{18} 16^{19} (εἰς πάντας), and elsewhere.¶

8. It thus appears that *bar nāsh(ā)* is a common Aramaic expression, in which the force of the 'son' has been so weakened by time as virtually to have disappeared, so that it practically means nothing more nor less than *man* (*homo*, *Mensch*,—not *vir*). The natural Aramaic original of ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρ. would, however, seem to be *barnāshā*. If, now, our Lord spoke Aramaic, and denoted Himself by this expression, what meaning can He have intended to convey by it? To this question, which is by no means a simple one, different answers have been given.

(1) C. B. E. Uloth, who, it seems, was the first to set himself to answer it, came to the conclusion that Jesus called Himself 'the man,' meaning by the expression to point to His creaturely frailty and humility.**

(2) Eerdmans argued that the expression was not in the days of Christ a Mess. title, and was not used by Him as such. In opposition to the prevalent Mess. expectations, Jesus called Himself 'the man,' meaning it to be understood that He

* Holsten and Oort reckon 42 occasions, distinguishing Lk 11^{30} from Mt 12^{40}, and Mk 8^{38} Lk 9^{26} from Mt 16^{27}.

† So בְּנֵי אִישׁ Ps $42^{(3)}$ $49^{2\,(3)b}$ $62^{9\,(10)}$, La 3^{33}.

‡ But read here prob. וּבֶן אדם ('and *between* a man, and,' etc.).

§ The Targ., where it has בַּר אָדָם (as in Ezek., for בֶּן־אדם, and occasionally besides), means 'son of Adam.'

* Cf. Dalman, *Aram. Dialektproben*, 1896, p. 3 (from the *Megillath Ta'anith*, of 1–2 cent. A.D.; see *ib.* p. 32, *Gramm. des Jüd.-Pal. Aram.* p. 7).

† See Euting, *Nab. Inschriften* (1885), ed. and tr., with notes by Nöldeke; or *CIS* II. i. 196–224; several also reprinted in Lidzbarski, *Nordsem. Epigr.* pp. 450–455.

‡ See numerous examples in Lietzmann, 34–7; and cf. Dalman, *Aram. Dialektproben*, pp. 28–30. The usage of the Palest. Midrashim is similar (*ib.* p. 15 ff.).

§ In which *bar nāsh(ā)* occurs much more frequently than would be supposed from the terms used by Dalman (*Die Worte Jesu*, 194).

‖ And so, in the 'Fragmentary' (Palest.) Targ. to the Pent., in the recension from a Paris MS edited by Ginsburger (1899), even in Gn 1^{26} (נגברי בר נש ברדמותן): cf. Ex 19^{13} (for איש; Onḳ. אינשא), Nu 12^{7} לית כבר נש עברי משה (in the Leipz. MS [p. 85] כבר אנש).

¶ On the *Samaritan* see Fiebig [§ 24 *end*], p. 14 ff.

** *Godgeleerde Bijdragen*, 1862, p. 467 ff.

was a man, and not more. Translated literally into Greek, it was not understood, and under the influence of apocalyptic phraseology (Dn 7^{13} etc.) made into a title of Christ.*

(3) Wellhausen, in 1894 and 1897, also considered that Jesus intended by the term to speak of Himself as 'the man,' meaning, however, by the expression the one who completely fulfilled the idea of man, and who as such was in specially close relation to the Father; and the early Christians, not understanding how He could have so described Himself, in translating rendered *barnāshā* falsely by ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου instead of by ὁ ἄνθρωπος: the expression was thus brought into connexion with Dn 7^{13}, and so became a standing Messianic designation of Christ.†

(4) Arnold Meyer‡ called attention to the fact that in Aramaic, in particular in the Aramaic spoken in Galilee, it was not unusual for a person to speak of him- (or her-) self as 'this man,' 'this woman' (הההוא איתתא, הההוא גברא),§ and also that there are, even in the OT, passages in which, though the general term 'man' is used, the reference is clearly to the speaker (Job 3^{23} 16^{21}); and he applied this principle to the explanation of at least some of the passages in the Gospels: sometimes, in using the expression, Jesus spoke of men in general (as Mk 2^{28} 'Therefore *man* is lord of the sabbath,' 12^{32}), sometimes He pointed by it to Himself (as Mk 2^{10} 'that ye may know that *a man* hath authority on earth to forgive sins,' Mt 8^{20}, 11^{19} '*a man* came eating and drinking,' etc.): the early Greek-speaking Christians, translating it by ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, combined with it associations derived from Dn 7^{13}. This explanation does not carry us very far. It is true, it might in the abstract (see § 22) be adopted for some of the passages cited; but otherwise the expression used in the Gospels is not, as in the Galilæan phrase quoted, 'this man'; nor does Meyer make any attempt to show how in the numerous other passages concerned, the predictions of sufferings and the eschatological utterances, the expression 'a man' could have been naturally employed by Christ (cf. Fiebig, p. 74 f.).

(5) Lietzmann, as the result of a careful examination of the existing evidence, literary and philological, rejecting the solutions of his predecessors, reached the startling conclusion‖ that 'Jesus never applied to Himself the title "son of man" at all, because it does not exist in Aramaic, and upon linguistic grounds cannot exist,'—on account, viz., of the fact mentioned above, that *barnāshā*, though it is lit. 'the son of man,' in actual usage means simply 'the man,' so that the distinction made in the Greek between ὁ ἄνθρωπος and ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου could not have existed in Aramaic (both expressions being translations of the same word, *barnāshā*). The evangelical tradition which attributes to Christ the use of this title is consequently false. The title arose in Greek: υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου, as a translation of *barnāsh* in such passages as Mk $2^{10.\ 28}$, sounded strange; it was consequently, under the influence of Dn 7^{13}, turned, under the form ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀ., into a *title* of Christ, first in the apocalyptic discourses declaring His future παρουσία, and afterwards more generally in other discourses (pp. 91–95). And Lietzmann supports this conclusion by various subsidiary arguments, of which the principal are: (1) the fact that 'the son of man' was no accepted Messianic title in the age of Christ; (2) the absence of the expression from the writings of St. Paul, which, he claims, is scarcely conceivable had it really been used habitually by Christ; (3) its absence likewise from the literature of the sub-apostolic ages, the *Didache*, Clement, Polycarp, the Shepherd of Hermas, etc., after a review of which Lietzmann finds it to be first alluded to by the Gnostic sect of Ophites (pp. 62–69), Marcion (*c.* 120–150 A.D.), and Ignatius (*Ephes.* xx. 2, τῷ υἱῷ ἀνθρώπου καὶ υἱῷ θεοῦ). And Wellhausen, though for long he could not bring himself to such a *tour de force* ('Gewaltstreich'), was forced ultimately to agree with Lietzmann. The sense in which he formerly (see above) supposed Christ to have used the expression he now considered to be too abstract, and could consequently find no alternative left but, bold as the step might appear, to deny that Christ used the expression at all. The title originated in Dn 7^{13}, being attributed first to Jesus in the eschatological passages (cf. Mk 13^{26}, where, as Wellh. observes, 'the son of man' is not expressly identified with the speaker); and its adoption afterwards as a general self-designation of Jesus was perhaps facilitated by a misapprehension of passages such as Mk 2^{28}, in which *barnāshā*, though meant generally, was interpreted as referring specially to Christ.*

The general conclusion that Christ had not Himself used the title had been reached before, though without the use of the argument based upon the Aramaic, by Volkmar in 1870, and especially by Oort (in *De Uitdrukking ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀ. in het NT*, 1893), who, though he allowed that Jesus might have used the expression as a symbol of the future kingdom, argued that He did not use it as a self-designation; it was introduced first as a personal title by the early Christians from apocalyptic literature, and was ascribed afterwards to Jesus Himself by the evangelists.

9. Such a conclusion, conflicting, as it does, with *all* the direct evidence that we possess on the subject, could not be accepted, except upon the clearest and strongest grounds; and it is not surprising to find the leading NT scholars on the Continent, including even those who approach the Gospel records from a thoroughly critical standpoint, opposed to it. The principal objections may be thus summarized. (1) The variations between this title and the personal pron. presented by many of the parallel narratives (see the Table), show, indeed, that there are occasions on which we cannot be sure whether the term was actually used by our Lord or not, and it might be admitted (see § 22) that there were even other passages in which it had been attributed to Him incorrectly; but that an expression which in the Gospels is attributed solely to Him, and is never used by the evangelists themselves, should in reality have been never used by Him, but have been introduced into the Gospels entirely by the evangelists, implies an inversion of the facts which is hardly credible. (2) The attribution of the expression to Christ does not depend upon isolated texts in individual Gospels; it has in many cases, as the Table shows, the support of the double, and even of the triple, Synoptic tradition. (3) Exactly the same usage is found, moreover, in the independent tradition represented by the Fourth Gospel; and, as Dr. Drummond [§ 24] remarks, 'there seems to be no particular reason for its appearance in this Gospel, except the fact that it was at least believed to be a common expression in the mouth of Jesus.' Direct personal reminiscences unquestionably underlie both these traditions; and, as the same authority further remarks, 'the apostles must have known whether their Master spoke of Himself in the way recorded in the Gospels or not; and the Gospels are sufficiently near apostolical sources to make us pause before admitting that the Church is responsible for the appearance of so striking a characteristic' as this title in the mouth of Christ. (4) Even assuming that the title was introduced into the eschatological passages in the manner

* *Theol. Tijdschr.* 1894, pp. 153–176; 1895, pp. 49–71.
† *Isr. u. Jüd. Gesch.* (1894) p. 312; ed. 3 (1897), p. 381; cf. *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, vi. (1899) p. 200 f.
‡ *Jesu Muttersprache* (1896), pp. 91–101, 140–149.
§ Dalman, *Grammatik*, 77 f.; *Die Worte Jesu*, 204 f.
‖ *Der Menschensohn*, 1896, p. 85

* *Skizzen u. Vorarbeiten*, vi. (1899) pp. 188, 200 f., 206, 214.

supposed, it is difficult to conjecture a motive for extending the usage to a number of other passages of an entirely different character (Baldensperger [§ 24], p. 254). (5) As regards the supposition that the ascription of the expression to Christ was due to the early Church, Dr. Drummond observes: 'The Church was more likely to omit than to insert the phrase. Reliance is placed on the silence of Christian writers to show that the phrase was not known. The Gospels conclusively prove that it *was* known; and to imagine that it was a favourite expression just during the period when the Gospels were composed, and that before that time it was not known, and after that time it was not in common use, is to construct history to suit the hypothesis. The Church would have preferred some title apparently higher and more dignified.' (6) St. Paul, it is urged, never uses the title. But neither do the evangelists in speaking *of* Christ, and yet their own narratives show that they were *acquainted* with it, and believed it to have been used *by* Christ. Unless Ac 7^{56} is to be eliminated as unhistorical, along with the numerous occurrences of the title in the mouth of Christ found in the Gospels, it must have been known at the time of Stephen's martyrdom as a designation of Jesus; for otherwise there would be no sufficient cause in Stephen's exclamation to account for the fury of the Jews (Drummond). Schmiedel, moreover,* argues at length that the use made of Ps 8 in 1 Co 15^{27} and He 2^{6-9} presupposes the acquaintance of the apostles with the expression as a designation of Christ; the fact that they do not use it more frequently is not difficult to explain. They wrote largely for converts from heathenism, who would be liable to misunderstand it; and they naturally chose by preference terms which would give prominence to the Divinity of Christ. The case would be similar with the sub-apostolic writers. Barnab. 12^{8-10}, however, which, it had been alleged, was proof that the writer was unacquainted with the title, had been wrongly explained (as Lietzmann afterwards admitted †).

10. All these considerations would, however, undoubtedly have to yield, if it were philologically certain that 'the son of man' *could* not have been an expression used by our Lord. The reasons adduced in support of this conclusion are, beyond question, weighty; we must consider carefully whether they are conclusive.

In the first place, it must be clearly understood that we have no actual *knowledge* of the Aram. original used (presumably) by Christ. We have no records of the Galilæan dialect as early as the first cent. A.D.; and hence the Aram. original of 'the son of man' is a matter not of actual knowledge, but of *inference*. Three possibilities must be kept in view. (1) Wellh. says that *barnāsh(ā)* in the sense of 'man' is common to Aramaic dialects in general; but this statement is in excess of the evidence; its occurrence in the exceptional passage Dn 7^{13} (in which a semi-poetical expression would be but natural) is not proof that it was in general use in that sense in Bibl. Aramaic; and it is not found in other passages of Dn. (as $7^{4.8}$), in which, if it were as commonly in use as it is in the Jerus. Talm., it might be naturally expected. It does not occur in the Aram. of Onḳ., and occurs but rarely in that of Jon. (§ 7 *a*); and though Wellh. (pp. vi, 195) explains its absence from these Targums by the fact that their authors adhered closely to the Heb. (in which, as pointed out in § 6, the sing. 'son of man' is of rare occurrence), yet it is not certain that this explanation is the correct one. The Pal. Targ. on the Psalms and Job, and the Pesh., are also in general literal translations, and yet *bar nāsh(ā)* occurs in both frequently (cf. above, § 7 (*c*), (*d*)).

Onḳ. uses regularly אינש for 'soul' (=person), Lv 2^{1} $4^{2.27}$ $5^{1.2.4}$ etc.; and אנשא ההוא for 'that soul,' Gn 17^{14}, Ex 31^{14}, Lv $7^{20.21.27}$ 19^{8} 20^{6} and elsewhere. *In all these passages pseudo-Jon. uses as regularly* 'barnāsh,' 'barnāshā.' So in Dt $8^{3.3}$ (for האדם) pseudo-Jon. has בר נשא, while Onḳ. has אינשא; and in the expression 'the work of man's (*or* men's) hands' אדם is rendered by *barnāsh(ā)* in the Palest. Targums (Ps 115^{4} 135^{15}, 2 Ch 32^{19}), but by *'ĕnāshā* in Onḳ. (Dt 4^{28}) and Jon. (2 K 19^{18}, Is 37^{19}). Similarly אנוש is rendered in the Pal. Targums by *barnāsh(ā)*, Ps 8^{5} $9^{20.21}$ 103^{15} 104^{15} etc., but by *'ĕnāshā* in Jon. (Is 13^{7} 24^{6} 51^{12} 56^{2}). Cf. also Ps 118^{8b} (Pal. Targ.: בר נש) with Jer 17^{5} (Jon.: אינשא). So Fiebig, p. 11.

It is true (*'ĕ*)*nāshā* is used mostly as a collective term; but Wellh.'s argument (p. v) to show that it is used so always, and that consequently, unless *bar* (*'ĕ*)*nāsh(ā)* were in use, there would have been no means of expressing the idea of (a single, particular) man (*homo*) in Aram., is surely not conclusive; for in Onḳ. אינשא ההוא, as has been just shown, occurs repeatedly in the sense of *that man* (comp. in Heb. the analogous individual and collective applications of איש). So Fiebig, p. 11.

The Aram. dialects do differ from one another in details of linguistic usage; * and though *barnāsh(ā)* is common in the Galilæan dialects of the 3rd or 4th cent. A.D., it may not, as Dalman points out, have been equally common in the 1st cent.; and if usage had not at that time obliterated the distinctive force of the first part of the compound, *bar nāshā* might have been used by Christ in the sense of 'the Son of man.' It must, however, be allowed that Fiebig [§ 24] has made it probable (pp. 33–36, 59 f.) from quotations in the Jerus. Talm. that *bar nāsh(ā)* = 'man' was current in Galilee in the 2nd cent. A.D.

(2) In the Sin. (Curet.) and Pesh. versions of NT, 'the Son of man' is, for distinction from the *barnāshā* which stands for ὁ ἄνθρωπος, always represented by *b'rēh d'nāshā*† (lit. *his son, that of man*, —the pleonasm being an idiom very common in Aram.‡),—grammatically (Nöld.) 'a more strongly determined form of *barnāshā*.' If in the Aram. spoken in the time of Christ *barnāsh(ā)* was really in common use in the sense of 'man,' there does not seem to be any sufficient reason why, if our Lord desired to express the idea of 'the Son of man,' He should not have made use of this expression. There would be nothing unsuitable in its being an unusual and emphatic one; and that there was *some* Semitic expression bearing this meaning appears, as Hilgenfeld has pointed out,§ from the fact that in the Gospel acc. to the Hebrews, which Jerome himself translated from Aramaic (or, as he elsewhere says, from Hebrew), there was a saying of Christ, addressed to James, which (in Jerome's tr.) reads, 'Frater mi, comede panem tuum, quia resurrexit *filius hominis* a dormientibus.'‖

From a communication printed by Dr. Drummond,¶ it appears that Prof. Nöldeke also is disposed to agree with Wellhausen. To differ from Prof. Nöldeke on a point of Aramaic or Arabic

* *Prot. Monatshefte*, Juli 1898, p. 260 ff.

† *Theol. Arb. aus dem Rhein. Pred.-Verein*, 1898, H. 2, p. 8.

* See, for some illustrations, Dalm. *Gramm.* 34–40.

† *B'rēh d'barnāshā* 'Son of the son of man' is certainly a 'theological barbarism'; it does not, however, occur (as Wellh., by an oversight, says, p. 194 *n.*) in the Pesh., but in the Palest. Lectionary.

‡ See, *e.g.*, Dalm., *Dialektproben*, p. 15, l. 2, ברית דכאן = whose son? בריה דחזקיה = the son of Hezekiah. So Dn 2^{20} $3^{8.25}$ etc., and constantly in Syriac (as Mt 1^{1} [thrice]). According to Wellh. *b'rēh d'nāshā* (on account of the sing. suff. and the following virtual plural) is 'unmöglich' (p. vi). But אינשא is regularly in the Tgg. construed with a sing.; and Job 7^{20} 14^{19} 33^{16}, Pesh., are precise *formal* parallels (see, further, Fiebig, p. 48 ff.): moreover, if the expression were 'impossible' in Syriac, would the authors of the Syriac versions of the Gospels have employed it?

§ *Z.f. Wiss. Theol.* 1897, 475 (cf. *Berl. philol. Wochenschr.* 1897, Heft 49); 1899, 150.

‖ Jerome, *de Viris Ill.* c. 2 *end* (ed. Bened. IV. ii. 102; ed. Vall. ii. 817; Migne, ii. 613); see Hilgenf. *Evangg. sec. Hebr. etc. quæ supersunt* (1866), pp. 17 ff., 29. Lietzmann's reply (*Theol. Arb.* p. 10) is to the effect that even here the title *must* be of Greek origin, because it is only in Greek that the conditions for its having arisen can be shown to have existed.

¶ *Journ. of Theol. Studies*, Apr. 1901, p. 357 f.

usage would be to court certain error; but from the terms in which he expresses himself, it does not seem that he means to pronounce an absolute philological veto against the position that Jesus may have spoken of Himself in Aramaic as 'the Son of man.'

(3) No doubt our Lord, as a rule, spoke in Aramaic; but, as Prof. Sanday has remarked to the present writer, it is quite possible that He may, upon occasion, have spoken also in *Greek*. In this case, which is more than a mere abstract possibility, the expression ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου may actually have been sometimes heard upon His lips.

11. *Origin and meaning of the term as used in NT.*—Here we must first consider the question whether the term is used in previous or contemporary Jewish literature, and, if so, in what sense. In Dn 7^{13}, as has been already remarked, the 'one like unto a son of man' denoted originally, in all probability, the glorified people of Israel; but the expression was undoubtedly interpreted at an early date of the Messiah. The most remarkable evidence of this is afforded by that part of the (composite) Book of Enoch (ch. 37–70), which is commonly known as the 'Similitudes,' and which is attributed generally to the 1st cent. B.C. (see vol. i. pp. 707[b]–708[a]). Enoch is here represented as carried in his vision into heaven, where he sees the 'Head of Days' (a title of the Almighty suggested by Dn 7^{13}) surrounded by an innumerable company of angels (40^{1}), and beside Him the Messiah, sitting on 'the throne of his glory' ($62^{2.3.5}$ $69^{27.29}$), and executing judgment upon wicked men and angels. The Messiah is often spoken of as the 'Elect One' (Is 42^{1}); but in ch. 46 he is introduced in terms which more particularly concern us here—

46^{1} 'And there I saw One who had a head of days (*i.e.* an aged head), and his head was white like wool (Dn 7^{9}), and with him was another one whose face was as the appearance of a man, and his face was full of graciousness, like one of the holy angels. ^{2} And I asked the angel who went with me, and showed me all the hidden things, concerning *that son of man*, who he was, and whence he was, and why he went with the Head of Days. And he answered and said unto me, ^{3} This is *the son of man* who hath righteousness, with whom dwelleth righteousness, and who reveals all the treasures of that which is hidden, because the Lord of Spirits hath chosen him, and his lot before the Lord of Spirits hath surpassed everything in uprightness for ever. ^{4} And *this son of man* whom thou hast seen will arouse the kings and the mighty ones from their couches, and the strong ones from their thrones, and execute judgment upon them.'

The judgment is described most fully in ch. 62—

62^{2} 'And the Lord of Spirits seated him (the Elect One) on the throne of his glory, and the spirit of righteousness was poured out upon him, and the word of his mouth slew all the sinners [Is 11^{4}], and all the unrighteous were destroyed before his face. . . . ^{5} And their countenance will fall, and pain will seize them, when they see *that son of man* sitting on the throne of his glory. . . . ^{9} And all the kings and the mighty and the exalted and those who rule the earth will fall down on their faces before him, and worship, and set their hope upon *that son of man*, and will petition him and supplicate for mercy at his hands.' But it will be too late: the 'angels of punishment' will take them in charge, and carry them away to their appointed doom. But the righteous will be saved on that day; ^{14} 'and the Lord of Spirits will abide over them, and with *that son of man* will they eat and lie down and rise up for ever and ever.' Cf. 69^{27} 'And he sat on the throne of his glory, and the sum of judgment was committed unto him, *the son of man*, and he caused the sinners and those who have led the world astray to pass away and be destroyed from off the face of the earth.'

The 'son of man' of the 'Similitudes' is thus an august, superhuman being, who is seated on his throne beside the Almighty, and exercises in particular the functions of *judge*. This representation, it is to be observed, though based, no doubt, upon that of Dn 7, is not identical with it: in Daniel it is *God* who is the judge; the 'one like unto a son of man' appears upon the scene only after the judgment is completed, and he comes, not to exercise judgment, but to receive a kingdom.

It has been much disputed whether 'the son of man' is a *title* in the Similitudes or not.

The expressions used are, 'that (*zeku* or *we'etu*) son of man' (46^{2} 48^{2} 62^{5} [see Charles, or Beer, in Kautzsch's *Apokryphen, ad loc.*], vv.$^{9.14}$ 63^{11} $69^{26.29.29}$ 70^{1} 71^{17}), 'this son of man' (46^{4}), and 'the son of man' (46^{3} [see Dillm. *Æth. Gram.* § 194] 62^{7} 69^{27}). On the one side, it is argued, Enoch sees in his vision a human form (46^{1}), which is afterwards (46^{2} etc.) referred to as 'that (or this) son of man,'—'son of man,' rather than simply 'man,' being (presumably) employed, partly on account of Dn 7^{13} (which the context shows to be in the writer's mind), partly as being a rather more distinct and individual term. 'The son of man' of 46^{3} 62^{7} 69^{27} might similarly be nothing more than an expression referring back to 46^{1}; and the same, it is urged, might be said even of ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, if, as is possible (see esp. Charles, *Eschatology*, p. 214 f.), this were the Greek which lay before the Ethiopic translator.* On the other hand, the somewhat marked prominence of the term is an indication that some significance attaches to it; else why does the writer not say 'the Elect one' (as $49^{2.4}$ $51^{3.5}$ $52^{6.9}$ *al.*), or 'the Anointed one' (as 48^{10} 52^{4})?

On the whole, it may probably be fairly said, as is claimed by Baldensperger ([§ 24], p. 246), and admitted by Dr. Drummond (p. 544), that the expression, even if not a title in Enoch, is next door to becoming one, and that the step of making it a title is one which at any time afterwards might be readily taken. If, however, the view of 'the son of man' adopted in this art. (§§ 17, 21) be the correct one, it will be seen to be a matter of indifference whether the expression was a 'title' in Enoch or not.

The reader ought, however, to be aware that it can hardly be said to be *certain* that the 'Similitudes' are of pre-Christian origin; though this is the view taken by the great majority of critics, who urge in particular that, had they been written (or interpolated) under Christian influence, the allusions to the historical Christ would have been more definite. See Schürer[2], ii. 626 ([3] iii. 201 f.).

12. Another passage, which, though of post-Christian date (probably A.D. 81–96), seems to show no traces of Christian influence (see vol. ii. p. 766[a]), and deserves to be quoted in the same connexion, is 2 (4) Es $13^{3ff.}$. Here Ezra is represented as seeing in a dream the sea disturbed by a wind, and a 'man,' who is declared afterwards (v.^{26}) to be God's appointed judge and deliverer (*i.e.*, though the word itself is not used, the Messiah), ascending out of it—

'And I beheld, and, lo, this wind caused to come up from the midst of the sea as it were the likeness of a man, and I beheld, and, lo, that man flew with the clouds of heaven [cf. Dn 7^{13}]: and when he turned his countenance to look, all things trembled that were seen under him.' In the sequel, the same 'man that came up out of the sea,' as he is termed (v.^{5}, cf. vv.$^{25.51}$), destroys by a 'flaming breath,' proceeding out of his mouth, the multitudes which assemble against him, and calls back to the land of Israel the ten tribes (vv.$^{10f.12.39-49}$).

Here then at least the Messiah is described, with evident reference to Dn 7^{13}, as a 'man.'

Dr. Charles has called attention also to 4 Es 6^{1} in the Syr., Eth., and Arab.† versions (the world to be judged finally—first by [Arab. on account of] a 'man' [Syr. בר ברנשא],—or, to judge from the Eth. vers., by a 'son of man,'—and afterwards by God: see Hilgenf. *Mess. Jud.* pp. 223, 275, 334); but the statement is inconsistent with 6^{6}, and is open to the suspicion of being a Christian interpolation (cf. Hilgenf. p. 54 *n.*).

13. In spite, however, of the usage of the 'Similitudes,' and of 2 Es $13^{3ff.}$, it seems clear that 'the Son of man' was no generally accepted title of the Messiah in the days of Christ. Dalm. (*Die Worte Jesu*, 197–204) shows that nothing exists in Jewish authorities in favour of such a supposition. The same conclusion is supported by the testimony of the Gospels. 'It is inconceivable that the Lord should have adopted a title which was popularly held to be synonymous with that of Messiah, while He carefully avoided the title of Messiah itself' (Westcott). The reply that He used it enigmatically is not to the point; for though He

* The Eth. *zeku* and *we'etu* not infrequently, in translations from the Greek, represent the Greek art. (Charles, *l.c.*; Dillm. *Æth. Lex.* col. 1057, 919). They are not, however, used in the Eth. NT in the tr. of ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου. (Dr. Charles, in his tr. of $69^{26.29.29}$ 70^{1}, has not represented the Eth. 'that').

† The Arab version published by Ewald (*Das vierte Ezrabuch*, 1863): that published by Gildemeister (1877) is different.

might have signified by it something different from the popular conception of the Messiah, it would still (*ex hyp.*) have been the Messiah, which those who heard Him would have understood Him to mean. Upon the same supposition, moreover, His use of it could not but have excited the hostility of the Jews, of which, however (in this connexion), the Gospels afford no trace: the 'blasphemy' of Mt 26^{65}=Mk 16^{64} consisted evidently not in His use of this title, but in the Divine prerogatives predicated of Himself as the bearer of it. The most that might be supposed is, that though not generally current as a title of the Messiah, it was familiar in that sense in the particular circle to which the 'Similitudes' belonged (above, vol. ii. 622^{b}, cf. 616^{a}).

14. In considering the *meaning* of the title, it ought to be clearly understood that it is not anywhere *explained* in the NT, so that whatever view of it be adopted must be a matter of conjecture and inference. To the same cause is due what is generally allowed to be the great difficulty of the question, and also the wide divergence of the conclusions which have been reached regarding it. The question is further complicated by the fact that there are two possible starting-points for the investigation: is the name a *mere* title, taken, as it were mechanically, from Dn 7^{13}, and so a *mere* periphrasis for 'Messiah'? or does the significance of the title lie in the four words of which it consists, and is the meaning which our Lord intended to convey by it to be ascertained by an analysis of these words? Or may the interpretations suggested by these two opposite points of view be in any way combined? Or, on the other hand, whichever of these interpretations be adopted, does it logically render the other unnecessary and superfluous [cf. § 20. 12]? Still further difficulties arise when the details of its usage in the Gospels are considered, as, for instance, the very different predicates associated with it; and further divergent conclusions are arrived at, corresponding to the view taken by the individual critic of the chronology of our Lord's discourses, and other questions of Gospel criticism.

15. Two main views may be said to have been advocated. According to one view, the title has no meaning of its own,* it is intended simply to point to the 'one like unto a son of man' in Dn 7^{13},† and so to express, directly and distinctly, the Messiahship of Jesus. According to the other view, the title, though it may have been chosen with an eye to Dn 7^{13}, expressed primarily the thought that Jesus was, in some special sense, a man above other men, the supreme representative of humanity, and only indirectly, especially towards the close of His ministry, suggested in addition the thought of His Messiahship. High authorities can be quoted for both these views. Thus Holtzmann writes (*NT Theol.* 1897, p. 247), 'The title certainly originates in Dn 7^{13}. Jesus adopts Daniel's view of the future kingdom: close beside this is in Daniel the figure of the "one like unto a son of man" who receives the kingdom from God, and in whom therefore it was natural for Jesus to see Himself prefigured: even though in Daniel the figure symbolized only the kingdom (and not its head), still here was the person who would establish it: Jesus, by His adoption of the title, implied that it would not be established apart from Himself.' He did not, however, this being the sense of the title, use it before Peter's confession (pp. 250 *top*, 260, 263 [cf. below, § 19]). 'Jesus,' Holtzmann continues, 'throws into the title whatever is characteristic of His mission and ministry. He makes it the exclusive designation of the person who is to represent and realize the ideas expressed by it. Just because He is conscious that this mission brings with it earthly privation and suffering, and even death, the "Son of man" becomes the subject of predications relating not only to future glory, but also to earthly humiliation and death. Thus Jesus is, and is called, the "Son of man," on the one hand wherever by forgiving and healing, by teaching and suffering, He proclaims, represents, or extends the kingdom; on the other hand, and especially, when, coming in glory, He completes it. As the kingdom is a present as well as a future reality, so the title "Son of man" bears reference to His work in the present not less than in the future' (pp. 250–3, abridged).

* Schmiedel, p. 264: 'The name is given [viz. by Dn 7^{13}]; what it signifies is matter not for an analytical judgment, but for a synthetical one,' *i.e.* it is to be ascertained from 'predicates defining the work or office of the Messiah.' Cf. Holtzm. p. 253 bottom, 264 *n.*; Wellh. p. 214.

† Cf. H. A. W. Meyer on Mt 8^{20} (altered in the 8th ed. by B. Weiss).

Upon this view the first art. (*ὁ*) points to Dn 7^{13} (Holtzm. p. 264 *n.*; Schmiedel, p. 264), the second (*τοῦ*) results simply by a kind of attraction, from the presence of the first (Schmiedel, *l.c.*; Winer, *Gramm.* § 19, 2*b*–4).

16. In what is here said of the *use* of the title, there is much that is, of course, perfectly just; but to the view taken of its *origin* there seem to be objections. In the vision of Daniel the 'one like unto a son of man' is represented as a glorified, heavenly being, and the kingdom is a *triumphant* kingdom. No account is taken of the long period during which, as a matter of history, the kingdom was gradually and slowly to extend itself among men; it has been finally and universally established in the earth (7^{14}). Now, if the passages in which our Lord first used the expression had been those in which He describes His future advent in glory, there would have been a direct point of contact with the vision in Daniel, sufficient to account for the title being adopted from it; but, as it is, it is impossible, without most arbitrary treatment of the Gospel narratives, to suppose that to have been the case; and thus, with the passages in which He is actually represented as first using it, and which all deal with various aspects of His life in humility upon earth, there is no point of contact in Daniel at all. As Westcott (*Speaker's Comm.* on St. John, p. 34) says, 'It is out of the question to suppose that the definite article simply expressed "the prophetic son of man." The manner in which the title is first used excludes such an interpretation.' There is nothing, viz., in the manner in which the title is first used—or indeed chiefly used—in the Synoptic Gospels, to suggest a reference to Daniel, or to lead to the supposition that our Lord intended by His use of it to bring before His hearers the transcendent, heavenly being represented in Daniel. A being, conscious, indeed, of his authority and of the high mission entrusted to him, but presenting all the outward marks of earthly humility, and only *in the future* destined to assume heavenly majesty, is surely what the title denotes in the Gospels. Holtzmann's identification of the kingdom pictured in Daniel, not with the kingdom of Christ in its final glory, but with the kingdom at the time of His founding it during His earthly ministry, is not natural. There is equally little, not to say less, to suggest that the title is borrowed from the 'Similitudes' of Enoch. It is also difficult not to think (in spite of Holtzm. p. 253 f.) that it is intended to express primarily, and also more fully and distinctively than even Holsten (§ 20. 11) allows, some meaning directly involved in the words of which it consists (analogous, for instance, to that of its correlative, the 'Son of God').

17. The other main view may be stated substantially, as is done by B. Weiss (*NT Theol.* 1884,

§ 16). (1) Our Lord adopted this title just because it was not a current title of the Messiah. In view of the expectations of a personal Messiah which prevailed at the time, Dn 7^{13} could certainly in His day be interpreted only of the Messiah; but, even so, He could not assume that this particular passage would be so generally known that the expression, 'the Son of man,' would be at once understood as referring to it. The case would be different if we could presuppose the use made of Daniel in Enoch; but, even if the pre-Christian origin of the 'Similitudes' be granted, it is far from clear that they were familiarly known in the circles in which our Lord's ministry principally lay. Only when Jesus in the eschatological passages directed attention to Dn 7^{13} could the title be understood generally as a Messianic designation. This view of His use of the title agrees with the manner in which, during all the earlier part of His ministry, He avoided any direct announcement of His Messiahship, in order not to lend encouragement to the unspiritual ideas attaching to the popular conception of the Messiah. (2) For His hearers the idea expressed by the title would be that He was not a 'son of man' like all others, but that He was '*the* son of man,' one who, in virtue of His character and personality, held a unique position among men. It did not designate *merely* His humanity (for this must have been evident to all who saw Him), but it marked Him out as in some sense a *special* or *representative* man. (3) Christ's statements respecting the 'Son of man,' the functions, office, and divinely appointed destinies assigned to him, point to one who has a mission higher than that of an ordinary prophet, *i.e.* *in*directly to one who is also the Messiah. They speak of Him, for instance, as in various ways proclaiming or establishing the kingdom of God. He has authority to forgive sins; and He gives His life a ransom for many. He is contrasted with John the Baptist, who is merely a forerunner. The sufferings of the Son of man are divinely appointed (δεῖ,—Mk 8^{31} ‖ ‖, *al.*), because it is implied in the OT that God's plan of salvation would not be finally realized upon earth without the suffering and death of the servant of God by whom it would be accomplished. (4) Lastly, in the prophecies of the Second Advent, our Lord alluded so clearly to Dn 7^{13} that though He does not expressly *identify* Himself with the 'one like unto a son of man' there spoken of, those who heard Him, and who identified the figure in Daniel with the Messiah, could not but conclude that He meant by the term that particular 'son of man' who was to be the Messiah.*

Upon this view the second art. (τοῦ) is generic or collective (Winer, § 27. 1; Gn $6^{6.7}$ 8^{21} 9^{6}, 2 S 7^{19}, Mk 2^{27}, Jn 2^{25}), the first art. (ὁ) specifies the individual of the *genus* meant (Weiss, § 16*b*).

18. This opinion, that the title, viz., even though it may have been *suggested* by Dn 7^{13}, was nevertheless intended, and even intended primarily, to express in some manner the relation of Jesus to humanity, has been largely held (see § 20; and the references in Holtzm. pp. 254, 255). It has, however, been objected to it that if the title denoted the 'ideal' or 'representative' man, the predicates affirmed of it could be only those which were involved in the idea itself,—*i.e.*, to speak technically, were the predicates of analytical, not of synthetical judgments, which obviously is not the case with the predicates affirmed of the 'Son of man' in the Gospels. This would, no doubt, be true if the title were understood to be a designation of the 'ideal' man, but not if (abandoning this abstract expression) it be understood to designate a *particular, individual man*, embodying in their highest perfection the attributes of humanity. And this is the sense in which Weiss and Westcott (§ 20), for instance, understand the title. There will then be no difficulty in understanding the predicates affirmed of the 'Son of man' as synthetical judgments: they will result, in other words, not from an analysis of the idea of 'man,' but from the experience, present or future, of the particular individual actually denoted by the term. As Holtzmann, though himself preferring the other view, writes (p. 254), 'The possibility is by no means excluded that the conception of the Messiah was rooted in the idea of man, and that Jesus, in choosing this designation, instead of others that were open to Him, intended thereby to express His relationship to humanity.'

The fact just mentioned has been made the ground of a further objection to the same opinion. As has just been shown, if we start from the idea of 'man,' none of the predicates applied in the Gospels to the 'Son of man' can be obtained from an analysis of that idea. But if we start from the equation (given by Dn 7^{13}) 'Son of man' = 'Messiah,' then all these predicates become analytical judgments; they are, it is said, derivable, at least largely, from the idea of 'Messiah' itself; they are expressions, not of Jesus' conception of 'man,' but of His conception of His Messiahship.* And hence it is concluded that the term was used by Him as properly and primarily signifying 'Messiah.' It may be doubted if this conclusion necessarily follows from the premises. If the term denoted Jesus primarily as a Man above other men, a Man with a unique position and mission, this position and mission would, from another point of view, be also those of the 'Messiah'; and the predicates describing different aspects of His work and ministry would accordingly be those belonging to Him as 'Messiah.' The offices and functions ascribed to the 'Son of man' in the Gospels are deduced by Weiss, starting from the idea of 'man,' not less naturally than by Holtzmann, starting from the idea of 'Messiah.'

19. Two questions, intimately connected, remain to be considered, which also, as will appear, have a bearing upon the question of the origin of the title. At what period in His ministry did our Lord first use the title? And in what sense was it understood by those who heard it? Or, to put the possible alternatives unambiguously, did it *veil* or *reveal* His Messiahship? It is clear that our Lord only declared His Messiahship gradually. The question put by Him to the disciples at Cæsarea Philippi, and Peter's reply (Mt 16^{13-16} = Mk 8^{27-29} = Lk 9^{18-20}), particularly when taken in connexion with our Lord's comment in Mt 16^{17}, make it evident that up to that time He had not openly declared Himself as the Messiah; and the prohibitions in Mt 16^{20} = Mk 8^{30} = Lk 9^{21}, and Mt 17^{9} = Mk 9^{9}, cf. Lk 9^{36}, show that He still did not wish the fact to be known to the people generally. In the Synoptic Gospels there are, however (see the Table, § 3), 9 passages in Matthew, 2 in Mark, and 4 in Luke, in which the title 'Son of man' is ascribed to our Lord before the occasion at Cæsarea Philippi. If, then, the title was a current Mess. title, or even if His hearers, when He used it, were likely at once to perceive a reference to Dn 7^{13}, it is clear that He must, by His use of it, have *revealed* His Messiahship, from virtually the beginning of His ministry, both to His disciples and to the people at large. This, however, as we have just seen, was inconsistent with His avowed purpose. Hence those who believe that it was a current Mess. title are obliged to get rid of those passages in the Gospels which represent our Lord

* The views of Bruce, *Kingdom of God* [2] (1890), 172–78, and of Stevens, *NT Theol.* (1899), 51–53, while somewhat differently put, do not differ materially from that of Weiss.

* Holsten [§ 10. 11], pp. 36–39; cf. Lietzmann, 14, 15, 24.

as using it before Peter's confession at Cæsarea Philippi. Matthew (in whom most of the passages occur) is the evangelist who, generally, displays the least regard for historical sequence, and sometimes groups incidents and sayings together merely on account of material resemblances; he even represents the disciples as owning Jesus to be the 'Son of God' (14^{33}: no ‖ in Mk $6^{51f.}$ Jn 6^{21}) before the confession at Cæsarea Philippi. Hence there is no difficulty in supposing that Mt 10^{23} 13^{41} (in which, whatever view be taken of the meaning of the title, the predicates applied to it, describing the Second Advent, show that the Messiah is referred to) are placed too early in our Lord's ministry;* and the same supposition might be reasonably made (upon the assumption that 'the Son of man' was a Mess. title) in the case of some other passages, as Mt 8^{20} 12^{40};† but it is difficult to think that Mk 2^{10} = Mt 9^{6} = Lk 5^{24}, Mk 2^{28} = Mt 12^{8} = Lk 6^{5}, [Mk $3^{28f.}$ =] Mt 12^{32} = Lk 12^{10}, can be so misplaced. Nevertheless, those who believe 'the Son of man' to be an explicit Mess. title are obliged to assume this (cf. § 20. 12), or else to hold either that Jesus never used the title at all, or (so Holtzm. p. 263, cf. 256 f.) that, on at least the three last-named occasions, He spoke of 'man' in general (see, further on these passages, § 22).‡

The second of these alternatives we have already found ourselves unable to accept; but does either the first or the third suffice to remove the difficulty? Is it really credible that our Lord *first* used the expression of Himself, after Peter's confession at Cæsarea Philippi? Is not the familiar manner in which He used the title, if not *in* the question put to Peter (Mt 16^{13}, but not Mk 8^{27}, Lk 9^{18}), yet directly after it (Mk 8^{31}, Lk 9^{22}), without exciting any comment or surprise, sufficient evidence that it must have been *often* used by Him previously, and that it was an expression which, whatever special ideas it may have been intended to convey, was well understood to denote Himself? These considerations, as it seems to the present writer, constitute a strong argument against the supposition that it was a current Mess. title, or even (without supposing as much as this) that it was adopted by our Lord as a Mess. title, for the purpose of proclaiming His Messiahship.

The title, we thus seem forced to conclude, was used by our Lord in His Galilæan ministry; but it did not suggest to those who heard it Mess. associations, until it came to be connected with predictions of the Second Advent; it thus did not reveal, but veil, His Messiahship. Christ's use of the term was *pædagogic*. It veiled His Messiahship during the earlier part of His ministry, till the time was ripe for Him to avow it openly.§ By His adoption of it, He found a means, on the one hand, of not denying even in public His consciousness of His unique mission, and, on the other hand, of lending no countenance to the crude and illusory hopes which attached to popular ideas of the Messiah (Weiss, *Leben Jesu*, i. 429).

20. The following summary (which makes no pretension to be exhaustive) may be useful to the reader, partly as illustrating, especially when taken in connexion with the views that have been already stated, the great diversity of opinion which has prevailed—and in part prevails still—with regard to the meaning of the title, partly as exemplifying the lines along which attempts have been principally made to solve the problems which it presents.

1. Neander (*Leben Jesu*, 1837, 129 ff.; Eng. tr.[4] p. 99). The title denotes Jesus on His human side, as One belonging to humanity, who in His humanity has done so much for it, through whom it is glorified, and who has realized most completely the ideal ('Urbild') of humanity.

2. Baur (*Z. Wiss. Theol.* 1860, 274–292; *NT Theol.* 1864, 77–83). Not at the time a current title of the Messiah, but chosen by Jesus in opposition to prevalent Jewish conceptions of a victorious, earthly Messiah. It emphasized His humanity, His subjection to the needs and experiences of ordinary men; and denoted Him also as one who made all the deepest human interests His own, and had the wide human sympathies expressed, for instance, in the Beatitudes. It was suggested by Dn 7^{13}; and Jesus adopted it as a title, which, while possessing no popular Mess. associations, was adapted to express the Mess. idea in its higher significance.

3. Hilgenfeld (*Z. Wiss. Th.* 1863, 327–334; cf. 1894, 16 f.). Not a current Mess. title. Suggested by Dn 7^{13}, but used by Jesus with the object of giving prominence to His humanity, and of emphasizing the humility and external lowliness which in His person were combined with the exalted dignity of the Messiah. It thus in a veiled manner pointed to His Messiahship. Jesus, by uniting spiritual loftiness with earthly lowliness, 'transfigured' the popular Jewish idea of the Messiah.

4. Weizsäcker (*Evang. Gesch.* 1864, 426–431). Not a current Mess. title (for, if it had been, Jesus would have been attacked for appropriating it); and adopted by Jesus, not from Dn 7^{13}, but from Ezekiel, to designate Himself specially as a *prophet*. The Mess. sense, derived from Dn 7^{13}, was attached to it only at a later period of our Lord's life.

5. Holtzmann (in 1865; *Z. Wiss. Th.* 212–237). Not a current title of the Messiah (for else Jesus would have been attacked for using it), but borrowed by Him as a Mess. title from Dn 7^{13}, 'the expression used by Dn. reflecting itself in His consciousness in a universal and human sense.' It thus denoted Him not *merely* as the Messiah, but as 'the bearer of all human dignity and rights,' as 'one who held a peculiar and central position among the *υἱοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων*.' Not being a current Mess. title, it was a riddle to those who heard it, and served to veil, not to reveal, His Messiahship.

6. Keim (*Der Gesch. Christus*, 1865, p. 105 f.; *Jesus of Naz.* tr. iii. 79–92). The title had a double aspect: on the basis first of Ps $8^{4f.}$, though afterwards also of Dn 7^{13}, it expressed Jesus' sense on the one hand of His human lowliness, on the other hand of His Messianic dignity: in particular, He intended by His use of it to show that even in His capacity as Messiah He was part and parcel of humanity, and to teach His disciples that it was pre-eminently His vocation to serve and suffer for humanity.

7. Wittichen (1868). In Dn 7^{13} the 'son of man' represents the *ethical character* of the future Isr. dominion, as opposed to the worldly heathen dominions; this idea is, however, first embodied in an *individual* in Enoch, from which book Jesus adopted the title. He designated Himself by it as the perfect representative of the idea of man, especially on its ethical side, and at the same time as the Messiah, the chosen organ for the fuller realization of this idea in the world. The idea as presented in Enoch is spiritualized and morally deepened by Jesus, and also combined by Him with associations derived from the OT 'servant of Jehovah.'

8. Westcott (*l.c.* 1880). The title is a new one, not derived from Dn 7^{13}; and it expresses Christ's relation not to a family, or to a nation, but to all humanity. There is nothing in the Gospels to show that it was understood as a title of the Messiah. The idea of the true humanity of Christ lies at the foundation of it. He was the representative of the whole race, in whom the complete conception of manhood was absolutely attained, and who exhibited all the truest and noblest attributes of the race. Cf. Stanton, *The Jewish and the Christian Messiah*, 1886, p. 246: 'It is clear that Christ by His phrase represented Himself as the head, the type, the ideal of the race.'

9. Wendt, 1890 (*The Teaching of Jesus*, ii. 139–151). Not a current Mess. title. Dn 7^{13} suggested the combination of creaturely frailty and lowliness with high dignity; and so Jesus, when He used the title, taught that He was a frail human creature, and yet showed that He remembered the proph. word that the Mess. dignity was to belong to 'one like unto a son of man.' It was no announcement of His Mess. claims, but rather propounded a problem for His hearers to reflect upon.

10. J. E. Carpenter (*The First Three Gospels, their Origin and Relations*, 1890, pp. 118–120, 244–257, 372–388). Jesus never used the expression to designate Himself: He employed it only in the eschatological passages, and in these it was used by Him symbolically to denote the establishment of God's kingdom of righteousness upon earth. The primitive Church understood the expression in a personal sense, and then ascribed it, as a Mess. title, to Jesus Himself.

11. Holsten (*Z. f. Wiss. Theol.* 1891, pp. 1–79). The title, though not a current Mess. one, was understood by Jesus in that sense, as appears from the fact that He always uses it to express some aspect of the work or activity of the Messiah (cf. Holtzmann: § 15). It was adopted from Dn 7^{13}, though this passage gave only the outer form, the contents being supplied by the experience and knowledge of the historical Jesus (as teacher, sufferer, redeemer, etc.): only thus did He convert 'the visionary form of a Messiah, which He found in Daniel, into His own living Mess. personality' (p. 68, cf. 60). He would

* Some other passages in Matthew, involving the avowal of Jesus' Messiahship, though not with the use of this title, are also probably ante-dated; cf. Holtzmann, p. 259.

† In Lk 6^{22} [contrast Mt 5^{11}], 7^{34} = Mt 11^{19}, Holtzmann (p. 251) doubts whether the title (which he regards as Mess.) is original.

‡ Fiebig, however [§ 24], thinks that in these cases it was simply misunderstood (as = 'man,' 'a man') by those who heard it.

§ Keim. Similarly Baur, Hase, Lange, Ritschl, Harnack, and others, as cited by Holtzmann, p. 261 n. 1, 262 n. 5.

not, however, have appropriated the title, had He not desired to designate Himself as a member of the *genus* 'man,' and also recognized Himself as the member of the *genus* referred to in Dn 7^{13} (p. 47). The difficulty (cf. § 16) of understanding how Jesus could have denoted Himself, under the conditions of His earthly life, by a term suggesting only the transcendent Being of Daniel, is met by the supposition (which, however, lacks support in the text of Dn. itself) that the 'one like unto a son of man' in Dn 7^{13} is really to be conceived as having been brought before God, and invested by Him with power and greatness, out of a previous state of earthly humility and weakness (pp. 61, 67 f.). The title was used by Jesus in His Galilæan ministry (Mk 2^{10} etc.); for though He Himself understood it in a Mess. sense, this was not *necessarily* placed upon it even by scripture-students, esp. if His own appearance and manner of life did not suggest it: it would be taken naturally by those who heard it, including, up to the time of Peter's confession, even the disciples, to signify simply 'the man.' And this would agree with His own purpose of keeping for a while His Messiahship a secret (pp. 20, 22, 31 f., 70 f.).

12. Baldensperger (*Das Selbstbewusstsein Jesu im Lichte der Mess. Hoffnungen seiner Zeit*[2], 1892) emphasizes strongly the prevalence of apocalyptic conceptions in the time of Christ. He rejects emphatically the opinion that the title *concealed* Jesus' Messiahship, and also the view that it was intended to express any aspect of His humanity. It was (through the influence of Daniel and Enoch) a known Mess. title in the time of Christ; and Jesus adopted it with the express object of proclaiming His Messiahship. It was a triumphant designation of the Messiah; and Jesus connected it with declarations respecting His humiliation and sufferings for the express purpose of showing (in opposition to current Jewish ideas) that these were integral elements in His conception of the Messiah. As, however, it was an open proclamation of His Messiahship, He cannot have used it before Peter's confession at Cæsarea Philippi: the passages in the Gospels which imply that He did this must be chronologically misplaced. Baldensperger closes with a severe criticism of Holsten for admitting in again 'by a back-door' (see above, No. 11) any reference in the title to the humanity of Jesus, which he had himself shown to be out of the question, as well as unnecessary, in view of the direct derivation of the title from Dn 7^{13} (pp. 182–189); and of Wendt for discovering in the expression anything of the nature of creaturely weakness or humility (pp. 189–192).

13. J. V. Bartlet (*Expos.*, Dec. 1892, 427–443). The title may have been suggested by Dn 7^{13}; but as used by Jesus it denotes Him as the ideal representative, partly of humanity in general, partly of the Kingdom of God in particular, especially under those aspects of character which belong to the suffering servant in Deutero-Isaiah.

14. Dalman (*Die Worte Jesu*, 1898, 191–219; cf. *Exp. Times*, x. 438–443). Not a current Mess. title, but adopted by Jesus from Dn 7^{13}, and very probably also with the thought of Ps $8^{4f.}$ at the same time, because He was the destined Messiah. It veiled His Messiahship behind a name which emphasized the humanity of its bearer. It implied that He was in some sense a man 'above other men,' but not that He was the 'ideal' man —a conception foreign to Jewish thought, and not at all suggested by the teaching of Jesus. He avoided the term 'Messiah' on account of the false ideas associated with it by the Jews: the 'son of man' in Daniel, on the other hand, was one who was not to win the kingdom by his own strength, but to *receive* it at the hands of God, and might have to do this through suffering and death: Jesus thus assumed the title as 'a frail child of man, whom God would make Lord of the world.' Probably not used before Peter's confession; the passages in the Gospels which imply that it was, being chronologically misplaced.

15. Gunkel (*Z. Wiss. Theol.* 1899, 582–590) agrees that in Aram. the term meant only 'the man,' but thinks that there may have been an esoteric eschat. tradition underlying both Daniel, Enoch, and other apocalypses, in which (like other apoc. expressions, as 'the end,' 'the woes,' the 'elect,' ὁ κατέχων, etc.) 'the man' (perhaps orig. 'the man of God,' or 'of heaven') may have come to be used conventionally as a mystic synonym of 'the Messiah': Jesus might thus have adopted it as a self-designation; to outsiders it would mean simply 'the man,' and might be understood, for example, of an ancient prophet, returned to life (Mt 16^{14}); by the initiated, it would be understood to be a covert title of the Messiah.

16. J. Drummond, 1901 [see § 24]. The term is used elastically: starting from Dn 7^{13} Jesus may have regarded it as a typical expression for the ideal people of God, with which associations derived from the 'servant of God' in Is 52^{13}–53^{12} would readily connect themselves: conscious Himself of His Messianic calling, He would naturally regard Himself as the Head of this ideal class. The central idea of the expression would thus be that of *the true servant of God*,—pre-eminently Himself, but not necessarily and uniformly exclusive of others (so, *e.g.*, in Mt 8^{20} 12^{31}, Mk $2^{10.\,28}$,—in Mt 11^{18} the expl. 'a man' [§ 8. 4] may be adopted). The eschat. passages may be visions of the spiritual conquest of the world by a Divinely commissioned humanity, personified as 'the son of man.'

21. Most of these opinions contain elements of truth; but the divergence as regards the fundamental idea denoted by the expression is remarkable. Still those views which see in the title *some* relation to humanity decidedly predominate. The present writer must own that he is most attracted by the views of Westcott and Weiss (to which those of Neander, Baur, and Holtzmann in 1865 lead up). The expression, understood in the natural sense of the words, denotes one who, though a Man, holds nevertheless a unique position among men; and this, it seems to him, is the proper starting-point for investigating its meaning, and discovering the further ideas (if any) attaching to it. He cannot think that the title was first used by Christ in the eschat. passages, or even after Peter's confession: whatever its special significance may have been, it must have been an expression heard frequently upon our Lord's lips, and the disciples must have first become familiar with it in comparatively neutral or colourless passages, not in those foretelling either His future sufferings or His future glory. The title may have been borrowed by our Lord from Dn 7^{13}; but He did not, at least when first using it, intend to bring before His hearers the figure there portrayed: He adopted it as a mere shell or form, suggestive of His humanity, into which He threw a new import and content of His own: more special associations derived from Dn 7^{13}—perhaps, also, in Mt 16^{27} 19^{28} 25^{31} from Enoch *—came first to be attached to it in the eschat. passages. Ps 8, with its strikingly-drawn contrast between the actual lowliness and the ideal dignity of man, may also well have contributed to the adoption of the title by our Lord. The title, as it seems to the present writer (though he would avoid such expressions as the 'ideal' or 'representative' man), designates Jesus as *the* Man in whom human nature was most fully and deeply realized, and who was the most complete exponent of its capacities, warm and broad in His sympathies, ready to minister and suffer for others, sharing to the full the needs and deprivations which are the common lot of humanity, but conscious at the same time of the dignity and greatness of human nature, and destined ultimately to exalt it to unexampled majesty and glory. He would in general endorse cordially what is written on this subject in vol. ii. p. 623^{a-b} (cf. also p. 850^{b}).

22. We append a few remarks on some particular passages in which the title is used.

a. Mk 8^{20} = Lk 9^{58} ('the foxes have holes,' etc.). As Schmiedel remarks (p. 293), Meyer's 'a man' (*i.e.* Jesus) † is exegetically impossible; Lietzmann's 'man' (generally) ‡ is out of the question. The contrast is evidently between the external lowliness and the inherent dignity of Him who in a special sense was *the* 'Son of man.'

b. Mt 9^{6} = Mk 2^{10} = Lk 5^{24}. There is no necessity, for the purpose of understanding this passage, to suppose that the title was a Mess. one. Jesus, in order to meet the objection, 'Who can forgive sins, but God only?' heals the paralytic, thereby showing that He holds an extraordinary commission from God upon earth sufficient to satisfy the Jews that He is justified in claiming also to possess authority to forgive sins. The passage, it is true, is one in which an Aram. original 'that a man hath authority on earth to forgive sins' § would be quite possible, and yield a suitable sense,—the word, though in form general, being meant to be limited to Jesus Himself; but, if 'the Son of man' be admitted as a title of Jesus elsewhere, there is, of course, no necessity for having recourse to the supposition here.

c. Mt 12^{8} = Mk 2^{28} = Lk 6^{5}. Here in Mk we read: '(v.[27]) And he said unto them, The sabbath is

* For (§ 11) it is only here (and not in Daniel) that the 'son of man' appears as *judge*.

† P. 96 f. (cf. above, § 8. 4).

‡ P. 90 (but allowing that, in its present connexion, only Jesus can be meant: so Well. p. 206).

§ Meyer, p. 94 (cf. § 8. 4); Lietzm. p. 89; Wellh. p. 203.

made for man, and not man for the sabbath: (v.[28]) *so that* the son of man is lord even of the sabbath,'—the statement that the son of man is lord of the sabbath being based upon the premises contained in v.[27]. But in the premise, 'the sabbath is made for man,' 'man' is evidently meant generally, so that the only logical conclusion from it is, not that a particular man, but that man generally,—or, at least (since, from the nature of the case, the worldly, unspiritual man would not be thought of), the religious man, who weighed reasons, and could judge how to use rightly what was instituted for the benefit of man,—is 'lord of the sabbath'; Jesus, by His argument, though He would *in*clude Himself, would not *ex*clude others. And such a conclusion would be in agreement not only with the general teaching of Christ, but with the context, which shows that Jesus is defending not His own action, but that of His *disciples*. Hence, as Schmiedel also allows, the supposition that 'the son of man' has arisen out of a misinterpretation, or false limitation, of the Aram. *bar-nāshā*,* is here certainly plausible. At the same time, it is possible that the argument is, 'The sabbath was made for man; and therefore the Son of man, as holding a unique position among men, and knowing what their welfare requires, may, for a sufficient reason, dispense with the obligation to observe the sabbath' (cf. Stanton, 247 f.). It must, however, then be supposed that the action of the disciples in plucking the ears of corn had been implicitly authorized by Jesus.

d.†

Mk 3[28-30].	Mt 12[31].	Mt 12[32].	Lk 12[10].
28 All sins and blasphemies shall to *the sons of men* be forgiven, wherewithsoever they blaspheme:	Every sin and blasphemy shall unto *men* be forgiven;	And whoso speaketh a word against *the son of man*, it shall be forgiven him;	And every one who shall speak a word against *the son of man*, it shall be forgiven him;
29 But whoso blasphemeth against *the Holy Spirit* hath not forgiveness for ever (*εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα*), but is guilty of an eternal sin.	but the blasphemy of *the Spirit* shall not be forgiven.	but whoso speaketh against *the Holy Spirit*, it shall not be forgiven him, neither in this age (*αἰών*) nor in that which is to come.	but unto him that blasphemeth against *the Holy Spirit* it shall not be forgiven.
30 Because they said, He hath an unclean spirit.			

Here Mt 12[31. 32] certainly wear the appearance of being duplicate versions of one and the same saying, v.[31] agreeing with Mk 3[28f.], and v.[32] with Lk 12[10]; and the contrast expressed in Mk 3[28f.] Mt 12[31] between 'men' in general and the Holy Spirit becoming in Mt 12[32] Lk 12[10] one between the 'Son of man' and the Holy Spirit. It is not difficult to understand how these duplicates might have arisen out of different recensions of the original saying, of which one read בני נשא ('men'), and the other בר נש ('a man,'—intended in a general sense).‡ According to Wellh. the version in Mk 3[28] Mt 12[31] is the original, the contrast (as Mk 3[30] shows) being between blasphemy against men and blasphemy against the Holy Spirit [cf. 1 S 2[25] RV]; Jesus, therefore, if this view be correct, never declared blasphemy against Himself to be pardonable. Schmiedel, in his acute discussion of these passages, replies that although no doubt Mark, as a rule, has the greater originality than Matthew, that is not the case universally [cf. vol. ii. p. 241[a]]; and in the present instance the words of Jesus in Matthew 12[32]=Lk 12[10] (in which He *distinguishes* between Himself and the Holy Spirit), has, upon intrinsic grounds, a far higher claim to originality than the remark of the narrator in Mk 3[30] (which makes blasphemy against Jesus tantamount to blasphemy against the Holy Spirit); while the declaration that blasphemy against Himself was pardonable is one which no evangelist would have ventured to place in Jesus' mouth, had He not really uttered it. Mt 12[32] is not necessarily a parallel recension of 12[31], or superfluous beside it; it would be perfectly in place if it stated with explicit reference to the 'Son of man' what is indeed implicit in v.[31], but is not there expressed explicitly. Mark 'may have had before him, not indeed our Matthew, but Mt 12[31f.] in a similar form, and have re-cast v.[32], on account of its seeming inconsistency with reverence for Jesus, in a form influenced by the phraseology of v.[31].' But the correctness of the comment in Mk 3[30] must, upon this view, be given up; and indeed (Schmiedel) it is not certain that Mk 3[28f.] (=Mt 12[31f.]) is *historically* connected with the preceding narrative; the parallel in Lk (12[10]) stands in a very different connexion. The impossibility of questioning the originality of Mt 12[32] = Lk 12[10] thus constitutes to Schmiedel a conclusive argument against explaining the variations between the Synoptists here by means of the Aramaic.

23. In the *Fourth Gospel* the title is still found only in our Lord's mouth; but it is lifted into a higher plane, and, in agreement with St. John's predominant point of view, is used commonly in more distinct connexion with His Divine nature. It is thus applied to Him not only with reference to events in His life on earth as a man, but also with reference to His pre-existence with God.* The uniqueness of the 'Son of man' consists in His having 'come down from heaven' (3[13]), whither also He will return again (6[62]), and in virtue of which those who 'work' that they may appropriate Him, and who further eat His flesh and drink His blood, have eternal life (6[27. 53], cf. vv.[50. 51. 58]). While on earth, He remains in constant spiritual intercourse with His Father in Heaven, as those whose eyes are opened may see by His life and works (1[51]). He will be 'lifted up' on the cross in order that those who believe in Him may have eternal life (3[13f.]), and that men may perceive who He is (8[28]); and His approaching death is the hour of His glorification (12[23] 13[31]). The multitude understood Him to claim to be the Messiah; and ask (12[34]) to have it explained to them how, if the Son of man is thus to be 'lifted up,' He can be the Messiah who is to 'abide for ever' (as head, viz., of an earthly kingdom). In 9[35], according to the reading of ℵBD, the unique position occupied by the 'Son of man' is attested by the importance attached to

* Meyer, p. 93; Lietzm. p. 89 f.; Wellh. p. 202: cf. Holtzm. p. 256.

† The tabular arrangement is Schmiedel's (p. 303).

‡ Lietzm. p. 87–89; Wellh. p. 203 f.

* In connexion with our Lord's future Advent, it is not used at all in St. John.

belief in Him.* Cf., further, Holtzm. ii. 426–30; Weiss, § 144*c*.

24. LITERATURE.—Holtzmann, *NT Theol.* (1897), i. 246–64, is indispensable for all further study of the subject: it is, unfortunately, not very clearly written, the writer's literary method leaving it sometimes uncertain how far he identifies himself with the alternative views stated:—Reuss, *Théol. Chrét.* 1860, tr. i. 197–200 (as realizing the moral ideal of humanity), ii. 410, 412; Weiss, 1884 (above, § 17); Baldensperger, [1]1888, [2]1892 (above, § 20. 12); Holsten, 1891 (§ 20. 11); Sanday, *Expos.* Jan. 1891, 18–32 (crit. of Carpenter, § 20. 10); Bartlet, 1892 (§ 20. 13); Charles, *Book of Enoch*, 1893, 312–17; Oort, 1893 (§ 8 *end*); Wellh. *Isr. u. Jüd. Gesch.* [1]1894, 312, [2]1895, 346, [3]1897, 381; Eerdmans, 1894–5 (§ 8. 2); N. Schmidt, *JBL* 1896, 36–53, 'Was בר נשא a Mess. Title?' [Answer, No, on grounds of Aram. usage]; A. Meyer, 1896 (§ 8. 4); Lietzmann, 1896 (§ 8. 5) [pp. 1–29, survey and criticism of previous views]; Hilgenfeld, 1897 (§ 10 n.); Nestle, *Expos. Times*, Feb. 1900, p. 238 (on Ps 80[16.18] LXX [where, however, τὸν υἱ. τοῦ ἀ. does *not* occur]); Schmiedel, *Prot. Monatshefte*, 1898, H. 7, 252–67, H. 8, 291–308 (crit. of Meyer, Lietzm., and Wellh. *Gesch.*); Lietzmann, *Theol. Arbeiten aus dem Rhein. Wiss. Pred.-Verein*, 1898, H. 2, 1–14 (reply to Hilgenfeld and Schmiedel); Dalman, 1898 (§ 20. 14); Wellh. *Skizzen u. Vorarbeiten*, 1899, 187–215, and v, vi; Klöpper, *Z. Wiss. Th.* 1899, 161–86; Gunkel, 1899 [§ 20. 16]; Hommel, *Expos. Times*, May 1900, 341–5 (develops Gunkel's view, and traces title back to the Bab. Adapa); Baldensperger, *Theol. Rundschau*, June 1900, 201–10, July 1900, 243–55 (survey of recent discussion); J. Drummond, *Journ. of Theol. Studies*, Apr. and July 1901, for the loan of which in MS the writer of the preceding article is greatly indebted to the author; Fiebig, *Der Menschensohn*, 1901 [appeared since this art. was in type. Impartial and independent: very clear and thorough, esp. on the Aramaic side; thinks the title was a current Mess. one, meaning 'the man,' based on Dn 7[13], but enlarged and enriched by Jesus and adopted by Him because (cf. § 19) it did not *necessarily* point to Himself, and also was not specifically national].

S. R. DRIVER.

SONG OF SONGS (שִׁיר הַשִּׁירִים; B ᾆσμα, א C ᾆσμα ᾀσμάτων, A ᾄσματα ᾀσμάτων; Vulg. *Canticum Canticorum*, whence the common name **Canticles**; AV **Song of Solomon**).—

i. Name and place in the Canon.
ii. Methods of Interpretation. An allegorical sense maintained both in Jewish and Christian Church: Targum, St. Bernard, Luther; Seb. Castellio (opposed traditional view); Grotius, R. Simon, Clericus, Whiston, J. D. Michaelis (all opposed at least to the exclusively allegorical sense); Herder (regarded the book as a collection of separate love-songs); allegorical interpretations of Keil, Rosenmüller, Hengstenberg, Hahn, Goltz, Hug, G. P. C. Kaiser; views of Jacobi, Delitzsch, von Orelli, Ewald; two distinct types of the dramatical theory, represented by Delitzsch and Ewald respectively; a new era in interpretation of the Song inaugurated by J. G. Wetzstein, whose views have been most fully carried out by Budde; Budde's view stated and criticised; the present writer's own view.
iii. Authorship, Place of composition, and Date.
Literature.

i. NAME OF THE BOOK AND ITS PLACE IN THE CANON.—'Song of Songs,' which is the exact rendering of the Hebrew title of this little book, does not mean 'a song of the songs (*sc.* of Solomon),' as Ibn Ezra and Kimchi supposed, but, by a not uncommon periphrasis for the superlative, is equivalent to 'the finest song,' that which is superior to all other songs, that which unites in itself the excellences of everything that is called song. The title, which, as we shall find, did not originally stand at the head of the book but was introduced afterwards, thus contains a significant expression of opinion regarding the composition. It is explicable only on the ground of the view which a later age thought it necessary to hold as to the real sense of a work which had now gained a place in the Canon of the OT. Nay, it is only the prevalence of the same view that will explain how the Song ever found entrance at all into the circle of Sacred Writings.

This pregnant title corresponds with the high estimate of the book expressed by R. Akiba (cf. *Jadaim*, iii. 5), about the end of the 1st cent. A.D.: 'God forbid! No one in Israel has ever doubted that the Song of Songs defiles the hands [*i.e.* that it is a holy canonical book†], for the whole world is not worth the day on which the Song was given to Israel. For all the Writings [*i.e.* the Hagiographa] are holy, but the Song of Songs is a holy of the holies.' Henceforward this idea of the incomparable value of the book continued to be the only prevailing one amongst the Jews, and thus passed over also into the Christian Church.

ii. METHODS OF INTERPRETATION.—The above Talmudic citation shows, however, that this high estimate of the Song of Songs did not succeed in establishing itself without opposition. The question whether they 'defile the hands' received a vacillating answer especially in regard to the Song and Ecclesiastes. And it is easy to account for this. The plain language of the book, soberly interpreted, does not suggest that we have to do with a work of high religious value or with a sacred poem. It was necessary to wrest the language and to assume that a deeper sense underlay the literal meaning, before one could justify the presence of such a book and gain an abiding place for it amongst the Sacred Writings.* What we hear of is earthly love, that of betrothed or married persons, and nowhere does the natural eye detect a single indication that would call it away from this and compel it to see in the figures presented to it images of a higher love. But at the time the step was taken of admitting the Song into the Canon, there can be no doubt that amongst those scribes whose influence was greatest in the collecting of the Sacred Writings, it had long been the custom to find in this exquisite work an allegory, and in the bond of love there presented to see the bond of love between J″ and Israel. Sufficient inducement to such an interpretation was supplied by Scripture itself, for at least since the time of the prophet Hosea the representation of the covenant between J″ and His people under the figure of the relation between husband and wife had become frequent and popular. When in consequence of the allegorical interpretation the book had been received into the Canon, objections to its being allowed to remain there could, of course, arise only from the strong impression which its language makes upon the reader, and the removal of such objections was facilitated in proportion as the allegorical interpretation obtained acceptance. The latter interpretation was bound to triumph in the end, for the more the true conception of the origin and character of Scripture was lost and a false notion of its inspiration came in, the more did the need make itself felt that all writings received into the Canon, the Song included, should be viewed and interpreted in such a way as to entitle them to rank as holy writings inspired by God's Spirit.

One result of the triumph of the allegorical interpretation, and of the extravagant estimate of the book (so well illustrated by the above words of R. Akiba), was the introduction of the liturgical use of the Song into the Jewish Church. Canticles, along with Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, and Esther, made up the five *Megillóth* ('rolls') which were read to the congregation at certain festivals. The liturgical use of Canticles deserves all the more careful consideration, because it helps us to decide what view of its contents was entertained by the Jewish congregation in the earliest times. For undoubtedly the contents of each book were intended to be brought into close connexion with the festival at which it was read. Now, Canticles was appointed to be read on the 8th day of the Feast of the Passover.† But this feast com-

* In Jn 5[27] the expression is different, 'because he is *a* son of man' (υἱὸς ἀνθρ.), *i.e.* (see Westcott, or Meyer, *ad loc.*; and Holtzmann, ii. 427 f.) because of His true humanity, adapting Him specially to be a judge of men. Cf. the human sympathy of the Judge in Mt 25[34-40].

† On 'defile the hands' see Delitzsch in *Zeitsch. f. luth. Th. u. K.* xv. (1854) 280 ff., and W. R. Smith, *OTJC*[2] 186, note 1.

* See *Aboth of R. Nathan*, c. i.: 'At first they said that Proverbs, *Canticles*, and Ecclesiastes were apocryphal. They said they were parabolic writings and not of the Hagiographa . . . till the men of the Great Synagogue came and *explained* them' (cf. W. R. Smith, *OTJC*[2] 181, note 1).

† Ruth is read on the 2nd day of the Feast of Weeks or Pentecost, Lamentations on the 9th Ab (*i.e.* the anniversary of the burning of the temple by the Chaldæans), Ecclesiastes on the 3rd day of the Feast of Tabernacles, and Esther on the 13th Adar (the opening day of the Feast of Purim).

memorated the time when J″ delivered His people from the oppression of a strange lord in order to unite them to Himself at Sinai by an everlasting covenant. J″ then is the beloved, and the people of God or the congregation of Israel are His loved one.

According to the paraphrase of the Targum, the poem portrays the history of Israel from the Exodus to its redemption and glorification in Messianic times, when the full and final union of J″ with His people shall be realized. This is certainly a profound interpretation, and one, too, which could find its roots in the Prophetic literature (cf. Hos 1–3, Jer $2^{1ff.}$ $3^{1ff.}$, Ezk 16, Is 50^{1} $54^{6ff.}$ etc.). But this explanation puts difficulties in the way of the plain natural understanding as soon as it is sought to apply it to individual features of the poetical representation. These everywhere indicate too strongly that what we have to do with is really earthly love and a product of erotic poetry.* The consciousness of this had certainly not been lost even by the Jews. It was felt that one required ripeness of religious and moral insight and strength in order to understand the Song not in a false and morally pernicious fashion, but according to its hidden deeper meaning. Thus we must explain the Jewish regulation, reported to us by Origen and Jerome, that no one was to read the book till he was 30 years of age (the age, according to Nu 4^{3}, at which the Levite is ready to enter upon his sacred duties).

The allegorical interpretation, which had been adopted by the Jews, gained acceptance also in the Christian Church, chiefly through Origen's exposition of the Song, and all through the Middle Ages this continued to be the prevailing interpretation. Nay, until quite recently it has maintained its supremacy in the Roman Catholic Church, and has found defenders even in the Churches of the Reformation. The allegorical interpretation, indeed, speedily assumed here a mystical character. It was supposed that one could discover in the poem a (prophetical) description beforehand of the loving relation between Christ and His people or between Him and the individual believing soul, and of the yearning desire of the latter for loving union with the Lord. The most notable witness to this allegorico-mystical view is to be found in the 86 sermons of St. Bernard, which, however, do not extend beyond Ca 3^{1}. Of course there are particular features in the poem which give abundant scope for mystical fancies. It was only with the Reformation that an era dawned which created the conditions necessary for a more correct understanding of the Song. It should not, indeed, be forgotten that Theodore of Mopsuestia, who belonged to the exegetic school of Antioch, had long before sought to do justice to the literal sense of the Song, by teaching that it treats simply of earthly love. But he stood alone with his interpretation over against the prevailing allegorical view, and was anathematized for holding it at the fifth Œcumenical Council at Constantinople (A.D. 553). Even in the Churches of the Reformation a more natural understanding of the Song made its way at first very slowly. In general the allegorical interpretation, borrowed from the Jews, and subjected to Christian modifications, continued to reign: especially within the Reformed Church was there a tendency to adhere closely to the explanation of the synagogue, and to see in the Song a prophetical pre-description of the development of the history of the Church.†

A unique view, which deservedly gained no adherents, was put forward by Luther: 'Solomon intends by these discourses of the lover and his beloved to show that, where obedience and good government are, God dwells and kisses and embraces His bride by His word; in short, he means to sing the praises of obedience as a gift of God.'‡—It was still a dangerous thing, even in the century of the Reformation, to depart from the traditional allegorical interpretation. Seb. Castellio of Geneva learned this to his cost when, on account of having seen in the Song a 'geistlich Buhllied,' and having pronounced it unworthy to stand in the Canon, he was accused (not, it is true, simply for holding this opinion) by Calvin and banished from Geneva (1544).—A more decided movement in favour of an interpretation corresponding to the original sense of the poem, was inaugurated by Hugo Grotius († 1645). Even he, to be sure, does not yet break absolutely with the traditional view, for he does not simply reject an allegorical exegesis, but, primarily and according to the literal sense, the Song is for him concerned only with earthly love, in fact the love of Solomon for the Egyptian princess, his wife.*—The number of those who understood the subject to be earthly love and rejected the allegorical interpretation continued to grow; in particular the pioneers of the critical study of the OT, men like R. Simon, Clericus, Whiston (Cambridge), belonged to this category. The first to oppose the allegorical interpretation by weighty arguments was J. D. Michaelis (in his edition of R. Lowth's *De sacra poesi Hebræorum prælectiones*, Göttingen, 1758–61, Notes, p. 603 ff., he even excluded the Song from his translation of the Bible). But to J. G. Herder belongs the credit of having helped to its triumphant recognition the only true view of the fundamental character of Canticles as a product of genuine and pure erotic poetry. In his work, entitled *Lieder der Liebe, die ältesten und schönsten aus dem Morgenlande; nebst 4 alten Minneliedern* (1778), he contends that the book is a collection of separate love-songs of an impassioned and morally pure character, and this view of his has continued to gain adherents (Reuss, Budde, *et al.*; see, further, below) down to the most recent times.

But the allegorical interpretation also found champions not only among Roman Catholic, but also among Protestant theologians. In itself this is not at all surprising, for any one who took his stand upon the ground of the old orthodox doctrine of inspiration would feel compelled to do justice to the simple fact that the Song is included in the Canon. He would have to bring it into relation with the system of revealed truth, and discover revelation, that is, prophecy, in *its* contents as well; for in no other way could he explain its reception into the Canon. Accordingly, we find, on the one hand, a movement in the direction of the old Jewish interpretation. So, in particular, Keil (*Einleitung*, 1853, p. 373) holds that in Canticles 'in dramatico-lyric responsive songs, and under the allegory of the betrothed love of Solomon and the Shulammite,' we have portrayed 'the loving intercourse between the Lord and His people in their ideal character resulting from Israel's choice to this privilege, according to which all disturbing of this intercourse by unfaithfulness on the part of Israel only leads to an establishing more firmly of the covenant of love, through return to the true covenant God and His unchangeable love.' But, as he himself expressly notes, Keil does not mean by this that we can discover in the Song a literal reflexion of the actual 'history of the covenant relation' or 'an allegorical veiling of the principal features of the theocratic history.' On the contrary, it is the loving intercourse of the Lord 'according to its Divine idea' that is portrayed. In this way Keil obtains for the Song a Messianic character in so far as it describes a relation 'which was first realized through Christ.' Accordingly, he insists also upon the inspired character of the book, which is 'no product of the soil of the natural development of the theocratic God-consciousness, but, like the prophetical Psalms, one due to the supernatural working of the Holy Spirit in the mind of Solomon, and so constructed that the mutual love of king Solomon and the ideal Shulammite undergoes transfiguration and becomes an allegory of the marriage of the Heavenly Bridegroom with His elect bride on earth.' Of course Keil considers that this allegorico-prophetical view is amply supported by the above-mentioned Biblical description of the covenant relation between Jahweh and Israel under the figure of a marriage union.—The same principle of interpretation lay at the root of Rosenmüller's original view (cf. Keil and Tschirner's *Analekten*, i. [1813] p. 138 ff.; for his later view see preceding col., note *), as well as at that of Hengstenberg (*Das Hohe Lied*, 1853) and others.†—Another set of interpreters refer the contents of the Song (in a Messianic sense) to the mission of the kingdom of Israel to heathendom (H. A. Hahn, 1852), or of Christ to the presently divided Church, which is to be brought back to the perfection which belonged to it in the apostolic age (G. F. Goltz, 1850).

The attempts to convert the Song into a *political* allegory may be pronounced completely mistaken. For instance, it has been supposed by J. L. Hug (1813) to be a fancy poem in which the longing of the ten tribes for a reunion with king Hezekiah is set forth under the figure of the love relations of the Shulammite with Solomon. According to G. P. C. Kaiser (1825) the Song of Songs is 'a collective song, addressed to Zerubbabel, Ezra, and Nehemiah, as the restorers of a Jewish constitution in the province of Judah.'

* According to another interpretation, Canticles portrays Solomon's love to Wisdom. (The last representative of this view is Rosenmüller, in his *Scholia in Vet. Test.*; the Peshitta substitutes חָכְמָה for שִׁיר in the title of the book). Are we to infer from Wis 8^{2} that the author of the *Wisdom of Solomon* already held the same view?

† As a notable representative of this view we may specify Cocceius († 1669), whose federal theology this view of the Song suited admirably.

‡ Cf. Köstlin, *M. Luther, sein Leben u. seine Schriften*^{2}, i. p. 610 f.

* The form in which Grotius states the traditional view is worthy of note: '*Creditur* autem Salomon, quo magis perennaret hoc scriptum, ea arte id composuisse, ut sine multa distortione allegoriæ in eo inveniri possent, quæ Dei amorem adversus populum Israelit. exprimerent. Ille amor *typus* cum fuerit amoris Christi erga ecclesiam, Christiani ingenia sua ad applicanda ad eam rem huius carminis verba exercuerunt, laudabili studio.'

† E. Rupprecht (*Einleit. in d. AT*, 1898, p. 353 ff.) still walks quite in the footsteps of Hengstenberg.

The allegorical interpretation has all along started with presupposing the internal unity of the poem, and has uniformly seen in Solomon its author and its hero. On this view of the Song, moreover, the dramatical element in its construction, which makes itself felt not indistinctly, is preserved, even if it is not always recognized. Over against not only the allegorical explanation but also that view of the Song which breaks it up into separate songs or fragments of songs in the fashion so brilliantly inaugurated by Herder, another manner of interpretation began to gain always wider currency and acceptance. This agreed with the second of the views just named, in holding that it is earthly love that is the subject of the Song, and with the first in maintaining the literary unity of the poem. It ceased to search in Canticles for deep secrets of revelation, prophetico-symbolical glances into the development of the kingdom of God, and preferred to take its contents realistically, as the reflexion of a historical occurrence. What the poem lost in this way of the value which the allegorical interpretation had sought to impose upon it, was richly compensated by the ethical significance which it gained upon the new theory. The man who led the way in this mode of interpretation was J. C. Jacobi (in his anonymous work, *Das durch eine leichte Erklärung von seinen Vorwürfen gerettete Hohelied*, 1771). He saw in the Song a panegyric on conjugal fidelity, for he considers that its subject is the steadfastness with which a wife who had been carried off from her husband maintained her fidelity to the latter, in face of the seductive attempts of Solomon. Afterwards the adherents of this system of interpretation deviated from Jacobi in *one* point. They saw in the heroine of the poem, not a married woman, but a virgin, who, in spite of all the insidious arts of Solomon, remained true to her lover or betrothed, and who finally received the reward of her faithfulness in her union with her beloved.

Those who, in spite of differences in detail, which it is impossible to describe more fully here, held the same general view (just described) of the Song, were not all agreed also in regarding it as a dramatic poem. Some took it to be an epic poem; others, in view of its strongly pronounced lyric character, would have it that it is a collection of ballads, or even an operetta, with choruses, duets, and solos. But the majority of the adherents of the above theory, especially amongst the most distinguished exegetes, took the view that the Song is a drama, or it might be a melodrama. We may specify such names as Ewald (1826, 1867), Umbreit (1828, 1839), Hitzig (1855), Renan (1860), even Delitzsch (see, further, below), Stickel (1888), Oettli (1889), Driver (1891, etc.), Bruston (1891). Amongst many others the present writer has given in his adhesion to this opinion (1893). But as to the internal structure of the poem there is by no means complete agreement, although the differences that exist are no evidence, as has been supposed, that there is nothing in the dramatic theory. The absence of scenic indications in the text, and the necessity of inferring simply from the contents, or the form of expression, who is the speaker in particular sentences or sections, are quite sufficient to account for the surprising differences in the dramatic arrangement of the Song proposed by different exegetes. These differences are, of course, due also in large measure to the very great difficulties that beset the exposition of the Song of Songs.

The main difference amongst the adherents of the dramatical theory is the following. Starting with the primary assumption that Canticles is a dramatic poem, exegetes, in answering the question as to the principal *dramatis personæ*, part company in two quite different directions. Delitzsch (1851, 1875), and, in essential agreement with him, Zöckler (in Lange's *Bibelwerk*, 1868), and von Orelli (in *PRE*[2] vi. p. 245 ff., art. 'Hohes Lied Salomos,' 1880), hold, in harmony with the traditional view, that, apart from certain subordinate figures, there are only two principal persons to be recognized, namely, Solomon and the Shulammite, and that, where a shepherd is spoken of, Solomon is here also to be understood.

The poem is supposed to describe the bond of love between the two, from the first moment of mutual burning passion (1[2–2]7), and mutual seeking and finding (2[8–3]5), down to the realization of the desire for love in the marriage union (3[6–5]1); and then, after a passing estrangement, the mutual return (5[2–6]9), the praise of the charms and beauty of the bride now raised to be queen (6[10–8]4), and the confirming of the love covenant in the home of the Shulammite (8[5-14]). Delitzsch, however, finds in the whole poem a deeper idea expressed. He says (*Comm.*[2] p. 5): 'the Shulammite is a historical person . . . a country maiden of lowly rank, who by her physical beauty and purity of soul awakened in Solomon a love which elevated him above the wantonness of polygamy, and gave him a personal experience of the Paradise idea of marriage as this is expressed in Gn 2[23f.] with reference to the first created woman. It is this personal experience that he celebrates, at the same time idealizing it in the manner of poets by stripping off the husk of all that is accidental, and presenting the kernel and essence. . . . The Song is a protest against polygamy, although only to the extent that one could expect from the Mosaic standpoint.' He finds in the Song a reflexion of the *μέγα μυστήριον* of Eph 5[32]. But he claims for it, not only a historical and ethical but also a typico-mystical significance. Solomon is to him a type of Christ, and accordingly he sees in the love relations between Solomon and the Shulammite 'the mysteries of the love of Christ and His people shadowed forth' (p. 5), remarking at the same time that the *typical* exegesis must bear in mind that type and antitype do not exactly coincide, and the *mystical* that 'the heavenly stamps itself, indeed, upon the earthly, and yet is poles asunder from it.'—Von Orelli differs from Delitzsch only in so far as he holds the subject of the Song to be 'not marriage as a permanent bond and condition, but betrothed love which finds simply its climax and goal in the marriage union' (*l.c.* p. 252). Accordingly in 3[6–5]1, upon his view, there cannot be already an allusion to the marriage union, as Delitzsch holds. In his typical view of the Song, Orelli is otherwise essentially at one with Delitzsch (*l.c.* p. 249).

Apart from the fact that such exegesis as the above is dominated by considerations supposed to be involved in the history of revelation, there are serious objections to the view that there are only two principal persons in the Song, and to the identifying of the shepherd with the king. Above all, it is hard to comprehend how the Shulammite, even after her marriage has taken place, should continue to treat and to address the king as shepherd, and should even inquire (1[7]) where he pastures his flocks. To discover 'an essential feature of the spiritual beauty' of the Song in the circumstance 'that the ideal virgin loves him, not as king, but loves in him the shepherd, and longs to share with him the innocent simplicity of her former manner of life, a desire to which he joyfully yields,' is possible, indeed, but in the highest degree unnatural, and may be regarded rather as an outcome of a mystical deepening of the sense of the Song than as the result of a sober interpretation of the actual words of the text.

Far more support has been accorded, and rightly so, we consider, to the view represented above all by Ewald. According to it, besides Solomon, the king who is courting the love of the Shulammite, we must distinguish a shepherd who was the real object of her passion, and the beloved of her heart.

The fascinatingly beautiful Shulammite is supposed to have been met by the king on the occasion of a tour of his in the north of his kingdom (6[11f.]), and placed in his harem. The king seeks by enticing flattering speeches to win her love, but from the very first meeting (ch. 1) she gives him to understand to whom her heart belongs. While the king then presses her with ever renewed words of love and admiration, the emotion of love thus stirred within her pours itself forth in words addressed to her lover far away. Nay, in the intensity of her feelings, she imagines she sees him come from afar to her prison, she hears his words meant for her (2[8ff.] 4[7ff.] 5[2ff.]), and in a dream seeks for him by night in the streets (3[1ff.] 5[2ff.]). Even the prospect of becoming the favourite wife of the splendid monarch cannot shake her fidelity to her absent lover, and even when the king imagines he has gained his point she remains firm, and refuses to entertain the idea of allowing any one to enjoy her love but the object of her heart's affections (3[6–5]8). A last attempt of Solomon to win her heart fails (chs. 6. 7). Finally, the king magnanimously gives her back her liberty, and in her home in union with her beloved shepherd she finds the consummation of her happiness. On

this view, the Song reaches its ideal goal in the impassioned eulogium on true, pure love in $8^{6f.}$.*

It is quite true that, even upon this interpretation, which at all events does fuller justice to the text than the traditional view adopted anew by Delitzsch, there are still difficulties enough in points of detail. But it is questionable whether these difficulties are sufficiently great to make this explanation inadequate alike from the formal and the material point of view, and thus to demand its rejection. The present writer does not think so.

The principal difficulty is in the so-called Third Act (3^{6}–5^{1}). The question is whether the conclusion (5^{1}) is intended to mark the longed-for marriage union as actually consummated. Hitzig held that this question must be answered in the affirmative, and supposed the marriage in view to have been one that Solomon contracted with a woman of Jerusalem, but not with the Shulammite. Bruston is also of opinion that in this Third Act we have to do with the marriage of the king to another—in fact, as he thinks may be gathered from 4^{8}, with a Tyrian princess. This actually accomplished marriage with another woman would thus place on a still higher level the invincible fidelity of the Shulammite. But there is really no necessity to take the Shulammite's words in 4^{16b} as formally different from her words in ch. 1. She is thinking in both passages, not of the king, but of her true lover, and it occasions no difficulty, but only marks the climax of the conflict that the king believes, of course, that the object of his desires is now about to yield to him, whereas, as the very next scene shows, such an idea has never entered her mind. Ewald himself held that from 4^{8} onwards we have again words of her lover, which the Shulammite imagined she heard, as in $2^{8ff.}$; he even supposed that two lines have dropped out before v.^{8}, their contents being, 'Behold, my beloved, behold, there comes he! Hark how he speaks to me his words . . .,' or the like. But it is unnecessary and hardly justifiable to suppose that a different subject speaks in $4^{8ff.}$ from the speaker in v.$^{1ff.}$†—Stickel, too, denies that $4^{8ff.}$ are words of Solomon, but he thinks to escape all difficulties by the strange assumption that in $1^{7.8}$ 1^{15}–2^{4} 4^{7}–5^{1} there are three scenes that are to be separated from the rest of the poem. In these he supposes a second pair of lovers, a shepherd and a shepherdess, to be introduced, who actually arrive at a marriage union, this interlude having the effect of setting Solomon's wooing of the Shulammite in a peculiar light.‡ Otherwise, the relation of Solomon to the Shulammite and her relation to him remain the same as on Ewald's theory. But this view of Stickel's, which destroys the unity of the poem, presupposes far too great skill in producing stage effects ('*Bühnengeschicklichkeit*') on the part of the author to be well founded.

A very important turn of opinion as to the literary character of the Song of Songs has been brought about in the most recent times. J. G. Wetzstein, who was for long Prussian consul at Damascus, and who has rendered much service in the way of increasing our knowledge of Oriental life and contributing to the understanding of the OT, availed himself of his opportunities of making acquaintance with the marriage customs in modern Syria. In this way he met with some things which are certainly calculated to throw light on certain portions of the Song of Songs. He published in Bastian's *Zeitschrift f. Ethnologie* (1873, p. 270 ff.), an article, entitled 'Die syrische Dreschtafel,' in which he describes the manifold uses made of the threshing-board, and amongst others its symbolical employment in the so-called 'king's week,' *i.e.* during the seven days' marriage festival (p. 287 ff.). It was partly from this article that the 'Bemerkungen zum Hohenliede' in Delitzsch's *Commentary* were taken, but the author contributed further important materials to the elucidation of the subject. To the same category belongs an earlier article by Wetzstein, entitled 'Sprachliches aus den Zeltlagern der syrischen Wüste,' in *ZDMG* xxii. (1868), p. 69 ff., containing valuable notes on a story written down from oral communication. The remarkable similarity between certain songs sung at modern marriage celebrations and certain portions of the Song of Songs, naturally enough forced upon him the conclusion that the latter is not 'a dramatic unity,' but rather a collection of 'beautiful nuptial songs' which were received into the Canon 'to furnish good models to the occasional poets whose productions may in Hebrew antiquity, as at the present day, have transgressed the bounds of decency and good taste.' The allegorical or mystical interpretation is held to have come in afterwards (cf. Delitzsch, *Comm.* p. 172, note). After Stade (*Gesch. Isr.* ii. [1888] 197) had referred approvingly to Wetzstein's 'most helpful contribution to the understanding of this quite unique book,' Budde, in an article on 'The Song of Solomon' in the *New World* (Boston, U.S.A. 1894, p. 56 ff.; cf. *Preuss. Jahrbücher*, 1894, p. 92 ff.), went in the fullest detail into Wetzstein's communications, and sought with their help to win its natural sense for the Song of Songs.* His arguments gained complete assent from Kautzsch ('Abriss der Gesch. d. alttest. Schrifttums' in the 'Beilagen' to his *AT* p. 210 f. [in the 'Sonderabdruck' of 1897, p. 134 f.]), and in specially emphatic, confident fashion from Cornill (*Einleitung*^{3}, p. 256: 'In this way the enigma of our book is definitively solved').† Whether this confidence is really justified is open to doubt. With reference to Budde's claim (*l.c.* p. 9) that he has cut away the roots of the dramatical interpretation of the Song by his explanation of 'Solomon' and 'the Shulammite,' which stand simply for bridegroom and bride, husband and wife, Bruston (cf. *Le X^{e} congrès des Orientalistes et l'ancien Testament*, Paris, 1895, p. 13 ff.) declares, 'I fear that this is a huge and extraordinary illusion,' a judgment with which the present writer agrees.

Budde attempts first of all to prove that by Solomon, or the king, the Song means not the real king Solomon, but that we have here only a type, a poetical designation of any and every bridegroom. In order to give a worthy title to the latter on his wedding day and in his wedding dress, the figure of Solomon is supposed to have been employed as that of the monarch whose riches and splendour had become as proverbial as his wisdom. The case is similar with the Shulammite. 'She is, indeed, no other than Abishag the Shunammite, but only as the representative of her qualities' (p. 8). The maiden from Shunem (the modern *Sholam*, a pronunciation to which the Heb. *Shulammith* also goes back), who was brought to the aged king David, and on whose account Adonijah had to die ($1\,K\,2^{13ff.}$), was admittedly, according to the correct sense of $1\,K\,1^{3f.}$, the fairest virgin to be found in the whole land, and continued to enjoy this reputation in the memories of the people. Hence, argues Budde (p. 9): '. . . as the bridegroom is compared with king Solomon in his glory, or even named with his name, and would not exchange his fortune with Solomon, so for the beauty of the bride no less a woman could be named than the fairest of whom the ancients spoke, and one who was also a queen [Solomon may have, at least according to the legend, introduced her into his harem], which certainly was not an unwelcome fact. That she should be called the fairest of all is the right of every bride on her wedding day, however she may be outshone by hundreds at other times.'

The present writer has no difficulty in admitting

* The reader will find an exact account of the scheme of the Song proposed by Ewald, in Driver's *LOT*^{6} p. 440 ff.

† It may be noted that, in the opinion of the present writer, 4^{6} is not now in its original place. It is not till v.^{7} that the description of the charms of the Shulammite (vv.$^{1\text{-}5}$) closes. Perhaps v.^{6} should follow v.^{7}, and formed originally the connecting link with v.$^{8ff.}$.

‡ Cf. Stickel, *Das Hohelied*, p. 45: 'Antithesis, that indispensable art of the drama, by presenting so vividly the undisturbed happy shepherd's love in contrast with the sorely tried heroine of the Song, awakens warm sympathy with the latter, and a feeling of suspense and compassion,' etc. Further, this interlude is supposed to mark and fill up various spaces of time in the course of the main transaction.

* Cf. his Comm. in *Kurzer Hdcom.* 1898, and art. POETRY.

† Cf. also Siegfried's Comm. in Nowack's *Hdkom.* 1898.

that the situation *may* be understood in the above way, that is to say, that it is not necessary to presuppose absolutely that the Song of Songs is based upon an actual historical occurrence; but he fails to see how, on this view, the dramatical theory of the poem in its present form is wounded unto death. If Budde is right in holding that in later times the two outstanding figures in the popular recollection were employed as above described in the poetry of marriage celebrations, this very circumstance might also lead a poet to give a dramatic fashioning to the material supplied by 1 K 1. 2, and, in so doing, to utilize the further development the story had undergone in the popular memory. Now, Budde himself (p. 8) remarks that the circumstance that Solomon had his brother put to death on Abishag's account, may have given rise to the legend that he himself loved her and made her his wife, and that the execution of his brother was thus an act of jealousy. But if we admit the possibility of this, there is another possibility we should not leave out of account. In 1 K 2 we hear *nothing* of Abishag having really become the wife of Solomon. *Why may not this circumstance have given rise in poetical legend to the conception that the lovely virgin refused to become Solomon's wife, nay even to the conception that her refusal was based upon her unconquerable love for a youth in her native district?* Moreover, when the notion was once seized that she had not chosen to be the wife of Solomon, it was no great stretch of poetic fancy to assume that her first introduction into the apartments of David by his servants was not a willing one on her part, *and the presupposition that from the first she succeeded in defending her honour finds its firm basis in the express statement of 1 K 1*[4] ('*and the king knew her not*').

We see then that the narrative of 1 K 1. 2 supplies, especially if we take into account the influence of inventive popular reminiscence, quite sufficient material for developing the story which the dramatical theory of the Song of Songs considers to be unfolded in it. It required at all events no very great gift of poetic construction to give a dramatical form to this material borrowed from recollections, in which all the points necessary for a simple dramatical development were contained and spontaneously offered themselves to the poet's notice. But, we repeat emphatically, this does not absolutely exclude the possibility that in later times it was customary in a poetical and symbolical form of address to call a bridegroom and a bride 'Solomon' or 'king,' and 'Shulammite.'* At the same time we think it only right and proper to emphasize the other possibility, that an unknown man, of a poetical turn and moved perhaps also by special circumstances, found in this very custom the motive for working up the material that lay to his hand. The one supposition does not exclude the other. The question whether we have really to do with a dramatical poem must be settled from the book itself, and in any case the matter is not so easily settled as Budde and those who agree with him suppose.

Budde finds 'the solution of the problem of our book' (p. 10) in the customs reported by Wetzstein in connexion with weddings amongst the Syrian Bedawîn, namely, in the festive proceedings of the so-called 'king's week.' The book contains, according to him, 'songs' sung at the wedding festivities, during which bridegroom and bride (or husband and wife) are honoured for seven days as king and queen, whose throne is the threshing-board, set on the threshing-floor of the place and decked out with carpets and pillows. A principal element in these songs are the *wasfs* or lyrical descriptions of the physical charms and wedding attire of the young pair. Especially impressive, according to Wetzstein's account (cf. Delitzsch, *Comm.* p. 171), is the so-called sword dance of the bride on the evening before the bridal night. In this dance, which is accompanied by the song of a double chorus of men and women in praise of her physical beauty, she seeks in the light of the high-leaping flames of a fire to display to the bridegroom the charms of her person, brandishing all the time a sharp sword in her right hand, and holding a handkerchief in her left. The whole performance is an imitation of the dance that celebrates a victory. Now, as a matter of fact, the *wasf* sung during the sword dance corresponds in Canticles to $7^{1ff.}$ (as far at least as v.[7]). The *wasf* referring to the young wife (*i.e.* the queen) after the consummation of the marriage on the bridal night, on the first day of the 'king's week,' is found, according to Budde, in 4^{1-6}. It is put in the mouth of the young husband, and is partially repeated in 6^{4-7}. There is also a panegyric on the physical charms of the husband or king, the *wasf* referring to which is put in the mouth of the wife in $5^{9ff.}$, v.[2ff.] being supposed to be intended simply to serve as an introduction to this *wasf* with a pleasing dramatical movement. Next, according to this mode of interpretation, 3^{6-11} contains a description of the festive train of the gorgeously dressed bridegroom-king, and their joyous greeting to him on the morning after the bridal night, when the threshing-board has been placed and decked out as the throne; here the name 'Solomon' is, of course, not meant to be taken literally.* The 'sixty mighty men' are the 'companions of the bridegroom,' who, as Wetzstein with the approval of Budde suggests, were perhaps originally charged with the duty of protecting the festival against attacks, especially during the night (3^{8}, cf. Delitzsch, *Comm.* p. 170).† The 'daughters of Jerusalem' are of course, in the same way, not ladies of the royal harem, but virgins from the same neighbourhood as the bridal pair, who take part in a variety of ways in the wedding celebration.‡ The circumstance that it is with Jerusalem in particular that they are brought into relation, proves, according to Budde, that the home of the wedding songs which are brought together in Canticles is to be sought in this city or its environs.

But now, as Budde further supposes, the passages just named have not, in their present order, the chronological succession demanded by the course of the marriage celebrations. At all events, the song that accompanied the sword dance ($7^{1ff.}$) must stand *before* $3^{6ff.}$, the greeting addressed to the approaching bridegroom-king. Budde suggests, however, that perhaps its proper place is *after* 3^{6-11} and *before* 4–6, if, as is possible, the subject of 3^{6-11} is not the procession to the throne on the day *after* the marriage, but the ceremonial arrival of the bridegroom at the marriage itself on the evening of the wedding day. (If 5^{1} alludes to the *coming* actual consummation of the marriage covenant, the latter supposition appears to the present writer to be the only suitable one). From all this it follows, according to Budde, 'that the songs are brought together irregularly, and the last trace of an orderly arrangement thus appears.' It is a question, however, whether the premisses upon which this conclusion rests are in all respects correct. The present writer does not think so.

In the remaining portions of Canticles also there is of course, in Budde's opinion, no connexion to be discovered, but still less any progressive history. These passages, on the contrary, may be readily broken up into a number of songs, which, as Wetzstein's information showed, may have been used during the 'king's week' in praise of love in general, and of the love of the present pair in particular (Budde, p. 15 f.).

But, after the Song of Songs has been thus resolved into a number of separate songs, the question arises, *What judgment is to be passed on the book in its present form? Was it originally nothing more than a collection of wedding songs, or was a species of editing carried out in the arrangement of them with the intention of establishing an internal connexion?* Budde decides in the main in favour of the first of these alternatives, holding that we have to do, *at least originally*, only with a collection. Some one who felt an interest in this species of lyric poetry is supposed (like Wetzstein in our own day) to have written down these songs, and then the collection would be passed on to posterity in this form, perhaps without indication of their origin and without any exact distinction of the limits of the different songs. In this way the book would be exposed to the greatest danger of falling into disorder. Of course this is in itself a possible view. But that the question as to the origin of the book in its present form is not settled in this simple fashion, Budde is well aware. He finds here and there short pieces which possess, in his

* By the way, Budde's view is not at all favoured by the circumstance that in the Song of Songs the Shulammite or the bride is never called 'queen.' The 'daughter of a noble' (7^{1}) does not take the place of this.

* This approach of the bridegroom is recalled, as Budde expressly notes, by the figure in Ps 19^{6}.

† Samson had thirty such 'companions' about him (Jg 14^{11}), who were headed by *one* who had the special title of the 'friend' of the bridegroom (cf. Jg 14^{20} and also Jn 3^{29}).

‡ Their greeting addressed to the approaching bridegroom (3^{11}) finds a parallel in the parable of Mt $25^{1ff.}$.

opinion, small poetic value, which he holds it to be impossible to bring into any connexion with the surrounding and originally independent songs and songlets. One trace of the later origin of these he finds, above all, in the circumstance that the composer of them misunderstood the real meaning, and in particular the symbolically intended expressions, in older passages and took these in a literal sense.

The most striking instance of this is discovered by Budde in 4^8, where the purely typical Lebanon of vv.$^{11.15}$ is alleged to be converted into the real Lebanon and associated with other mountain heights. The author of 4^8 is thus supposed to have been guilty of a crude misunderstanding, and it is declared that, when closely examined, the list of mountains is so little in place and yields so little sense, while the whole verse is so weak from the poetical point of view, that it is most natural to infer 'misunderstanding and insertion.' But this is a purely subjective verdict. It may reasonably be asked how any one was likely to introduce such an addition at this particular place. And what compels us to understand the names of the mountains here, 'the lions' dens' and 'the leopards' mountains,' literally and not symbolically? This symbolical sense is as suitable to them as it is to 'the clefts of the rock' and 'the covert of the steep place' in 2^{14}. Other sentences which are supposed to have originated in a similar way are found by Budde in 8^{14}, cf. 2^{16}. He also holds, strangely enough, that $2^{8a}\beta\text{-}9a$ is an addition introduced on account of v.^{16}, for plainly (?), he argues, the words 'Hark, my beloved!' (v.$^{8a\alpha}$) should be connected immediately with the words of v.^{9b} ('there he stands behind our wall'). But here again the question may be asked, Why should it have occurred to any one to insert the words in v.^{8}, which at least are so evidently poetical and out and out original?

A similar judgment is passed by Budde upon $8^{3.4}$, cf. $2^{6f.}$; 8^5 is due to a misunderstanding of 3^6. He makes a special allusion to $6^{1\text{-}3}$, arguing that what was intended in $5^{8.9}$ to serve simply as a transition to the *waṣf* of the bridegroom is here transferred to the sphere of actuality, and that the figures borrowed from the plant-world (5^{13}) are likewise misunderstood and taken in their literal sense, the beloved becoming the gardener who has gone into his garden, etc. But, says Budde, if the Shulammite really knew this, why does she search so long for her lover and call for help to find him? Here, again, 'genuine phrases' like $1^{7f.}$ 2^{16} $6^{11f.}$ are supposed to have been worked up in a way opposed to their proper meaning. It is quite natural that Budde, with his view of the Song of Songs, can make nothing of these verses ($6^{1\text{-}3}$), which beyond a doubt are as genuine as $2^{7.8}$. We must ask here once more, How can it have occurred to a later editor to introduce such sentences? What motive could have led him to do so?* Even Budde feels the above difficulty, but, for all that, he is unable to give a satisfactory answer to the question. 'What reasons led him [the redactor to whom we are supposed to owe these strange interpolations] . . what suppositions and intentions, of course we do not know.' Of course, if an author is to be held capable of such misunderstandings, it is difficult to give any satisfactory account of the motives that actuated him. And yet Budde repeats that one can recognize 'the plain effort' of the redactor 'to introduce *movement* and *action* where none were.'

The author of these later additions is held, then, to have meant to bring *movement and action* into the whole work. May he then have been guided by *dramatizing* aims? May it be that elsewhere too he is not without responsibility for the present form of the Song of Songs, but actually brought movement and action into the material of the work, *i.e.* that he perhaps worked up the latter from the dramatical point of view? These questions are very readily suggested by Budde's own words. True, he does not actually raise them, although he afterwards concedes that the additions just described (with which also may have been coupled trifling alterations and corruptions of the text) have given to the dramatical view of Canticles 'a certain justification from antiquity downwards, because separated matters were thereby connected *and a certain movement and development brought in.*' Of course he no longer gives the dramatical view the benefit of this excuse, now that he has shown what the Song of Songs really is.

It is interesting to note the manner in which Budde supposes it possible that the book assumed its present disordered form. It was originally, as we have been told, a collection of wedding songs. This collection came, of course in manuscript form, into the hands of a later writer, torn into single leaves and damaged. He supposed that he had before him not a collection of songs, but a literary unity, of whose contents and aim he had, however, 'only an obscure idea.' He attempted a restoration of the unintelligible work by putting together as he best could the separate leaves, and trying to amend the text by additions and supplements of the kind described above. But this is a very strange account of the matter, a real hypothesis of despair. There is one point, above all, to which exception must be taken. By way of supporting his general view of Canticles, Budde insists with much emphasis that the marriage customs, and of course also the peculiar character of the marriage songs, have continued essentially unaltered in Syria and Palestine from early times down to the present day. Now, how is it conceivable that an author living in Palestine (for it is there that we are supposed to look for the 'redactor') as early as the pre-Christian era should either have failed to recognize the contents and aim of songs which had been handed down for the most part without any corruption, or should have had 'only an obscure idea' of their true character? Might we not assume that this Judæan redactor would have recognized the so-called *waṣfs* as readily as Wetzstein has done? Here, then, Budde brings us face to face with a serious problem. The extremely mechanical explanation of the origin of the present Song of Songs, which he considers to be 'a satisfaction of all just demands,' appears to the present writer to condemn itself. *And, as a matter of fact, Budde himself by the characteristics he assigns to the redactor points the way again past his own hypothesis to the dramatical view of the Song.* His merit thus comes to be, not that of having cut the thread of life of the dramatical explanation, but—and it is a service not to be undervalued—of having laid the foundation, by the aid of Wetzstein's information, for a more correct opinion of the character, and perhaps even of the origin, of the Song of Songs.

The present writer recognizes, then, the possibility that older wedding songs (as, for instance, the *waṣfs*) are worked up in the Song of Songs. But this does not exclude the supposition that the Song in its present form is of a dramatical nature, and that its author (not a redactor or 'reviser') introduced 'movement and action' or 'development' into the material of which it is composed. At all events, this view is not set aside by simply pointing to passages in certain parts of the book which are marked by the characteristics of customary wedding songs, and which were perhaps taken over by the author ready made. If an examination of the separate parts of the book and a study of the connexion of the whole tend to show that everywhere, and not merely in the passages attacked by Budde, there is dramatical movement and expression, however great or small this may be, then the question is decided in favour of the correctness of the dramatical view, whatever may be urged to the contrary. Of course a dramatic poet who utilizes older material in his work cannot have the full credit of originality allowed him, but a dramatic poem is the result of his work all the same. Moreover, it is by no means certain that the Song of Songs contains foreign matter which did not proceed from the pen of one and the same writer; on the contrary, there are not wanting indications, both in thought and expression, which point to an identity of authorship for the whole work.*

As to the general view of Canticles that ought to be taken, there can be no doubt, in the judgment of the present writer, that it is a poem whose subject is love, or more specifically that it is a *carmen nuptiale* or wedding song. *The crucial question, however, is whether the poem, viewed as a whole, sets out from a marriage as an accomplished fact,—in other words, whether its subject is married love,—or whether a marriage is the goal at which it aims, in which case it is intended to glorify betrothed love and fidelity.* The present writer is convinced that the second alternative is the correct one, and hopes in what follows to substantiate this.

We have already pointed out (p. 592 f.) how the story which Ewald's interpretation discovers in the Song of Songs might be readily developed in the popular memory and by a poetically inventive disposition from the history of Abishag of Shunem. Budde, citing a word of Goethe's, reminds us that

* We shall see afterwards that, on a correct view of the Book of Canticles, these verses [$6^{1\text{-}3}$] show themselves to be unquestionably original.

* A careful reading of the book itself will readily supply the necessary evidence of this.

if we are to understand the poem which we call the Song of Songs, we must visit the poet's own land. This is what we propose now to do. If Budde himself had continued his journey further and looked more carefully around him, he might have discovered the story of two lovers, Habbâs and Ḥamda, which bears a very close resemblance to what we find in Canticles. The story is given by Wetzstein in the Arabic text with German translation (see *ZDMG* xxii. [1868] p. 74 ff.), and was taken down by him directly from oral communication. In any case, this beautiful love romance proves that under special circumstances even at the present day amongst the Bedawîn the possibility of love entanglements is contemplated, such as are presupposed in ancient times in the Song of Songs, if we adopt the dramatical view of Ewald and others. Ḥamda is said to have loved Habbâs, who lived far away and belonged to another tribe. Her heart remains true to this love, although, after long separation in time as well as place from him whom her soul truly loves, she is destined to become the wife of her cousin Ali, and the wedding day (or rather evening) with all its festal celebrations has arrived. Nay, she has not omitted even to tell her cousin, Ali's sister, how it is with her heart, and has given her such a description of her lover's stature, his physical excellencies, and his beauty that even she must have been able to pick him out of a crowd (cf. *l.c.* p. 103). And, in point of fact, the lover drawn from afar by his love comes, accompanied by a true friend (Ḥusein), while there is yet time to prevent the closing of the marriage bond between Ḥamda and Ali, and to win his true love for himself. And he does win her and takes her home.

No one who reads this story, which is given in its most general outlines, will be able to avoid the impression that here there is partially the same problem before us as is presented in the Song of Songs. Budde (p. 4) insists again with much emphasis that in neither the modern nor the ancient East has a real betrothal and an intimate intercourse between the betrothed parties been permitted or possible prior to marriage, and that there is no place for such a natural growth of affection as the dramatical view postulates. Well, of course we must be on our guard against applying rules borrowed from the West and from the condition of things amongst ourselves. But the story communicated by Wetzstein shows that such affections, even if these are surrounded a little with the halo of romance, are still possible at the present day, and evidence may be brought from the OT itself to show that even in ancient times it was not an impossible thing for two young people (especially leading a country life) to make each other's acquaintance and fall in love, and then to gratify their inclinations by personal meetings, even if these had to be stealthily contrived.* The present writer must confess, then, that in his opinion no real objection to the dramatical view of the Song of Songs can be taken on the ground of the contents which this view discovers in the Song. Moreover, the structure which is formed out of these contents presents so close a parallel to the story communicated by Wetzstein, that one can only feel thus confirmed in one's opinion that Canticles is a dramatic poem, taking for granted, of course, that in the contents of the latter there is really a dramatical progress or structure discoverable. That this last assumption is well founded is our firm conviction; and even Budde himself, as we have seen, is not so very far removed from this opinion, since he cannot deny that at least his assumed redactor (or 'reviser') sought to introduce movement and action into the older material whose peculiar character is supposed to have passed unrecognized by him. This, however, is tantamount to saying that he gave it a dramatic form, even if he did so in an imperfect fashion. Of course the objection that the Semites had no dramatic poetry at all (cf. art. POETRY, p. 9[a]) has no force, for it starts by assuming as an axiom the very point whose universal application is disputed on the ground of the Song of Songs. The proof that the dramatical view of Canticles is the correct one cannot be offered, of course, through general considerations; but it is offered, and that with tolerable certainty, if we succeed in formulating a theory of the contents and structure of the Song, which is natural on all sides and capable of explaining, at least in the main, all the particular phenomena exhibited by the book.

The ideal goal of the whole poem appears to the present writer to have been found, from Ewald downwards, in $8^{6.7}$. The real aim of the Song of Songs is to glorify *true love*, and, more specifically, true *betrothed* love, which remains steadfast even in the most dangerous and most seductive situations. The author, as we may perhaps assume with certainty, found the material for his work in the story of Abishag of Shunem (1 K 1. 2), and that in the form which we described above (p. 592 f.). She remained true to the beloved of her heart, she steadily repelled all the advances of Solomon, into whose harem she had been brought, and finally she triumphed (8^{12} and 8^{10b}), was conducted home and restored to her lover perfectly pure. The poem makes two presuppositions—one being that the Shulammite's heart belonged to a youth in her own home, and the other that meanwhile against her will she has been brought into the royal apartments (1^{4}). The dramatical exposition commences at the time when the first meeting of the king with the maiden is close at hand and actually takes place (1^{9}). The dialogue between the Shulammite and the 'daughters of Jerusalem' (the wives and maidens belonging to the royal harem, cf. $6^{8f.}$) in 1^{2-8} * serves to pave the way, in true dramatic fashion, for that meeting, and at the same time to explain the real inward disposition of the Shulammite towards the approaching royal suitor, which the poet henceforward makes her retain without wavering. If, now, we would understand aright the further structure of the poem, it must be observed that *the scheme chosen by the author for the poetical disposition of his material is based upon the different stages in the courtship and the marriage festivities, down to that moment when alone the real victory of loyal love, the preservation of bridely honour in face of all temptations and assaults, was evidenced, and could be evidenced, namely, the morning after the bridal night passed with the real lover.*†

The Song of Songs is in fact a *love-* or *marriage-drama*, but, by reason of the lyrical tone which rules in its various parts, we may more appropriately call it a *melodrama*.

If now, keeping in view the legend derived from the story of Abishag, and the progressive stages of the marriage proceedings, we look at the whole poem, it falls, alike in point of matter and

* In favour of such a possibility may be cited in the first place Jg $14^{1f. 7f.}$, and then legal enactments like Ex $22^{15f.}$, Dt $22^{23ff.}$; cf. also Gn $34^{1.2}$. It may be held as certain that even in ancient Israel, in spite of the strictness of morality, nay, perhaps even because of it, there was no lack of a genuine romantic side to love.

* The way in which the particular sentences are to be assigned to the respective speakers will be found exhibited in the present writer's work *Das Hohe Lied*, to which he begs to refer the reader.

† As bearing on this, the reader may be reminded of the legislative enactment of Dt $22^{13ff.}$. The cloth with its irrefragable proof of the virginity of a newly married woman points to a very serious transaction in the early morning after the bridal night. The practice forms even at the present day part of the proceedings in connexion with a wedding, and is described by Wetzstein ('Die syrische Dreschtafel' in Bastian's *Ztschr. f. Ethnol.* 1873, p. 290).

form, into two nearly equal parts. The dividing point is reached in 5^1, where also the dramatic entanglement reaches its climax. Up till then the king is the suitor for the maiden's love, and in 5^1 the course of development leads to the point where everything appears to point to the certain consummation of the marriage bond in the coming night.* From the very first encounter (1^{9-27}) the king, as intended by the poet, goes away with the impression that the fair maiden longs with intense passion for union with him; he does not notice that the outbursts of passionate longing called forth by his words are meant not for him, but for another whom she loves. The reader or the spectator of the play can have no doubt on this point, for already in 1^{2-8} (cf. especially v.^{8}) it comes out clearly enough how the heart of the maiden is engaged, and the Second Act (2^{8-3^5}) confirms this in the strongest way by the two dream visions. The Third Act (3^{6-5^1}) corresponds to the first of the festal proceedings on the day (evening) before the bridal night. The king proceeds, in his wedding attire, surrounded by his trusty men, and amidst greetings from the women, to the house where the lovely maiden is detained. This answers to the joyous procession in state by the bridegroom and his friends to the place where the feast was celebrated, on the occasion of weddings amongst the common people. The equally pompous conducting of the bride in the evening to the same place and to the performance of the sword dance, which characterized popular weddings, is wanting here; nor is this surprising, since the bride is already in a place where she belongs to the king. We may probably assume also that a king's marriage was not celebrated in exactly the same way as that of one of the common people. The sword dance and other popular customs may have been wholly absent.† Of course this does not prevent the poet from introducing into his description certain features borrowed from these customs, simply because these were calculated to introduce movement into the material. Thus he makes the king draw near in all his splendour, with his sixty heroes and friends, and (5^1) even go in to the festive meal exactly after the fashion of popular wedding festivities.‡ On the other hand, the enticing sensually flattering words of the king in $4^{1ff.}$ convey the impression, since, as we have said, we can hardly think of the sword dance, that they are the transition link to the bridal night with its mysteries. The same inference is supported by the context, as far as the contents of 4^{16-5^1} are concerned; from the Shulammite's reply in 4^{16b} to his longing desire to enjoy the fruits of the garden that is supposed to belong to him, the king has concluded that she waits for him in order to accord him the enjoyment of her love (whereas she is thinking of her true beloved), and in this, of course, mistaken assurance he calls his friends to give themselves up to the joys of the marriage festival. At this point the king disappears. This is not specially noted, indeed, but it was unnecessary that it should be, on a correct understanding of the story of the poem, and with an actual dramatical presentation of it. As in the story of Habbâs and Ḥamda related by Wetzstein, the fortune of the maiden turns at the last moment, just when the final consummation of the marriage union with the unloved one was imminent. The king has learned in the night shrouded with mystery that she does not belong and cannot belong to him, and he is magnanimous enough not to claim what only violence could procure. He has set her free, as Ali did with Hamda, and the next section (5^{2-6^3}) of the Fourth Act conducts us slowly away from the king's domain. The poet retains the scheme of the wedding celebration, but now we have to do with the celebration of the marriage of the Shulammite with the object of her heart's affections. Between 5^1 and 5^2, properly speaking, there intervenes a space of time, which, to be sure, required in the dramatical construction of the poem no further indication than the passing from one scene to another. In what will be conceded to be an extremely skilful manner the poet moves on to the goal of his task, by placing us in $5^{2ff.}$ at the same stage in the celebration of the marriage of the Shulammite with her lover as we had reached in 3^{6-5^1} in connexion with the abortive attempt of Solomon. The passage 5^{2-6^3}, rightly understood, forms the introduction to the principal part of this Act, which reaches its climax in $8^{6.7}$. We hear in it the outpouring of the burning longing of the Shulammite for union with him whom she loves. The women, 'the daughters of Jerusalem,' by whom she is surrounded, are called on by her to assist her search for the beloved of her soul, who is portrayed in glowing colours. In this way a perfect movement is given to the action, which is conceived of after the model of a marriage celebration.

For the correct understanding of the further context it is necessary, above all, to take 6^{1-3} rightly. In 6^2 there is an allusion, expressed in a beautiful figure, to part of the festal procedure of the marriage evening having already taken place. The beloved has already gone down to enjoy the fruits of his garden (a plain allusion to 4^{16}), *i.e.* he has already gone to the place of the festival, and is present there with his escort. The ceremonial procession of the bridegroom, which was expressly mentioned in the case of the king in $3^{6ff.}$, is thus presupposed in the present instance. The search for the beloved, in which the women (6^1) are prepared to help the Shulammite, corresponds to the ceremonial conducting of the bride in the evening to the festal spot. 6^{4-10} [vv.$^{5b-7}$ are to be struck out as having been introduced by mistake from ch. 4] contain the songs which greet the approaching bride and describe in striking figures her unique overpowering beauty. $6^{11.12}$ are words of the Shulammite. She is apparently surprised at coming upon the festive company, she still acts as if she did not notice that the object of her search is in their midst. She had gone down, she says, to the nut garden to refresh herself by the enjoyment of it, *i.e.* she too has gone out to find her beloved and to enjoy his love, and has all at once come upon the crowd. We are to suppose now that she makes as if she would turn back, whereupon the chorus breaks out (7^1 [Eng. 6^{13}]), 'Turn round, turn round, O Shulammite,' etc. Then the short invitation and dialogue of this verse lead directly to the sword dance, in which the bride dances in a sense to her beloved and presents herself to him symbolically with all her charms, while the double chorus ranging itself behind her proclaims her physical attractions in a highly realistic *wasf*. Now she is ready, as $7^{11ff.}$ show, to yield to the wishes of her beloved (7^{8-10}), and herself invites him to go with her where she will grant him her love. The last section of this Act, 8^{5-7},* shows the loving pair on their way to the house where the bridal night is to be passed; they are received by the festal chorus with the words of 8^{5a}, which find their echo in the alternating song of the lovers with its glorious panegyric on true love (vv.$^{6.7}$).

And now the moment had come when it must be shown whether the Shulammite had really maintained her love true and unimpaired, whether the lofty ode to love in which she had joined ($8^{6.7}$) was really suitable to her love. $8^{8ff.}$† transport us to the morning *after* the bridal night. In the space of time between v.^{7} and v.^{8} we are therefore to place not only the bridal night with its mysteries, but also the transition to the serious transaction early in the following morning (see above, p. 595, note †). The latter is brought directly before us in vv.$^{8-10}$, which proclaim the triumph of steadfast loyal love over all the difficulties and fears that have beset it. We hear in vv.$^{8.9}$ the brothers of the Shulammite declaring what they mean to do to their sister according as she has shown herself, in face of the seductive whispers of love, firm and inaccessible as a wall, or open and easily approachable like a door (*i.e.* easily led into inchastity). These, of course, are words which the brothers have spoken before the commencement of the severe period of probation and danger exhibited to us in the Song of Songs. We are thus vividly reminded of 1^6, and in point of fact—as is shown also by 8^{12a}, which in like manner looks back to 1^6—the author in his beautiful closing section, $8^{8ff.}$, attaches his words once more to the opening of the poem, thus indicating not only that this resolute maiden has succeeded in maintaining her childhood's purity, but also that the Song of Songs is really a well-rounded whole. The brothers have a direct interest in the issue of the test of their sister's virginity, and, besides, have the duty of maintaining the honour of the family. But while they are uttering the language of anxious expectation, which is finely put into their mouth, regarding the result of the test, the actual piece of evidence is brought forward (this we must suppose to be done between v.^{9} and v.^{10}), and in face of this irrefragable proof the Shulammite breaks forth in the confident triumphant words of v.^{10}. She has been found inviolate, she has kept herself as an impregnable fortress, there being perhaps in the last words of the verse a delicate allusion to Solomon, and the fact that even he had finally to recognize that this virgin was unimpressed by himself, his splendour, his allurements, and that he must thus let her go in peace. The words in v.^{12} connect themselves closely with v.^{10}; she has kept her own vineyard, *i.e.* herself, her honour, her love, for herself and her beloved; Solomon may rest content with the abundant resources he possesses for gratifying his love.

So ends the dramatical development of the material used in the Song of Songs. The present writer considers that in the scheme of interpretation just proposed everything proceeds in good order and exhibits a perfectly natural connexion. He thinks it well to say *natural*, because, as a matter of fact, the different parts of the Song

* It is impossible to understand the perfects in 5^1 as real preterites. They are perfects of certain expectation (*perfecta confidentiæ*, cf. Ges.-Kautzsch, *Gram.*^{26} § 106 n.). The misunderstanding of these perfects has been the occasion of much confusion.

† How kings married daughters of the people may be gathered from 2 S 11^{27}, while Ps 45 may give light in regard to the procedure when a foreign princess was concerned.

‡ The following of these popular customs also shows irrefutably that the call to eat and drink and intoxicate themselves refers not to the enjoyment of love, but to an actual banquet at which the friends, too, are to do their part.

* It may be noted that $8^{3.4}$ have been wrongly placed in their present position, where they do not at all suit the context. Their insertion after vv.$^{1.2}$ is readily intelligible on the ground of a certain similarity of thought in $2^{4ff.}$; but see the next note.

† In this last section the present writer regards v.^{11} as an archæological and in any case very prosaic gloss, occasioned by the 'thousand' of v.^{12}. In like manner v.^{14} is a later insertion by one who misunderstood the Song of Songs in so far as he believed that the Shulammite in the end became the wife of Solomon. In no other way can the strange invitation to the beloved be understood. The same hand which added v.^{14} may also through a similar misunderstanding have inserted vv.$^{3.4}$. In 8^{12}, which is unquestionably genuine, the Shulammite manifestly contrasts herself with the thousand wives of Solomon; v.^{13}, which we also hold to be genuine (cf. 2^{14}), closes the Song of Songs, but serves at the same time as an introduction to the merry songs, dances, and games which followed at a marriage feast, and which lasted for seven days.

correspond exactly in their progress to the various stages in a marriage celebration. Even the transition from the first to the second half of the poem is dramatically beautiful and essentially unconstrained, and, as deserves to be once more emphasized, has a remarkable resemblance to the turning-point in the narrative of the loves of Ḥamda and Habbâs. So also in the progress from one Act to another or one Scene to another, everything has an unconstrained flow, there is nothing abrupt or unnatural. We may then be permitted to express our conviction that if the Song of Songs be taken in the sense above indicated, not only will it be found to be perfectly intelligible in every part of its *contents*, but it will also prove itself beyond question to be a dramatical unity and constructed with dramatical skill.—Whether this melodramatic marriage-play was ever actually performed, say at wedding celebrations, or whether it was simply the product of a poet's leisure (composed with a didactic aim), cannot of course be determined, but at all events it was capable of being so presented.

iii. Authorship, Place of Composition, and Date of the Song of Songs.—The title at the head of the work means, of course, to point to Solomon himself as the *author* of the poem, and down to the most recent times this view has been closely bound up with the allegorical interpretation and has been widely held. But it is out of the question, alike on the theory of Herder and on that inaugurated especially by Ewald. As a matter of course, the Solomonic authorship is excluded also if Budde's view be accepted. The present writer is equally compelled, in view of all that has been said above, to regard the traditional opinion as erroneous. Solomon is indeed partly the subject of the poem, but it is quite impossible that he himself should have composed it. And it is of course beyond our power so much as to hazard a conjecture as to who the actual author was.

Nor can much be said as to *the place of composition*. Budde has sought to infer from the mention of the 'daughters of Jerusalem' that the poetical material contained in the Song of Songs had its birthplace in Jerusalem or the neighbourhood of it. But every hint that can be utilized for locating the poem appears to point to the north of Palestine. There and nowhere else is the stage upon which the movement takes place in most parts of the poem that contain geographical allusions. This does not, however, imply that the actual composition of the poem must have taken place in North Palestine. It was extremely natural that, even if the author lived in Judæa, the locality of the dramatic poem should be fixed in the north, if its material was supplied by the story of Abishag of Shunem in the developed form explained above. In the first part, accordingly, we should find ourselves, of course, in the royal palace at Jerusalem, and this agrees admirably with $2^{8b.\ 17b}$, where it is presupposed that the place of residence of the Shulammite is separated from that of her beloved by a number of mountain heights. While there is nothing in the contents of the Song of Songs to justify any certain inference as to the place of composition, the present writer considers it probable that it was Judæa, perhaps even Jerusalem. This conclusion is perhaps supported also by the decision, so far as any such is possible, regarding—

The date. It has been supposed that the Song of Songs originated, if not in the Solomonic era, at least at a time not far removed from it. The life-like conception of the conditions of that time, on the one hand, and the occurrence of Tirzah, the ancient capital of the Northern Kingdom, alongside of Jerusalem (6^4), on the other hand, are supposed to necessitate the fixing of the date of composition of the Song of Songs in the early decades after the reign of Solomon. Neither of these arguments, however, proves anything, for there is nothing in them but what is readily explicable even on the view of a late date, especially if we may regard it as settled that the author derived his material from the story of Abishag. Besides, it is very questionable whether the conceptions of local, personal, and other relations are so lifelike, and in general so accurate, as to permit or justify the inference that the poet lived near to the time with which he deals. Tirzah and other places that enter on occasion into his descriptions were, of course, not outside the sphere of knowledge even of a poet belonging to a later age.—The strongest objection, however, to placing the Song of Songs so early is presented by certain *linguistic* phenomena that characterize it. The form of the relative pronoun (שׁ) and other peculiarities of expression may, indeed, be explained on the view that the Song of Songs was composed in North Palestine, the language of which was doubtless dialectically different from that of Judæa, and more akin to the neighbouring Aramaic dialects. But the Persian loan-word פרדס (4^{13}) and the word אפריון (3^9), which in all probability is borrowed from the Greek *φορεῖον*, cannot possibly be explained at so early a period, but rather compel us to come down to the Macedonian era (cf. on this point especially Driver, *LOT*[6] p. 449 f.). The poet was then in all probability a member of the Jewish community in Jerusalem, and lived at a time when, through contact with the Greek world, the adoption of Greek terms had become possible not only in the language of daily life, but also in literary usage. It is of course difficult, or rather impossible, to fix the *terminus ad quem* for the composition, and we do not intend to propose even a tentative date. One point, however, may be noted. The general tone of the whole poem appears to imply that the time when the Song originated was a time of peaceful, we might say happy, repose for the community, when love could unhindered follow after love and finally rejoice in the full possession of its object.—And now, perhaps, at last we may hazard a conjecture. It is true that purely dramatic poetry is in general alien to the Semitic mind, and, although we felt compelled to maintain the dramatical character of the Song of Songs against all objections, yet we found it necessary also to make our recognition of the presence in it of the lyrical element, which is the fundamental characteristic of all Semitic poetry, by calling Canticles a *melodrama*. The question naturally arises, Whence came the author's stimulus to compose this melodramatic poem? Was it from a wide contact with the Greek world? This appears to the present writer not impossible.

Literature.—All the principal authorities are mentioned in the body of the article. We may add Cheyne's art. 'Canticles' in *Encyc. Biblica* (practically in agreement with Budde), which appeared since the above was written; and W. Riedel, *Die älteste Auslegung d. Hohenl.* 1898. Further references to literature may be found in Driver's *LOT*[6] p. 436; C. D. Ginsburg, *The Song of Songs, with a Comm. historical and critical*, 1857; and E. Reuss, *Gesch. d. heil. Schriften alt. Test.* § 189 ff.

J. W. Rothstein.

SONG OF THE THREE CHILDREN.—See Three Children (Song of the).

SONS OF GOD.—This expression is used in Scripture in two distinct senses. For one of these see articles Adoption, and God (Children of). The other is found in six passages: Gn 6^2, Job 1^6 2^1 38^7 (all בְּנֵי (הָ)אֱלֹהִים; LXX in first three *οἱ ἄγγελοι τοῦ θεοῦ*, in last *ἄγγελοί μου*), Ps 29^1 $89^{7\,(6)}$ (both בְּנֵי אֵלִים; LXX *υἱοὶ θεοῦ*); cf. in the

sing. Dn 3^{25} בַּר־אֱלָהִין, RV 'a son of the gods.' The meaning is 'sons of the *'ĕlōhîm* or *'ĕlîm*' in the sense of members of that class or race (cf. 'sons of the prophets'=members of the prophetic guild) of which God Himself is the pre-eminent *'Ĕlōhîm* (see A. B. Davidson's note on Job 1^6). Hence the expression is practically synonymous with 'angels' (cf. LXX above). The only passage where any difficulty has been felt (and that only for dogmatic reasons) about interpreting the phrase in this way is Gn 6^2. Onḳelos, *Beresh. rab.*, Saadya, Ibn Ezra, *et al.*, take it to mean there 'sons of princes,' 'mighty men'; Theod., Chrys., Jerome, Aug., Luther, Calvin, Hengstenberg, *et al.*, understand by 'the sons of God' the *pious* (Sethite) portion of the human race, which is opposed to the (Cainite) 'daughters of men.' Neither of these interpretations suits either the context or the usage of the Heb. phrase. The interpretation 'angels' is correctly taken in Jude ^{6} and 2 P 2^4, in the Books of Enoch and Jubilees, as well as by Philo, Jos. (*Ant.* I. iii. 1), and most of the older Church Fathers. J. A. SELBIE.

SOOTHSAYER, SOOTHSAYING.—

The Heb. for 'soothsaying' is קֶסֶם, קְסָמִים, Gr. *μαντεία, μαντεῖον, οἰώνισμα* (the last term being also used to tr. נַחַשׁ 'augury,' Nu 23^{23} ‖ קֶסֶם). 'Soothsayer' is קֹסֵם, which in Is 3^2 is rendered by *στοχαστής*. The Arab. *ḳasama* means properly 'divide *or* portion out.' Hence *ḳismet* is a man's apportioned lot or destiny. The word קְעָנִן is another alternative expression not easy to distinguish from קֶסֶם (see below). The term יִדְּעֹנִי is always closely connected in the OT passages with אוֹב, and will be dealt with under 'Necromancy' in art. SORCERY. The other terms חַרְטֹם (see below) and the Aram. גָּזְרִין (Dn 2^{27} 4^7 5^7) do not possess a clear connotation.

Soothsaying, though separate from magic, is nevertheless very closely associated with it (see MAGIC). It may be defined as involving an abnormal mode of obtaining knowledge. Just as magic is the abnormal method of obtaining control over persons or events by means of some supernatural Divine or demonic agency, so soothsaying involves the corresponding abnormal method of obtaining information. The soothsayer is to be found in every primitive religion, and ancient Semitic culture formed no exception to the rule. The comparison of early Arabic religion with that of primitive Israel conducts us irresistibly to the conclusion that the Hebrew priest in early times was also a soothsayer. For the Heb. כֹּהֵן is the Arab. *ḳâhin*, 'soothsayer,' who owned the local shrine and kept watch and ward over it, and gave replies to the inquiring pilgrim. We thus observe how the priest and the prophet in primitive Semitic antiquity started from a common base and blended their functions. The priest offered sacrifices, and likewise gave answers to satisfy the worshipper who came to seek information and guidance. Both functions, that of sacrifice and that of divination, were united in one person. Indeed, as we know in the case of the soothsayer and prophet Balaam, sacrifices accompanied the declarations which he made* (Nu 22^{40} $23^{1.\ 4.\ 15.\ 17.\ 20}$). Accordingly, the combination of the functions of divination and sacrifice may be assumed to be characteristic of primitive Israel as it was of ancient Arabia. To the priest belonged the function of giving replies by (*a*) URIM AND THUMMIM, (*b*) by TERAPHIM, and, lastly, (*c*) by EPHOD.

Much obscurity invests the actual nature of all these objects. The most probable view is that the *teraphim* were ancestral images and of human shape (to which 1 S $19^{13\text{-}16}$ irresistibly points, cf. Gn $31^{19.\ 30}$), and that the *ephod* was a plated image used as a symbol of Jehovah. This seems clear from Jg $8^{26\text{f.}}$, in which we are told that Gideon made it of the gold rings captured from the Ishmaelites and Midianites. Both ephod and teraphim are mentioned together in Hos 3^4; and Ezk 21^{21} and Zec 10^2 clearly prove that the teraphim were employed in the act of divination. Reference to the employment of the ephod is to be found in a series of ancient OT passages which describe the consultation of Jehovah in special emergencies. A series of interrogations was put to the deity, one following in logical sequence on the other, each capable of being answered in the alternative form of 'yes' or 'no.' Of this, perhaps the most instructive example is to be found in 1 S $23^{9\text{f.}}$, in which David inquires through the priest Abiathar by means of the ephod, and a series of categorical affirmative (or in other cases negative) replies are given (cf. 1 S $30^{7.\ 8}$, and Benzinger, *Heb. Arch.* pp. 382, 408). Obviously, information could be eked out by this process only very slowly, and in one case we read that Saul was compelled by the exigencies of war (1 S 14^{19}) to interrupt the tardy procedure of the priest as the tumult of the advancing Philistine army increased. Sometimes the omens were unfavourable for obtaining Divine answers (*ib.* 14^{37}). The close connexion which certainly subsisted between the ephod which was carried by the priest (1 S 23^6) and the divination which he practised, seems to point to the conclusion that the ephod was in some way a part at least of the apparatus of inquiry.* But it is not necessary to suppose that it was more than the symbol or idol which represented the deity whose presence gave validity to the whole procedure. The actual apparatus of soothsaying probably consisted in blunted arrows or, in primitive times, small twigs; and it is to this rude mechanism of inquiry that Hosea (4^{12}) refers under עֵץ (cf. Arab. عَضَوْن in Wellh. *Reste*^{2}, p. 132) and גִּלְגָּל, while Ezk 21^{21} mentions the arrows.

Early *Arabic cultus*, as Wellhausen has pointed out (*l.c.* p. 141), bears an unmistakable family likeness to the Hebrew, and it is to ancient Arabic usage that we turn for the most instructive illustrations of our subject. Among primitive Arab warrior tribes, as in ancient Israel, campaigns were never conducted without constant resort to the *kâhin* or priest-soothsayer, who usually belonged to a family which owned the sanctuary and kept guard over its treasures.

Ordinarily the answer to the inquiry consists only in 'yes' or 'no,' indicated by one arrow for affirmative and another for negative. There might also be complicated alternatives. The arrows might be marked to meet every possible range of inquiry, and the arrow drawn forth or shaken out was the answer to the question. Soothsaying was constantly resorted to before a military expedition. It is said of nearly all the clan chiefs of the Ḳuraish that they consulted the lots before their departure to Badr, although Abu Sufian, for whose deliverance the expedition was made, had sent them word that they were not to begin by consulting the lots. Strictly speaking, this consultation takes place *in the sanctuary before the idol* (Wellhausen)

Among the Arabs, money was paid for divination, and sacrifices (as of a camel) preceded or accompanied the divining ceremony. In these respects we find close parallels in the Balaam narrative, to which allusion has already been made. Accordingly, in this episode we do not fail to note that the deputations were provided with money payment for the soothsaying (called קְסָמִים Nu 22^7), a feature in the story which reminds us of 2 K 5^5.

As the ancient Hebrews in early times called the soothsayer רֹאֶה or 'seer,' so the primitive Arabs called him a 'gazer.' When 'gazing' he would veil his face. Hence the epithet, *dhûl chimar*, or 'the (man) with the veil,' applied to several seers.† We naturally revert to the veil of the prophet Moses (Ex $34^{33\text{ff.}}$). Under the influence of the supernatural spirit or demon a series of short sentences would be uttered, of which four to six would be united together in a strophe by rhyme. This is called in Arabic *Saj'*[un], comp. the Heb. מְשֻׁגָּע applied to a prophet (2 K 9^{11}). This wild ecstatic condition often characterized the primitive Hebrew prophet in pre-exilic times (1 S $10^{10\text{f.}}$), and this became contagious, and affected those who witnessed it (1 S $19^{20.\ 23.\ 24}$, cf. 18^{10}). What the OT ascribed to possession by the spirit of God (Jehovah) the Arab in primitive times ascribed to the spirit

* 'In petitioning the deity a sacrifice was naturally offered. Through the sacrifice, which was rendered acceptable to the deity by the mediation of the priest, the desired answer to a question was obtained' (Morris Jastrow, *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, p. 331).

* So Moore, art. 'Ephod' in *Encyc. Biblica.*

† The root of the word for 'seer' in Arabic corresponds to the Heb. חזה.

or demon that dwelt in him. Among the Moslems a demon was called a *shaitân* (see under SATAN).

The connexion between the *jinn* in early Arabia (and in later times the *shaitân*) and serpents throws light upon the serpent of Gn 3 as well as the שָׂרָף of Is 6[2]. The *jinn* were considered to reside in serpents, and the name *shaitân* is applied to a serpent.* The *jinn* were not necessarily evil. Some might be well disposed to truth (Ḳoran, 46[28]), like the great male serpent which met Moḥammed on the way to Tabuk (cf. Baudissin, *Studien zur semit. Religionsgesch.* i. p. 279 ff.).

These illustrations from ancient Arabic belief enable us to understand the use of the Heb. נָחָשׁ for 'divine' (from נָחָשׁ 'serpent') and נְחָשׁ for 'divination' (2 K 17[17] 21[6], Dt 18[10], Lv 19[26], Gn 30[27] 44[15]). This association of the art of divination with the serpent arose from a variety of causes. This reptile springs mysteriously from holes in the earth with the hissing or whispering sound characteristic of incantations (see MAGIC, vol. iii. p. 210[b] and footnote), and with a fascinating power of the eye which made it inevitable that a serpent should be regarded as the embodiment of a demon. Hence cunning and wisdom were ascribed to serpents (Gn 3[1], Mt 10[16]). Thus it was natural that the denom. Piel נִחֵשׁ came to be employed of the soothsayer, who was considered to be demon-possessed (like the sorcerer or necromancer, יִדְּעֹנִי and בַּעַל אוֹב).

Both in Arabia and in ancient Assyria the desire to know the course of future events in their bearing upon the interests of the inquirer, more especially with respect to the success or non-success of some enterprise, impelled him to find clues of information in the movements of nature, more especially of animals, since these were held to be possessed by demons. The Arabs believed that the animal is *ma'mûr, i.e.* is subject to some higher behest, and has open eyes to see (like Balaam's ass) when human eyes are without vision. The wolf, the dog, the hare, and the fox were omen-giving animals. Coming from the right hand, one of these animals would be hailed as portending good; from the left, bad (Wellh. p. 201 f.). Birds were especially considered to convey omens, viz. the raven, goose, starling, and hoopoe. The raven was the bird which heralded misfortune, especially the separation of friends from loved ones.

The cuneiform records exhibit the wide prevalence of a great mass of similar beliefs and practices in *Babylonia*, but with this difference, that the omen-tablets mark the distinctions in special cases with a wearisome excess of detail which we do not find in the simpler civilization of the Western Semitic lands, Palestine and Arabia. The omens may be divided into different classes: (1) those concerned with days and heavenly bodies; (2) those concerned with the features of human childbirth and also with those of birth-giving by animals; (3) omens concerned with movements of animals.—These will be found fully treated in Morris Jastrow's instructive work, *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, chs. xix. and xx. The following is a good example of (1)—

'Sun and moon are seen apart (*i.e.* at different times);
The king of the country will manifest wisdom.
On the fourteenth day sun and moon are seen together;
There will be loyalty in the land,
The gods of Babylonia are favourably inclined,
The soldiery will be in accord with the king's desire,
The cattle of Babylonia will pasture in safety.

On the fifteenth day the sun and moon are seen together;
A powerful enemy raises his weapons against the land,
The enemy will shatter the great gate of the city.'

Omens were likewise derived from the particular day of the month on which an eclipse takes place; from the appearances or disappearances of the planet Venus (Ishtar). In Rawl. iv. pl. 32, 33 we have a calendar of the intercalated month Elul. The deity is mentioned to which each day is sacred, and certain sacrifices are prescribed and precautions indicated. The 7th, 14th, 21st, and 28th days are called evil (*limnu*); see art. SABBATH, p. 319[a]; and cf. Schrader, *COT* i. p. 19 f., and Jensen in *ZA* iv. (1889) p. 274 ff.

(2) Varied forms of abnormal birth are specified, and the events which they portend—

'If a woman gives birth to a child with the right ear missing, the days of the ruler will be long. If a woman gives birth to a child with the left ear missing, distress will enter the land and weaken it.'

The abnormal features in the birth of young lambs were carefully noted and interpreted—

'If the young one has no right ear, the rule of the king will come to an end, his palace will be uprooted, and the population of the country will be swept away. The king will lose judgment, the produce of the country will be slight, the enemy will cut off the supply of water. If the left ear of the young one is missing, the deity will hear the prayer of the king, the king will capture his enemy's land, the palace of the enemy will be destroyed.'

(3) The number and variety of cases here as in (1) and (2) are endless.

'If a dog enters the palace and crouches on the throne, that palace will suffer a distressful fate. If a dog enters a palace and crouches on the couch, no one will enjoy that palace in peace.'

The colour of a dog that enters a palace or of the locusts that enter a house, will affect the precise form of good which is portended by the occurrence.

The gods were constantly approached with questions involving the future interests of the State or affecting the fate of a military campaign. Knudtzon in his *Assyr. Gebete an den Sonnengott für Staat und königliches Haus*, has devoted a careful examination to these questions addressed to Šamaš the Sun-god, which are shown to follow a fixed pattern. First we have a series of questions which the god is petitioned to answer. The god is then implored not to be angry, and to protect the suppliant against errors unwittingly committed in the sacrificial rites—

'O Shamash, great lord, as I ask thee, do thou in true mercy answer me.

'From this day the 3rd day of this month of Iyyar to the 11th day of the month Ab of this year, a period of one hundred days and one hundred nights, is the prescribed term for the priestly activity.*

'Will within this period Kashtariti, together with his soldiery, will the army of the Gimirri, the army of the Medes, will the army of the Manneans, or will any enemy whatsoever succeed in carrying out their plan, whether by stratagem (?) or main force, whether by the force of weapons of war and battle or by the axe, whether by a breach made with war-machinery or battering-rams or by hunger, whether by the powers residing in the name of a god or goddess . . . will these aforementioned, as many as are required to take a city, actually capture the city Kishsassu, penetrate into the interior of that same city Kishsassu. . . . Thy great divine power knows it. . . . Will it actually come to pass?'

We observe that all possible contingencies are specified as in a lawyer's deed, and no loophole is left by which the deity may escape the obligation of a definite answer. (See Jastrow, p. 334 ff.)

How far Israel, and more particularly Judah, at the close of the 8th cent. became influenced by Bab. or Assyr. practices, it would be very difficult to say. That the older and more highly developed civilization of the Euphrates and Tigris should have affected the Palestinian tribes at this time is surely more than possible. In the 15th and earlier centuries B.C. that influence was powerfully felt throughout the Western border (*mât amurri*), as the Tel el-Amarna tablets clearly testify, and it spread into Egypt itself. Moreover, we may infer from certain indications that some influences from Bab. and

* *Iblîs* (=διάβολος) is not so frequently employed in the sing. as the plur. form of *shaitân*, which takes the place of *jinn* (plur.) (Wellh. *l.c.* p. 157 footnote).

* This expression is interpreted to mean that the priest is only asked to give a reply concerning the events of the hundred days specified in the text.

Assyr. divination not improbably found their way into the Southern kingdom. (1) We know that Ahaz was particularly susceptible to foreign religious influence, and did not hesitate to borrow from foreign courts (2 K 16^{10-18} 20^{11}). (2) The embassy of Merodach-baladan shows that the relations between Judah and Babylonia were intimate (2 K $20^{12ff.}$). (3) The proneness of Ahaz to alliance with Assyria at an earlier period may have opened the way for the entrance of Assyro-Babylonian traditions. (4) If we combine these facts with Is 2^6, where reference is made to the superstitious tendencies which prevailed in Israel, and where these are ascribed to the 'East,' we may find the true clue to the meaning of this term 'East.' The true reading here has been conjecturally restored by critics with some probability in the form כִּי מָלְאוּ קֹסְמִי (קֹסְמִים) מִקֶּדֶם 'for they are full of soothsayers from the East,' which harmonizes with the parallel clause that follows. Teman (Edom) also had its soothsayers (Jer 49^7, Ob ^{8}). Was the source Arabia?

Egypt presented parallel phenomena. Divination and the practice of occult sciences prevailed in the plains of the Nile as much as in those of the Euphrates. In Egypt the division of time among the higher divine powers was carried to such an extent that even every hour of day and night was allotted to some goddess (though not to the *superior* deities). The character of the divinity determined the destiny of the period over which that divinity presided. By turning up the calendar of the days of the month it was thought possible to gain a glimpse into futurity, and decide whether a particular day was favourable or unfavourable; what should be done and what omitted; and what prospects awaited the child who was born upon it. We have an example of such a calendar in the papyrus Sallier iv. belonging to the 19th dyn., in which there are instructions covering several months of the year. We select the following in reference to one month—

'4th Paophi: unfavourable, favourable, favourable (*i.e.* of variable significance). By no means leave your house on this day. He who is born on this day, dies upon it through a contagious disease.

'5th —: unfavourable, unfavourable, unfavourable. By no means leave your house on this day. Do not approach any woman. On this day we should offer gifts to the god. The majesty of the god Month was satisfied on this day. He who is born on this day will die of love.

'9th —: favourable, favourable, favourable. The gods are in gladness, men in exultation. The foe of Râ has fallen. He who is born on this day dies of the weakness of old age.

'22nd —: unfavourable, unfavourable, unfavourable. Do not bathe in any water on this day. He who embarks on a vessel on the river on this day will be rent in pieces by the tongue of the crocodile.' *

To what particular mode of divination allusion is made in Gn 44^5, where the silver bowl with which Joseph practised the art is referred to, cannot be determined from ancient Egyptian sources. It has been supposed that some form of *κυλικομαντεία* or *ὑδρομαντεία* was in the writer's mind. The goblet was filled with water and the sun's rays were admitted, and, as the goblet was moved, the circles of light that were formed were closely observed (Iamblichus, *de mysteriis*, iii. 14), or the cup was marked with letters and a divining-ring touched them here or there, and conclusions were deduced therefrom (Amm. Marcellinus, 29); cf. Dillm. *ad loc.* These are, however, conjectures only.

The word employed in the passages dealing with the story of Israel in Egypt for 'soothsayer' or 'magician' (for the word expressed both) was חַרְטֹם, plur. חַרְטֻמִּים, Gn $41^{8.\ 24}$ (E), Ex 7^{11} $8^{7.\ 18}$ etc. 9^{11} (P), Dn 1^{20} 2^2, variously rendered in LXX *ἐπαοιδοί*, *φαρμακοὶ ἐξηγηταί* [in Dn 1^{20} *σοφισταί*, Theodotion *ἐπαοιδοί*]. The Heb. word is probably derived from חֶרֶט, *stylus* for graving words, since the arts of the magician or soothsayer were based, in the more elaborate systems of Babylonia and Egypt, upon carefully written rituals.

* Wiedemann, *Die Religion der alten Aegypter*, p. 141.

Dreams.—In ancient *Arabic* belief sleep was considered in a mysterious sense to be sacred, and subject to the control of demons.* 'All Arabs reverence a man sleeping; he is, as it were, in trance with God: in their households they piously withdraw, nor will they lightly molest him.'† It is not surprising, therefore, that the significance attached to dreams is a universal feature of antiquity. The ancient *Egyptians* believed in the significance of the dream as the state of mind through which deities entered into personal relationship with men and gave them guidance. Thus Râ Harmachis appeared to king Thothmes IV., when he rested in the chase near the Great Sphinx, and commanded him to have the statue dug out of the sand. A sure means of obtaining a prophetic dream was to betake oneself to one of the temples that were sacred to divinities who vouchsafed oracles, and there sleep. The temple of Serapis was one of the most celebrated of these shrines, like the temple of Æsculapius at Epidaurus, where dreams were bestowed in which remedies were communicated against disease. Sometimes as a last resort magic was appealed to in order to extort the dream from the reluctant deity. Wiedemann (*Religion der alten Aegypter*, p. 144) cites one of the magical texts from a Gnostic papyrus of comparatively late date preserved in the Leyden Museum, entitled '*Agathocles' Recipe for sending a Dream*,' which runs thus—

'Take a slaughtered cat, quite black, prepare a tablet, and write the following with a solution of myrrh and the dream which you wish to send, and put it into the cat's mouth: Keimi, Keimi, I am the great one who rests in the mouth Mommom Thoth, Nanumbre, Karicha, Kenyro, Paarmiathon, the holy Iau ieê ieu aêoi who is above the heaven [other names follow] put thyself in connexion with N.N. about this [*i.e.* the said dream]. If necessary, secure for me N.N. through thy power. Lord of the whole world, fiery god, put thyself in connexion with N.N. Tharthar, thamara thatha mommom thanabotha [other names follow]. Hear me, for I will pronounce the great name Thoth, whom every god reverences and every demon fears. My name corresponds to the seven (vowels) a e ê i o y ô iauôêeaô oueê ôia. I named thy glorious name, the name for all needs. Put thyself in connexion with N.N. . . .'

Here we find soothsaying passing over into magic, to which it stands, as we have already explained, so closely related. The apparently meaningless combination of syllables which the magician employs contains the names of deities. Compare the name *Sabaôth*, borrowed from the Jewish Holy Scriptures, to which a mysterious potency was ascribed. These must be reproduced in their exact original form. No translation was tolerated: not only did it render the charm inoperative, but brought down evils upon the magician (cf. art. MAGIC, *ad fin.*).

The *Assyrians*, like the Egyptians, attached great importance to dreams. Of this we have two interesting examples in the Rassam-cylinder of Ašurbanipal. In col. ii. 95 we are told that to Gyges, king of Lydia, Ašur revealed Ašurbanipal's name in a dream, saying: 'Embrace the feet of Ašurbanipal, king of Assyria, and thou shalt conquer thy enemies by his name.' On the same day on which he had seen this dream, Gyges despatched his horsemen to greet Ašurbanipal and narrate it to him. The inscription goes on to state that from that day forth he conquered the Kimmerians, who had attacked the people of his land (lines 95–105).—The other passage occurs in col. v. 95 ff. Ašurbanipal's troops feared to cross the Ididê, but Ištar of Arbela appeared to them in a dream, and said: 'I go before Ašurbanipal, the king whom my hands have made.' Confiding in this dream, his troops crossed the Ididê safely.

* Wellhausen, *l.c.* p. 163 ff.
† Doughty, *Arabia Deserta*, vol. i. p. 249 ff.

It should be noted that one special branch of the art of the priest-soothsayer in Babylonia consisted in the interpretation of the manifold appearances in dreams. A considerable portion of the omen-documents in cuneiform consists of the rules laid down as to what the different features in a dream may portend.

If a lion appears to a man, it means that a man will carry out his purpose. If a jackal, that he will secure favour in the eyes of the gods. A dog portends sorrow; a mountain goat, that the man's son will die of some disease; a stag, that his daughter will die, etc. (Bezold's *Catalogue*, pp. 1437, 1438, cited by Jastrow).

To this special function of the Babylonian temple officials we have reference in Dn 2^2, where they are summoned by Nebuchadnezzar to discharge the perplexing task of not only interpreting but also of first recalling a dream which the monarch had forgotten (cf. Gn $41^{8ff.}$). פּוֹתֵר is the proper word in Heb. for interpreter of dreams.

Divine revelation through dreams constantly meets us in the OT (Gn $20^{3.\ 6}$ $31^{10.\ 11}$ 37^6 $40^{5ff.}$ $41^{1ff.}$ 42^9, 1 K $3^{5.\ 15}$, Dn 2^{19} 7^1, Nu 12^6, Job 33^{15}, Jg 7^{13}, and in NT Mt 1^{20} 2^{13}, Ac 23^{11} 27^{23}). Dreams were a legitimate mode of Divine manifestation, though we find warnings against the dreams of false prophets, as against magic and soothsaying (Jer $23^{28.\ 32}$ 29^8, Zec 10^2, Sir $34^{1.\ 2.\ 5.\ 7}$). It is worthy of note that among the Hebrews, as among the Egyptians, importance was attached to the dreams which came to a man who slept in a sanctuary or sacred spot. The dream of Jacob might be included among such visions (Gn 23^{12-19}), since the scene was at Bethel, the renowned sanctuary. The dream recorded in 1 K 3^{5-15} was vouchsafed to Solomon at the high place of Gibeon, where he had offered sacrifices.

Just as among the Arabs the art of soothsaying began to decline after the advent of Moḥammed and the monotheism which he taught,* so among the ancient Hebrews the prophetic teaching from the 8th cent. onwards constantly declaimed against the arts of the soothsayer, and the burden of this prophetic Tôrah became embodied in legislation (Dt $18^{10ff.}$, cf. Lv $20^{6.\ 27}$). In Is 2^6 we find mention of מְ[עוֹנְנִים among the other modes of foreign Eastern superstition with which Judah by the time of Isaiah had become familiar. But in this special case the original source probably lay at Israel's doors, and the tradition was borrowed from the Canaanites. Of this we have clear evidence in Dt 18^{14}, and in the 'terebinth (oak) of diviners' (מעוֹנִנִים MEONENIM) mentioned as a well-known sacred spot with a sacred tree (Jg 9^{37}). There is a similar 'soothsayer's tree'† (see MOREH) mentioned in Gn 12^6 (אֵלוֹן מוֹרֶה). To this we may find a parallel in the oaks of Dodona, sacred to Zeus, whose rustling branches were supposed to utter oracles (*Odyss.* xiv. 328); cf. 2 S 5^{24}. In Dt 18^{10} the מְעוֹנֵן stands in close conjunction with the 'diviner of divinations' (קֹסֵם קְסָמִים) and the מְנַחֵשׁ. The Greek equivalent of מְעוֹנֵן is *κληδονιζόμενος*, meaning one who judges from omens (*κληδών*); cf. Is 2^6. The etymology of the Hebrew Poel form עוֹנֵן is not easy to determine. To connect it with עָנָן 'cloud' has no foundation in the known practices of the ancient Israelites. More probable is the etymology which connects it with the root which is in Arabic غن 'to snuffle' (cf. the use of the Heb. מְעַטְּפִים Is 8^{19} 29^4); scarcely probable is the suggestion of Wellhausen to regard this Poel form as a denominative from the subst. עַיִן 'eye.' Cf. Nowack, *Heb. Arch.* ii. 274 footnote. The form of soothsaying which the word מְעוֹנֵן represents may have been akin to that which was practised by the Roman *augurs* or *haruspices*. In fact it is difficult to say how far the מְעוֹנֵן differed from the רֹאֶה or primitive Hebrew 'seer,' or from the קֹסֵם. As to the first, we do not know what was his mode of procedure, whether it consisted in the examination of the entrails or general appearance of the victim in the sacrifices, as was done by the Assyrian priests (Jastrow, *l.c.* p. 337) and the Roman *haruspices* or *extispices*. Or it may have taken the form of observing closely the movements of animals, as was done by the Philistine diviners (קֹסְמִים) in the case of the two cows yoked to the cart on which the ark of God was placed (1 S $6^{8ff.}$); or it may have consisted in observing the sounds produced by wind (as the sound among the tops of the balsam trees in 2 S 5^{24}) or the special action of rain or dew upon objects (cf. Jg $6^{36ff.}$).

The 8th cent., as well as the 7th, witnessed the wide prevalence of these arts as well as that of necromancy (Is $8^{19ff.}$). Probably the Assyrian invasions and the disasters which they entailed drove the panic-stricken people to resort to abnormal practices of magic and soothsaying.* From Is 3^2 we learn that the soothsayer held an important place in national life, and was regarded as one of the props of the social fabric. He takes his place by the side of the judge, prophet, and elder. The attitude of prophecy towards soothsaying was uniformly uncompromising and hostile (Mic 5^{12}, cf. Jer 27^9 and Is 57^3, this last passage being descriptive of the degenerate practices that still went on in Palestine after the return from the Exile). In Ezk $21^{21ff.}$ we have a vivid description of the king of Babylon standing at the crossways, shaking the arrows (*βελομαντεία*). We may assume that there were two arrows in the quiver, one bearing the name Jerusalem and the other Rabbah, and the result was determined by the particular arrow that was drawn out by the right hand or shaken out. He also inquires of the teraphim and looks into the liver. The reference to the teraphim is a Palestinian trait (the LXX *γλυπτοῖς* suggests עֲצַבִּים rather than תְּרָפִים). When we compare this with Is 47^{8-15} with its closing references to the soothsaying, we can clearly see that the latter writer had become yet more familiar with the practices in divination carried on in Babylonia, and portrays them with remarkable vividness:—'Thou art wearied with thy counsels; yes, let them stand by and save you, they who divide the heavens, who gaze at the stars, announcing month by month whence they (*i.e.* the events) are to come upon you.' The account given in the earlier portion of this article of the omen-tablets of Babylonia and the calendars of the days of the month, with its lucky and unlucky days, clearly illustrates the accurate delineation given us in Deutero-Isaiah. The phrase 'dividers of the heavens' (חֹבְרֵי שָׁמַיִם *Ḳĕrê*) contains a reference to the custom of the Babylonian astrologers of dividing the heavens into districts to take a horoscope (cf. Jastrow, *Religion of Babylonia*, p. 369 ff.). See also art. DIVINATION.

* For demonology and soothsaying were closely interwoven (as in the case of magic). Now, according to Moḥammedan ideas, the devils after Moḥammed's advent were prevented from mingling with the sons of God and learning the secrets of heaven (cf. SATAN and ref. to Book of Enoch). When so detected, the angels pelt them with meteorites and drive the away: see *Sur.* 3^{31} *ad fin.*, $37^{6ff.}$; and cf. Wellhausen, *Reste*^{2}, p. 138.

† It is by no means certain that the Heb. אֵלָה, אֵלוֹן may not be used generally for 'tree,' like Syr. ܐܠܐ, ܐܠܢ, ܐܠܝ.

LITERATURE.—This has been indicated in the course of the article. The reader should consult art. 'Wahrsagerei' in Riehm's *HWB*^{2}; Nowack's and Benzinger's *Heb. Arch.*; art. 'Divination' in *Encyc. Biblica*; Smend, *AT Religionsgesch.* pp. 76 ff., 113, 178, 195, 276, 290; W. R. Smith, *ap.* Driver on Dt $18^{10f.}$, and in *Journal of Philology*, xiii. 273 ff., xiv. 113 ff. On Dreams cf. Brecher, *Das Transcendentale . . . im Talmud*, §§ 37-47.

OWEN C. WHITEHOUSE.

* Cf. W. R. Smith, *Kinship and Marriage*, p. 308, in reference to the mystic piacular rites of the 7th cent. B.C.

SOP.—A sop (Anglo-Sax. [*soppa*], from *supan*, to sup) is a morsel of food soaked in liquid. Cf. Chaucer, *Marchantes Tale*, 599—

'And then he taketh a sop in fyn clarree.'

The word was used by Tindale to translate ψωμίον (from ψωμ-ίζω, to feed) in Jn $13^{26\ bis.\ 27.\ 30}$, the only occurrences of the Gr. word. (Wyclif had already used it in $13^{26.\ 27}$, giving 'bread' and 'morsel' in the other places. The Vulg. has *buccella* in $13^{27.\ 30}$, but simply *panis* in $^{26\ bis}$, and the Rheims follows with 'bread' in $^{26\ bis}$, and 'morsel' in $^{27.\ 30}$). The mod. meaning, 'something given to keep quiet,' is also found in early writers, as Howard, *Committee*, iv. 1, 'Why, you unconscionable Rascal, are you angry that I am unlucky, or do you want some fees? I'll perish in a Dungeon before I'll consume with throwing Sops to such Curs.'

J. HASTINGS.

SOPATER (Σώπατρος, *Sopater*).—A man of Berœa who in St. Paul's third missionary journey accompanied him from Philippi (Ac 20^4). He is called in the older MSS son of Pyrrhus. He was commemorated June 25 and July 12. See also SOSIPATER.

SOPE.—See the modern spelling SOAP.

SOPHERETH (סֹפֶרֶת; BA Σαφάραθ, ℵ Σαφαραθί, Luc. Ἀσοφέρεθ).—A family of Nethinim that returned with Zerubbabel, Neh 7^{57}. In the parallel passage, Ezr 2^{55}, the name appears as **Hassophereth** (הַסֹּפֶרֶת; B Ἀσεφήραθ, A Ἀσεφόραθ, Luc. Ἀσωφέρεθ), and in 1 Es 5^{33} as ASSAPHION.

SOPHONIAS.—The form in which the name of the prophet ZEPHANIAH occurs in 2 Es 1^{40}.

SORCERY.—The subject of sorcery has already been treated in most of its aspects under MAGIC. There remain, however, certain features in this extensive department which are reserved for treatment in the present article.

The wide prevalence of sorcery in pre-exilian Israelite life is only partially revealed in the OT. That the underlying motive of the Brazen Serpent in Nu 21^{4-9} was the same as that of the winged colossal and human-headed bulls or genii (*lamassu* or *lamaššu*, cf. the cherubim in Gn 3^{24}, and Schrader, *COT*, *ad loc.*) which were set up at the doors of the Assyrian palaces to prevent the access of demons, of disease, or other calamity, seems to be fairly probable. In this connexion we must bear in mind the undoubted fact that the serpent was associated not only with demons to whom a destructive power belonged (cf. Gn 3 and Is 14^{29} 27^1 and Am 9^3),* but also with those endowed with beneficent powers. Mohammed held that serpents might be inhabited by good as well as by evil *jinn*, and among the ancient Greeks the serpent was held to be sacred to the healing god Æsculapius. Also, as Robertson Smith reminds us, the South Arabs regard medicinal waters as inhabited by *jinn*, usually of serpent form (*RS*^{2} p. 168, cf. 172). On this subject interesting facts have been collected by Baudissin, in his Essay on the Symbolism of the Serpent, in *Studien zur sem. Religionsgesch.* i. p. 257 ff. The brazen image of the serpent (נְחֻשְׁתָּן), worshipped in the reign of Hezekiah, and the occurrence of the name Nahash among Canaanite peoples, point to the prevalence of the serpent-cult. See NEHUSHTAN.

Again, the law, to which the modern Jew pays so much deference, contained in Dt $6^{8.\ 9}$, involves an ancient belief in the magic potency of written words and names, of which Lane (*Modern Egyptians*, 1871, i. pp. 7 ff., 319 ff.) gives valuable illustrations. The *Shema'*, as well as the following precept, 'And thou shalt love Jehovah thy God with all thy soul . . .,' were to be bound as a sign upon the hand, and for frontlets between the eyes. They were also to be written upon the doorposts of the house and on the gates. The Jews in the present day use the name *mĕzûzah*, which in the original Deuteronomic sense meant 'doorpost,' for the small metal case which contained a piece of folded parchment, upon which the words aforesaid were written, viz. Dt 6^{4-9} as well as Dt 11^{13-21}, in twenty-two lines. This would be placed at the right of the entrance, on the upper part of the doorpost. Like an amulet inscribed with words or names of mysterious potency, this piece of parchment was held to possess a magic and protective efficacy. See Edersheim, *Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, i. p. 76. The *tĕphillîn* or phylacteries, on the left arm and forehead, are of like character (see art. PHYLACTERIES).

Again we have an instructive example of the all-prevailing faith in magic in the case of the afflicted woman who came to Jesus in the midst of the crowd, believing that His garments were possessed of mysterious healing virtue (Lk 8^{44}, see Plummer, *ad loc.*). The same idea underlies the narrative of Ac 19^{12}, where we read that handkerchiefs and aprons were conveyed from St. Paul's person to the diseased, who were thereby cured, and the demons expelled. A man's clothing was supposed to convey with it some charm or efficacy from the owner. Mohammed was besought to give his shirt that a dead man might be buried in it. The character of the wearer and his clothing were identified in some mysterious way. Probably in this way we are to interpret the reference to the mantle of Elijah (2 K 2^{13-15}, cf. ^{8}), and such expressions as 'robe of righteousness,' 'garments of salvation' (Is 61^{10}), 'of vengeance' (59^{17}), etc. See Wellhausen, *Reste*^{2}, p. 196.

In *Arabia* sorcery was even employed in digging for treasure. Doughty relates a story that a Moor, who was regarded as specially proficient in magical arts, 'sacrificed to the *jân* in the night a black cock, and read his spells, and a great black fowl alighted beside him. . . . The earth rumbled, and rose as it were in billows, gaping and shutting, and in that earthy womb appeared an infinite treasure' (*Arabia Deserta*, ii. p. 103). But we hear even more frequently of counter-spells, whereby the demons were coerced or terrified into impotence. And this specially applies to the various diseases which the *jân* were supposed to inflict. The remedies are in almost every case magical in character, and were carried out by the physician called *ṭabîb* or wise man, who was, in fact, a magician. The methods of the magic-healing art were the same as those of the sorcerer who worked the evil. There was stroking and rubbing of the part affected; most frequently we have the tying of knots, spitting, and breathing.

'A young mother, yet a slender girl, brought her wretched babe, and bade me spit upon the child's sore eyes. This ancient Semitic opinion and custom I have afterwards found wherever I came to Arabia [cf. Jn 9^6]. Meteyr nomads in El Kasim have brought me bread and salt that I should spit in it for their sick friends.—Also the Arabians will spit upon a lock which cannot easily be opened' (Doughty, *Arab. Des.* i. p. 527). 'Another time I saw Salih busy to cure a mangy *thelûl* (riding-camel). He sat with a bowl of water before him, and, mumbling thereover, he spat in it and mumbled solemnly, and spat many times, and, after a half hour of this work, the water was taken to the sick beast to drink' (*ib.* ii. p. 164).

This strange custom may be combined with the prevalent notion that the more repulsive and disgusting the remedies, the more efficacious they were.

* Here Gunkel (*Schöpfung u. Chaos*) has shown that we have remnants of the old Babylonian chaos-myth (*Tiâmtu*, 'dragon of the deep').

'They will take of the unclean and even abominable, and say, *dawâ*, "it is medicine." These Bedouin give the sick to eat of the *rakham* or small white carrion eagle. Upon a day I found a poor woman of our menzil seething asses' dung in the pot. She would give the water to drink with milk to her sick brother' (Doughty, i. p. 255).

Magic devises strange remedies. The person of the king has a supernatural character (Frazer, *Golden Bough*[2], i. p. 8 ff.), and it is owing to this belief that we constantly find the royal personality or his family invested with a priestly function. Thus in Arabia it was believed that hydrophobia was to be cured by royal blood, *i.e.* not merely the blood of the reigning monarch, but also that of the royal family. Even sorrow for the dead had its magic remedy. Dust from the grave of the deceased beloved one was to be drunk, mingled with water; and the same remedy was employed as an antidote to love-sickness, for a man who was in love was held to be possessed or bewitched. By the spells of a sorcerer, too, lovers may be parted.

It may here be remarked that the introduction of Islam did even less to destroy belief in magic than the growth of Jewish monotheism. We can only say in both cases (that of the Arab and of the Jew) that the belief in spirits entered, as Wellhausen says of the Arab (*ib.* p. 157), 'upon another stage.' 'The old gods are deposed and degraded into the position of demons. The latter thereby change their character and become hellish creatures, bitterly hostile to Allah and his heavenly surrounding.' They became Satans (*Shaitâns*), with Iblîs at their head, opposed to prayer and the cry of the *muezzin*, loving uncleanliness and dirt, and therefore debarred by washings and the burning of incense.

Consequently sorcery was just as prevalent after Islam as before it. Mohammed placed the interior bark of the Samara tree on the arm of Dhul Bigâdain to render him invulnerable. Gum resin from this tree was constantly carried as an amulet. The ankle-bones of a hare are effective to ward off the *jinn* of the camp, the ghoul of the desert, and Satan himself. They are also effective in quelling fever. Similar efficacy belonged to the teeth of a cat or a fox. The magic of the knot-tying was encountered by the protective spell of the amulet. One species of amulet was called *tangis* (defiling), and contained dirt, bones of the dead, and other repulsive objects. Many amulets, however, consisted of ornaments, often precious stones, deemed on this account sacred. Their object seems to be to divert the attention of the demons from the wearer. Thus a mark on the face of a woman, or even tattooing, served this purpose; also the fragrant berries carried by children, the silver and gold plates worn by horses, and the bells carried by camels (cf. Zec 14[20]), which diverted or scared away the demons by their sound. Cf. Wellhausen, *Reste*[2], p. 164 ff.

Ancient *Jewish* magic, to which Blau has devoted a special treatise, presents many features which are analogous to those of early Arabia just described. Indeed it is by no means an easy problem to determine how much of the latter came from Jewish, Babylonian, and Aramaic sources, and how far the Jewish in turn became affected in very early times by Arabia.* There can be little doubt that the main source of Jewish tradition in magic and demonology, in and after the Exile, was Babylonia, and that Babylonia also influenced Arabia.

The magical effect of spitting, to which Doughty has referred (in the passages cited), was also an element in Jewish superstition. But what is most significant in Jewish sorcery is the belief in the magic power of words and names which was held almost universally, in the time of Christ, by the Jews in common with other contemporary nations. Passages from Scripture were considered to be especially effectual. These were constantly employed in bringing about cures. Thus the words in Lv 13[1] עֶרֶשׂ עֵגֶב and also Lv 1[1] were considered efficacious, though forbidden by Rab and Rabbi Chanina (*Sanhedrin* 101*a*). Ex 15[26] was employed in healing wounds; but when, in addition to this, spitting was resorted to, this was regarded as a forbidden form of magic, and whosoever attempts it has no part or lot in the future life (Mishna *Sanhed.* xi. 1; *Tosefta* xii. 10). Of course special force belonged to the words, 'For I, Jehovah, am thy healer.' Unclean water has a magical influence, which can be increased or arrested by some incantation. Magic influence of a deterrent character was also attributed to iron. Iron has the power to ward off evil spirits and to break spells. Spirits stand in fear of iron (cf. Blau, p. 159; and *Berakhôth* 6*a*, cf. *Tosefta*, vi. 13). The iron is cast between the graves, and the word *hada* is pronounced; for the graveyard has always been the place where sorcery is practised, since the spirits of the departed dwell there. Thither Canidia and Sagana, the sorceresses of Horace's muse, repair in the moonlight (*Sat.* I. viii.); and Wellhausen (*Reste*[2], p. 157) considers that close relations subsisted between *jinn* and spirits of dead men, the spirits of the departed becoming *jinn*.

The Talmud gives special recipes for turning a bad dream into one of good omen. One of these consists in repeating 9 verses (3 × 3) of the Bible. If a man sees a river in a dream, let him recite Is 66[12] (in which peace is compared to a flowing stream) before he thinks of Is 59[19] 'When the enemy comes like a river.' It is dangerous to drink water on Wednesday or Friday night. If, however, one is compelled to drink it, it is recommended that Ps 29[3-10] should be recited, where the voice of Jehovah is mentioned seven times and also the waters, and it is said that Jehovah is enthroned above the flood.

Incantations were constantly employed in the art of healing. Most of these spells are derived from the teachers of the Talmud, who also practised the medical art. As the remedy was applied, the incantation was whispered in the ear of the patient. The head of the operating physician was anointed with oil, and, if any unbidden or uninitiated person heard the spell, its magical power was lost. Two examples of these magical remedies may be found in art. MAGIC, vol. iii. p. 211, and further illustrations will be found in Blau's monograph, pp. 72–77, 156 ff., and Brecher's *Das Transcendentale, Magie u. magische Heilarten im Talmud*, p. 198 ff.

Sorcery, in the narrower sense of magic employed with malignant or evil intent, would seek to accomplish such ends as causing one's neighbour's house to catch fire, bringing a hailstorm on his field, depriving his cows of milk, making his child die of illness, causing domestic brawls, or visiting himself with sudden death. In fact the ancients were accustomed to attribute all such disasters to a malignant demon, sorcerer, or witch; and the possession of any unusual physical or mental quality, especially an uncanny look about the eyes, would expose the male or female possessor of these characteristics to the unenviable reputation of being a sorcerer or sorceress. Especially old women of unusual ugliness were credited with dealings with the dark supernatural world. Even men distinguished by brilliant acquirements

* According to the Talmud (*Sanhedrin* 67*b*, 91*a*) the Arabs were regarded as endowed with magical powers. In the first passage it is related that an Arab sorcerer cut his camel in pieces and then restored it to life. In the latter passage it is stated that Abraham communicated to the sons of his concubines the unclean name, *i.e.* the names of deities potent in magic; cf. Blau, p. 48, and footnote 2.

or clever play would be liable to the suspicion of sorcery.

The chief motives to sorcery were love and hatred, and the result was frequently death or unfaithfulness to the marriage vow. Magic was employed to win forbidden love. The chief means to compass this end was *mandragora*, which was universally regarded as an erotic plant (hence the Heb. name דּוּדָאִים Gn $30^{14f.}$). It was customary to recite verses from the Bible over this—a practice which the Talmud forbids (*Shabbath* 8*b*, 19). Tying of knots was sometimes resorted to in order to prevent childbirth. Cf. Ḳoran 113 (blowing on knots).

Simon ben Jochai had the reputation of being a magician, and tradition relates that when he withdrew from his cave, after residing there for thirteen years, he transformed every one upon whom he gazed into a heap of bones; and it is reported that he destroyed a heretic in this way (*Pesiḳta* 90*b*, 137*a*).

Amulets were employed as prophylactics, *i.e.* as a means of counterworking the evil influences of witchcraft and demons. The לְחָשִׁים, to which Is 3^{20} alludes as one among the articles of feminine attire, may be considered to be this simply and solely. These were not forbidden, though they partook of a magical character. It is only in cases where the amulets were heathen in origin that they were strictly forbidden. Thus in 2 Mac 12^{40} the amulets discovered on the slain came from the idol temple at Jamnia, and were on this account objectionable. The name by which the amulet was called in later Jewish literature is *ḳĕmêa'* (קֶמֵעַ). The *ḳĕmêa'* is mentioned with the *tĕphillîn* or phylacteries. Both were covered with leather. Similarly, the amulets of the Greeks and Romans were contained in *capsules* (*bulbæ*). The Jewish amulet consisted either of some inscribed object or of certain roots of plants, or, in some cases, of grains of corn bound up in leather.* It may here be remarked, in passing, that every vegetable was supposed to have a subtle connexion with a planet in heaven (see Blau, p. 160 f.). Anything offered with incense to the gods, or shavings from the Asherah tree, were considered to have a special healing virtue. Metal plates consisting of an upper and lower plate were constantly employed as amulets. A pearl wrapped up in leather was regarded as a healing remedy for cattle.

In all spells, charms, incantations, amulets, and other prophylactics, stress is always laid on the mysterious potency and significance of the name. *Nomen* involves *omen*. Name to the ancient Semite involves reality and personal power. And the superstitious dread of the ancient Greek who cried *εὐφημεῖτε* at solemn crises or functions, and of the Roman who under like circumstances said *favete linguis*, was founded on this same belief in the underlying dread potency of words or names to summon forth catastrophes. To this tendency the etymologizing efforts and plays on words in the OT are probably due, viz. to the endeavour to discover in the name a clue to the underlying power that shapes individual destiny. 'As his name, so is he,' says Abigail of her wrong-headed husband Nabal. 'Fool is his name, and folly is with him' (1 S 25^{25}). The combination of the name of deity with a newborn child was therefore quite explicable. Even the names of angels in later Judaism, like those of individuals, contained the name of deity (אֵל), *e.g.* Michael, Raphael, etc. Heaven and earth are perishable, but 'Thy great name liveth and abideth for ever' (*Berakhôth* 32*a*). Hence those names (especially of angels) which contain the name of deity possess a special potency.

* On this subject of amulets consult Winer, *RWB*^{3} i. p. 56; Com. on Gn 35^4 and Is $3^{18ff.}$; Hamburger, *RE*, Supplem.-Band, ii. pp. 8–11.

Particular power was assigned to the mysterious *tetragrammaton*, which could be pronounced only on the Great Day of Atonement in the temple by the high priest. Hence it is called in the Talmud שֵׁם הַמְפֹרָשׁ (in Aramaic שְׁמָא מְפָרְשָׁא), the name pronounced (cf. Pael פָּרַשׁ) then, and then only. This name later Judaism believed to have been inscribed on the wonder-working staff of Moses. The *tĕhôm* no longer overflows when a potsherd engraved with the *tetragrammaton* is thrown into it. Ashmodai (cf. APOLLYON), the prince of demons, was bound by a chain and a seal ring, on which was inscribed the Divine name (*Gittîn* 68, bottom). By marking this name on the mouth of the idol calf of Jeroboam it was made to speak.

This mysterious and potent name was designated in Hebrew as הַשֵּׁם, by the Greeks *τὸ ὄνομα*, also called *ἄρρητον*—on magic papyri (see Wessely) *ὄνομα κρυπτὸν καὶ ἄρρητον*, or, as in the inscription of Hadrumetum (see art. MAGIC, and Deissmann, *Bible Studies*, 146 ff., 196 ff.), *τὸ ἅγιον ὄνομα ὃ οὐ λέγεται* (line 20), also *τὸ κρυπτὸν ὄνομα καὶ ἄρρητον ἐν ἀνθρώποις* (Dietrich, *Abraxas*, 195, line 7), or it is called *τὸ τετράγραμμον ὄνομα τὸ μυστικόν*. The Hebrew יְהוָה, יְהוֹ, יָהּ is reproduced in a variety of forms in Greek (see Deissmann, *ib.* p. 4). The manifold employment of the letters of the *tetragrammaton*, as well as of the seven vowels *α ε η ι ο υ ω*, played a considerable part in magic papyri; and it is impossible within the space at our disposal to enter into the maze of details on this subject, which may be found in Blau's treatise, pp. 141–146.

The belief in the power of words, especially those of Scripture, is exhibited by the custom of repeating a phrase, as, for example, the *Shema'*, or sometimes in inverting the order of letters, as in the Gnostic gem referred to by Schwab (*Vocabulaire de l'Angelologie*, p. 303), in which is inserted Ονκλιαλιξ, which is the expression כי לאל קנא inverted. The belief underlying these inversions is that the reversal of the order effects the retreat or overthrow of the demons and of the sorcery they employ. According to Rabbi 'Akiba, special potency belongs to the letters of the alphabet to which special meanings by acrostics were assigned. Thus אלף = אמת למד פיך.

Belief in the power of the **evil eye** was just as prevalent in Semitic lands as in those of classical antiquity. Especially were women with an ugly squint or strange look or contracted heavy eyebrows considered to possess powers of the evil eye (see art. MAGIC, vol. iii. p. 208^a).

Tradition ascribed the belief in the power of the evil eye to Babylonia. Rab lived in Babylonia, where the evil eye is often found (Jerus. *Shabbath* $14c^{48}$; cf. *Baba mezia* 107*b*, above). It is said of Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah, that after they were delivered from the fiery furnace they fell victims to the many eyes which were fixed on them. According to *Baba bathra* i. 18, Joshua commanded the sons of Joseph to conceal themselves in the wood in order that they might not be overpowered by the evil eye (Jos 17^{15}). Men of distinction were specially exposed to this evil. But the tradition prevailed that descendants of Joseph were exempt. Thus when the distinguished and handsome Rabbi Jochanan was asked whether he did not fear the evil eye, he replied, 'I am of the seed of Joseph, who are not injured by the evil eye' (*Berakhôth* 20*a*, below). It was recommended as a precaution, if one is about to enter a town and is afraid of the evil eye, to place the right thumb in the left hand and the left thumb in the right hand and say, 'I am N. son of N., and am descended from the seed of Joseph.' Another preservative was to look on the left side of the nose.

Horses were preserved from the power of the evil eye by hanging a fox's tail or a scarlet thread between the eyes. Children were more frequently provided with amulets than adults, and those they held in their hand (*Shabbath* 16*b*, 61*b*). Children have naturally a weaker power of resistance to evil influence or fascination than adults. Hence an inscribed card or leaf (πιττάκιον) or other kind of amulet was hung around the neck. A Jewish amulet would contain the letters of the name of Deity and various extracts from the Torah. It would also contain the name of the person to be protected.

Even articles of furniture or vessels were protected in this manner. Handles and pedestals were inscribed with the Divine name. Especially the bedstead was guarded in this way against enchantment. The blessing in Nu 6^{24-26} was intended to protect Israel against the evil eye. Indeed the Torah itself was designed by God as a defence against evil (*Wayyiḳra rabba*, c. 25, *ad init.*).

The magic of the evil eye is a topic avoided in the Mishna, and the attitude of orthodox Judaism towards the entire subject of sorcery was hostile, and in this respect coincided with the spirit and teaching of St. Paul, who regarded sorcery as belonging to the sphere of the ἐνέργεια τοῦ Σατανᾶ and φαρμακία as one of the products (ἔργα) of the flesh (Gal 5^{20}). This attitude of Judaism rested on the ancient precepts of the Torah, even the most primitive code (Ex 22^{18}, cf. Dt 18^{10}) containing prohibitions and death penalties directed against sorcerer and sorceress.

The causes of this ancient antagonism between religion and magic, which certainly existed, though far from universal, evidently lie in some fundamental distinction between the two, which we have already endeavoured to elucidate in the opening pages of the art. MAGIC. The subject has been ably discussed in Frazer's *Golden Bough* (i. p. 61 ff.), but not with complete success, since the writer refuses to admit what the researches of Tylor and others have made clear, viz. that ancient culture in all its manifold forms rests upon a primitive basis of *animism*, an interpretation of life whereby man surrounded himself with a cosmic society of personal agencies. Frazer considers that the few cases cited, 'in which the operation of spirits is assumed, and an attempt made to win their favour by prayer and sacrifice,' are exceptional. 'Wherever sympathetic magic occurs in its pure unadulterated form, it assumes that in nature one event follows another necessarily and invariably *without the intervention of any spiritual or personal agency*.' The final negative clause of this sentence, which we have italicized, lacks historic proof. The most ancient inscribed documents of human life, discovered in Babylonia and Egypt, point to the opposite conclusion, that in man's primitive condition magic was closely interwoven with a belief in gods and demons. That in some more recent examples of sympathetic magic the primitive elements of spiritual belief have disappeared, and nothing apparently * remains but the assumption that 'in nature one event follows another necessarily and invariably,' we may with certain limitations admit to be true. In some exponents of 'modern science' we observe a similar process of the attrition of a belief in or recognition of an ultimate Personal Cause which sustains 'nature's unchanging harmony.' But without the assumption of a primitive belief in personal agencies, how can we explain the constant employment of incantations and of formulæ, spoken or written, as well as the close relations which in ancient culture undoubtedly subsisted between magic and religion, the priest combining in his own person the normal functions of worship with those of soothsaying and magic? But our criticism does not in reality obscure the illuminating value of Frazer's statements, which we now cite.

'Its fundamental conception is identical with that of modern science. Underlying the whole system is a faith, implicit but real and firm, in the order and uniformity of nature. The magician does not doubt that the same causes will always produce the same effects, that the performance of the proper ceremony accompanied by the appropriate spell will inevitably be attended by the desired results, unless, indeed, his incantations should chance to be thwarted and spoiled by the more potent charms of another sorcerer. . . . The fatal flaw of magic lies not in its general assumption of a succession of events * . . . but in its total misconceptions of the nature of . . . that succession . . . In ancient Egypt the magicians claimed the power of compelling even the highest gods to do their bidding.'

Hence arose a radical conflict between magic and religion.

'The haughty self-sufficiency of the magician . . . and his unabashed claim to exercise sway could not but revolt the priest. Sometimes, we may suspect, lower motives concurred to whet the edge of the priest's hostility. He professed to be the proper medium, the true intercessor between God and man, and no doubt his interests as well as his feelings were often injured by a rival practitioner.' †

We may here briefly advert to the prevalence of magic and sorcery in ancient *Greece* and in ancient Greek settlements. Aristotle (*Probl.* xx. 34) refers to the superstition of the evil eye (βασκαίνω and βάσκανος, βασκανία through the ὀφθαλμὸς κακός). This particularly affected children and cattle (Verg. *Ecl.* iii. 103). Theocritus (*Idyll.* ii. throughout, and vi. 39) clearly proves how prevalent sorcery was in the beginning of the 3rd cent. B.C. A century earlier Plato (*Rep.* ii. 364 B) describes the wandering beggars and soothsayers who go about to rich men's doors persuading them that they have power from the gods to avenge any man on his enemies, and can induce the gods to do their bidding by certain enchantments and magic knots (ἐπαγωγαῖς καὶ καταδέσμοις). Herodotus (in the 5th cent.), ii. 181, tells the story of Amasis, king of Egypt, who believed he had been spell-bound by his wife Ladica. The Greeks believed in and practised the magic κατάδεσμοι (καταδέσεις) or knots as much as the Hebrews their חֶבֶר (cf. Euripid. *Medea*, 1136–1230).

These κατάδεσμοι (Lat. *diræ*) were inscribed on their leaden tablets or on strips of papyrus or talc (Tacitus, *Annals*, ii. 69). The first actually known were discovered at Athens in 1811 by M. Fauvel, and two years later, in the public cemetery of the Piræus, by Mr. Dodwell. Recently they were found among the tombs in Cyprus (of the 1st cent. A.D.). The character of the inscription or incantation which is scratched, is mainly as follows: 'I bind with this spell (καταδῶ) So-and-so, his shop and all his property.' In the formula employed on one of the two Athenian leaden tablets the writer binds over his enemies by name to Hermes Cthonius, Γῆ κάτοχος, and Persephone. In the other we read: 'I bind over such-and-such persons to thee, Onesime.' Onesime may perhaps have been the occupant of the tomb where the tablet was discovered.

In addition to this method of writing the name of the enemy on a tablet and marking it with magical signs or characters, we have another,

* We say 'apparently,' because missionaries from Central Africa, where magic abounds (we refer particularly to the Rev. Harry Johnson), have informed the present writer that natives are very reticent with regard to their beliefs as to what underlies their practice. Moreover, belief in spirits they certainly possess.

* We prefer to omit here all reference to 'law.' The belief of ancient magic in the uniformity of nature can only have been of a very partial and rudimentary kind, viz. in the limited sphere of magical practice.

† Another contributing cause to the hostility of religion and of the priesthood towards magic was morally justifiable. Magic and the popular faith in it armed the sorcerer with awful powers over his fellow-men, which he often used for unscrupulous ends. Thus in early Rome we find a law in the Twelve Tables which forbids charming away a neighbour's crops by incantations (*excantare*).

which at once reminds us of Babylonia (cf. MAGIC). A waxen image of the obnoxious person was made and caused to melt away in order that that person might melt away likewise (sympathetic magic). Cf. Verg. *Ecl.* viii. 80; Horace, *Sat.* I. viii. 32; Theoc. *Idyll.* ii.

There is good reason to suppose that these magic practices were introduced from Babylonia into Greece through Persia. Æschylus and Sophocles show no trace of them, but Euripides alludes to the *γόης* and *ἐπῳδός*. In Antiphon (end of 5th cent.) we read of a love-potion or *φίλτρον*, while Plato speaks of magicians (*Symp.* 203 D) and of the Thessalian women who are said to draw down the moon (*Gorg.* 513 A).

Necromancy, or the special mode of obtaining aid or knowledge by the conjuration of the dead, was a form of divination and magic which may be appropriately treated under the head of sorcery, since the sorcerer or sorceress would likewise become the medium of communication with the departed spirit. Necromancy is a practice which is linked to the belief in the continued existence of spirits in the dark underworld or Sheôl. Hence among the ancient Greeks *νεκυία*, or the summoning of the dead for interrogation about the future, became locally associated with caves and volcanic regions, where communication, it was supposed, would be easily established with the lower regions. Such a spot, called *νεκυομαντεῖον* or *ψυχομπεῖον*, was the lake Aornos in Thesprotian Epirus (Herod. v. 92), Lake Avernus in Campania, and Tænarus in Laconia. There is, however, no clear proof that conjuration of the dead in Canaan was associated with any special spot. It seems rather to have been associated with the personality of the conjurer than with special places. Nevertheless we might expect that caves or dark spots, and more especially sepulchres, would be selected by the Canaanite necromancers for the practice of their rites.

The Heb. name for the spirit to whom the summons was given was אוֹב, a word which is probably no other than that which is used in Job 32^{19} for a skin-bag for holding water. The term would be applied to the spirit on account of the mysterious hollow sound which he was supposed to make, as though speaking from some hollow cavity.* This אוֹב or spirit was considered to reside in the necromancer, who was for the time identified with it. The term properly used to describe the necromancer was בַּעַל אוֹב, or for the female sorceress בַּעֲלַת אוֹב. We might compare the בַּעֲלַת כַּשְׁפִּים of Nah 3^4. בַּעֲלַת אוֹב is the term applied to the witch of Endor (1 S 28^7), who summons Samuel from his grave at the request of Saul (vv.$^{12-14}$) and plays the part of clairvoyante as well.

Another obscure term frequently combined with אוֹב is יִדְּעֹנִי, and it is exceedingly difficult to say whether any actual distinction of meaning properly belonged to the use of either. The etymology of the latter word, corresponding to our English word **wizard,** suggests the divining function of the spirit inhabiting the necromancer, whereas אוֹב was rather a term which indicated the ventriloquizing and hollow tones of his utterance. The LXX usually render אוֹב or בַּעַל א' by *ἐγγαστρίμυθος*, once (Is 19^3) by *ἐκ γῆς φωνῶν*; whereas יִדְּעֹנִי, which they hardly understood, is variously rendered by *τερατοσκόπος*, *ἐπαοιδός*, and *γνωστής* (*γνωριστής*), and apparently in one instance (Is 19^3) by *ἐγγαστρίμυθος*. In Dt 18^{11} there is a curiously amplified phraseology which ought not to be pressed, viz. 'interrogator (שֹׁאֵל) of the אוֹב,' יִדְּעֹנִי, and the 'inquirer of the dead' (דֹּרֵשׁ אֶל־הַמֵּתִים). In this as in the preceding verse (v.^{10}) we have a fairly exhaustive phraseology, but each term employed does not cover an altogether distinct conception, but is more or less a synonym.

During the closing decades of the 8th cent., amid the dangers, apprehensions, and calamities occasioned by the Assyrian invasions, the people resorted in large numbers to these occult modes of inquiry. To this Isaiah refers in scathing terms of rebuke ($8^{19ff.}$). Instead of turning their faces heavenwards to Jehovah and to the words of the Torah committed to faithful prophets, many were saying in these degenerate days, 'Consult the conjurers of the dead and the necromancers, who chirp and whisper, Shall not a people inquire of their *manes*,* on behalf of the living, of the dead?'† To this pitiful and degrading appeal to popular superstition the prophet replies in tones of thunder: 'To the instruction and testimony!' The wide prevalence of necromantic practice is illustrated by a vivid simile employed by the same prophet. In a beautiful and graphic oracle (ch. 29) Jerusalem is threatened with all the horrors soon to impend over the city in the siege of Sennacherib: 'And thou shalt lie prostrate, speaking from the earth, and from the dust shall thy speech sound low, and thy voice shall be like a ghost (אוֹב) from the earth, and from the dust shall thy speech twitter' (v.^{4}).

Thus the higher prophetic teaching was as hostile in its attitude towards necromancy as it was towards magic and soothsaying; and this tone of reprobation is echoed in the stern penalties of death denounced against it in the legislation, Dt 18^{11} (cf. 1 S 28^9), Lv 19^{31} $20^{6.\ 7}$. The attitude of the teachers in the Talmud is not so uncompromising. Though they regarded it as the work of the devil, they believed in the validity of the art of necromancy (*Berakhôth* 59*a*^{12}, *Shabb.* 152*b*). The dead can only be conjured in the first year after burial. It is said of Rab that he even himself inquired of the dead (*Baba meẓia* 107*b*).

LITERATURE.—This has been indicated throughout this article. On Jewish magic Blau's work is the main authority. On Greek magic consult Warre-Cornish's *Concise Dict. of Greek and Roman Antiq.*, 'Superstitio'; and Miss Macdonald in *PSBA*, vol. xiii. (Feb. 3, 1891), art. 'Inscriptions relating to Sorcery in Cyprus.' In this instructive art. there are useful citations from Wessely's *Griechische Zauberpapyri*. A good illustration is given of a recipe for a *κατάδεσμος* taken from his edition of Papyrus Anastasi in the British Museum. On the subject of magic in general Frazer's *Golden Bough*^{2} should be consulted, and A. Lang in *Fortnightly Rev.* Feb. and April 1901. The literature has been indicated already in art. MAGIC, by reference to the exhaustive list in Schürer, *GJV*^{3} iii. pp. 300–304.

OWEN C. WHITEHOUSE.

SORE.—This word is used freely in AV as adj., subst., or adverb.

The Anglo-Saxon adj. *sâr*, meaning 'painful,' develops a subst. *sâr*, meaning 'a sore,' as that which caused the pain; from this subst. another adj. was formed, *sârig*, in the sense of 'sad.' *Sâr* became in later Eng. 'sore,' as *bân* became 'bone,' *hâm* 'home,' etc. *Sârig* became 'sorry,' the double *r* being a mistake, due to a fancied connexion with the subst. 'sorrow.' Between 'sorry' and 'sorrow' (Anglo-Sax. *sorg*) there is no etymological connexion.

Thus the adj. comes first, and its primary meaning is *painful*, which is the only sense it now retains. Job 5^{18} 'For he maketh sore, and bindeth up' (יַכְאִיב, LXX *ἀλγεῖν ποιεῖ*). But this literal meaning is rare, the word having early adopted

* This derivation is, however, disputed by Nowack and others. Hitzig, in his Commentary (on Is 8^{19}), connects it with the Arabic آب (*i.e.* أأب, *reversus fuit*), and thus regards it as meaning 'returning one.' Cf. Baudissin, *Stud. zur semit. Religionsgesch.* i. p. 143 footnote. On the whole, we agree with Dillm. on Lv 19^{31} that the connexion with אוֹב, 'bag,' is the most probable. The interpretation of the word as connected with אָיַב, and as signifying 'enemy (of God),' is the least probable.

* Comp. the similar use of אֱלֹהִים in 1 S 28^{13}.

† These verses (*i.e.* $19.\ 20$) are without adequate reason declared by Duhm and Cheyne to be non-Isaianic.

the fig. sense of *severe, grievous*. The transition may be illustrated from Shaks. *Tempest*, v. i. 288—

> 'Steph.—O touch me not; I am not Stephano, but a cramp.
> Pros.—You'd be king o' the isle, sirrah?
> Steph.—I should have been a sore one, then'—

where there is a play on the word.

Is 27[1] 'In that day the Lord with his sore and great and strong sword shall punish leviathan' (בַּחַרְבּוֹ הַקָּשָׁה, LXX *τὴν μάχαιραν τὴν ἁγίαν*); Ezk 14[21] 'when I send my four sore judgments upon Jerusalem' (הָרָעִים, LXX *τὰς πονηράς*); Wis 10[12] 'In a sore conflict she gave him the victory' (*ἀγῶνα ἰσχυρόν*); He 10[29] 'Of how much sorer punishment, suppose ye, shall he be thought worthy?' (*πόσῳ χείρονος*). Even when the reference is to suffering or disease, 'sore' almost always means *severe* rather than literally *painful*, as Dt 28[35] 'With a sore botch' (בְּשְׁחִין רָע). Cf. Udall, *Erasmus*, i. 20, 'Making the law more heavy and sore'; Taverner's *Bible*, 3 Mac 3 heading 'The kyng maketh a sore decree'; Lk 15[14] Rhem. 'And after he had spent al, there fel a sore famine in that countrie' (*λιμὸς ἰσχυρός*). In the passage just quoted Tindale and others have merely 'great' (AV and RV 'mighty'), and it is probable that the word 'sore' itself often means no more than that. Cf. Is 24[19] Cov. 'The earth shal geve a greate crack, it shal have a sore ruyne, and take an horrible fall.' But this is most frequently seen in the adverb.

The adv. 'sore' ('sorely' occurs twice) never means in AV lit. 'painfully,' often, however, *severely, grievously*,* as 1 S 1[6] 'And her adversary also provoked her sore' (וְכָעֲסָתָהּ צָרָתָהּ גַּם־כַּעַס); Mt 17[15] 'He is lunatick, and sore vexed' (*κακῶς πάσχει*, RV 'sufferetn grievously'). But the usual meaning is *greatly, exceedingly* (Germ. *sehr*), as Is 38[3] = 2 K 20[3] 'Hezekiah wept sore' (וַיִּבְךְּ חִזְקִיָּהוּ בְּכִי גָּדוֹל, LXX *ἔκλαυσεν Ἐζεκίας κλαυθμῷ μεγάλῳ*). The adv. מְאֹד in Heb. is often tr[d] 'sore,' and *σφόδρα* occasionally (1 Mac 2[14] 6[8] 9[68] 16[22], Mt 17[6]) in Greek. Cf. Chaucer, *Prologue*, 148—

> 'Of smale houndes had she, that she fedde
> With roested flesh, or milk and wastel-breed.
> But sore weep she if oon of hem were deed,
> Or if men smoot it with a yerde smerte.'

The phrase 'lie sore on' occurs in Jg 14[17]. See LIE in vol. ii. p. 113.

The subst. occurs rarely: Lv 13[42. 43], Ps 38[11] (נֶגַע a plague-spot); Ps 77[2] 'My sore ran in the night' (יָדִי נִגְּרָה, RV 'my hand was stretched out'); Is 1[6] 'wounds and bruises and putrifying sores' (מַכָּה טְרִיָּה RV 'festering sores,' RVm 'fresh stripes'); Lk 16[20] 'full of sores' (*εἱλκωμένος*); 16[21], Rev 16[2. 11] (*ἕλκος*). J. HASTINGS.

SOREK, THE VALLEY OF (נַחַל שׂוֹרֵק; B Ἀλσωρήχ,† A Χειμάρρους Σωρήχ; *vallis Sorec*).—The valley or *wâdy* (Heb. *naḥal*) in which Delilah lived (Jg 16[4]). Eusebius and Jerome (*Onom.*) connect the valley with *Capharsorec*, a village to the north of Eleutheropolis and near Saraa (Σαάρ), that is, Zorah (*Sur'ah*), the home of Samson's father. Capharsorec is now *Khurbet Surîk*, to the north of *Wâdy Surâr*, which is identified with 'the valley of Sorek,' and not far from *Sur'ah*.

The *Wâdy Surâr* is one of the great features of Southern Palestine. It rises to the N. of Jerus., near *Bîreh* (Beeroth), and, running between *Neby Samwîl* and Jerus., passes *Kulônieh* and *'Ain Kârim*. It now becomes deep and narrow, and below *'Akûr* is joined by *Wâdy es-Sikkeh*, which rises in the valley of Rephaim, close to Jerusalem, and passes *Bittir*. North of *Khurbet 'Erma* (one of the sites proposed for Kiriath-jearim) it becomes a narrow gorge with precipices on its northern side, and, a little lower, it emerges from the hill-country of Judah and enters the Shephēlah, or lowland. Here, in a fertile well-watered basin, it is joined by *Wâdy Ghurab*, which, after passing *Kuryet el-'Ênab* (another proposed site for Kiriath-jearim), runs in from the N.W., and by *Wâdy en-Najîl*, which comes from the south. On the northern slopes of the basin are Zorah and Eshtaol, and between them 'the camp of Dan' (Mahaneh-dan), the early home and burial-place of Samson (Jg 13[25] 16[31]). On the southern slope is Beth-shemesh (*'Ain Shems*), prettily situated above the rich cornfields, and commanding a fine view down the broad fertile valley which runs past the vineyards of Timnath, Makkedah, and Jabneel to the sea.

The 'valley of Sorek' offers an easy and natural line of approach to Jerus. and the highlands of Judah. The Philistines followed it in the days of the Judges and of David; up it the kine, lowing as they went, dragged the cart with the ark to Beth-shemesh; and, at the present day, it is followed by the railway from Jaffa to Jerusalem. In or near the basin, according to several authorities, were fought the battles in which the ark was taken by the Philistines, and in which the Philistines were defeated by Samuel (1 S 7).

In Hebrew the word *sōrēḳ* means a particular kind of vine, which produced a purple grape, and 'the valley of Sorek' may have derived its name from the growth of this vine in the vineyards that covered its slopes (*PEF Mem.* iii. 53; G. A. Smith, *HGHL* 218 ff.; Conder, *Tent-Work*, i. 172).

C. W. WILSON.

SOSIPATER (Σωσίπατρος, *Sosipater*).—In Ro 16[21] called a kinsman of St. Paul, *i.e.* a Jew, and joined with him in greetings at the close of the Epistle. The name is the same as SOPATER (Ac 20[4]), and the two may be identical, as Jason, another of those mentioned in Ro 16[21], may be identical with the JASON of Thessalonica (Ac 17[5]); two Macedonian Christians might naturally be with St. Paul at Corinth. The name Sosipater occurs in the well-known inscription of Thessalonica (*CIG* ii. 1967) giving a list of Politarchs, as also does that of SECUNDUS (Ac 20[4]). For later traditions see *Acta Sanctorum*, June vol. v., June 25, p. 4.

A. C. HEADLAM.

SOSTHENES (Σωσθένης). — A name occurring twice in the NT, but under circumstances which leave it doubtful whether it denotes one or two persons. **1.** In Ac 18[17], when the Jews at Corinth rose against St. Paul and brought him to the tribunal of Gallio, the proconsul of Achaia, and the latter, refusing to be a judge in questions of their law, dismissed them from his bar, we learn that 'they all,' *i.e.* the bystanders or assembled crowd, 'laid hold on Sosthenes, the ruler of the synagogue, and beat him before the judgment-seat,' without interference on the part of Gallio, who, in his indifference to Jewish disputes, gave himself no concern. In the best critical texts the word 'all' (*πάντες*) stands without any defining noun, which has accordingly been supplied by the insertion, in some MSS, of an explanatory gloss, either *οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι*, as though the assailants were the Jews, visiting the failure of their complaint on the head of their own leader, or oftener and more feasibly *οἱ Ἕλληνες*, the (predominantly) Greek onlookers. Sosthenes, described as 'ruler of the synagogue' (which see), was doubtless the chief representative and mouthpiece of the complainants. He was probably the successor in office of Crispus, who had become a convert to Christianity (Ac 18[8]). The theory of Chrysostom, which identifies him with Crispus, and ascribes his maltreatment to his being a Christian, is wholly arbitrary; and hardly less so are the conjectures that he had been a

* In the Scotch Liturgy 'sore' is changed into 'grievously' in the 'Communion'—'whereas you offend God so sore in refusing this holy banquet.'

† The Ἀλ- probably represents the last part of Νάχαλ.

colleague in 'rule' with Crispus (see 'rulers' in the plural, Ac 13[15]), or had presided over another synagogue.

2. In 1 Co 1[1] Sosthenes stands alongside of St. Paul in the inscription of the Epistle. He is simply designated as 'the brother,' which would seem to imply that his person and Christian standing were well known to the readers of the letter. He has been often identified with the synagogal ruler of Ac 18, who is assumed to have become a convert in the interval; but such an assumption is arbitrary, when the name was, confessedly, a common one; and St. Paul's associate was now at Ephesus, not at Corinth. Many have assumed him to be the apostle's amanuensis in the Epistle, to which he appends an autograph salutation (16[21]); but he must have been something more than a *mere* amanuensis to be thus honourably co-ordinated in the superscription. Later tradition represented him as having been one of the seventy disciples, and as having become subsequently bishop of Colophon. WILLIAM P. DICKSON.

SOSTRATUS (A Σώστρατος, V Σόστρατος).—The governor of the citadel (ὁ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως ἔπαρχος) at Jerusalem, who in vain demanded, on behalf of Antiochus Epiphanes, the money which Menelaus had promised to pay on being raised to the high priesthood in place of Jason, 2 Mac 4[27 (28). 29].

SOTAI (סוֹטַי and סֹטַי).—The eponym of a family of 'Solomon's servants,' who returned with Zerubbabel, Ezr 2[55] (B Σατεί, A and Luc. Σωταί) = Neh 7[57] (BA Σουτεί, Luc. Σωταί).

SOUL is throughout a great part of the Bible simply the equivalent of 'life' embodied in living creatures. In the earlier usage of the OT it has no reference to the later philosophical meaning—the animating principle, still less to the idea of an 'immaterial nature' which will survive the body. 'A living soul' in Genesis and other records is simply an 'animated being,' and the word is applied equally to the lower animals and to man. When the life is emphasized as human, it signifies life in the individual. This meaning it takes especially when נֶפֶשׁ, ψυχή, is put in contrast with רוּחַ, πνεῦμα, 'spirit,' which then comes to signify *the principle of life*. In this way 'soul' acquires more precisely the idea of the individual life in man, the Self, the Ego, although it may denote other aspects of man than the intellectual, and, in fact, is sometimes equivalent to 'heart' as well as to 'mind' (see analysis below). In the NT the emphasis on the personality becomes most marked in such sayings of our Lord as Mt 16[25. 26], Mk 8[35].

The following is an analysis (abridged from *Oxf. Heb. Lex.*) of the usage of the Heb. terms for 'soul':—

1. נֶפֶשׁ *nephesh*, lit. 'that which breathes,' 'the breathing substance or being' = ψυχή, *anima* (opp. *bāsār*, 'flesh' [Dt 12[23], Is 10[18]], or *beṭen*, 'body' [Ps 31[10]]); its source of life is the *nishmath ḥayyîm* breathed into the nostrils of its *bāsār* by God (Gn 27), in virtue of which man (*ib.*) becomes a *nephesh ḥayyah* [this expression elsewhere always of animals, Gn 1[20. 24. 30] 9[12. 15. 16] (all P), Ezk 47[9]; cf. *nephesh ḥahayyah* in Gn 1[21] 9[10] (both P), Lv 11[10. 46] (H)]. The life of the *nephesh* resides in the blood (Gn 9[4. 5], Dt 12[23. 24], Lv 17[10. 11. 12. 14]). *Nephesh* is used for *life itself*, 171 t., either (*a*) of animals Pr 12[10], or (*b*) of man Gn 44[30], Ex 21[23], Lv 24[17] *et al.*: hence הִכָּה נֶפֶשׁ = 'smite mortally' Gn 37[21], Dt 19[6. 11], Jer 40[14. 15] †; לָקַח נ׳ 'take away life' 1 K 19[4], Jon 4[3], Ps 31[14], Pr 1[19] †; הִצִּיל נֶפֶשׁ מָוֶת 'deliver life from death' Jos 2[13], Ps 33[19] 56[14] †; מָלַט נ׳ 1 S 19[11], 2 S 19[6] *quater*, 1 K 1[12] *bis*, Jer 48[6] 51[6. 45], Ezk 33[5], Am 2[14. 15], Ps 89[49] 116[4] †; פָּדָה נ׳ 'redeem life' 2 S 4[9], 1 K 1[29], Ps 34[23] 49[16] 55[19] 71[23] †; שָׁמַר נ׳ 'keep life' Ps 25[20] 97[10], Job 2[6], Pr 13[3] 16[17] 19[16] 22[5] †. *Nephesh*, as the essential of man, stands for *the man himself*, and may thus paraphrase the personal pronouns, esp. in poetry and ornate discourse: *e.g.* נַפְשִׁי = 'me' (Gn 49[6], Nu 23[10], Jg 16[30], La 3[24]), נַפְשְׁךָ = 'thee' (Is 43[4] 51[23]), etc.; or it may represent the reflexive 'self': *e.g.* 'myself' (Job 9[21]), 'thyself' (Dt 4[9]), 'himself' (1 S 18[1. 3] 20[17]); or it stands for 'person,' 'individual' (cf. Eng. 'souls,' esp. in enumerations or collective expressions), Lv 24[17], Nu 31[35], Dt 10[21] 24[7]; and is used even of *deceased* persons, with (Nu 6[6], Lv 21[11]), or (more usually) without (Nu 5[2] 6[11] 9[6. 7] 19[11. 13], Lv 19[28] 21[1] 22[4], Hag 2[13]), מֵת. *Nephesh* is largely used for the *seat of the appetites*: *e.g.* נ׳ רְעֵבָה '*hungry* soul' Ps 107[9], Pr 27[7]; in Is 5[14] it is said that 'Sheol enlarged *her appetite*' (הִרְחִיב נַפְשָׁהּ); similarly it is the *seat of emotions and passions*: *e.g.* נ׳ אִוְּתָה 'soul desires' (Dt 12[20] 14[26], 1 S 2[16], 2 S 3[21], 1 K 11[37], Job 23[13], Pr 13[4] 21[10], Mic 7[1]); נ׳ נֶעֱלָה 'soul abhorreth' (Lv 26[11. 15. 30. 43], Jer 14[19]); מָרֵי נ׳ 'bitter of soul' (Jg 18[25], 2 S 17[8], Job 3[20], Pr 31[6]). When used with *lēbhābh*, 'heart' (in D), *nephesh* is assimilated in meaning to it, so as to include intellect and will as well as feeling (*e.g.* Dt 4[29] 26[16], 1 K 8[48], 2 K 23[25]). See HEART.

2. נְדִיבָה, tr. in AV of Job 30[15] 'soul,' means 'nobility' (RVm), *i.e.* 'honour' (RV). **3.** נְשָׁמָה, lit. 'breath,' is once in EV (Is 57[16]) tr. 'soul.' It is used in the same absolute way in Jos 10[40] and Ps 150[6] (both כָּל־הַנְּשָׁמָה 'every breathing being').

The LXX and NT ψυχή follows very closely the above usages of *nephesh* (see Cremer or Grimm, *s.v.*).

The development of a double expression for man's inner life (ψυχή, πνεῦμα) gives throughout the whole Bible a usage which is often not much more than a vague parallelism, as, *e.g.*, in Is 26[9], Lk 1[46. 47], Ph 1[27] (RV). It undoubtedly, however, contains a hint everywhere of the antithesis between the life-principle and the individual life. Where the two are set side by side, as in He 4[12], the actual relation subsisting between the 'soul' and its life-principle ('spirit') is brought into view. While in the older language of the Gospels σῶμα and ψυχή appear as the two constituent parts of human nature (Mt 10[28]), there is in the Pauline usage a threefoldness: τὸ πνεῦμα the Divine life-principle, ἡ ψυχή the individual life in which the πνεῦμα is manifested, τὸ σῶμα the material organism vivified by the ψυχή (1 Th 5[23]).

Where the most distinct antithesis occurs is in the use of the adjective *psychic* or *soulish* (ψυχικός). In the only places in which ψυχικός occurs in OT Greek (2 Mac 4[37] 14[24]) it means 'hearty.' [In 4 Mac 1[32] something more purely psychological is meant, but this is hardly biblical Greek]. In the NT another interest comes in. In the six instances where ψυχικός occurs (not wholly Pauline), an altogether new antithesis is introduced. What is natural or human in the ψυχή is contrasted with what is Divine and divinely given in the πνεῦμα θεοῦ. So that ψυχικός has acquired a meaning almost equivalent to 'carnal' or 'sensual,' by which latter word it is twice rendered in AV. But since the πνεῦμα and πνευματικός, with which it is contrasted, is the Divine spirit in regeneration, it seems fair to render ψυχικός 'natural' as AV does in four of these places, and RVm in the other two (see 1 Co 2[14] 15[44 *bis*. 46], Ja 3[15], Jude [19]). Thus Christianity has enriched this word ψυχικός, adding to its psychological sense an ethical or even a theological significance.

Additional NT instances of the use of ψυχή in composition are ἄψυχα 'soulless,' or 'lifeless,' 1 Co 14[7]; σύμψυχοι 'of one accord,' Ph 2[2]; ἰσόψυχον 'like-minded,' Ph 2[20]; δίψυχος 'double-minded,' Ja 1[8] 4[8]. See also art. PSYCHOLOGY.

J. LAIDLAW.

SOUTH.—See NEGEB.

SOW.—See SWINE.

SOWER, SOWING.—See AGRICULTURE.

SPAIN (Σπανία).—The S.W. peninsula of Europe was known to the Greeks as Ἑσπερία or Ἰβηρία, the latter name being derived from the river Ἴβηρ (the modern Ebro). The Roman name was *Hispania*. The information of the Greeks about the country was somewhat vague. Gibraltar was one of the Pillars of Hercules, and Herodotus (iv. 8) speaks

of Gades (Γάδειρα) as lying beyond these. Spain had been colonized in very early times by the Phœnicians. Strabo (I. iii. 2) refers to settlements beyond the Pillars of Hercules soon after the Trojan war. The country first comes into the clear light of history in connexion with its conquest by the Carthaginians, a Phœnician people, between B.C. 237 and 218. In the second Punic war (B.C. 218–205) the Romans conquered that portion of Spain which had been subdued by Carthage, and divided it into *Hispania citerior* and *Hispania ulterior*, the Ebro being the boundary between the two. The northern and western parts of the peninsula remained unsubdued, and the conquest of them proceeded only gradually. It was greatly advanced by the operations of Pompey and Cæsar, and was finally completed under Augustus, who divided the country into three provinces, *Bætica* in the south, *Tarraconensis* in the north, and *Lusitania* (the modern Portugal) in the west. The first-named province was senatorial, and the other two were imperial.

The mineral wealth of Spain is greater and more varied than that of any other country in Europe. Copper, lead, and quicksilver are abundant, and silver and gold are also found. It was the mines of Spain which gave the country its chief value for its ancient colonists and conquerors.

The river *Bætis* (Guadalquivir), and also the surrounding country, had the name Ταρτησσός, which was derived from that of the inhabitants (*Turti*) (Herod. iv. 152; Strabo, III. ii. 11 ff.). With this locality the תַּרְשִׁישׁ of the Hebrews is generally identified (but see TARSHISH).

The other Scripture references to Spain are few, and in all of them Σπανία, a form of the Roman name, takes the place of the older Greek ones. 1 Mac 8^3 refers to the Roman conquest, and to the acquisition of the gold and silver mines. On his third Missionary Journey the Apostle Paul formed the purpose of extending his evangelistic labours into the lands west of Greece. In writing to the Corinthians from Macedonia he indicated his intention of preaching the gospel in 'the parts beyond' them (2 Co 10^{16}); and in writing a little later from Corinth to Rome he explained his purpose as specially including Italy and Spain (Ro $15^{24.\ 28}$). Whether he ever carried out this intention as regards Spain is a matter of much dispute, and the question is important only from its connexion with that of the authenticity of the Pastoral Epistles. St. Paul certainly did not visit Spain before his first Roman imprisonment. On the hypothesis of his liberation and second imprisonment he may have done so at a later time. The Pastoral Epistles themselves only refer to his journeyings in the eastern part of the Mediterranean; but if the fact of his liberation be admitted, credence may be given to the statement of Clement of Rome (1st Ep. i. 4), that the apostle, before his martyrdom, preached the gospel 'to the extremity of the west' (ἐπὶ τὸ τέρμα τῆς δύσεως). Clement's expression naturally suggests Spain, and the Muratorian Canon shows that the apostle's visit to Spain was an accepted tradition of the Church before the end of the 2nd cent. It says that Luke in the narrative of the Acts omits 'profectionem Pauli ab urbe ad Spaniam proficiscentis' (see PAUL, vol. iii. p. 714[a]). See, further, Lightfoot, *Clement*, *l.c.*, and *Biblical Essays*, 423 ff., where the whole of the evidence is collected.

JAMES PATRICK.

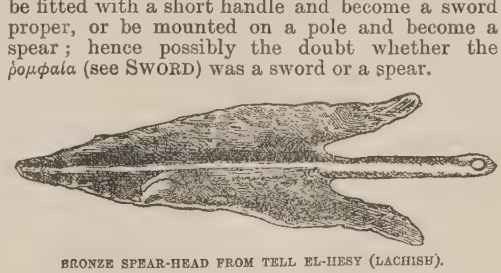
SPAN.—See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

SPARROW (צִפּוֹר *ṣippôr*).—There is only one passage where the context makes it reasonably certain that the house sparrow is intended by *ṣippôr* (Ps 84^4 [LXX στρουθίον], where AV and RV both tr. 'sparrow.' The '*ṣippôr* alone upon a housetop' (Ps 102^7 [LXX νυκτικόραξ]) may also be this bird. It is true that this is one of the most gregarious of birds, and that it is usually seen in large flocks, flitting from branch to branch, and from the ground to the roofs of houses and stables. But it happens sometimes that a single bird perches alone on a branch or on the roof. The fact of its generally sociable habits would make this the more phenomenal and illustrative of the loneliness of the psalmist. The attempt to identify it with the blue thrush *Petrocossyphus cyaneus*, Boie, is strained. If it does not refer to a solitary house sparrow, it is probably intended to indicate any small solitary bird. In addition to the above two passages, RV tr. *ṣippôr* 'sparrow,' in Pr 26^2 [LXX ὄρνεα], unhappily, for the sparrow never wanders. Elsewhere in the 40 or more passages where it occurs, both Eng. VSS render it by 'bird' or 'fowl.' In some of these passages it is doubtless generic for small birds, corresponding to the Arab. '*uṣfûr* (Job 41^5 [LXX ὄρνεον], Ps 11^1 [LXX στρουθίον], etc.). It is also used for such birds as are caught by fowlers (Pr 6^5 7^{23}, Am 3^5 [LXX in all three ὄρνεον]), which would exclude the house sparrow, as it is notoriously far too cunning to be so taken. The Arabs have a proverb, 'the *dûri* (house sparrow) cannot be taken with bird-lime,' applying it to persons who are too shrewd to be entrapped by guile. *Ṣippôr* is also used generically for *birds*, and even for *birds of prey* (Ezk 39^{17}, see FOWL). The meaning of the Heb. root to *twitter* or *chirp*, which caused its original application to the passerines, has been overlooked in this broader application. The considerable number of LXX renderings shows this. The NT στρουθίον (Mt 10^{29}, Lk $12^{6.\ 7}$) refers to the sparrow *Passer domesticus*, L., or two closely allied species, *P. Italica*, Vieill., the Italian sparrow, and *P. hispaniolensis*, Temm., the Spanish sparrow. The latter is found in great abundance in the Jordan Valley, where it breeds in *Zizyphus* bushes. The house sparrow is so familiar that any allusion to its habits would be superfluous.

G. E. POST.

SPARTA.—See LACEDÆMONIANS.

SPEAR.—The spear of antiquity was a near relation of the sword. The primitive knife might be fitted with a short handle and become a sword proper, or be mounted on a pole and become a spear; hence possibly the doubt whether the ῥομφαία (see SWORD) was a sword or a spear.



BRONZE SPEAR-HEAD FROM TELL EL-HESY (LACHISH).
(By kind permission of the *PEF*).

The spear-head was of flint or bronze (see the illustrations in Bliss, *Mound of many Cities*, pp. 36, 37) or of iron (1 S 17^7; Bliss, pp. 106, 107). Egyptian spears (perhaps only for hunting and fishing) have been found made of wood throughout.

Different kinds of spears were:—**1.** The **javelin** (כִּידוֹן *kîdôn*): RV of Jos $8^{18.\ 26}$ (AV 'spear'); 1 S 17^6 (AV 'target'); v.[45] (AV 'shield'); Jer 6^{23} (EV 'spear'); 50^{42} (AV 'lance'); Job 39^{23} (AV 'shield'); $41^{29\ [21]}$ (RV 'the rushing of the javelin'; AV 'the shaking of a spear'). This weapon was for *casting*. In the Heb. Sirach (46^2) *kîdôn* preserves the reference to Jos 8^{18}, which is lost in the Gr. ῥομφαία (EV 'sword').

2. The **lance** (רֹמַח *rōmaḥ*, cf. Arab. *rumḥ*), perhaps a lighter weapon than the spear proper. In 1 K 18^{28} *rōmaḥ* is tr^{d} in AV 'lancets' ('lancers' in the earlier editions). See, further, Driver's note on Jl 3^{10}.

3. The spear (proper)—once a tr. of קַיִן *ḳayin* (2 S 21^{16}, where H. P. Smith accepts the emendation קוֹבַע *ḳōbhaʿ* 'helmet'); generally, however, the rendering of חֲנִית *ḥănîth*. This (heavy) spear was used probably in close array, when an army was drawn up shield touching shield, and with spears at the charge to repel a threatened attack. From this array champions advanced to issue their challenges (1 S $17^{21.\ 23}$), and back to it upon occasion they retreated. In Ps $35^{2.\ 3}$ the Psalmist seems to think of himself as such a champion defeated and retiring. The *ḥănîth* was used by Saul (1 S 22^{6}) as a 'sceptre' (שֵׁבֶט *shēbhet*, the shepherd's staff).* The cutting up of the spear (Ps 46^{9}) is a sign of the end of war. The two parts of the spear were the 'staff' or butt (עֵץ *ʿēṣ* 'wood,' 1 S 17^{7} *Kĕrê*; 2 S 21^{19}; or חֵץ *ḥēṣ* 'arrow' or 'shaft,' 1 S 17^{7} *Kĕthîbh*) and the 'head' (לַהֶבֶת *lahebheth* or לַהַב *lahabh* 'flame,' Job 39^{23}).

In NT 'spear' represents λόγχη (Jn 19^{34} [the only occurrence], Vulg. *lancea*). In Jn 19^{29} F. Field (*Notes on the Translation of the NT*, pp. 106–108) points out that ὑσσώπῳ περιθέντες corresponds with the περιθεὶς καλάμῳ of Mt 27^{48}; accordingly, reviving an old conjecture, he suggests ὑσσῷ περιθέντες, 'putting [a sponge] upon a spear' (ὑσσός = *pilum*); certainly 'a sponge upon hyssop' is a difficult phrase to explain.

W. Emery Barnes.

SPEARMEN.—**1.** Incorrectly for חַנָּה *ḳāneh*, 'reeds,' in the phrase חַיַּת קָנֶה *ḥayyath ḳāneh*, 'the company of spearmen,' Ps 68^{30} [67^{31}] AV (similarly Pr. Bk.); RV 'the wild beast of the reeds' [LXX τοῖς θηρίοις τοῦ καλάμου], *i.e.* probably the crocodile or the hippopotamus (cf. Job 40^{21}) as the symbol of Egypt. **2.** For δεξιολάβους (Ac 23^{23} EV; Vulg. *lancearii*), Lachmann, following cod. A and the Peshiṭta (ܥܒܝ ܕܣܡܟܐ), reads here δεξιοβόλους, 'right-handed slingers.' E. Egli (*ZWTh* xxvii. pp. 20, 21) proposes to take the word in a passive sense (δεξιόλαβος, *sic* proparoxytone, 'rectâ captus'), 'left-handed slingers' (cf. Jg 20^{16}). See Blass, *in loc.*

W. Emery Barnes.

SPECKLED BIRD.—Jer 12^{9} (only). If the MT of this passage (הַעַיִט צָבוּעַ נַחֲלָתִי לִי הַעַיִט סָבִיב עָלֶיהָ) is correct, the tr. can hardly be other than 'Is mine heritage unto me (*i.e.* to my sorrow, a *dativus ethicus* [Cheyne, *ad loc.*]) (as) a speckled bird of prey? Are (the) birds of prey against her round about?' (so, substantially, RV). The people of Israel is compared to a bird *of prey*, just as, on account of its hostility to Jehovah, it is compared in v.^{8} to a lion. But as a speckled (צָבוּעַ, cf. Jg 5^{30}) bird attracts the hostile attention of other birds (Tac. *Ann.* vi. 28; Suet. *Cæsar*, 81; Pliny, *HN* x. 19), Israel becomes a prey to the heathen (so Cheyne, Reuss, *et al.*). Cornill (in *SBOT*) alters the text slightly, changing לִי into פִּי (originally proposed by Graf) and pointing the ה of the second הָעַיִט as the art. instead of the interrogative particle. This does not seriously affect the tr., which would now be 'Is my heritage a speckled bird of prey, that the birds of prey are against her round about?' It need scarcely be said that the rendering 'mine heritage is unto me *the ravenous hyæna*' (see art. Hyæna) cannot be obtained from the present text. It is a fair question, however, whether the MT is correct. The LXX has, B σπήλαιον ὑαίνης ('hyæna's den,' ? = מְעָרַת צָבוּעַ), A σπήλαιον λῃστῶν ('robber's den'). Siegfried-Stade suggest טְרֵפַת צָבוּעַ 'torn (prey) of the hyæna.'

J. A. Selbie.

* Cf. Pausanias, ix. 40. 11, where it is said that Agamemnon's ancestral σκῆπτρον was also called δόρυ.

SPELT.—See Rye.

SPICE, SPICES.—Three Heb. words are so translated in OT. **1.** סַמִּים *ṣammîm*. This is a generic word (perh. loan-word from Arabic) for odoriferous substances. It is used alone in Ex 30^{34} (LXX ἡδύσματα), and with קְטֹרֶת *ḳĕṭôreth* = 'incense' in Ex 30^{7} (σύνθετος) 40^{27}, Lv 4^{7} 16^{12}, Nu 4^{16} etc. (σύνθεσις = '*composition*'). In the first passage cited is a list of three of the substances included under this heading. Of these, two are known, *galbanum*, a gum resin, and *onycha*, the operculum of a *Strombus*: for the third see Stacte.

2. בֹּשֶׂם *bāsām* (Ca 5^{1} RVm 'balsam,' LXX ἀρώματα), בֹּשֶׂם *bōsem*, בֶּשֶׂם *besem*, pl. בְּשָׂמִים *bĕsāmîm*. A list of some of the aromatics included under this generic name is given in Ex 30^{23} (LXX ἡδύσματα): myrrh, cinnamon, calamus, and cassia, and with two of them, cinnamon and calamus, *besem* and *bōsem* are construed as adjectives, to denote sweetness. Such are spoken of as a sign of wealth (2 K 20^{13}, 2 Ch 32^{27}), and were given as tokens of royal favour (1 K 10^{2} etc.). They were objects of commerce (Ezk 27^{22}). Asa was laid in a bed of spices (2 Ch 16^{14} AV; RV 'sweet odours'). Some have supposed that the expression 'and they made a very great burning for him' indicates that Asa was cremated. As the previous part of the verse says, however, that they buried him in the sepulchre, and laid him in a bed of spices, the better explanation of the burning is that it was a bonfire in his honour. Such fires are favourite expressions of popular enthusiasm on feast days in Bible lands. Spices were stored in the temple (1 Ch 9^{29}), and used for the purifying of women (Est 2^{12}, Ca 4^{10} etc.). 'Mountains of spices' (Ca 8^{14}) may refer to the hillsides around Jerusalem, where were Solomon's Botanical Gardens, containing beds of spices (5^{13} 6^{2}). *Besem* and *bōsem* may have signified originally the same as their Arab. cognate *bashâm* = the Balsam of Mecca tree, *Balsamodendron Opobalsamum*, Kth., which is defined in the Arab. lexicons as 'a certain kind of odoriferous tree, of sweet taste, the leaves of which, pounded and mixed with henna, blacken the hair.' This confines it to a single tree or group of trees (see Balm). But the analysis of the use of *bōsem* and *besem* given above, with the fact that a special word *ṣŏri* is used for Mecca Balsam, makes it evident that these two words are not to be taken in any such restricted sense, but to be understood generally of aromatics, which would be a better translation than that of our Eng. VSS 'spices.'

3. נָכְאת *nĕkŏʾth*. This was a substance or substances carried by the Ishmaelite traders from Gilead to Egypt (Gn 37^{25}), and of which Jacob sent some as a present to Joseph (43^{11}). It is associated in both passages with balm and ladanum (see artt. on these words), and, in the latter, with honey, pistachio nuts, and almonds, which were products of Gilead proper. Some have supposed *nĕkŏʾth* to be the same as the Arab. *nakaʾath* or *nakaʾath*. This is defined as a plant similar to the *turthîth*. The latter is defined by Avicenna as—'Pieces of rotten wood, with an astringent taste . . . it is said that they are brought from the desert. Its medicinal properties are astringent' (ii. 183). The plant is defined in the dictionaries as 'a slender, oblong plant, inclining to redness, serving as a stomachic, included among medicines . . . a plant of the sands, similar to a fungus . . . having no leaves.' This corresponds, with considerable accuracy, to the characteristics of *Cynomorium coccineum*, L., a parasitic, leathery plant, of the order *Balanophoraceæ*, with a crimson, club-shaped spadix, 3–4 in. long, and ½ in. to 1 in. thick, borne on a cylindrical stalk. It grows in

sand on the coast, and in the salt marshes of the interior. We have been unable to find in the Arab. dictionaries sufficient authority for the tr. 'gum tragacanth' (RVm Gn 37[25]) for *naka'ath* and *naka'ath*. Moreover, the tragacanth bears no resemblance to the above description of the *turthîth*. It has also a special name *kethîrâ*, which is defined as 'a liquid exuding from a tree in the mountains of Beirût and Lebanon.' This is undoubtedly the *gum tragacanth*, which exudes from a number of the mountain species of *Astragalus* in Syria and other parts of the Orient as *A. gummifer*, Lab., *A. echinus*, DC, etc. The genus *Astragalus* is represented by over 120 species in Palestine and Syria. We are inclined to reject the idea of any connexion between *naka'ath*, *naka'ath*, and *nĕkô'th*. If by the former two were meant the *Cynomorium coccineum*, it would not have been an article of commerce important in the Egyptian trade. Could it be proved, which we believe impossible, that they meant *tragacanth*, the same remark would apply. The quantity exuded from all the Astragali of Lebanon and Hermon would not load a dozen camels. We have no reason to believe that it was ever more abundant. We incline, on the authority of the LXX in both the above passages (*θυμίαμα*), to render the word *nĕkô'th* 'perfumes' or 'aromatics,' which better expresses the Gr. than 'spices,' and corresponds to the grouping of articles enumerated. See, further, *Oxf. Heb. Lex. s.v.*, and Literature there cited.

As to נְכֹת *nĕkôth* (2 K 20[13]=Is 39[2]), the meaning is uncertain, although the context demands something like 'treasure.' Possibly the word is of Assyr. origin (see *Oxf. Heb. Lex. s.v.*): read then נִכְתֹּתֵיו.

Spices (*ἀρώματα*) are mentioned in NT in connexion with the burial of our Lord ('Mk' 16[1], Lk 23[56] 24[1], Jn 19[40]). In Rev 18[13] AV tr. *ἄμωμον* by 'odours,' RV 'spice,' m. 'Gr. *amomum*.'

G. E. Post.

SPIDER.—Two words are tr[d] 'spider' in AV. **1.** עַכָּבִישׁ *'akkābîsh* (Arab. *'ankabût*), *ἀράχνη*, *aranea*. In both the passages in which this word occurs (Job 8[14], Is 59[5. 6]) the allusion is to the gossamer web of the spider, as an emblem of frailty and speedy destruction, Bildad declaring that the hope of the wicked is as the spider's web (m. 'house'; cf. *beit 'ankabût* in Arab.), and Isaiah saying that the tenuous web cannot be wrought into a garment. The number of species of spiders in Palestine and Syria is very large.

2. שְׂמָמִית *sĕmāmîth* (Pr 30[28]). This word, from an obsolete root שָׂמַם *sāmam*, 'to poison,' refers to some noxious, reputedly poisonous creature, which is probably some species of lizard (so RV; see, further, Toy, *Proverbs, ad loc.*). The LXX *καλαβώτης* signifies a newt, gecko, or spotted lizard. The latter may be the *abu ḥureiṣ* of the Arabs. *Stellio* in the Vulg. signifies the newt or gecko. Several species of lizards frequent houses, as the gecko, wall lizard, green lizard, etc. See Chameleon, Gecko, Lizard.

G. E. Post.

SPIKENARD (נֵרְדְּ *nērd*, *νάρδος*, *nardus*).—A fragrant, essential oil, from *Nardostachys Jatamansi*, DC, a plant of the order *Valerianaceæ*, growing in India. The shaggy stems, branching from their base, resemble the tail of an ermine. The perfume is procured from this part of the plant. It is called by the Arabs *Sunbul Hindi*, the Indian Spike. It is mentioned 3 times in the OT (Ca 1[12] 4[13. 14] [pl. *nērādîm*]), and once in the NT (Mk 14[3] ‖ Jn 12[3]), where it is called *νάρδος πιστική*. The root meaning of *pistic* is fluid. AVm gives 'pure' or 'liquid nard,' and RVm 'genuine' or 'liquid nard,' or considers that pistic may be a 'local name.' As the perfume is an oil, the etymological signification is eminently appropriate, and should be retained. The Romans used it in this state for anointing the head. It was exceedingly valuable (Jn *l.c.*), that used to anoint Jesus' feet being worth about £12. Pliny gives 100 denarii as the value of a pound of it. That used for our Saviour must have been of a very superior grade. The tests of genuineness given by Pliny are lightness, red colour, sweet smell, taste which leaves a dry sensation but pleasant flavour in the mouth (*HN* xii. 26).

G. E. Post.

SPINNING.—The notices of spinning in the Bible are very meagre, being found only in Ex 35[25. 26] P (טָוָה 'spin,' and מַטְוֶה 'yarn') and Mt 6[28], Lk 12[27] (*νήθειν*); but the art is implied in many other passages, such as where the curtains and hangings of the tabernacle are mentioned; and the various garments, the materials for which must have been spun. The description of the virtuous woman in Pr 31[10-31] includes it as one of her chief accomplishments (vv.[13. 19]); and the Heb. women were certainly skilled in working the spindle, as is evident from the articles which, acc. to P, they prepared for the tabernacle (Ex 35[25f.]). They used a hand-spindle, such as was in use in Egypt, and such as the women of Syria and Palestine still employ. This consisted of a *whorl* or hemispherical disc of wood, amber, or other material, for steadying the motion of the pin which passed through the centre (Wilkinson, *Anc. Egyp.* i. 317, ed. 1878). The Egyp. spindle was over a foot long (*ib.* ii. 171, 172), and, though generally of wood, was also made of rushes and palm-leaves. The distaff was no doubt employed, but the word so tr[d] in Pr 31[19] means more properly the *whorl*, or the spindle itself. (See Distaff).

In Egypt men as well as women engaged in spinning, but among the Hebrews women only are mentioned in this connexion. The materials they used were wool and flax (Pr 31[13]), goats' hair (Ex 35[26]), and possibly cotton, which was known in Egypt (Wilkinson, ii. 159). Even silk may have been used (cf. Ezk 16[10. 13] and Pr 31[22]), as Kenrick (*Phœn.* p. 246) says that raw silk was brought to Berytus and Tyre by the Persian merchants, but it was too rare to have been much employed. Raw silk is spun quite extensively at present by the Syrian women, and they use the spindle to fill up leisure hours much as Western women do the knitting-needle.

H. Porter.

SPIRIT.—Besides its use for the Supreme Spirit,—the Spirit of God, the Spirit of the Lord, the Spirit of Jesus Christ, the Holy Spirit, the Spirit of truth, etc.,—this word is occasionally used for the extreme opposite, as *πνεῦμα δαιμονίου ἀκαθάρτου* (Lk 4[33]). Then there is its secondary use for an influence, or power, as 'spirit of error' (1 Jn 4[6]), 'spirit of the world' (Eph 2[2]), 'of bondage' and 'of sonship' (Ro 8[15]), etc., yet often with a reference to the spiritual personality controlling these influences. But the main use of it is psychological, where it is immensely indebted to the Bible and to Christianity. Indeed it may be said to be an expression created by Christianity.

Two Heb. terms are tr. in EV 'spirit.' **1.** רוּחַ, lit. 'wind' (so often in OT); used of the breath of life (*rûaḥ ḥayyîm*) which animates God's creatures, Gn 6[17] 7[15] (both P; cf. *nishmath ḥayyîm* in 2[7] [J]); the medium of consciousness, 1 S 30[12], Jg 15[19], Job 9[18]; the seat of emotions, 1 K 21[5], Is 66[2], Pr 15[13], Ezk 3[14], Jos 2[11] (courage; and so 5[1], Pr 18[14], Is 57[15]); and of intelligence and will, Ezk 20[32], Pr 16[32] 21[2] 24[12], Dt 2[30], Job 20[3]; of an inexplicable or uncontrollable impulse, Nu 5[14. 30], Is 19[14] 28[6] 29[10] 37[7], Hos 4[12] 5[4]. When used with reference to God, *rûaḥ* is used of the brooding (מְרַחֶפֶת) and creative activity of His spirit (Gn 1[2], Ps 104[30]), which imparts itself to men with the result of capacitating them for the performance of extraordinary deeds, Jg 6[34] (Gideon) 14[6. 19] (Samson), and is specially noted as fitting the

prophets for their work, Is 48^{16} 59^{21}, Hos 9⁷ (the prophet is 'the man of the spirit'), Ezk 37^{1} (and often). See, more fully, vol. ii. p. 402 ff.; and add Schultz, ii. 242 ff. (249 on distinction of רוח and נפש); Wendt, *Notiones carnis et spiritus quomodo in VT adhibeantur*; Briggs, 'The uses of רוח in OT' in *JBL*, 1901, p. 133 ff. (synopsis of passages arranged and translated).

2. נְשָׁמָה is twice in EV (Job 26^{4}, Pr 20^{27}) tr. 'spirit.' Its lit. meaning is 'breath.' See, also, under SOUL.

The LXX and NT πνεῦμα follows the usage of *rûaḥ*. In the two passages (Mt 14^{26}, Mk 6^{49}) where φάντασμα occurs, the AV tr. 'spirit' is replaced in RV by 'apparition.'

So far as it depends on physiological suggestion, in all the languages 'spirit' is the same,—the inhaling of the 'breath,' and so 'wind,' and more remotely 'life,' and so is closely allied to 'soul' (ψυχή), which depends upon a similar physiological derivation. In one respect the two words soul and spirit differ widely. πνεῦμα is far less than ψυχή connected with the life of man in the Greek classics. πνεῦμα is never used in classical psychology for one of the elements of man's inner life, whereas ψυχή is invariably so used. Indeed it is one of the chief distinctions of biblical from all other psychology to give πνεῦμα the supreme place as an element in the life of man. Only in the LXX and in the NT has πνεῦμα the sense of a spiritual being, or refers to man in his higher inward aspects. Thus it is a good example of the language-building and enriching power of the Bible religion. The suggestion depends mainly upon two biblical ideas, viz. the attribution of spirit in man to Divine gift or creation (Ec 12^{7}), and the parallel or analogy between 'spirit' in man, and the Divine Spirit (1 Co 2^{11}, Ro 8^{16}).

Sufficient attention has already been called to the frequent and intimate association of the two terms 'Soul' and 'Spirit' (see art. SOUL) occurring so often in the Bible as nearly parallel psychological expressions; yet each implying all through the characteristic distinction: 'soul,' the individual and personal life; 'spirit,' the principle of life.

There is another antithesis, more peculiarly Pauline, of the 'spirit' over against the 'flesh.' The more obvious antithesis of 'body' and 'spirit' (Ja 2^{26}) is upon purely natural ground. But the Pauline is a moral distinction, and belongs to specially Christian doctrine. It occurs chiefly in those passages where St. Paul is describing the conflict of the old nature, or the 'old man' as he calls it, with the new nature or the new man. Human nature, as it comes to any one through the σάρξ, manifests itself in the σάρξ, is determined by it, and called after it, comes to stand in contrast with 'spirit' (πνεῦμα), the Divine nature, or the divinely originated and sustained new nature. Thus σάρξ came at length, in distinct and presupposed antithesis to πνεῦμα, to signify the sinful condition of human nature, and in such a manner that this same σάρξ mediates or effectuates that sinful condition—the σάρξ ἁμαρτίας, 'the flesh determined by sin' (Ro 8^{3}). In this antithesis there is progress or intensification in the meaning of πνεῦμα as well as of σάρξ. The πνεῦμα in man, which is the element originally created by God, and which ought to rule or govern his whole nature, is used by St. Paul for the new nature divinely originated in the Christian, so that a direct antithesis is brought out between 'flesh' and 'spirit,' and everything πνευματικόν, spiritual, is a Divine product or creation, according to that new nature.

This use of πνευματικόν for everything determined or influenced by the Divine πνεῦμα extends beyond St. Paul's writings, and is quite general in the Epistles of the NT. There is the 'spiritual house' (οἶκος πνευματικός, 1 P 2^{5}) because 'built up of living stones'; 'spiritual sacrifices,' *i.e.* offerings fixed or determined by the Spirit (*ib.*); 'spiritual understanding' (Col 1^{9}); 'spiritual songs' (ᾠδαὶ πνευματικαί, Col 3^{16}); 'spiritual food, drink, rock' (βρῶμα, πόμα, πέτρα, 1 Co $10^{3.4}$). In two sets of passages St. Paul contrasts it with ψυχικόν (1 Co 2^{14} $15^{44.46}$). There is one curious exception from this Pauline use of it for divine, viz. Eph 6^{12} τὰ πνευματικὰ τῆς πονηρίας = 'wicked spirits,' or something equivalent.

There is another antithesis in which St. Paul places it as contrasted with νοῦς or σύνεσις, where the intention plainly is to contrast the action of the 'understanding' in man with that of spiritual or ecstatic impulse even in a Christian (1 Co $14^{14.15}$). It is also once or twice opposed to γράμμα, where inwardness or reality is the thing to be brought out (Ro 2^{29} 7^{6}, 2 Co 3^{6}).

There are two things mainly noticeable and distinctive in this biblical use of 'spirit.' The first is the habit of biblical writers to explain the 'spirit' in the natural man as the product or creation directly of God, and as accounted for only by the direct contact of man with the Almighty in his origin. This is peculiarly prevalent in the OT (Gn 2^{7}, Is 42^{5}). Then there is the assertion of a parallelism and communication between the self-conscious, inner life of man—his spirit—with the Spirit of God (1 Co $2^{11.12}$, Ro 8^{1-17}, Philem ^{25}). There is a foundation laid in this way for the whole spiritual life of man, and especially for the renewed and redeemed life of which, according to Christianity, he is made a partaker.

See also art. HOLY SPIRIT: for 'unclean (*or* evil) spirit' cf. art. DEMON, vol. i. p. 593; for 'familiar spirit' art. SORCERY, p. 606; for 'spirits in prison' see vol. iii. p. 795.

J. LAIDLAW.

SPITE.—Like DESPITE (which see), 'spite' means in AV 'injury' (rather out of contempt than malice). It occurs only Ps 10^{14} 'Thou beholdest mischief and spite' (כַּעַס, properly 'vexation'). Cf. Child's *Ballads*, v. 299—

> 'Day and night he'll work my spight,
> And hanged I shall be.'

The adv. 'spitefully' is used in the same sense; the phrase is 'entreat spitefully,' Mt 22^{6}, Lk 18^{32} (ὑβρίζω, RV 'entreat shamefully').

J. HASTINGS.

SPONGE (AV spunge, σπόγγος, *spongia*).—The medium by which vinegar or sour wine was carried to the mouth of Jesus on the cross (Mt 27^{48}, Mk 15^{36}, Jn 19^{29}). This well-known substance is a porous, fibrous framework, composed of a material called *keratode*, invested by a fleshy covering and lining of amœboid bodies. Sponges grow only in sea water, near the coast, and mostly in the warmer seas of the globe, although some kinds are found even in the polar regions. Sponge fishing is a considerable industry along the coasts of Syria, Asia Minor, and the Ægean Sea. The divers go out in row-boats or sail-boats, a short distance from the shore; they then strip, and holding in their hands, high above their heads, a heavy stone attached to a rope, fill their chests with air, and then plunge, stone downmost, and so rapidly reach the bottom. They often dive to a depth of 60 ft. or more. They then walk or creep quickly along the bottom, holding the stone to steady themselves, and tear the sponges off the stones to which they are attached, and put them into a netted bag hung around their neck. When they are exhausted they jerk the rope, and their companions quickly haul them to the surface. Few can stay under water more than 60 seconds, none as long as 100. Their occupation usually develops emphysema, and other diseases of the lungs, from which they are apt to die early.

G. E. POST.

SPRING.—See FOUNTAIN, vol. ii. p. 62.

SPY.—See ESPY, vol. i. p. 767.

STACHYS (Στάχυς).—The name of a Christian greeted by St. Paul in Ro 16[9], and described as 'my beloved.' The name is rare, but found among members of the Imperial household (*CIL* vi. 8607). He is commemorated Oct. 31, and later legends will be found in *Acta Sanct.*, Oct., vol. xiii. p. 687.

A. C. HEADLAM.

STACTE (נָטָף *nāṭāph*).—The Heb. word occurs twice: Ex 30[34] (cf. Sir 24[15]), LXX στακτή, Vulg. *stacte*, RVm *opobalsamum*; Job 36[27] (LXX σταγόνες, Vulg. *stillæ*, both of which signify 'drops,' and refer to water). The Heb. נָטָף *nāṭaph* (=Arab. *naṭaf*) signifies to *drop* or *distil*. As the exudation of all gums is in drops, the etymology does not help us. But it is evident from the context in Exodus that a fragrant gum is intended. Many identify the στακτή here mentioned with the gum from the *libneh* (=*storax*, see POPLAR). But στακτή means primarily *myrrh*. Myrrh, however, is mentioned by its proper name מֹר *môr* (v.[23]), coupled with דְּרוֹר *dĕrôr*, which AV tr. 'pure,' and RV 'flowing.' The LXX tr. this expression by ἄνθος σμύρνης ἐκλεκτῆς; Vulg. *primæ myrrhæ et electæ*. Dioscorides describes two kinds of stacte, one of which is pure myrrh, and the other made from storax and fat. It is unlikely that any such inferior compound as the latter would be used in making the sacred incense. It is most likely then that *nāṭāph*, and its LXX and Vulg. equivalent *stacte*, refer to *myrrh* in drops or tears, which is the purest form.

G. E. POST.

STAFF.—See ROD and SCEPTRE.

STAGGER.—In Ro 4[20] 'stagger' has the meaning of 'stumble,' and so literally 'waver' (as RV), 'He staggered not at the promise of God through unbelief' (οὐ διεκρίθη). Tindale uses the stronger form of the same word, 'He stackered not'; Rhem. is the first to use 'stagger.' The word is of Icel. origin, *strakra*, freq. of *staka*, to push. Cf. Mt 21[21] Rhem. 'Amen, I say to you, if you shal haue faith, and stagger not, not only that of the figtree shal you doe.'

J. HASTINGS.

STALLION (ἵππος εἰς ὄχειαν, only in Sir 33[6]).—Most of the horses used for riding and driving, and many of those employed as pack animals, in the East, are entire. Geldings are made only of the inferior breeds.

STANDARD.—See BANNER and POLE.

STAR.—The Bible treats the stars as the noblest work of the Creator (Ps 8[3] 19[1], Job 25[5], Wis 7[29]), insisting on their brightness (Dn 12[3]), their height above the earth (Is 14[13], Ob [4], Job 22[12]), and especially their number (Gn 15[5] 22[17] 26[4], Ex 32[13], Dt 1[10] 10[22] 28[62], Jer 33[22], Neh 9[23], He 11[12] etc.). They are sometimes poetically represented as living beings ('sang together,' Job 38[7]; 'fought against Sisera,' Jg 5[20]), and the darkening of the stars is treated as a sign of coming distress (Jl 2[10] 3[15], Am 8[9], Is 13[10] 34[4], Ezk 32[7. 8], Mt 24[29], Mk 13[25], Lk 21[25], Rev *pass.*). But they were created by God (Gn 1[14], Am 5[8], Ps 74[16] 136[7], Job 9[7], Sir 43[9]) to give light (Gn 1[16], Jer 31[35]); He gave them their paths according to fixed laws (Jer 33[25], Job 38[33]), and they are subject to Him (Job 9[7], Is 45[12], Ps 147[4], Bar 3[34], Ep. Jer [59]), who calls them by their names (Is 40[26]). It follows that star-worship is rigorously forbidden (Dt 4[19] 17[2. 3]); though introduced by Manasseh (2 K 21[3], cf. 23[4. 5. 11]; Am 5[26] does not necessarily imply its existence at an earlier date, cf. Driver in Smith, *DB*, art. 'Amos'), and several times mentioned at a later date (Zeph 1[5], Jer 7[18] 19[13] 44[17], Wis 13[2]), it is always spoken of with reprobation (cf. also 2 K 17[16], Jer 44[25-27]). On the sources of this star-worship among the Jews see W. Lotz in Herzog, *RE*[2] xiv. 694. For the stars known to the Israelites and for astrological views see ASTRONOMY AND ASTROLOGY; for the star of the Magi see MAGI.

P. V. M. BENECKE.

STATER.—See MONEY, vol. iii. p. 428[b].

STEALING.—See CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS, vol. i. p. 522[b], *s.* 'Theft,' and MAN-STEALING.

STEEL is a form of iron intermediate in composition between cast iron and wrought iron, and combining the most useful properties of both (see IRON). The word occurs thrice in AV for נְחוּשָׁה (2 S 22[35], Job 20[24], Ps 18[34]), and once for נְחֹשֶׁת (Jer 15[12]). In these cases the reference is not to steel but to brass (so RV) or bronze (see BRASS).

'Steel' appears in RV only in Nah 2[3], where it is the translation of פְּלָדָה (AV 'torches'). The word פְּלָדָה occurs nowhere else, but its Arabic and Syriac cognates have the meaning of steel, or iron of fine quality. The 'fire' or 'flashing' of steel in this passage may be understood either of the appearance of the metal-plated chariots themselves or of the glitter of the 'scythes' attached to their wheels. Against this latter supposition is the fact that such scythes are never represented on Assyrian chariots, but appear to have been introduced for the first time by the Persians (see CHARIOT).

JAMES PATRICK.

STEPHANAS (Στεφανᾶς, *Stephanas*; the name occurs *CIG* ii. 3378).—A Christian of Corinth, 1 Co 1[16] 16[15. 17]. St. Paul mentions the household of Stephanas as one of the few exceptions to the practice which he had followed of not personally baptizing his converts. At the end of the Epistle the same household are spoken of as the first-fruits of Achaia. They are said to have given themselves to the ministry of the saints, and the Corinthians are exhorted to obey such persons and all who work and labour with them. From the next verse we gather that Stephanas himself was with St. Paul at Ephesus at the time when the Epistle was written. In Clement of Rome's Epistle, ch. xlii., we are told that the apostles, preaching from city to city and country to country, *appointed their first-fruits*, having tested them by the spirit, to be bishops and deacons of those that should believe (καθίσταvον τὰς ἀπαρχὰς αὐτῶν . . . εἰς ἐπισκόπους καὶ διακόνους τῶν μελλόντων πιστεύειν, Clem. Rom. i. 42). It would be beside our purpose to discuss the exact meaning of this passage, but it may reasonably be held that Stephanas, and perhaps some members of his household, had been appointed to a position in the nascent church at Corinth, which implied on the one side ministry (διακονία), on the other side some recognition of their authority. If this was not a local ministry, in the later sense of the term, there were here the germs out of which it grew.

A. C. HEADLAM.

STEPHEN (Στέφανος), Ac 6–8[2].—Some dissatisfaction having been expressed by the Grecian Jews or Hellenists in the infant Church at Jerusalem regarding the distribution of alms among their widows, seven brethren were chosen, and solemnly set apart by the apostles, to undertake the administration of the poor-table. Of the seven (see DEACON), Stephen is the first named (Ac 6[5]), and the most distinguished, though in a sphere, strictly speaking, beyond his office, viz., as a preacher and a worker of miracles—characteristically apostolic functions. Nothing is known of his conversion to Christianity, though Epiphanius (*Hær.* xx. 4) records that he was one of the Seventy. It is not certain that he was a Hellenist, though his Greek name, the fact that a committee

largely Hellenistic would probably be chosen to deal with the grievances of the party, and to some extent his opinions, make the supposition very probable. His character and abilities as given in Ac 6 are of the highest: 'a man full of faith and of the Holy Spirit' (v.[5], cf. 7[55]), 'full of grace (AV faith) and power' (v.[8]), 'the wisdom and the Spirit by which he spake' (v.[10]); cf. also the qualifications necessary for the office (v.[3]), and St. Paul's words, 'Stephen thy witness' (22[20]). Stephen seems to have aroused the hostile notice of the Hellenistic synagogues (see below) by the wonders and signs which he wrought among the people (6[8]), but probably also by the substance and manner of his preaching; in any case they challenged him to disputation. But his skill in maintaining his opinions was so irresistible, that his adversaries, discomfited in argument, raised the charge of blasphemy, procured witnesses to testify to it, and thus succeeded in having him arrested and brought before the Sanhedrin. Here he was formally accused of speaking blasphemous words against the Temple and the Law, having said, as the false witnesses maintained, that Jesus of Nazareth would destroy 'this place,' and change the customs delivered by Moses. Stephen was unperturbed by these accusations; his face appeared to those present 'as the face of an angel' (6[9-15]). Being asked by the high priest to answer to the charges, Stephen made a long speech, traversing the greater part of the history of the chosen people, from the call of Abraham, through Joseph and Moses, to David, and the building of the Temple by Solomon. Towards the close he fearlessly turned to his judges, rebuked them as 'stiffnecked and uncircumcised in heart and ears,' and as those who, carrying on the unholy work of the persecutors of the prophets, had become the betrayers and murderers of Him whom the prophets had foretold (7[1-53]). These words were the occasion of a furious outburst of wrath on the part of the assembly; and when Stephen, undismayed, looked upwards, and declared that he saw the heavens opened and the Son of Man standing on the right hand of God, the exasperated hearers violently rushed upon him, dragged him forth by one of the gates of the city, and stoned him to death. The witnesses (who according to Dt 17[7] had to take the lead in casting the stones) placed their garments in the keeping of a young man named Saul (cf. 22[20])—the first historical mention of a great name. Among the last words of Stephen were, 'Lord Jesus, receive my spirit,' and 'Lord, lay not this sin to their charge,' which are very similar to two of our Lord's sayings on the cross, Lk 23[46. 34]. In fact, the bearing of Stephen throughout—his courage, his calm, his patience, his gentleness—accords remarkably with the demeanour of his Master in like circumstances. The mutilated body was reverently interred by 'devout men' (7[54]–8[2]).

The vividness of the narrative hardly leaves room for the supposition that the stoning of Stephen was a legal execution, *i.e.* one carried out with the sanction of the Roman authorities, or, indeed, that it was other than a murder. But the Sanhedrin may have been able to represent the whole incident as a mere tumultuous outbreak, for which they could not officially be called to account.

A few other minor points require notice: (1) As to the number of synagogues implied in 6[9], whether five, or three, or two, or only one (each number has had its advocate among expositors), the Greek seems to support the view of Wendt, viz. that *two* synagogues are meant: (*a*) of the Libertines (Cyrenians and Alexandrians), and (*b*) of those from Asia and Cilicia. See LIBERTINES; Sanday, *Expositor*, viii. p. 327 (third series); also Winer-Moulton, *Grammar*, p. 160 note. (2) The date of the martyrdom of Stephen can be determined only approximately: Bengel gives A.D. 30, Ewald A.D. 38, and every intervening year has had its supporter. Acts seems to place the event shortly before St. Paul's conversion; certainly nearer to that event than to the *terminus a quo*, the Crucifixion (say 29–30). Recent chronologists have somewhat narrowed the *termini* of St. Paul's conversion: von Soden 31–35, Harnack 30, Ramsay 33; see CHRONOLOGY OF NT, vol. i. p. 424 (C) and Table. (3) Who are the persons covered by the term 'devout men,' ἄνδρες εὐλαβεῖς (8[2])? Hardly proselytes (Renan, *Apostles*, viii.) of either class, as St. Luke regularly uses προσήλυτος and φοβούμενος (or σεβόμενος) τὸν θεόν for proselytes of the higher and the lower rank respectively, and elsewhere applies εὐλαβεῖς to Jews (Lk 2[25], Ac 2[5] 22[12] RV). It is also unlikely that they were Christians, else we should have expected the designation to be μαθηταί or ἀδελφοί. Most probably they were Jews who took a sympathetic interest in the fortunes of the Church, and who may have known and respected Stephen. Cf. Joseph of Arimathæa and Nicodemus (Jn 19[38. 39]), and see Knowling in *Expositor's Greek Testament*, ii., *ad loc.* (4) Traditions about Stephen. According to an early tradition, the scene of the martyrdom was the open ground outside the Damascus Gate on the north; but about the 15th cent. this gave place to the popular belief that it was on the east, where, accordingly, St. Stephen's Gate is now located (see Conybeare and Howson, *St. Paul*, small ed. p. 61). Another legend relates that, through the friendliness of Gamaliel, the body of Stephen was buried at Kafr Gamala, a day's journey from Jerusalem, all the apostles being present. This story probably originated after the so-called 'Invention and Translation of the Relics of St. Stephen,' the chief details of which are that in the year 415 Gamaliel appeared in vision to Lucian, parish priest of Kafr Gamala, and indicated the resting-place of the remains of Stephen, which were then disinterred, carried to Jerusalem, and buried in the church of Mount Zion; it was also said that the exhumation disclosed a tablet bearing the Aramaic name of Stephen, *Kelîl* (Syr. *kelîla*, 'crown' = στέφανος).

The Speech of Stephen.—The historical narrative given by Stephen shows a considerable number of divergences from the OT account; *e.g.* according to Ac 7[2-4] Abraham receives his call before his migration to Haran, in Gn 12[1] while in Haran; the giving of the Law is connected with angels in Ac 7[53], while Ex 19 has no mention of angels. 'Remphan' in 7[43] shows that Stephen was quoting from the LXX; the Hebrew has 'Chiun' (Am 5[26]); see CHIUN. A full list of these variations is given by Farrar, *St. Paul*, small ed. p. 92 note.

The authenticity of the speech has been much canvassed; *e.g.* Weizsäcker (and he is representative of many more) regards the speech as a 'doctrinal exposition,' *i.e.* a later composition; but see ACTS, vol. i. p. 33 f. There has been an almost equal diversity of opinion regarding the *purpose* of the address. Now, this very diversity seems a remarkably convincing proof of its substantial historicity; a mere fabricator would surely have taken care to leave his readers in little doubt as to his 'tendency.' Was the speech completed? Was it intended as an answer to the charges made by the false witnesses? Or was it meant as a vindication, in whole or in part, of the opinions by which Stephen had originally provoked opposition? As to the first of these questions, it may be said that the speech has all the appearance of being complete; the fact that Stephen did not proceed to recount the nation's story beyond the building of Solomon's temple is sufficiently explained if we remember that the legal and institutional *status quo* was traditionally held to have been but little altered subsequent to that event. As to the second, it is certainly difficult to maintain that the address is a counter-plea to the very definite charges of 6[13. 14]. It remains, then, to seek an answer to the question whether the speech was, so to speak, a plea of *veritas*, *i.e.* a re-declaration of what Stephen had said against the Temple and the Law. If we answer affirmatively, the climax will be found in vv.[48-50], where it seems to be suggested that the building of the Temple was an act contrary to God's will, a continuation of the contumacy that had fashioned the golden calf, and taken up the tabernacle of Molech (vv.[41. 43]); while, if we answer negatively, the essential point will lie in vv.[51-53], where Stephen declares that (not he and his brethren, but) his hearers and judges were the real violators of God's commands. The former view is usually adopted by those who regard Stephen as the first to discern that the gospel could not be confined within the bonds of Judaism, as, in fact, the forerunner of St. Paul. But it should be observed that if Stephen had spoken (as the *false* witnesses said) against the

Temple, and had affirmed that Jesus would change the customs of Moses, his adversaries would have been his own Christian brethren, whereas he was held in the highest repute by them. Further, such words as 'the Most High dwelleth not in temples made with hands' can hardly be taken as implying any disparagement of the Temple, since similar language was used by Solomon himself (1 K 8^{27}, 2 Ch 6^{18}). Finally, Stephen speaks of the Law in terms of the highest respect ($7^{38.53}$); and his references to the call of Abraham in Mesopotamia (v.^{2}), to the Divine favour vouchsafed to Joseph and Moses in Egypt, and to the subsequent revelation accorded to the latter in Midian (v.$^{29ff.}$), while they might be interpreted as signifying that the Divine purpose and blessing were not limited to the Holy Land, are rather to be understood in the light of the fact that Stephen represents Canaan as the destination of the Chosen People from the first; the patriarchs are buried there (v.^{16}) as in a country really their own; and the sojourn in Egypt (still more the deportation to Babylon) is plainly regarded as a misfortune. On the other hand, if Stephen was at one with his opponents (as with his brethren) in their high appreciation of the Holy Land, the Law, and the Temple, how could the charge of blasphemy arise? The witnesses might be false, but there must have been some colourable reason for an accusation so definite. But it seems a quite satisfactory answer to this to say that Stephen had attacked the traditional Law (as did Jesus Himself, Mt 15^{1-20}= Mk 7^{1-23}), which was freely held to have authority equal with the Mosaic, and that he may have urged, in the manner of Isaiah, that 'temple-treading' and external observances did not ensure acceptance with God. It is quite conceivable that such teaching would be misunderstood, and even misrepresented as blasphemy against 'the law and this holy place,' or even against God (6^{11}). On this view, then, the speech was not so much the advancing of a new theological position against an older; its purpose was rather ethical and personal. God had vouchsafed great privileges to the nation, —the land, an ordained leader (Moses), the Law, the Tabernacle, and the Temple,—but they had been rendered of none effect by the people's contumacy and disobedience. Doubtless, as Spitta makes out, there is an unmistakable intention to draw or suggest a parallel between Moses and Jesus, 'the prophet whom the Lord will raise up unto you . . . like unto me' (7^{37}), and the treatment accorded to each; but this is meant to give point to the general theme of the speech, viz. that the members of the council, and all in league with them, had proved themselves to be only too truly the children of ungrateful and unworthy forefathers. It is thus questionable how far we are entitled to speak of Stephen as the forerunner of St. Paul. Even if we accept Spitta's view that the erection of the Temple is represented by Stephen as an unauthorized and presumptuous act, this is something very different from St. Paul's conception of the national institutions as having had validity *for their own time*. Certainly Stephen never asserts the secondary and provisional character of the Law, nor does he suggest the call of the Gentiles—two of St. Paul's most characteristic tenets. In short, Stephen seems to regard Christianity (as did the apostles generally) as the continuation and development of the Divine purpose in the history of Israel; St. Paul sees in it the beginning of a new order of things—another dispensation.

LITERATURE.—Farrar, *St. Paul*, ch. viii.; Conybeare and Howson, *St. Paul*, ch. ii.; Weizsäcker, *Apostolic Age*, i. 62 ff.; McGiffert, *Christianity in the Apostolic Age*, 81–93; Spitta, *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 105 ff.; *Expositor's Greek Testament*, ii., R. J. Knowling, *Acts*; and commentaries cited at ACTS, vol. i. p. 35, on relevant chapters. A. GRIEVE.

STEWARD occurs six times in AV of OT. It is used in Gn 15^{2} of Eliezer, where for 'steward of my house' RV rightly substitutes 'he that shall be possessor of my house' (Heb. בֶּן־מֶשֶׁק בֵּיתִי. For the correct text and meaning of this verse see Kautzsch-Socin's *Genesis*, Comm. of Del. and Dillm. *ad loc.*, and above all Ball's note in Haupt's *OT*). In Gn 43^{19} $44^{1.4}$ 'steward' is tr^{n} (both AV and RV) of אֲשֶׁר עַל בֵּיתוֹ 'he who was over his (Joseph's) house.' The same tr^{n} is given by RV in 43^{16}, where the Heb. is the same, but AV arbitrarily and inconsistently gives 'ruler.' See art. JOSEPH, vol. ii. p. 772^{a}. In 1 K 16^{9} for AV 'steward of *his* (Elah's) house' RV substitutes 'who was over *the* household' (הַבַּיִת). See art. KING, vol. ii. p. 843^{b}. The only remaining instance in AV is 1 Ch 28^{1}. The Heb. is שָׂרִים, which RV tr. 'rulers.' In Dn 1^{11}, where AV gives MELZAR as a prop. name, RV is perh. correct in translating 'the steward' (הַמֶּלְצַר with the article shows at least that we have here some title, although its meaning is not certain).

In NT 'steward' is tr^{n} of *ἐπίτροπος* in Mt 20^{8} (the steward of the lord of the vineyard), Lk 8^{3} (Herod's steward). This word occurs also in Gal 4^{2} (AV 'tutors,' RV 'guardians') and twice in Apocr., 2 Mac 11^{1} 13^{2} (AV 'protector,' RV 'guardian'). Elsewhere in NT it is the tr^{n} of *οἰκονόμος*, which is used both literally and metaphorically, Lk 12^{42} $16^{1.3.8}$ (the cogn. vb. *οἰκονομέω* occurs v.^{2}, cf. 2 Mac 3^{4}), 1 Co $4^{1.2}$, Tit 1^{7}, 1 P 4^{10}. In Gal 4^{2} *οἰκονόμοι* is coupled with *ἐπίτροποι* (see above), and is tr^{d} in AV 'governors,' RV 'stewards.' The former of these Gr. terms occurs also in Ro 16^{23}, where RV has 'treasurer' (cf. 1 Es 4^{49}), AV 'chamberlain.'

Stewardship (*οἰκονομία*) in lit. sense occurs in Lk $16^{2.3.4}$ (AV and RV), and in metaphorical sense is substituted by RV for AV 'dispensation' in 1 Co 9^{17}. So RVm gives 'stewardship' in Eph 3^{2}, Col 1^{25}, 1 Ti 1^{4} where 'dispensation' stands in the text. J. A. SELBIE.

STILL.—**1.** As adj.: the general meaning is *silent*, as Ps 46^{10} 'Be still' (הַרְפּוּ, RVm 'Let be,' LXX *σχολάσατε*); Ps 83^{1} 'Be not still, O God'; Is 42^{14} 'I have been still, and refrained myself; now will I cry'; Mk 4^{39} 'Peace, be still' (*πεφίμωσο*, lit. 'be muzzled'). Cf. Ac 18^{9} Wyc. 'Speke and be not stille' (*μὴ σιωπήσῃς*). Or it means a low sound, as 1 K 19^{12} 'A still small voice' (קוֹל דְּמָמָה דַקָּה, lit. as RVm 'a sound of gentle stillness,' LXX *φωνὴ αὔρας λεπτῆς*); Ps 23^{2} 'He leadeth me beside the still waters' (עַל־מֵי מְנֻחוֹת, RVm 'waters of rest,' LXX *ἐπὶ ὕδατος ἀναπαύσεως*: the idea is 'waters that refresh,' or 'waters that are resting-places' [Del., Cheyne], not 'softly flowing waters' as in Is 8^{6}).

From meaning 'silent' the word passes naturally to mean *inactive*, as Jg 18^{9} 'Are ye still? be not slothful to go'; 1 K 22^{3} 'Know ye not that Ramoth in Gilead is ours, and we be still, and take it not out of the hand of the king of Syria?'

2. As adv.: the idea of *persistence* is more prominent than in modern usage. Cf. Hall, *Works*, ii. 14, 'God uses still to goe a way by himselfe'; Adams, *2 Peter*, p. 46, 'If the hand be still striking and stabbing, there is a bloody heart'; Shaks. *Hamlet*, II. ii. 42—

> 'Thou still hast been the author of good tidings.'

So 1 S 26^{25} 'Thou shalt both do great things, and also shalt still prevail'; 2 S 16^{5} 'He came forth, and cursed still as he came'; Ps 84^{4} 'They will be still praising thee'; and Jer 23^{17} 'They say still unto them that despise me' (RV 'They say continually'). J. HASTINGS.

STOCKS.—See CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS, vol. i. p. 527^{a}.

STOICS (*Στωϊκοί*). — When St. Paul at Athens encountered the Stoics (Ac 17[18]), they regarded his teaching as an interesting novelty: and so in some respects it was. Jesus and the Resurrection were indeed 'strange gods,' but, for all that, there was more in common between St. Paul and his hearers than either party was perhaps aware of. To begin with, the Jews had a natural affinity with Stoicism. What nation indeed could stand more in need of the philosophy of endurance than that whose whole history was one long record of persecution? The 'courage never to submit or yield,' which animated Stoicism, was the moral also of the story of the 'seven brethren with their mother' (2 Mac 7). The Jews claimed kindred with the Spartans, who were the ideal of Stoicism, and admired the Romans, of whom Stoicism was the ideal (1 Mac 12). But, in the next place, Stoicism, as has been shown by Sir Alexander Grant, was not a genuine product of Hellenic thought, but an importation from the East. 'Its essence,' he says, 'consists in the introduction of the Semitic temperament and a Semitic spirit into Gr. philosophy' (*Ethics of Arist.* vi.). Not one of the famous Stoic teachers was a native of Greece proper. Zeno, the founder of the school, who flourished about B.C. 278, was a native of Citium in Cyprus, a Greek town in which there was a large infusion of Phœnician settlers (Diog. Laert. vii. § 1). Hence Zeno is sometimes called 'the Phœnician' (*ib.* ii. § 114), and his master Crates, the Cynic, used jocularly to address him as *Φοινικίδιον*. His successor, Cleanthes (about B.C. 263), was a native of Assos. The third head of the school, Chrysippus (B.C. 280–207; *ib.* vii. § 184), whose intellectual ability caused him to be regarded as its second founder, came from Cilicia, either from Soli or from St. Paul's native city, Tarsus. Tarsus, indeed, was a very stronghold of Stoicism. To it belonged Zeno, a disciple of Chrysippus, who seems himself at one time to have been head of the school (*ib.* vii. §§ 35, 41, 84). Though Strabo in his account of Tarsus (xiv. p. 674) says nothing of this person, he mentions among the Stoic teachers who had adorned that city, 'Antipater, Archedemus, and Nestor, and further, the two Athenodori.' Of these Antipater was a disciple of Diogenes of Babylon (Cic. *de Off.* iii. § 51), one of the three philosophers who were sent on the famous embassy to Rome in B.C. 155 (Aul. Gell. *Noct. Att.* VI. xiv. 9). He was himself the instructor of Panætius of Rhodes (Cic. *de Div.* i. § 6), who was the friend of the younger Africanus, and the teacher of Posidonius (of Apamea in Syria), who in his turn numbered Cicero among his hearers. Archedemus is mentioned by Diogenes Laertius (vii. §§ 40, 68, 84) in a way that would lead us to think that he followed Chrysippus. Of Nestor the Stoic nothing more is known. Of the two Athenodori, the earlier, known as Cordylion, died in the house of Cato Uticensis; the later, who was also known as 'the Kananite,' from a village (*Kanna*) in Cilicia, was the friend and adviser of Augustus. In his old age he was given power to restore civil order in his native city.

St. Paul then, coming from Tarsus, the home of so many of the Stoics, was not likely to have been a stranger to their way of thinking. In his speech on the Areopagus he seems to have addressed himself more directly to the Stoic part of his audience. He deftly quoted part of a line with which they were familiar, 'His offspring, too, are we,' probably thinking of the Hymn of Cleanthes, though the precise form in which he quotes it comes from the contemporary poet Aratus.* Another point in which the apostle's language is coloured by the presence of Stoic auditors, is in the appeal he makes to their sentiment of cosmopolitanism—'and he made of one every nation of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth,' while the words which follow, 'having determined their appointed seasons, and the bounds of their habitation,' express a conception of fate and providence, which was common ground to the apostle and his hearers.

The constructive era of Greek thought had already passed away before the Stoics appeared upon the scene. Neither they nor the Epicureans extended the bounds of thought, but only emphasized certain aspects in the philosophy of their predecessors. Both schools were intensely practical, and endeavoured to make philosophy a 'life,' as Christianity afterwards announced itself to be. Both also were systems of materialism, and agreed in discarding the abstractions of earlier thought. The Stoics adopted the physical theory of Heraclitus, the Epicureans that of Democritus. With both, however, physics were a mere scaffolding for ethics; but the Stoics paid great attention to logic, while the Epicureans neglected this department of philosophy. What was special to the Stoics was the exalted tone of their morality, their grim earnestness, and their devout submission to the Divine will. Of the Stoic physics we seem to have a trace in the doctrine of the destruction of the world by fire (2 P 3[5-7. 10-13]). The idea of the soul going up to heaven at death is not alien to their philosophy. For death with them was the resolution of man's compound nature into its elements, and the soul, whose nature was fire (cf. Verg. *Æn.* vi. 730, 'igneus est ollis vigor et cælestis origo'), struggled upward to its native home in the empyrean. Without dogmatizing on disputed ground, it is at least interesting to compare Ec 12[7] 'And the dust return to the earth as it was, and the spirit return unto God who gave it,' with what Velleius Paterculus (ii. 123), echoing the Stoic doctrine, says of the death of Augustus: 'in sua resolutus initia . . . animam cælestem cælo reddidit.'

The doctrine of the Logos may not have come exclusively from Greek sources; but at all events Lactantius (*Div. Inst.* iv. 9) admits that Zeno had anticipated the Christian teaching: 'Hunc sermonem divinum ne philosophi quidem ignoraverunt: siquidem Zenon rerum naturæ dispositorem atque opificem universitatis *λόγον* prædicat, quem et fatum et necessitatem rerum et deum et animum Jovis nuncupat.' The words *δι' ὃν τὰ πάντα*, applied to God in He 2[10], are suggestive of the Stoic explanation of the name of the Supreme Being: '*Δία μὲν γάρ φασι, δι' ὃν τὰ πάντα*,' while the words in St. Paul's sermon, 'in him we live,' recall the explanation offered of the other form of the name: '*Ζῆνα δὲ καλοῦσι, παρ' ὅσον τοῦ ζῆν αἴτιός ἐστιν.*'

The problem of fate and freewill, which was hardly raised by the Socratic philosophers, was much discussed by the Stoics. In this also they display an affinity with Semitic speculation. For this was the philosophical problem which divided the Jewish schools, as it has since divided the Christian Churches. The Pharisees leaned strongly to predestination, as we can see from the sentiments of Gamaliel (Ac 5[39]) and from those of St. Paul himself. Josephus, himself a Pharisee, says that that sect was very like the sect of the Stoics among the Greeks (*Vita*, ch. ii.).

Another point of resemblance, which justifies this remark of Josephus, is the Stoic belief in a future life. It is true they did not regard the souls even of good men as being absolutely immortal. But they held that these were destined

* It may be remarked that the language of He 4[12] is strongly suggestive of the Hymn of Cleanthes (lines 9–13), which might be used as an argument, so far as it goes, in favour of the Pauline authorship of that Epistle.

to last until the next re-absorption of all things into the Divine nature. God was defined by the Stoics as 'an individual made up of all being, incorruptible and ungenerated, the fashioner of the ordered frame of the universe, who at certain periods of time absorbs all being into himself, and again generates it from himself' (Diog. Laert. vii. § 137).

Instead of drawing out further, as might be done, the parallelism between Stoicism and Christianity, we will here close with a caution. It does not follow that, because we find a Stoic notion in the Bible, it has got into it from the Stoics. It may originally have come to the Stoics from the Jews, or both may have borrowed from the same source.

LITERATURE.—The chief ancient authorities for a knowledge of the Stoics are Cicero's philosophical works, especially *de Finibus*, Book iii.; Diogenes Laertius, Book vii.; Stobæus, *Ecl. Eth.* pp. 166–184; Plutarch, *de Repugnantiis Stoicis*, and *de Placitis Philosophorum*; Sextus Empiricus, *adversus Mathematicos*. Among modern works may be mentioned Zeller, *Stoics and Epicureans*; Sir Alexander Grant, *The Ethics of Aristotle*, Essay vi.; Lightfoot, *Philippians*, Excursus on 'St. Paul and Seneca.'

ST. GEORGE STOCK.

STOMACH.—In modern Eng. 'stomach' is confined to its literal meaning of the receptacle for food in the body. In this sense it occurs in 1 Ti 5^{23} 'Use a little wine for thy stomach's sake' (*διὰ τὸν στόμαχον*). But in older Eng. the word was used figuratively, as we use 'heart' or 'spirit,' and expressed either *courage* or *pride*.

The transition from the literal to the fig. sense was the easier that 'stomach' was freely used for appetite. Thus Fuller, *Holy State*, 185, 'A rich man told a poore man that he walked to get a stomach for his meat: And I, said the poore man, walk to get meat for my stomach.' The sense of *courage* ('heart') is seen in Ridley, *Works*, 359, 'Blessed be God, which was and is the giver of that and all godly strength and stomach in the time of adversity'; and in Coverdale's tr. of Jos 2^{11} 'And sence we herde therof, oure hert hath failed us, nether is there a good stomacke more in eny man, by the reason of youre commynge.' Cov. even applies the word to Jehovah in Is 42^{13} 'The LORDE shal come forth as a gyaunte, and take a stomacke to him like a fresh man of warre.' The sense of *pride* is seen in Knox, *Works*, iii. 187, 'And ye haif a Quene, a woman of a stout stomak, more styffe in opinioun nor flexibill to the veritie'; Golding, *Calvin's Job*, 574, 'Therefore when wee come to heare a sermon, let us not carie such a loftie stomacke with us, as to checke agaynst God when we be reproved for our sinnes'; and Fuller, *Holy Warre*, 99, 'A man whose stomach was as high as his birth.' This is the meaning of the word in Ps 1017, Pr. Bk. 'a proud look and high stomach,' where Earle quotes in illustration Katharine's character of Wolsey from *Henry VIII.* iv. ii. 33—

> 'He was a man
> Of an unbounded stomach, ever ranking
> Himself with princes.'

The word occurs figuratively in the sense of *courage* in 2 Mac 7^{21} 'Stirring up her womanish thoughts with a manly stomach' (*ἄρσενι θυμῷ*, RV 'with manly passion'). J. HASTINGS.

STOMACHER is the EV tr. of פְּתִיגִיל, Is 3^{24} (only). The derivation of the Hebrew term is very uncertain. There is no probability in the supposition that it represents two words, פְּתִי 'width' and גִּיל 'mantle,' although the sense thus obtained would yield an effective contrast with the following מַחֲגֹרֶת שָׂק: 'instead of a flowing mantle, a girding of sackcloth' (Cheyne, *PB*, cf. Dillm.-Kittel, *Jes. ad loc.*). Others think that the antithesis suggests that פְּתִיגִיל is a kind of ornamental girdle (see art. DRESS, vol. i. p. 628[a]). The LXX tr. by *χιτὼν μεσοπόρφυρος*, Aq. *ζώνη ἀγαλλιάσεως*, Symm. *στηθοδεσμίς*, Vulg. *facia pectoralis*.

The Eng. word 'stomacher' was applied to that part of a woman's dress which covered the breast and the pit of the stomach. It was usually much ornamented, and looked upon as an evidence of wealth. Coverdale translates Is 47^{2} (of the degraded daughter of Babylon), 'Thou shalt bringe forth the querne, and grynede meel, put downe thy stomacher, make bare thy knees, and shalt wade thorow the water ryvers.' J. A. SELBIE.

STONE.—1. A fragment of rock of any size from a pebble up to the most massive block. In AV 'stone' usually stands for אֶבֶן or *λίθος*; but it also occurs as the tr. of סֶלַע (Ps 137^{9} 141^{6}, RV 'rock'), of צוּר (Ex 4^{25}, AV 'sharp stone,' RV 'flint,' Job 22^{24}), of חֶרֶשׂ (Job 41^{30}, RV 'potsherd'), of צְרוֹר (2 S 17^{13}, Am 9^{9}, AVm), of *πέτρος* (2 Mac 1^{16} 4^{41}, Jn 1^{42}), and of *ψῆφος* (Rev 2^{17}). 'Gravel stones' is for חָצָץ (La 3^{16}); 'corner stones' for זָוִיוֹת (Ps 144^{12}); 'chief corner stone' for *ἀκρογωνιαῖος* (Eph 2^{20}, 1 P 2^{6}); 'a heap of stones' for כִּרְכֹּמָה (Pr 26^{8} RV); and 'hewn stone' for גָּזִית (Ex 20^{25}, 1 K 5^{17} 6^{36} $7^{9.\ 11.\ 12}$, Is 9^{10}, La 3^{9}, Ezk 40^{42}, Am 5^{11}). Conversely אֶבֶן appears in EV as 'weight' (Lv 19^{36}, Dt $25^{13.\ 15}$, 2 S 14^{26}, Pr 11^{1} 16^{11} $20^{10.\ 23}$, Mic 6^{11}, Zec 5^{8}) and as 'plummet' (Is 34^{11} RV).

The stones referred to in Scripture may be classified according to their size and the uses to which they were put. Among the smaller stones mentioned are 'gravel stones' (La 3^{16}) and 'stones of the brook' (1 S 17^{40}, Job 22^{24}). The smoothness of the latter is noted in 1 S 17^{40}, and the effect of water in wearing them is alluded to in Job 14^{19}. Stones in the soil interfered with its fertility, and it was part of the husbandman's work to gather them out. On the other hand, to scatter stones over the fields was one way of devastating an enemy's country (2 K $3^{19.\ 25}$). These are probably the opposite circumstances referred to in Ec 3^{5}. The 'stony ground' (*τὰ πετρώδη, τὸ πετρῶδες*) of Mt $13^{5.\ 20}$ ‖ is not soil full of stones, but shallow soil with rock near the surface (RV 'rocky'). Stones were convenient missiles for the hand (Ex 21^{18}, 2 S $16^{6.\ 13}$, Sir 22^{20} 27^{25}, 2 Mac 1^{16} 4^{41}, Mk 12^{4}), for the sling (Jg 20^{16}, 1 S $17^{40.\ 49.\ 50}$, 1 Ch 12^{2}, 2 Ch 26^{14}, Pr 26^{8}, Jth 6^{12}, Sir 47^{4}), or for larger military engines (2 Ch 26^{15}, 1 Mac 6^{51}). Josephus (*BJ* III. vii. 23, v. vi. 3) gives an account of these engines as used in the sieges of Jotapata and Jerusalem. Stone projectiles roughly spherical, and 13 or 14 in. in diameter, have been found at Baniâs (Merrill, *E. of Jordan*, p. 524). A stonecast was a rough measure of distance (Lk 22^{41}). Stone-throwing might prove fatal (Nu $35^{17.\ 23}$), and was a common method by which death-sentences were executed, and in which popular violence found vent. The verbs סָקַל, רָגַם, *λιθάζω*, *καταλιθάζω*, *λιθοβολέω*, are used to denote this practice. A heap of stones was sometimes raised over the bodies of those who were thus put to death (Jos $7^{25.\ 26}$), or who were otherwise executed (Jos 8^{29}) or slain (2 S 18^{17}). This is perhaps the fate referred to in Is 14^{19}, La 3^{53}. Such heaps were also placed over ordinary tombs for protection or to mark the spot (see BURIAL, vol. i. p. 333[a]). The density of stones (Pr 27^{3}) made them convenient for use as weights (see list of passages above) and plummets (Is 34^{11}), and also for attaching to anything to be sunk in water, like Jeremiah's book of prophecy (Jer 51^{63}), or the body of a criminal to be executed by drowning (Mt 18^{6} ‖). Sharp stones were used as knives (Ex 4^{25}, Mk 5^{5}). In the former case the reference is probably to artificially fashioned knives of flint such as have been recently found among the prehistoric remains of Egypt (see FLINT, vol. ii. p. 15; KNIFE, vol. iii. p. 8; and Petrie and Quibell, *Naqada and Ballas*, pp. 55–59). Vessels of stone are mentioned in Ex 7^{19}, Jn 2^{6}. In connexion with the former passage, see Wilkinson, *Ancient Egypt*, ii. 8; Petrie and Quibell, *Naqada and Ballas*, p. 10. Small stones or pebbles were originally used in voting, and the counters of metal, etc., afterwards employed were still called *ψῆφοι* (4 Mac 15^{26}, Ac 26^{10}).

Among larger stones, besides mill-stones (for

which see MILL, vol. iii. p. 369), may be noticed those which covered wells (Gn 29[2. 3. 8. 10]) and deposits of treasure (Sir 29[10]), and those which closed the mouths of caves (Jos 10[18. 27]), pits used as dens (Dn 6[17]), and rock-hewn tombs (Mt 27[60]). The entrances of tombs were closed sometimes by stone doors hung on stone pivots, and sometimes by circular slabs like millstones set on edge, which rolled in grooves athwart the openings, the grooves being sloped so as to make the stone easy to roll to the door and difficult to roll away again. The entrance to the Tombs of the Kings at Jerusalem has both kinds of stone doors (see Tristram, *Land of Israel*, pp. 406–7, and *SWP* Special Papers, p. 280ff.). Og's 'bedstead of iron' (Dt 3[11]) was probably a sarcophagus of basalt, such as have been found in abundance E. of the Jordan (see Driver, *Deut. in loc.*).

Certain large stones served as landmarks, such as the great stone in Gibeon (2 S 20[8]), the stone of Bohan the son of Reuben (Jos 15[6] 18[17]), the stone of Zoheleth (1 K 1[9]), the stone Ezel (1 S 20[19] MT). Other large stones had a more or less sacred character. Rude stone monuments of religious origin are still plentiful E. of the Jordan, though they are not found W. of it except in Galilee. They have been divided into four classes, *menhirs* or pillars, *dolmens* or stone tables, *cairns* or stone heaps, and *cromlechs* or stone circles. Examples of the first class are the 'pillar' which Jacob set up at Bethel and anointed (Gn 28[18] 35[14]), and that which he erected at Mizpah (Gn 31[45]). In early Semitic religion these pillars were associated with the presence of a deity, and were smeared with blood or oil as an act of worship (see PILLAR, vol. iii. pp. 879–81). In some cases a rude stone pillar seems to have served simply as a memorial (Jos 24[26. 27], 1 S 7[12]) or as a monument to the dead (cf. 1 Mac 13[27], 2 K 23[17] RV, Ezk 39[15]). While at first the sacred stone representing the deity served also as an altar, the latter came to be distinct at a very early period. It might be a natural rock (Jg 6[20. 21] 13[19], 1 S 6[14] 14[33]) or artificially built of stone. In the latter case the stones were unhewn (Ex 20[25], Dt 27[5. 6], Jos 8[31]). Elijah's altar on Carmel was, no doubt, of this kind (1 K 18[31ff.]). Under the Maccabees the stones of the altar of burnt-offering in the temple were laid aside as defiled and a new altar was built (1 Mac 4[46. 47]). Ezekiel's ideal temple was to be provided with hewn stone tables for slaying the sacrifices (Ezk 40[42]) (see ALTAR, vol. i. pp. 75, 76, and Robertson Smith, *RS* 184 ff., 214). The narrative in Gn 31 mentions a cairn (גַּל) as well as a pillar at Mizpah. The stones set up by Joshua at Gilgal (Jos 4) were an example of a circle with a memorial significance (Conder, *Syrian Stone-lore*, 220; Benzinger, *Heb. Arch.* 56 ff., 379, 380). Inscriptions might be placed upon monumental stones (Dt 27[4. 8]), on altars (Jos 8[32]), or on stone tablets such as those on which the Law was engraved. Stone, like wood, was among the commonest materials out of which idolatrous images were made (Jer 2[27], Hab 2[19] etc.). Such images, as well as sacred pillars, were forbidden in Lv 26[1].

The most important use of stone was, of course, for building. For this purpose it was regarded as superior to brick (Is 9[10]), which was substituted for it in Babylonia (Gn 11[3]). The chief references to stone as a building material are in connexion with the temple. Stone was among the preparatory stores collected by David (1 Ch 22[14. 15] 29[2]). The foundation of the temple consisted of great costly hewn stones (1 K 5[17. 18] 7[10]), and the superstructure was also of stone, though covered with wood (1 K 6[18] 7[9. 11. 12]). The stones were brought to the site in a prepared state (1 K 6[7]). Hewn stone is mentioned in connexion with the repairs executed by Joash (2 K 12[12]) and Josiah (2 K 22[6], 2 Ch 34[11]), and stone was among the materials of the second temple (Hag 2[15], Ezr 5[8] 6[4], 1 Es 6[9. 25]). The size and splendour of the stones of Herod's temple are referred to in Mt 24[1. 2]‖. Contrasted with the process of building is that of demolishing (Mic 1[6], La 4[1]). The stones in the ruins of Jerusalem were dear to the exiles (Ps 102[14]). The opponents of Nehemiah laughed at the idea of rebuilding the city walls with stones from among the rubbish (Neh 4[2. 3]).

Some of the great stones in the foundation wall of the temple are visible in the Jews' Wailing Place. Other parts of the wall have been reached by recent excavation, notably at the S.E. corner. The lowest stone at this point is 14 ft. long and 3 ft. 8 in. high, 'squared and polished, with a finely dressed face.' If the present foundation, which rests on the solid rock, be really that of Solomon's temple, then this stone is the 'foundation' or 'chief corner stone' so often referred to in Scripture (Is 28[16], Ps 118[22], Mt 21[42] ‖ Ac 4[11], 1 P 2[6]). While the 'head of the corner' is a foundation stone, the 'head stone' (אֶבֶן רֹאשָׁה Zec 4[7]) is the highest and the last to be placed. Large as the temple stones are, they are small compared with some found in the ruins of Baalbek. Three of these, forming one course, are the largest hewn stones in the world. They are all 13 ft. high and as many thick, and their respective lengths are 64, 63¼, and 63 ft. A still larger stone, 70 ft. long, 14 ft. thick, and 14 ft. high, lies in the adjacent quarry. For methods of transporting such stones, see Wilkinson, *Anc. Eg.* ii. 302–10. The remains of quarries are visible in many places in Palestine, and their extent affords a measure of the antiquity of the building sites near them. The greatest quarries at Jerusalem are the caverns under Bezetha, from which a great part of the stone work of the city has been excavated. Traces of the process of working the quarry still remain. The blocks were separated from the rock by cuttings from 3 to 6 in. wide made all round them with some instrument like a pick. The margins of the stones were dressed with toothed chisels (Benzinger, *Heb. Arch.* 238). In the basaltic rocks of Bashan there are many circular holes 4 or 5 ft. deep, and as great in diameter, from which millstones have been quarried (Merrill, *E. of Jordan*, p. 25).

A few references to stone are of a symbolic character. Jeremiah was directed to hide some great stones in the clay of a brick-kiln at the entrance to Pharaoh's house at Tahpanhes, to be a foundation for the throne of Nebuchadnezzar, which would be set up in that place (Jer 43[9. 10]). In Zec 3[9] a stone with seven eyes (or facets) is set before Joshua the high priest, and an inscription is to be placed upon it. This stone has been variously understood as referring to the foundation stone of the temple, the 'head stone' of Zec 4[7], a jewel in the high priest's breastplate, or in Zerubbabel's crown, or the finished temple as a whole (see G. A. Smith, *Twelve Prophets*, ii. 296). The white stone with a new name written on it (Rev 2[17]) is likewise an obscure symbol. From the reference in the same verse to the 'hidden manna' the 'white stone' has been connected with the Roman *tessera hospitalis*—the token divided between two friends who had entered into *hospitium*, and handed down to their descendants, so as to secure perpetual mutual hospitality; or with the *tessera frumentaria*—the token in exchange for which a free grant of corn was given to the poorer citizens of Rome. Putting aside the reference to the manna, a possible explanation may be found in the *tessera gladiatoria*, an oblong token of ivory given to a gladiator when he had passed successfully through a certain number of contests. It had inscribed on it the name of the combatant and

that of his trainer, the date of his first victory and the letters SP (*spectatus*). In Rev 18[21] the destruction of 'Babylon' is symbolized by an angel casting a great stone into the sea.

The various properties of stone give rise to numerous comparisons. The Egyptians sank in the sea like a stone (Ex 15[5], Neh 9[11]). Fear made the enemies of Israel still as a stone (Ex 15[16]). Nabal became as a stone before his death (1 S 25[37]). The heart of leviathan is firm as a stone (Job 41[24]). The strength of stone is also alluded to in Job 6[12]. Ice is compared to stone (Job 38[30]). Other figurative usages are frequent. The deadness and sterility of stone gives point to the Baptist's saying in Mt 3[9] ||; so with its dumbness (Hab 2[11], Lk 19[40]), and inedibility (Mt 4[3] 7[9] ||). Its weight suggests what Jerusalem will be to the nations (Zec 12[3]), and what wisdom is to the unlearned (Sir 6[21]). Its hardness supplies a metaphor for hardness of heart (Ezk 11[19] 36[26]). As a contrast to this, Ezekiel's figure is combined with an allusion to the inscribed tables of the Law in 2 Co 3[3]. The new name Πέτρος given to Simon (Jn 1[42]) denoted the firmness of his character in the future. A slothful man is compared to a 'defiled stone' (Sir 22[1]). God is called 'the stone of Israel' (Gn 49[24]). The Messiah's kingdom is represented in Dn 2[34] as a stone cut out of the mountain without hands, which breaks in pieces the composite image symbolizing the kingdoms of this world. Christ uses a similar figure regarding Himself (Mt 21[44] TR, Lk 20[18]). Isaiah describes the Deliverer of Judah as a 'foundation' and a 'corner stone.' Christ applies Ps 118[22] to Himself (Mt 21[42] ||), and similar applications are found in Ac 4[11], 1 P 2[4-7]. In the latter passage Christ is called a 'living stone,' and Christians are also called 'living stones.' The same ideas of Christ as the corner stone and Christians as forming a building along with Him, appear in Eph 2[20-22].

2. Anatomical—a testicle, Lv 21[20] (אָשֶׁךְ), Dt 23[1] (in a free tr. of פַּצְוַעַ־דַּכָּה), Job 40[17] (פָּחַד, RV 'thigh').

JAMES PATRICK.

STONES, PRECIOUS. — This subject is both obscure and complex, and one on which no help is to be gained by relying on modern traditional results. The only satisfactory way to treat it is as a series of quite independent stages of research:—i. The actual stones known to (*a*) the ancient Egyptians, (*b*) the early Greeks, (*c*) the Roman writers. ii. The equivalence of Hebrew and Greek names. iii. The substances designated by the Greek names. iv. The side-lights on the subject from (*a*) the Arabic or other versions, (*b*) the colour arrangement, (*c*) beliefs about stones, etc.

i. It is obviously useless to attempt to identify gems which were unknown before the Roman age with any of the earlier names, and hence the diamond and the sapphire are outside of the question. It is also quite useless to expect the same distinctions between stones that we now make by chemical and crystallographic classification. Different materials, if of the same appearance, were doubtless classed under the same name, such as beryl and green felspar, or carnelian and fleshy felspar. On the other hand, the same material, under different appearances, would have different names, such as the many different aspects of quartz, in rock-crystal, amethyst, chalcedony, carnelian, red jasper, green jasper, and yellow jasper.

The stones commonly known to the Egyptians for jewellery and engraving are as follows, those not known as engraved being in brackets. These are arranged according to the colours, which would be natural classification, and which shows what is liable to be confounded under a single name. The transparent stones are in italics, according to the varieties actually found. BLACK: [hæmatite], obsidian. BLUE: *amethyst*, lazuli. GREEN: *serpentine*, felspar, [beryl], jasper, turquoise. YELLOW: *agate*, jasper. BROWN: *sard*, [corundum]. RED: *red sard*, [*garnet*], *felspar*, *carnelian*, jasper. WHITE: *quartz*, milky quartz, chalcedony. Two stones that might reasonably be expected in early use, but have never yet been found in Egypt before Greek times, are the onyx or nicolo (known to the Romans as Ægyptilla), and the olivine= peridot (modern chrysolite), from the Red Sea. And the beryl is rare before Græco-Roman times.

The early Greeks, down to Theophrastus, appear to have had much the same series as the Egyptians; but in Roman times, with extended commerce, more of the stones became known which we now class as gems. With these, however, we are not here concerned in OT usage.

ii. The second consideration is the equivalence of the Hebrew and Greek names. For, as we have only a few vague indications of the meanings of the Hebrew names, or connexions of those with other languages, it is really the tradition of the times of the LXX that has to be almost entirely trusted. Of lists of stones there are five to be considered, — The list of the breastplate (Ex 28[17-20]), that of the king of Tyre (Ezk 28[13]), the translation of these two lists in the LXX, and the foundations in Rev 21[19-20]. All these lists are certainly connected, as we shall see by the statement of them.

THE BREASTPLATE.

3 Bāreketh	2 Piṭdah	1 'Ōdem
6 Yahălōm	5 Ṣappîr	4 Nōphekh
9 'Aḥlāmah	8 Ŝhĕbō	7 Leshem
12 Yāshĕpheh	11 Shōham	10 Tarshîsh

THE KING OF TYRE.

3 Yahălōm	2 Piṭdah	1 'Ōdem
6 Yāshĕpheh	5 Shōham	4 Tarshîsh
G 9 Bārĕḳath	8 Nōphekh	7 Ṣappîr

BREASTPLATE AND KING OF TYRE. LXX.

3 Smaragdos	2 Topazion	1 Sardion
G S 6 Iaspis	5 Sappheiros	4 Anthrax
9 Amethystos	8 Achatēs	7 Ligurion
12 Onychion	11 Beryllion	10 Chrysolithos

THE FOUNDATIONS.

1 Iaspis	2 Sappheiros	3 Chalkedōn
4 Smaragdos	5 Sardonyx	6 Sardion
7 Chrysolithos	8 Beryllos	9 Topazion
10 Chrysoprasos	11 Hyakinthos	12 Amethystos

Several problems meet us here. The LXX must either have found the lists of Ex. and Ezek. alike, or else have altered one into conformity with the other. There is one sign of confusion in the LXX, where *silver and gold* are interpolated in the midst of the series (marked S and G here); whereas the Heb. in Ezek. has *gold* at the end (marked G here); so far the Hebrew is the more consistent. On the other hand, it is evident that the list in Ezek. has been written with the list in Ex. in view: the first two names being the same, the 2nd line being the 4th line in Ex., and the 3rd line being 5, 4, 3 of Ex. in inverted order, all show that Ezek. is apparently a corrupted copy of Ex., perhaps changed by the prophet quoting from memory.

But here another difficulty arises: the *yāshĕpheh* 12 in Ex. cannot but be intended by *iaspis* 6, while the *yāshĕpheh* is 6 in Ezekiel. Here LXX agrees with Ezek.; while, in *ṣappîr* 5 in Ex. and 7 in Ezek., the LXX agrees with Ex. in 5 *sappheiros*. In another point probably Ex. agrees with LXX; *bāreḳeth*, the 'flashing' or 'lightning' stone, is probably quartz crystal; and *smaragdos*, which it parallels in Ex., is also probably quartz, as we shall see further on. On the whole, it seems safest to take Ex. and LXX as equivalent lists;

* The Greek forms are kept here to avoid confusion with English names derived from them, which now denote different stones.

granting a transposition of 12 and 6, probably in the Hebrew.

iii. Next we come to the third section — the meaning of the Greek names; and for this we must remember that the series should correspond to the stones actually in use in early times, and not to those which may have had those names in Græco-Roman writings. (1) *Sardios* = *'ōdem*, is the 'blood'-coloured stone (Heb.); and as none of the early ones except **red jasper** can be so described, it seems that this must be intended.

(2) *Topazion* = *piṭdah*, is reputed to be the peridot, because of its being described as imported from the Red Sea, as of a greenish-yellow colour, and as the softest of precious stones. The difficulty in this is that no instance is known of peridot in Egyptian work; and this would lead us to look for some similar stone as the earlier representative of *piṭdah*. The transparent precious **serpentine** was in use in Egypt, and is of closely the same colour; in fact, of the same composition, but hydrated. This, then, has the best claim to be the original stone, for which the harder olivine, peridot, was later substituted. The Arabic has *'asfar*, 'yellow,' which corresponds with peridot.

(3) *Smaragdos* = *bāreḳeth*. This is commonly supposed to be emerald; but, as there is beryl also in the list, it is unlikely that a slight variety of purer and less pure colour should give occasion to repeat the same stone. There are two indications that in *smaragdos* is included **rock-crystal.** Pliny mentions the shortsighted Nero using an eye-glass of *smaragdus*; the difficulty of getting emerald free from flaws and large enough for an eye-glass, the depth of colour (for this was not the lighter beryl), and the greater hardness of emerald, all make that stone very unlikely. The colourless rock-crystal is far more probably the material used. And in Rev 4^3 there is described—a rainbow like a *smaragdus*: now a colourless stone is the only one that can show a rainbow of prismatic colours; and the hexagonal prism of rock-crystal, if one face is not developed (as is often the case), gives a prism of 60°, suitable to show a spectrum. The confusion with emerald seems to have arisen from both stones crystallizing in hexagonal prisms; and, as the emerald varies through the aquamarine to a colourless state, there is no obvious separation between it and quartz crystal. The meaning of *bāreḳeth*, the 'flashing' or 'lightning' stone, agrees with the brilliancy of rock-crystal. The Arabic has *samurod* = *smaragdus*.

(4) *Anthrax* = *nōphekh*. The former name is generally agreed to be the carbuncle, which is the dark clear **red garnet.** Garnet was a favourite stone in Egypt for beads, but is not found engraved, at least not till late times.

(5) *Sappheiros* = *ṣappîr*. There can be no doubt of the equivalence of these names; yet they do not mean our sapphire or corundum, as that was quite unknown in early times, and probably too hard to be engraved. Pliny's description of it as opaque and speckled with gold, shows it to have been our **lapis-lazuli,** which was used and greatly valued in early times.

(6) As we cannot sever the *iaspis* from the *yāshĕpheh*, we must assume a corruption in either the Heb. or Greek. The Greek is more probably correct, as the *iaspis* was certainly opaque, and would well consort with the opaque lazuli. We must restore, then, (6) *iaspis* = *yāshĕpheh*. The earliest jaspers mentioned by Greek writers appear to have been green; and a dark **green jasper** was a favourite stone among early Greek engravers, and used also by Egyptians. This is probably, then, the *iaspis*.

(7) *Ligurion* = *leshem*. The *ligurion* is a corruption of *lyncurion*, described as brilliant yellow, and in Greek times apparently identified with the jacinth = zircon. As this is unknown in Egyptian work, probably **yellow quartz** or **agate** (R.) was intended by *leshem*.

(8) *Achatēs* = *shĕbō*. This is agreed to be connected with some varieties of modern agates. The black and white banded is said to be probably the variety earliest known as *achatēs* to the Greeks; but this is little, if at all, known in Egypt until Greek times. From the contrasts of colour in the series a red agate would be the more likely here; but a grey and white is the only closely-banded agate that occurs in Egyptian work. If possible we should expect the **carnelian** here, as it is a usual stone, and yet does not appear elsewhere in the list.

(9) *Amethystos* = *'aḥlāmah*. There is no question as to this being the modern **amethyst,** which was frequently used in Egypt at an early date, and well engraved.

(10) *Chrysolithos* = *tarshîsh*. This stone among later Greeks is probably the topaz; but, as that was quite unknown in earlier times, some other golden-coloured stone must be intended. As clear yellow quartz is already fixed to the *ligurion*, that is not in question; nor would a transparent yellow stone be so appropriately termed 'golden' as an opaque one. The bright **yellow jasper** was finely engraved by the Egyptians of the 18th dynasty and onward, and that may well be the 'golden stone' or *chrysolithos*.

(11) *Beryllion* = *shōham*.—It is generally agreed that this is the modern beryl, the opaque green variety of the emerald; and with this was doubtless confused the **green felspar,** which is only distinguished in appearance by its brighter cleavage and lustre. As the felspar was far more usual for jewellery than the beryl in early times, it is pretty certain that it was the *shōham*, afterwards confused with the beryl.

(12) As we have already noticed, the *yāshĕpheh* has probably changed places in the Hebrew with *yahălōm*, and therefore (12) *onychion* = *yahălōm* seems to be the probable equivalence. This is usually accepted as being the modern **onyx**; but such a stone in layers was apparently not known to early engravers, the first dated example being of the 26th dynasty. There is, however, no other stone which seems more probable for this name.

It may be as well now to state what stones that were used for early engraving stand outside of the identifications we have arrived at, and appear not to have been used in the breastplate. The following were all wrought in Egypt: obsidian, black jasper, hæmatite, fawn-coloured chert, milky quartz, chalcedony, and turquoise. Thus no striking or important stone is omitted from the list of Ex. except turquoise, which was mainly used before 4000 B.C., and in late times. But we have in several cases put down two stones to one name, where they were such as were likely to have been confounded in one class together.

iv. We now turn to the question of colour. The breastplate would apparently have stood thus—

3 White quartz	2 Yellow serpentine	1 Red jasper
6 Green jasper	5 Blue lazuli	4 Red garnet
9 Purple amethyst	8 Red carnelian	7 Yellow agate
12 White and black onyx	11 Green felspar	10 Yellow jasper

Here there is good contrast maintained except in the right column, where there are two reds together and two yellows; but none of these are in serious doubt, and if any change is suggested it would be by transposing two of these. The first entry seems well fixed in the lists; and the fourth cannot change with the seventh without bringing red garnet and carnelian together. If, however, the

fourth and tenth interchanged, then the opaque yellow jasper would be next to the opaque lazuli and in line with opaque green jasper, which would be harmonious. Should this be accepted, then the red garnet, *anthrax*, would be *tarshîsh* (R.); and the yellow jasper, *chrysolithos*, would be *nōphekh*.

There now remains the question of the relation of the stones in Rev. to those in the OT. They have evidently some connexion; but sometimes in the object order, sometimes in the verbal order, the Heb. reckoning running contrary to Greek. Thus there is—

Ex. LXX	6 Iaspis	5 Sappheiros	
Rev.	1 Iaspis	2 Sappheiros	
Ex.	3 Smaragdos	2 Topazion	1 Sardion
Rev.	4 Smaragdos	5 Sardonyx	6 Sardion
Ex.	10 Chrysolithos	11 Beryllion	12 Onychion
Rev.	7 Chrysolithos	8 Beryllos	9 Topazion
Ex.	7 Ligurion	8 Achatēs	9 Amethystos
Rev.	10 Chrysoprasos	11 Hyakinthos	12 Amethystos

Here *topazion* and *sardonyx* appear to have changed places; as, if so, the *topazion* would agree in both, and the *onychion* compare with the *sardonyx*. The *chrysoprasos* may well be a later name of the *ligurion*. There is, in any case, a strong influence of the LXX lists on the Rev. list; but yet it seems much like the apparent relation by memory of the Ezek. list with the Ex. list in the Hebrew.

A few stones occur in Rev. that are not in LXX. (3) *Chalkedōn* was a green stone according to Pliny, from the copper mines near Chalcedon. As it was only found in very small pieces, the suggestion that it was *dioptase* (**silicate of copper**) seems not unlikely, as that is in small crystals. (5) *Sardonyx* is doubtless the **red and white onyx.** (7) *Chrysolithos* in the Roman age was the present **topaz**; while (9) *topazion* was the present **chrysolite**=*peridot*. (10) *Chrysoprasos* was probably the **green chalcedony,** or the plasma. (11) *Hyakinthos* was the present **sapphire,** according to the account of it by Solinus. Of these stones in Rev. there is far less doubt than of those in OT, as the writers on gems are nearly contemporary with Rev., and describe the gems in detail.

The *shāmîr* of Ezk 3[9] 'harder than flint' is evidently connected with the Egyptian *asmer* and the Greek *smiris*, both of which mean **corundum** or **emery.** The hardness of that stone agreeing with the description in Ezek., leaves no doubt that it is the *shāmîr*.

Finally, we may here summarize the results—

Heb.	*Greek (LXX).*	*Early.*	*Late.*
Ōdem	Sardion	Red jasper	Sard
'Aḥlāmeh	Amethystos	Amethyst	
Bāreḳeth	Smaragdos	Quartz crystal	Emerald
Leshem	Ligurion	Yellow agate	
Nōphekh	Anthrax (or Chrysolithos?	Garnet=Carbuncle Yellow jasper	Topaz)
Piṭdah	Topazion	Yellow-green serpentine	Peridot
Sappîr	Sappheiros	Lazuli	
Shāmîr	Smiris	Corundum	
Shĕbō	Achatēs	Agate?	Black and white agate
		Red carnelian? and felspar?	
Shōham	Beryllion	Green felspar	Beryl
Tarshîsh	Chrysolithos (or Anthrax	Yellow jasper Garnet=Carbuncle)	Topaz
Yāshĕpheh	Iaspis	Dark green jasper	
Yahălōm	Onychion	Onyx?	Onyx
	Also in Rev.		
	Hyakinthos		Sapphire
	Chalkedōn		Dioptase?
	Chrysoprasos		Green chalcedony or plasma
	Sardonyx		Red and white onyx

The lists of stones anciently used in pre-Greek times are from the writer's own observation. For the greater part of the information on Greek names and gems, King's *Antique Gems* has been the source here used. But for corroborations and modifications of the general views, the results of Prof. Ridgeway's private studies have been most generously communicated, especially in points marked (R.); and it must be remembered that the details of the reasons for some of the identifications cannot be fully stated or discussed in a brief outline like the present.

See, further, the separate artt. on the EV names of the precious stones mentioned in the Bible.

W. M. Flinders Petrie.

STONING. — See Crimes and Punishments, vol. i. p. 527[a].

STONY.—1. In the Preface to AV the word 'stony' is used with the meaning 'made of stone': 'Although they build, yet if a fox go up, he shall even break down their stony wall.'* Cf. Shaks. *Jul. Cæsar*, I. iii. 93, 'Nor stony tower, nor walls of beaten brass.' **2.** In Mt 13[5. 20], Mk 4[5. 16] 'stony' means 'rocky' (*τὰ πετρώδη*, AV 'stony places,' RV 'rocky places'). This is the meaning also in Ps 141[6] 'When their judges are overthrown in stony places' (בִּידֵי סָלַע, RV 'by the sides of the rock'). Cf. Raleigh, *Guiana*, 69, 'The maine banks being for the most part stonie and high.' So 'stone' is used for 'rock' in *Peres the Ploughmans Crede*, 806—

> 'And sythen his blissed body was in a ston byried,
> And descended a-doune to the dark helle';

and by Coverdale in Is 51[1] 'Take hede unto the stone, wherout ye are hewen, and to the grave wherout ye are digged.' **3.** In Ezk 11[19] 36[26] and Sir 17[16] 'stony' means 'hard as stone,' as in Shaks. *Merch. of Venice*, IV. i. 4—

> 'Thou art come to answer
> A stony adversary.'

J. Hastings.

STOOL.—1. A chair of honour for a guest, 2 K 4[10] 'Let us set for him there a bed, and a table, and a stool.' (So RV, though the Heb. is פַּקָּא, which elsewhere means a royal throne or other seat of state: the LXX gives *δίφρος*, which is tr[d] 'stool' in AV of 2 Mac 14[21], but in RV 'chair of state').

In older English 'stool' was used freely for any kind of seat, as in Chaucer, *Wife of Bath's Prol.* 287, 'Spones and stoles, and al swich housbondrye'; Mk 11[15] Tind. 'the stoles of them that sold doves' (*καθέδρας*, AV 'seats'); 1 S 1[9] Cov. 'Eli the prest sat upon a stole by the poste of the temple of the Lorde' (AV 'upon a seat'); Job 26[9] Cov. 'He holdeth back his stole, that it cannot be seen' (פָּנֵי־כִסֵּה, AV and RV 'the face of his throne'); Jer 17[25] Cov. 'Then shal there go thorow the gates of this cite, kinges and prynces, that shall syt upon the stole of David' (כִּסֵּא, AV and RV 'throne'); 29[16] Cov.; 33[17] Cov. 'David shal never want one, to syt upon the stole of the house of Israel' (עַל־כִּסֵּא, AV and RV 'upon the throne,' which is Coverdale's own tr. of the same Heb. in v.[21]).

2. Mother's bearing stool (but see Holzinger *in loc.*, and *Expos. Times*, xii. 165), Ex 1[16] 'upon the stools,' RV 'upon the birthstool' (Heb. עַל־הָאָבְנָיִם, found only in dual, its only other occurrence being Jer 18[3], where it describes the potter's wheel, 'two discs revolving one above the other'; cf. vol. iii. p. 367[a]). J. Hastings.

STORAX.—See Myrrh, Poplar, Stacte.

STORK (חֲסִידָה *ḥăsîdāh*).—Although one of the commonest and the largest birds of Bible lands, the LXX translators do not seem to have known its name, as they render *ḥăsîdāh* in the six passages where it occurs by four different words (Lv 11[19], Ps 104[17] *ἐρωδιός*, Dt 14[18] *πελεκάν*, Jer 8[7], Job 39[13] *ἀσιδά* [transliterated], Zec 5[9] *ἔποψ*). There is, however, no doubt as to its identity. Two species are found in the Holy Land—the black stork, *Ciconia nigra*, L., and the white stork, *C. alba*, L. The

* In the text of Neh 4[3] it is 'their stone wall,' the form 'their stony wall' being from Coverdale and the Geneva Bible.

former is a little smaller than the latter, and less common in the southern and western districts. It is more common towards the north-east. Its colour is black, and it is a shy bird, frequenting the desert, where it lives in flocks. The white stork is 44 in. long and has black wings, but the coverts and rest of its plumage are white. The beak, legs, and skin about the eyes are red; the iris is dark brown.

Few as are the passages in which the stork is mentioned, we can gather from them some of its chief traits: (1) It was an unclean bird (Lv. and Dt. *l.c.*); this corresponds to its food, which consists of reptiles, amphibians, and garbage. (2) In the obscure passage (Job 39[13]) there may be a reference to the contrast between the supposed indifference of the ostrich to its young and the proverbial affection of the stork. This, however, is uncertain; see the *Comm. ad loc.* (3) The stork nests in fir trees (Ps 104[17]). Most storks in Palestine now nest in the tops of ruins. In many places in other countries they build on chimney tops. But there is abundant evidence that they even now sometimes nest in trees in the Holy Land, as well as in other countries. It has been well observed by Tristram that, in ancient times, when there were fewer ruins and more trees, storks must perforce have resorted to the trees and rocks. He says that the black storks still always prefer trees. (4) The migrations of the stork at definite times (Jer 8[7]) did not escape notice. At such times it flies high 'in the heaven.' There are abundant illustrations of the regularity with which these birds return to their old haunts year after year, and repair the very nests which they had before occupied both as offspring and parents. (5) Their power of wing and the sound as of wind made by their flight are alluded to (Zec 5[9]). The spread of their wings is nearly 7 feet.

G. E. POST.

STORY.—In older Eng. 'story' and 'history' (of which 'story' is an aphetic form) were used interchangeably. We accordingly find 'history' applied to romance, and 'story' to continued historical narrative. In Pref. to AV the translators even use the word 'story' of history in general, 'This will easily be granted by as many as know storie, or have any experience.' The word 'story' occurs in AV (outside the Apocr.) only in 2 Ch 13[22] 24[27], for which see art. COMMENTARY in vol. i. p. 459[b]. In the Apocr. it is used as the tr. of ἱστορία in 2 Mac 2[24. 30. 32], of διήγησις in 2[32], and of σύνταξις in 15[38. 39], and in 1 Es 1[33] ἡ βίβλος τῶν ἱστορουμένων περὶ τῶν βασιλέων τῆς Ἰουδαίας is tr[d] 'the book of the stories of the kings of Judah.' Cf. Rhemish NT, note on Jn 5[2] 'The force of divers waters in the world is justly attributed by our forefathers and good stories to the prayers and presence of Saincts, which profane incredulous men referre onely to nature.' Tindale says (*Expos.* 201) 'We believe not only with story faith, as men believe old chronicles.'

Storywriter, for 'historian' (*i.e.* chronicler), occurs in 1 Es 2[17] (ὁ γραμματεύς; RVm 'recorder'), and 2[25] (ὁ γράφων τὰ προσπίπτοντα); in the latter verse γραμματεύς is tr[d] 'scribe.' J. HASTINGS.

STOUT, STOUTNESS.—The modern meaning of the Eng. word 'stout,' viz. *solid, substantial* (and then *corpulent*), suggests a connexion with Lat. *stolidus* and the root *sto*, to stand; but the word is of Low Germ. origin (coming to us through the French), and in its earliest use signified 'brave,' 'bold,' 'impetuous.'

In AV the meaning is *bold* in Job 4[11], Dn 7[20], and *presumptuous* in Is 10[12], Mal 3[13]. **Stouthearted** occurs in Ps 76[5], Is 46[12] with the former meaning (Heb. אַבִּירֵי לֵב). The subst. **stoutness** is found in Is 9[9], also with the meaning of *boldness*, as in Golding, *Calvin's Job*, 570, 'For what is the cause that oftentymes wee dare not undertake a good quarell, but for that we have not the stoutnesse and skill too resist so stedfastly as were requisite?'

J. HASTINGS.

STRAIT.—The Eng. words 'strait' and 'strict' are doublets, the latter coming directly from Lat. *strictus*,* ptcp. of *stringere*, to draw tight; the former through the Old Fr. *estreit* or *estrait* (mod. *étroit*).† 'Strait' is an adj., an adv., a subst., and a verb.

As an adj. 'strait' means in AV either lit. *narrow, confined*, or fig. *strict, rigorous.*

1. *Narrow, confined*: *e.g.* 2 K 6[1] 'The place where we dwell with thee is too strait for us' (צַר מִמֶּנּוּ, LXX στενὸς ἀφ' ἡμῶν); Mt 7[13. 14] 'Enter ye in at the strait gate . . . because strait is the gate' (στενός).

2. *Strict, rigorous.*—The transition from the lit. to the fig. sense is seen in 2 Es 7[14. 18 *bis*], thus 7[18] 'The righteous shall suffer strait things, and hope for wide (*ferent angusta sperantes spatiosa*); for they that have done wickedly have suffered the strait things, and yet shall not see the wide.' Then the fig. sense appears in 7[21] 'God hath given strait commandment' (*mandans mandavit*; RV 'straitly commanded').

As an adv. 'strait' means *closely, narrowly.* It occurs in 1 Es 5[72] 'The heathen . . . holding them strait' (πολιορκοῦντες, RVm 'besieging them'); and 1 Mac 13[49].

As a subst.: *e.g.* La 1[3] 'All her persecutors overtook her between the straits' (בֵּין הַמְּצָרִים, RV 'within the straits').

As a verb 'strait' occurs only in Sus [22] 'I am straited on every side,' where mod. editions give 'straitened' (στενά μοι πάντοθεν).

The verb **straiten** is used both literally and figuratively.

1. Literally it means (1) to *shorten* or *narrow*, *e.g.* Job 37[10] 'The breadth of the waters is straitened' (בְּמוּצָק), lit. 'in narrowness,' *i.e.* 'in a narrow channel,' RVm 'congealed').

2. Figuratively, 'straiten' means *narrow* (opp. 'enlarge') or *confine*, and so *hamper*: Job 12[23] 'He enlargeth the nations and straiteneth them again' (Heb. as RV 'bringeth them in,' RVm 'leadeth them away'), 18[7], Pr 4[12] (both of the straitening of steps—'Widening of the steps is a usual Oriental figure for the bold and free movements of one in prosperity, as straitening of them is for the constrained and timid action of one in adversity'—Davidson on Job 18[7]).

The adv. **straitly** means either (1) *closely*, Jos 6[1] 'Jericho was straitly shut up' (סֹגֶרֶת וּמְסֻגֶּרֶת, RV 'shut *the gates*, and was shut in'); Wis 17[16] 'was straitly kept' (ἐφρουρεῖτο, RV 'was kept in ward'); Sir 26[10] 'keep her in straitly' (στερέωσον φυλακήν, RV 'keep strict watch'): or (2) *strictly*, as Ac 4[17] 'Let us straitly threaten them' (TR ἀπειλῇ ἀπειλησώμεθα; edd. omit ἀπειλῇ, whence RV 'let us threaten them').

Straitness.—Dt 28[53] 'In the siege and in the straitness, wherewith thine enemies shall distress thee' (RV 'shall straiten thee'), so vv.[55. 57], Jer 19[9]. The word also occurs in Job 36[16] opposed to 'a broad place,' and 2 Mac 12[21] (στενότης). Cf. Is 58[3] Cov. 'Wherfore fast we (saye they) and thou seist it not? we put our lives to straitnesse, and thou regardest it not?'

J. HASTINGS.

STRANGE, STRANGER.—Both these words have shades of meaning in AV which are now almost obsolete, and they are also used to represent various Heb. terms, whose significations are materially distinct. On the other hand, the word 'strange' has a connotation in modern English which it never possesses in the OT, and very rarely in the NT. Hence in many passages considerable confusion, which might have been obviated by a

* Chaucer uses the ptcp. in its lit. sense, 'drawn,' applying it to a sword: *Nonne Preestes Tale*, 537—

'Pirrus with his streite swerd
When he hadde hent king Priam by the berd,
And slayn him.'

† 'Straight' is a distinct word, from Anglo-Sax. *streht*, ptcp. of *streccan*, to stretch.

change of rendering in the RV, is produced in the mind of the English reader.

'Strange' (Old Fr. *estrange*, Lat. *extraneus*) and 'stranger' mean in a great many instances simply 'foreign'* [a word unknown to AV except in 1 Mac 15^3, 2 Mac 10^{24}; but introduced by RV in Zeph 1^8, Ac 26^{11} in place of AV 'strange'] and 'foreigner' (AV only Ex 12^{45} [wrongly for 'sojourner,' תּוֹשָׁב], Dt 15^3, Ob ^{11}, Eph 2^{19} [wrongly for 'sojourner,' *πάροικος*]; but introduced by RV in Lv 22^{25}, Dt 17^{15} 23^{20} 29^{22}, by Amer. RV in Ru 2^{10} and 2 S 15^{19} for AV 'stranger,' and by RV in Dt 14^{21} for AV 'alien'). It would conduce to clearness if, in the great majority of instances where (as in all the above OT passages except Ex 12^{45} as noted) derivatives of the root נכר are employed, the renderings 'foreign' and 'foreigner' were adopted. Thus we should have 'foreigner(s)' for בֶּן(ה)נֵכָר (lit. 'son of foreignness') or בְּנֵי (ה)נ' in Gn 17^{12} (defined by the ‖ 'not of thy seed') ^{27}, Ex 12^{43} [all P], Lv 22^{25} [H], 2 S $22^{45.\ 46}$ = Ps $18^{45.\ 46}$, Ezk $44^{7.\ 9\ bis}$, Neh 9^2, Is $56^{3.\ 6}$ 60^{10} 61^5 62^8, Ps $144^{7.\ 11}$; and 'foreign (not 'strange') god(s)' אֵל נֵכָר Dt 32^{12}, Mal 2^{11}, Ps 81^{10}; אֱלֹהֵי (ה)נ' Gn $35^{2.\ 4}$, Jos $24^{20.\ 23}$ [all E], Jg 10^{16}, 1 S 7^3, Jer 5^{19}, 2 Ch 33^5; אֱלֹהֵי נֵכַר־הָאָרֶץ Dt 31^{16}); 'foreign vanities,' *i.e.* idolatries (הַבְלֵי נ' Jer 8^{19}); 'foreign altars' (מִזְבְּחוֹת נ' 2 Ch 14^2); 'foreign soil' (אַדְמַת נ' Ps 137^4); 'everything foreign' (כָּל־נ' Neh 13^{20}).

The same rendering would reproduce נָכְרִי in Gn 31^{15} [but here, perhaps, in narrower sense of 'not of one's father's family'], Dt 14^{21} [‖ גֵּר] 15^3 (cf. אִישׁ נ' 17^{15}) 23^{11} [opp. 'thy brother'] 29^{21} [+ 'who cometh from a far distant land'], Jg 17^{12} (defined by 'who is not of the children of Israel'), Ru 2^{10}, 2 S 15^{19} [‖ גֹּלָה 'exile'], 1 K 8^{41} [+ 'who is not of thy people'] = 2 Ch 6^{32}, v.^{43} = 2 Ch 6^{33}, Is 2^6, La 5^2, Ob ^{11} [both ‖ זָרִים]. So we should have a 'foreign (not 'strange') people' (עַם נָכְרִי Ex 21^8 [E]), 'foreign apparel' (כְּלֵבוּשׁ נ' Zeph 1^8), 'foreign land' (אֶרֶץ נָכְרִיָּה Ex 2^{22} [J] 18^3 [E]); note esp. of נָשִׁים נָכְרִיּוֹת 'strange (*i.e.* foreign [non-Isr.]) wives' (1 K $11^{1.\ 8}$, Ezr $10^{2.\ 10.\ 11.\ 14.\ 17.\ 18.\ 44}$, Neh $13^{21.\ 27}$). A 'strange woman' (נָכְרִיָּה) is a techn. term in Proverbs for a *harlot* (perhaps because in Israel harlots were originally chiefly foreigners): Pr 2^{16} 7^5 5^{20} [all ‖ זָרָה (אִשָּׁה)] 6^{24} [אֵשֶׁת רָע ‖] 23^{27} [‖ זוֹנָה].

The word זָר, which is also frequently rendered 'stranger' in AV, can in some of its usages hardly be distinguished in sense from נָכְרִי (see art. FOREIGNER), but, if a distinctive Eng. term be desired, we would suggest 'alien' (used in AV in Ex 18^3 [wrongly for 'sojourner,' *gēr*], Dt 14^{21}, Job 19^{15}, Ps $69^{8\ (9)}$, La 5^2 [all נָכְרִי], Is 61^5 [בְּנֵי נֵכָר], He 11^{34} [ἀλλότριος], Eph 2^{12} [ἀπηλλοτριωμένοι ‖ ξένοι]; and introduced by RV in Pr 5^{10} [זָר], Ezk 44^7 [בֶּן־נֵכָר], and by Amer. RV in Ps $144^{7.\ 11}$ [בְּנֵי נֵכָר]).

Zār may denote 'alien' or 'strange' in a narrower or a wider sense; (*a*) strange to a *person*: Job 19^{27} 'and mine eyes shall behold, and not another' (m. 'as a stranger'), a passage of doubtful meaning; Pr 14^{10} 'The heart knoweth its own bitterness, and a stranger doth not intermeddle with its joy'; 27^2 'Let another man praise thee . . . a stranger . . .'; cf. the 'alien woman' (אִשָּׁה זָרָה) of Pr 2^{16} 5^3. ^{20} 7^5 22^{14} 23^{33} [several times ‖ נָכְרִיָּה, see above]. (*b*) Strange to a *family*, *i.e.* belonging to another household: Dt 25^5, 1 K 3^{18}, Job 19^{15}, Ps 109^{11}, Pr $5^{10.\ 17}$ 6^1 11^{15} 20^{15} 27^{13}; fig. of another household than God's, Hos 5^7; esp. of another family than the priests (Ex 29^{33} 30^{33}, Nu $3^{10.\ 38}$ 17^5 [Eng. 16^{40}] 18^7 [all P], Lv $22^{10.\ 12.\ 13}$ [all H]), or of another tribe than Levi (Nu 1^{51} 18^4 [both P]). (*c*) Strange to a *land*, *i.e. foreign*; so freq. plur. זָרִים 'foreigners,' 'aliens' (often with the implication of hostility): Hos 7^9 8^7, Is $1^{7\ bis}$ $25^{2.\ 5}$ 29^5 61^5, Jer 5^{19} 30^8 $51^{2.\ 51}$, La 5^2, Ezk 7^{21} 11^9 16^{32} $28^{7.\ 10}$ 30^{12} 31^{12}, Jl 4 (3)^{17}, Ob^{11}, Job 15^{19}, Ps $54^{5\ (3)}$; note esp. the phrases a 'strange god' אֵל זָר Ps $44^{21\ (20)}$ $81^{10\ (9)}$, Is 43^{12} [זָר alone, cf. זָרִים 'strange ones' in Dt 32^{16} and in Jer 2^{25} 3^{13}]), 'strange (*i.e.* foreign) waters' (2 K 19^{24}, Jer 18^{14}), 'strange slips' (נְכֹרֹת זָר, lit. 'vine-slip of an alien,' Is 17^{10}); God's *tôrah* is counted as alien (כְּמוּזָר נֶחְשָׁבוּ Hos 8^{12}); 'his work is alien' (Is 28^{21}, see below). (*d*) Strange to the *Law*: 'strange incense' (קְטֹרֶת זָרָה Ex 30^9 [P]); 'strange fire' (אֵשׁ זָרָה Lv 10^1, Nu 3^4 26^{61} [all P]). See NADAB.

The LXX and NT equivalents of 'strange' and 'stranger' in the senses discussed above will be found under art. FOREIGNER.

The idea of *foreign* naturally leads to that of *unfamiliar* or *unknown*: Job 19^{15} 'I am become a foreigner (נָכְרִי) in their eyes'; Ps $69^{8\ (9)}$ 'I am become estranged (מוּזָר) unto my brethren, and a foreigner (נָכְרִי) to my mother's children'; Ec 6^2 'a stranger (נָכְרִי) eateth it'; Is 28^{21} 'foreign (נָכְרִיָּה) is his task, alien (זָר) his act' [cf. the common expression 'this is *foreign* to one's nature'; or is the meaning here that he acts as if dealing with (foreign) enemies?]; Jer 2^{21} 'a foreign vine' (גֶּפֶן נָכְרִיָּה fig. of degenerate Israel); Pr 20^{16} 27^{13}, where זָר and נָכְרִי are both used of persons *unknown* to one.*

This last usage approaches, but does not reach, the modern sense of 'strange,' namely *peculiar* or *wonderful*, a sense which is pretty near to that represented by ξενίζοντά τινα ('certain strange things') of Ac 17^{20} (cf. ξενίζουσαι συμφοραί, 'strange sufferings' of 2 Mac 9^6), ξενίζονται ('they think it strange') of 1 P 4^4, and μὴ ξενίζεσθε ('think it not strange') of v.^{12}. Once only is this sense unmistakably conveyed by 'strange' in canonical Scripture, namely in Lk 5^{26} 'We have seen strange things to-day.' The Gr. is παράδοξος, which occurs in the same sense in the Apocrypha in Jth 13^{13}, Wis 5^2 19^5 (cf. v.^{8} θαυμαστός), Sir 43^{25}, 2 Mac 9^{24} [EV in last 'contrary to expectation'].

It is most unfortunate and confusing that AV uses 'stranger' also to represent גֵּר or (thrice, Lv $25^{6.\ 45.\ 47}$) the allied term תּוֹשָׁב, words which would be much more happily rendered 'sojourner.' 'Stranger' might suitably be retained as tr^{n} of both נָכְרִי and זָר in the few instances where their specific renderings 'foreign(er)' and 'alien' hardly suit the idiom or the context. The standing and privileges of the *gēr* (the familiar 'stranger within thy gates') are described fully in art. GER.

J. A. SELBIE.

STRAW (תֶּבֶן *teben*, in Is 25^{10} מַתְבֵּן *mathbēn*; ἄχυρον, *palea*). — The Hebrew *teben* is the same as the Arabic *tibn*, which is the straw of wheat and barley cut by the threshing machine into pieces from ½ to 2 in. long, and more or less split and torn, and mixed with chaff. It is the universal accompaniment to the provender of the domestic herbivorous animals. It is usually mixed with barley, and takes the place of hay. It was mixed with clay in the manufacture of unbaked bricks (see Dillm.-Ryssel on Ex 5^7). In one passage (Jer 23^{28}) AV tr. it 'chaff,' RV 'straw' (see CHAFF). In one (Job 21^{18}) AV and RV tr. it 'stubble.' In all the rest (Gn $24^{25.\ 32}$, Ex $5^{7.\ 10.\ 11.\ 12.\ 13.\ 16.\ 18}$, Jg 19^{19}, 1 K 4^{28}, Job 41^{27}, Is 11^7 65^{25}) both VSS tr. it 'straw.' As 'straw' in Western languages refers to whole stalks of the cereals, it might be better to adopt the Arab. *tibn*, a word now well under-

* Cf. Udall, *Erasm. Paraph.* i. fol. 65, 'the straunge woman' (of the Syro-Phœnician); *Homilies*, p. 512, 'a certain strange philosopher'; Shaks. *Henry VIII.* II. iv. 15—

'I am a most poor woman, and a stranger,
Born out of your dominions.'

* The denom. verb נכר occurs in Hithp. in sense of 'make oneself strange,' 'act as a stranger' in Gn 42^7 (of Joseph's attitude to his brothers) and 1 K $14^{5.\ 6}$ (of Jeroboam's wife feigning herself to be a stranger). In Dt 32^{27} the words פֶּן־יְנַכְּרוּ צָרֵימוֹ (AV 'lest their adversaries should behave themselves strangely') appear to mean 'lest . . . should misdeem' (RV), *i.e.* fail to recognize the truth [lit. 'treat as foreign,' cf. Jer 19^4].

stood, and which is better than 'cut straw,' as it includes the chaff. There is no reason for the rendering 'stubble' or 'chaff.' Whole straw is seldom used for any purpose in the East.

G. E. Post.

STREAM.—See Brook and River.

STREET.—In Oriental towns the streets seem to owe their form and direction more to accident than design. The houses are built with a view to seclusion and comfort within, and with little care as to what is without. Space is precious, so the streets are narrow; and as no order is enforced in building, they twist and turn among the houses with bewildering effect. They are usually unpaved, and go swiftly to mud in rainy weather. Often, in spite of the industry of innumerable dogs, the refuse cast out is at once offensive and dangerous to health. The upper storeys frequently project over the street, leaving only a narrow opening overhead. This utilizes space, and forms a shelter from heat. In unwalled towns and villages, in obedience to the instinct of defence, the houses are crushed closely together: the openings between them are rather alleys than streets. Schick gives the average width of the streets in Jerusalem as 2·75 m. (*ZDPV*, 1884, iv. 217); the *στενωποί* of Josephus (*BJ* v. viii. 1) would still accurately describe most of them. Where a town is built on a steep slope, as, *e.g.*, in Safed, the roofs of the lower houses sometimes form the street in front of the higher.

Tobit (13[17]) sees the streets of the future Jerusalem 'paved with beryl, and carbuncle, and stones of Ophir' (cf. Rev 21[21]). Herod the Great laid a main street in Antioch with 'polished stone' (Jos. *Ant.* XVI. v. 3). This is the first mention of actual pavement. Agrippa II. consented to the paving of Jerusalem with white stone (*ib.* XX. ix. 7). The two spacious thoroughfares characteristic of Syro-Greek and Syro-Roman cities, which cut through the city at right angles, were commonly paved with stone. Their remains can be traced in Bozrah, Damascus, etc.; but by far the finest example is found at Shuhba, on the north-western shoulder of Jebel Haurân. In some cases the central roadway was separated from the passage for foot passengers on either side by a stately colonnade. The imposing effect of this arrangement may still be seen among the ruins of Jerash.

Men of the same trade are usually found in one street. In Jer 37[21] we read of the 'bakers' street.' Josephus (*BJ* v. viii. 1) says Titus entered through the second wall 'at the place where are the merchants of wool, the braziers and the market for cloth.' So in Cairo and Damascus, for instance, we have the bazaars of the braziers, the silversmiths, the saddlers, etc. The goods are exposed for sale in little shops whose fronts are entirely open. The bazaars are frequently roofed with glass. As strictly business streets, they are shut at sunset, and closely guarded.

חוּץ, 'what is without,' is the Heb. word which properly corresponds to *street*: רְחוֹב is unhappily often so rendered, esp. in AV (less often in RV), but it really means *broad* or *open place* (cf. Driver on Am 5[16] or Dn 9[25]). For חוּץ LXX gives ὁδός (Is 5[25] etc.), ἔξοδος (2 S 1[20] etc.), δίοδος (Is 7[34]), πλατεῖα (Ps 18[42] etc.); for עַל־פְּנֵי־חוּץ (Job 18[17]), ἐπὶ πρόσωπον ἐξωτέρω, where the sense is evidently 'on the face of the earth' (Davidson, *Job, ad loc.*). In each case AV and RV render 'street.' This is right when the reference is to the outside of the house. The context determines the meaning. In Ps 144[13] RV gives correctly 'in our fields.' רְחוֹב is represented in LXX by ὁδός (Is 59[14]), δίοδος (Dt 13[16]), ἔπαυλις (Ps 144[14]); but the usual equivalent is πλατεῖα, in which the root idea is the same. It applies to the open space at the gate (see Open Place) where assemblies met, cases were tried, and business done; also to any square or open space in the city, as, *e.g.*, before the house of God (Ezk 10[19]). שׁוּק occurs in Pr 7[8], Ec 12[4, 5], Ca 3[2]. In the first LXX renders δίοδος, 'thoroughfare'; in the others ἀγορά. This corresponds with Arab. *sûḳ* = 'market,' or 'place of concourse': *zuḳaḳ* is used for the common passages between the houses.

In NT πλατεῖα and ῥύμη are practically synonymous. Although in Lk 14[21] we read πλατείας καὶ ῥύμας, possibly here implying distinction in breadth, and rendered 'streets and lanes,' yet the street called Straight in Damascus is called ῥύμη (Ac 9[11]), and it was one of the finest streets in Syria. For ἀγορά (Mk 6[56]) RV gives correctly 'market place.'

W. Ewing.

STRENGTH OF ISRAEL.—The EV tr. of the Divine title נֵצַח יִשְׂרָאֵל in 1 S 15[29]. The word נֵצַח occurs parallel with הוֹד, תִּפְאֶרֶת, גְּבוּרָה, גְּדֻלָּה, in a list of Divine attributes in 1 Ch 29[11], where it is tr. in EV 'victory' (so LXX νίκη). Driver (*Heb. Text of Samuel*, p. 98) points out that the proper meaning of the root נצח is *splenduit*, and argues that the sense of victory is a special and derived one. He adopts for נצח ישׂראל the tr. 'the *Glory* of Israel' (similarly, Löhr). H. P. Smith (following the Vulg. *triumphator*) renders 'the *Victor*'; Wellh. 'the *Faithful one*.' The LXX in 1 S 15[29] has καὶ διαιρεθήσεται Ἰσραὴλ εἰς δύο, which implies that the Gr. translator read or misread יחצה for נצח.

J. A. Selbie.

STRIKE, STROKE.—The verb 'to strike' is of Anglo-Sax. origin, coming from *strīcan* 'to advance swiftly and smoothly' (Middle Eng. *striken*),* though it is allied to Lat. *stringere* 'to touch swiftly and lightly, graze.' It is thus properly an intrans. verb, its trans. form being 'stroke' (from Anglo-Sax. *stracian*, causal of *strīcan*). But 'strike' early adopted a transitive sense, and the two verbs were not kept distinct.

1. In AV 'strike' occurs transitively in the phrase 'strike through.'

For example: Jg 5[26] 'When she had pierced and stricken through his temples' (וְחָלְקָה רַקָּתָהּ), RV 'she struck through his temples'; Moore 'she . . . demolishes his temple, *lit.* makes it vanish,' with a long note justifying the tr.; the *Oxf. Heb. Lex.* gives 'pierce'; the Heb. vb. is usually intrans. 'pass on or away,' but here and in Job 20[24] it is trans. 'pass through'); Job 20[24] 'The bow of steel shall strike him through,' Ps 110[5], Pr 7[23], La 4[9], Hab 3[14] (RV 'pierce'). It is a strong phrase meaning to *crush*, and the verb 'strike' has its original meaning of swift motion. Cf. Milton, *Reform. in Eng.* i. 'The bright and blissful Reformation (by Divine Power) strook through the black and settled Night of Ignorance and Anti-Christian Tyranny.'

2. Through the confusion between 'strike' and 'stroke,' the former came to mean *rub smoothly*. There are some examples in AV.

Ex 12[7] 'They shall take of the blood and strike it on the two side-posts' (וְנָתְנוּ, LXX θήσουσιν, RV 'put it'); so 12[22]; also 2 K 5[11] 'He will surely come out to me, and stand, and call on the name of the Lord his God, and strike his hand over the place, and recover the leper' (וְהֵנִיף יָדוֹ אֶל־הַמָּקוֹם, LXX ἐπιθήσει τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον, RV 'wave his hand over the place' —because it is the same Heb. verb that is used for 'waving' the 'wave-offering' [Ex 29[24, 26] etc.], for waving the hand as a signal [Is 13[2]], and the like—see *Oxf. Heb. Lex. s.* נוף); To 11[11] 'He strake of the gall on his father's eyes' (προσέπαισε τὴν χολὴν ἐπὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς). Cf. Holland, *Plinie*, ii. 313, 'If the side-posts or doore-cheeks of any house be striked with the said bloud, whersoever magicians are busie with their feats and juggling casts, they shall take no effect.'

* This early meaning is most nearly seen in the phrase *stricken in age* or *in years*: Gn 18[11] 'Now Abraham and Sarah were old and well stricken in age' [בָּאִים בַּיָּמִים, which is always the Heb. whether the Eng. be 'age' (Gn 18[11] 24[1], Jos. 23[1, 2]) or 'years' (Jos 13[1 bis])]; Lk 1[7] 'They both were now well stricken in years' (προβεβηκοτες ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις αὐτῶν), 1[18]. Cf. Robinson's *More's Utopia*, 29, 'I chaunced to espye this foresayde Peter talkynge with a certayne Straunger, a man well stricken in age.'

3. To 'strike sail' is simply to haul it down in order to ease the ship: Ac 27[17] 'strake sail,' Gr. *χαλάσαντες τὸ σκεῦος*, RV 'they lowered the gear'—see Smith, *Voyage and Shipwreck*, p. 105 ff.; Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller*, 329 f.; and the notes by Page and by Knowling.

4. To 'strike hands' is to become security, as Pr 17[18] 'A man void of understanding striketh hands, and becometh surety in the presence of his friend,' so 6[1] 11[15m.] 22[26], Job 17[3], Ad. Est 14[8]. The expression is Heb. and arises from the action.

5. In the Pref. to AV occurs the rare but intelligible phrase 'strike the stroke'; 'The vintage of Abiezer, that strake the stroke; yet the gleaning of grapes of Ephraim was not to be despised.'

6. The verb 'to strike' is used for the action of God's hand in disease or death, and the result is a 'stroke.'

Strike: 2 S 12[15] 'The Lord struck the child that Uriah's wife bare unto David, and it was very sick'; 2 Ch 13[20] 'The Lord struck him, and he died'; Is 1[5] 'Why should ye be stricken any more?'; 16[7] 'Surely they are stricken' (אֻכֶּה־נָּגְאִים, RV 'utterly stricken'); 53[4] 'We did esteem him stricken'; 53[8] 'For the transgressions of my people was he stricken' (נֶגַע לָמוֹ, RVm 'to whom the stroke was due'—see Cheyne's and Skinner's notes). Cf. Knox, *Works*, iii. 231, 'I can not but feir lyke plagues to stryke the realme of England'; Bunyan, *Holy War*, 27, 'My brave Lord Innocent fell down dead (with grief, some say; with being poisoned with the striking breath of one Ill-Pause, as say others).'

Stroke: Job 23[2] 'My stroke is heavier than my groaning' (so RV; Heb. lit. as AVm 'my hand': but it is scarcely possible, says Davidson, that 'my hand' should mean 'the hand of God upon me,' *i.e.* 'my stroke'; see his note); 36[18] 'Beware lest he take thee away with his stroke' (פֶּן־יְסִיתְךָ בְשִׁפְקָם, RV 'lest thou be led away by thy sufficiency,' RVm 'lest wrath lead thee away into mockery'); Ps 39[10] 'Remove thy stroke away from me'; Is 1[6] 'He who smote the people in wrath with a continual stroke'; Ezk 24[16] 'I take from thee the desire of thine eyes with a stroke.' The 'stroke'* of OT, as of Is 53[4. 8], was probably leprosy; in modern language a 'stroke' is paralysis. See art. PLAGUE in vol. iii. p. 887[b]. Cf. Shaks. *Rich. II.* III. i. 31—

> 'More welcome is the stroke of death to me
> Than Bolingbroke to England.'

Timon of Athens, IV. i. 23—

> 'Plagues, incident to men,
> Your potent and infectious fevers heap
> On Athens, ripe for stroke.'

J. HASTINGS.

STRIPES.—See CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS, vol. i. p. 527.

STUBBLE.—In one place (Job 21[18]) this is the unfortunate tr[n] (AV and RV) of *teben* (see STRAW). In all other places it is the equivalent, in both Eng. VSS, of קַשׁ *kash*. The LXX tr. this word in two places (Job 13[25] 41[28]) *χόρτος*; in eight *καλάμη* (='stubble' or 'straw'), and in four *φρύγανα* ('dry sticks' and 'stems,' including stubble, such as are gathered for fuel). This is the current (not classical) meaning of the Arab. cognate *kash*. Once (Is 33[11]) the expression 'ye shall bring forth stubble' is tr. by LXX *αἰσθηθήσεσθε* (B), 'ye shall perceive,' or *αἰσχυνθήσεσθε* (א[c. a]), 'ye shall be ashamed,' evidently a different reading. Grain in Bible lands is not cut by the sickle, but pulled up by the roots, or the straw broken off short near them. Consequently there is little stubble in the harvest field, in our sense of the term. When *teben* was withheld from them, the Israelites had to utilize *kash* for the manufacture of their bricks. *Kash* refers to such remnants of grain stalks, with sticks and stumps of small plants, as are expressed by *φρύγανα*. Such furnish the pasturage of countless herds of cattle and flocks of sheep. They are liable to catch fire and burn. Most of the allusions to stubble are with reference to such conflagrations (Ex 15[7], Is 5[24], Jl 2[5] etc.). It is finally rooted up and carried away by the wind (Job 13[25], Is 40[24], Jer 13[24] etc.). One of the most characteristic spectacles witnessed in passing over the breezy plains of Syria, after the harvest is over, is that of the uprooted plants of the large *Umbelliferæ*, *Compositæ*, and others, often with a spherical contour, dried to excessive lightness by the hot winds and whirled across the fields, leaping madly over stones and inequalities in the surface, and sometimes taking long flights in the air, then pausing a moment, only to bound off again, until they are caught in some thorn bush, or lost to view beyond the distant horizon. G. E. POST.

STUFF (Lat. *stupa*, *stuppa*, the coarse part of flax, tow, Old Fr. *estoffe*) is used in AV in the sense of goods, esp. household furniture. The Heb. is כְּלִי *kĕlî*, except in Ex 36[7] (מְלָאכָה, lit. 'work,' of the furniture of the tabernacle). The Gr. is *τὰ σκευάσματα*, Jth 15[11]; or *τὰ σκεύη*, Jth 16[19], Lk 17[31]. Cf. Udall, *Erasmus' Par.* i. 7, 'All that ever they had about them of stuffe or furniture, shewed and testifyed povertie and simplicitie'; North, *Plutarch*, 871, 'This man after he had spent the most part of his father's goods, was so sore in debt, that he was driven to sell his household stuffe, by billes set up on every post.'

In 2 Ch 2[heading] 'stuff' means 'materials' for building. Cf. Erasmus, *Crede*, 39, 'Certayne men . . . have taught that he doth create which doth brynge forthe and make somewhat of nothynge, which belongeth onely to God, and that he doth make which frameth or shapeth ony thing of some matere or stuffe'; Ex 39[5] Tind. 'And the brodrynge of the girdel that was upon it was of the same stuffe and after the same worke of gold.'

J. HASTINGS.

STUMBLING BLOCK.—The word 'block' was formerly used of a lump of wood, stone, or the like, in one's way, and was then applied fig. to any obstruction. Thus Payne, *Royal Exch.* 38, 'At which common block many weakelings do stumble.' The expression exists now only in the compound 'stumbling-block,' and only the compound is found in AV.

The words so tr[d] are in Heb.: (1) *mikshôl* (Lv 19[14], Is 57[14], Jer 6[21], Ezk 3[20] 7[19] 14[3. 4]*); and (2) *makshêlah* (Zeph 1[3]). The Gr. words are: (1) *πρόσκομμα* (Sir 39[24], Ro 14[13], 1 Co 8[9]); (2) *ξύλον προσκόμματος* (Sir 31[7]); and (3) *σκάνδαλον* (Wis 14[11], Sir 7[6], Ro 11[9], 1 Co 1[23], Rev 2[14]). See OFFENCE, vol. iii. p. 586[a].

In the same way **stumblingstone** is used in Ro 9[32. 33] (*λίθος προσκόμματος*), for which RV gives 'stone of stumbling,' the AV expression for the same Gr. in 1 P 2[8]. 'Stone of stumbling' occurs also in Is 8[14] for *'eben negeph*, the latter word meaning lit. 'plague,' 'stroke' (see STRIKE, STROKE).

J. HASTINGS.

SUA (B Σουά, A Σουσά, AV Sud), 1 Es 5[29]=Siaha, Ezr 2[44]; Sia, Neh 7[47].

SUAH (סוּחַ; B Χουχί, A and Luc. Σοῦε).—An Asherite, 1 Ch 7[36].

SUBAI (Συβαεί), 1 Es 5[30]=Shamlai, Ezr 2[46]; Salmai, Neh 7[48].

SUBAS (Σουβάς, AV Suba), 1 Es 5[34].—His sons were among the sons of Solomon's servants who returned with Zerubbabel. There is no corresponding name in the lists of Ezr 2, Neh 7.

SUCATHITES (שׁוֹכָתִים; B Σωχαθιείμ, A Σωκαθιείμ, Luc. Σουχαθείμ).—A family of scribes that dwelt at Jabez, 1 Ch 2[55]. See SHIMEATHITES, and cf. GENEALOGY, iv. 39, and Wellh. *de Gentibus*, 30 ff.

SUCCEED, SUCCESS.—To succeed (Lat. *succĕdere*, from *sub*, next, and *cĕdere*, to go; Fr. *suc-*

* In the same way the subst. 'blow' is used in Ps 39[10] and Jer 14[17]. In the former passage RV retains, the Heb. being found only there; in the latter it changes into 'wound'

* On Ezekiel's 'block-gods' see Davidson's note to 64.

céder) is simply to follow; and success (Lat. *successus*, Old Fr. *succes*) is that which follows. Thus, Shaks. *II Henry VI.* II. iv. 2—

'After summer evermore succeeds
Barren winter';

Tymme, *Calvin's Genesis*, 785, 'This verily was rare honour, to be tolde of the event, and successe to come of fourteene yeares'—in reference to the interpretation of Pharaoh's dreams. In modern Eng. when the reference is to the result of an enterprise, 'succeed' and 'success' denote prosperity, but in older Eng. the nature of the result was not contained in the words themselves, but had to be indicated by an adv. or adjective.

Succeed: In Sir 48[8] the verb occurs in its simple sense, and the prep. is expressed, 'Who anointedst kings to take revenge, and prophets to succeed after him' (*διαδόχους μετ' αὐτόν*). We still say 'follow after,' but not 'succeed after.' The nature of the result is expressed by an adv. in To 4[6] 'If thou deal truly, thy doings shall prosperously succeed to thee' (*εὐοδίαι ἔσονταί ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις σου*). Cf. Shaks. *Lear*, I. ii. 157, 'The effects he writes of succeed unhappily.'

Success: It was possible in 1611 to use 'success' in a good sense;* it occurs so once in AV, 2 Mac 10[28] 'For a pledge of their success and victory' (*ἔγγυον ἰσηνεμερίας καὶ νίκης*). So Fuller, *Holy State*, 258, 'God causeth sometimes the sunne of successe to shine as well on bad as good projects.' But elsewhere in AV an adj. is used, either 'good' (Jos 1[8], 1 S 18[heading], To 7[12], Wis 13[19], Sir 20[9] 38[13], 1 Mac 4[55] 8[23], 2 Mac 10[23] 13[16]) or 'prosperous' (Sir 43[26]). Cf. Fuller, *Holy State*, 109, 'God mouldeth some for a scholemaster's life, undertaking it with desire and delight and discharging it with dexterity and happy successe.' On the other hand, *Holy State*, 79, 'Sorrow-struck with some sad signe of ill-successe'; and Milton, *PR* iv. 1—

'Perplexed and troubled at his bad success,
The tempter stood.'

J. HASTINGS.

SUCCOTH.—**1.** (סֻכּוֹת) A place so called according to Gn 33[17] because of the booths (Heb. *ṣukkôth*) which Jacob made there for his cattle. In the Heb. text of this verse *ṣukkôth* occurs three times and is rendered 'Succoth'—'booths'—'Succoth' in AV and RV. The LXX by using *σκηναί* three times makes clear the identity of *Succoth* with *booths*, which has to be explained in the margin of AV and RV, but conveys the impression that the name of Succoth was then *Σκηναί*. Josephus (*Ant.* I. xxi. 1) states that the place was so called in his time; but this name would not have been given before the period of Greek supremacy. The Targ. and Syr. preserve the proper name Succoth, but in place of the second *ṣukkôth* (tr. 'booths' in EV) use מטללא, words which in a modified form are employed as equivalents for 'tabernacles' and 'booths' in Lv 23[34. 42] and other places where reference is made to the Feast of Tabernacles. The Vulgate explains 'Socoth, id est tabernacula,' though 'tentoriis' corresponds to 'booths' in the earlier part of the verse.

The passages where the name occurs are: Gn 33[17] *Σκηναί*; Jos 13[27] B *Σοκχωθά*, A *Σιωχώ*, Luc. *Σιχώθ*; Jg 8[5-16] B *Σοκχώθ*, in v.[16] *τῆς πόλεως*, A *Σοκχώθ*; 1 K 7[46] (v.[33] in LXX) *Σοκχώθ*; 2 Ch 4[17] B *Σεχχώθ* (?), A *Σοκχώθ*; Ps 60[8] B *τῶν σκηνῶν*, Aq. *συσκιασμῶν*; Ps 108[8] ℵ *τῶν σκηνωμάτων*, ART *σκηνῶν*.

The passages in Joshua, Judges, Kings, and Chron. refer to a place E. of Jordan. Jos 13[27] mentions Succoth as in the territory of Sihon, king of Heshbon. In Gideon's pursuit of the Midianites as related in Jg 8, he comes to Succoth *after* crossing the Jordan. From the references in Ps 60[6] [Heb. 8] 108[7] [Heb. 8] to the 'valley of Succoth' nothing definite as to geographical position can be inferred, but a locality east of the Jordan is suitable (note that the LXX in these two passages does not treat Succoth as a proper name). Jerome on Gn 33[17] (*Quæst. Heb. in lib. Gen.*) observes with reference to Succoth: 'Est autem usque hodie civitas trans Jordanem hoc vocabulo inter partes Scythopoleos.' Jerome testifies to the survival of the Heb. name, while Josephus (as already remarked) testifies to the existence of its Gr. equivalent. The Talm. Jerus. (*Shebiith*, ix. 2) gives דרעלה (in some edd. תרעלה) as yet another name for Succoth, and Merrill (*East of the Jordan*, p. 386), followed by Conder (*Heth and Moab*, p. 183) and G. A. Smith (*HGHL*, 585), proposes *Tell Deir'Alla*, a mound about 1 mile N. of the Jabbok, as the site of the ancient Succoth, and the present equivalent of דרעלה. A place *Sâkût*, about 10 miles south of Beisan, on the west of the Jordan, has also been proposed as the site; but, though this may meet the requirements of the narrative in Gn 33, a place E. of the Jordan seems necessary for some of the other places where the name is mentioned. Tristram (*Bible Places*, p. 345) failed to find any trace of the name Succoth east of Jordan.

2. (*Σοκχώθ*, Ex 12[37] 13[20], Nu 33[5. 6]) The first encampment of the children of Israel on leaving Egypt. The word is a pure Heb. one, signifying 'booths' or 'tents' (see above), but Egyptologists regard it as the equivalent of an Egyptian word *Thuku* or *Thuket*, the name of a region of which the capital was Pithom. Brugsch and Naville are agreed on this point, but not as to the situation of Pithom. Ebers proposes a different Egyptian word as the equivalent of Succoth, but agrees with Naville as to the position of the region so designated. Referring to art. EXODUS, vol. i. p. 802, it will be seen that the neighbourhood of the station Ramses, on the railway from Zagazig to Ismailia, corresponds to the ancient Succoth. The children of Israel must have remained here a short time to arrange themselves in order for their future march; and whether the name was used by them in imitation of a similarly sounding Egyptian word, or because they then began to dwell in booths, may be left an open question.

A. T. CHAPMAN.

SUCCOTH-BENOTH (סֻכּוֹת־בְּנוֹת; B *Ῥοχχωθβαινειθεί*, A *Σοκχωθβενιθεί*; *Sochoth-benoth*).—In 2 K 17[30] it is said that the colonists from Babylon at Samaria 'made Succoth-benoth,' just as the colonists from Cuth 'made Nergal.' The parallelism between *Nergal* and *Succoth-benoth* shows that the latter must be the name of a deity. As Nergal was the patron-god of Cuth, it is reasonable to infer that in Succoth-benoth we have a corrupted form either of Bel-Merodach, the patron-god of Babylon, or of his wife Zarpanit. There is consequently a good deal of probability in the conjecture of Rawlinson (*Herodotus*[3], i. p. 654) that we have in it a corruption of the Babylonian *Zarpanit*, 'the silvery one,' which, in accordance with a popular etymology, is generally written *Zer-banit*, 'the seed-creatress,' in the cuneiform texts. The spelling of the name in the LXX lends support to this view; and it is just possible that Rawlinson may be right in suggesting that the biblical *Succoth* is due to a confusion between *zerit*, which seems to be a derivative form from *zeru* (see Haupt, *Nimrod-Epos*, 8, 35), and *zarât*, 'tents' or 'booths.' In Am 5[26] the name of the Babylonian god Sakkut has been transformed into סִכּוּת, if we accept Schrader's explanation of the passage (*SK*, 1874, pp. 324–332). Perhaps the fact that the images of the Babylonian divinities were carried in procession in 'ships' or arks, assisted in the change of the name. It is even possible that by *Succoth* the Hebrew writer intended to denote these processional shrines, *Benoth* (from *Benith*) being corrupted from *Belith* or *Belit*, the classical *Beltis*, a common title and synonym of *Zer-banit*.

LITERATURE.—Schrader, *COT* i. 274 f.; Delitzsch, *Paradies*, 215; Jensen, *ZA* iv. 352; and the Comm. *ad loc.*

A. H. SAYCE.

* On the other hand, it is found in the Rhemish NT in a bad sense: 'As God hath shewed by the successe of all Heretical Colloquies, Synodes, and Assemblies in Germanie, France, Poole, and other places in our daies' (note on Ac 15[28]).

SUD (Σούδ, *Sodi*).—The 'river' of Babylon, on which dwelt 'Jechonias, the son of Joakim, king of Judah,' and his fellow-exiles (Bar 1[4]). The canal on which Babylon was situated before its destruction by Sennacherib was called the Arakhtu; but the whole of Babylonia was intersected by small canals, each of which had a name, and it is therefore quite possible that in the time of Nebuchadrezzar one of those in the neighbourhood of the capital bore a name which resembled Sud. As, however, the Greek sibilant can represent more than one Semitic letter, it is useless to speculate about the Babylonian form of the name until we know how it was written in Hebrew or Aramaic.

A. H. SAYCE.

SUDDENLY.—The adj. 'sudden' and the adv. 'suddenly' were often used formerly without the element of surprise which belongs to their root (Lat. *subitaneus*, from *subire*, 'to come stealthily'), and is always associated with their use in mod. English. Thus Shaks. uses 'sudden' in the sense of *soon* (*Meas. for Meas.* II. ii. 83, 'To-morrow! O, that's sudden'); and of *hasty* (*As You Like It*, v. ii. 8, 'My sudden wooing, nor her sudden consenting'); and of *impetuous* (*Rich. II.* II. i. 35, 'Small showers last long, but sudden storms are short'). So also he uses 'suddenly' in the sense of *quickly* (*Tam. Shrew*, ii. 327, 'Was ever match clapped up so suddenly?') or *presently* (*I Henry IV.* I. iii. 294, 'When time is ripe, which will be suddenly'). In AV 'suddenly' means *speedily* in Ps 6[10] 'Let them return and be ashamed suddenly' (רָגַע, LXX *διὰ τάχους*); and in Jer 49[19] 50[44]. In 1 Ti 5[22] 'Lay hands suddenly on no man,' the meaning is *hastily* (Gr. *ταχέως*).

J. HASTINGS.

SUDIAS (BA Σουδίας, Luc. 'Ωδουιά).—A Levitical family that returned with Zerubbabel, 1 Es 5[26], called in Ezr 2[40] HODAVIAH and in Neh 7[43] HODEVAH.

SUICIDE.—See CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS, vol. i. p. 522[a].

SUKKIIM (סֻכִּיִּם; B Τρωγοδύται, A Τρωγλοδύται, Luc. Σουχιείμ).—The name of a tribe mentioned together with Libyans and Cushites as led by Shishak against Judæa (2 Ch 12[3]). The passage is not found in the corresponding text of Kings. The LXX rendering 'Troglodytes' was probably suggested by the fact of a place called Suche (Pliny, *HN* vi. 172) being mentioned among Troglodyte possessions; the same is called by Strabo (iii. 8) 'the fortress of Suchus,' and Suchus, he tells us, is a name for a sacred crocodile (*ib.* xvii. 1). Several geographers identify this place with the modern Suakin, which, however, may well be an Arabic word (*sawākin*). The identification of the Sukkiim with the inhabitants of Suakin, though accepted by Forbiger and Dillmann (in Schenkel, i. 288), is therefore very uncertain; nor is the view of Gesenius, that the word should be treated as a Hebrew adjective, 'dwellers in tents,' much more probable.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

SULPHUR.—See BRIMSTONE.

SUN.—The usual word in the OT for the first of the great lights of heaven is שֶׁמֶשׁ, Phœn. שמש, Aram. שִׁמְשָׁא (Dn 6[14]) and *shemsha*, Arab. *shamsun*, Assyr. *šamšu* (*samsu* in the name Samsu-iluna, *c.* 2200 B.C., evidently a West Semitic form). There is considerable uncertainty as to the etymology (for conjectures see Levy, *Wörterb. über die Targg.* ii. 578 f.). Other words for sun are חַמָּה, lit. 'heat,' or, adj. [?], 'hot' (Job 30[28], Ca 6[10], Is 24[23] 30[26]), and חָרֶם (Jg 8[13] 14[18], Job 9[7]), of doubtful derivation. Both these terms are used poetically, and the latter occurs in the place-name Ir-ha-Heres, 'city of the sun' (Heliopolis), RV 'city of destruction' (see IR-HA-HERES). In Job 31[26] the word used is אוֹר, marg. 'light.'

The earliest mention of the sun in the Bible is in Gn 1[14-16] [P], in which, however, none of the above words are used, the luminary being referred to as the greater of the two 'great lights' (*mĕ'ôrôth*), created to rule the day, the lesser light being to rule the night, and to divide the light from the darkness (v.[18]). Both of them were placed in the firmament for signs and for seasons, and for days and years (v.[14]). As the lesser light, the moon was the measurer of time, by her constant and clearly-marked phases; the sun was, by the constancy and regularity of his apparent motion, the real indicator. With those of the lesser light, his eclipses were regarded as signs foretelling events. He indicated the beginning and the end of each day; seasons, both religious and agricultural; regulated the festivals; and determined the commencement and termination of every year, his movements forming, at the same time, the basis of all chronological data.

Naturally, the ideas of the ancient Hebrews concerning the movements of the sun, when tested by modern science, were erroneous. As we, in the language of everyday life, speak of the sun as 'rising' and 'setting,' so they spoke of him as 'going forth' (*yāṣā'*, Gn 19[23] etc.; *zārah*, Jg 9[33], 2 S 23[4] etc.) and 'entering' (*bô'*, Gn 15[12. 17] etc.). From *zārah* and *bô'* came the expressions, *mizraḥ* (*shemesh*), 'the rising (of the sun),' also 'east'; and *mĕbô'* (*shemesh*), 'the setting (of the sun),' also 'west.' The equivalent Assyrian expressions are similar, being *ṣît* (for *aṣîṭ*, from *aṣû* = *yāṣā'*) *šamši* and *êrib šamši*, the 'coming forth' and the 'entering of the sun' (cf. for the latter, the Heb. עָרַב 'to become evening'). Poetically, this idea of going forth and entering was extended, and the sun, as well as the moon, was regarded as possessing a habitation (Hab 3[11]) and a tent or tabernacle (Ps 19[4. 5]), set for him by God, from which he came forth as a bridegroom from his chamber, rejoicing as a strong man to run his course. This idea seems to be illustrated by the designs on certain of the cylinder-seals of Babylonia, on which a deity, evidently the sun-god, is represented coming forth through the open doors, which the attendants hold back for him, at the same time turning their faces away, in order not to be blinded by his brightness. In connexion with this, it is also worthy of note that the Babylonians speak of the bolts of the high heavens greeting the sun at his setting, and his beloved wife going to meet him. There is hardly any doubt that these poetical similes are based upon the unfailing regularity of the sun's daily course, which, in more southern latitudes, varies less than with us, marking the two cardinal points, and also the division of day and night, with less variation. Such expressions as 'the time when the sun is hot' (1 S 11[9], Neh 7[3]) were therefore more precise than they would be in our latitudes. Having risen, and run his fixed path in his might (Jg 5[31]) until the time of his greatest heat, the sun went down at the hour which, like a living thing, he was supposed to know (Ps 104[19]).

Like all God's creatures, the sun was altogether dependent on His will, and at His command would cease to shine (Job 9[7]); and, this being the case, the sun could also undergo a change of his course. Of this there are two examples: Joshua's order to the sun to stand still (Jos 10[12-14], Sir 46[5]), and the going back of the shadow on the dial of Ahaz (2 K 20[8-11], Is 38[7]). The former has given rise to a considerable amount of discussion, the improbability of such a change as the stoppage of the earth's rotation implied thereby being generally recognized, notwithstanding that God's power to

do so without harm to the world and its inhabitants cannot admit of doubt. The probability, however, is that this passage, being a poetical extract from another work, 'the Book of Jashar,' is not to be understood literally, the statement being made by poetic licence for some such expression as 'the sun did not set until the enemies of Israel were completely defeated,' *i.e.* the operations were carried out so rapidly, that as much was done as if the day had been twice as long (cf. v.[14]). On the other hand, the explanation that the lengthening of the day, and the continued appearance of the sun above the horizon, may have been due to a considerable increase of the refractive properties of the atmosphere, is also possible. The return of the shadow on the dial has also been referred to various causes, and may, according to some, have been due to an eclipse (see Bosanquet in G. Smith's *Assurbanipal*, p. 346, and *TSBA* iii. 31 ff., v. 261). In 2 K 20[8-11] it is the shadow only that is spoken of; but the parallel passage in Is 38[7] mentions also the sun, and on account of this it has been contended that the movement recorded must have been purely optical. The phenomenon referred to in Mk 15[33], Lk 23[44. 45], where it is stated that the sun was darkened, cannot refer to an eclipse, as it was the time of the full moon. The sun is in these passages, to all appearance, represented as hiding himself in order to cast a veil of darkness over the death of the Son of God. Whatever be the explanation of these three apparent departures from the sun's daily routine, there is no doubt that they are intended to emphasize the power of God, and His active interest in the affairs of man. The same ideas were, to all appearance, generally current with regard to eclipses in general, these being looked upon in like manner as extraordinary manifestations of the power of God over nature, or as foreshadowing the terrible tokens of the day of judgment (Is 13[10], Jl 2[10] 3[15]=Ac 2[20], Mt 24[29], Mk 13[24], Lk 21[25], Rev 6[12] 8[12]).* The setting of the sun at bright noonday is figurative of loss of happiness, prosperity, or success (Is 60[20], Jer 15[9], Am 8[9], Mic 3[6]), whilst the reverse of this is indicated by the rising of the 'sun of Righteousness' of Mal 4[2] (see also vol. i. p. 193[b]).

Like the moon, the sun was also regarded as an emblem of constancy, on account of the unerring daily repetition of his course (Ps 72[5. 17] 89[36]). The man who loves God (Jg 5[31]) and the just ruler (2 S 23[4]) are both compared with him as the thing of all God's creation shining with the greatest brilliance, whilst, for the same reason, he became the image of God Himself (Ps 84[11]). His pure, unfailing light became also an emblem of beauty (Ca 6[10]), and his force increasing daily, or at certain seasons, typified the progress of a good man towards perfection (Pr 4[18]). The great luminary (Sir 17[31]) and adornment of the heavens (Sir 26[16]), his light shone on all things; and is surpassed in brilliance only by the heavenly world to come, of which God Himself is to be the light and the glory (Is 60[19], Ac 26[13]).

It is to the penetrating heat of the sun that the poetical expression חַמָּה, *ḥammāh*, is applied (cf. Ps 19[6]); and by means of this, as well as by his light, he exercises his beneficent power, bringing forth the fruits of the earth (Dt 33[14]), grass with the help of the rain (2 S 23[4]), and giving man the desire of life (Ec 11[7]). But the sun has also the power of injuring, smiting, and scorching men and the fruits of the earth by his heat (Ps 121[6], Is 49[10], Jon 4[8], Rev 7[16] 16[8] etc.).

Observation of the movements of the sun, and his influence upon the earth and upon all nature, caused all the ancient world, with but few exceptions, to regard him as a living thing; and from this view, dwelling, as they did, in the midst of heathendom, the ancient Hebrews were not wholly free, especially during the time of the kings. Except, however, where a direct reference to idolatry is made, the sun is spoken of as a personal living being only in the domain of poetry, though, as will be seen further on, the writers of the Hebrew poetical books had been apparently influenced by the heathen teaching concerning the luminary of day. He ruled over the day, not as a god but as the source of light, heat, and the divisions of time, and came forth from his chamber to run his fixed course as one of the great creations of God, not as being himself a deity whom men should worship.

Nevertheless, the Hebrews were attracted by the worship of the sun, under the influence of the heathen nations by whom they were surrounded. A common act of worship is that mentioned in Job 31[26. 27], in which the hand was kissed, and which is described as an iniquity to be punished by the judges. The law against idolatrous worship of the sun and heavenly bodies is given in Dt 4[19], and from 17[2-5] we learn that the penalty was death by stoning at the gate of the city. The open idolatry which took place in the time of the kings, however, shows clearly that the laws recorded in the passages quoted were not generally observed.

On the entrance of the Israelites into the Holy Land, they found there the worship of the sun under the name of Baal-hammon, the last component part of this appellation being the singular of the word *ḥammānîm*, meaning 'sun-images,' and connected with the word *ḥammāh*, 'heat *or* hot,' one of the words used in the OT for the sun (Job 30[28] etc.). As pointed out in the article BAAL, however, it is not certain that Baal was regarded as the sun, but the sun was a *baal*, or 'lord,' just as the Babylonian sun-god, Šamaš, bore the title of *bêlu*, 'lord,' in common with the other deities of the Assyro-Babylonian pantheon. In all probability, therefore, the worship of the sun, properly so called, came from Babylonia, in which country there were at least two shrines to this god—one at Sippar (Abu-habbah), and the other at Larsa, which is identified with the Ellasar of Gn 14[1]. He was also worshipped, however, at many other places in Babylonia and Assyria.

Noteworthy in connexion with the worship of the sun by the Jews, and its origin, is the reference to the chariots of the sun in 2 K 23[11]. To all appearance the chariot, as well as the horses, had been dedicated by various idolatrous kings of Judah, and they were stationed at the western entrance to the temple, 'by the chamber of Nathan-melech the chamberlain, which was in the precincts.' At the temple of the sun at Sippar in Babylonia there was also a chariot, and presumably horses, dedicated to that deity; and it is worthy of note that, as one of the sacred objects belonging to the temple of the god, it was the custom to make sacrifices to it.* In the 19th year of Nabopolassar this was transferred from the keeping of the men who had care of the horses (? of the sun at Sippara) to a man named Bêl-âḫê-iddina, and a list of the furniture (*ûdê*) of the chariot was drawn up, enumerating about 140 objects belonging to it, many of them of silver, though some were of gold and of bronze. It is doubtful whether the Babylonians ever thought of the sun-god coursing through the heavens in a chariot drawn by swift steeds of fiery breed typifying his brilliant daily journey through the heavens, as the inscriptions, so far as

* Mahler, in *JRAS*, 1901, p. 42, explains the plague of darkness referred to in Ex 10[21ff.] as an eclipse of the sun, which took place in B.C. 1335 (*Sitzungsber. der k. Akad. der Wiss.*, Vienna, 1885).

* One of the tablets referring to this states that on the 13th of Iyyar, in the 14th year of Nabopolassar, a full-grown white sheep was offered before it.

they are known, do not refer to this, and the representation of the sun-god on the stone found by Mr. Rassam at Abu-habbah shows the deity seated in his shrine, with the representation of his disc before him, and two small figures coming out of the top of the shrine, seemingly guiding the disc by means of the cords attached to it, which they hold in their hands. The sacrificial instruments which formed part of the furniture of the chariot suggest that it was used in connexion with the worship of the sun; and as, in its equipment, swords or daggers of gold (3 in number) and of some other material (2 in number) are referred to, the suggestion that it may have accompanied the army on certain occasions would not be without probability. The ceremonies in connexion with the chariot of the sun at Sippar, in all probability, had their reflexion at Jerusalem. It is hardly likely, however, that the chariot of the sun at Jerusalem, which Josiah burned with fire, was so splendid as that at Sippar in Babylonia.*

The worship of the sun at Jerusalem is described by Ezekiel, who speaks of the five and twenty men (? priests) with their backs towards the temple of the Lord, and their faces towards the east, worshipping the sun (Ezk 8^{16}). During this ceremony it is said (v.[17]) that 'they put the branch to their nose,' a doubtful phrase which has been the subject of much discussion. The general opinion, however, is, that this is a reflexion of a Persian custom in which, when repeating the liturgy, the priests held from time to time in the left hand a bunch of twigs called *bareçman*, and wore, at the offering of the daily sacrifice, a kind of veil. It may be noted in connexion with this, that, in the list of things belonging to the chariot of the sun at Sippar, 2 *nurmû* are mentioned. Now the word *nurmû*, as is suggested by Frd. Delitzsch (*Assyr. HWB*), possibly means 'fig,' 'fig-tree,' and two models of a tree of this kind, or of branches, probably belonged to the chariot as ornaments, and may have been carried 'before the face' when worshipping the sun, as his emblems. Whether this practice originated in Persia or in Babylonia is doubtful.

These idolatrous Jews of old are represented as worshipping the sun towards the east, *i.e.* at his rising. This was a custom with the Persians, and also, in all probability, with all the nations which adored that luminary. At the temple of Borsippa, which is generally regarded as the Tower of Babel, the worship of the sun was possibly an institution of long standing, and at the beginning of a new day, that is, at sunset, the following hymn was sung:—

> 'Sun-god in the midst of heaven, at thy setting,
> May the bolt of heaven lofty speak thee peace—
> May the door of heaven bless thee.
> Mišaru, the messenger, thy beloved, let him direct thee.
> At É-babarra, the seat of thy dominion, thy supremacy shines forth.
> May Aa, thy beloved wife, gladly come to meet thee;
> May thy heart take rest;
> May thy divine refreshment be prepared for thee.
> Warrior, hero, sun-god, may they glorify thee.
> Lord of É-babarra, may the course of thy road prosper.
> Sun-god, direct thy path, make firm the road, go to thine abode.
> Sun-god, thou art judge of the land, (and) director of its decisions.'

In this hymn the sun is not only represented in a manner similar to that of the psalmist, as a bridegroom coming out of his chamber (Ps 19^{5}), but his bride is conceived as going to meet him, and he takes rest and refreshment after his wearying course. The last line of the inscription shows him also in the character which he commonly had with the Babylonians, namely, that of judge, which he apparently possessed as witness of everything that passes on the earth ('under the sun,' as so often occurs in Ecclesiastes, *e.g.* $1^{3.9}$ etc.). The tablet which followed the above was a hymn to the rising sun, beginning (the Akkadian version only is preserved), *Utu ana-azaga-ta êa*, 'Sun-god in the glorious heaven rising,' and may have resembled that with which the heathen Jews greeted the luminary, when performing the ceremony referred to by Ezekiel.*

The judgment pronounced against the sun and moon (Is 24^{23}), in which the former was to be ashamed, is regarded by some as resting upon the fact that the idolatrous worship which was paid to it was accounted as a sin, the consequences of which rested upon the object causing it, and would be visited upon it by God at the last day. This is probable; but the end of the verse ought to be taken into account, for when the Lord reigns in Zion gloriously the sun may well be put to shame on account of his inferior lustre.

LITERATURE.—Riehm, *HWB*; Sayce, *Hibbert Lectures*, 1887; Pinches in *TSBA*, 1884, pp. 164–169; *Transactions of the Victoria Institute*, 1894, pp. 10, 16, 17.

T. G. PINCHES.

SUPERSCRIPTION (ἐπιγραφή).—**1.** The legend on a coin (Mt 22^{20}, Mk 12^{16}, Lk 20^{24}). See MONEY. **2.** The accusation on the Cross of Jesus (Mk 15^{26}, Lk 23^{38}). See TITLE ON THE CROSS.

SUPH.—One of the expressions used in Dt 1^{1} to define the locality of Moses' address to Israel [?; on the difficulty of this interpretation see Driver] is 'in the Arabah, over against Suph' (מול סוף [*i.e.* by dissimil., for מול], AV 'over against the Red Sea'). If the MT be correct, Ṣuph is a place-name, possibly identical with SUPHAH of Nu 21^{14}, but, upon the whole, it appears more probable that מול סוף is a textual error for מם־סוף (cf. LXX πλησίον τῆς ἐρυθρᾶς [θαλάσσης], Vulg. *contra mare rubrum*). *Yam ṣûph*† means probably 'sea of reeds,' and appears to have been originally a title given to the upper end of the Gulf of Suez, which would be shallow and marshy, and abounding in reeds (W. M. Müller, *As. u. Europ.* 42 f.). In the OT this designation is usually confined to the W. (Suez) arm of the Red Sea: Ex 10^{19} (J) 13^{18} $15^{4.22}$ 23^{31} (all four E), Nu $33^{10.11}$ (P), Dt 11^{4}, Jos 2^{10} (J) 4^{23} (D), Neh 9^{9}, Ps $106^{7.9.22}$ $136^{13.15}$. It stands, however, for the Gulf of 'Akabah not only in Dt 1^{1} (if the above suggestion is correct), but in Nu 21^{4} (E) and 1 K 9^{26}; prob. also in Nu 14^{25} (E), Dt 1^{40} 2^{1}; and perhaps Jg 11^{16}, Jer 49^{21}.

J. A. SELBIE.

SUPHAH (סוּפָה). — The name of an unknown locality E. of Jordan, found only in an obscure fragment of ancient poetry preserved in Nu 21^{14} ('Vaheb in Suphah'). The suggestion of Tristram (*Land of Moab*, 50 f.), that it may be the modern *Ṣafieh*, is exposed to the objection of which he himself is aware, that the initial ס of the Heb. word could hardly represent an Arabic ص. The same difficulty attaches to Knobel's identification with *Naḳb eṣ-Ṣafâ*, some 25 miles W.S.W. of the Dead Sea. See, further, the Comm. *ad loc.*

J. A. SELBIE.

SUPPER.—See FOOD, vol. ii. p. 41[b]; and for the 'Last Supper' see LORD'S SUPPER.

SUR (B 'Ασσούρ, A Σούρ).—One of the towns on

* Among the Babylonians, the important thing in connexion with the ceremonies seems to have been the chariot, and this was probably the case at Jerusalem. With the Persians, on the other hand, the horses seem to have been at least as important, and sometimes the one, sometimes the other, followed in the processions. The colour of these sacred horses was white, and they were on certain occasions sacrificed to the sun (Herod. i. 188, vii. 40, 55; Xen. *Cyr.* viii. 3).

* For other forms of the sun-god and sun-worship see the articles BAAL, CHEMOSH, MOLECH, and TAMMUZ.

† *Ṣûph* is attributed also to the Nile in Ex $2^{3.5}$ (cf. Is 19^{6}).

the seacoast of Palestine upon whose people the fear and dread of Holofernes fell when they heard that he had reached Damascus (Jth 2[28]). The towns are mentioned in order from north to south; and Sur comes between Tyre and Ocina—the next place to the south being Jemnaan (Jamnia). The site, if a different place from Tyre (Heb. *Ṣōr*, Arab. *Ṣûr*), is unknown. C. W. WILSON.

SURE, SURELY, SURETY.—The adjectives 'secure,' 'sicker' (or 'siker'), and 'sure' all come from the Lat. *securus*; the first being taken directly, the second through the influence of the Teut. *siker, sicher*; the last through the Old. Fr. *seür* (mod. *sûr*). 'Secure' retained the meaning of the Lat. (*se* 'without,' *cura* 'care'; see SECURE); between 'sicker' and 'sure' the difference was mainly one of dialect, till 'sicker' dropped out of literary English. Thus Chaucer, *Tale of Melibeus*, 2642, 'Whan thow trowest to be most seur or siker of hir [fortune's] help, she wol faille thee and deceyve thee.' Both had a wider use than 'sure' has now.

'Sure' was often used where we should now use 'secure.' Thus Udall, *Erasmus' Par.* i. 13, 'Solitarines doeth quicken and make lustye the mind of a Christian souldier, and some time it is more sure for a man to count himself to the wild beastes, than to men. Baptisme taketh away al sinnes of the former life, but for al that, no man is sure from the assaultes of Satan which liveth sluggishly.' So Pr. Bk. *Pref.* (1552), 'There never was any thing by the wit of man so well devised, or so sure established, which (in continuance of time) hath not been corrupted.' And in AV 1 S 2[35] 'I will build him a sure house'; Is 22[23] 'I will fasten him as a nail in a sure place'; 32[18] 'My people shall dwell . . . in sure dwellings.'

The adverb **surely**, in like manner, means sometimes *securely*: Pr 10[9] 'He that walketh uprightly walketh surely.' Cf. Robinson, *More's Utopia*, 141, 'They fence and fortifie their campe sewerlye with a deape and a brode trenche.' Jer 35[14] Cov. 'The wordes which Ionadab the sonne off Rechab commaunded his sonnes, that they shulde drynke no wyne, are fast and surely kepte'; Elyot, *Governour*, ii. 237, 'David . . . came to the pavilion of king Saul, where he found hym suerly slepynge, havinge by him his speare and a cuppe with water.'

But it is of more importance to observe that in its ordinary meaning 'surely' has now lost so much of its force that its use in AV sometimes suggests to the reader the opposite of that which is intended. Thus in Gn 2[17], the first instance of its use, 'In the day that thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die,' the assertion is the strongest possible. The Hebrew is the idiomatic phrase, 'dying thou shalt die.' But the English suggests a slight doubt. So in Gn 3[4] 'And the serpent said unto the woman, Ye shall not surely die,' *i.e.* Ye shall certainly not die.

This Heb. idiom, an account of which will be found in Davidson's *Hebrew Syntax*, § 86, or in Gesenius-Kautzsch, § 113, is variously rendered in AV. Sometimes the idiom is preserved, as Gn 22[17] 'in blessing I will bless thee, and in multiplying I will multiply thy seed.' More frequently an adverb or adverbial phrase is inserted, such as 'exceedingly' Gn 16[10], 'certainly' Gn 18[10] 43[7], 'doubtless' 2 S 5[19], 'utterly' Dt 12[2], Jg 1[28] 15[2], Zec 11[17]; 'clean' Zec 11[17]; 'solemnly' Gn 43[3]; 'earnestly' 1 S 20[6]; 'altogether' Nu 16[13], Jer 30[11]; 'needs' Gn 24[5]; 'indeed' Gn 37[8]; 'ever' Jg 11[25]; 'plainly' 1 S 2[27] 10[16]; 'at all' 2 K 18[33], Jer 26[19]; 'straitly' Gn 43[7], 1 S 14[28]; 'freely' Gn 2[16]. But by far the most frequently used adverb is 'surely'; and in every instance it has the force of 'assuredly' or 'certainly.' Thus Gn 28[22] 'I will surely give the tenth unto thee'; Jg 13[22] 'We shall surely die, because we have seen God'; Hab 2[3] 'It will surely come, it will not tarry.' Cf. Sir 48[11] 'We shall surely live' (ζωῇ ζησόμεθα).

'Surely' is also the translation of certain Hebrew and Greek adverbs and other expressions, some of which are very forcible. Thus (1) *'ākēn*,* Gn 28[16] 'surely the Lord is in this place'; Ex 2[14] 'surely this thing is known'; 1 S 15[32] 'surely the bitterness of death is past'; Is 40[7] 'surely the people is grass'; Jer 4[10] 'Ah, Lord God! surely thou hast greatly deceived this people.' The same word is tr. 'verily' in Is 45[15], 'truly' in Jer 3[23] *bis*, 'certainly' in Jer 8[8]. (2) *'Im* (an emphatic negative), as Nu 14[23] 'surely they shall not see the land which I sware unto their fathers'; or *'im-lo'* (an emphatic affirmative), as Ezk 36[5] 'Surely in the fire of my jealousy have I spoken against the residue of the heathen.' (3) *'Omnām* (a strong asseverative from *'āman*, 'to confirm'), as Job 34[12] 'Yea, surely God will not do wickedly' (RV 'of a surety'). (4) 2 S 12[5] 'The man that hath done this thing shall surely die' (Heb. 'is a son of death'; cf. 1 S 20[31] 26[16]). (5) ἀληθῶς, as Mt 26[73] 'surely thou also art one of them?' (RV 'of a truth'); Jn 17[8] 'They have known surely that I came out from thee' (RV 'of a truth'). (6) πάντως, Lk 4[23] 'Ye will surely say unto me this proverb' (RV 'doubtless ye will say'). (7) ἤ [*εἰ*] μήν, He 6[14] 'Surely blessing I will bless thee, and multiplying I will multiply thee' (ἤ [edd. *εἰ*] μὴν εὐλογῶν εὐλογήσω σε, καὶ πληθύνων πληθυνῶ σε). (8) ναί, Rev 22[20] 'Surely I come quickly' (RV 'yea').

* A rather less emphatic particle is *'ak*, the force of which is well seen in Ps 39[5. 6. 11], esp. in RV. In Ps 62 this word is tr. five times 'only' (both AV and RV), once 'surely'; cf. Ps 73[1].

Examples of 'surely' are Knox, *Hist.* 315, 'I thinke and am surely perswaded.' Rhemish NT, *Preface*, 'Vulpilas surely gave the Scriptures to the Gothes in their own tonge, and that before he was an Arrian.' *Generydes* (E.E.T.S.), 1317—

'They were fully accordid all in one
That Auferius suerly shuld be ther kyng.'

Surety occurs in the phrase 'of a surety,' Gn 15[13] 18[13] 26[9], Ac 12[11] (ἀληθῶς, RV 'of a truth'). Cf. 1 S 26[4] Cov. 'David . . . sent out spyes, and knewe of a suertie, that he was come in deede.' Elsewhere the word means 'security' in the legal sense; cf. *Paraph. in Verse*, 58[2]—

'He who for men their surety stood.'

Suretiship occurs only in Pr 11[15] 'He that hateth suretiship is sure' (Heb. as AVm and RVm 'those that *strike* hands'; see STRIKE). See DEBT, PLEDGE. J. HASTINGS.

SURGERY.—See MEDICINE, vol. iii. p. 333.

SUSA.—See SHUSHAN.

SUSANNA (Σουσαννά).—**i. TEXT AND VERSIONS.**—The history of Susanna forms a part of the Bk. of Daniel in the Greek Bible and in those versions which are taken from the Greek. In Gr. MSS, and also in the Old Latin and Arabic, it stands before Dn 1; but in the Latin Vulgate it stands as Dn 13. Swete prints it as a separate work after Daniel. The LXX is the oldest extant text, but there may have been a Semitic original. If so, it is antecedently probable that it would be in Aramaic, not Hebrew. Hebrew was the language of legal discussions, hymns, and prayers. Aramaic was the language of such anecdotes and histories as circulated freely among the people. The LXX of the History of Susanna, as indeed of the whole of the Gr. Daniel, was lost for many centuries, because of the preference of the Church for the text of Theodotion. The LXX of Susanna is, even now, extant only in Cod. Chisianus, otherwise known as 87, a cursive of the 9th cent. Theod. for the most part transcribed the LXX literally, but in several instances he made additions and alterations meant to relieve improbabilities, or to supply details which seemed to make the narrative more smooth and intelligible. The Latin Vulg. is an accurate rendering of Theodotion. In Syriac Versions, our 'History' is exceptionally rich. We have (1) the Syro-Hexaplar, which is a close translation of the LXX; (2) the Peshiṭta, which is

given in Walton's Polyglott, Ceriani's *Codex Ambrosianus*, and in Lagarde's *Libri VT Apocr. Syriace*, and designated W_1; (3) and (4) from v.[42] onwards Lagarde gives *two* other Syriac recensions, both differing in many respects from each other and from W_1, and known as L_1 and L_2; (5) there is a remarkable VS given by Walton, the so-called Harklensian VS, known as W_2.

ii. THE STORY.—We intend first to give the story in those features which are common to all our sources, and then to specify the important additions or alterations made in each. In the early days of the captivity in Babylon, there was a woman named Susanna, very beautiful, very pious, the daughter of a priest. Her husband Joakim was very wealthy and honourable. He had a park adjoining his mansion, and his fellow-exiles were always welcome to both (vv.[1-4]). There were two elders in Babylon, who were also judges, and were held in high repute; but both so far forgot God and the judgments He has pronounced against adultery (v.[9]) as to foster impure desires towards Susanna. Neither dared divulge his secret to the other; but one day they met in the park unexpectedly and agreed to coerce her; but she strenuously refused to listen to them, saying that she would rather die than sin against God (vv.[10-24]). Shortly afterwards, the elders summoned Susanna before the assembly of the Jews, and laid against her the false charge that they both saw her lying with a young man in the park, who, however, fled when they came near. Susanna protested her innocence, but the people felt obliged to believe two such honourable witnesses, and condemned her to death (vv.[28-44]). As they were leaving the judgment-hall, Daniel, then a very young man, met them, and undertook to prove Susanna's innocence. He insisted on cross-questioning the witnesses *apart*, and put the same question to each: Under what kind of tree did the adultery occur? Each gave the name of a different tree (vv.[45-59]). The people being thus convinced of the falsity of the charge, praised God, applauded Daniel, and put to death the false accusers (v.[60ff.]).

This is, in the main, the story as it appears in the LXX. Theod. adds many details. It is probable that vv.[1-4] originated in Theod. and were transferred from him *verbatim* to our solitary codex of the LXX; because LXX in v.[7] introduces Susanna, as though she had not been mentioned before. LXX simply states that the elders saw her walking in the park one evening, and they both came thither early next morning; but Theod. adds that the house of Joakim was used every morning as a court of justice, and, after the people had been dismissed, Susanna walked daily in the park, and both the elders became enamoured of her. One day they both lingered when the court closed; and after they had separated, saying it was dinner hour, they both came back, and confessed their lust. Theod. and the VSS taken from it then insert a part altogether lacking in LXX, how the elders watched her go into the park and concealed themselves among the trees, surmising that she was going to bathe. When Susanna sent her maids for oil and cosmetics (W_2 'soap') the elders rushed on her, tempted her to adultery, and threatened to testify that she had sent her maids away, so as to have intercourse with a young man. When the maids came back and heard this accusation from the elders, they were utterly ashamed. Further, while LXX states that the trial was held in the synagogue, Theod. says it was held in the house and presence of Joakim. He omits from LXX that 500 of Susanna's relatives and friends came to the trial: and he puts Susanna's protestations before the charge; LXX after. Theod. says the young man escaped because he was stronger than the elders. In LXX the elders did not recognize him because he was masked. LXX introduces an angel as inspiring Daniel with wisdom at the moment when Susanna was being led to death. This Theod. omits; but he adds to the LXX that Daniel said aloud, 'Turn back to the tribunal'; and that Daniel was invited to an elder's chair. Theod. omits most of v.[51] in LXX where Daniel says, 'Do not suppose elders cannot lie.' LXX puts *two* questions to the wicked elders: 'Under what tree?' and 'In what part of the garden?' The punishment in LXX is: 'they threw them down the precipice'; in Theod. 'they slew them.' LXX only says: 'And the angel of the Lord cast fire through the midst of them,' and it alone adds a eulogy on young men meant to secure for them larger influence in public affairs.

The Vulgate translates Theod. very accurately; the chief deviation being the addition of one verse at the end: 'And king Astyages was gathered to his fathers, and Cyrus the Persian took the kingdom.' This contradicts Dn 1, where Daniel is 'a young man' in 597, whereas Cyrus began to reign in 538.

The Peshitta is given, as we have said, by Ceriani, Lagarde, and W_1. Pesh. agrees in the main with Theodotion. The chief exceptions are that in v.[22f.] Pesh. lengthens Susanna's soliloquy and consequent repudiation of their overtures; and between vv.[26] and [27] Pesh. inserts a verse which may well have dropped out from Theod., giving the testimony of the elders to the household which gathered when Susanna cried aloud. It is almost *verbatim* with [37-39]. After v.[41], W_1 presents a recension of Pesh., different from L_1. L_1 inserts, after the sentence on Susanna, these words: 'That all women may fear and not do again according to this shame.' This W_1 omits. L_1 adds after v.[43] 'concerning this which I have not done I am willing that they should ask me anything.' L_1 calls the first tree 'a pistic tree'; W_1 'a terebinth.' The second tree, in L_1, L_2 is 'a pomegranate'; in W_1 'a chestnut.' At the end of v.[64] L_1, L_2, and W_1^2 give a eulogy on Daniel, which W_1 omits.

Lagarde gives, as we have said, a second Syriac recension, from v.[42] and onwards (L_2), which has several interesting readings. Two are unique. After v.[43] Susanna's prayer continues: 'Appear for me and send a Redeemer from before thee, that thy truth may be believed by those that fear thee.' In v.[53] Daniel says to the first elder: 'These things thou hast done and thou saidst: God is righteous, and the righteous He will not destroy; and thou hast not obeyed what thou hast taught to others.'

Much more important are the variations in Walton's second Syriac Version (W_2). It almost amounts to a distinct tradition. W_2 states that Daniel was 12 years old at the time: that the synagogue was held in the house of Joakim: that Susan was a widow, having lost her husband after a married life of a few days, and devoted herself to the Lord: that the names of the elders were Amid and Abid, and they were chiefs of the synagogue: that before the trial Susan was in chains in prison three days: that the two elders were not witnesses, but judges of Susan: that it was decided that at the 9th hour Susan should be cast down a precipice: that a throne was brought from the treasury for Daniel to sit upon, but that he refused to sit upon it.

iii. ITS ORIGIN.—There are several indications that the story before us cannot be regarded as historical. (1) The discrepancies in the several accounts, *e.g.* those just given from W_2. (2) The improbability that in the first days of the Captivity, when Daniel was 'a young youth' (v.[45]), any Jew in Babylon could be so affluent as Joakim, or that so soon after the deportation of Jehoiachin the Jews should, in exile, possess the *jus necis*. (3) The reasons for Susanna's condemnation are very flimsy, and the behaviour of the very youthful Daniel is, at least, arbitrary. He loudly condemns both culprits before he adduces any proof of their guilt.

Assuming that we have here an ethical mythus, can we find its origin and *motif*? Ball (*Speaker's Apocr.* ii. 325 f.) has a probable theory, borrowed in the main from Rabbi Brüll (*Das apokr. Susanna-Buch*). He adduces evidence from several sources of a tradition of two elders, who, in the Captivity, led astray silly women, by the persuasion, that, through them, they would become the mother of a great prophet, or of the Messiah. These stories are an amplification or embellishment of Jer 29[21-23], where we read of two prophets, Ahab and Zedekiah, whom 'Nebuchadnezzar roasted in the fire because they committed folly in Israel, and committed adultery with their neighbours' wives.' Origen and Jerome both knew of the elaborated form of this incident, and it occurs with sundry variations in Midrash *Tanhuma* on Leviticus; Bab. Talm. *Sanhedrin* 93*a*; Boraitha of R. Eliezer, c. 33, and in Pesikta, No. 25. Here we have materials for the former half of the story: but not for the trial. The reasons for the rehabilitation of the tradition, with the trial attached, are ingeniously supposed to have arisen about B.C. 100, when Simon ben Shetach was president of the Sanhedrin. Simon was extremely anxious to introduce reforms into criminal procedure. It is said that his son was falsely accused of a capital offence. On the way to his execution the false witnesses confessed the crime, but the son said to his father, 'If the salvation of Israel can be wrought through you, consider me the threshold over which you may pass.' Simon, the Judæan Brutus, let the law

take its course, that by the death of one he might save the innocent lives of many. He advocated a more careful examination of the witnesses—his favourite dictum being: 'Examine the witnesses abundantly' (*Pirke Aboth* i. 9). He sought also to suppress perjury by insisting that he who swore falsely should, if detected, be punished with the same penalty as he *sought* to inflict on another. (N.B.—The elders were put to death for *seeking* to cause Susanna's death). The Sadducees, against Simon, interpreted the law, 'an eye for an eye,' etc., to mean that the false witness should be punished, if his crime were detected after the penalty had been inflicted on the innocent one. We must confess that the appearance of our 'History' at such a juncture would be most opportune for Simon. There is, it seems to us, a further coincidence. The moral of the narrative is, in LXX, summed up thus: 'Because of this, young men are beloved in Jacob, by-virtue-of (ἐν) their ingenuousness (ἁπλότητι): and as for us, let us take heed that our youths be powerful; for young men will be pious, and there will be in them a spirit of knowledge and understanding for ever and ever.' Clearly, this is a eulogy on youth; and may well have been meant as a compliment to Alexander Jannæus, whose adviser Simon was, and who ascended the throne at the age of twenty-three.

This assumes that the 'History' is of Palestinian origin: and there is nothing against this. If it cannot be proved to have been originally written in Aramaic, it cannot be proved that it was not.

An argument, as old as the time of Origen, which has been adduced in favour of a Greek original, seems to the present writer untenable. In vv.54f. and 58f. there occur two paranomasiæ. Daniel asks the first elder: 'Under what tree didst thou see them?' and the reply is: 'Under a *mastic* tree' (Gr. σχῖνες); and Daniel says: 'The angel of God shall *cleave* (σχίσει) thy soul to-day.' The second elder replies: 'Under a *holm*-tree' (πρῖνες); and Daniel says: 'The angel of God has a sword to *cut thee in two*' (πρίσαι σε). These verbal plays are so ingenious that they have been held by many to prove, beyond all controversy, a Greek original. There is no more cogency in this, it seems to us, than if, supposing all early VSS to be lost, we should read in English: 'Under a *clove* tree' . . . 'the Lord shall *cleave* thee,' 'Under a *yew* tree' . . . 'the Lord shall *hew* thee,' and should therefrom infer *English* authorship. Origen says that he asked many Jews to furnish him with Heb. words that would produce a similar assonance: but always in vain (Migne, xi. 61–65). If Heb. fails, Aramaic is equal to the demand. The 'mastick' is in Syriac VSS פסתקא (using Heb. letters); and the verb 'to cut in two' is פסק: the word which occurs in Pal Syr of Mk 6[16] 'I *beheaded* John.' In the second case L_2 and W_2 have רומנא 'a pomegranate'; opposite which, we surmise that there originally stood the words: 'The angel of God shall *precipitate* thee' (רמא). This is the punishment stated in LXX to have been inflicted: 'They muzzled them and *threw them down* into the ravine.' The verb רמא is used in this same sense in the Aram. of Dn 3[20] 6[16], and in the Targ. of Jon 1[16], Ezk 16[5].

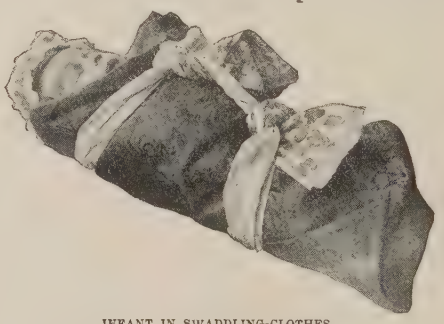
iv. CANONICITY.—The History of Susanna was included in the Canon by the Greek, Syrian, and Latin Churches. The first to dispute its claim was Julius Africanus. In his *Letter to Origen* he powerfully questions its historicity (Bissell, 446), and calls it a *σύγγραμμα νεωτερικὸν καὶ πεπλασμένον*. Origen makes a rejoinder to each of his objections, but the replies are far from satisfactory. Irenæus cites vv.[52, 53] and [56] as 'voices from Daniel the prophet' (*adv. Hær.* iv. 26. 3), and Tertullian refers to our history (*de Corona*, iv.). Hippolytus treats it exegetically at the commencement of his Comm. on Daniel; and fragments are extant of a Comm. by Origen in Book x. of his *Stromata*, from which Jerome makes extracts in his Comm. on Daniel, c. xiii. Schürer (*HJP* II. iii. 186) collects Origen's citations from Susanna.

LITERATURE.—Ball in *Speaker's Apocr.* ii. 323 ff.; Fritzsche, *Handbuch zu den Apokr.* i. 116 f., 132 f.; Schürer, *HJP* II. iii. 183 ff.; Zöckler, *Apokr. des AT* 213 ff.; Bissell in Lange's *Apocr.* 445 ff.; Eichhorn, *Einleitung in die Apokr. Schriften*, 447 ff.; Rothstein in Kautzsch's *Apokr. u. Pseudepigr. d. AT* i. 176 ff.

J. T. MARSHALL.

SUSI (סוּסִי; B Σουσεί, AF Σουσί).—A Manassite, Nu 13[12] (11). The text, however, is doubtful (see Nestle, *Eigennamen*, 209; Gray, *HPN* 92; Dillm. *Nu. ad loc.*).

SWADDLE, SWADDLING-BANDS (חַתֻלָּה *ḥăthullah*; 'to swaddle' [חָתַל] *ḥāthal*, σπαργανόω).—The wrapping in swaddling-clothes is at the present day, as it was in ancient times, one of the first services rendered to the newborn infant in the East. The child is laid across the diagonal of a square of cloth of which the corners are folded over the body and feet and under the head. The bandages, which are of plain cotton among the poor and of silk and embroidered work in the case of the rich, are then wrapped round the cloth which encases the child. The custom seems to point back to the



INFANT IN SWADDLING-CLOTHES.

early nomadic life, as the bandaging not only affords protection against cold and support to the spine, but also by the confinement of the limbs enables the mother more easily to carry the child on the day's journey. During the first week salt water (Ezk 16[4]) is applied daily to the lips and flexures of the body wherever the tender skin might become inflamed. This hardening process as a protection against chafing is further assisted by dusting the joints with a powder of pounded myrtle leaves, and any tender or irritated parts of the skin are rubbed with olive oil. The absence of these attentions at the birth of Israel (Ezk 16[4]) indicated the outcast insignificance of the nation at the beginning. Amid the privations of the manger at Bethlehem this maternal duty was carefully attended to (Lk 2[7, 12]). The swaddling-bands are daily unfastened in attending to the child, but the practice is kept up for about a year until the child is strong enough to use his limbs. The Oriental cradle has not the high sides of the Western cradle or infant's crib, and the infant is firmly tied down by long straps resembling the swaddling-bands round the body. This idea of restraint appears in the majestic figure of the clouds as the swaddling-bands of the sea (Job 38[9]). In La 2[22] the AV 'swaddled' (טִפַּחְתִּי *ṭippaḥti*) is in RV tr. 'dandled.' The word is a denominative from טֶפַח 'span' or 'palm of the hand.'

The English words 'swaddle' and 'swathe' are merely different spellings of Anglo-Sax. *swethel* or *swethil*, a strip of cloth for wrapping a child, or for bandaging in any way. Cf. Purchas, *Pilgrimage*, 446, 'Their feet to this end so straitly swadled in their infancie that they grow but little.'

G. M. MACKIE.

SWALLOW.—Two words are tr[d] 'swallow' in AV, and a third in RV. **1.** דְּרוֹר *dĕrôr* (Ps 84[3] LXX τρυγών; Pr 26[2] LXX στρουθός='sparrow' or other small bird). The allusion to the nesting of this bird in the sanctuary and its swift (unalighting)

flight fit the swallow. **2.** עָגוּר *'āgûr* (Is 38^{14} LXX περιστερά='pigeon'; Jer 8^{7} LXX στρουθίον='sparrow' or other small bird). *'Agûr* (see CRANE) seems to be an adjective, and perhaps signifies 'twitterer' instead of 'crane' (RV), and is explanatory of *ṣûṣ* or *ṣîṣ*; see, further, Dillm.-Kittel on Is 38^{14}. **3.** סוּס *ṣûṣ*, סִיס *ṣîṣ*, should be tr^{d} as in RV (Is 38^{14}, Jer 8^{7}), 'swallow' instead of 'crane' (AV; see CRANE). If *ṣûṣ* or *ṣîṣ* be the swallow, or better, the *swift* or *martin*, the twittering could only refer to its note in its nest. The allusion to the migratory habits of the bird would suit the swallow. The following swallows and swifts or martins are common in the Holy Land:—*Hirundo Savygnii*, Steph., the Oriental swallow; *H. rustica*, L., the common swallow (Arab. *sûnúnú*, or *ṣûṣ* or *ṣîṣ*); *H. rufula*, Temm., the red-rumped swallow; *Chelidon urbica*, L., the martin; *Cotyle riparia*, L., the sand martin; *C. rupestris*, Scop., the crag martin; *C. obsoleta*, Cab., the pale crag martin; *Cypselus apus*, L., the black martin or swift; *C. melba*, L., and *C. Galileensis*, would be included under the popular conception of the *swallow* or *swift*. Any or all of them would sometimes be called *ṣûṣ* or *ṣîṣ*. G. E. POST.

SWAN.—The AV tr^{n} (twice) of תִּנְשֶׁמֶת *tinshemeth*, a word which occurs thrice in the list of unclean creatures, once at the end of a list of lizards (see MOLE, 1 (*b*)), and twice among the birds (Lv 11^{18} LXX πορφυρίων='water-hen,' Vulg. *porphyrio*, RV 'horned owl,' m. 'swan'; Dt 14^{16} LXX ἴβις, Vulg. *ibis*, RV 'horned owl'). The arguments against the swan are—(1) There is no reason why the swan should have been held unclean. (2) The swan is very rare in the Holy Land and Egypt, and therefore would have been little recognized. (3) The ancient VSS are against it. The gallinule or water-hen (*Porphyrio*) and the ibis are, however, birds which would have been held unclean, which are quite common, and each of which has the support of one passage in the VSS. *Porphyrio cæruleus*, Vandelli, the Purple Gallinule, and *Ibis religiosa*, L., or *I. falcinella*, L., the Glossy Ibis, would suit the requirements of the passages. G. E. POST.

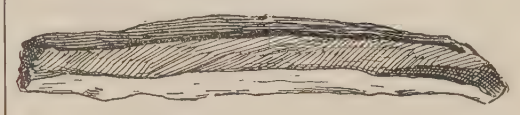
SWEARING.—See OATH.

SWEAT.—See MEDICINE, vol. iii. p. 330^{a}.

SWEET CANE.—See REED.

SWINE (חֲזִיר *ḥăzîr*).—This word is cognate to the Arab. *khinzîr*. The LXX tr. *ḥăzîr* in Ps 80^{13} σύς (AV and RV 'boar'), Lv 11^{7}, Dt 14^{8}, Pr 11^{22} ὗς (AV and RV 'swine') There is no question as to the identity of the animal intended. The NT word for it is χοῖρος. The eating of swine's flesh is forbidden in Israel (Lv 11^{7}, Dt 14^{8}), hence the infringement of this rule was one of the practices to which the Hellenizing party sought to compel the faithful (2 Mac 6^{18}). The flesh (Is 65^{4} 66^{17}) and blood (66^{3}) of swine are described as characteristically heathen and repulsive offerings (cf. 1 Mac 1^{47}). A jewel of gold in a swine's snout is used as a simile of a fair woman of doubtful character (Pr 11^{22}). A wild boar appears as fig. of the foes of Israel (Ps 80^{13}). The ancient Egyptians and Phœnicians, as well as the Jews, regarded swine as unclean. Mohammedans are, if possible, more intense than the Jews in their disgust for them. To call a man a *hog* is worse than to call him a *dog*. This feeling is shared by most of the Christians in Palestine. But a considerable number of them breed swine and eat their flesh. Swine's flesh is sold in a number of shops in Beirut. The writer has seen native Christians in Amanus hunting wild swine, which are very abundant in that range, as also in the Jordan Valley, and in the higher regions of Lebanon and Antilebanon. It would appear that, in the time of Christ, Jews had come to raising swine in large herds (Mt 8^{30} etc., Lk 15^{15}). G. E. POST.

SWORD in OT is the rendering of several Hebrew words:—**1.** מַכֵּרָה *mĕkhērāh*, Gn 49^{5} RV 'weapons of violence are their *swords*' (better RVm 'compacts'). The word is of very doubtful meaning, the VSS being at fault; cf. Dillmann, *Genesis, ad loc.* **2.** שֶׁלַח *shelaḥ*, Jl 2^{8} AV (better RV 'weapons'). **3.** קִידוֹן *kîdôn*, Sir 46^{2}, through the ῥομφαία of LXX (better 'spear' as Jos $8^{18.\ 26}$ or 'javelin'). **4.** חֶרֶב *ḥerebh* (the usual word, occurring with great frequency in OT), which can nearly always be tr^{d} 'sword' or 'dagger' (Jg 3^{16}), but once had a more general meaning; cf. the Arab. *ḥarb* 'war.' Thus *ḥerebh* is 'tool' Ex 20^{25}, 'axes' Ezk 26^{9}, and 'mattocks' 2 Ch 34^{6} AV (RVm 'axes'; RV, following a different reading, 'in their ruins'; the text is quite dubious), and in Jos 5^{2} חַרְבוֹת צוּרִים *ḥarbhôth ṣûrîm* is 'knives of flint.' Probably therefore *ḥerebh* denoted originally the primitive flint implement, which, according to its varying shape and size, might serve the purpose of spear-head, arrow-head, axe, hammer, or knife. Such implements have been found during the excavation of Tell el-Hesy (Lachish). The 'blade' of a sword and the 'head' of a spear are alike called לַהַב *laḥabh*.



STONE KNIFE FROM TELL EL-HESY (LACHISH).
(By kind permission of the *PEF*).

In size the *ḥerebh* was probably quite short. Ehud's 'sword' (Jg 3^{16} RV) was a cubit (about 17 inches) long, and Goliath's (1 S 21^{9}) was a possible weapon for David. The material of all weapons of offence was sometimes iron and sometimes bronze (cf. Gn 4^{22}, Jos 8^{31}, 1 S 17^{7}, Jg 1^{19}, Is 10^{34}); at the excavations at Tell el-Hesy (Lachish) spear-heads and a battle-axe of bronze were found as well as arrow-heads and a curved dagger (*khanjar*) of iron (F. J. Bliss, *PEFSt*, 1892, pp. 101–113, with illustrations; for mines in Palestine cf. Driver on Dt 8^{9}). Roughly speaking, the difference of metal marks a difference of time, bronze weapons being earlier than those of iron or steel. In shape the *ḥerebh* was sometimes curved with a sharp inner edge like the Egyptian sword, sometimes straight like the weapon worn by the Assyrians; for illustrations see R. F. Burton, *Book of the Sword*, pp. 156, 205. The 'double-edged' *ḥerebh* (Jg 3^{16}, Ps 149^{6}, Pr 5^{4}, Sir 21^{3}) might be either curved or straight; cf. Burton, as above.

The use of the sword was twofold: in war to despatch the flying or fallen enemy after the bow and the spear had done their work, in peace to execute malefactors; cf. 1 K $2^{8.\ 46}$. The sword was carried in a sheath (פְּאֵר *ṭa'ar*, Jer 47^{6}, or נְדָן *nādān*, 1 Ch 21^{27}) 'probably of leather' (Nowack, *Heb. Archäologie*, i. 363), but ancient sheaths were made also of metal (Burton, p. 222, with note 11), of wood (Schliemann, *Mycenæ*, p. 281; cf. p. 303), of ivory (*Odyssey*, viii. 404), and perhaps even of linen (Schliemann, p. 283). When not worn a sword might be wrapped in a cloth (1 S 21^{9}), just as blades are bandaged with greased rags by the natives of India (Burton, p. 232). The sheathed sword was worn hanging from a girdle (חָגוֹר *ḥăgôr*, 2 S 20^{8}; cf. Ps $45^{3\ [4]}$).

Among the many interesting sword-passages of the OT are:—Gn 3^{24} RV (the two guardians are

the cherubim and the darting flame, *i.e.* probably the lightning; cf. Burton, p. 183, who suggests the disc-like sword of Merodach); Gn 4^{23} (the Song of the Discovery of the Sword, according to some); Dt 33^{29} (the LORD Israel's sword, so EV rightly); Jg $7^{(18).\ 20}$ (the war-cry 'a sword for the LORD and for Gideon'); Is 27^{1} (the LORD'S sword of chastisement); Is 2^{4}=Mic 4^{3} ('swords into plowshares' a symbol of peace); Jl 3^{10} [4^{10}] ('plowshares into swords' a symbol of war); 2 Mac 15^{15} (the prophet Jeremiah delivers a golden sword to Judas Maccabæus in a vision).

In LXX and NT 'sword' is represented by three words:—**1.** *ξίφος*, a long straight sword, only in LXX. **2.** *μάχαιρα*, a word used to describe a mere knife (Gn 22^{10}, Jg 19^{29} LXX (A) for מַאֲכֶלֶת *ma'ăkheleth*; cf. Lk 22^{38} in F. Field, *Notes on the Translation of NT*, pp. 76, 77), as well as the legionary's sword (Eph 6^{17}), and the executioner's weapon (Ac 12^{2}). Μάχαιρα is used in Mt 26^{52}, a verse sometimes supposed to refer to war, but really referring to ordinary violence; in Eph 6^{17} of the 'sword of the Spirit, the word of God (*ῥῆμα θεοῦ*)' received (not 'taken') by the Christian warrior; and in He 4^{12} of the two-edged sword with which 'the word (*ὁ λόγος*) of God' is compared.* **3.** *ῥομφαία*, a word of somewhat doubtful meaning, but used in several interesting passages. It is found in Latin in the forms *romfea* (Sir 46^{2}) and *rumpia* (Livy, xxxi. 39). It is certain that it was a Thracian weapon of large size (Livy, *loc. cit.*), but whether it was a *sword* or a *spear* is not quite certain. In Plutarch (*Æmil.* 18) the Thracians are spoken of as *ὀρθὰς ῥομφαίας βαρυσιδήρους ἀπὸ τῶν δεξιῶν ὤμων ἐπισείοντες* ('having straight *rumpiæ* of heavy iron swaying from their right shoulders'). Suidas (ed. Bernhardy, 1853) gives *τὸ μακρὸν ἀκόντιον ἢ μάχαιρα*, and Hesychius (Leyden, 1766) *μάχαιρα, ξίφος, ἢ ἀκόντιον μακρόν*. In the 'Vulgate' Psalter (taken from the LXX) *ῥομφαῖαι* is rendered *frameæ* (*i.e.* large spears such as were used by the Germans) in Ps 9^{7}, where Jerome's 'Hebrew' Psalter gives *solitudines* (=חרבות). The usual Syr. rendering is 'sword,' but in Lk 2^{35} both Pesh. and Syr^{sin} give *rumḥa* 'lance,' and in Rev 1^{16} the Philoxenian (ed. Gwynn, 1897) gives *ruḥa* (apparently a mistake for *rumḥa*). General Pitt-Rivers, quoted by Burton (p. 183), speaks of a 'leaf-shaped sword-blade attached to the end of the spear like the Thracian *romphea*,' but Burton himself (p. 237) says that in modern Romaic it denotes the *flamberge*, the wavy blade carried by angels in art (*ib.* pp. 136, 138). That *ῥομφαία* may possibly mean 'spear' is disputed by W. Wayte (Smith's *Dict. Antiq.*[3] 1890), but acknowledged by Plummer on Lk 2^{35}.

Instances of the use of *ῥομφαία* are—Gn 3^{24} (*τὴν φλογίνην ῥ.*, see above); 1 Ch $21^{12.\ 27}$ (the sword of pestilence); Sir 46^{2} (Heb. קֵידוֹן *kîdôn* 'javelin'); 2 Mac 15^{15} ('the sword seen in vision); Lk 2^{35} (the sword of anguish), Rev 1^{16} 19^{15} (the sword of judgment proceeding out of the mouth of the glorified Christ; cf. Is 11^{4} 49^{2}). This last image is not so strange as appears at first sight, for the short Roman sword was tongue-like in shape, as the annexed illustration (taken from Lindenschmit, *Tracht u. Bewaffnung*. Tab. xi. fig. 11) shows.

ROMAN DAGGER.
(By kind permission of Messrs. Vieweg u. Sohn).

* Cf. Bab. Talm. *Bĕrākhōth* 5*a*, 'R. Isaac said, Every one who recites the *Shĕma* (Dt 6^{4}) upon his bed (Ps 149^{5}) is as if he held a two-edged sword in his hand.'

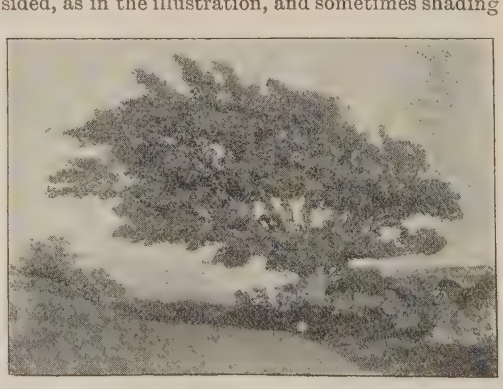
LITERATURE.—Sir Richard Burton's *Book of the Sword* (London, 1884) is a work of great but unequal merit, with many helpful illustrations; pp. 183–186 are on The Jewish Sword. Schliemann's *Mycenæ* (London, 1878) contains a good deal of information about ancient Greek swords. For other works see ARMS.

W. EMERY BARNES.

SYCAMINE (*συκάμινος*, Lk 17^{6}).—As St. Luke alludes by name to the *sycomore* (*συκομορέα*), it is prob. [but see Plummer, *ad loc.*] that he discriminates between it and the *sycamine*. By consent of scholars, *συκάμινος* is the Black Mulberry, *Morus nigra*, L., the strict signification of the word. Yet *συκάμινος* undoubtedly signifies also the *sycomore*. In all the passages in the OT where שִׁקְמִים and שִׁקְמוֹת occur (1 K 10^{27}, 1 Ch 27^{28}, 2 Ch 1^{15} 9^{27}, Ps 78^{47}, Is 9^{10}, Am 7^{14}), the LXX tr. it by *συκάμινος* (or *-ον*). As it is undoubted that *shiḳmîm* and *shiḳmôth* refer to the *sycomore*, we conclude that the LXX so understood *συκάμινος*. The true sycamine is therefore mentioned but once in the canonical books of the Bible and once in Apocr. (1 Mac 6^{34} *μόρος*, AV and RV 'mulberry'). It is a fine tree of the order *Urticaceæ*, with a hemispherical comus, 20–30 ft. high. Its leaves are cordate-ovate, undivided or more or less lobed and toothed. They are too tough to be suitable food for the silkworm, like those of the White Mulberry, *Morus alba*, L. The fruit resembles in size and shape the larger varieties of blackberries. It really consists of an aggregation of flowers, in an oblong spike, the succulent part of the fruit being the fleshy sepals. It has a pleasant acid taste, and is sold in all Oriental fruit markets. It is so abundant in Damascus as to be known as *tût-shâmî*=Damascus Mulberry. Neither it nor the white mulberry is to be confounded with the 'mulberry trees' of 2 S $5^{23.\ 24}$, 1 Ch $14^{14.\ 15}$; see MULBERRY.

G. E. POST.

SYCAMORE, SYCOMORE.—As pointed out under SYCAMINE, the Heb. שִׁקְמִים and שִׁקְמוֹת refer to the sycomore, which must not be confused with the tree known by that name in England and America —*Acer pseudo-platanus*, L., the false plane tree. The reference is to a tree of the same order, *Urticaceæ*, as the sycamine. It is of the same genus as the fig, and known in botany as *Ficus Sycomorus*, L., Arab. *jummeiz*. It has a flattened spherical comus, from 15–50 ft. high, often one-sided, as in the illustration, and sometimes shading



SYCOMORE TREE OVERHANGING A ROADWAY.
(The hedge to the right is Indian Fig).

an area 60–80 ft. in diameter. As it is very frequently planted by roadsides, its long, nearly horizontal branches project over the road. It was therefore eminently a suitable tree for Zaccheus to climb (Lk 19^{4}) in order to see Jesus passing. Seated on its lowest branch, he would be within easy speaking distance of the Saviour. The

foliage also is not usually dense, esp. in the old trees by waysides. The trunks often attain a very large size, sometimes 30–40 ft. in circumference. The leaves are ovate-subcordate. The fruit is a small, not very palatable fig, about 1 in. long, growing thick together on curious little leafless twigs on the trunk or large branches. Whatever may have been the custom in ancient times in regard to puncturing the figs of the sycomore to cause them to ripen, or to improve their flavour, this is no longer done in Palestine. The fruit is either shaken down or plucked as it ripens, and eaten without any preparation. It ripens in successive instalments almost throughout the year. The wood of the sycomore, although light and porous, is durable. It was used in Egypt for mummy cases. It is not now so common in the Holy Land as to furnish much available timber, but it was formerly very plentiful, esp. in the low lands (1 K 10^{27}, 1 Ch 27^{28}). It occurred, however, in the hill-country also. Amos, a Judæan shepherd, collected (?)* its fruit (7^{14}). The destroying of sycomore trees by frost (Ps 78^{47}) was phenomenal, as frost is exceedingly rare in Egypt. At the same time it was a great disaster, as the sycomore was much cultivated there for the industrial uses of its wood. Sycaminopolis (*Haifa*) derived its name from this tree. G. E. Post.

SYCHAR (ABℵ Συχάρ; Vulg. *Sichar*).—Jesus passing through Samaria, on His way from Judæa to Galilee, came 'to a city of Samaria called Sychar,' which was 'near to the parcel of ground that Jacob gave to his son Joseph' (Jn 4^{5}); and Jacob's well was there (v.^{6}). The identification of Sychar has been the subject of much discussion. All commentators now agree that 'Sychar' is the correct reading, and not a copyist's error for 'Shechem' as Jerome and Epiphanius held. But the question remains whether Sychar was Shechem or another place in the vicinity of Shechem.

It has been urged that, in consequence of the hatred which existed between the Jews and the Samaritans, the Jewish common people ironically called Shechem *Shikkor*, 'drunken,' or *Sheḳer*, 'falsehood.' But there is no evidence either in Josephus, the Targum, or the Talmud of their ever having done so; and the only support of the theory seems to be that Isaiah ($28^{1.3}$), referring, apparently, to the city of Samaria, denounces the 'drunkards' (*shikkōrim*) of Ephraim; and that the expression in Hab 2^{18}, a 'teacher of lies' (*mōreh sheḳer*), which refers to idolatry, contains an allusion to Moreh and Shechem. These interpretations are too forced, and the suggestion of Trench (*Studies in the Gospels*, p. 86), that St. John 'was himself the author of the nickname,' is too far-fetched. Another view is that *m* and *r* are often confounded in pronunciation (Olshausen and Lücke, *Com. z. Ev. Joh.* i. 512), and that Sych*a*r comes from Sych*e*m as pronounced by the Greek residents (cf. Beli*a*r for Beli*a*l, 2 Co 6^{15}, Eph 2^{2}). The change from *e* to *a* is not, however, explained. Jerome (*Ep. Paul.* and *Quæst. Gen.*) says that Sychar and Sychem are the same place, but he gives no evidence, and attributes the altered form to a copyist's error. This view has been adopted by Epiphanius and the pilgrims Arculf (A.D. 670), Theoderich (A.D. 1172), Maundeville (A.D. 1312), etc.; and in modern times by Robinson, Stanley, Guérin, and Riehm (*HWB*).

It is more logical to take Sychar to be another place in the vicinity of Shechem. The writer of the Fourth Gospel was well acquainted with the OT, which sufficiently indicates the position of Shechem; and it is inconceivable that he should have described a well-known town with such a history and with so many sacred associations as 'a city of Samaria near the parcel of ground that Jacob gave to his son Joseph.' It is also highly improbable that St. John, in this particular narrative, would have referred to Shechem by a nickname. St. Stephen (Ac 7^{16}) uses the LXX form, Sychem (Συχέμ), and this would probably have been employed by the evangelist if he had not intended to indicate another place. Sychar and Sychem are, in fact, distinguished in ancient documents. Eusebius (*Onom.*) says that Sychar was 'before,' that is 'east' of Neapolis (*Nâblus*), which he distinguishes from Sychem—a place in its suburbs, near Joseph's tomb. Jerome (*Onom.*) translates this description without remark. The Bordeaux Pilgrim (A.D. 333) makes a distinction between Neapolis, Sichem, and Sichar, and places the last one Roman mile from Sichem. Sychar is also mentioned as a distinct place from Neapolis and Shechem by Abbot Daniel (A.D. 1106), Fetellus (A.D. 1130), and John of Würzburg (A.D. 1160). All these pilgrims apparently refer to *el-'Askar*,—a village on the lower slopes of Mt. Ebal, which has a fine spring,—*'Ain el-'Askar*, and gives its name, *Sahel 'Askar*, to the northern portion of the plain of *el-Mukhna*. This village answers much better than such a well-known place as Shechem to the casual notice of St. John. Robinson (*Later Researches*, p. 133) held that 'the fact that 'Askar begins with the letter 'Ain excludes all idea of affinity with the name Sychar.' But there are cases, such as Ascalon (*'Askulân*), in which the Aleph of the Hebrew has changed to an 'Ain. In the Samaritan Chronicle, which cannot be later than the 14th cent. A.D., mention is made of a town, apparently near Shechem, that is called Ischar,—merely a vulgar pronunciation of Sychar,—and the Samaritans, in translating their Chronicle into Arabic, call this place *'Askar*. Thus the transition is traceable from the Hebrew form, through the Samaritan Ischar, to the Arabic *'Askar* (Conder, *Tent-Work*, i. 75). The Mishna mentions a place called 'the plain of En-Sokher,' which is perhaps Sychar (Neubauer, *Géog. du Talmud*, p. 169). Schwarz (*HL* p. 127) correctly identifies En-Sokher with *'Ain el-'Askar*, and the plain with the *Sahel 'Askar*. There is thus a strong case for the identification of Sychar with *el-'Askar*. This view is supported by Thomson (*L. and B.* ch. 31), Williams (Smith's *D. of G.* ii. 412*b*), Raumer (*Pal.* p. 163), Ewald (*Gesch.* iv. 284, v. 348, 3rd ed.), Derenbourg (*Géog. du Talmud*, p. 169), Caspari, Neubauer, Conder, Smith (*HGHL* p. 367 ff.—a good summary of the question), Tristram, and others. C. W. Wilson.

SYCHEM (Συχέμ; *Sichem*).—The Greek (LXX Gn 12^{6} etc.) form of *Shechem*. It occurs only in the speech of St. Stephen (Ac 7^{16}), according to which the twelve sons of Jacob were buried in Sychem, in the tomb that Abraham bought of Hamor (Emmor) in Sychem. See Shechem.

Although in the above-named passage in Acts the strictly accurate reproduction of the original demands *Sychem* (so AV), RV, consistently with its practice of following the Hebrew in the case of OT names, gives *Shechem*. C. W. Wilson.

SYENE.—See Seveneh.

SYMEON.—See Simeon.

SYMMACHUS.—See Versions (Greek).

* AV tr. *bôlês shikmim*, 'a gatherer of sycomore fruit,' RV 'a dresser of sycomore trees.' It is possible that the Heb. expression (cf. LXX κνίζων, Vulg. *vellicans*) refers to the above-mentioned method of improving the fruit. See, further, Driver, *ad loc.*

SYNAGOGUE.—

i. The name.
ii. Origin and history.
iii. Situation of the building, style of architecture, etc.
iv. Synagogue worship, officials, etc.
v. The synagogue as an elementary school.
vi. Other uses of the synagogue.
vii. Latest history of the synagogue.
Literature.

i. THE NAME.—*Synagogue* is the name applied to the place of assembly used by Jewish communities primarily for the purpose of public worship. The Gr. *συναγωγή* stands for the assembly itself, and represents in the LXX in most instances the Heb. עֵדָה. So also in the Heb. Sirach (*e.g.* 4^7 41^{18}) עֵדָה answers to the *συναγωγή* of the Gr. text. The Aramaic versions of the Bible reproduce עֵדָה by כְּנִישְׁתָּא (Syr. כנושתא). The verb כנש, from which this Aram. substantive is derived, has its representative in Hebrew in the rare verb כנם, which is used in Est 4^{16} of the assembling of the Jews of Susa for a religious fast. The common Heb. verb אסף is translated in Aramaic by כנש, in Greek by *συνάγω* (cf. *e.g.* Jl 2^{16}). From כנם (of which the verbal noun is כְּנִיסָה in the special sense of assembling for worship, *Megilla*, i. 1, *Gen. rab.* ch. 49, on Gn 18^{42}) was formed, as the equivalent of the Aram. כנישתא, the subst. כְּנֶסֶת, which may indeed stand for any gathering, but which appears at a very early date to have acquired the special sense of an assemblage for worship. It was perhaps originally this special sense that was attached to the word when the gathering of which we read in Neh 9^1–10^{40} was called כנסת הגדולה 'the great assembly' [נאספו of Neh 9^1 is translated in Pesh. by אתכנשו, in LXX by *συνήχθησαν*]; for this epoch-making assembly had the marks of a worshipping body (fasting, reading of the Torah, confession of sin, prayer). See art. SYNAGOGUE (THE GREAT). The house, in which the meeting for worship was held, was called בֵּית הַכְּנֶסֶת (Aram. בֵּי כְנִישְׁתָּא), but the words כְּנֶסֶת and כְּנִישְׁתָּא standing alone may also be used for the place of meeting. It is noteworthy that in the Pal. Talmud the use of כנישתא predominates, in the Bab. Talmud בי כנישתא. The plural of כְּנֶסֶת is כְּנֶסְיוֹת (from a supposed *כְּנֶסִית; cf. משניות, plur. of משנה), hence כְּנֵסִי = 'synagogues.' To this plural goes back the sing. form כְּנֶסְיָה, of which there is only an isolated occurrence (*Aboth*, iv. 11; the reading כְּנֶסֶת, cited by Taylor, is not sufficiently authenticated), which is not the equivalent in meaning of כְּנֶסֶת, but stands for an association or society in general. In this more general sense of כְּנֶסְיָה we should also understand the plural found in *Aboth*, iii. 10, and *Echa rabbathi*, Proœm., No. 10.—The shorter expression כְּנֶסֶת or כְּנִישְׁתָּא (without בֵּית or בֵּי) finds its representative in the Gr. *συναγωγή*, which in the NT and Josephus stands for the place of worship, the synagogue. Cf. Philo, *Quod omnis probus liber*, § 12 (of the Essenes): *εἰς ἱεροὺς ἀφικνούμενοι τόπους οἳ καλοῦνται συναγωγαί.*

Another Gr. name for the synagogue is **προσευχή**, which occurs especially in Philo (*in Flaccum*, § 6, 7, 14, *Leg. ad Gaium*, § 20, 23, 43, 46), but is found also elsewhere (3 Mac 7^{20}, Ac 16^{13}; Jos. *Vita*, 54; inscriptions *ap.* Schürer, *GJV*[3] ii. 443). It appears in Latin (*proseucha*) in Juv. *Sat.* iii. 296. As *συναγωγή* is shortened from *οἶκος συναγωγῆς*, so is *προσευχή* from *οἶκος προσευχῆς*. The corresponding Heb. expression is found in Deutero-Isaiah, not only in 56^7 (בית תפלתי, בית תפלה), but also in 60^7, where בית תפארתי is rendered in the LXX by *ὁ οἶκος τῆς προσευχῆς μου*, so that the original reading must have been ב' תפלתי. The Jewish tradition-literature offers only once, in an anecdote of the Bab. Talmud (*Gittin*, 39*b*), the half-Aramaic half-Heb. בי תפלה. Once (Midrash *Tehillim* on Ps 4) the synagogue is called מקום תפלתו, 'his (God's) place of prayer.' Philo has also *προσευκτήριον*, 'place of prayer' (*Vita Mosis*, iii. 27).

In an edict of the emperor Augustus the synagogue is called *σαββατεῖον*, 'house of Sabbath-keeping' (Jos. *Ant.* XVI. vi. 2), to which corresponds in later times the Syr. בית שבתא דיהודיי, plur. בית שבי (see Payne-Smith, col. 497).

One other term may be mentioned, כְּנֶסֶת יִשְׂרָאֵל used by the Agada as a personification of the whole body of Israel, the Jewish people. In the Tannaite literature the expression is still rare (see Bacher, *Die älteste Terminologie der jüdischen Schriftauslegung*, p. 85), but it is very frequent in the post-Tannaite Agada (from the 3rd cent. onwards; see the passages cited under 'Gemeinde Israels' in the Index to Bacher's *Agada der pal. Amoräer*, vols. i. ii. iii.). It is the same kind of personification as took place when the analogous term *ἐκκλησία* was adopted as a designation for the whole body of adherents of the Christian faith. For the use of the term by the Church Fathers see Schürer[3], ii. 432.

ii. ORIGIN AND HISTORY OF THE SYNAGOGUE.—1. The first beginnings of the synagogue as an institution of Judaism are involved in complete obscurity. The later Tradition represents it, like other more recent institutions, as in existence from the earliest times. According to the Pal. Targ. on Ex 18^{20}, this verse already contains an allusion to the prayers to be repeated in the synagogues; the Targ. on 1 Ch 16^{39} states that the great place of offering at Gibeon was a synagogue. An anonymous Midrash (*Pesikta*, ed. Buber, 129*b*) makes three contemporary prophets proclaim the word of God in three different places: Jeremiah in the public squares, Zephaniah in the synagogues, Huldah among the women. The 'house of the people' (Jer 39^8) was, according to a Midrash cited by D. Kimchi, the synagogue (see also Rashi's *Com. ad loc.*; L. Löw, *Gesam. Schriften*, iv. 8, wrongly cites here the Targum). Although a tradition of the 2nd cent. tells us that uneducated people were accustomed to call the synagogue בֵּית עַמָּא (Simon b. Eleazar, *Shabbath*, 32*a*), this explanation of the expression בית העם in Jeremiah cannot be taken seriously. Philo and Josephus (see Schürer[3], ii. 429) both believed that the institution of the synagogue goes back to Moses, and the same notion perhaps finds expression in the words of the Apostle James in Ac 15^{21} 'For Moses from generations of old (*ἐκ γενεῶν ἀρχαίων*) hath in every city them that preach him, being read in the synagogues every Sabbath.'

In all probability, the germs of the future institution of the synagogue should be sought during the Babylonian exile. Thus the historical reality is not so very far removed from the view which the Targ. on Ezk 11^{16} attaches to the words וְאֶהְיֶה לָהֶם לְמִקְדָּשׁ מְעַט, namely, that when Israel was scattered among the nations God gave them the synagogue as a compensation for the loss of the sanctuary. Amongst the exiles torn from their homes, but brought nearer to God and His teaching, the need must have made itself felt of a medium for cultivating, in common, religious emotions and for receiving religious instruction. The absence of the sacrificial cultus during the Exile, the higher significance to which Sabbath observance attained, the regular fast-days (cf. Zec 7^5, Is 58) augmented this sense of need, which would find satisfaction in gatherings at fixed places and times. All these considerations, which were at work in Babylon, made their influence felt also in Palestine, when Israel after the Return struck new roots in the old home, and the religious life, in spite of the fact that the newly-built temple at Jerusalem was its central point, gained a basis independent of the sacrificial cultus. In particular,

the activity of Ezra and his successors the scribes guided the development of the religious life in a direction which was bound to lead to the rise of synagogues all over the country. Hence we may confidently place the origin of the synagogue in Palestine at the period of the Persian domination. There is indeed no express and unmistakable mention of the synagogue either in the Persian or in the first two centuries of the Greek era. Even the narratives about the religious persecutions under Antiochus Epiphanes are silent as to synagogues. At most, the 74th Psalm, if it really belongs to the Maccabæan age, may be cited as the earliest source where the synagogue is named; for מועדי אל (v.[8]) may very well be interpreted, with Aquila and the Midrash on Psalms, as a name for the places of assembly throughout the land consecrated to God, מוֹעֵד being thus a poetical equivalent of בית הכנסת (Löw cites, in illustration of the expression, בֵּית מוֹעֵד of Job 30[22]; cf., also, בית ועד, *Aboth*, i. 4).—Express notices of the synagogue, so far as these are found in the literature, belong for the most part to the last century of the Second Temple. But in all cases where it is mentioned the synagogue appears as an institution that has long existed, and as the central point of the organized social life of the Jews.

2. In Jerusalem itself, immediately before the destruction of the city by Titus, there were 394 (Bab. *Kethub.* 105*a*), or, according to another version (Jerus. *Megilla*, 73*d* and oft.), 480 synagogues. Even if these figures are exaggerated, the number of synagogues in Jerusalem must be thought of as very large. Apart from the synagogues belonging to the inhabitants proper of the capital, there were others for the various communities of foreign Jews settled in Jerusalem. A Tannaite tradition mentions the synagogue of the Alexandrians at Jerusalem (Tos. *Megilla*, ii. 224[26], Jerus. *Megilla*, 73*d*[40]; otherwise Bab. *Megilla*, 26*a*). The Acts of the Apostles (6[9]) also names the synagogue of the Alexandrians, along with the synagogues of the Cyrenians, Cilicians, and Asians; the Hellenistic members of these synagogues dispute with Stephen (*ib.* cf. 9[29]). In the temple itself there was a synagogue, which Joshua b. Chananja mentions from recollections of his own (Tos. *Sukka*, iv. 198[18]), and of whose functionaries we hear also from other quarters (*Yoma*, vii. 1; *Sota*, vii. 7, 8). On the synagogues of Jerusalem cf. also Jerus. *Sukka*, 54*a*[45].

Of the synagogues of Palestine the Gospels name Nazareth (Mt 13[54], Mk 6[2], Lk 4[16]) and Capernaum (Mk 1[21], Lk 7[5], Jn 6[59]) as those in which Jesus taught. The synagogue of Dora was built by Agrippa I. (Jos. *Ant.* XIX. vi. 3); the synagogue of Cæsarea became a moving cause of the rising against Rome (*BJ* II. xiv. 4–5), and in memory of this continued to be called in the 4th cent. 'the revolution synagogue' (בנישתא דמרדתא, Jerus. *Bikkurim*, 65*d*[17] *et al.*; see Graetz, *Gesch. d. Juden*[3], iv. 313). The great synagogue of Tiberias is mentioned by Josephus (*Vita*, 54). During the three centuries that followed the destruction of Jerusalem, the Talmudical literature names various Pal. synagogues: for instance, those that were the centres of scribal activity: Sepphoris (the 'great synagogue,' *Pesikta*, 136*b*; the 'synagogue of the Babylonians,' Jerus. *Berakhoth*, 9*a*[32], *Shabb.* 8*a*[42]; the 'synagogue of the vine' [כ' דגופנא], Jerus. *Berakhoth*, 6*a*, *et al.*); Tiberias (*Erubin*, x. 10; 'the 13 synagogues of Tiberias,' *Berakhoth*, 8*a*, 30*b*; the 'synagogue of the senate-house' [*βουλή*, כ' דבולי], Jerus. *Taan.* 64*a*[51], see *Die Agada der pal. Amor.* iii. 100); Cæsarea (see above); Lydda (Jerus. *Shekalim*, v., end). There is mention, further, of the synagogues of Beth-shean [Scythopolis] (Jerus. *Meg.* 74*a*[67]); Kiphra or Kuphra (Jerus. *Taan.* 68*b*[34], *Meg.* 70*a*[49]; in *Pesikta rabb.*, ed. Friedmann, p. 196[b] כפר של מבריא 'village of Tiberias'); Maon (*Shabb.* 139*a*, *Zebach.* 118*b*); Sichnin (Jerus. *Meg.* 75*b*[41]); Tibein (Tos. *Meg.* 223[13]).

In Babylonia the oldest synagogues were counted to be that of Shaph-Jethîb at Nahardea (*Megilla*, 29*b*, *Rosh hash.* 24*b*, *Aboda zara*, 43*b*, *Nidda*, 13*a*), and that of Huẓal (*Megilla*, 29*b*). The founding of the former was ascribed to king Jehoiachin. From the 3rd cent. there is witness for a 'synagogue of Daniel' (*Erubin*, 21*a*). In Machuza there was in the 4th cent. a 'synagogue of the Romans' (כ' דרומאי, *Meg.* 26*b*).

In Syria specially famous was the great synagogue of Antioch, to which the successors of Antiochus Epiphanes presented the brazen vessels which had been carried off from the temple at Jerusalem (Jos. *BJ* VII. iii. 3). On this synagogue, on whose site arose in the 4th cent. the Christian basilica dedicated to the Maccabæan martyrs, see Cardinal Rampolla in *Revue de l'Art Chrétien*, 1899, p. 390.—The Apostle Paul preached in various synagogues at Damascus (Ac 9[20], cf. v.[2]). The narrative of the journeys of the same apostle makes mention of synagogues in Asia Minor, Macedonia, Greece: for instance, those of Pisidian Antioch (Ac 13[14]), Iconium (14[1]), Ephesus (18[19]), Philippi (16[13]), Thessalonica (17[1]), Berœa (17[10]), Athens (17[17]), Corinth (18[4, 7]). There were several synagogues at Salamis in Cyprus (13[1]).

The numerous Jewish population of Alexandria had, according to the testimony of Philo (*Leg. ad Gaium*, § 20), many synagogues in the different quarters of the city. The largest of these was the famous basilica, of which the Tannaite tradition of the 2nd cent. gives a hyperbolical but yet very graphic description (Tos. *Sukka*, iv. 198[20]; Jerus. *Sukka*, 55*a*, bottom; Bab. *Sukka*, 51*a*). The founding of the synagogue of Ptolemais is related in 3 Mac 7[20].

We learn from Philo (*Leg. ad Gaium*, § 23) that as early as the time of Augustus there were a number of synagogues in Rome. The names of several of these have been preserved in the inscriptions (see Schürer[3], iii. 44 ff.). An ancient literary tradition names the 'synagogue of Severus' at Rome (see Epstein in *Monatsschrift für Gesch. u. Wiss. des Judenthums*, 1885, p. 338).

The memory of many synagogues of the Diaspora is preserved in early Greek inscriptions. Specially noteworthy are the ruins of ancient synagogues at several spots in northern Galilee, 'of which the oldest date from the second or even the first cent. A.D.' (Schürer[2], ii. 445).

3. At the time of the rise of Christianity every Jewish community, whether in Palestine or in the Diaspora, certainly had its synagogue. The words of St. James quoted above are in harmony with the testimony of Philo, who speaks of the places of prayer that existed in every city as so many places of instruction in virtue and piety (*Vita Mos.* iii. 27: *τὰ κατὰ πόλεις προσευκτήρια τί ἕτερόν ἐστιν ἢ διδασκαλεῖα κ.τ.λ.*). Hence there is a reflexion of the real condition of things when in a Tannaite saying of the 1st or 2nd cent. (R. 'Akiba already glosses it) the synagogue is named as one of the qualifications of a city in which a scribe may settle down (*Sanhedrin*, 17*b*, bottom). When in the Tannaite hălăchā the synagogue is looked upon as the property of the city (*Nedarim*, v. 5), the places in view are such as are inhabited wholly or for the most part by Jews, for in these the political and the religious body are one and the same. Where there is no synagogue, the citizens (בני העיר 'sons of the city') have the right to demand that one be built and 'to compel one another to do this' (Tos. *Baba mezia*, xi. 396[29]). The same rule applies to the procuring of

the necessary copy of the Pentateuch and the Prophets for the synagogue (*ib.*).—The members of the community belonging to the same synagogue are called בני הכנסת ('sons of the synagogue'), a designation which has a special significance when there are a number of synagogues in the same place. See the use of the expression in Tos. *Megilla*, ii. 223[20]; Bar. *Moed ḳaṭon*, 22*b*, bottom; *Bekhoroth*, v. 5; *Zabim*, iii. 2. In Tos. *Megilla*, iii. *ad init.* (224[10]) the members of the synagogal community are opposed to the rulers of the city (פרנסי העיר).—With reference to the right to alienate a synagogue to another use, the casuistry of the Pal. Amoras draws a distinction between private synagogues (בית הכנסת של יחיד) and public synagogues (ב' ה' של רבים); see Jerus. *Megilla*, 73*d*[58] and 74*a*[57]. The corresponding passage of the Bab. Talmud (*Meg.* 26*a*) distinguishes village from city synagogues (ב' ה' של כפרים, ברבים).—The possibility of a private house being converted into a synagogue is considered in the Tannaite hălāchā (*Nedarim*, ix. 2, cf. Jerus. *Meg.* 73*d*[49]). As a rule, the synagogues were buildings specially erected for the purpose. In spite of the public character of the synagogal buildings they were subjected to certain ceremonial regulations applicable to dwelling-houses (Tos. *Negaim*, vi. 625[17], Bar. *Yoma*, 11*b*). A varying tradition (*Yoma*, *ib.*) distinguishes between synagogues which contain a dwelling for the synagogue attendant (דירה לחזן הכנסת) and those that do not.—The Tannaite hălāchā deals with the contingency of a non-Jew supplying the building material for a synagogue (Tos. *Meg.* iii. 224[20]). This recalls the case of the Roman centurion at Capernaum, who had built a synagogue for the Jews (Lk 7[5]).—The consecration attaching to the synagogal building in virtue of its sacred destination does not cease entirely even when the building is no longer used for its original purpose. A synagogue may be sold only on condition that it is not used for dishonourable purposes (*Meg.* ii. 2). It is even considered a profanation of its sacred character to enter a synagogue for shelter from the burning sun or from frost or rain (Tos. *Meg.* iii. 224[27]; Bab. *Meg.* 28*a b*). Citing the circumstance that even the ruined holy places are called sanctuaries (Lv 26[31]), Jehuda b. Ilai (2nd cent.) teaches that even the ruins of synagogues are not to be used for profane purposes (*Meg.* iii. 3). The Bab. Amora Chisda (3rd cent.) prohibits the pulling down of a synagogue until another has been built (*Meg.* 26*b*, *Baba bathra*, 3*b*).—In Babylonia there appear to have been two kinds of synagogue—winter and summer synagogues (*Baba bathra*, 3*b*; see Löw, *Gesam. Schriften*, iv. 97).

iii. SITUATION OF THE BUILDING, STYLE OF ARCHITECTURE, ETC.—1. A Tannaite tradition, appealing to Pr 1[21], lays down the rule that the synagogue should be built 'on the height of the city,' *i.e.* upon a commanding point (Tos. *Meg.* iii. 227[16]). With reference to this, a later Midrash (*Tanchuma*, בחקותי 4, ed. Buber, iii. 10) declares: 'In early times the synagogue was built on the height of the city.' So also Rab in Babylon (3rd cent.) taught: 'A city whose roofs overtop the synagogue is given over to destruction' (*Shabb.* 11*a*). Of course these words can apply only to synagogues built within the city, and there can be no doubt that this was the case with the synagogues in Palestine. On the other hand, there is evidence that in Babylonia the synagogues were frequently outside the city. The Bab. Talmud speaks of synagogues which are 'in the neighbourhood of the city,' and presupposes others which are at a greater distance from it (*Kiddush.* 73*b*, cf. *Shabb.* 24*b*, and also the Comm. of Rashi, *s.* מכנה).

Allusion is made to such extra-mural synagogues in a Midrash on Ec 12[5], where the old man, to whom the walk to the synagogue is a hard task, is addressed in the words בוא ונצא אל בית הכנסת ('come let us go to the synagogue,' *Tanchuma*, ed. Buber, חיי שרה, 7). On the other hand, we are not to follow L. Löw (*Gesam. Schriften*, iv. 15) in seeing in the interpretation of the 'well in the field' (Gn 29[2]) as an allegory of the synagogue (*Gen. rabba*, ch. 70) an allusion to the situation of synagogues outside the city; for the expression 'in the field' is as indifferent for the purpose of the allegory as it is in the immediately preceding interpretation of the well as an allegory of the Sanhedrin. Nor does the passage *Pesikta*, 158*a* (ed. Buber), refer to synagogues in the country (Löw, *ib.* note 2), but the contrast there is between prayer in the open country and prayer in the synagogue inside the city (cf. Midrash *Tehillim* on Ps 3, ed. Buber, p. 46).

The fact that the synagogues in Babylonia were—partly at least—outside the cities was perhaps connected with the circumstance that at the beginning of the Sassanide rule the synagogues were destroyed by the Persians (*Yoma*, 10*a*), and the rebuilding of them within the cities was not allowed.

To another category belong the statements from which it has been inferred that it was customary to build the synagogues *by a running stream or by the sea.* None of these statements, moreover, refer to either Palestine or Babylonia. During St. Paul's stay at Philippi it is said (Ac 16[13]): 'And on the sabbath day we went forth without the gate, by a river side, where we supposed there was a place of prayer.' The synagogue of Philippi was thus situated by a river outside the city. The assumption that it would be found there shows that this must have been the case elsewhere also. The municipality of Halicarnassus expressly granted permission to the Jews to perform their devotions, according to their ancestral habit, by the seashore (Jos. *Ant.* XIV. x. 23). But here there is no mention of a synagogue, but simply of prayer in the open air. We may recall in this connexion the religious fasts that were held in Palestine in the open market-place of the town (*Taanith*, ii. 1). It is the same allusion to the fasts of the Jews that underlies the similar statements of Tertullian (*de Jejunio*, 16; *ad Nationes*, i. 13; see Schürer[3], ii. 447). In like manner the Jews of Alexandria betook themselves, in their time of straits, to the seashore, to pray there 'in the purest place' (*ἐν καθαρωτάτῳ*; Philo, *in Flaccum*, § 14). This remark of Philo throws light upon the custom of the Jews living among the heathen of praying by the seashore, and perhaps also upon the building of the synagogue by a river, which is witnessed for Philippi. The motive would be to avoid the interior of the city polluted by idolatry, and to seek the 'purest' places for prayer, namely, the banks of rivers and the seashore. The same notion finds expression also in the ancient Midrash on Ex 12[1] (*Mechilta*, *ad init.*): Moses prays outside the city (Ex 9[33]), because it was full of abominations and idolatry (see Kohler, *Monatsschrift*, xxxvii. 442; Blau, *Magyar-Zsidó Szemle*, x. 494). Once more, it may be noted that at Corinth the synagogue was inside the city; for the house of Titius Justus, where St. Paul lived, 'joined hard to the synagogue' (Ac 18[7]).

2. The *style of building* adopted in the ancient synagogues of Palestine is illustrated by the above-mentioned ruins in N. Galilee. 'Almost all these synagogues lie north and south, so that the entrance is at the south. As a rule they appear to have had three doors in front—one principal entrance and two smaller side doors. In some instances it can still be seen that the building was divided by two rows of pillars into three aisles. Some had a portico in front. In general the style was influenced by the Græco-Roman, although it shows very characteristic differences from it. In particular it was marked by a wealth of overladen ornamentation' (Schürer[3], ii. 446). This orientation of the synagogue from north to south contra-

dicts a prescription of the Tannaite hălāchā (Tos. *Megilla*, iv. 227[15]), according to which the synagogue entrance, like that of the sanctuary (Nu 3[38]), is to be at the east. One is tempted to assume that this rule, found only in the Tosephta, has in view Babylonia and other lands to the east of Palestine; for in these the orientation from east to west corresponds with the direction prescribed to the congregation at prayer in the synagogue. In the Tosephta there are other traces of Babylonian redaction. As far as the synagogues of Galilee are concerned, their orientation, as the ruins show, was the opposite of the direction prescribed for prayer. In an early halachic tradition (Siphrê on *Deut.* § 29, 70*b*; Bab. *Berakh.* 30*a*) it is said, upon the ground of 1 K 8[48], that during prayer the worshipper must face towards Jerusalem and the sanctuary: those dwelling in the north stand with their face to the south, those in the south face the north, those in the west the east, those in the east the west. From this it follows that the worshippers in the synagogues of N. Galilee would turn in prayer towards the entrance. The direction towards the sanctuary, *i.e.* towards that part of the synagogue which is turned towards the sanctuary, is dealt with in the following rules, which are likewise found only in the Tosephta (*Megilla*, iv. 227[11]):—

'The elders (זקנים) take their places facing the people, and with their back to the sanctuary (כלפי קודש). The book-press in the synagogue is so placed that its front is towards the people, its back to the sanctuary. When the priests lift up their hands to bless, they stand with their face to the people, their back to the sanctuary. The synagogue attendant (*ḥazzan*) stands with his face turned towards the sanctuary, which is also the direction in which all the people face.'

In the above quotation קודש may be a designation of the particular side of the synagogue itself. In any case, we may assume that this part of the building was not always opposite the entrance.

In the case of two considerable synagogues, we know that they had the form of a basilica with a double row of pillars. The expression *διπλῆ στοά* is used of both of them. One is the famous great synagogue of Alexandria mentioned above; the other is that of Tiberias, to which an author of the 4th cent. (see *Agada der pal. Amor.* iii. 672, from Midr. *Tehillim* on Ps 93, end) applies that designation.

According to Philo (*in Flaccum*, § 7) there were exhibited in the *περίβολοι* of the synagogue of Alexandria dedicated gifts and inscriptions set up in honour of the emperors (Schürer[3], ii. 446, iii. 52).

3. Of the *furnishings* of the synagogue the most important was the press (תיבה) in which the sacred writings were kept. The complete expression is תיבה של ספרים (Tos. *Yadayim*, ii. 683[8]); rarely do we find the Aram. term ארונא (= Heb. אָרוֹן), Jerus. *Meg.* 73*d*[61. 65]. The same 2nd cent. tradition which censures the use of בית עמא by uneducated persons as a term for the synagogue (see p. 636[b]), condemns in the same way the employing of the term ארונא for the book-press (*Shabbath*, 32*a*). It appears that in popular speech ארון or ארונא meant either a coffin or a press for keeping victuals (see *Kelim*, xii. 3), and hence the word תיבה established itself for the press of the synagogue which served a sacred purpose. It appears in Aram. as תיבותא (Jerus. *Berakh.* 9*c*[38. 43]; Bab. *Meg.* 26*b*), and is reproduced by the Gr. *κιβωτός* (Chrys. *Orat. adv. Jud.* vi. 4).

The press was furnished with a species of canopy called כילה (Jerus. *Meg.* 73*d*[61]; see Levy, ii. 318*b*), which was spread over it before the commencement of the Sabbath (Jerus. *Shabb.* 17*c*[42]). In Babylonia its name was פירסא (*Meg.* 26*b*). As long as the congregation remained in the synagogue the press was not to be denuded of this adornment (Bab. *Sota*, 39*b*, להפשיט התיבה).

The press appears to have been placed in a shut-off part of the synagogue, with a curtain in front of it which, like the curtain in the sanctuary, bore the name פרוכת (Aram. פרוכתא). Behind this curtain took place the rolling up of the Torah after the reading of the Scripture lesson (Jerus. *Sota*, 22*a*[22]; Jerus. *Meg.* 75*b*[60]; *Soph.* xi. 3).

The cloths in which the copies of the sacred writings kept in the press were wrapped were called מטפחות, or, in full, מ' של ספר or מ' של ספרים, also מ' ספרים (see *Kelim*, ix. 3, xxiv. 14; *Negaim*, xi. 6; Tos. *Kilayim*, v. 80[18]; Tos. *Yadayim*, ii. 683[8]). Such cloths were used elsewhere also to wrap up the books of Scripture: thus in *Sanhed.* 100*a* we read of the cloths in which, in the house of the Bab. Amora Jehuda (3rd cent.), the books were wrapped (מ' ספרי רבי יהודה). By מ' תיבה (Tos. *Kilayim*, v. 80[18]) appear to be meant the cloths used to wrap up the books that lay in the synagogue press. From a controversy between the schools of Hillel and Shammai (*Kelim*, xxviii. 4) we learn that these cloths used to be adorned with embroideries (מצוירות). Little bells were also attached to them (וגים לס' ספרים, Tos. *Kelim*, i. 1, 579[21]; Bab. *Shabb.* 58*b*).

In the graduated scale of consecration attaching to the synagogue and its furnishings, the press is holier than the building, the cloths for the Scriptures are holier than the press (*Meg.* iii. 1). In the hălāchā in question there is no mention of the chest (*θήκη*); hence it is probable that the תיק הספר of *Shabb.* xvi. 1 and the תיק הספרים of Tos. *Yadayim*, ii. 683[8], do not refer to the chest in which the synagogue Scriptures were kept.

Amongst the fittings of the synagogue was the *tribune* (בימה, *i.e.* *βῆμα*). There was a tribune of wood (בימה של עץ, cf. מגדל עץ of Neh 8[3]; see art. PULPIT) also in the temple at Jerusalem, upon which king Agrippa I. stood—instead of sitting—and read the Torah at the Feast of Booths (*Sota*, vii. 7; Tos. *Sota*, vii. 307[20]). There was a similar structure in the centre of the great synagogue of Alexandria, from which the signal to utter the Amen was given to the congregation (Tos. *Sukka*, iv. 198[23]). In small synagogues the tribune appears to have been in close proximity to the press; hence the pronouncement of the Bab. Amora Samuel (3rd cent.), preserved in the Pal. Talmud (*Meg.* 73*d*[62]), that the tribune and the tablets (בימה ולוחין) possess the degree of sacredness of the building but not of the press. The Bab. Talmud (*Meg.* 32*a*) speaks in like manner of the tablets and the tribunes (הלוחות והבימות). In the Midrash (*Pesikta*, ed. Buber, 84*a*) there is a story of how some one had מבלאות בימאות וספסלין made of a cedar tree (where מבלאות is the same as לוחות). But there is nowhere sufficient evidence what is to be understood by these 'tablets' which belonged to the furnishings of a synagogue. They may have been tablets inscribed with Bible texts (cf. Is 30[8]), such as were used in connexion with elementary Scripture lessons (see Jelamdenu, cited in Friedmann's introduction to his edition of the *Mechilta*, p. xxxiv).

The above-mentioned ספסלין (i.e. *subsellia*), seats for the congregation, are named in Jerus. *Meg.* 73*d*[61] as among the furnishings of a synagogue; they have the same degree of sacredness as the building. Along with the seats are named also קלטירה; but this word should be emended to קתידרה, which stands for the usual קתידרא (or קתידרה), i.e. *cathedra* (cf. Jerus. *Shabb.* 6*a*[2] הספסל והקתידרא). Chairs were, no doubt, provided for the elders and scribes, who sat in a prominent place (see above, ii. § 5, and cf. the *πρωτοκαθεδρία* of Mt 23[6], Mk 12[39], Lk 11[43]). So also in the great synagogue of Alex-

andria there were 71 chairs of gold (שבעים ואחת קתדראות של זהב) for the members of the great council there (Tos. *Sukka, l.c.*). On the 'chair of Moses,' which the Chinese Jews had in their synagogue instead of the *bîmā* (Almemor), see *REJ* xxxv. 110, and on the Μωσέως καθέδρα spoken of by Jesus in Mt 23[2] see *ib.* xxxiv. 300.

At the reading of the Scriptures a *reading desk* (אנלין של ספר, or, shortly, אנלין [ἀναλογεῖον]) was used (*Kelim*, xvi. 17), which, as a piece of the synagogue furniture, had the same degree of sacredness as the building itself (Jerus. *Meg.* 73*d* [64]).

We hear also of *candelabra* and *lamps* (נר, מנורה) being provided for the synagogue (Tos. *Meg.* iii. 224[15]). The Pal. Talmud tells of a candelabrum which Antonine, to the great joy of the patriarch Jehuda, presented to a synagogue (*Meg.* 74*a* [29]); the Bab. Talmud (*Arakhin*, 16*b*) relates how an Arab, named עורק, presented a lamp to the synagogue of Jehuda, the head of the school of Pumbeditha (3rd cent.). The Mishna (*Terumoth*, xi. 10) speaks of the *oil* which was burned in the synagogue, and also of the custom of keeping lamps burning in the synagogues on the Day of Atonement (*Pesachim*, iv. 4).

iv. SYNAGOGUE WORSHIP, OFFICIALS, ETC.—For the holding of public worship in the synagogue the presence of at least ten adult male persons is required. These constitute the minimum of a congregation (עֲדָה = כְּנֶסֶת). (See *Sanhed.* ii. 3, *Meg.* iv. 3). It once happened that Eliezer b. Hyrcanus (1st cent.), accompanied by his slave, came into the synagogue, and, finding that the requisite ten were not present, he gave the slave his freedom in order to make up the proper number (*Pesach.* 47*b*; *Gittin*, 38*b*). With this story may be compared the testimony of the inscription of Pantikapæum, according to which a manumitted slave was bound to attend the synagogue regularly (Schürer[3], iii. 53). That was considered a great city in which there were at least ten synagogue members unencumbered by business (בטלנים), and who thus made it possible to hold a daily service (*Meg.* i. 3; *Baba kamma*, 82*a*; *Sanhed.* 17*b*; Jerus. *Meg.* 70*b* [63]), whereas the great mass of the congregation could attend only on the Sabbath and on the festival days. At a later period the 'ten men of leisure' became a kind of institution in the congregation.

Women were not counted as members of the synagogue congregation. Yet even a woman could take part in the reading of the Sabbath lesson as one of the seven persons required on such an occasion; but it was considered objectionable, on grounds of decency (מפני כבוד הצבור), for a woman to read in public from the Torah (Tos. *Meg.* iv. 226[4]; Bab. *Meg.* 23*a*). Women were zealous attenders of the synagogue. A Tannaite hălāchā (*Aboda zara*, 38*a b*) names as the two places for which a woman is wont to leave her house, the baths and the synagogue (cf. also *Yoma*, 15*b*).

Characteristic is the anecdote of the woman who had become very old and longed to leave this world. When she went to Jose b. Chalaphta (2nd cent.) with her complaint, he asked her: 'What duty art thou accustomed daily to perform?' She replied: 'It is my custom to neglect even what is dearest to me, in order that I may visit the synagogue daily.' Then he advised her to leave off for three successive days attending the synagogue. She followed his counsel and died on the third day (*Jalkut Shimeoni*, i. 871, from Jelamdenu).

In the Diaspora, women played an important rôle in synagogue life. St. Paul found in the synagogue of Philippi (see above) a gathering of women (Ac 16[13]). On the inscriptions of S. Italy *mater synagogæ* appears side by side with *pater synagogæ* as a title of honour (Schürer[3], iii. 50). From Babylonia we have the information (*Kiddushin*, 81*a*) that two school heads of the 4th cent., Abaji and Raba, arranged that men and women should sit apart from each other in the synagogue. The members of the synagogue congregation were called בני הכנסת (see above); at their head was the ראש הכ' ('head of the synagogue,' Gr. ἀρχισυνάγωγος or [Lk 8[41]] ἄρχων τῆς συναγωγῆς). The synagogue of the Jerus. temple had in like manner its head. The **'ruler of the synagogue'** had the responsibility of maintaining order in the synagogue (see Lk 13[14]); it was his part to decide who was to conduct the public worship (Ac 13[15]). If he himself wished to take part in the reading of the Scriptures, he had to be invited by others to do so, because he could not of himself assume an honourable function (Tos. *Meg.* iv. 227[10]). The 'ruler' was not a scribe, but he stood in rank immediately after the scribes (*Pesachim*, 49*b*, top; *Gittin*, 60*a*, top). At mourning feasts it was customary, following a rule dating from the 2nd cent. (Jerus. *Berakh.* 6*a* [33]; *Semachoth*, ch. 14, end), to drink a cup, with a blessing, to the health of the ruler of the synagogue. A more extended sense was assumed by the title 'ruler of the synagogue' in the Diaspora, as is evident from the Gr. and Lat. inscriptions, in which it frequently implies no function, but is simply an honorary title, bestowed even upon women and children (Schürer[3], ii. 438 f., iii. 49 f.).

The service of attendant in the synagogue as well as charge of the building and its furnishings was assigned to the synagogue official called חַזָּן הַכְּנֶסֶת (shortly חַזָּן).

The word חַזָּן was derived not only by Nathan b. Yechiel (*Aruch, s.v.*) but, before him, by Dûnash b. Labrât (10th cent.) from the verb חזה (*Kritik gegen Saadja*, ed. Schröter, No. 170). But this derivation is unsatisfactory from the point of view both of grammar and sense. It is better to assume that the root חזן has the same meaning as the identically sounding Arab. root خزن (see Perles, *Monatsschrift*, 1870, p. 521). This root is indeed unexampled elsewhere in Hebrew, but it is readily conceivable that alongside of חסן there existed also a root חזן with the same meaning (cf. עלו side by side by עלם). From the verb חזן = 'keep charge' was formed the subst. חַזָּן which was used to designate the man who had charge of the synagogue and its furnishings, and who had also to give attendance at the conducting of public worship.

Even the synagogue of the temple at Jerusalem had its *ḥazzān* (see *Yoma*, vii. 1; *Sota*, vii. 7, 8). The temple, however, had other attendants also called *ḥazzānîm*; see *Sukka*, iv. 4, where the subject is the keeping of the palm branches at the Feast of Booths, and *Tamid*, v. 3, where the keeping of the priests' garments is spoken of. The synagogue attendant is called in Greek ὑπηρέτης (Lk 4[20]); Epiphanius (*c. Hær.* xxx. 11) knows also a Græcising of the Heb. word: Ἀξανιτῶν τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς διακόνων ἑρμηνευομένων ἢ ὑπηρετῶν. — From the period while the temple at Jerusalem yet stood it is related that, along with the pilgrims who brought the firstlings to the sanctuary, the synagogue attendants (חזני בית הכנסת, *var. lec.* חזנין וכל בית הכ') also went up (Tos. *Bikkurim*, ii. 101[29]). — The advent of the Sabbath and of festival days was announced by the *ḥazzān* from the roof of the synagogue, with a thrice-repeated trumpet blast which was the signal for the suspension of work (Tos. *Sukka*, iv. 199[3]; cf. *Chullin*, i. 7; Jerus. *Shabb.* 16*a* [53]; Bab. *Shabb.* 35). In the legend of the schoolmaster Naḳḳai (a contemporary of the Hadrianic persecutions) the latter is called both שמשא (attendant) and מפרא. Every Friday he arranges the lamps of the synagogue at Migdal-Zabba'aya (Jerus. *Maaser sheni*, 56*a* [11], *Echa rabbathi* on Ec 3[7]).

During public worship it is the *ḥazzān* that calls to the performance of any function (Jerus. *Berakh.* 9*c* [61]). He hands the copy of the Scriptures to the reader, and receives it back from the hands of the

man who has read the final lesson (*Soph.* xiv. 3). Cf. Lk 4[20], where Jesus, having read the passage from the Prophets, returns the book to the attendant. The *ḥazzān* rolls up the Torah roll after the reading (Jerus. *Meg.* 75*b* [59]), and, after holding it up to view (Jerus. *Sota*, 21*d*, top), deposits it in the press. He calls upon the priests at the proper moment to pronounce the benediction (Siphrê on Nu 6[23], § 34, end; cf. Jerus. *Gittin*, 47*b* [61], Bab. *Sota*, 38*a*). On the occasion of religious fasts he indicates when the priests have to blow the trumpets (Bab. *Taanith*, 16*b*). In the great synagogue of Alexandria he waved a handkerchief as a signal to the congregation for the Amen (Tos. *Sukka*, iv. 198[23]). When the *ḥazzān* himself read the Scripture lesson, another had to wait upon him (ואחר מְחַזֵּן לו [this denom. verb does not occur elsewhere], Tos. *Meg.* iv. 227[10]). The *ḥazzān* belonged to the scribal body, of which he constituted, as it were, the lowest grade. In an Aram. saying of Eliezer b. Hyrcanus (1st cent.) the scale is stated thus: חכימיא (scribes), ספריא (schoolmasters), חַזָּנַיָּא. At mourning feasts a cup was drunk in his honour (Jerus. *Berakh.* 6*a* [33]), as in the case of the ruler of the synagogue (see above). Even in early times it must have been customary, especially in smaller congregations, for the *ḥazzān* to read the Scripture lesson. An instance of this from the beginning of the 2nd cent. occurs in Bab. *Meg.* 25*b*. He acted also as leader in prayer. For an example from 3rd cent. see Jerus. *Berakh.* 12*d* [46].—The patriarch Jehuda I. was requested by the inhabitants of an inconsiderable place to recommend to them one of his pupils to discharge the duties of preacher, judge, *ḥazzān*, and schoolmaster. His recommendation fell upon the afterwards so well-known Levi b. Sisi (Jerus. *Yebam.* 13*a* [17]; *Gen. rabba*, ch. 81, *ad init.*). In the 3rd cent. the Jewish inhabitants of Bostra (בוצרא) beg of Simeon b. Lakish to recommend to them some one capable of exercising all the functions necessary, as preacher, judge, schoolmaster, and *ḥazzān* (Jerus. *Shebiith*, 36*d* [6]). In the Midrash *Koheleth rabba* (on Ec 7[5] and 9[15]) the *ḥazzān* already appears as leader of the prayer, in virtue of his office; *i.e.* the word *ḥazzān* has the character which it gained in the period of the Gaons, and which it has retained down to the present day (see also *Soph.* x. end, xi. *ad init.*; *Pirke R. Eliezer*, xiii. end).

Seeing that, as a rule, the instruction of children was also carried on in the synagogue, the *ḥazzān* acted, further, as assistant to the schoolmaster, or was himself schoolmaster, in addition to his other duties (*Shabb.* i. 3: ההוּן רואה היכן התינוקות קוראים). He discharged the functions also of an officer of the law court, carrying out, for instance, a sentence of scourging (see *Makkoth*, iii. 12; Tos. *Makkoth*, v. 444[29, 31]; cf. also Tos. *Sanhed.* ix. 428[25] [=Jerus. *Sanhed.* 23*a* [2]: חוני כנסיות]). It appears, however, that officers of the law court bore the title *ḥazzān*, even when they were not at the same time synagogue attendants (see Jerus. *Kiddushin*, 65*c* [18], *Sanhed.* 19*c* [44] and 23*d* [16]; Bab. *Shabb.* 56*a*, 139*a*, *Makkoth*, 23*a*).—It is only in the Bab. Talmud (*Kethuboth*, 8*b*) that we meet with the title חוני העיר [the parallel passage of the Jerus. Talmud (*Pesach.* 6*a*) has חזן הכנסת], Aram. חוני מתא (*Baba mezia*, 93*b*). Cf. *Arakhin*, 6*b*: חוני דפומבדיתא.

The leader in prayer who as the representative of the congregation recited aloud the prayers in the synagogue, was called שְׁלִיחַ צִבּוּר, 'delegate of the whole' (צִבּוּר is the name of the collective body assembled in the synagogue, in opposition to the individual, יָחִיד). This leading in prayer was a voluntary function discharged by members of the congregation who were qualified for it and invited to undertake it. According to a Tannaite tradition, the formula addressed to the person selected was not 'Come and pray,' but 'Come and offer' (בוא וקרב, Jerus. *Berakh.* 8*b* [24]). The uttering of prayer was considered the equivalent of the offering of sacrifice; hence the leader was called קְרוֹבָא (see Jerus. *Berakh.* 3*c*, bottom; *Leviticus rabba*, chs. 19. 20).—The leader in prayer stepped in front of the synagogue press; hence the function was known also as עבר לפני התיבה (see *Berakh.* v. 3, 4; *Meg.* iv. 3), Aram. עבר קומי תיבותא (Jerus. *Berakh.* 9*c* [43]). The prayer is preceded by the reciting of the Shema' and the Blessings connected with it; this function was called פרס על שמע [פרס means properly to break off a piece of bread and ask a blessing over it; in the expression before us it is used in the sense of to pronounce the Blessings attached to the Shema']. A principal part of the public worship of the synagogue is the reading from the Pentateuch and the Prophets. This office is discharged by members of the congregation, among a fixed number of whom the particular passage of the Pentateuch is portioned out. On the Sabbath the number of readers is seven, on festival days five, on the Day of Atonement six, at the New Moon and on the half-festival days of Passover and Feast of Booths four, on week days and on the afternoon of the Sabbath three (*Meg.* iv. 1, 2). After the reading of the Pentateuch lesson, a passage is read from the Prophets by one who may at the same time act as leader in prayer (*ib.* 5). When there is only one of the members of the synagogue who can read from the Scriptures, he reads the whole section (Tos. *Meg.* iv. 226[5]).

The reading of the Scriptures was coupled with the translating of the Heb. text (in Palestine and Babylonia into Aramaic). The man who publicly gave the translation (Targum) in the synagogue was called תַּרְגְּמָן, also תּוּרְגְּמָן or מְתוּרְגְּמָן (see, on the correct pronunciation, Bacher, *Die älteste Terminologie der jüd. Schriftauslegung*, p. 206). The larger synagogues would have a Targumist or *Měthôrgĕmān* of their own. There was one of this class at Jamnia in the time of Gamaliel I. (1st cent.), namely Rabbi Chuẓpith, who was surnamed התורגמן (*Berakh.* 27*b*). In the 3rd cent. there was a Rabbi Hoshaya in Palestine with the (Aram.) surname תּוּרְגְּמָנָא (*Gen. rabba*, ch. 51, *ad fin.*). But as a rule it was the schoolmasters, those who from their calling were familiar with the Bible and had a traditional acquaintance with the Targum, that gave the translation. From the beginning of the 4th cent. comes a story of how Samuel b. Jiẓḥaḳ once came into a synagogue and saw that the schoolmaster read the translation from a written Targum (Jerus. *Meg.* 74*d* [15] עאל לכנישתא חמא חד ספר מושם תרגומא מן גו סיפרא). But any one who was capable, even a minor, was entitled to give the Targum in the synagogue (*Meg.* iv. 6; Tos. *Meg.* iv. 227[21]).

The reading of the Scriptures was followed, when a competent person was present, by an exposition of the lesson, or, in other words, by a sermon. It was customary to invite any stranger scribe who happened to be there, to deliver this address.

It is told of a Palestinian Amora of the 4th cent. how he once came to a strange place and followed up the lesson by a sermon (*Lev. rabba*, 3). Naḥum b. Simai, a Pal. teacher of the 3rd cent. preached in Tarsus (*Pesikta rabbathi*, ch. 15, 78*b*). In Midrash Tanchuma (*Teruma*, 1, ed. Buber, ii. p. 89) an anecdote is told of a scribe who, travelling by sea in company with some merchants, was derided by them when he boasted of the wares which he had by him, and which they sought in vain. When they landed, the merchants had their goods taken from them by the custom-house officials, while the scribe went into the synagogue, preached there, and was loaded with honours and gifts. In like manner Jesus travelled about in Galilee, teaching in the synagogues (διδάσκων ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς); see Mt 4[23], Lk 4[15]; and cf. Mk 1[21] 6[2], Lk 6[6] 13[10], Jn 6[59] 18[20].

The synagogue, as has been already said, was called also σαββατεῖον, because its principal purpose was to serve as the meeting-place of the congregation for public worship on Sabbaths (and festival

days). From the period when the temple and its sacrificial cultus still existed at Jerusalem, the tradition is preserved that the body of men (מַעֲמָד) belonging to the division of priests in charge of the temple service for the week, assembled daily in the synagogue of their dwelling-place and read the Creation story of Gn 1 (*Taanith*, iv. 2; Tos. *Taanith*, iv. 219[18]; Bab. *Taanith*, 27*b*). The second and fifth days of the week also saw from early times the congregation assembled in the synagogue, because on these days there was reading from the Torah (Tos. *Taanith*, ii. 217[11]). But the practice of daily service could prevail only in larger towns where there were at least ten members unencumbered by business and thus able to give daily attendance at the synagogue (see p. 640[a]). Nevertheless, it was enjoined by the scribes that every one should, as far as was in his power, discharge his duty of prayer by taking part in the common prayer of the synagogue.

An early Tannaite, Eliezer b. Jakob (1st cent.), introduces his pronouncement on prayer with the exhortation to pray in the synagogue (*Pesikta*, ed. Buber, 158*a*). A Tannaite of unknown date, Abba Benjamin, derives from 1 K 8[28] the thesis that it is only prayer offered in the synagogue that is heard (*Berakhoth*, 5*b*). Joshua b. Levi (3rd cent.) gives this instruction to his sons: 'Going into the synagogue morning and evening prolongs life' (*Berakhoth*, 8*a*). Jizḥak, a great Agadist of the 3rd cent., says in a paraphrase to Is 50[10. 11]: 'If there is a man who is wont to go into the synagogue and on some particular day comes not, God inquires after him, saying, Where is the God-fearing one who is wont to be among you? He ought to have trusted in the name of the Eternal and left himself in the hands of his God, and not have absented himself from the house of God for the sake of gain or any worldly end' (*Berakh.* 6*b*). Another great Agadist of the 3rd cent., Levi, applying Jer 12[14], says: 'The man in whose place of abode there is a synagogue and who does not frequent it is called an "evil neighbour" of God' (*Berakh.* 8*a*). Another Pal. teacher of the 3rd cent., adopting an artificial explanation of Job 36[5], says: 'God does not leave unheard the prayer that is offered in company with the assembled congregation' (*Berakh.* 8*a*). A Pal. Agadist of the 4th cent., Jehuda b. Simon, makes Israel sing (Midrash, *Tehillim* on Ps 5): 'Behold, O God, to how much persecution and oppression I am subjected by Edom (*i.e.* Rome), to keep me from owning thee as my God and king. But we go daily into our synagogues and own thee in our confession of faith (the Shema') as God and king.' The same Agadist applies to Pr 8[35] the oft-recurring idea that God's glory is present with the congregation assembled in the synagogue: 'Who ever came into the synagogue without finding my glory there' (*Deut. rabba*, 7)?

The above and similar sayings (cf. *e.g.* also *Derech Erez zûta*, 9, *ad init.*) show not only the importance attached to the prayer of the congregation in the synagogue, but also the constant need there was of warning the members against negligence in their attendance. In the 3rd cent. it was told in Palestine to the credit of the Babylonian Jews that they visited the synagogue every morning and evening (*Berakh.* 8*a*).

v. The Synagogue as an Elementary School.—The synagogue was not only the place of public worship; it embraced also the school in which the first instruction in the Holy Scriptures as the principal or the sole subject of education was given. As the *bêth hammidrāsh* served for the studies of more advanced youths and adults, the synagogue was the place in which—perhaps in a special room—the children were taught.

In a homiletical exposition of La 1[9] Abba b. Kahana (3rd cent.) adds to the words of Jer 9[21] [Heb.[20]] 'to cut off the children from the street, the youths from the squares' the gloss 'but not from the synagogues and the schools' (*Echa rabbathi, ad loc.*). Joshua b. Levi himself conducted his grandson to the synagogue, *i.e.* to school (*Kiddush.* 30*a*). Chija b. Abba (3rd cent.), as he passed a synagogue of Sephoris, heard children being taught to repeat Gn 20[1], and made this the subject of a remark (*Gen. rabba*, 52). In an anecdote of the 4th cent. we are told how a teacher in the synagogue punished a child excessively and was cursed for this by a woman who happened to be passing by (Jerus. *Moed katon*, 81*d*[44]). Rab, the Bab. Amora, said that women gain special merit by conducting their children to the synagogue, *i.e.* to school (*Berakh.* 17*a*). See also the saying of the Pal. Amora Simon (end of the 4th cent.) reported in Jerus. *Challa*, 57*b*[18]. That in Babylonia the synagogue was the place of elementary education is evident from *Meg.* 23*b*; *Yebamoth*, 21*b*, top; *Baba bathra*. 21*a*.—According to the above-mentioned tradition (ii. § 2, *ad init.*) regarding the synagogues of Jerusalem, each of these was provided with a school for children and one for more advanced students. In a hyperbolical statement about Bethar, the capital of Judæa in the time of Bar Cochba, it is said (*Gittin*, 58*a*): 'There were 400 synagogues in Bethar, and in each of these there were 400 teachers (מלמדי תינוקית), each with 400 children under his instruction.'

vi. Other Uses of the Synagogue.—The synagogue was also the scene of *legal decisions*. Of Abahu, the head of the school of Cæsarea (beginning of 4th cent.), it is expressly recorded that he lectured (Jerus. *Berakh.* 6*a*, bottom) in the ancient synagogue there (see above, ii. § 2), and also decided questions of law in it (Jerus. *Sanhed.* 18*a*, bottom). In the same synagogue Jochanan, the famous teacher of Abahu, also acted at one time as judge (Bab. *Yebamoth*, 65*a*). From the NT we learn that the punishment of scourging was inflicted in the synagogues (Mt 10[17] 23[34], Mk 13[9], Ac 26[11]; cf. Lk 12[11] 21[12], Ac 22[19], 2 Co 11[24]). It has already been mentioned (above, § iv.) that the *ḥazzān* carried out this sentence and acted in other ways as an officer of the law court. There is mention in *Lev. rabba*, 6, *ad init.*, of an oath in a civil process being taken in the synagogue.

The *mourning* for a man who was lamented by the whole community was held in the synagogue (Tos. *Meg.* iii. 225[2]; Bab. *Meg.* 28*b*; cf. the story of the funeral of Jehuda I. in *Koh. rabba* on Ec 9[10]). A Bab. Amora of the 5th cent. held the mourning for his daughter-in-law in the synagogue (*Meg.* 28*b*).

At the time of the war against Rome, gatherings of a *political* character were held in the great synagogue of Tiberias on the Sabbath and the following day (Jos. *Vita*, 54). R. Jochanan (3rd cent.) gave express permission to deliberate about public affairs in the synagogues and schools on the Sabbath (*Kethuboth*, 5*a*). After the destruction of Jerusalem it was customary—so a Tannaite tradition tells us—to give out in the synagogues and schools a list of articles lost (*Baba meẓia*, 28*b*). Thefts were also intimated in the synagogue with a view to the detection of the perpetrator (*Lev. rabba*, 6, *ad init.*). For other announcements made in the synagogue, see *Yebamoth*, 63*b*. An Agadist of the 4th cent. once followed up an address in the synagogue by calling upon the congregation to contribute alms for a stranger (*Lev. rab.* 32, *ad fin.*).

In a Tannaite rule, amongst the prescriptions concerning what is due to the dignity of the synagogue, there is one forbidding eating and drinking in it (*Meg.* 28*a*, bottom). Nevertheless, common meals were held even in the synagogue (see on this point K. Kohler, *Monatsschrift*, xxxvii. p. 494, who suggests a connexion between this custom and the meals of the Essenes). An anecdote from the 3rd cent. mentions a meal as held on the Sabbath evening in the synagogue of the Pal. Kephar-Chiṭṭaja (*Gen. rab.* 65); while a testimony from the 4th cent. refers to a great meal in the school (Jerus. *Berakh.* 11*c*, bottom).—Joshua b. Levi (3rd cent.) laid down the principle that the synagogues and schools belong to the scribes and their pupils (Jerus. *Meg.* 74*a*[64], cf. Bab. *Meg.* 28*b*). His younger contemporary, Ammi, ordained that the schoolmasters (who at the same time filled the post of synagogue keeper) should provide quarters in the synagogue building for travellers who had the slightest acquaintance with the Torah (Jerus. *Meg.* 74*a*[65]). Chija and Assi, the colleagues of Ammi, used to insist on quartering themselves in the synagogue (*ib.*). Measha and Samuel b. Jizḥak, Pal. Amoras of the beginning of the 4th cent., speak of eating in the synagogue (Jerus. *Berakh.* ch. ii. end [5*d*[14]], *Shabboth*, 3*a*[55]). In Babylonia also travellers were accommodated in the synagogue and there took

their Sabbath meal; upon which is founded the rule that the blessing over the wine, which elsewhere is the introduction to the meal, is to be spoken also in the synagogue (*Pesachim*, 101*a*).

In a great many passages of the Jewish tradition-literature (Talmud and Midrash) the synagogues are named along with the schools. They appear as the two institutions which are specially characteristic of Israel, and whose extreme importance for Judaism finds expression in manifold ways. In order to see what the synagogue was in the life and thought of Israel during the first centuries of the Christian era, one must make acquaintance also with those sayings of the Tannaites and Amoras, in which synagogue and school are glorified as inseparable institutions. In these it must be observed that the synagogue means not only the place of public worship, but that of instruction for the young. As a rule, in these sayings the synagogue precedes the school (בתי כנסיות ובתי מדרשות), a circumstance which indicates the higher repute in which the synagogue stood. But the opposite view had also its representatives: from the 3rd cent. there has come down the saying of a Pal. scribe (*Meg.* 27*a*), and from the 4th cent. that of a Bab. scribe (*ib.* 26*b*), according to which the school has a higher rank than the synagogue. The following are some of these sayings about synagogue and school:—

An Agadist of the 4th cent. attributes to the philosopher Œnomaus of Gadara, known through his intercourse with the famous R. Meir, the saying that, so long as the 'voice of Jacob' (Gn 27[22]) sounds in synagogue and school, the 'hands of Esau' (*i.e.* Rome) are powerless against Israel (*Gen. rab.* 65; *Pesikta*, 121*a*).—Abahu said: 'Seek the Eternal where he is to be found (Is 55[6]). Where is he to be found? In the synagogue and the school' (Jerus. *Berakh.* 8*d*, bottom).—Levi said: 'While the descendants of Abraham sit in the synagogue and the school, God's glory stands over them' [in allusion to Ps 82[1]] (*Gen. rab.* 48; *Pesikta*, 43*b*).—By 'your sanctuaries' (Lv 26[31]) are to be understood synagogue and school (*Siphrâ, ad loc.* 112*a*).—Jizḥak declared that by 'our dwellings' (Jer 9[19]) are meant synagogue and school (*Echa rabba*, Proœm., No. 8).—Samuel b. Jizḥak interpreted the 'sanctuary מְעַט' (Ezk 11[16]) of the synagogues and schools of Babylonia (*Meg.* 29*a*).—The 'holy place' (Ec 8[10]) means synagogue and school (*Koh. rab. ad loc.*; Tanchuma, ed. Buber, *Jithro, ad init.*).—'My heart is awake' (Ca 5[2]) in the synagogue and the school (*Shir rab. ad loc.*).—In the allegorical interpretation of the Song of Songs many other passages are also applied to the synagogue and the school (*Shir rab. passim*; Bab. *Erub.* 21*b*; *Pesach.* 87*a*).—Jose b. Chanina (3rd cent.) discovers in the 'gardens' of Ca 6[2] the synagogue and the school (*Shir rab. ad loc.*).—Attending synagogue and school is contrasted with attending theatre and circus (Jerus. *Berakh.* 7*d*[37] [prayer of Nechunja b. Hakkana in 1st cent.]; *Gen. rab.* 67 [Levi]; *Koh. rab.* on Ec 1[7]).—When David prays (Ps 61[4]), 'May I dwell for ever in thy tent,' he means, 'May it be vouchsafed to me that my words may be repeated under my name in the school and the synagogue' (Jerus. *Berakh.* 4*b*).—The 'refuge from generation to generation' of Ps 90[1] is interpreted by Raba (4th cent.) of synagogues and schools. As a matter of fact, even in later centuries, these were the refuge of Israel scattered through all lands.

vii. LATEST HISTORY OF THE SYNAGOGUE.—In the present article regard has been had only to the synagogue of antiquity, *i.e.* of the last years of the Second Temple and the first five centuries of the Christian era. But the synagogue survived also in the following periods, through the Middle Ages down to the present day, as the most notable institution of Judaism, the focus of the religious life of the Jewish community. A history of the synagogue in the Middle Ages and in modern times would be an integral part of the history of Judaism, from the point of view alike of its outward fortunes and its inner development. The manifold character which Jewish history displays in virtue of its having the whole of the inhabited globe for its stage of action and in virtue of the influences exercised upon it by different forms of civilization, is exhibited also in the character of this Jewish institution, which is ancient indeed, but is ever renewing its youth. It may suffice to point out that in the most recent times, during something like the last 80 years, the synagogue was the central point and also the principal object of Jewish attempts at reform, and that the importance of the institution has been marked even externally by the synagogue buildings which have been everywhere reared, on both sides of the Atlantic—a testimony to the spontaneous effort of the builders and sometimes their almost excessive love of splendour.

LITERATURE.—As far as concerns articles on the Synagogue in the various Encyclopædias, or the treatment of the subject in the works on the History of the Jews, on Biblical Archæology, and the History of NT Times, a general reference may suffice. Schürer devotes a long section (*GJV*[3] ii. 427–464) to the Synagogue. Of the literature cited by him the following deserve special notice: Vitringa, *De synagoga vetere*, libri tres (1696); Leopold Löw, 'Der synagogale Ritus' (*Monatsschrift*, 1884, *Gesam. Schriften*, iv. 1–71. In the 5th vol. of the *Gesam. Schriften*, pp. 21–33, are 'Plan und Collectaneen' to a detailed account of 'synagogalen Alterthümer,' supplemented by the editor, Immanuel Löw). We may mention also: K. Kohler, 'Über die Ursprünge und Grundformen der synagogalen Liturgie' (*Monatsschrift*, xxxvii. [1893] 441–451, 489–497); S. H. Goldfahn, 'Die Synagogen der Talmudzeit' (*Jüd. Litteraturblatt von Rahmer*, xiii.); J. Reifmann, 'Über Synagogen und Lehrhäuser zur talmudischer Zeit' (in N. Keller's Heb. periodical *Bikkurim*, ii. Theil, 1866).—On the place of the synagogue in the Middle Ages, see I. Abrahams, *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages*, 1896, pp. 1–34.

W. BACHER.

SYNAGOGUE, THE GREAT.—An alleged college or senate, whose founder and first president is said to have been Ezra, and which, according to tradition, exercised control over the Jewish community, especially in religious matters, from about 450–200 B.C. Its membership is generally given as 120 (*e.g.* Jerus. *Berakhoth* ii. 4), but sometimes as 85 (*e.g.* Jerus. *Meg.* i. 7). The important part attributed by some to this institution in connexion with the forming of the CANON OF THE OT (see below) demands that we should examine, as briefly as possible, the evidence for its existence and activity.

There is no mention of the Great Syn. in Philo, Josephus, or the Apocrypha, not to speak of the OT itself. Nothing can be built on 1 Mac 14[28], where *μεγάλη συναγωγή* is not a technical term, but means simply 'a great gathering.' Only once in the Mishna (*Pirḳe Aboth*, i. 1) are the Men of the Great Synagogue (אַנְשֵׁי כְנֶסֶת הַגְּדוֹלָה) mentioned: 'Moses delivered the Torah to Joshua, Joshua to the Elders, the Elders to the Prophets, and the Prophets to the Men of the Great Synagogue. These spake three words: Be cautious in pronouncing judgment, Make many disciples, Build up a hedge around the Torah.' Simon the Just is said (*ib.* 2) to have been 'of the remnants of the Great Synagogue (משירי כ' הג').' This last statement does not imply that the Great Syn. had existed for centuries, for, although the Simon who was surnamed 'the Just' was probably high priest *c.* 200 B.C., the author of the above notice is more likely to have identified him with Simon I. (*c.* 300). Now we know that the utmost confusion prevailed amongst the Jews as to the chronology of the period between the Return from Exile and the conquests of Alexander the Great. Hence it would be nothing extraordinary to find Simon, a contemporary of Alexander, represented as a member of the same body as Ezra; and, in the other direction, to find Joshua, Zerubbabel, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi, and even Daniel, introduced as members. As far, then, as the testimony of *Pirḳe Aboth* goes, it would seem to favour the conclusion that the Great Syn., whatever it was, continued only for a single generation, instead of having a succession for centuries. It is noteworthy that the Talm. treatise *Peah* (ii. 6) omits the Great Syn. as a connecting link, and the succession passes direct from the Prophets to the *Zugôth* or 'Pairs.'

In *Baba bathra* (14*b*) we read that the Men of the Great Syn. wrote Ezekiel, the Minor Prophets,

Daniel, and Esther; and in the *Aboth of R. Nathan* (a post-Talm. treatise) they are said to have secured the acceptance of Proverbs, Canticles, and Ecclesiastes, which had been formerly disputed. In *Pesachim* (50*b*) it is said that they fostered the work of copying the Torah and *tephillîm* and *mĕzuzôth* (see Dt $6^{8f.}$). In an important passage of Midrash *Tanchuma* (26*a*) certain corrections in the text of the OT, introduced in order to prevent misunderstanding, are also traced to the Men of the Great Syn., who are reported elsewhere (Jerus. *Berakh.* ii. 4) to have drawn up certain prayers, in particular the *Shemoneh 'Esreh*, or 18 Blessings (*bĕrākhôth*). To them are attributed also the directions for the reading of the Book of Esther, and the keeping of Purim not on the 14th and 15th, but on the 11th, 12th, and 13th of the month Adar (*Makkoth* 23; Jerus. *Meg.* i.). It is not, however, till the 16th cent. that we meet with the notion that the Men of the Great Synagogue collected the sacred books, and fixed the Canon of the OT. This notion makes its first appearance in the pages of the *Massoreth Hammassoreth* (1538) of Elias Levita, a Jewish contemporary of Luther.

The whole question of the Great Syn. was thoroughly investigated by Kuenen (see Literature at end), whose conclusions are accepted by the great majority of modern scholars. The institution, as it appears especially in mediæval Judaism, is held by Kuenen to be simply a characteristic transformation of the great assembly described in Neh 8–10. Just as the Talmud represents the SANHEDRIN as an assembly of scribes, because such were the schools at Jamnia and Tiberias, so the Great Synagogue, instead of being a popular assembly once called together for a definite purpose, is converted into a permanent institution discharging functions similar to those of the scribes at a later period.

That a dim reminiscence of the original identity of the Great Syn. and the convocation of Neh 8–10 still lingered on even in Rabbinical circles, may be gathered from some of the references. For instance, in Midrash *Ruth* we read, 'What did the Men of the Great Syn. do? They wrote a book and spread it out in the court of the temple. And at dawn of day they rose and found it sealed. *This is what is written in Neh* 9^{38}.' Again, there occurs in Dt 10^{17} this collocation, 'God the great, the strong, the terrible (הָאֵל הַגָּדוֹל הַגִּבּוֹר וְהַנּוֹרָא).' It is repeatedly stated in the Talmud (*e.g.* Jerus. *Berakh.* ii. 4) that this formula, which had fallen into disuse, was again brought into currency by the Men of the Great Synagogue. It seems impossible to doubt that Kuenen is right in finding an allusion here to Neh 9^{32}, where all these epithets are found. Similar Talm. statements appear to allude to Neh $9^{5.6.7.18}$. Once more, the variety of statement as to the number of members that constituted the Great Syn. (sometimes 120, sometimes 85) may be explained from Neh 8–10. There were 84 that sealed the covenant, according to Neh 10^{1-28}, and the number 85 may be obtained either by adding the name of Ezra (who is not mentioned), or by supposing that a name has dropped out of the list (either in v.^{10} or in v.^{4}, where the Pesh. actually supplies an extra name, Shephatiah). If, on the other hand, we wish to obtain the number 120, this may be done, at least approximately, by combining the above list with the lists in Neh 8^{4-7} and $9^{5.6}$, or in Ezr 2 and 8 (for other arguments of a similar kind, see Kuenen's Essay).

The very name 'Synagogue' seems inexplicable except upon Kuenen's view. It calls up neither a college of scribes nor a legislative body, but an assembly for religious service. The word כְּנֶסֶת (see SYNAGOGUE) denoted either a congregation met for worship on the Sabbath day, or, by metonymy, the building where it met. The name might be fittingly enough applied to the convocation of Nehemiah, which, as Kuenen remarks, was not a law-*imposing*, but a law-*receiving* assembly; and in the account of whose proceedings we find all the exercises characteristic of Synagogue worship, such as prayer, the reading of the Law, etc. To this memorable convocation the epithet 'Great' would, for a variety of reasons, be eminently suitable.

W. R. Smith agrees with Kuenen that what came afterwards to be spoken of as the Great Synagogue was originally a meeting, and not a permanent institution. 'It met once for all, and everything that is told about it, except what we read in Nehemiah, is pure fable of the later Jews' (*OTJC*^{2} 169). Historical criticism thus leaves no place for the Great Synagogue of tradition.

LITERATURE.—Buxtorf's *Tiberias sive Comm. Massor.* (1620) strenuously upholds the traditional view, and is still of value for its copious citation of testimony, which, however, is used in a very uncritical fashion. On the other side is Rau's *Diatribe de Syn. magna* (1726), which, although marked by an excess of anti-Jewish prejudice, shows true critical instinct, and anticipates some of the weightiest of Kuenen's arguments. The question may be considered to have been finally settled, in the sense advocated above, by Kuenen in his famous monograph, *Over de mannen der groote synagoge*, Amsterdam, 1876 [tr. by Budde in *Gesam. Abhandlungen*, pp. 125–160], whose conclusions are accepted by Ryle, *Canon of OT*, 250 ff. [valuable as containing the Jewish testimonies relied on by Buxtorf]; Wildeboer, *Entsteh. des AT Kanons*, 120 ff.; Buhl, *Canon and Text of OT*, 33 ff.; W. R. Smith, *OTJC*^{2} 169 f.; and many others. Cf. further, Hartmann, *Die enge Verbindung d. AT mit d. NT*, 120–166; Taylor, *Sayings of the Jewish Fathers*^{2}, 110 f.; Driver, *LOT*^{6} Introd. vii f.; Fürst, *Kanon d. AT* (1868), 12–32; Jost, *Gesch. d. Jud. u. sein. Sect.* i. 41–43, 91, 95 f.; Geiger, *Urschrift u. Uebersetz. d. Bibel*, 124 f.; Wellh. *Phar. u. Sad.* 11 f.; Derenbourg, *Essai sur l'histoire de la Palestine*, 29–40 (traditionalist); Montet, *Essai sur les origines des partis saducéen et pharisien* (1833), 91–97; Schürer, *GJV*^{3} ii. 354 f. [*HJP* II. i. 354 f.]; Heidenheim, 'Untersuch. über die Syn. magna' (*SK*, 1853, pp. 93–100); Herzfeld, *Gesch. d. Judenth.* ii. 22–24, 380 ff., iii. 244 f., 270 f.; Graetz, 'Die Grosse Versammlung' (*Monatsschrift*, 1857, pp. 31–37, 61–70); Bloch, *Studien z. Gesch. d. Samml. d. altheb. Lit.* (1876) 100–132; Hamburger, *RE* ii. 318–323; D. Hoffmann, 'Die Männer der grossen Versammlung' (*Magazin f. Wissensch. des Judenth.* x. (1883) 45–63; S. Krauss, 'The Great Synod' (*JQR* x. (1898) 347–377).

J. A. SELBIE.

SYNTYCHE (Συντύχη).—A member of the Philippian Church whom St. Paul exhorts to become reconciled to EUODIA, another member of the same Church. They appear to have held a position of importance in the Church as ladies of some wealth and position, or possibly as deaconesses, like Phœbe in the Roman Church (Ro 16^{1}). Their disagreement was therefore not only unseemly, it was a calamity for the entire Church. Both the names, Euodia and Syntyche, occur in the inscriptions (Lightfoot, *Ep. to the Philippians*^{4}, p. 158). There is no need, therefore, to introduce the far-fetched interpretation of the Tübingen school, that they are allegorical personages representing the Jewish and Gentile sections of the Church.

J. GIBB.

SYNZYGUS (TR Σύζυγος, but modern edd. Σύνζυγος).—If *Synzygus* is a proper name, he was a person to whom St. Paul addressed an entreaty to bring about a reconciliation between Euodia and Syntyche, two members of the Philippian Church who were at variance (Ph 4^{3}). He was at the time in Philippi, and may have been the chief presbyter or bishop of the Church. The sole objection to this interpretation—the only natural one—is that *Synzygus* is nowhere used in Greek literature as a proper name, nor is it found in the inscriptions (but see Vincent, *ad loc.*). It was suggested by Weizsäcker that it may have been adopted by the bearer after his conversion to Christianity. The other interpretation is that *σύνζυγος* here, as in classical Greek, signifies 'yoke-fellow,' and that the exhortation was addressed to a companion of the apostle who was with him when he wrote, who was possibly his amanuensis (see vol. iii. p. 841^{b}). Barnabas, Silas, Epaphroditus, and Timothy have been suggested. Ramsay (*St. Paul the Trav.* 358) thinks that Luke was either 'the true yoke-fellow' or the actual bearer of the Epistle to Philippi. The suggestion of Renan (*Saint Paul*, p. 148), that the 'true yoke-fellow' is Lydia, who had become the wife of the apostle, is hardly to be taken seriously.

J. GIBB.

SYRACUSE (Συράκουσαι, but Vulg. wrongly

sing. *Syracusa*), situated on the west coast of Sicily, was the principal city of the island, and under the Romans was the capital of the eastern half. After the western half of Sicily was taken from Carthage by the Romans (B.C. 241) at the close of the first Punic War, the eastern half continued to belong to the kingdom of Syracuse in alliance with Rome. In the second Punic War, Syracuse took the side of the Carthaginians, but was captured by Marcellus in 212, and the whole island thenceforward continued to be a Roman Province, though in two distinct divisions, in each of which a quæstor was stationed, under the authority of the single governing prætor, who presided over the whole island.

Syracuse was one of the most famous and magnificent colonies of Greece. Its defeat of the great Athenian expedition in B.C. 415 was one of the most critical events in Greek history; and its kings were among the leading powers in the Greek world. Whether it preserved its old prosperity in the first century after Christ is uncertain, as Sicily suffered severely in the Civil Wars, especially from the exactions of Sextus Pompey and in the contest between him and Augustus. Strabo, 272 f., describes the whole island as in a state of decay in his time, some of the cities having disappeared, while others were declining: the interior was to a large extent given up to grazing and horse-breeding, peopled by herdsmen, and devoid of educative influences. Its ancient importance as an arable and corn-growing country had disappeared; and the reason for this lay partly in the economic conditions of the empire, and partly in the dreadful circumstances of the Servile Wars, B.C. 135–132 and 103–100. The land belonged for the most part to absentee landlords.

Syracuse was one of the 26 *censoriæ civitates* of Sicily, which had been conquered in war, and whose territory had been appropriated by the Roman State as *ager publicus*. Julius Cæsar, as was natural to his statesmanlike mind, had been revolving schemes for the restoration of prosperity to Sicily, but his plans were interrupted by his assassination. Antony produced a plan which he declared to have been found among Cæsar's papers, and proposed a law to extend the Roman franchise to Sicily. This was not carried out completely; and Augustus was content with a much more gradual process of elevating Sicily to the full Roman rights. He founded seven Roman colonies of military origin, one of which was Syracuse.* Pliny mentions also that there were in Sicily two Roman towns (*oppida civium Romanorum*) and three cities with Latin rights; but his enumeration is very imperfect, and it is certain that Roman and Latin rights were much more widely spread in Sicily before the middle of the first century after Christ than he allows. It was during this process of transition from the position of a conquered province to that of a constituent part of the Roman State that St. Paul approached the Sicilian coast.

Syracuse is mentioned in the NT only as having been a harbour where St. Paul lay at anchor for three days on his voyage from Malta to Rome. The shipwrecked crew and passengers, after spending three months in Malta, set sail on the *Dioscuri*, evidently one of the Alexandrian fleet of imperial transports carrying grain from Egypt to maintain the food supply in Rome.† They started, evidently, very early in the year, probably in February, before the settled weather and the customary season for navigation (*mare clausum* 11 Nov. to 5 March) had begun. That implies that a suitable and seemingly steady wind was blowing, which tempted them to embark, and carried them straight to Syracuse, a distance of about 100 miles. On the voyage from Malta to Rome as a whole, see RHEGIUM.

Nothing is said with regard to any preaching by St. Paul in Syracuse, nor could any be expected to occur. The ship was certainly waiting for a suitable wind to carry it north to the straits of Messina; and under such circumstances no prisoner was likely to be allowed leave of absence, as the ship must be ready to take instant advantage of the wind. A survey of the progress of early Christianity would show that it rarely spread through the activity of coasting travellers, even on shores where their voyages were very tedious and subject to frequent and long interruptions (as, for example, the coasts of LYCIA and PAMPHYLIA). It is more probable that the new religion spread from Italy to Sicily in the course of direct communication between the two countries. Many Christian memorials of a fairly but not very early date have been found at Syracuse: see the papers by Orsi in *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1893 and 1894, and esp. in *Römische Quartalschrift f. christl. Alt.* 1896, pp. 1–59. W. M. RAMSAY.

* Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* iii. 88–90) wrongly mentions only five (one being Syracuse).

† By a strange mistake, in contradiction of Ac 28[11], the *Dioscuri* is described in Smith's *DB* iii. 1403 as a ship in the African corn trade, which had sailed from the province Africa intending to round Pachynum to Syracuse, and was carried out of its course to Malta. On the name of the ship, and the grammatical construction of the clause describing it, see RHEGIUM.

SYRIA, SYRIANS.—See ARAM, ARAMÆANS.

SYRIAC LANGUAGE.—See LANGUAGE OF OT, vol. iii. p. 25[a].

SYRIAC VERSIONS.—No branch of the Early Church has done more for the translation of the Bible into their vernacular than the Syriac-speaking. In our European libraries we have Syriac Bible MSS from the Lebanon, Egypt, Sinai, Mesopotamia, Armenia, India (Malabar), even from China. And many of the Bible versions in other Oriental languages are dependent on, or at least influenced by, the Syriac, as the Armenian, Arabic, Ethiopic. Some of the Syriac MSS appear to be the oldest Bible MSS, in any language, which have an exact date: a Syriac Pentateuch in the British Museum (Add. 14425) is dated from the year 464, written by a deacon John at Amid.* A Syriac-Chinese stone inscription, erected at Singan-fu in the year 781, discovered by Jesuit missionaries in 1625, speaks of the 27 books of the NT. It would be a pleasant task to follow up the history of the Syriac Bible versions through all times, regions, and departments of culture: want of space, however, obliges us to confine ourselves to the importance of the Syr. VSS for the modern student of the Bible. We begin with the NT.

I. NEW TESTAMENT.—Older scholars spoke of that Syr. VS of the NT which alone was known to them as 'the Queen' of all Bible versions. But now we have more than one, at least for the Gospels.

1. *Tradition.*—When, in the 16th cent., the Syr. VS of the NT became known in Europe, the belief prevailed that it was due to the evangelist Mark, who was said to have written his Gospel first in Latin and then to have translated it, with the other books of the NT, into Syriac.† Jacob of Edessa († 701) and others were of the opinion that Addai the apostle (THADDÆUS) and king Abgar sent interpreters to Palestine (see Moses bar Cepha [† 913] and Barhebræus, *Scholia in Ps* 10). What Theodore of Mopsuestia says of the Syr. translation of the OT holds equally good of the NT: ἡρμήνευται δὲ ταῦτα εἰς μὲν τὴν τῶν Σύρων παρ' ὅτου δή ποτε· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἔγνωσται μέχρι τῆς τήμερον ὅστις ποτὲ οὗτός ἐστιν (*Comm. in Soph.* [1, 6]; Mai, *Nova Patr. Bibl.* vii. 1854).

2. *Place.*—We do not know where the translation was made. On the ground of some lin-

* W. Wright, *A Short History of Syriac Literature* (London, 1894, p. 5 = *Enc. Brit.*[9] xxii. 824).

† 'Syri constanter asserunt S. Marcum . . . latine primum scripsisse Evangelium suum. Deinde eundem ipsum Marcum lingua patria, hoc est, Galilæa Syra, non modo Evangelium suum transtulisse, sed etiam cæteros omnes NT libros. Id mihi litteris significavit Guilielmus Postellus affirmavitque se ita a Syris ipsis accepisse' (Boderianus [Guido Fevre de la Boderic] in the Preface of the Syr. NT 1571). Widmanstadt, the first editor of the NT in Syriac (1555), agrees that Mark wrote in Latin, but contents himself with affirming that the books of the NT (except Matthew and Hebrews) were translated into Syriac 'ab initio rerum Christianarum.'

guistic peculiarities, Syrian grammarians, as Elias I. and Barhebræus, reached the same conclusion as Jacob of Edessa, that the translation originated in *Palestine*; European scholars thought first of *Antioch*, because the translation became known to them through the Patriarch of Antioch: in recent times *Edessa* has found most favour; but nothing can be said with certainty.

3. *History.*—(*a*) The first mention of a Syriac NT seems to be the statement of Eusebius (*HE* iv. 26) on Hegesippus (about 160–180): ἔκ τε τοῦ καθ' Ἑβραίους εὐαγγελίου **καὶ τοῦ Συριακοῦ** καὶ ἰδίως ἐκ τῆς Ἑβραίδος διαλέκτου τινὰ τίθησιν, ἐμφαίνων ἐξ Ἑβραίων ἑαυτὸν πεπιστευκέναι (Rufinus: 'de Evangelio secundum Hebræos et Syros'; Syr. VS of Eusebius: 'from the Gospels of the Hebrews and Syrians'; see on the passage Th. Zahn, *Forschungen*, vi. 246).

(*b*) About the same time or a little earlier we hear that Tatian, who was born, according to his own statement, ἐν τῇ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων γῇ, and had been in Rome the hearer of Justin Martyr, returned home—as it seems, in the year 172—and composed (probably there; not at Rome, about 153–170 [so Harnack formerly, *TU* i. 213]) his famous *Diatessaron*, *i.e.* a harmony of the four Gospels (συνάφειάν τινα καὶ συναγωγὴν οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως τῶν εὐαγγελίων συνθεὶς τὸ διὰ τεσσάρων τοῦτο προσωνόμασεν, ὃ καὶ παρά τισιν εἰσέτι νῦν φέρεται, Eus. *HE* iv. 36; in the Syr. Eusebius: 'he gathered and mixed and composed a Gospel and called it Diatessaron, *i.e.* of the *Mixed* (ܡܚܠܛܐ), which is still with many'). It appears to be simply to a misunderstanding that we owe the remark of Epiphanius (*Hær.* 46. 1, ed. Dindorf, ii. 412): Λέγεται δὲ τὸ διὰ τεσσάρων εὐαγγέλιον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γεγενῆσθαι, **ὅπερ κατὰ Ἑβραίους τινὲς καλοῦσι.** Of this work Theodoret (till 457 bishop of Kyrrhos) tells us that it was in his times used not only by the followers of Tatian, but also in orthodox congregations; that he himself found more than 200 copies in use in the churches of his diocese; that he collected and removed all (πάσας συναγαγὼν ἀπεθέμην),* substituting for them the Gospels of the Four (τὰ τῶν τεσσάρων εὐαγγελιστῶν ἀντεισήγαγον εὐαγγέλια). A little earlier, bishop Rabbula of Edessa (412–435) ordered that presbyters and deacons should take care that in all churches the 'Gospels of the Separate' (ܐܘܢܓܠܝܢ ܕܡܦܪܫܐ; *S. Ephraemi Syri, Rabulæ . . . opera selecta*, ed. Overbeck, Oxf. 1865, p. 220) be kept and read. Of the same Rabbula his biographer tells that he occupied himself with '*translating the NT out of the Greek into Syriac, because of its variations, exactly as it was*' (*ib.* 172).

This Harmony of Tatian was apparently in Syriac, not in Greek [the latter is (or was) the view of Harnack].

See, on all questions connected with Tatian, Arthur Hjelt, *Die altsyrische Evangelienübersetzung und Tatians Diatessaron, besonders in ihrem gegenseitigen Verhältnis untersucht*, Leipzig, 1901, pp. 16–75: the Literature is quoted in part in vol. ii. 697 *f.*, iii. 536, 538. Add: E. Lippelt, *Quæ fuerint Justin. Martyris ἀπομνημονεύματα quaque ratione cum forma evangeliorum syro-latina cohæserint* (Diss.), i., Halle, 1901.

The great question is now whether this Diatessaron of Tatian was the first form in which the Gospel came to the Syrians, or whether there was already, before Tatian, a Syr. VS of the Gospels, which he may have used. The question is difficult, because Tatian's work has not survived in its original form, but only in a late Arabic recension, due to Abulfaraj Abdullah ibn at Ṭajjib (†1043); further, it seems to have been the basis of the Latin Harmony of Victor of Capua; it was commented on by Ephraem Syrus; but this commentary is again preserved only in translation (in Armenian); it was used by Aphraates, and few direct quotations have been preserved by Syriac lexicographers and commentators: these have been collected by Hall, Harris, Goussen. Some help towards answering the question was given when, in addition to the Syriac NT, known since older times, there came in 1858 the version of the Gospels discovered by Cureton, and in 1892 that found on Mt. Sinai by Mrs. A. S. Lewis, and edited in 1894 by Bensly, Burkitt, and Harris. But, on the other hand, the question became the more complicated.

(*c*) The history of these discoveries cannot be told here; suffice it to say, that of the fragments published by Cureton (*Remains of a very antient recension of the Four Gospels in Syriac, hitherto unknown in Europe*, London, 1858),* the Gospel of Matthew has the very title used above by Rabbula, 'Gospel of the *Separate*,' and that in the Sinai Gospels the same expression is used in the subscription.

[In what follows we designate Tatian by 𝔗, Cureton's Gospels by 𝔖ᶜ, the Sinai Gospels by 𝔖ˢ, the common Syr. VS called *Pĕshiṭṭā* (ܦܫܝܛܬܐ) by 𝔖ᵖ].

(1) ܦܫܝܛܬܐ, to which supply ܟܦܦܩܛܐ, means 'the *simple*,' *i.e.* the simple version. It is first used, so far as known at present, in Massoretic MSS of the 9th and 10th cents. in contradistinction to the Harclensis; and in Moses bar Cephas (†913) in opposition to the Syro-Hexaplaris. The latter says: 'One must know that there are in Syriac two translations of the OT: the one, this ܦܫܝܛܬܐ in which we read, was made from Hebrew into Syriac; the other, that of the Seventy-two, from Greek' (see *Urt.* p. 229 f.). On the pronunciation, spelling, and meaning of the name (*Pĕshiṭṭā*, simplified to *Peshito*), see the Lit. quoted *l.c.* p. 230.

(2) Its origin and the spread of its use are quite obscure. Till 1842 the Peshito was the only known older Syr. VS of the Bible; it is still held by G. H. Gwilliam to be the oldest (see *Studia Biblica*, i. 151 ff. ['A Syriac biblical MS'], iii. 47 ff. ['The materials for the criticism of the Peshito NT']; *Expos. Times*, Jan. 1895, 157 ff. ('The new Syriac Gospels'); *Crit. Rev.* Jan. 1896, 14–22 ('Communication on the Lewis Palimpsest, the Curetonian Fragments, and the Peshitta'); *The Oxford debate on the textual criticism of the NT held at New College on May 6, 1897*, Lond. 1897). His view is shared by A. Bonus, who thinks 𝔖ᵖ 'scarcely later than the latter half of the second century.' With this contrast the statement of Burkitt (*JThSt*, i. 571): 'I confess that I am unconvinced that what we call the NT Peshitta was in existence in S. Ephraem's day, and I believe that we owe both its production and its victorious reception to the organizing energy of the great Rabbula, bishop of Edessa from 411–435 A.D.).' †

The following answers to the above question have been given:—

(1) Abbé P. Martin: 𝔖ᶜ 'is a revision of the Peshito made with the help of a MS closely resembling Codex Bezæ. The Curetonian recension dates from the end of the 7th or the beginning of the 8th cent., probably from this last period. It never had much vogue. Its author was probably Jacob of Edessa [†703]' (*Introduction à la critique textuelle du NT*, Paris, 1883). The latter hypothesis may be dismissed at once.

(2) Gwilliam (Bonus): 𝔖ᶜ and 𝔖ˢ were not the origin of 𝔖ᵖ; 𝔖ᶜ is more modern than 𝔖ᵖ (*Crit. Rev.* 1896, p. 19); Rabbula intended that copies of 𝔖ᵖ should be substituted for 𝔗 (p. 21); but it might be, probably was, difficult to procure copies of the Peshitta, in obedience to Rabbula's order. The term *Mepharreshê* used by Rabbula would easily become a title for copies subsequently made. 'Are 𝔖ˢ and 𝔖ᶜ relics of copies made by order of Rabbula?'

The position of 𝔖ᵖ is of great importance, because it is, as Sanday styled it, 'the sheet-anchor' of the

* There is no ground for the statement which is sometimes made (for instance by Jülicher, *Einleitung*, § 37) that he 'burned' the copies.

* The edition is out of print; a new edition by F. C. Burkitt, 'The Curetonian Syriac Gospels, re-edited together with the readings of the Sinaitic Codex, and a translation into English,' advertised by the Camb. Univ. Press (*Academy*, Sept. 29, 1894, p. 233ᵇ; *JThSt*, i. 569), is approaching completion.

† Comp. with this the statement of the present writer (*PRE*² xv. [1885] 195), on the work of Rabbula, that one might be inclined to see its result in 𝔖ᶜ *resp.* 𝔖 [=𝔖ᵖ].

theory of Burgon-Miller on the textual criticism of the NT. See, further, p. 740[b].

(3) $\mathfrak{S}^s$—$\mathfrak{S}^c$—$\mathfrak{S}^p$ are three recensions of one and the same version, and this is their historical order (adopted by many, for instance Allen at the Oxford Debate). $\mathfrak{S}^p$—$\mathfrak{S}^c$—$\mathfrak{S}^s$ is impossible, equally impossible is the genealogy $\mathfrak{S}^p < \frac{\mathfrak{S}^c}{\mathfrak{S}^s}$.

(4) $\mathfrak{S}^s$—$\mathfrak{S}^c$—$\mathfrak{T}$. Conybeare: 'I believe scholars are beginning to recognize that Tatian . . . used the Curetonian version of the Gospels, which in turn rested on the new Syriac' [*Academy*, Jan. 12, 1895]. $\mathfrak{S}^s$ also older than $\mathfrak{T}$ (Burkitt, Holzhey, Bewer).

(5) $\mathfrak{S}^c$ older than $\mathfrak{S}^s$ (Resch, Duval; see Hjelt, p. 95).

(*a*) $\mathfrak{T}$—$\mathfrak{S}^c$ (Baethgen, Zahn), before the discovery of $\mathfrak{S}^s$.

(*b*) $\mathfrak{T}$—$\mathfrak{S}^s$—$\mathfrak{S}^c$ or

(*c*) $\mathfrak{T} < \frac{\mathfrak{S}^s}{\mathfrak{S}^c}$. $\mathfrak{T}$ older than $\mathfrak{S}^s$ (Zahn, Nestle, Hilgenfeld, Bardenhewer, Gwilliam, Cundberg).

(6) $\mathfrak{S}^s$—$\mathfrak{T}$—$\mathfrak{S}^c$—$\mathfrak{S}^p$. So in the main Hjelt; $\mathfrak{S}^s$ on the whole a faithful witness of the Old Syr. VS of the 2nd cent., $\mathfrak{S}^c$ a later recension of it probably from the first half of the 2nd cent., formed under the influence of $\mathfrak{T}$; $\mathfrak{S}^p$ a revision of the old version, which eliminated the influences of $\mathfrak{T}$ and became the Vulgate; at last $\mathfrak{S}^p$ in its turn influenced $\mathfrak{T}$, which remained in use with the Nestorians longer than with the Jacobites.

The priority of $\mathfrak{S}^s$ would be certain, if the thesis of Hjelt were proved that $\mathfrak{S}^s$ is not a unity, but that the various Gospels were due to different hands and that nevertheless all were used by $\mathfrak{T}$. The first part of his thesis Hjelt seems to have proved. There is a decided difference in the vocabulary of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John (see p. 96 ff.); he may be even right in his supposition, that the translation of Matthew was the oldest, due to a Jewish Christian (cf. Mt 9^{18} head *of the synagogue*, 23^5 *tephillin* and *purple* תכלתא).* But the second part, that $\mathfrak{S}^s$ was used by $\mathfrak{T}$, does not seem to be proved. But in any case $\mathfrak{S}^s$ and $\mathfrak{T}$ belong to the most important witnesses for the text of the Gospels.

Acts and Epistles.—Amidst the absorbing interest caused by the discovery of $\mathfrak{S}^s$, little attention has been paid of late to the rest of the Syriac NT, Acts and Epistles. They are known as yet only as parts of $\mathfrak{S}^p$, but there are indications that for the Acts and the Pauline Epistles also an older version was in existence. And it is of great interest that these two parts, together with the Gospels, made up the whole of the NT of the Syriac Church; all the Catholic Epistles, and not only the minor ones, being unknown. This is proved not only by the *Doctrine of Addai* (ed. Phillips, Lond. 1876, p. 44), where Addai orders: 'But the Law and the Prophets, which you read every day before the people, and the *Epistles of Paul*, which Simon Peter sent us from the city of Rome, and the *Acts of the Twelve Apostles*, which John the son of Zebedee sent us from Ephesus; these books read ye in the Churches of Christ, *and with these read not any other*, as there is not any other, in which the truth that ye hold is written, except these books which retain you in the faith to which ye have been called.' This is corroborated by the quotations of Aphraates, which are restricted to Acts and Paul, to the exclusion of the Catholic Epistles.

* A great aid in these studies would be a Concordance to the Syriac Bible, which was desired by Lagarde as early as 1857. A prospectus of a Concordance of the Peshiṭta was sent out by Benj. Labaree and Wm. A. Shedd from Urumia in Oct. 1897, with some 'Specimen pages'; but the arrangement was not such as to satisfy the wants of the student. A Syriac Concordance in the manner of Hatch-Redpath is one of our needs.

The passages cited by Wright as references to 1 P 4^{18} and 1 Jn 3^{24} 4^{15} have been shown by Zahn not to refer to these passages (but the former to Pr 11^{31}; the latter to the *Gospel* of John).

At last there was published in the *Studia Sinaitica*, No. 1 (p. 11 ff.) from extracts made by J. R. Harris from cod. Syr. 10 on Mt. Sinai, a list of the canonical books of the Syriac Bible, giving for each book and group of books the number of *ῥήματα* (*stichi*).* After the four Gospels (Mat. 2522, Mark 1675, Luke 3083, John 1737 [write 1937], total 9218) follows Acts (2720), then '*Paul the Apostle*' with a total 5076 for 'the apostle,' immediately followed by the total for 'the holy books, which the holy Church receives.'

There are some errors and confusions in this list; but as to the primary importance of it there can be no doubt.

This exclusion of all the Catholic Epistles from the old Syriac Canon is further in full agreement with the statement of Leontius on Theodore of Mopsuestia: *αὐτήν τε . . . τοῦ μεγάλου Ἰακώβου τὴν ἐπιστολὴν καὶ τὰς ἑξῆς τῶν ἄλλων ἀποκηρύττει καθολικάς.* He followed in this the older tradition of the Syriac Church. Neither do the *Apostolic Constitutions* recognize the Catholic Epistles.

See Th. Zahn, *Das NT Theodors von Mopsuestia und der syrische Kanon; Grundriss der Geschichte des neutest. Kanons* (Leipzig, 1901, § 6); Jülicher, *Einleitung in das NT*[3.4] (1901, § 41); J. A. Bewer, *The History of the NT Canon in the Syrian Church* (Chicago, 1900).

About the middle of the 4th cent., therefore, the Church of Edessa had no Catholic Epistles in its Canon.

But it was not only the contents but the text of its Bible that differed at that time from $\mathfrak{S}^p$.

See in Bewer, p. 51, 'A comparison of the Acts and Epistles in Aphraates with those of the Peshitta.' A most significant example is not quoted by Bewer. *Matthias* in Ac $1^{23.26}$ is called by Aphraates *Tulmai*; this is now corroborated by the Syriac version of the *Ecclesiastical History* of Eusebius (see *TU* vii. 2, p. v; the same version called *Agabus* of Ac 11 *Addai*). In 1 Co 15^{51} Aphraates testifies for the reading of ℵ, $\mathfrak{S}^p$ for that of B.

The quotations from Ephraem have been investigated by F. H. Woods (*Studia Biblica*, iii. 132 ff.): the result is the same; the influence of another version than $\mathfrak{S}^p$ cannot be denied; but that influence is not half so strong as in Aphraates. But the Roman edition of Ephraem's work is excessively uncritical, and we can 'never trust a biblical quotation where it agrees with the Peshitta' (see Burkitt, *JThSt*, i. 570, and now *Texts and Studies*, vii. 2). But not only so, we cannot even trust the references to $\mathfrak{S}^p$ in the critical apparatus of Tischendorf's *ed. oct.*; they are neither complete nor correct; cf. 1 Co 15^{37}, where $\mathfrak{S}^p$ adds 'or of barley' between *σίτου* and *ἤ τινος τῶν λοιπῶν*; on 2 Co 1^{12} see Nestle, *Introduction*, 309. All references to $\mathfrak{S}^p$ in Tischendorf's apparatus ought to be verified in the way in which Gwynn did this work for the four minor Cath. Epp. (*Hermathena*, 1890).

But not only in details of text did the older Syriac NT differ from $\mathfrak{S}^p$ as now current; it differed also as to the *arrangement*. In the list of the canonical books mentioned above, *Galatians stands at the head of the letters of Paul*, before Cor. and Rom., which are followed by *Hebrews*. The same order, Gal., Cor., Rom., seems to have been that of Ephraem (see J. R. Harris, *Four Lectures on the Western Text*, p. 21), and it is expressly testified to in Marcion. From this, Zahn is inclined to conclude that Tatian may have brought with him to the East at the same time the Western Text of the Gospels and the Marcionitic order of the letters of Paul; the more so as Eusebius says of Tatian that he altered the text

* See on these *ῥήματα* the latest communication, that of F. C. Burkitt (*JThSt*, ii. 429–432).

of the Epistles of Paul (see Nestle, *Introduction*, p. 220).

Further, the Church of Edessa had in the time of Ephraem in its Canon the *Apocryphal Correspondence of St. Paul and the Corinthians*, of which we now know for certain that it once belonged to the *Acta Pauli* (see vol. i. p. 498). On the other hand, the short letter to *Philemon* seems to have been wanting in the Bible of Ephraem (see Zahn, *Gesch. Kan.* ii. 664, 1003, *Grundriss*, p. 52; Jülicher, *Einleitung*, doubts this).

It is totally unknown when the three greater Catholic Epistles were received. There has not been as yet even an examination of the question whether the translation of all the letters of Paul is due to the same hand, and that of the three Catholic Epistles to another. What is certain is that the four *Antilegomena* of the Catholic Epistles and the Bk. of Revelation never formed part of Sp, and were wanting therefore even in the first printed editions of the Syriac NT till 1630. It is the more surprising that the Nestorian Stone-inscription at Singan-fu speaks of 27 books left by Christ to further the soul in what is good (see J. E. Heller, *Das Nestorianische Denkmal in Singan-fu*, Budapest, 1897, 4to, reprint from 'Wissenschaftliche Ergebnisse der Reise des Grafen B. Széchenyi in Ostasien' (1877–1880), pp. 31, 45).

Literature.—1. On Tatian: C. A. Credner, *Beiträge zur Einleit. in die bibl. Schriften*, 1832, 437 ff., *Gesch. des neutest. Kanons* (herausgegeben von G. Volkmar), 1860, 17 ff.; H. A. Daniel, *Tatianus der Apologet*, 1837; C. A. Semisch, *Tatiani Diatessaron*, 1856; Th. Zahn, *Forschungen zur Gesch. des neutest. Kanons*, i. 1881 ('Tatians Diatessaron'),* ii. (1883) 286 ff., iv. (1891, 'Der Text des von A. Ciasca herausgegebenen arabischen Diatessaron von Dr. Ernst Sellin'), *Gesch. des Kanons*, i. 387–414, ii. 530–536, 'Zur Geschichte von Tatians Diatessaron im Abendland' (*Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift*, 1894, pp. 85–120), art. 'Evangelienharmonie' in *PRE*3 v. (1898) 653 ff.; Westcott, *Canon*, pt. i. ch. iv. § 10; [the works of Ephraem Syrus in Armenian, Venice, 1836, vol. ii.]; *Evangelii Concordantis Expositio facta a doctore Sancto Ephraemo Syro* [in Latinum translata a J. B. Aucher, ed. G. Moesinger], Venice, 1876†; J. P. Martin, *Le Διὰ τεσσάρων de Tatian*, Extrait de la Revue des questions historiques (Avril 1883), Paris, 1883; S. B. Pitra, *Analecta sacra spicilegio Solesmensi parata*, tom. iv., Par. 1883, p. xxviii ff., 465–487 ('Ciasca, de Tatiani D. arabica versione'); *Tatiani evangeliorum harmoniæ arabice:* nunc primum ex duplici codice edidit translatione latina donavit P. Augustinus Ciasca, Romæ, 1888, gr. 8vo; Hemphill, *The Diatessaron of Tatian*, 1888 (cf. *Church Quarterly Review*, 1888, p. 127); W. Elliot, *Tatian's Diatess. and the Modern Critics*, Plymouth (cf. *Church Quart. Rev.* 1888, p. 128); J. R. Harris, *The Diatessaron of Tatian*, a preliminary study, Cambridge, 1890; Isaac H. Hall, 'A pair of citations from the Diatessaron' (*JBL* x. 2 (1891), 153–155); J. Hamlyn Hill, *The Earliest Life of Christ ever compiled from the Four Gospels: being the Diatessaron of Tatian (circa A.D. 160). Literally translated from the Arabic Version, and containing the Four Gospels woven into one story, with an historical and critical Introduction, Notes and Appendix*, Edinburgh, Clark, 1893, 376; Hope W. Hogg, *The Diatess. of Tatian* in Ante-Nicene Christian Library, Additional Volume. . . . Edited by A. Menzies, Edin., 1897, 33–138; W. R. Cassels, 'The Diatess. of Tat.' (*Nineteenth Century*, April 1895, 665–681, worthless; see J. Rendel Harris, 'The Diatess., a reply' (*Contemporary Review*, August 1895, 271–278)); C. Taylor, 'St. Mark in the Diatess.' (*Classical Review*, 1894); J. A. Robinson, 'Tatian's Diatess. and a Dutch Harmony' (*The Academy*, 1894, 24th March, 249c–250a); J. R. Harris, *Fragments of the Commentary of Ephrem Syrus upon the Diatessaron*, London, 1895; H. Goussen, *Studia Theologica*, Fasciculus I.: Apocalypsis S. Johannis Apostoli versio sahidica. Accedunt pauca fragmenta genuina Diatessaroniana, Lips. 1895 (pp. 61–67); J. Hamlyn Hill, *A Dissertation on the Gospel Commentary of S. Ephraem the Syrian*, Edinburgh, 1896.

2. On Cureton's text (title above), cf. *Fragments of the Curetonian Gospels*, edited by W. Wright [London, 1872], 4to, only 100 copies printed for private circulation, first published by E. Roediger in *Monatsberichte der Berliner Akademie*, 8. Juli 1872, pp. 557–559 and 6 pp. Syr.; J. R. Crowfoot, *Fragmenta Evangelica quæ ex antiqua recensione versionis Syriacæ Novi Testamenti (Peshito dictæ) a Gul. Curetono vulgata sunt*, Lond., Pars prima 1870, Pars altera 1871, *Observations on the Collation in Greek of Cureton's Syriac Fragments of the Gospels*, 1872 (to be used with caution); Fr. Baethgen, *Evangelienfragmente: der Griechische Text des Cureton'schen Syrers wiederhergestellt*, Leipzig, 1885; H. H. Harman, 'Cureton Fragments of Syriac Gospels' in *Journ. of the Soc. of Bibl. Lit. and Exegesis*, June-Dec. 1885, pp. 28–48. On Bowes and Holzhey see immediately. Other papers of Hermansen, le Hir, Wildeboer; especially on the meaning of the superscription דספרשא (by Mai, Gildemeister, Land, Tregelles, Wright, Cowper, Ewald) see *PRE*3 iii. 172= *Urt.* 112. For a recent discussion on it see *Journ. Amer. Orient. Society*, xviii. (1897) 176–182 and 361 f., between Charles C. Torrey and R. Gottheil. That it forms the opposition to 'Gospel of the Mixed,' *i.e.* Tatian's *Diatessaron*, and means 'Gospel(s) of the Separate,' cannot be doubted any longer.

3. Literature on the Sinai-Palimpsest: (*a*) On the discovery and the copying of the Sinai-Palimpsest, see, on the one hand, M. D. Gibson, *How the Codex was found: a Narrative of two visits to Sinai from Mrs. Lewis' Journals, 1892–93*, Cambridge, 1893; on the other, Mrs. Bensly, *Our Journey to Sinai: a visit to the Convent of St. Catarina, with a chapter on the Sinai Palimpsest*, London, 1896. Editio princeps: *The Four Gospels in Syriac, transcribed from the Sinaitic palimpsest by the late Robert L. Bensly, M.A.* . . . *and by J. Rendel Harris, M.A.* . . . *and by F. Crawford Burkitt, M.A., with an Introduction by Agnes Smith Lewis*, edited for the Syndics of the University Press, Cambridge, 1894.† This has to be supplemented by A. S. Lewis, *Some Pages of the Four Gospels, retranscribed from the Sinaitic palimpsest, with a translation of the whole text*, London, 1896. An earlier translation had been published by Mrs. Lewis, London, Macmillan, 1894; a German one, with an Appendix, is due to Ad. Merx, *Die vier Kanonischen Evangelien nach ihrem ältesten bekannten Texte: Uebersetzung der syrischen im Sinaikloster gefundenen Palimpsesthandschrift*, Berlin, 1897. The second part (*Erläuterungen*) has not yet appeared. Cf., finally, 'Last Gleanings from the Sinai Palimpsest' (*Expositor*, Aug. 1897, pp. 111–119), and 'The Earlier Home of the Sinaitic Palimpsest' (*Expositor*, June 1900, 965), and *Studia Sinaitica*, No. ix. (1900) pp. viii ff., xxiii f., where it is shown that John the Stylite, who in the year 778 used the Codex as Palimpsest, was a monk of Mar Conon, a cloister of Ma'arrath Mesrên in the district of Antioch (a small town about equidistant from Antioch and Aleppo). The *Expos. Times* (vols. xi. xii.) contains a series of papers by Mrs. Lewis entitled 'What have we gained in the Sinaitic Palimpsest?'

(*b*) Convenient collations are: A. Bonus, *Collatio Codicis Lewisiani rescripti Evangeliorum sacrorum Syriacorum cum Codice Curetoniano (Mus. Brit. Add. 14451): cui adjectæ sunt Lectiones e Peshitto desumptæ*, Oxonii, 1896, 4to; and Carl Holzhey, *Der neuentdeckte Codex Syrus Sinaiticus untersucht: mit einem vollständigen Verzeichnis der Varianten des Cod. Sinaiticus und Cod. Curetonianus*, München, 1896.

4. On Sp see the Literature quoted in Nestle, *Introduction*, p. 103; *Urt.* p. 227 ff.; Scrivener, ii. 6–40, with the help of Gwilliam and Deane. On the printed editions, *Church Quart. Rev.* 1888, July, 257–297; *The Syriac New Testament translated into English from the Peshitto Versions*, by James Murdock, with a historical introduction by Horace L. Hastings, and a bibliographical appendix by Isaac H. Hall, 6th ed., Boston, 1893. The first edition of Widmanstadt (1555) is still the best, or that of [Leusden and] Schaaf, Lugd. Bat. 1709, 4to, together with the *Lex. Syr. Concord.* of C. Schaaf (ed. sec. 1717); then the editions of the American Bible Society of New York (with Nestorian vocalization), except for the Gospels, which are now at hand in the ed. of Pusey-Gwilliam (Oxf. 1901).

Of Dissertations on the text of the NT besides those connected with the discovery of Ss, there are none to be mentioned of recent times.

The Later Versions of the NT.—1. **The Philoxeniana.**—Syriac scholars did not rest satisfied with the Pesh. NT. In the year 508 Aksênāyā or *Philoxenus*, bishop of Mabbogh (485–519), with the help of his chorepiscopus, Polycarp, undertook a literal translation of the whole Bible. Besides the NT, the *Psalms* in this version are mentioned by Moses of Aggêl (between 550 and 570), and portions of *Isaiah* survived in the Add. MSS 17106 of the British Museum, and have been edited by

* Cf. the important notice of P. de Lagarde, *Mittheilungen*, i. 111–120, 194–196; further, p. 31, ii. 30–38, 'Die arabische Uebersetzung des εὐαγγέλιον διὰ τεσσάρων.'

† The first to call attention to the importance of this Commentary of Ephraem was not Ezra Abbott (*The Authorship of the Fourth Gospel*, Boston, 1880), but P. de Lagarde in his edition of the *Apostolic Constitutions* (Pref. p. vii), 1862. Already in his earlier paper, *de Novo Testamento ad versionum orientalium fidem edendo* (Berolini, 1857), he made use of Ephraem's Armenian Commentaries.

* Bensly died a few days after the return to Cambridge, 23rd April 1893.

† Reviews and papers called forth by the publication are mentioned, *Urt.* 112 ff.; add to them Farrar in the *Expositor*, Jan. 1895. On the reading Mt 1[16] 'Joseph, to whom the Virgin Mary was betrothed, begat Jesus,' see the correspondence in the *Academy*, 1894, Nov. 17, 24, Dec. 1, 8, 15, 22, 29; 1895, Jan. 5, 12, April 13, May 18, June 8, 29, by Allen, Badham, Charles, Conder, Conybeare, Farrar, Lewis, Nestle, Rahlfs (who first pointed out that it was also found in Greek, 29th Dec.), Sanday, Simcox, White; further, G. H. Skipwith, 'The first chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel in the light of recent research' (*Nottingham Tracts*, iii., London, 1895); and the Additional Notes in the second vol. of Westcott-Hort's *Greek Testament*, (reprint 1896).

Ceriani (*Monumenta sacra et profana*, v. i. 1–40, 1873). The text of the Gospels exists, according to Bernstein (*Das Evangelium des Johannes*, 1853, pp. 3, 29), in the codex A2 of the Bibliotheca Angelica at Rome. In 1884 Isaac H. Hall published *Syriac Manuscript Gospels of a pre-Harklensian version, Acts and Epistles of the Peshito version, written (probably) between 700 and 900* (Philadelphia).

The minor epistles of the Philoxeniana were first published by Ed. Pococke (Leiden, 1630), and still earlier (1612) at Mayence a Latin translation of them (by Nicolaus Servasius, *Comment. in Epist. Canonicas*) from a MS brought to Rome. Pococke's text was taken over into the Peshito editions of the NT and emended by Lee (1823); still more in the New York impression, 1888. Gwynn collated fifteen MSS and gave a survey of the chief points, pending the publication of the emended text with a complete Apparatus Criticus (*Hermathena*, No. 16, vol. vii. pp. 281–314 ff.: 'The older Syriac Version of the Four Minor Catholic Epistles'). Cf., further, Ad. Merx, 'Die in der Peschito fehlenden Briefe des Neuen Testaments in arabischer der Philoxeniana entstammender Uebersetzung. Nach der Abschrift eines Manuscripts des Sinaiklosters von Frau A. Persis Burkitt veröffentlicht und mit Anmerkungen versehen' (*ZA* xii. 240–252, 348–381, xiii. 1–28). Merx frequently disagrees with Gwynn as to the value of the variants.

2. **The Harklensis.**—A hundred years later the work of retranslation and revision was taken up at Alexandria for the OT by Paul of Tella (see p. 445[a]), for the NT by Thomas of Ḥarkel (Heraklea in Mesopotamia). This version comprises (as printed at present), like the Philoxeniana, all the books of the NT except Revelation, and was published under the (inappropriate) title of *Versio Philoxeniana* by Jos. White at Oxford, between 1778 and 1803. A *lacuna* in the Epistle to the Hebrews (11^{27}–13^{25}) has been supplied by Bensly (Cambridge, 1889). Its importance rests on the fact that one of the Greek MSS of Acts used by Thomas bore the closest relation to codex D, and that for the Epistles of Paul his text goes back to the library of Pamphilus (codex H). On Acts see Aug. Pott, *Der Abendländische Text der Apostelgeschichte und die Wir-Quelle*, Leipzig, 1900; R. Corssen, 'Die Recension der Philoxeniana durch Thomas von Mabug' (*ZNTW*, 1901, 1–12);* A. Hilgenfeld, 'Thomas von Heraclea und die Apostelgeschichte' (*ZWTh*, 43, 1900, 3). W. Deane had prepared a new edition; it is an urgent want for the textual criticism, especially of Acts.

3. **Revelation.**—A Syriac text of the last book of the NT was first published by L. de Dieu (Leiden, 1627) from a MS of Scaliger, now at Leiden, written by a certain Caspar from the land of the Hindus ('Hanravitarum,' as de Dieu read). The text of the Paris (and London) Polyglot seems to be taken from an independent MS. It does not belong to the original work of Polycarp, but to that of Thomas—a fact verified at last by the documentary evidence of the Florence MS rediscovered by Gwynn (*Hermathena*, 1898: 'On the recovery of a missing Syriac Manuscript of the Apocalypse,' pp. 227–245).

The same scholar discovered, in 1892, in a codex belonging to Lord Crawford, another and older translation of Revelation, and published it as the first Syriac book issued from the Dublin University Press, in 1897 (*The Apocalypse of St. John in a Syriac Version hitherto unknown; edited . . . with Critical Notes on the Syriac Text and an annotated Reconstruction of the underlying Greek Text. To which is added an Introductory Dissertation on the Syriac Versions of the Apocalypse*, Dublin, 4to).

4. **The pericope de adultera** and other passages. (*a*) The passage Jn $8^{2\text{-}11}$ missing in the common Syriac Bible became known to the learned at an early date. Mara, bishop of Amid (about 519), wrote a Greek prologue to a copy of the Tetraevangelium, in which this *pericope* had a place in canon 89, *i.e.* at Jn 8^{20}, where also the pseudo-Athanasian *Synopsis* mentions it. With the Prologue this *pericope* has been translated into Syriac in the so-called Church history of Zacharias Rhetor (Land, *Anecdota Syriaca*, iii. 252, 255).

From a MS of Ussher (now in the Trinity Library of Dublin) the same passage had been printed by de Dieu, 1631 (*Animadversiones in quattuor Evangelia*). A third translation was due to the abbot Mar Paul, apparently Paul of Tella; a fourth has been printed by J. White (*ex codice Barsalibæi* at the end of the Gospels in his edition of the Philoxeniana, i. [1778] p. 559). See on these and other points J. Gwynn (*Transactions*, Dublin, 1881).

(*b*) While scarcely one Syriac MS is known in Europe containing all 27 books of the present NT (see on this Gwynn, *Transactions*, 1886 and 1893; and compare what Rahmani states about the Mosul *πανδέκτης*, from which he published the *Testamentum Domini nostri Jesu Christi* [Præfatio, pp. ix, x]), there are some MSS that contain books which are no longer included in the NT, *e.g.* cod. 1700 in the University Library at Cambridge, from which *The Epistles of St. Clement to the Corinthians in Syriac* were edited by the late R. L. Bensly (Cambridge, 1899). In the MS the Clementine Epp. stand between the Catholic and Pauline Epistles, and are divided like these into lectures for Church use. There are, again, the MSS from which that other pair of letters ascribed to Clement, *de Virginibus* or *de Virginitate*, were published by Wetstein (*NT Gr.* t. i. 1751, Prol. pp. 1–26) and J. Th. Beelen (Lovanii, 1856; see on them J. P. N. Land, 'Syrische Bijdragen tot de Patristik,' in *Godgeleerde Bijdragen van* 1856–7).

(*c*) On the Clementine Octateuch added as number 77–83 to the 76 books of the OT and NT in the Mosul *Pandektes* just mentioned, see Rahmani, *l.c.* p. x.

These and other instances show that the history of the NT Canon was in the Syriac Church different from its history in most other branches.

5. **The Palestinian Syriac.**—One other version remains to be noticed, namely, that used by the Malkite (Greek) Church in Palestine and Egypt, written in a dialect more akin to the language of the Jewish Targums; long known exclusively from a lectionary in the Vatican Library, called the *Evangeliarium Hierosolymitanum*; described by Assemani and Adler (1789); published in 1861–64 in two vols. by Count Fr. Miniscalchi Erizzo, and again—as his last work—by P. de Lagarde in his *Bibliotheca Syriaca* (Göttingen, 1892); republished by Mrs. Lewis and Mrs. Gibson on the strength of two other MSS found on Mt. Sinai (*The Palestinian Syriac Lectionary of the Gospels*, London, 1899, 4to). Quite recently new texts have been added from Acts and the Epistles of Paul, including Hebrews and James (*Studia Sinaitica*, No. vi.), and the date and birthplace of this whole branch of literature have been elucidated by F. C. Burkitt (*JThSt*, ii. 174–185). In spite of its secondary character, it is not devoid of interest for textual criticism. In the Apparatus its symbol has been hitherto syr^{h} or $^{\text{hr}}$ or $^{\text{hier}}$.*

* To be used with caution. The intention of Thomas was certainly not 'to restore with the help of his Greek MSS the original text of Philoxenus,' and 'the old Syrian' mentioned by him in Mt 27^{35} 28^{5} Mk 8^{17} is not Philoxenus, but the Peshito. Cf. also A Hilgenfeld, *ZWTh*, 44 (1901), 318–320.

* One of the urgent needs of textual criticism is fitting symbols for the Syriac versions of the NT. Tischendorf used

II. Old Testament.—1. *Tradition.*—The Syrians themselves believed that a part of the OT was translated already in the time of *Solomon* at the request of king Hiram. Jesudad, bishop of Hadeth, *c.* 852 A.D., mentions the books then translated. Another tradition is that the version was due to the priest sent by the king of Assyria to *Samaria*; whose name is variously given as Asa, Asya, Ezra, Uria, אסא, אסיא 2 K 17^{24}, 1 Ch 15^{18}, ed. Lee and Ceriani; see the Literature quoted in *Urt.* p. 231, and add there Schatzhöhle, ed. Bezold, 192. 3 אורי, codd. PL תאוריה, in Arabic تورية. The rest of the books are said to have been added in the days of Addai and Abgar (see p. 645[a]).

2. *Origin.*—Whether part of the version is of pre-Christian, or at least of Jewish origin (thus Rich. Simon, Hug, Geiger, Perles, Lagarde), is not certain, but it is possible.* There were many Jews in Mesopotamia, especially in Edessa, in early times. It may suffice to recall queen Helena and Izates, and the Abgar legend. In the latter a daily reading of 'the OT and NT' (p. 34) or 'the Law and the Prophets' (p. 44) is presupposed besides that of the Gospel, Acts, and Epistles (see p. 647[a]).

3. *Extent.*—The Syriac OT was, on the whole, the same as the Hebrew Bible. Jesudad, for instance, knows that it counts 22 books; but at a very early date the influence of the Greek Bible is felt. There are some notable peculiarities. *Chronicles* seems to have been wanting in the canon of the Nestorians, nor is it represented in the Massoretic labours of the Jacobites; but it is found already in MSS of the 6th cent. (cod. Ambrosianus, Brit. Mus., Wright 25), with a division at 2 Ch 6^{1} (in most MSS, not in Ambros. and Florent.). Neither is *Ezra-Nehemiah* found in the Massoretic MSS, nor *Esther* in those of the Nestorians. In the Bibles of the Jacobites Esther forms, together with Judith, Ruth, and Susanna, the 'book of the women,' with 4463 *stichi*.

The arrangement of the books varies according to the MSS. The list on next col. gives them according to the order in the canonical list mentioned above, p. 647[b]; the figures for cols. 2–5 are taken from Abbé Martin's *Introduction à la critique textuelle du NT*, Partie théorique, Paris, 1883, p. 667; cf., further, Gregory-Tischendorf, 3. 112, 1303; J. R. Harris, *On the Origin of the Ferrar Group*, Lond. 1893, 10, 26.

Note.—The *Nomocanon* of Barhebræus, ch. 7, § 3 (p. 103, ed. Bedjan) on the number of the holy books and those besides (ἔξω), quotes canon 81 of the Apostles, that all clergy and laymen ought to have the Holy Scriptures of the OT, *i.e.* 5 books of Moses, Josh., Judges, Ruth, Judith; 4 books of Kings; 2 of Chron.; 2 of Ezra; Esth., Job; 3 of Mac.; Job, David; 5 of Solomon; 16 Prophets. Of 'books without,' there is to be Bar Asira for the teaching of the young. The NT is to include 4 Gospels, 14 letters of Paul, 2 of Peter, 3 of John; James, Jude; 2 of Clement, 8 books of the mysteries of the same Clement, and the Praxeis of the Apostles.

The elucidation says that the 4 of Kings are Samuel and Kings, and of Solomon we know only 4 (Prov., Eccl., Cant., Wisd.); and it is possible that the 5th is that which is inscribed 'the deep Proverbs of Solomon'; and the Book of Susanna is reckoned with Daniel.

Then he quotes the great Athanasius on the great Wisdom, Bar Asira, Esther, Judith, Tobia, what is called διατάξεις ἀποστόλων, and the *Shepherd*; Dionysius of Alexandria on Revelation as being by Cerinthus or another John; Origen on Hebrews, *Apocalypsis Pauli*, and other Revelations, *The Doctrine of the Apostles*, *Epistle of Barnabas*, Tobia, the *Shepherd*, Bar Asira; the Patriarch Cyriacus on the Book of Hierotheos as being not by him, but probably by the heretic Stephen bar Ṣudaile.

	1 Cod. Sin. 10.	2 Cod. Vat. 159.	3 Cod. Barb. vi. 62.	4 Cod. Paris 64.	5 Ed. Lee.
Gen. .	4516	4631	=2	4638	4509
Ex. . .	3378	3560	=2	3660	3626
Lev. .	2684	2445	=2	=2	2454
Num. .	3481	3560	=2	=2	3521
Deut. .	2982	2979	2783	=3	2796
Pent.* .	17041	...	...	...	...
Josh. .	1953	2167	2150	2160	=2
Judges .	2088	2249	=2	2089	4033
Sam. .	3436	5230	=2	=2	=1
Kings .	6113	5323	=2	=2	...
Ruth .	246	...	=1	=1	...
David .	4830	=1	=1	=1	...
Chron.†	3553	...	...	...	5630
Job . .	1548	...	2553	=3	=3
Prov.‡ .	1762	1866	=2	=2	1863
[Cant.] .	...	296	=2	290	...
[Eccles.]	...	616	=2	627	...
Twelve §	3643	...	3321	=3	...
Isaiah .	3656	...	4801	=3	...
Jer. . .	4252	...	4824	=3	...
Lam. .	433	...	...	...	...
Dan. .	1555	...	2273	=3	...
Ezek. .	4376	4154	=2	=2	...
Esth. .	650	...	...	...	...
Ezra .	2308	...	...	...	2361
1 Mac. .	2766	...	...	...	...
2 Mac. .	5600	...	...	...	...
Judith .	1268	...	=1	=1	...
Wisd.‖ .	1550	...	1236	=3	...
Sir.¶ .	2550	...	2500	=3	...
Total .	71574				

A singular division found in some MSS is that the Law (אוריתא) is directly followed by כתבא דבית מותבא=*liber sessionum*, *βίβλος καθισμάτων*, *i.e.* Job, Josh., Judges, Sam., Kings, Prov., Sir., Eccl., Ruth, Canticles.

The Psalter also is divided into *καθίσματα* (20). This is the favourite book of the Syriac Church, which must be known by heart if one wishes to become a deacon, and was recited daily by certain monks. In accurate MSS there are Massoretical notes; cf. the edition of Bedjan (*Liber Psalmorum, horarum diurnarum, ordinis officii divini et homiliarum rogationum ad usum scholarum*, Parisiis, 1886, p. 117).

The number of Psalms is 150, of Hallelujahs 20, Sections (צחתא) 29, Embolisms (קרמיתא) 57, Stichi (פתגמא) 4833, and Books 5. The number of Words is 19,934, and the number of Letters 90,852. 'Lord' occurs 732 times, 'God' 400, 'because' (ממל) 285, 'Moses' 6, 'Aaron' 6, 'Jacob' 24, 'Samuel' 1, 'Benjamin' 2, 'Israel' 44, 'namely' (ניר) 5, 'but' (דין) 5. And 'know that there is not found in David the form תחית for the preposition "under," as there is not found תחות in the Apostle'; תחות occurs 13 times; and 'from now and to eternity' 4 times.

There is a strange statement at the head of many Psalter MSS (already in the cod. Ambr.) that the Psalms were translated from the Palestinian language into Hebrew, from Hebrew into Greek, from Greek into Syriac. In the cod. Hunt 109 (Oxford, Bodleian) this statement is transferred to the whole Syriac OT, and in cod. Rich 7154

* אוריתא.
† ספר דבריים.
‡ חכמתא דסלתא (read דסחלא).
§ תרעסר.
‖ חכמתא רבתא.
¶ בר אסירא.

syrcu, syrhr or hier, syrsch (=Schaaf-Peshito), syrp (=posterior = Philoxeniana), syrwhit (=White=Heraclensis). Westcott-Hort used syrvt=syrcu, and now syr *crt* and syr *sin* (see vol. ii. 1896, notes, p. 5), syr vg (=Peshito), syr hl (=Harklean), syr hr. Zahn proposed S1=Peshito, S2=Philoxeniana, S3=Harklensis: for the Gospels Sc, Ss, Sh. To avoid figures, the Philoxeniana might be represented by Sφ, the versions of Thomas by Sθ.

*In support of the Jewish origin of the Syr. version of Chronicles, Nöldeke (*Alttest. Lit.* p. 169) quotes the translation of 1 Ch 5^{2} 'from Judah *will go out* (נפוק) the king Messiah'; the copyist of cod. F wrote נפק (*'has gone out'*).

(Brit. Mus.) it is stated that the (Syriac) Psalter was translated from the Palestinian into Hebrew, according to the translation of Symmachus the Samaritan. Other Psalters have the heading דמפרשׁא, which is intelligible of the Gospels of the Separate (see pp. 646, 648), but scarcely of the Psalms. (Does it mean a Church-Psalter, detached from the Bible?*) Many liturgical additions are found in the Church-Psalters (see, *e.g.*, the edition of Bedjan, which contains, of 'Canticles' at the end of the Psalter, Ex 15, Is 42, Dt 32).

Besides the books of the Greek and Hebrew Bibles, complete MSS called *καθολικοί* or *παντδέκτης* (קאתוליקיא או פנדקטא), like the cod. Ambrosianus, have preserved the Apocalypse of Baruch,† 4 Ezra, 4 and 5 Maccabees,‡ *i.e.* the history of Samuna, and Josephus *BJ* v. Apart from Bible MSS, many other pieces of apocryphal and pseudepigraphical literature have been preserved to us in Syriac.§ On the Syriac text of Sirach see above, p. 546; of Tobit only the version of Paul of Tella is preserved, and this only down to 7^{11}; the rest is still later. Of the first Book of Maccabees the cod. Ambrosianus preserved a second recension.

4. *Character of the Version.*—The value of the Version varies greatly, as it is not the work of a single hand. The Pentateuch keeps close to the Heb. text and Jewish exegesis, but has interesting details; it knows, for instance, or thinks it knows, that the rare word כברה denotes the 'parasang.' Genesis, Isaiah (30^{20} 46^{5-6}), the Twelve, the Psalter, show marks of having been influenced by the Septuagint;‖ Ruth is paraphrastic, Job literal, Chronicles like a Targum; the version of Proverbs has been used by the Targumists. Many of the books of the OT have been made the subject of special studies, whose results we now possess, mostly in the shape of Inaugural Dissertations; but new investigations are necessary.

5. *Editions.*—The printed text of the Syriac OT is in a most deplorable state, all editions going back to the Paris Polyglot of Michel le Jay (Paris, 1645). This was reproduced without any noteworthy improvements in Walton's London Polyglot (1657); Lee reproduced the same text with a few emendations and several misprints for the British Bible Society (1821). The Urmia edition of the American Missionaries (1852) is a reproduction of Lee in Nestorian characters with Nestorian vowels and with improved spellings. At last the Dominicans at Mosul published an edition of the Syriac Bible (3 vols. 1887–92), which the present writer has not seen, but which, he is afraid, will not satisfy our wants. Ceriani's photolithographic reproduction of the cod. Ambrosianus (1876–81, Milano, 200 frs.) is not within the reach of the general student; and as the editions of Urmia and the Bible Society are scarce or out of print, there is a crying need for a new edition of one of the most important versions of the OT. Only for the *Libri Apocryphi* or (as he wished afterwards to entitle the book) *Libri Deuterocanonici* we have the edition of P. de Lagarde (Lips. 1861). The country of Ussher, who intended himself to bring out such an edition, the country of Walton and of Buchanan, has here a task to discharge that will amply reward itself.*

* See Wright's *Catalogue of Syriac MSS in the Brit. Mus.* i. 116 n., and *Church Quart. Rev.*, Apr. 1895, p. 130.

† See *The Apocalypse of Baruch translated from the Syriac*, chs. i.–lxxvii. from the 6th cent. MS in the Ambrosian Library, and chs. lxxviii.–lxxxvii.; *The Epistle of Baruch from a new and critical text based on the MSS, and published herewith*, edited with Introduction, Notes, and Indices by R. H. Charles, London, 1896.

‡ *The Fourth Book of Maccabees and Kindred Documents in Syriac:* edited by the late R. L. Bensly; with Introduction and Translation by W. E. Barnes, Cambridge, 1896.

§ 'The Colloquy of Moses on Mount Sinai,' by Isaac H. Hall [Text and Translation] (*Hebraica*, vii. 3, Apr. 1891, 161–177); R. H. Charles, *The Ethiopic Version of the Hebrew Book of Jubilees*, Oxf. 1895, App. iii.; 'The Apocalypse of Adam' (ed. Renan, *Journ. As.* v. 2 (1853), 427 ff.); James, *Apocrypha Anecdota*.

‖ W. Emery Barnes, 'On the Influence of the Septuagint on the Peshitta' (*JThSt*, ii. 186, 187); J. Fred. Berg, *The Influence of the Septuagint upon the Pešiṭṭâ Psalter* (Diss. Columbia Coll.), New York, 1895, p. v, 160.

LITERATURE.—A. Ceriani, 'le edizioni e i manoscritti delle versione Siriache del vecchio testamento' (1869, *Atti of the Lombardian Institute*); Bernstein ('Syrische Studien' in *ZDMG* iii. 387–396; Emendations); Alfr. Rahlfs, 'Beiträge zur Textkritik der Peschita' (*ZATW*, 1889, 161–210); R. Gottheil, 'Zur Textkritik der Pešiṭṭâ' (*Mitteilungen des akademischen orientalischen Vereins zu Berlin*, No. 2, 1889, 21–28); J. Prager, *de Veteris Testamenti versione Syriaca, quam Peschittho vocant, quæstiones criticæ*, pt. i., Gottingæ, 1875; J. A. Edgren, 'The Peshito' (*Hebrew Student*, i. i. 1882); P. J. Gloag, 'The early Syriac Versions' (*The Monthly Interpreter*, April 1885, p. 244 ff.); G. Hoffmann, *Opuscula Nestoriana*, Kiel, 1880, and 'zur Gesch. des syr. Bibeltextes' (*ZATW*, 1881, p. 159 ff.).

On the Pentateuch: L. Hirzel, *de Pentateuchi versionis syr. (peschito) indole commentatio critico-exegetica*, Lips. 1815; S. D. Luzzatto, *Philoxenus s. de Onkelosi chald. Pentateuchi versione, Acc. appendix de Syriasmis in chaldd. paraphrasibus Veteris Testamenti*, Vindob. 1830; J. M. Schönfelder, *Onkelos und Peschittho*, München, 1869; Jos. Perles, *Meletemata Peschitthoniana*, Vratisl. 1860; F. Tuch, *de Lipsiensi cod. Pentateuchi syr. MS*, pt. i., Lips. 1849, 4to. A reprint of the Pentateuch from Walton's Polyglot was intended by J. D. Ammon, 1747 (see *Urt.* 227), and executed by G. Kirzsch (Hofæ et Lips. 1787, 4to).—**Samuel:** Emanuel Schwartz, *Die syrische Uebersetzung des ersten Buches Samuelis* (Inaug. Diss., Giessen), Berlin, 1897, 104 pp.—**Kings:** J. Berlinger, *Die Peschitta zum I (III) Buch der Könige*, Frankfurt, 1897, 50 pp.—**Chronicles:** Cl. A. Reg. Töttermann, פלגותא קדמיתא דברימין *cum hebræis collata*, Helsingforsiæ, 1870; S. Fränkel, 'Die syrische Übersetzung zu den Büchern der Chronik' (*Ztschr. f. prot. Theol.* 5 (1879), 508–536, 720–759; W. E. Barnes, *An apparatus criticus to Chronicles in the Peshitta Version, with a discussion of the value of the Codex Ambrosianus*, Cambridge, 1897†; see also A. Klostermann (art. 'Chronik',.in *PRE*^{3} iv. 85 ff.).—**Esther:** Jul. Grunthal, *Die syrische Übersetzung zum Buche Esther* (Diss.), Breslau, 1900, 55 pp.—**Job:** Edu. Stenij, *De syriaca libri Jobi interpretatione quæ Peschita vocatur*, Pars prior, Helsingforsiæ, 1887; A. Mandl, *Die Peschittha zu Hiob* (Diss.), Leipz. 1892, 35 pp.; Eberh. Baumann, 'Die Verwendbarkeit der Pešita zum Buch Ijob für die Textkritik' (*ZATW* xviii. 257–266, xix. 15–95, xx. 177–201, 264–307).—**Psalms:** Fr. Dietrich, *Commentatio de psalterii usu publico et divisione in ecclesia Syriaca*, Marburg, 1862, 4to (Indices lectionum); Andr. Oliver, *A Translation of the Syriac Peshito Version of the Psalms of David, with notes critical and explanatory*, Boston, 1861; Prager, see above; Berg, see preced. col. n. ‖; Fr. Baethgen, *Untersuchungen über die Psalmen nach der Peschita*, i., Kiel, 1878, 4to, sequel in *Ztschr. f. prot. Theol.* viii. 405–459, 593–667; Berth. Oppenheimer, *Die Syr. Übersetzung des fünften Buches der Psalmen*, Leipzig, 1891; L. Techen, 'Syrisch-Hebräisches Glossar zu den Psalmen nach der Peschita' (*ZATW* xvii. (1897) 129–171, 280–331) [similar glossaries for other books would be useful and supply a Concordance]; G. Diettrich, 'Eine jakobitische Einleitung in den Psalter' . . . Giessen, 1901, xlvii. 167 (Beihefte zu *ZATW* 5).—**Proverbs:** J. A. Dathe, *De ratione consensus vers. Chaldaicæ et syriacæ Proverbiorum Salomonis*, Lips. 1764; S. Maybaum, 'Über die Sprache des Targum zu den Sprüchen und dessen Verhältniss zum Syrer' in Merx, *Archiv*, ii. 1 (1871), 66–93; Th. Nöldeke, 'Das Targum zu den Sprüchen von der Peschito abhängig' (*ib.* ii. 2 (1872), 246–249); Herm. Pinkuss, 'Die Syrische Übersetzung der Proverbien' (*ZATW* xiv. [1894] 1, 65–141, 161–222); H. P. Chajes, 'Etwas über die Pešita zu den Proverbien' (*JQR*, Oct. 1900, 86–91).—**Canticles:** S. Euringer, 'Die Bedeutung der Peschitto für die Textkritik des Hohenliedes' (*Biblische Studien*, vi. 115–128).—**Ecclesiastes:** *Animadversiones criticæ in versionem syriacam Peschitthonianam Librorum Koheleth et Ruth*, Auctore Georgius [!] Janichs, Vratislaviæ, 1871 (Diss.), Marb. 1869.—**Prophets:** A. Klostermann (*PRE*^{3} viii. 767, on Isaiah); Warzavoski, *Peshita zu Jes. 1-39*, Giessen, 1897; Heinr. Weiss, *Die Peschitta zu Deuterojesaja* (Diss.), Halle, 1893; Armin Abelesz, *Die syrische Übersetzung der Klagelieder* (Diss.), Giessen, 1896, 43 pp.; H. Cornill, *Das Buch des Propheten Ezechiel*, 1886, pp. 137–156 (cf. Rahlfs and Pinkuss); C. A. Credner, *De prophetarum minorum versione syriaca quam Peshito dicunt indole*, Diss. i. [unica], Gött. 1827; Mark Sebök (Schönberger), *Die syrische Uebersetzung der zwölf kleinen Propheten*, Breslau, 1887, 75 pp.; V Ryssel,

* Cf. W. E. Barnes, 'The printed editions of the Peshitta of the OT' (*Expos. Times*, Sept. 1898, 560–562). An edition of the Psalms may be expected from this scholar in 1902. An ed. of the OT is advertised from Berlin (Reuther & Reichard) as in preparation by Beer and Brockelmann.

† Shows how deplorable the text of our printed Bibles is, resting as it does on the authority of MS syr. 6 at Paris, a wretched copy of the 17th cent. and its corrections, omitting several clauses and a passage of 54 verses (1 Ch 26^{13-27}34)! Cod. F adds to the title ספר דברימין the note that it is written by the priest יוחנן (see Neh 12^{23}), and is also called בחבא דחסירתא 'book of the missing (things)' (=*παραλειπόμενα*).

Untersuchungen über . . . Micha, 1887; Wahl, 'Vergleichung der syr. kirchl. Uebersetzung des Propheten Amos, nach der Londoner Ausgabe, mit Ephraem des Syrers syr. Texte' (*Magazin f. alte, bes. morgendl. und bibl. Lit.*, zweite Lieferung, Cassel, 1789, p. 80 ff.).—**Apocrypha:** J. J. Kneucker, *Das Buch Baruch*, Leipzig, 1869, pp. 190–198; Th. Nöldeke, 'Die Texte des Buches Tobit' (*Monatsberichte der Berliner Akademie*, 1897, 45–69); Trendelenburg, 'Primi libri Maccab. Græce cum versione syriaca collatio' (*Repert. für bibl. u. morgenl. Lit.* xv. 58–153); G. Schmidt, 'Die beiden syrischen Uebersetzungen des ersten Makkabäerbuchs' (*ZATW* xvii. (1897) 1–47); *Fabula Josephi et Asenethæ Apocrypha e libro syriaco latine versa*, Diss. . . . Gust. Oppenheim, Berolini, 1886, 50 pp.

On the other translations of the OT into Syriac we must be very brief.

(1) On the labours of Paul of Tella on the Syriac Hexapla, see art. SEPTUAGINT, p. 446 f., and *Urt.* p. 235; and add to the Literature: G. Kerber, 'Syrohexaplarische Fragmente zu Leviticus und Deuteronomium aus Bar-Hebræus gesammelt' (*ZATW* xvi. (1896) 249–264).

(2) On the revision which Jacob of Edessa undertook in the years 704 and 705, see *Urt.* 236; Wright, p. 17. Michael the Great (1167–1200) tells of him that he became a Jew, because he suspected that the Jews, out of jealousy, had not communicated to the Gentiles all their books (see *Die Canones Jacobs von Edessa übersetzt . . .* von C. Kayser, 1881, p. 52 f.).

(3) The statement that Mar Abba († 552) 'translated and explained' (פשׁק and תרגם) the OT and NT from the Greek is made by Barhebræus, Ebedjesu, and seems to hint at more than a commentary.

(4) On the version of the Psalms ascribed to Polycarp the author of the Philoxeniana, see Ceriani, *le edizioni*, p. 5, and Merx (*ZA* 349).

(5) From Greek ecclesiastical writers, Fred. Field (*Origenis Hexapla* i.) collected more than 90 quotations introduced by ὁ Σύρος. Most of them seem to refer to the Peshito;* see Swete, *Introd.* p. 56, and Harnack, *TU* vi. 3, 31, 44 f.

(6) The fragments of the Malkite Version of the OT comprise now portions of Gen., Ex., Nu., Deut., 1 and 3 Kings, Is., Joel, Zech., Job, Ps., Prov., Wisd.; see p. 447[a] and *Urt.* p. 237.

* One of the tasks to be discharged by future workers is to collect from the Greek Fathers all references to the Syriac language and literature.

On the work of the Massoretes (formerly believed to be itself a version called versio Karkaphensis or Montana) see the Abbé Martin, 'Histoire de la ponctuation ou de la Massore chez les Syriens,' in *Journal Asiatique*, Mars-Avril, 1875).

From the Syriac MSS lying in the libraries of Europe the history of the transmission of the Bible might be very well illustrated; and much useful material might be gathered from the Commentaries of the Syrian divines, even from so late a scholar as Gregory Barhebræus (see J. Goettsberger, 'Barhebräus und seine Scholien zur heiligen Schrift,' in *Biblische Studien*, v. 4, 5, 1900).

EB. NESTLE.

SYROPHŒNICIAN (Συροφοίνισσα, Συροφοινίκισσα WH, Σύρα Φοινίκισσα WHmg) occurs only in Mk 7[26] as the national name of a woman who is called in Mt 15[22] 'a Canaanitish (Χαναναία) woman,' *i.e.* not a Jewess, but a descendant of the early inhabitants of the Phœnician coast-lands (see CANAAN). On ethnic and other grounds it is unlikely that the prefix Συρο- was meant to distinguish the district from the Carthaginian seaboard, called by Strabo (xvii. 19) ἡ τῶν Λιβυφοινίκων γῆ, the latter being a mongrel race (Livy, xxi. 22), and the alleged contrast being of no moment in the narrative. The term probably denotes a Syrian resident in Phœnicia proper, and may have been in current use before Hadrian adopted it as the official title of one of the three provinces into which he divided Syria. In Ac 21[2. 3] the two parts of the term are already used interchangeably. Tradition (*Clementine Homilies*, ii. 19, iii. 73) gives the name of Justa to the woman concerned in the incident, and that of Bernice to her daughter. Swete, following but correcting Euthymius Zigabenus, argues from the context, with some force, that the woman, though of Phœnician extraction, was Greek in speech as well as in religion.

R. W. MOSS.

SYRTIS.—See QUICKSANDS.

SYZYGUS.—See SYNZYGUS, p. 644.

T

TAANACH (תַּעֲנָךְ; once, Jos 12[21] תַּעֲנָךְ; twice, 1 K 4[12], 1 Ch 7[29] תַּעְנָךְ, which is the form adopted uniformly by Baer).—An ancient royal city of the Canaanites, whose king was amongst those whom Joshua smote (Jos 12[21]). It lay within the territory allotted to Issachar, but belonged to Manasseh, and was given to the Kohathite Levites. The Canaanites were not driven out, but they were put to tribute, or obliged to do personal service, as the Israelites increased in strength (Jos 17[11] 21[25], Jg 1[27], 1 Ch 7[29]). Near Taanach, perhaps on lands belonging to the city, was fought the decisive battle between Barak and the kings of Canaan, which is celebrated in the triumphant song of Deborah (Jg 5[19]). The city was in the rich district from which Baana, one of Solomon's twelve commissariat officers, drew supplies for the royal household (1 K 4[12]); and is mentioned in close connexion with Megiddo—'Taanach by (or 'upon') the waters of Megiddo' (Jg 5[19]). It was apparently one of the line of fortresses (Dor, Megiddo, Taanach, and Bethshean) which stretched across the country from west to east, and guarded the main avenues of approach to the great plain of Esdraelon from the south. As such it is mentioned with Megiddo in the list of Thothmes III. at Karnak, and again in the list of Sheshonḳ, (Shishak) (Max Müller, *Asien u. Europ.* 158, 170). Eusebius and Jerome (*Onom. s.* Θαανάχ, Θανάκ, *Thaanach*) describe it as 'a very large village,' 4 or 3 Roman miles from Legio, and it is now *Ta'annuk*, about 4½ miles from *Lejjûn*. In the 13th cent. the manor of Thanis (Taanach) is noted as forming part of the possessions of the Abbey of St. Mary in the valley of Jehoshaphat at Jerusalem. *Ta'annuk* is a small village on the S.E. slope of a large isolated mound, *Tell Ta'annuk* at the S. edge of the plain of Esdraelon. The mound is covered with fragments of pottery and shapeless ruins, and there are ancient cisterns, wells, and rock-hewn tombs. Below the village is a small mosque, which was perhaps a church.

The LXX readings are as follows:—

Jos 12[21]	B	om.,	A	Θανάχ,	Luc. Θααννάχ.
,, 17[11]	,,	do.,	,,	Ταννάχ,	,, do.
,, 21[25]	,,	Ταννάχ,	,,	Θααννάχ,	,, do.
Jg 1[27]	,,	Θανάκ,	,,	Ἐσθαναάδ,	,, Ἐσθαναάδ (? Ἐσ=את [Redpath]).
,, 5[19]	,,	Θαναάχ,	,,	Θεννάχ,	,, Θεννάχ.
1 K 4[12]	,,	om.,	,,	Θααναχ,	,, Αἰθάμ.
1 Ch 7[29]	,,	Θαλμά,	,,	Θααναχ.	

LITERATURE.—Guérin, *Samarie*, ii. 226; *PEF Mem.* ii. 46, 68; G. A. Smith, *HGHL* 386, 389; Baedeker-Socin, *Pal.*[2] 241; Robinson, *BRP*[2] ii. 316, iii. 117.

C. W. WILSON.

TAANATH-SHILOH (תַּאְנַת שִׁלֹה; B Θηνασὰ καὶ Σελλησά, A Ταναθσηλώ; Luc. Θηναθασηλώ).—A town on the N.E boundary of Ephraim, mentioned between Michmethath and Janoah (Jos 16^6). Eusebius and Jerome (*Onom. s.* Θηνάθ) state that Taanath-shiloh was 10 Roman miles E. of Neapolis on the road to the Jordan, and called in their day *Thena*. This is probably the Thena (Θῆνα) mentioned by Ptolemy (v. xvi. 5) as one of the towns of Samaria. It was identified by Van de Velde with *Tâna* about 7 miles from *Nâblus* (Neapolis), and 2 miles N. of *Yânûn* (Janoah), The ruins, foundations, caves, cisterns, and rock-hewn tombs are on one of the Roman roads leading from Neapolis to the Jordan Valley (*PEF Mem.* ii. 232, 245).

The Talmuds explain the word *Taanath* by 'threshold,' and hold Taanath-shiloh to have been a long, narrow strip of land belonging to Joseph which ran southwards into the territory of Benjamin, and included the site of Shiloh.

C. W. WILSON.

TABAOTH, 1 Es $5^{29\ (30)}$ (B Ταβαώθ, A Ταβώθ), and **TABBAOTH** (מַבָּעוֹת), Ezr 2^{43} (B Ταβώθ, A Ταββαώθ, Luc. Ταβαώθ) = Neh 7^{46} (B Γαβώθ, A and Luc. as before).—The eponym of a family of Nethinim who are said to have returned with Zerubbabel.

TABBATH (טַבָּת; B Ταβάθ, A Γαβάθ; *Tebbath*).—The Midianites, after Gideon's night attack, fled to Beth-shittah, towards Zererah, as far as the border of Abel-meholah by Tabbath (Jg 7^{22}). No trace of the site of Tabbath has yet been found, but it must have been in the Jordan Valley, and probably not far from the spot, to the south of Bethshean, where the hills of Samaria approach the river.

C. W. WILSON.

TABEEL (טָבְאֵל 'God is good' or [Winckl.] 'God is wise'; the pointing טָבְאַל in Is 7^6 may be simply due to pause [Ols., König], or, more probably, may be designed to suggest the sense 'good for nothing' [אַל neg.; so Del., Dillm., Nöld., Duhm, Stade, Marti, and *Oxf. Heb. Lex.*]; LXX Ταβεήλ).—1. See REZIN, p. 267ᵃ. 2. A Persian official in Samaria who was one of the parties to the letter to Artaxerxes, which was designed to hinder the rebuilding of the walls of Jerusalem, Ezr 4^7.

J. A. SELBIE.

TABELLIUS (Ταβέλλιος), 1 Es 2^{16} (LXX ^{15}) = Tabeel, Ezr 4^7.

TABER.—Only in Nah 2^7, in the description of the destruction of Nineveh, when HUZZAB 'is carried away, and her handmaids mourn as with the voice of doves, tabering (Amer. RV 'beating') upon their breasts' [lit. 'hearts'; מְהֹמְּמוֹת עַל־לִבְּהֶן]. Beating the breast was a familiar Oriental custom in mourning (see the illustration in Ball's *Light from the East*, p. 119, and cf. Is 32^{12} [RV, but the text is doubtful]). The word here used means lit. 'drumming' (cf. Ps 68^{26}, its only other occurrence, and see illustration in vol. iii. p. 462ᵇ). The LXX φθεγγόμεναι implies a reading מְצַצְּפוֹת, which is used in Is 29^4 of the voice of a wailing woman. Stade is inclined to prefer this to the MT.

The English word 'taber' means a small drum, usually accompanying a pipe, both instruments being played by the same performer. Other forms are 'tabor,' 'tabour,' and 'tambour'; and dim. forms are 'tabret' and 'tambourine.' The words are originally Arabic, and entered the English language through Old French, a step between French and Arabic being the Spanish. For the subst. cf. Shaks. *Winter's Tale*, IV. iv. 183—'If you did but hear the pedlar at the door, you would never dance again after a tabor and pipe.' The verb is rarer, cf. Chaucer, *Good Women*, 354—

> 'In your court is many a losengeour, . . .
> That tabouren in your eres many a soun,
> Right after hir imaginacioun.'

J. A. SELBIE.

TABERAH (תַּבְעֵרָה; LXX Ἐμπυρισμός).—A station in Israel's journeyings in the wilderness of Paran (Nu 11^3, Dt 9^{22}). Its name *Tab'ērah* (='burning *or* place of burning') is said to have been given to it 'because the fire of the LORD burnt among them' (Nu 11^3 [prob. E]). The place, which is not named in the itinerary of Nu 33, has not been identified.

TABERNACLE.—

i. The Tabernacle of the oldest sources.
ii. The Tabernacle of the priestly writers. The literary sources.
iii. The nomenclature of the Tabernacle.
iv. The fundamental conception of the Sanctuary in P. Nature and gradation of the materials employed in its construction.
v. General arrangement and symmetry of the Sanctuary. The Court of the Dwelling.
vi. The furniture of the Court—(*a*) the Altar of Burnt-offering; (*b*) the Laver.
vii. The Tabernacle proper—(*a*) the Curtains and Coverings; (*b*) the wooden Framework; (*c*) the arrangement of the Curtains, the divisions of the Dwelling, the Veil and the Screen.
viii. The furniture of the Holy Place—(*a*) the Table of Shew-bread or Presence-Table; (*b*) the golden Lampstand; (*c*) the Altar of Incense.
ix. The furniture of the Most Holy Place—the Ark and the Propitiatory or Mercy-seat.
x. Erection and Consecration of the Tabernacle.
xi. The Tabernacle on the march.
xii. The Historicity of P's Tabernacle.
xiii. The ruling Ideas and religious Significance of the Tabernacle.

Literature.

The term *tabernaculum*, whence 'tabernacle' of the Eng. VSS since Wyclif, denoted a tent with or without a wooden framework, and, like the σκηνή of the Gr. translators, was used in the Latin VSS to render indiscriminately the אֹהֶל or goats'-hair 'tent' and the סֻכָּה or 'booth' (which see) of the Hebrews. Its special application by the Romans to the tent or *templum minus* of the augurs made it also a not altogether inappropriate rendering of the מִשְׁכָּן or 'dwelling' of the priestly writers (see § iii.), by which, however, the etymological signification of the latter was disregarded, and the confusion further increased. The same confusion reigns in our AV. The Revisers, as they inform us in their preface, have aimed at greater uniformity by rendering *mishkān* by 'tabernacle' and *'ōhel* by 'tent' (as AV had already done in certain cases, see § iii.). It is to be regretted, however, that they did not render the Heb. *sukkāh* with equal uniformity by 'booth' (*e.g.* in Mt 17^4 and parallels), and particularly in the case of the Feast of Booths (EV Tabernacles).

i. THE TENT OR TABERNACLE OF THE OLDEST SOURCES.—Within the limits of this art. it is manifestly impossible to enter in detail into the problems of history and religion to which the study of 'the tabernacle' and its appointments, as these are presented by the priestly authors of our Pentateuch, introduces the student of the OT. The idea of the tabernacle, with its Aaronic priesthood and ministering Levites, lies at the very foundation of the religious institutions of Israel as these are conceived and formulated in the priestly sources. To criticise this conception here—a conception which has dominated Jewish and Christian thought from the days of Ezra to our own—would lead us at once into the heart of the critical controversy which has raged for two centuries round the literature and religion of the OT. Such a task is as impossible to compass here as it is unnecessary. The almost universal acceptance by OT scholars of the post-exilic date of the books of the Pentateuch in their present form is evident on every page of this Dictionary. On this foundation, therefore, we are free to build in this article without the necessity of setting forth at

every stage the processes by which the critical results are obtained.

Now, when the middle books of the Pentateuch are examined in the same spirit and by the same methods as prevail in the critical study of other ancient literatures, a remarkable divergence of testimony emerges with regard to the tent which, from the earliest times, was employed to shelter the sacred ark. In the article ARK (vol. i. p. 149[b]) attention was called to the sudden introduction of *the* 'tent' in the present text of Ex 33[7] as of something with which the readers of this document—the Pentateuch source E, according to the unanimous verdict of modern scholars—are already familiar. This source, as it left its author's pen, must have contained some account of the construction of the ark, probably from the offerings of the people (33[6]) as in the parallel narrative of P (25[2ff.]), and of the tent required for its proper protection. Regarding this tent we are supplied with some interesting information, which may be thus summarized:—(*a*) Its *name* was in Heb. *'ōhel mō'ēd* (33[7], AV 'the tabernacle of the congregation,' RV 'the tent of meeting'). The true significance of this term will be fully discussed in a subsequent section (§ iii.) (*b*) Its *situation* was 'without the camp, afar off from the camp,' recalling the situation of the local sanctuaries of a later period, outside the villages of Canaan (see HIGH PLACE, SANCTUARY). In this position it was pitched, not temporarily or on special occasions only, but, as the tenses of the original demand, throughout the whole period of the desert wanderings (cf. RV v.[7] 'Moses used to take the tent and to pitch it,' etc., with AV). Above all, (*c*) its *purpose* is clearly stated. It was the spot where J″, descending in the pillar of cloud which stood at the door of the tent (v.[9f.], cf. Nu 12[5], Dt 31[15]), 'met his servant Moses and spake unto him face to face as a man speaketh unto his friend' (v.[11]). On these occasions Moses received those special revelations of the Divine will which were afterwards communicated to the people. To the tent of meeting, also, every one repaired who had occasion to seek J″ (v.[7]), either for an oracle or for purposes of worship. Finally, (*d*) its *œdituus* was the young Ephraimite Joshua, the son of Nun, who 'departed not out of the tent' (v.[11], cf. Nu 11[28]), but slept there as the guardian of the ark, as the boy Samuel slept in the sanctuary at Shiloh (1 S 3[3ff.]).

The same representation of the tent as pitched without the camp, and as associated with Moses and Joshua in particular, reappears in the narrative of the seventy elders (Nu 11[16f. 24-30]), and in the incident of Miriam's leprosy (12[1ff.], note esp. v.[4f.]), both derived from E; also in the reference, based upon, if not originally part of, the same source, in Dt 31[14f.].

The interpretation now given of this important section of the Elohistic source is that of almost all recent scholars, including so strenuous an opponent of the Graf-Wellhausen hypothesis as August Dillmann (see his Com. *in loc.*). Little, therefore, need be said by way of refutation of the views of those who have endeavoured to harmonize this earlier representation with that which dominates the Priestly Code. The only one of these views that can be said to deserve serious consideration is that which sees in the tent of Ex 33[7ff.] a provisional tent of meeting pending the construction of the tabernacle proper. This interpretation is generally combined with the theory that the tent in question was originally Moses' private tent—an opinion which dates from the time of the Gr. translators (λαβὼν Μωυσῆς τὴν σκηνὴν αὐτοῦ, κτλ., so also Pesh.), and has found favour with commentators, from Rashi downwards, including most English expositors. This view is *a priori* plausible enough, but it falls to pieces before the fact disclosed above, that the same representation of the tent of meeting situated without the camp, with Joshua as its solitary guardian, is found in the Pentateuch, even *after the erection of the more splendid tabernacle of the priestly writers*. Moreover, there is no hint in the text of Ex 33[7-11] of the temporary nature of the tent; on the contrary, as we have seen, the tenses employed are intended to describe the habitual custom of the Hebrews and their leader during the whole period of the wanderings. The closing verse of the section, finally, proves conclusively that Moses had his abode elsewhere, and only visited the tent when he wished to meet with J″. At the same time, the preservation of this section of E by the final editor of the Pentateuch, when the preceding account of the construction of the ark (cf. Dt 10[1-5] with Driver's note) was excised, can hardly be explained otherwise than by the supposition that he regarded the tent of meeting here described as having some such provisional character as this theory presupposes.

During the conquest and settlement, the tent of meeting presumably continued to shelter the ark (which see) until superseded by the more substantial 'temple' of J″ at SHILOH. The picture of this temple (הֵיכָל) with its door and doorposts (1 S 1[9] 3[15]) disposes of the late gloss (2[22b]), based on a similar gloss, Ex 38[8], which assumes the continued existence of the tent of meeting (see the Comm. *in loc.*). So, too, Ps 78[60], which speaks of the sanctuary at Shiloh as a tent and a tabernacle (*mishkān*), is of too uncertain a date to be placed against the testimony of the earlier historian. In the narrative of the older sources of the Book of Samuel (1 S 4 ff.) there is no mention of any special protection for the ark until we read of the tent pitched for it by David in his new capital on Mt. Zion (2 S 6[17], cf. 1 Ch 16[1], and the phrase 'within curtains,' 2 S 7[2], 1 Ch 17[1]). The later author of 2 S 7[6], however, evidently thought of the ark as housed continuously from the beginning in a tent. 'I have not dwelt in an house,' J″ is represented as saying, 'since the day that I brought up the children of Israel out of Egypt, even to this day, but have walked in a tent (*'ōhel*) and in a tabernacle (*mishkān*),' or, as the text should more probably run, 'from tent to tent, and from tabernacle to tabernacle' (so Klost., Budde, basing on 1 Ch 17[5]). David's tent was known as 'the tent of J″' (1 K 2[28ff.]). Before it stood the essential accompaniment of every sanctuary, an altar, to which the right of asylum belonged (*ib.* 1[50]). What the tent may have contained in addition to the sacred ark is unknown, with the exception, incidentally mentioned, of 'the horn of oil,' with the contents of which Zadok the priest anointed the youthful Solomon (*ib.* 1[39]). A solitary reference to 'the tent of meeting' in a pre-exilic document yet remains, viz. the late gloss 1 K 8[4], the unhistorical character of which is now admitted (see Kittel, Benzinger, etc., *in loc.*, and cf. Wellh. *Proleg.* [Eng. tr.] 43 f.).

To sum up our investigation, it may be affirmed that the author of 2 S 7 not only accurately represents the facts of history when he describes the ark as having been moved 'from tent to tent and from tabernacle to tabernacle,' but reflects with equal accuracy the opinion of early times that a simple tent or tabernacle was the appropriate housing for the ancient palladium of the Hebrew tribes. This is confirmed both by the analogy of the practice of other branches of the Semitic race, and by incidental references from the period of religious decadence in Israel, which imply that tent-shrines were familiar objects in connexion with the worship at the high places (2 K 23[7] RVm, Ezk 16[16]; cf. the names *Oholibah* and *Oholibamah*, and art. OHOLAH).

ii. THE TABERNACLE OF THE PRIESTLY WRITERS. —*The literary sources.*—These are almost exclusively from the hand of the authors of the great priestly document of the Pentateuch. This document, as has long been recognized, is not the product of a single pen, or even of a single period.

The results which recent criticism has achieved in disentangling and exhibiting the various strata of the composite literary work denoted by the convenient symbol P, and the grounds on which these results are based, must be sought elsewhere, as, *e.g.*,—to name only a few accessible in English,—Kuenen, *Hexateuch*, 72 ff., Driver, *LOT*[6] 40 ff., the more elaborate tables of the *Oxford Hexateuch*, i. 255, 261, ii. 138, and the art. EXODUS in vol. i. p. 808 ff., with the table, p. 810[b]. Reference may also be made here to the present writer's forthcoming commentary on *Exodus* in the Internat. Critical Series.

The sections of the Pentateuch dealing with the subject of this art. are the following:—

(1) Ex 25–29, a fairly homogeneous section (but cf. *Oxf. Hex.* ii. 120) of the main or ground-stock of P (hence the symbol P^g), containing minute directions for the construction of the furniture and fabric of the sanctuary (25–27), followed by instructions relative to the priestly garments (28) and the consecration of Aaron and his sons (29).

(2) Ex 30. 31, a set of instructions supplementary to the foregoing. For their secondary character (hence the symbol P^s) see the authorities cited above and § viii. (*c*) below.

(3) Ex 35–40, also a fairly homogeneous block of narrative, reproduced in the main verbatim from 25–31 'with the simple substitution of past tenses for future,' but in a systematic order which embodies the contents of 30. 31 in their proper places in the older narrative 25 ff. (see authorities as above). It is therefore younger than either of these sections, hence also P^s. The critical problem is here complicated by the striking divergence of the LXX in form and matter from the MT, to some points of which attention will be called in the sequel.

(4) Nu $3^{25ff.}$ $4^{4ff.}$ $7^{1ff.}$ contain various references to the tabernacle and its furniture, which also belong to the secondary strata of P (see NUMBERS, vol. iii. p. 568). To these sources have to be added the description of the temple of Solomon in 1 K 6 ff. and the sketch of Ezekiel's temple (Ezk 40 ff.), which disclose some remarkable analogies to the tabernacle. The references to the latter in the Bks. of Chronicles are of value, as showing how completely the later Heb. literature is dominated by the conceptions of the Priestly Code. Outside the Canon of the OT, the most important sources are the sections of Josephus' *Antiquities* which deal with the tabernacle (III. vi.), Philo's *De Vita Moysis* (ed. Mangey, vol. ii. p. 145 ff., Bohn's tr. iii. 88 ff.), and the 3rd cent. treatise, containing a systematic presentation of the views of the Jewish authorities, ברייתא דמלכת המשכן (ed. Flesch, *Die Baraijtha von der Herstellung der Stiftshütte*; Eng. tr. by Barclay, *The Talmud*, 334 ff.). The Epistle to the Hebrews, finally, supplies us with the first Christian interpretation of the tabernacle (§ xiii.).

iii. THE NOMENCLATURE OF THE TABERNACLE.*—(*a*) In our oldest sources the sacred tent receives, as we have seen, the special designation (1) אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד *'ōhel mō'ēd* (Ex 33^7, Nu 11^{16} 12^4, Dt 31^{14}, all most probably from E). This designation is also found about 130 times in the priestly sections of the Hexateuch.

The verb יעד (יעד) from which מוֹעֵד is derived signifies 'to appoint a time or place of meeting,' in the Niphal 'to meet by appointment' (often in P). Hence אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד—as the name is understood by P, at least—signifies **'the tent of meeting'** (so RV) or 'tent of tryst' (*OTJC*^{2} 246), the spot which J'' has appointed to meet or hold tryst with Moses and with Israel. As this meeting is mainly for the purpose of speaking with them (Ex 29^{42} 33^{11}, Nu 7^{89} etc.), of declaring His will to them, the expression 'tent of meeting' is practically equivalent to 'tent of revelation' (Driver, *Deut.* 339, following Ewald's 'Offenbarungszelt'). It has lately been suggested that behind this lies a more primitive meaning. From the fact that one of the functions of the Babylonian priesthood was to determine the proper time (*âdânu*, from the same root as *mō'ēd*) for an undertaking, Zimmern has suggested that the expression אהל מועד may originally have denoted 'the tent where the proper time for an undertaking was determined,' in other words, 'tent of the oracle' (*Orakelzelt*). See Zimmern, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis d. bab. Religion*, p. 88 n. 2 (cf. Haupt, *JBL*, 1900, p. 52). Still another view of P's use of the term מוֹעֵד has recently been suggested (Meinhold, *Die Lade Jahves*, 1900, p. 3 f.). P, according to Meinhold, intends to give to the older term (אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד) of E the same significance as his own אֹהֶל הָעֵדוּת 'tent of the testimony' (see No. 10 below), by giving to the Niphal of יָעַד ('make known,' 'reveal one's self,' as above) the sense of עוּד 'to testify of one's self.' The LXX, therefore, according to this scholar, was perfectly justified in rendering both the above designations by *σκηνὴ τοῦ μαρτυρίου* (see below). The rendering of AV **'tabernacle of the congregation'** is based on a mistaken interpretation of the word *mō'ēd*, as if synonymous with the cognate עֲדָה.

(2) The simple expression 'the tent' (הָאֹהֶל) is found in P 19 times (Ex $26^{9.\ 11}$ etc.). We have already (§ i.) met with the title (3) 'the tent of J'' ' (1 K $2^{28ff.}$). To these may be added (4) 'the house of the tent' (1 Ch 9^{23}), and (5) 'the house of J'' ' (Ex 23^{19}).

(*b*) In addition to the older 'tent of meeting' a new and characteristic designation is used extensively in P, viz. (6) מִשְׁכָּן *mishkān* (about 100 times in the Hex.), 'the place where J'' dwells' (שָׁכַן), 'dwelling,' 'habitation' (so Tindale); by AV rendered equally with אֹהֶל 'tabernacle' (but 1 Ch 6^{32} 'dwelling-place'). A marked ambiguity, however, attaches to P's use of this term. On its first occurrence (Ex 25^9) it manifestly denotes the whole fabric of the tabernacle, and so frequently. It is thus equivalent to the fuller (7) 'dwelling (EV 'tabernacle') of J'' ' found in Lv 17^4 (here ‖ (1), Nu 16^9 etc., 1 Ch 16^{39} 21^{29}), and to 'the dwelling of the testimony' (No. 11 below). In other passages it denotes the tapestry curtains with their supporting frames which constitute 'the dwelling' *par excellence* ($26^{1.\ 6f.}$ etc.), and so expressly in the designation (8) 'dwelling (EV 'tabernacle') of the tent of meeting' (Ex 39^{32} 40^2 etc., 1 Ch 6^{32}). In the passages just cited and in some others where the *'ōhel* and the *mishkān* are clearly distinguished (*e.g.* Ex 35^{11} 39^{40} $40^{27ff.}$, Nu 3^{25} 9^{15}), the AV has rendered the former by 'tent' and the latter by 'tabernacle,' a distinction now consistently carried through by RV.* In 1 Ch 6^{48} [MT 33] we have (9) 'the dwelling of the house of God.'

(*c*) Also peculiar to P and the later writers influenced by him is the designation (10) אֹהֶל הָעֵדוּת (Nu 9^{15} etc., 2 Ch 24^6, RV throughout 'tent of the testimony'; so AV in Nu 9^{15}, but elsewhere 'the tabernacle of witness'). The tabernacle was so called as containing 'the ark of the testimony' (see § ix.). Hence too the parallel designation (11) מִשְׁכַּן הָעֵדוּת (Ex 38^{21}, Nu 1^{50} etc., EV 'tabernacle of [the] testimony').

(*d*) In addition to these we find the more general term (12) מִקְדָּשׁ 'holy place *or* sanctuary,' applied to the tabernacle (Ex 25^8 and often; in the Law of Holiness (Lv 17 ff.) almost exclusively.

Passing to the versions that have influenced our own, we find as regards the LXX a uniformity greater even than in our AV. Owing to the confusion of מִשְׁכָּן and אֹהֶל (both=*σκηνή*) on the one hand, and of מוֹעֵד and עֵדוּת on the other (but cf. Meinhold, *op. cit.* 3 f.), we have the all but universal rendering *ἡ σκηνὴ τοῦ μαρτυρίου*, 'the tent of the testimony,' to represent (1), (8), (10), and (11) above. This, along with the simple *σκηνή*, is the NT designation (Ac 7^{44} AV 'tabernacle of witness,' Rev 15^5 AV 'tabernacle of the testimony'). In Wis 9^8, Sir 24^{10} we have a new title (13) 'the sacred tent' (*σκηνὴ ἁγίας*, with which cf. the *ἱερὰ σκηνή* of the Carthaginian camp, Diod. Sic. xx. 65). The Old Lat. and Vulg. follow the LXX with the rendering *tabernaculum* and *tab. testimonii*, though frequently also ('habitually in Numbers,' Westcott, *Ep. to the Hebrews*, 234 f.) *tab. fœderis*, the latter based on the designation of the ark as the 'ark of the covenant' (see § ix.). As to the older Eng. VSS, finally, those of Hereford and Purvey follow the Vulg. closely with 'tab. of witness, witnessynge, testimonye,' and 'tab. of the boond of pees (*t. fœderis*).' Tindale on the other hand follows LXX with the rendering 'tab. of witnesse' for (1) and (10), but then again he restores the distinction between *'ōhel* and *mishkān* by rendering the latter 'habitacion,' except in the case of (7), 'the dwellinge-place of the Lorde.' Coverdale in the main follows Tindale. It is to be regretted that this distinction was obliterated in the later versions.

iv. THE UNDERLYING CONCEPTION OF THE TABERNACLE-SANCTUARY.—*Nature and gradation of the materials employed in its construction.*—In Ezekiel's great picture of the ideal Israel of the Restoration (Ezk 40 ff.) 'the ruling conception is that of J'' dwelling in visible glory in his sanctuary in the midst of his people.' The prophet's one aim is to help forward the realization of the earlier promise of J'': 'My dwelling (*mishkān*) shall be with them, and I will be their God, and they shall be my people' (37^{27}). The same grand conception, the same high ideal, took possession of the priestly writers on whom Ezekiel's mantle fell. The foundation on which rests the whole theocratic structure of the Priestly Code is the provision of

* Cf. the suggestive note on the various designations of the tabernacle with the inferences therefrom in *Oxf. Hex.* ii. 120; also Klostermann in the *Neue kirchliche Zeitsch.* 1897, 238 ff.; Westcott, *Hebrews*, 234 ff.

* The authors of the *Oxford Hexateuch* call attention to 'the curious fact that in Ex 25–27[19] the sanctuary is always called the "dwelling" [*mishkān*], while in 28. 29 this name is replaced by the older term "tent of meeting." . . . The title "dwelling" is, of course, freely used in the great repetition, Ex 35–40, but the main portions of the Priestly Law in Leviticus ignore it' (ii. 120, where see for suggested explanation).

a sanctuary, which in its fabric, in its *personnel*, and in all its appointments, shall be for future ages the ideal of a fit dwelling for J″, the holy covenant God of the community of Israel, once again restored to His favour. That this is the point of view from which to approach our study of the tabernacle of the priestly writers is placed beyond question, not only by the characteristic designation of the tabernacle proper as the *miskhān* or dwelling (see above, § iii.), but by the express statement at the opening of the legislative section: 'Let them make me a sanctuary, *that I may dwell among them*' (Ex 25^8, cf. 29^{45}).

Such a dwelling could only be one reared in accordance with the revealed will of J″ Himself. Moses, accordingly—according to the representation of P—is summoned to meet J″ in the cloud that rested on the top of Mt. Sinai, soon after the arrival there of the children of Israel (Ex $24^{16ff.}$). The command is given to summon the Israelites to make voluntary offerings of the materials necessary for the construction of the sanctuary. A pattern or model of this dwelling and of all its furniture is shown to Moses, who is at the same time instructed in every detail by J″ Himself (Ex 25^{1-9} [P^s] = 35^{4-29} [P^s], cf. 38^{21-31}). In the later strata of P we find the call of Bezalel (so RV), the son of Uri, and his endowment by J″ as constructor-in-chief, assisted by Oholiab (AV Aholiab), the son of Ahisamach (31^{1-11}=35^{30}–36^1 $38^{22f.}$).

A list of the materials employed is succinctly given at the head of each section ($25^{3ff.}$=$35^{4ff.}$). Of these the three great metals of antiquity, bronze (see BRASS), silver, and gold, are used in a significant gradation as we proceed from the outer court to the innermost sanctuary. Of the last-named, two varieties are employed—the ordinary gold of commerce, and a superior quality in which the pure metal was more completely separated from its native alloys, hence known as refined or 'pure' gold (זָהָב טָהוֹר). As to the technical treatment of the metals, we find various methods employed. They might be used in plain blocks or slabs, as for the bases of pillars and for the mercy-seat; or they might be beaten into plates (Nu 17^3 [Heb. 16^{38}]) and sheets (Ex 39^3) for the sheathing of large surfaces, like the great altar, the frames (but see § vii. (*b*)), and most of the furniture. The most artistic work is the hammered or *repoussé* work in gold, of which the cherubim and the candlestick are examples.*

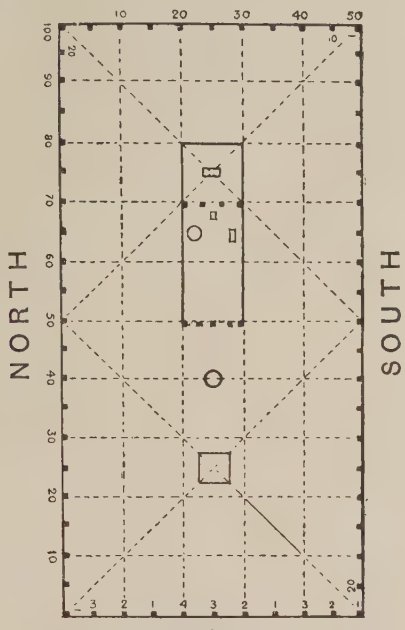
The wood used throughout was that of the tree named שִׁטָּה *shiṭṭah* (AV 'shittim wood,' RV 'acacia wood'), now usually identified with the *Acacia seyal* or *A. nilotica* (see, further, SHITTAH). Its wood is noted for its durability (cf. LXX rendering *ξύλα ἄσηπτα*). We come next to a graduated series of products of the loom. At the bottom of the scale we have the simple *shēsh* (שֵׁשׁ). This material has been variously identified with linen, cotton, and a mixture of both. The history of the textile fabrics of antiquity favours linen (see LINEN, and Dillmann's elaborate note, *Exod.-Levit.*[3] 305 ff.). A superior quality of it was termed 'fine twined linen' (שֵׁשׁ מָשְׁזָר), spun from yarn of which each thread was composed of many delicate strands. When dyed with the costly Phœnician dyes, both yarn and cloth received the names of the dyes, 'blue, purple, and scarlet' (25^4 etc.). The first two represent different shades of purple (see COLOURS), and may be conveniently rendered by 'violet' and 'purple' respectively. The spinning of the yarn was the work of the women, the weaving of it the work of the men ($35^{25.\ 35}$, cf. 39^3). Among the latter a clear distinction is drawn between the ordinary weaver and the more artistic *rôḳēm* and *ḥôshēb*, who represent respectively the two forms of textile artistry practised from time immemorial in the East—embroidery and tapestry. The *rôḳēm* or embroiderer (so RV) received the web, complete in warp and weft, from the loom, and worked his figures in colours upon it with the needle. The *ḥôshēb* (lit. 'inventor,' 'artist,' as 31^4; EV 'cunning workman'), on the other hand, worked at the loom, weaving with 'violet, purple, and scarlet' yarn (cf. LXX 28^6 *ἔργον ὑφαντὸν ποικιλτοῦ*) his figures into the warp, and producing the tapestry for which the East has always been famed. A gradation from without inwards, similar to that in the application of the metals, will meet us in the employment of these varied products of the loom.

v. THE GENERAL ARRANGEMENT AND SYMMETRY OF THE SANCTUARY.—*The Court of the Dwelling* (Ex 27^{9-19} [P^s]=38^{9-20} [P^s]; cf. Josephus, *Ant.* III. vi. 2).—Once again we must start from Ezekiel. For the realization of his great ideal, Ezekiel places his new temple in the centre of a square tract of country, 25,000 cubits in the side, 'a holy portion of the land' (Ezk $45^{1ff.}$ $48^{8ff.}$). Within this area is a still more sacred precinct, the property of the priests alone, who thus surround the temple on every side to guard it from possible profanation. The same idea of the unapproachable sanctity of the wilderness 'dwelling' is emphasized by P through his well-known symmetrical arrangement of the camp of the Israelites. Around four sides of a huge square the tents are pitched, three tribes on each side (Nu $2^{1ff.}$ $10^{13ff.}$). Within this square is another, the sides of which are occupied by the priests and the three divisions of the Levites, the sons of Gershon, Kohath, and Merari (Nu $3^{23ff.}$). In the centre of this second square, finally, we find the sacred enclosure (*τέμενος*) which constitutes the wilderness sanctuary. This enclosure is the **'court of the dwelling'** (חֲצַר הַמִּשְׁכָּן 27^9, *αὐλὴ τῆς σκηνῆς, atrium tabernaculi*), a rectangular space, lying east and west, 100 cubits* in length by 50 in breadth (proportion 2 : 1)—in other words, a space made up of two squares, each 50 cubits in the side. At this point it will help us to overcome subsequent difficulties if we look more closely at the proportions of the sanctuary as a whole, as revealed by the accompanying diagram. Beginning with the eastern square we note as its most prominent feature the altar of burnt-offering, lying 'four square' (5 cubits by 5) presumably at the intersection of the diagonals. In the western square stands 'the dwelling,' occupying three of the small plotted squares, of 10 cubits each way, its length being to its breadth in the proportion of 3 : 1. Like the temples of Solomon and Ezekiel, it consists of two parts, the outer and inner sanctuary, in the proportion of 2 : 1. The latter is the true sanctuary, the special abode of J″, a perfect cube, as we shall afterwards see, each dimension one-half of the inner shrine of the Solomonic temple. It stands exactly in the centre of its square, while its own centre in turn is occupied by the most sacred of all the objects in the sanctuary, the ark, the throne of J″, the dimensions of which, we shall find, are 5×3×3 half-cubits. These data are meanwhile sufficient to prove P's love for 'order, measure, number,

* No account is taken here of the quantities of these metals provided for the tabernacle, for the passage Ex 38^{24-31} was long ago recognized (Popper, *Der bibl. Bericht über die Stiftshütte*, 1862) as a late insertion in a late context. This is evident from the one fact alone that the silver, which provided, *inter alia*, for the sockets or bases at a talent each, is thought to be the produce of the poll-tax of half a shekel, which was not instituted till some time after the tabernacle had been set up (cf. Nu 1^1 with Ex 40^1).

* The length of P's cubit is uncertain. For convenience of reckoning it may be taken as 18 inches.

and system,' which has long been recognized as one of his most prominent characteristics. From the first section of Genesis (1^1–2^3) onwards, with its arrangement by 10 and 7 and 3 (see art. NUMBER, vol. iii. p. 565[a]), his genealogies, his chronology, his theory of the religious development of Israel,



PLAN OF THE COURT OF THE TABERNACLE.
Scale $\frac{1}{32}$ inch = 1 cubit.

are all constructed on a definite system.* Nowhere is this fondness for symmetry and proportion so evident as in the measurements of the tabernacle. *Three, four, seven, ten, their parts and multiples, dominate the whole* (see further, § xiii.). The desire to preserve the proportion and ratio of certain parts and measurements has led to awkwardness and even inconsistency in other parts—a fact which lies at the root of not a few of the difficulties that beset the path of those that attempt to construct the tabernacle from the data of the priestly writers.

The court of the tabernacle is screened off from the rest of the encampment by five white **curtains** (קְלָעִים *kĕlā'îm*) of 'fine twined linen' of the uniform height of 5 cubits, but of varying length. Those on the N. and S. long sides measure each 100 cubits, that on the W. 50, while the two remaining curtains of 15 cubits each screen off the E. side, one on either hand of the entrance to the court. The latter is a space of 20 cubits, which is closed by a hanging or portière (מָסָךְ) of the second grade of workmanship explained above, *i.e.* embroidered in colours on a white ground. All six hangings are suspended from **pillars** of the same height, standing on **bases** (אָדָן, EV 'sockets') of bronze. The shape and size of these bases can only be conjectured. Elsewhere in OT (Ca 5^{15}, Job 38^6, and corrected text of Ezk 41^{22}) אָדָן is the base in the shape of a square plinth on which a pillar or an altar stands. So most probably in the case before us, the wooden pillar being sunk well into the plinth (so the *Baraitha*), which would thus be reckoned to the height of the pillar. The pillars were then kept in position by means of the usual '**cords**'† or stays (מֵיתָרִים) fastened to pegs or '**pins**' (יְתֵדוֹת) of bronze stuck in the ground. This seems preferable to the view first suggested by Josephus that the bases ended in spikes (σαυρωτῆρες) like that by which the butt-end of a spear was stuck in the ground—a method scarcely in place in the sand of the desert. According to P^s (38^{17}), the pillars had capitals (EV 'chapiters') overlaid with silver. Further, 'the hooks or pegs (וָוִים) of the pillars and their fillets (חֲשׁוּקִים) shall be of silver' ($27^{10f.}$, but 38^{19} makes the latter only overlaid with silver). The word rendered '**fillet**' probably signifies a band or necking of silver (Ew., Dill. *et al.*) at the base of the capital, rather than, as is more generally supposed, silver rods connecting the pillars. And this for three reasons: (1) only on this view is the phrase 'filleted with silver' (27^{17}) intelligible; (2) no mention is made of any such connecting-rods in the minute directions for the transport of the tabernacle furniture (Nu 4); and (3) the screen and veil of the tabernacle proper (§ vii. (*c*)) were evidently attached to their pillars by hooks.

At this point we encounter our first difficulty. How are the pillars placed, on what principle are they reckoned ($27^{10ff.}$)? Ezekiel begins the description of his outer court with the wall 'round about' (40^5). P does likewise, only his curtain-wall is like a mathematical line, having length without breadth. It is as though the writer were working from a ground-plan like our diagram. The periphery of the court measures 300 cubits. This and no more is the length of his six curtains. Not even in the case of the entrance portière is allowance made for folds*—the first hint that we are dealing with an ideal, not an actual, construction. The pillars must be thought of as standing inside the curtains, otherwise they would not belong to the sanctuary at all. The principle on which they are reckoned is clear. It is that *one pillar, and one only, is assigned to every five cubits of curtain.* Now, a curtain of 20 cubits' length, like the entrance screen, requires not four, which is the number assigned to it, but five pillars; and on the same principle each of the two smaller curtains on either side of it requires four pillars, not three, and so with the rest. But to have counted twenty-one pillars for the sides, eleven for the end curtain, and 5+4+4 for the front, would have spoiled the symmetry, and so the artificial method of the text is adopted. Counting four for the entrance, as on the diagram, and three for the curtain to the left (vv.$^{16, 14}$), we proceed round the court, reckoning always from the first corner pillar met with and counting no pillar twice. It is thus absurd to charge P with miscalculation, as his latest commentator still does (Baentsch, *in loc.*). But the charge is the price paid for the determination to reckon the pillars on the E. side as only ten in all, arranged symmetrically as 3+4+3 (when there are really eleven), and those of the N. and S. sides as multiples of ten.

vi. THE FURNITURE OF THE COURT.—(*a*) *The* **altar of burnt-offering,** Ex 27^{1-8}=38^{1-7} [LXX 38^{22-24}].—In the centre of the court, as the symmetry requires, stands '*the* altar' (27^1 RV; for the significance of the article see § viii. (*c*)) of the sanctuary, also termed more precisely 'the altar of burnt-offering' (30^{28} 31^9 and oft.), and, from its appearance, 'the altar of bronze,' AV 'brazen altar' (38^{30} 39^{39}), both sets of passages probably belonging to P^s. 'Foursquare' it stands, 5 cubits in length and breadth, and 3 cubits in height, a hollow chest† of acacia wood sheathed with

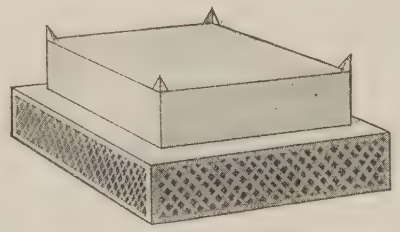
* Cf. Dillmann, *Num.-Josua*, 649 f., who also considers P to have distinguished four periods of the world's history characterized by the decreasing length of human life in the proportion 8:4:2:1.

† These are first mentioned in P^s (35^{18} 'the pins of the courts and their cords,' 39^{40} etc.).

* Josephus is quite wrong, therefore, in speaking of the curtains hanging in a 'loose and flowing manner' (*l.c.*).

† Nothing in the text suggests a mere four-sided frame to be filled with earth, as is usually supposed.

bronze. From the four corners rise the indispensable **horns**, 'of one piece with it' (RV), the form and significance of which have been much debated. From the representations of similar 'horns' on Assyrian altars (see Perrot and Chipiez, *Hist. of Art in Chaldea and Assyria*, i. 255 f.), they would appear to have been merely the prolongation upwards of the sides of the altar to a point, for a few inches at each corner. The horns of Ezekiel's altar, *e.g.*, form ½th of the total height (see 43^{13-17} with Toy's diagram in *SBOT*). The horns play an important part in the ritual of the priests' consecration (Ex 29^{12}), the sin-offering (Lv 4^{18}), the Day of Atonement (16^{18}), and elsewhere.* According to a later tradition, the 'beaten plates' of bronze for the



ALTAR OF BURNT-OFFERING.

'covering of the altar' were made from the bronze censers of the rebellious company of Korah (Nu $16^{36ff.}$). Round the altar, half-way between top and bottom, ran a projecting 'ledge' (so RV for the obscure כַּרְכֹּב, only 27^5 38^4; AV 'the compass,' etc.), attached to which and reaching to the ground was a grating (RV; AV 'grate,' which see) of bronze. The purpose of these two appendages can only be conjectured (see the Comm. and works cited in the Literature for the numerous conjectures that have been put forward). Considering the height of the altar, at least 4½ feet, one naturally supposes that the ledge was for the priests to stand upon during their ministrations at the altar, and in Lv 9^{22} we actually read of Aaron 'stepping down' from the altar. Together with the grating, it may also have been a device to prevent the ashes, etc., from falling upon and defiling the sacrificial blood, J"s peculiar portion, which could still be dashed against the base of the altar through the wide meshes of the network. Four bronze rings were attached to the corners of the grating, presumably where it met the ledge, to receive the poles for carrying the altar. The necessary utensils were also of bronze; they comprised shovels or rakes (יָעִים) for collecting the ashes, pots (AV pans) for carrying them away, the large basins for catching the blood of the animals sacrificed, the flesh hooks or forks, and the fire-pans. The fire is to 'be kept burning upon the altar continually, it shall not go out' (Lv 6^{13}), which hardly accords with the prescriptions of Lv 1^7 and Nu $4^{13f.}$.

The idea underlying this unique structure—a hollow wooden chest with a thin sheathing of bronze, little adapted, one would think, for the purpose it is to serve—is now generally recognized as having originated in the desire to construct a portable altar on the lines of the massive brazen altar of Solomon, which was itself a departure from the true Heb. tradition (Ex $20^{24ff.}$). The account of the making of this altar, which was one-fourth larger in cubic content than the whole tabernacle of P (2 Ch 4^1), has now disappeared from the MT of 1 K 7, but was still read there by the Chronicler (*l.c.*), and references to it still survive (1 K $8^{22.\ 64}$ 9^{25}, 2 K $16^{14f.}$). Its disappearance is easily accounted for by the fact that its construction appeared to a later age as quite unnecessary, since the 'tent of meeting' and all its vessels, including the bronze altar of this section, were considered to have been transferred by Solomon, along with the ark, to his new temple (1 K 8^4; see Wellh. *Proleg.* [Eng. tr.] 44; Stade, *ZATW* iii. 157 = *Akad. Reden*, 164; and the Comm.).

(*b*) **The Laver** (Ex 30^{17-21}, cf. 38^8 [LXX 38^{26}]).—Between the altar above described and the tabernacle stood the laver of bronze (כִּיּוֹר, λουτήρ), to the description of which only a few words are devoted, and these few are found not in the main body of P, but in a section (30. 31) bearing internal evidence of a later origin (see § ii., and more fully § viii. (*c*)). Beyond the fact that it was a large basin of bronze, and stood upon a base of the same material, we know nothing of its workmanship or ornamentation. It served to hold the water required for the ablutions of the priests in the course of their ministrations, and is frequently mentioned in the secondary strata of the priestly legislation (30^{28} 31^9 etc.; it is omitted, however, from the directions for the march in Nu 4). A curious tradition grew up at some still later period, to the effect that the laver was made of the bronze 'mirrors of the serving-women which served at the door of the tent of meeting' (38^8, cf. 1 S 2^{22}). The latter, needless to say, was not yet in existence. The temple of Solomon had ten lavers of elaborate construction (see LAVER), the second temple apparently had only one (Sir 50^3).

vii. THE TABERNACLE PROPER—(*a*) *The* **Curtains** *of the Dwelling and the Tent, the outer* **coverings** (Ex 26^{1-14}=36^{8-19} [LXX 37^1]; Jos. *Ant.* III. vi. 4 [ed. Niese, § 130 ff.]).—Probably no section of the OT of equal length is responsible for so large a number of divergent interpretations as the chapters now before us. It is clearly impossible within the limits of this article to refer to more than a very few of these interpretations, even of those associated with scholars of repute. What follows is the result of an independent study of the original in the light of the recognized principles underlying the scheme of the wilderness sanctuary as conceived by the priestly writers (see § iv.). Fuller justification of the writer's position with regard to the many matters of controversy that emerge will be found in his commentary on *Exodus* (Internat. Crit. series).

Now, on the very threshold of our study of Ex 26, we meet with a clear statement, the far-reaching significance of which has been overlooked by most of those who have written on this subject. It is contained in these few words: 'Thou shalt make the dwelling (מִשְׁכָּן, EV 'tabernacle') of ten curtains' (26^1). To this fact we must hold fast through all our discussion as to the measurements and arrangements of the tabernacle. *It is the curtains, not the so-called 'boards,'* that constitute the dwelling of J". The full bearing of this fact will appear as we proceed. The walls of the true dwelling, then, are to consist, on three sides at least, of ten curtains of beautiful Oriental tapestry, full of figures of the mystic cherubim, woven in colours of the richest dyes, violet, purple, and scarlet (see § iv.). The curtains form, as it were, the throne-room of J". It is therefore appropriate that the mysterious beings that minister around His heavenly throne should be represented

* For the special sanctity attaching to the horns see ALTAR (vol. i. p. 77). It is open to grave doubt whether this widespread custom of providing altars with these projections has anything to do with the ox or calf symbolism (see CALF [GOLDEN], vol. i. p. 342), as Stade and others suppose. 'Horn' is rather a popular metaphor for the more correct מְקַצּוֹעַ of Ezekiel (41^{22}; cf. Josephus' phrase γωνίαι κεραταειδεῖς), and their ultimate *raison d'être* is probably to be sought in the same primitive circle of thought as ascribed a special sanctity to the four corners of a robe (see FRINGES, vol. ii. p. 69ᵃ). Another view is suggested by *RS*² 436, Baentsch (Com. *in loc.*).

in J"'s presence-chamber upon earth (see, further, § ix. for cherubim upon the mercy-seat). The curtains measure each 28 × 4 cubits (7 : 1), and are sewed together in two sets of five. Along one long side of either set are sewed fifty loops (לֻלְאֹת) made of violet thread. By means of an equal number of gold clasps (קְרָסִים, RV ; AV **'taches'**) the two hangings are coupled together to form one large covering, 40 (4 × 10) cubits in length by 28 c. in breadth, for 'the dwelling shall be one' (26[6]).

For a tent (אֹהֶל) over the dwelling (v.[7]), eleven curtains are to be woven of material usually employed for the Eastern tent (see CURTAINS), viz. goats' hair, and, to ensure that the dwelling shall be completely covered by them, they are each to be 30 cubits in length by 4 in breadth. These are to be sewed together to form two sets of five and six curtains respectively, coupled together as before by loops and clasps; the latter, in this case, of bronze, and forming one large surface (44 × 30 cubits), that the tent also 'may be one' (v.[11]). Thus far there is no difficulty such as emerges in the verses (v.[12ff.]) that follow, and will be considered later (§ vii. (*c*)).

As the dwelling is to be covered by the tent, so the tent in its turn is to receive two protecting coverings, the dimensions of which are not given. Immediately above it is to be a covering of 'rams' skins dyed red' (מְאָדָּמִים, *ἠρυθροδανωμένα*). The dye employed is not the costly Phœnician scarlet or crimson dye previously met with (obtained from the *coccus ilicis*, see COLOURS, vol. i. p. 457 f.), but, as the Gr. rendering suggests, madder (*ἐρυθρόδανον*, *rubia tinctoria*), a vegetable dye.* The outermost covering is formed of the skins of an obscure animal (תָּחַשׁ, AV 'badger,' RV 'seal,' RVm 'porpoise'), now most frequently identified with the dugong, a seal-like mammal found in the Red Sea (see note with illustration in Toy's 'Ezekiel' [*SBOT*], p. 124).

At this point in P's statement, one naturally expects him to proceed to give directions for the pitching of this fourfold tent and for the preparation of the necessary poles, ropes, and pegs. There is thus every *a priori* probability in favour of the theory of the tabernacle associated in this country with the name of Mr. Fergusson, that the four sets of coverings now described were in reality intended by the author to be suspended by means of a ridge-pole or otherwise over the wooden framework about to be described. But it is inconceivable that so radical a part of the construction as the provision of a ridge-pole and its accompaniments should have been passed over in silence in the text of P. (For this theory see Fergusson's art. 'Temple' in Smith's *DB* ; the *Speaker's Commentary*, i. 374 ff.; more recently, and in greatest detail, by Schick, *Die Stiftshütte, der Tempel*, etc.). On the contrary, P's wilderness sanctuary is to combine with certain features of a nomad's tent others suggestive or reminiscent of the temples of a sessile population. In short, as Josephus puts it, the finished structure is to 'differ in no respect from a movable and ambulatory temple' (*Ant.* III. vi. 1 [Niese, § 103]).

(*b*) *The wooden framework of the Dwelling* (Ex 26[15-30] = 36[20-34] [LXX 38[18-21]] ; Jos. *Ant. l.c.* 116 ff.). —The right understanding of this important part of the dwelling, by which it is to be transformed into a portable temple, depends on our interpretation of the opening verses of the section (vv.[15-17]). Literally rendered they run thus : 'And thou shalt make the *ḳĕrāshîm*† for the dwelling of acacia wood, standing up—10 cubits the length of the single* *ḳeresh*, and a cubit and a half the breadth of the single *ḳeresh*—2 *yādôth*† for the single *ḳeresh*, *mĕshullāvôth*‡ to each other.' Here everything depends on the three more or less obscure technical terms of the Heb. arts and crafts given in transliteration. The true exegetical tradition, we are convinced, had been lost, as was the case with the still more complicated description of Solomon's brazen lavers (1 K 7[27ff.]), until the key was discovered by Stade and published in his classical essay (*ZATW* iii. (1883) 129 ff. = *Akad. Reden*, 145 ff., corrected in details *ZATW* xxi. (1901) 145 ff.). The Jewish tradition, as we find it first in Josephus (*l.c.*) and in the *Baraitha*, has held the field to the present day. According to these authorities the *ḳĕrāshîm* were great columns or beams of wood 15 ft. high, 2 ft. 3 in. wide, and—by a calculation to be tested in due time—1 ft. 6 in. thick, *i.e.* 10 × 1½ × 1 cubits. The *yādôth* were pins or tenons (Jos. *στρόφιγγες*, 'pivots') by which the beams were inserted into mortices in the silver sockets or bases. Forty-eight of these beams were placed side by side to form the three walls (S.W. and N.) of the tabernacle, the eastern end or entrance being formed by a screen (for details and reff. see below). This interpretation, with numerous modifications in detail, particularly as regards the thickness of the so-called 'boards,'§ has been adopted by every previous writer without exception.

We now proceed to test the value of this tradition. The avowed intention of P, it is admitted on all hands, is to construct 'a movable and ambulatory temple' for the desert marches. Could anything be more absurd than to begin by constructing enormous logs of wood, each with a cubic content—on the most usual computation of 1 cubit of thickness—of about 50 cubic feet, each weighing, according to a recent calculation (Brown, *The Tabernacle*[6], 1899, 275), close upon 1 ton, and out of all proportion to the weight they would have to bear? And this quite apart from the open question of the possibility of obtaining beams of such dimensions from the acacia tree of Arabia.‖ Further, how is the fact that the tapestry curtains with their cherubim figures are always called 'the dwelling' to be reconciled with the traditional theory that they were completely hidden from view, except on the roof, by the intervention of the wooden walls? This difficulty has been felt by several writers, who have sought to avoid it by hanging these curtains *inside* the boards as a lining, thereby doing violence to the clear intention of the text (see below). These considerations by no means exhaust the difficulties presented by the current conception of the tabernacle, as may be seen on any page of the commentaries and special monographs cited in the Literature at the end of this article.

The way is now clear for a fresh examination of the technical terms of vv.[15-17]. The first of the three (קֶרֶשׁ) is practically confined to P's account of the tabernacle, for its only other occurrence (Ezk 27[6]) requires light from our passages rather than throws light upon them. The Gr. translators had no clear idea of what the word meant, and were content to render throughout by *στύλοι*, 'pillars,' a rendering

* The Heb. name of this dye is פּוּאָה, frequent in the Mishna. In OT it occurs only as a proper name, *e.g.* the minor judge, Tolah ben Puah (Scarlet, the son of Madder! Jg 10[1]).

† EV 'boards'; LXX *στύλοι*, Jos. and Philo *κίονες*, both = 'pillars.'

* So LXX, Pesh. etc.

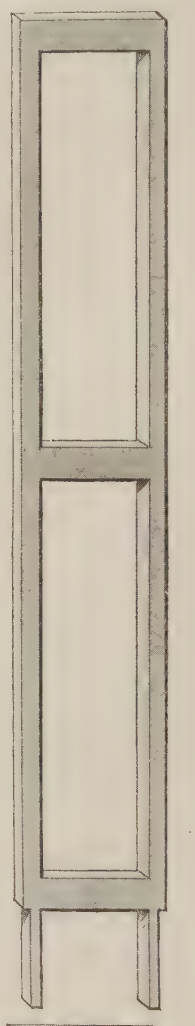
† EV 'tenons'; LXX *ἀγκωνίσκους* = 'joints *or* arms,' but elsewhere *μέρη*, 'sides.'

‡ RV 'joined'; LXX *ἀντιπίπτοντας* as in v.[5] for מְקֻבָּלֹת,

§ The familiar rendering 'boards,' adopted by Tindale, goes back to Jerome, who thought of the *tabulæ*, of which the Roman *tabernacula* were frequently constructed, and from which, indeed, the name is derived.

‖ No use is here made of the argument from Nu 7[8] compared with 3[36], *four* waggons, each drawn by a pair of oxen, for the transport of the 'boards,' bases, pillars, etc., as these passages are probably from a different hand from Ex 26.

suggested to them by the last word of v.[15], which they apparently read עֲקֻרִים, the ordinary word for 'pillars' (cf. Dillm. *in loc.*). Passing, therefore, to the second technical term *yādôth* (v.[17]), we find the current text of the LXX responsible for a grave misinterpretation of this verse, by prefixing 'and thou shalt make' to the original text (but AF omit *καὶ ποιήσεις*). In reality we have here the continuation of v.[15], from which it is separated merely by a parenthesis, as translated above. The *yādôth* are thus seen not to be something additional to the *ḳeresh*, but *to constitute its main component parts* (as indeed may underlie the Gr. rendering *μέρη* in vv.[19. 21] and elsewhere). What then is the signification of יָד as a technical term in the constructive arts? In 1 K 10[19] =2 Ch 9[18] *yādôth* denotes the 'arms' of Solomon's throne, of which *ἀγκῶνες* is the technically correct equivalent (2 Chron. *l.c.*, see illustration of chair with arms bent at right angles in Rich, *Dict. of Antiq. s.* 'Ancon'). In 1 K 7[32. 33]—as Stade (*ll.cc.*) has conclusively proved from extant ancient models—*yādôth* is the technical name for the stays or supports (EV 'axletrees') underneath the body or framework of the laver (illustrs. *ZATW*, 1901, 152, 167), as also for the similar stays projecting from the top of the frame and supporting the stand of the basin (cf. LAVER, vol. iii. p. 64[a]). Technically, therefore, like our own 'arm,' and the classical *ἀγκών* and *ancon*, יָד may denote any arm-like structural element, whether straight or bent, especially if occurring in pairs. This result is strengthened by the phrase that follows, מִשְׁלֶבֶת אִשָּׁה אֶל־אֲחֹתָהּ (v.[17], cf. 36[22] and the various renderings in AV and RV). Here again the description of the lavers comes to our aid (1 K 7[28ff.]), for the cognate term there employed (שֶׁלַבִּים, with which cf. שֶׁלְבִין, שְׁלֵבָה, the rounds or rungs of a ladder in later Heb.) is now universally understood to mean the cross-rails joining the uprights of the frame of the laver. It seems evident, therefore, that the *ḳeresh* of P must be a **frame of wood,** such as builders in all countries have employed in the construction of light walls (see Blümner, *Technologie*, etc. iii. 151, for the *paries craticius* with its *arrectarii* and *transversarii*; cf. our own brick-nogged partitions with their timber 'quarters'). This sense suits Ezk 27[6] admirably: 'thy *panels* are of ivory inlaid in boxwood' (see illustr. in Toy, *SBOT* 150). We may now tr. v.[15ff.] thus, taking the parenthesis last: 'And thou shalt make the frames for the dwelling of acacia wood, standing up, two uprights for each frame, joined to each other by cross-rails —10 cubits the height and a cubit and a half the breadth of the single frame.' We now see how it is that a writer so fond of measurements as P has omitted to give the third dimension: a frame has, strictly speaking, no thickness! *



FRAME AND ITS BASES.

The frames, according to our present text, are to be overlaid with gold; but the position of this instruction (v.[29]) after the other instructions for the frames have been completed (contrast 25[11. 24] 30[3]), the variant tradition of the Gr. of 38[18ff.] (*περιηργύρωσεν*, 'overlaid with silver'), the late origin of the kindred sections in 1 K 6 f. (see TEMPLE), and other considerations, all make it very probable that we have here an addition to the original text, both as regards the frame and bars, and the pillars. Like the pillars of the court, the uprights of the framework are to be sunk in bases of solid silver,—the reason for two bases to each frame being now for the first time apparent,—regarding the shape and size† of which we are equally dependent on conjecture. For reasons that will appear in the next section, we may think of them as square plinths, ¾ cubit in the side and a cubit in height, forming a continuous foundation wall round the dwelling, with the uprights sunk well down so that the height of the framework was not materially added to.

To provide the necessary rigidity for the frames, the simple device is adopted of running five wooden **bars** along the three sides, passing through rings attached to the woodwork of the frames. Much needless discussion has been raised over the expression 'the middle bar in the midst of the boards' (v.[28]), which has been taken by various writers to mean that the middle bar of the five is intended to pass from end to end through a hole pierced in the heart of the massive 'boards' of the traditional theory (see diagrams of Riggenbach, Brown, etc.). But the phrase is merely an epithet, after P's well-known manner, explanatory of the bar in question, the distinguishing feature of which is that it runs along the whole length of its side, north, west, south, as the case may be, in contradistinction to the remaining four, which we may presume run only half-way along—one pair at the top, the other pair at the bottom of the frames. This arrangement of the bars suggests that the frames were provided with three cross-rails—one at the top, rounded like the ends of the uprights to avoid injury to the curtains, another in the middle, and a third immediately above the bases. We thus obtain a double row of panels right round the dwelling (see the accompanying illustration with drawings to scale from a specially prepared model).

The difficulties of this section, however, are not yet exhausted. We have still to grapple with the problem of the arrangement of the frames, and in particular with the much debated vv.[23ff.], before we can proceed to discuss the manner in which the curtains were utilized. The discussion of the former problem may best start from the data of 26[33], from which we learn that the veil dividing the dwelling into two parts (see next section) is to be hung 20 cubits, the width of 5 curtains, from the front of the dwelling. Now, the admitted symmetry of the whole sanctuary requires us to infer that the area of the outer sanctuary is intended to measure 20 × 10 cubits, and that of the inner sanc-

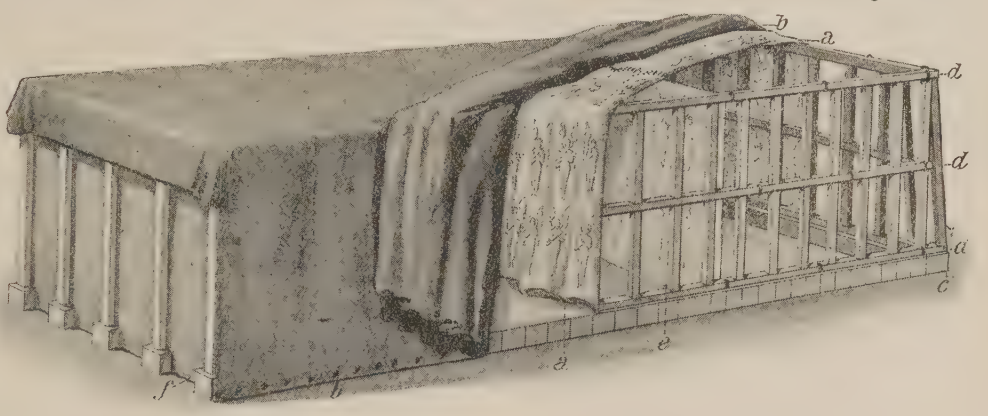
* We may thus claim to have solved what our latest commentator has termed P's 'secret' with regard to v.[17] (Baentsch, *in loc.*; cf. Holzinger, who gives up the verse in despair). Riehm had previously tried to solve the problem by taking the text to mean that each board consisted of two pieces mortised together by means of the *yādôth* (*HWB*[2], art. 'Stiftshütte,' 1579 f.). Jerome's interpretation is evidently borrowed from the Rabbis, some of whom thought that the *yādôth* joined one board to another (Flesch, *Baraijtha*, 51 f.).

† The oldest, but erroneous, conjecture on this point (Ex 38[27]) has been already dealt with (§ iv footnote, p 656).

tuary 10 × 10 cubits, the measurements in both cases being exactly half those of the corresponding parts of the temples of Solomon and Ezekiel (see TEMPLE). With this agrees the direction of the text, that twenty frames, each 1½ cubits wide, are required for the two long sides, and six for the shorter west side (vv.[18. 20. 22]). Now, an easy calculation shows that since the total area of the dwelling *from curtain to curtain* is 30 × 10 cubits, and inside width of the short side is only 9 cubits (1½ × 6), we must allow half a cubit (9 in.) for the thickness of the woodwork of either of the long sides. This would allow 6 in. (two handbreadths) for the thickness of the uprights of the framework and 3 in. (one handbreadth) for that of the bars.

The assumption of the majority of previous writers, from the *Baraitha* to Baentsch, that the measurement, 30 × 10 cubits, gives the clear *inside* area of the tabernacle as formed by the wooden 'boards,' implying on the cubit of thickness theory (see above) an outside measurement of 31 × 12 cubits, falls to the ground if the view here advocated of the true nature of the 'boards' is accepted. But, even with the traditional interpretation, the theory of inside measurements is absolutely inadmissible. (1) The true walls of P's dwelling are, as we have already emphasized, the tapestry curtains, precisely as the linen hangings are the walls of the court (§ v.). The framework here takes the place of the pillars round the court, and, like these, must be treated as *une quantité négligeable* where proportions are concerned. (2) All P's other measurements are *outside* measurements, as in the altar of burnt-offering, the ark, etc. (3) Only on the supposition that the entire fabric of the tabernacle covered a space 30 × 10 cubits is the true proportion (3 : 1) of the structure and the complete symmetry of the western square maintained. It is absolutely necessary from P's standpoint that the perfect cube of the Most Holy Place shall be entirely contained within the centre square of its own court (see diagram). With an inside area of 30 × 10, requiring on the traditional hypothesis an outside measurement of 31 × 12, the symmetry of the whole sanctuary is ruined.

We are now prepared to take up the problem of the two frames described with tantalizing obscurity in the difficult verses [22. 23-25].* These two frames are expressly stated to be 'for the מְקֻצֹעֹת† of the dwelling in the hinder part.' What, now, is the meaning of this rare word? The key, we believe, will be found in Ezekiel's presumably technical use of it to denote the projecting corners, popularly known as 'horns,' of his altar of shewbread (41[22], see for these § vi. above; and cf., besides the Assyrian altars, the plan of a Phœnician sanctuary in Pietschmann's *Geschichte der Phœnizier*, 200 f.). It is used by later writers to indicate a part of the wall of Jerusalem akin to, yet distinct from, פִּנָּה 'a corner,' apparently therefore one of the projecting bastions (2 Ch 26[9], Neh 3[24]) which guarded the wall at important changes in its course. We conclude from these data that the word in the passage before us must denote something of the nature of a projecting buttress at the two western corners of the wooden framework. V.[24] has been the despair of many generations of students, and is almost certainly corrupt. If with most modern scholars we read תֹּמִים (twins) in both clauses, it seems to imply that these corner frames shall be made 'double,' *i.e.* consist of two ordinary frames braced together for the sake of strength; further, that each is intended to form a buttress sloping upwards and terminating short of the top of the framework, at 'the first' or topmost 'ring' (see RVm), that is, underneath the top bar of the west side (see illustration). In any case, three purposes are apparently served by these corner buttresses. They supply additional strength at the two weakest parts of the framework—the points of meeting of the two long walls with the west wall; they take up the folds of the curtains at these two corners, and—we do not hesitate to add—they raise the number of the frames to a multiple of four (48, so many were the pillars in Solomon's temple according to the Gr. of 1 K 7[45]), and the number of the bases required for the dwelling to a multiple of ten (100, see next section).



MODEL OF THE TABERNACLE in perspective with the two uppermost coverings removed, showing the framework covered by the tapestry curtains *a a* with the cherubim figures, the goats' hair curtains of 'the tent' *b b*, one of the corner frames *c*, the bars *d d d*, the veil *e*, and the screen *f*.

(*c*) *The arrangement of the Curtains of the Dwelling and the Tent. The divisions of the Dwelling. The Screen and the Veil* (Ex 26[9. 12ff. 31-33. 36f.] and parallels).—In the secondary stratum of P (40[17ff.]) we read how 'the tabernacle was reared up' by Moses. First he put down its bases, then he placed its frames, put in its bars, and 'reared up its pillars.' Thereafter 'he spread the tent over the dwelling, and placed the covering of the tent above upon it.' Here the tapestry and hair curtains are strangely enough together named 'the tent,' and the two outer coverings similarly taken as one.* Now it is worth noting (1) that Moses is said to have 'spread' the curtains over the dwelling, the same word (פָּרַשׂ) being used as is employed of wrapping up the sacred furniture for transport (Nu 4[6ff.] § xi.); and (2) that neither here nor elsewhere is the ordinary word for erecting or pitching a tent (נָטָה) applied to the tabernacle, as it is to the old 'tent of meeting' (33[7]) and to David's tent for the ark (2 S 6[17], see § i.). This fact of itself tells against the view, noted above, that the curtains were stretched tent-wise above the dwelling, and in favour of the usual concep-

* For the extraordinary number of guesses that have been hazarded as to the meaning of these verses, see, besides the Comm., the text and diagrams of Riggenbach, Schick, and Brown.

† To be pointed so, with most moderns, for מְקֻצָּעֹת of MT.

* The author of this section (P[S]), however, may not have had Ex 25 f. before him in quite the same form as we now have it (see § iii. above).

tion, that they were spread over the framework 'as a pall is thrown over a coffin.' The tapestry curtains measuring 40 cubits from front to back and 28 cubits across (§ vii. (*a*)) thus constitute the dwelling, the centre portion (30 × 10 cubits) forming the roof and the remainder the three sides. On the long sides it hung down 9 cubits till it met, as we may conjecture, the silver bases of the framework, which made up the remaining cubit (so the authorities of the *Baraitha* (Flesch, 50); cf. Philo, *op. cit.* ii. 148, who no doubt gives the true reason of the vacant cubit, 'that the curtain might not be dragged,' and Jos. *Ant.* III. vi. 4 [Niese, § 130]). At the back, however, where 10 cubits (40–30) were left over, the last cubit would have to be folded along the projecting base, one of the results of requiring the total length to be another multiple of ten (40 cubits instead of 39). A striking confirmation of the signification here assigned to the *kĕrāshîm* is now brought to light. Instead of nearly two-thirds of the 'all-beautiful and most holy curtain' (*πάγκαλον καὶ ἱεροπρεπὲς ὕφασμα*, Philo, *l.c.*) being hidden from view by the so-called 'boards,' the whole extent of the curtain is now disclosed, with, we may fairly conjecture, a double row of the mystic inwoven cherubim filling the panels of the framework, just as they filled the wainscot panels with which the temples of Solomon and Ezekiel were lined (1 K $6^{28ff.}$, Ezk $41^{18ff.}$).* The view of Bähr, Neumann, Keil, Holzinger, and others (see Literature), that these curtains were suspended, by some method unknown to the text, *inside* the framework,—in their case the gold-sheathed walls,—has been already disposed of (vii. (*b*)).

Over the tapestry curtain was spread in like manner the curtain of goats' hair, the 'tent' of P^g. Our present text (vv.$^{9.\ 12}$), however, presents an insurmountable difficulty in the arrangement of these curtains. To cover the dwelling, and that completely, they required to be only 40 × 30 cubits. But even when the sixth curtain of the one set is doubled, as required by v.^{9}, a total length of 42 cubits remains. The explanation usually given, which indeed is required by v.^{12}, is that 'the half curtain that remaineth' must have been stretched out by ropes and pegs behind the dwelling; an assumption which is at variance with the arrangement at the other sides, and which leaves the sacred tapestry curtain exposed to view. The only remedy is to regard v.$^{12f.}$ as a gloss, as Holzinger does (*Kurzer Hdcom. in loc.*), from the pen of a reader who misunderstood v.^{9b}. Taken by itself, this half-verse plainly directs that the sixth curtain shall be doubled 'in the forefront of the dwelling'; that is, not, as Dillm. and other commentators maintain, laid double across the eastermost tapestry half-curtain, but—as already advocated in the *Baraitha*, p. 58—hanging doubled *over the edge of the latter*, covering the pillars at the door of the tabernacle and entirely excluding the light of day. This secures that the dwelling shall be in perfect darkness. This is not secured on the ordinary supposition that the edges of both curtains were flush with each other, for the screen could not possibly be so adjusted as to completely exclude the light. The objection, of which so much is made by Riggenbach, etc., that the joinings of the two sets of curtains would thus coincide and moisture be admitted, is utterly invalid when we recall the two heavy and impervious coverings that overlay the two inner sets of curtains. In this way, then, we find that the goats' hair curtains exactly fitted the dwelling on all three sides, covering the tapestry and the bases as well, and, in Josephus' words, 'extending loosely to the ground.' They were doubtless fixed thereto by means of the bronze pins of the dwelling (27^{19} P^g, which makes no mention of cords), precisely as the *Kiswa* or covering of the *Kaaba* at Mecca is secured by metal rings at the base of the latter (Hughes, *Dict. of Islam, s.v.*).*

Two items still remain to complete the fabric of the dwelling, viz. the **screen** and the veil. The former (מָסָךְ, RV 'screen,' AV 'hanging') was a portière of the same material as the portière of the court, closing the dwelling on the east side. It was hung by means of gold hooks or pegs from five pillars of acacia wood standing on bases of bronze ($26^{36f.}$ $36^{37f.}$ [LXX $37^{5f.}$]), a detail which marks them out as pertaining to the court rather than to the dwelling, the bases of which are of silver. Like the rest of the woodwork, they were probably left unadorned in the original text, for the text of P^s (36^{38}, cf. Gr. of 26^{37}) speaks only of the capitals being overlaid with gold, a later hand, as in 1 K 6 f., heightening the magnificence of the tabernacle by sheathing the whole pillars (26^{37}).

At a distance of 20 cubits† from the entrance screen was hung another of the same beautiful tapestry as the curtains (v.^{31}), depending from four pillars 'overlaid with gold,' and standing, like the framework, on bases of silver (v.^{32}). This second screen is termed the *pārôketh* (פָּרֹכֶת,‡ AV 'vail,' RV **'veil'**; LXX *καταπέτασμα*, cf. He 9^3 'the second veil' as distinguished from the veil or screen just mentioned). By means of 'the veil' the dwelling was divided into two parts, the larger twice the area of the smaller (2 : 1). The former is termed by the priestly writers 'the holy place' (הַקֹּדֶשׁ 26^{33} and oft.); the latter receives the name קֹדֶשׁ הַקָּדָשִׁים, best rendered idiomatically 'the most holy place,' also literally 'the holy of holies,'§ in LXX *τὸ ἅγιον* and *τὸ ἅγιον* (or *τὰ ἅγια*) *τῶν ἁγίων*. These names first came into use in priestly circles in the Exile. The corresponding parts of Solomon's temple were known as the *hēkāl* or temple proper (1 K 6^3 RVm), and the *dĕbîr* (EV 'oracle,' v.^{16}).‖ The former is retained by Ezekiel, while the latter is discarded and the 'most holy place' substituted (41^4, but also 'holy place,' v.^{23}). P by his nomenclature stamps his sanctuary still further with the attribute of holiness in an ascending scale as we approach the presence of J″.

viii. THE FURNITURE OF THE HOLY PLACE.—(*a*) **The Table of Shewbread** (Ex 25^{23-30}=37^{10-16} [LXX 38^{9-12}]; Jos. *Ant.* III. vi. 6).—This section is intended merely to supplement the art. SHEWBREAD by giving the barest details regarding the 'presence-table' (שֻׁלְחַן הַפָּנִים, see *l.c.* § i.) of the priestly writers.

Our understanding of this section is materially assisted by the representation of the table of Herod's temple, which may still be seen on the Arch of Titus at Rome. Careful measurements were taken and drawings made both of the table and of the candlestick (see next section) by friends of Adrian Reland in 1710–11, at a time when the sculptures were less dilapidated than at present. These were published by him in his work, *De spoliis Templi Hierosolymitani*, etc., 1716.

The material was acacia wood, overlaid like the ark with pure gold. The sheathing of these two

* See illustration.

* The arrangement of the *Kiswa*, indeed, affords a striking analogy to that of the curtains of the tabernacle.

† This follows from the fact that the veil is to hang directly under the gold clasps joining the two sets of tapestry curtains, and therefore 5 times 4 cubits (the breadth of the individual curtain) from the front of the dwelling (v.^{32}). The importance of this datum for the dimensions of the tabernacle has already been pointed out.

‡ This word has an interesting affinity with the Assyrian word *parakku*, the innermost shrine or 'holy of holies' of the Babylonian temples in which stood the statue of the patron deity.

§ The usage of Lv 16 is peculiar to itself. The 'holy-place' of P is here curiously 'the tent of meeting' (v.^{16} etc.); the 'most holy place' is named simply 'the holy place' (vv.$^{3.\ 16}$ etc.), shortened from 'the holy place within the veil' (v.^{2}).

‖ The presence of the term 'most holy place' in 1 K 6^{16} etc. is now recognized as due to post-exilic glossators.

sacred articles of the cultus and of the later altar of incense (§ viii. (*c*)) is quite in place, and stands on quite a different footing from the sheathing of such secondary parts of the fabric as the framework and the pillars at the entrance, the originality of which we saw reason to question. The height of the table was that of the ark, 1½ cubits, its length and breadth 2 cubits and 1 cubit respectively. The massive top—in the Roman sculpture 6 in. thick—was decorated with a *zēr* (זֵר, AV and RV 'crown,' RVm 'rim *or* moulding') of gold. The precise nature of this ornament, which is also prescribed for the ark (v.[11]) and the altar of incense (30[3]), is unknown. That it was some species of moulding may be regarded as fairly certain. The Gr. translators render variously by στεφάνη, whence the Vulg. *corona* and our 'crown'; by κυμάτια στρεπτά; or by a combination of both. The authors of the divergent Gr. text of 35–40 omit this ornament altogether (LXX 38[18ff.]). The phrase κυμάτια στρεπτά suggests a cable moulding, as explained by pseudo-Aristeas (*Epist. ad Philocratem*, ed. Wendland, § 58, 'worked in relief in the form of ropes'), which also suits Josephus' description (τὸ ἐδαφος ἑλικος [a spiral], *l.c.* § 140). On the other hand, the same phrase is used in architecture of an ogee moulding, and this is certainly the nature of the ornament on the table of the Arch of Titus (see Reland, *op. cit.* 73 ff., and plate of mouldings opp. p. 76). In any case, both the sides and ends of the massive top were separately decorated by a solid gold moulding, which gave them the appearance of four panels sunk into the table (Reland, *ut sup.*, and cf. Jos. § 140, κοιλαίνεται δὲ καθ' ἕκαστον πλευρόν, κ.τ.λ.). The legs, according to Josephus, were square in the upper and rounded in the lower half, terminating in claws, a statement confirmed by the sculpture and by the analogy of the domestic art of the ancients. They were connected by a binding rail (מְסִגֶּרֶת, EV 'border') 'of an handbreadth round about' (v.[25]), also ornamented with a cable or an ogee moulding. It doubtless marked the transition from the square to the round portions of the legs. The broken ends of this rail are still visible on the arch with a pair of trumpets leaning against them (illustr. under MUSIC, vol. iii. p. 462). At its four corners four gold rings were attached, through which, and parallel to the sides, the two poles or staves were passed by means of which the table was moved from place to place.

For the service of the table a number of gold vessels (cf. Reland, *op. cit.* 99–122), presumably of hammered or *repoussé* work, were provided. These comprised, in our RV rendering, 'dishes, spoons, flagons, and bowls to pour out withal' (v.[29], cf. AV). The 'dishes' were the flat salvers or chargers on which the loaves of the presence-bread were conveyed to, or in which they were placed upon, the table, or both together. The 'spoons' were rather the cups containing the frankincense (LXX τὰς θυίσκας) which entered into this part of the ritual (Lv 24[7]), two of which were still visible in Reland's day. The 'flagons'* were the larger, the 'bowls' the smaller vessels (σπονδεῖα καὶ κύαθοι) for the wine, which we must suppose also entered into the ritual of the shewbread. The silence of the OT on this point led the Jewish doctors to give novel and absurd explanations of the vessels last mentioned—such as hollow pipes between the loaves, or parts of a frame on which they lay. Similarly, these authorities differ as to whether the loaves were laid in two piles lengthwise across the width of the table—as one would naturally suppose—or along its length. A favourite tradition gives the length of each loaf as ten handbreadths (2½ ft.) and the breadth as five. Since the width of the table was only 1 cubit or six handbreadths, the loaves were baked with two handbreadths [their 'horns'] turned up at either end, thus taking the shape of a huge square bracket! (For these and similar speculations, as curious as useless, see *Menaḥoth* xi. 4 ff.; the *Baraitha*, § vii., with Flesch's notes and diagrams; Edersheim, *The Temple*, 154 ff.; and Ugolinus' treatise in his *Thesaurus*, vol. x.). The position of the table was on 'the north side' of the holy place (26[35]).

(*b*) **The golden Lampstand** (Ex 25[31-40] = 37[17-24] [Gr. 38[13-17]]; cf. Jos. *Ant.* III. vi. 7, *BJ* VII. v. 5). —Of the whole furniture of the tabernacle, the article to which, since Wyclif's time, our Eng. versions have given the misleading designation 'the candlestick,' afforded the greatest opportunity for the display of artistic skill. It was in reality a lampstand (מְנוֹרָה, λυχνία—the latter in Mt 5[15] and parallels, where RV gives '[lamp]-stand,' Vulg. *candelabrum*) of pure gold (§ iii.), hence also termed the 'pure lampstand' (31[8] 39[37] etc. [cf. 'the pure table,' Lv 24[6]]; for other designations see below). See also LAMP.

The lampstand on the Arch of Titus differs from that described in the text of P in several particulars, notably in the details of the ornamentation (see Reland's plate, *op. cit.* 6). In this respect it agrees better with the description of Josephus, who speaks of its 'knops and lilies with pomegranates and bowls,' seventy ornaments in all. The base, further, is hexagonal in form and ornamented with non-Jewish figures, while Jewish tradition speaks of the lampstand of the second temple as having a tripod base. The earliest known representation of the stand is found on certain copper coins doubtfully attributed to Antigonus, the last of the Hasmonæans (Madden, *Coins of the Jews*, 102, with woodcut). At a later period the seven-branched 'candlestick,' more or less conventionally treated, was a favourite *motif* with Jewish and Christian artists on lamps,* gems, tombs, etc.

Like the cherubim above the propitiatory (§ ix.), the lampstand was of 'beaten (i.e. *repoussé*) work' (מִקְשָׁה). A talent of gold was employed in its construction, the general idea of which is clear (see illustration): from a central stem three opposite

THE GOLDEN LAMPSTAND.

pairs of arms branched off 'like the arrangement of a trident' (Josephus), curving outwards and upwards till their extremities, on which the lamps were placed, were on a level with the top of the shaft. The upper portion of this central stem, from the lowest pair of arms upwards, is termed the shaft (קָנֶה, so RV; not as AV 'branch'), also the lampstand *par excellence* (v.[34]); the lower portion is the base (so rightly RV for יָרֵךְ, lit. 'loins,' in the Mishna כְּסִים *Kel.* xi. 7). The latter, we have seen, probably ended in a tripod with clawed feet, as in the table of shewbread. The leading motive of the ornamentation on stem and arms is derived

* A flagon is a favourite type on Jewish coins (MONEY, vol. iii. p. 431[a]).

* For one of the best of these, showing the base in the form of a tripod, see *PEFSt*, 1886, p. 8.

from the flower or blossom of the almond tree. The complete ornament, introduced four times on the stem and three times on each of the six branches, is termed גְּבִיעַ (*gĕbîa'*, lit. 'cup,' so RV; AV 'bowl'), and consists of *two* parts,* corresponding to the calyx and corolla of the almond flower, the *kaphtôr* (EV 'knop') and the *perah* (EV 'flower') of the text. At what intervals these 'knops and flowers' are to be introduced is not stated (for the speculations of the Rabbis see Flesch, *op. cit.* with diagrams), nor do we know how the four sets of v.[34] are to be distributed. It is usually assumed that these include the three knops which in v.[35] ornament the points where the branches diverge from the stem. It seems to us more in harmony with the text to regard the three knops in question, with which no flowers are associated, as suggested rather by the scales of the stem of a tree, from whose axils spring the buds which develop into branches. We accordingly prefer to find seven knops on the central stem, viz. two 'knops and flowers' to ornament the base, three 'knops' alone, forming axils for the branches, and two 'knops and flowers' on the upper part of the shaft. Shaft and arms alike probably terminated in a 'cup' with its knop and flower, the five outspread petals of the corolla serving as a tray for one of the seven lamps.† The latter were doubtless of the unvarying Eastern pattern (see LAMP). The nozzles were turned towards the north, facing the table of shewbread, the lampstand having its place on the south side of the Holy Place. To see that the lamps were supplied with the finest produce of the olive ('pure olive oil beaten,' for which see OIL, vol. iii. p. 591[a], 592[a]), trimmed and cleaned, was part of the daily duty of the priests. The necessary apparatus, the **snuffers** and **snuff-dishes** (which see) with the 'oil vessels' (Nu 4[9]), were also of pure gold.

From the notices in the different strata of P (Ex 27[20f.], cf. 30[7], Lv 24[1ff.], Nu 8[1ff.]) it is not clear whether the lamps were to be kept burning day and night or by night only. The latter alternative was the custom in the sanctuary of Shiloh (1 S 3[3]). From Lv 24[1ff.] (note v.[3])—of which Ex 27[20f.] is perhaps a later reproduction—it would appear that the lamps burned only 'from evening to morning.' At the time of the morning sacrifice they were to be trimmed, cleaned, and replaced (Ex 30[7], cf. *Tamîd* iii. 9, vi. 1), ready to be relit in the evening (30[8], 2 Ch 13[11]). Against this, the *prima facie* interpretation, must be put such considerations as these: (1) the ancient custom of the ever burning lamp alluded to under CANDLE (vol. i. p. 348[b]); (2) the expression נֵר תָּמִיד, a 'continual lamp or light' (Lv 24[2]=Ex 27[20]); and (3) since the dwelling was absolutely dark, there must, one would think, have been some provision for lighting it during the day. The practice of a later period, vouched for by Josephus (*Ant.* III. viii. 3 [§ 199], with which cf. his quotation from pseudo-Hecatæus, *c. Apion.* i. 22 [§ 199]), by which only three of the lamps burned by day and the remaining four were lighted at sunset, seems to be a compromise between the directions of the text and the practical necessities of the case (so Riehm, *HWB*[2], art. 'Leuchter'). The Rabbinical notices are still later, and differ from both the data of P and those of Josephus. (On the whole question see Schürer, *HJP* II. i. 281 f. with full reff., and 295 f.).

The fate of the golden lampstand of the second temple, made under the direction of Judas Maccabæus (1 Mac 4[49f.]) to replace the earlier stand (*τὴν λυχνίαν τοῦ φῶτος*, *ib.* 1[21], Ben Sira's *λυχνία ἁγία*, 26[17]) carried off by Antiochus IV., has been narrated under SHEWBREAD (§ iii.). Onias in furnishing his temple at Leontopolis was content with a single golden lamp, suspended by a chain of gold (Jos. *BJ* VII. x. 3).

(*c*) **The Altar of Incense** (Ex 30[1-5]=37[25-28] [the latter absent in Gr.]; Jos. *Ant.* III. vi. 8 [§ 147 ff.]).—No part of the furniture of the tabernacle has been the subject of so much controversy in recent years as the altar of incense, which in our present text of Exodus occupies the place of honour in front of the veil. The attitude of modern criticism to Ex 30. 31 has been already stated (§ iii.), and it must suffice here to indicate in a summary way the principal grounds on which recent critics, with one voice, have pronounced against the presence of this altar in the tabernacle as sketched by the original author of Ex 25–29 (cf. EXODUS, vol. i. p. 810[b]; INCENSE, vol. ii. p. 467 f.; TEMPLE).

(1) The tabernacle and its furniture have been described in detail, as also the dress and consecration of its ministrant priests, and the whole section brought to a solemn close with 29[45f.]. Advocates of the traditional view must therefore explain the absence from its proper place in ch. 25 of an article *ex hypothesi* so essential to the daily ritual (30[7f.]) as the altar of incense. They have also to account for the fact that the position of Ex 30[1-10] varies in the MT, the Samaritan-Hebrew, and Gr. texts (being altogether absent from the latter in the recapitulation in ch. 37). (2) Pᴳ in the most unmistakable manner refers to the altar of burnt-offering as '*the* altar' (so not less than 100 times, according to the *Oxf. Hex.* ii. 127), implying that he knew no other. Only in strata that bear other marks of a later origin does it receive a distinguishing epithet (§ vi. (*a*)). (3) The reference in 30[10] is clearly based on, and is therefore younger than, the ritual of the Day of Atonement as described in Lv 16[12-14]. But this chapter ignores the altar of incense, and, in harmony with Lv 10[1] and Nu 16[17], requires the incense to be offered on censers. (4) Careful examination of the MT of 1 K 7 and Ezk 41 (see SHEWBREAD, TEMPLE) has disclosed the fact that an incense altar found a place neither in the real temple of Solomon nor in the ideal temple of Ezekiel. The references in 1 Ch 28[18], 2 Ch 4[19] etc., are too late in date to enter into the argument as to the contents of P. The first historical reference to the 'golden altar' is found in the account of the sack of the temple by Antiochus IV. (1 Mac 1[21]). On the other hand, the extreme scepticism of Wellhausen (*Proleg.*, Eng. tr. 67) and others as to the existence of such an altar even in the second temple is unwarranted (see Delitzsch, 'Der Räucheraltar' in *Zeitschr. f. kirchl. Wissenschaft*, 1880, 114–121)

Assuming, then, that we have to do with a later addition (*novella*) to the original code, we note that this second altar is named מִזְבַּח מְקְטֶר קְטֹרֶת (30[1]) or simply הַמְּקְטֶרֶת מ״ (30[27] etc.), also the 'golden altar' (39[38] etc., 1 Mac 1[21]); in the LXX *τὸ θυσιαστήριον τοῦ θυμιάματος*, in Philo and Josephus *τὸ θυμιατήριον*—so Symm. and Theod. 30[1]; for He 9[4] see end of section. Like the larger altar it is 'four square,' a cubit in length and breadth, and 2 cubits in height, and furnished with horns (for these see § vi.). The material is acacia wood, overlaid with pure gold, the ornamentation a moulding of solid gold (זֵר, see § viii. (*a*)), with the usual provision for rings and staves (v.[4f.]).* Its position is to be in the Holy Place, in front of 'the veil that is by the ark of the testimony' (v.[6]). Aaron and his sons shall offer 'a perpetual incense' upon it night and morning, when they enter to dress and light the lamps of the golden stand (v.[7ff.]). Once a year, on the Day of Atonement, its horns shall be brought into contact with the atoning blood (v.[10]). Owing to the ambiguity in the directions of v.[6] (cf. 6[b] with 6[a] in MT, Sam., and LXX; also Holzinger, *in loc.*) if taken by themselves, and to the influence of the late gloss (1 K 6[22b]), a tradition grew up, which finds expression in the famous passage He 9[4], that the incense altar stood in the Most Holy Place, 'which had a golden altar

* This appears from 25[33], where the cups are defined as each consisting of 'a knop and a flower'; hence in v.[31] 'its knops and its flowers' are to be taken as in apposition to 'its cups' (see Dillm. *in loc.*), not, as already in LXX, as two additional ornaments (*οἱ κρατῆρες καὶ οἱ σφαιρωτῆρες καὶ τὰ κρίνα*; cf. the similar misinterpretation regarding the frames of the dwelling on the part of the LXX, § vii. (*b*) above).

† In the Mishna *perah* ('flower') has on this account become the usual term for the plinth or tray of an ordinary lampstand (*Ohaloth* xi. 8, *Kelim* xi. 7). Cf. the *ἐνθέμια* of the divergent description in the Gr. text (37[17ff.]).

* Differently expressed from Pᴳ.

of incense* and the ark of the covenant.' The same verse contains a similar divergent tradition regarding the contents of the ark (see next section).

ix. THE FURNITURE OF THE MOST HOLY PLACE. —**The Ark and the Propitiatory** (Ex $25^{10-22}=37^{1-9}$ [Gr. 38^{1-8}]; Jos. *Ant.* III. vi. 5).—Within the Most Holy Place stood in solitary majesty the sacred **ark**, on which rested the propitiatory or mercy-seat with its overarching cherubim. The history of the ancient palladium of the Hebrew tribes, 'the ark of J"' of the older writers, has been given under ARK. We have here a more elaborate shrine, to which P gives by preference the designation 'ark of the testimony' (אֲרוֹן הָעֵדוּת 25^{22} and often, *ἡ κιβωτὸς τοῦ μαρτυρίου*), a phrase parallel to and synonymous with that favoured by Deut. and the Deuteronomistic editors, 'ark of the covenant.' In both cases the ark was so named as containing the Decalogue (הָעֵדוּת 'the testimony,' $25^{16.\ 21}$), written on 'the tables of testimony' (31^{18}). The ark itself sometimes receives the simple title 'the testimony' (16^{34} etc.); and the tabernacle, as we have seen (§ iii.), as in its turn containing the ark, is named 'the dwelling of the testimony' and 'the tent of the testimony.'† See TESTIMONY.

The ark of P is an oblong chest of acacia wood overlaid within and without with gold, $2\frac{1}{2}$ cubits in length, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ in breadth and height (*i.e.* $5\times3\times3$ half-cubits). Each of its sides is finished with a strip of cable or ogee moulding (זֵר, EV 'crown,' see § viii. (*a*)) of solid gold in the same manner as the top of the table of shewbread; with this difference, however, that in the former the upper line of moulding must have projected beyond the plane of the top of the ark, probably to the extent of the thickness of the propitiatory, in order that the latter, with its cherubim, might remain in place during the march. Within the sacred chest was to be deposited 'the testimony' (v.[16]) or Decalogue, as already explained. Before it—not within it, as a later tradition supposed (He 9^{4})—were afterwards placed a pot of manna (Ex $16^{33f.}$) and Aaron's rod that budded (Nu 17^{10}).

Distinct from but resting upon the ark, and of the same superficial dimensions ($2\frac{1}{2}\times1\frac{1}{2}$ cubits), was a slab of solid gold, to which the name *kappōreth* is given (only in P and 1 Ch 28^{11} EV 'mercy-seat').

The familiar rendering **'mercy-seat,'** first used by Tindale, following Luther's *Gnadenstuhl* (cf. SHEWBREAD, § i.), goes back to that of the oldest VSS (LXX *ἱλαστήριον*, Vulg. *propitiatorium*) —and is based on the secondary and technical sense of the root-verb כִּפֶּר, viz. 'to make propitiation' for sin. Hence the Wyclif-Hereford rendering 'propitiatory,' derived from Jerome, is preferable to Tindale's 'mercy-seat.' In our opinion the rendering **'propitiatory'** must be maintained. The alternative 'covering' (RVm) adopted in preference by so many modern, particularly German, scholars (cf. *ἐπίθεμα* in Gr. of Ex 25^{17}, and Philo, *op. cit.* [ed. Mangey, ii. 150] *ἐπίθεμα ὡσανεὶ πῶμα* [a lid]), is open to two serious objections. On the one hand it is based on the still unproved assumption that the primary signification of כפר was 'to cover,'‡ and on the other hand the *kappōreth* was in no sense the lid or cover of the ark, which was a chest or coffer complete in itself. Dillmann and others have unsuccessfully attempted a *via media* by taking *kappōreth* in the sense of a protective covering (*Schutzdach*, *Deckplatte*, etc.). See, further, Deissmann, *Bible Studies* [Eng. tr.], p. 124 ff.

Near the ends of the propitiatory stood, facing each other, two small§ emblematic figures, the **cherubim**, of the same material and workmanship as the golden lampstand, viz. 'beaten' or *repoussé* work (מִקְשָׁה, *χρυσοτορευτά*) of pure gold. Being securely soldered to the propitiatory they are reckoned as 'of one piece' with it (v.[19]). Each cherub was furnished, like the larger and differently placed cherubim of Solomon's temple (1 K $6^{23ff.}$), with a pair of wings which met overhead, while their faces were bent downwards towards the propitiatory. Whatever may have been their significance in primitive Hebrew mythology, the cherubim as here introduced, like the kindred seraphim in Isaiah's vision, are the angelic ministers of J", guarding in the attitude of adoration the throne of His earthly glory (cf. *Book of Enoch*, ed. Charles, 71^{7}). The propitiatory, with the overarching cherubim, was, in truth, the innermost shrine of the wilderness sanctuary, for it was at once J"'s earthly and the footstool of His heavenly throne* (cf. 1 Ch 28^{2}). Not at the tent door, as in the earlier representation (Ex $33^{7ff.}$), but 'from above the propitiatory, from between the cherubim' (25^{22}), will J" henceforth commune with His servant Moses (30^{6}). 'There, in the darkness and the silence, he listened to the Voice' (Nu 7^{8}).

For the transport of the sacred chest, its propitiatory and cherubim, two poles of acacia wood overlaid with gold are provided. These are to rest permanently (Ex 25^{15}, otherwise Nu 4^{6}, where the staves are inserted when the march begins) in four rings, attached, according to our present text, to the four 'feet' (פַּעֲמֹתָיו v.[12], so RV, but AV 'corners') of the ark.

But this text and rendering are open to serious question. For (1) of the shape, length, and construction of these 'feet' nothing is said; (2) why should the author employ the Phœnician word (פַּעַם) for 'foot' here in place of the usual רֶגֶל (v.[26])? (3) If the rings were attached so far down, a state of dangerously unstable equilibrium would result; (4) all the oldest versions apparently read, or at least, as our own AV, rendered as in v.[26] פַּאתָיו 'its four corners.'† We must suppose, then, that the rings were attached, perhaps below the moulding, at the corners of the *short* sides of the ark (so the *Baraitha*, Neumann, Keil), along which, and not along the long sides (as Riggenbach, Dillm., and most), the poles rested. The object of this arrangement is to secure that the Divine throne shall always face in the direction of the march. The weight of the whole must have been considerable, with poles, certainly not 'staves,' and bearers to correspond.‡

In the second temple there was no ark, and consequently no propitiatory, notwithstanding the statement in the Apocalypse of Baruch (6^{7}) that it was hidden by an angel before the destruction of the temple, A.D. 70. According to P the sole contents of the ark, as we have seen, were the two tables of testimony on which the Decalogue was inscribed. Once a year, on the Day of Atonement, the high priest alone entered the Holy of Holies to bring the blood of the sin-offerings into contact with the propitiatory (Lv $16^{14f.}$; see ATONEMENT, DAY OF, vol. i. p. 199).

x. ERECTION AND CONSECRATION OF THE TABERNACLE. — In the oldest stratum of the Priests' Code the directions for the preparation of the sanctuary and its furniture (Ex 25–27), which have engaged our attention up to this point, are followed by equally minute instructions as to the priestly garments (28), and by the solemn consecration of Aaron and his sons for the priestly office (29). The altar alone of the appointments of the

* So RVm and American RV in text for *χρυσοῦν θυμιατήριον* with most recent interpreters; AV and RV 'a golden censer.'

† In the art. ARK (§ i.) attention was briefly called to the three sets of designations of the ark characteristic of the early, the Deuteronomic, and the priestly writers respectively, of which all the other OT titles, some twenty in all, are merely variations and expansions. See for later discussions H. P. Smith, *Samuel*, 33; 'Ark' in *Encyc. Bibl.* i. 300 f.; Meinhold, *Die Lade Jahves*, 2 ff.

‡ The most recent research seems to point in favour of the alternative 'to wipe off'; see Zimmern, *Beiträge zur Kenntniss d. babyl. Religion*, 92; Haupt in *JBL*, xix. (1900) 61, 80.

§ It must be noted that, with bodies bent and wings outstretched, the cherubim were accommodated on a surface less than 4 ft. from end to end.

* For this idea and its possible bearing on the ultimate historical origin of the ark as the empty throne of an imageless deity, see Meinhold, *Die Lade Jahves* (1900), 44 and *passim*, based on the researches of Reichel in *Ueber Vorhellenische Götterculte* (esp. 27 ff.); cf. also Budde in *Expos. Times*, June 1898, p. 396 ff. (reprinted [in German] in *ZATW*, 1901, p. 194 ff.).

† Cf. 1 K 7^{30}, where פעמתיו of MT (AV here also 'corners') is similarly regarded by recent commentators as a corruption of פנתיו or פאתיו.

‡ The propitiatory, even if only a fingerbreadth thick, would alone weigh 760 lb. troy. The weight of the whole must be put at about 6 cwt. The Talmud mentions four bearers (Flesch, *op. cit.* 66). Two sufficed for the historical ark (ARK, vol. i. p. 150^{b}).

sanctuary is singled out for consecration (29$^{36f.}$). In the first of the accretions to the older document (30. 31), however, we find instructions for the anointing of 'the tent of meeting' and all the furniture of the sanctuary with the 'holy anointing oil' (30$^{26ff.}$), with which also the priests are to be anointed. When we pass to the still later stratum (35–40; see above, § iii.), we find a record of the carrying out of the preceding instructions to the last detail, followed by the erecting of 'the dwelling of the tent of meeting' (40$^{1ff.}$) on the first day of the first month of the second year, that is, a year less fourteen days from the first anniversary of the Exodus (40$^{1.\ 17}$, cf. 12$^{2.\ 6}$). A comparison with 19^{1} shows that according to P's chronology a period of at least nine months is allowed for the construction of the sanctuary and its furniture. Some of the questions raised by 40$^{18.\ 19}$ as to the manner in which the curtains 'were spread over the dwelling' have been discussed by anticipation in § vii. (*c*); it must suffice now to add that after the court and the tabernacle proper had been set up, and all the furniture in its place, the whole, we must assume, was duly anointed by Moses himself in accordance with the instructions of the preceding verses (40$^{9f.}$), although this fact is not mentioned until we reach a later portion of the narrative (Lv 8$^{10f.}$, Nu 7^{1}). This consecration of the sanctuary naturally implies that it is now ready for the purpose for which it was erected. Accordingly 'the cloud covered the tent of meeting, and the glory of J" filled the dwelling' (40$^{34f.}$). J" had now taken possession of the holy abode which had been prepared for Him. With the new year, as was most fitting, the new order of things began.

xi. THE TABERNACLE ON THE MARCH (Nu 2^{17} 3$^{25-38}$ 4$^{1ff.}$ etc.). — The cloud which rested on the dwelling by day and appeared as a pillar of fire by night accompanied the Hebrews 'throughout all their journeys' in the wilderness. When 'the cloud was taken up from over the dwelling' (Ex 40^{37}, Nu 9^{17}) this was the signal for the tents to be struck and another stage of the march begun; while, 'as long as the cloud abode upon the dwelling, whether it were two days or a month or a year,' the children of Israel remained encamped and journeyed not (Nu 9$^{18ff.}$). The charge of the tabernacle and of all that pertained thereto was committed to the official guardians, the priests and Levites (Nu 3$^{5ff.}$). When the signal for the march was given by a blast from the silver trumpets (10$^{1ff.}$), the priests entered the dwelling, and, taking down the veil at the entrance to the Most Holy Place, wrapped it round the ark (4$^{5ff.}$). This, as the most sacred of all the contents of the tabernacle, received three coverings in all, the others but two. Full and precise instructions follow for the wrapping up of the rest of the furniture (4$^{7-14}$). This accomplished, the priests hand over their precious burden to the first of the Levitical guilds, the sons of Kohath, for transport by means of the bearing-poles with which each article is provided (v.$^{15f.}$). The second guild, the sons of Gershon, have in charge the tapestry curtains of the dwelling, the hair curtains of the tent, the two outer coverings, the veil, and the screen (3$^{25f.}$ 4$^{24ff.}$). For the conveyance of these, two covered waggons and four oxen are provided by the heads of the tribes (7$^{3.\ 7}$). The remaining division of the Levites, the sons of Merari, receives in charge the frames and bars of the dwelling, together with the pillars and bases of the dwelling and of the court, with four waggons and eight oxen for their transport (*ib.*).*

* The fondness of the priestly writers for proportion (2 : 1) has again led to strange results, for, even with the colossal 'boards' of previous writers reduced to frames (see § vii. (*b*)), the loads of the Merarites were out of all proportion to those of the Gershonites. Nu 7, however, is now recognized as one of the latest sections of the Hexateuch.

Everything being now in readiness, the march began. The Levites, according to Nu 2^{17},—and as the symmetry of the camp requires,—marched in the middle of the line, with two divisions of three tribes each before them and two behind. This, however, does not accord with Nu 10$^{17ff.}$, according to which the sons of Gershon and Merari marched after the first division of three tribes, and had the tabernacle set up before the arrival of the Kohathites with the sacred furniture between the second and third divisions.

xii. THE HISTORICITY OF P'S TABERNACLE.—After what has been said in our opening section—with which the art. ARK must be compared—as to the nature, location, and ultimate disappearance of the Mosaic tent of meeting, it is almost superfluous to inquire into the historical reality of the costly and elaborate sanctuary which, according to P, Moses erected in the wilderness of Sinai. The attitude of modern OT scholarship to the priestly legislation, as now formulated in the Pentateuch (see §§ i. and iv. above), and in particular to those sections of it which deal with the sanctuary and its worship, is patent on every page of this Dictionary, and is opposed to the historicity of P's tabernacle. It is now recognized that the highly organized community of the priestly writers, rich not only in the precious metals and the most costly Phœnician dyes, but in men of rare artistic skill, is not the unorganized body of Hebrew serfs and nomads that meets us in the oldest sources of the Pentateuch. Even after centuries spent in contact with the civilization and arts of Canaan, when skilled artists in metal were required, they had to be hired by Solomon from Phœnicia. Again, the situation of P's tabernacle, its highly organized ministry, its complex ritual, are utterly at variance with the situation and simple appointments of the Elohistic tent of meeting (see § i.). With regard, further, to the details of the description, as studied in the foregoing sections, we have repeatedly had to call attention to the obscurities, omissions, and minor inconsistencies of the text, which compel the student to the conviction that he is dealing not with the description of an actual structure, but with an architectural programme, dominated by certain leading conceptions. The most convincing, however, of the arguments against the actual existence of P's tabernacle, is *the silence of the pre-exilic historical writers regarding it.* There is absolutely no place for it in the picture which their writings disclose of the early religion of the Hebrews. The tabernacle of P has no *raison d'être* apart from the ark, the history of which is known with fair completeness from the conquest to its removal to the temple of Solomon. But in no genuine passage of the history of that long period *is there so much as a hint of the tabernacle,* with its array of ministering priests and Levites. Only the Chronicler (1 Ch 16^{39} 21^{29} etc.), psalm-writers, editors, and authors of marginal glosses, writing at a time when P's conception of Israel's past had displaced every other, find the tabernacle of the priestly writers in the older sources, or supply it where they think it ought to have been (cf. 2 Ch 1$^{3f.}$ with 1 K 3$^{2ff.}$). See, further, Wellh. *Proleg.* (Eng. tr.) 39 ff., and recent works cited in the Literature at the end of this article.

xiii. THE RULING IDEAS AND RELIGIOUS SIGNIFICANCE OF THE TABERNACLE. — If, then, the tabernacle of the foregoing sections had no historical existence, is its study, on that account, a waste of time and labour? By no means. On the contrary, the tabernacle as conceived by the priestly writers is the embodiment of a sublime idea with which are associated many other ideas and truths of the most vital moment for the history of religion. In

this place it is impossible to do more than indicate in summary form some of these vital religious truths to which reference has been made. We have already (§ iv.) expressed the conviction that the only standpoint from which to approach the study of the true significance of the tabernacle, as designed by the author of Ex 25–29, is that laid down by this author himself. Following the lead of Ezekiel, his chief aim, and the aim of the priestly writers who expanded the original sketch, is to show to future generations the necessary conditions under which the ideal relation between J″ and Israel may be restored and maintained. This ideal is expressed by Ezekiel and by P as a dwelling of J″ in the midst of His covenant people (reff. in § iv.). The methods, however, by which these two kindred spirits sought to impress this ideal upon their contemporaries are diametrically opposed. Ezekiel projects his ideal forward into the Messianic future; P throws his backwards to the golden age of Moses. Both sketches are none the less ideals, whose realization for prophet and priest alike was still in the womb of the future. Both writers follow closely the arrangements of the pre-exilic temple, P, however, striving to unite these with existing traditions of the Mosaic tent of meeting. It is the recognition of these facts that makes it possible to say that 'a Christian apologist can afford to admit that the elaborate description of the tabernacle is to be regarded as a product of religious idealism, working upon a historical basis' (Ottley, *Aspects of the Old Test.* 226).

The problem that presented itself to the mind of P was this: Under what conditions may the Divine promise of Ezk 37^{27} ('my dwelling shall be with them, and I will be their God, and they shall be my people') be realized? This we take to be the supreme idea of the priestly code, the realization of the presence of God in the midst of His people (Ex 25^{8} 29^{45}). This thought, as we have seen, is expressed in the characteristic designation 'the dwelling,' given by P to the most essential part of the sanctuary which is to be the concrete embodiment of the thought.

The Divine dwelling must be in accordance with the Divine character. Now, in the period from Deuteronomy to the close of the Exile, the two aspects of the Divine character which the inspired teachers of the time place in the forefront of their teaching are the unity and the holiness of J″. Each of these attributes has its necessary correlate. The unity of J″ requires the unity or centralization of His worship, which is the keynote of Deuteronomy. The holiness of J″ demands the holiness of His people, which is the recognized keynote of the Law of Holiness (Lv 19 ff.). The crowning result of the discipline of the Exile may be summed up in the simple formula 'one God, one sanctuary,' a thought which dominates the priestly code from end to end. That there should be but *one* sanctuary in the wilderness, a symbol of the unity of J″, is therefore for P a thing of course, requiring neither justification nor enforcement.

With regard to the other pair of correlates, a holy God and a holy people, the whole ceremonial system of the priestly code expends itself in the effort to give expression to this twofold thought. The centre of this system is the tabernacle and its priesthood, and every effort is made to render the former a visible embodiment of the holiness of the God who is to be worshipped in its court. We have seen (§ iv.) the precautions taken by Ezekiel to guard his new sanctuary from profanation; the same thought is prominent in H (Law of Holiness), and is impressively exhibited in the arrangement of the desert camp in P. Between the tents of the twelve tribes and the throne of J″ there intervene the cordon of the tents of the tribe of Levi, the court, and the Holy Place—into which priests alone may enter,—all so many protecting sheaths, to borrow a figure from plant-life, of the Most Holy Place, where J″ dwells enthroned in ineffable majesty and almost unapproachable holiness.* Once a year only may the high priest, as the people's representative, approach within its precincts, bearing the blood of atonement. Not only, therefore, is the one tabernacle the symbol of J″'s unity, it is also an eloquent witness to the truth: 'Ye shall be holy, for I, J″, your God am holy' (Lv 19^{2}). Yet these precautions are, after all, intended not to exclude but to safeguard the right of approach of J″'s people to His presence. The tabernacle was still the 'tent of meeting,' the place at which, with due precautions, men might approach J″, and in which J″ condescended to draw near to men. It is thus a witness to the further truth that man is called to enjoy a real, albeit still restricted, communion and converse with God.

One other attribute of the Divine nature receives characteristic expression in the arrangements of P's sanctuary. This is the perfection and harmony of the character of J″. Symmetry, harmony, and proportion are the three essentials of the æsthetic in architecture; and in so far as the æsthetic sense in man, by which the Creator has qualified him for the enjoyment of the beauty and harmony of the universe, is a part of the Divine image (Gn $1^{26f.}$) in each of us, these qualities are reflexions of the harmony and perfection of the Divine nature. The symmetry of the desert sanctuary has already been abundantly emphasized. The harmony of its design is shown in the balance of all its parts, and in the careful gradation of the materials employed. The three varieties of curtains (§ iv.) and the three metals correspond to the three ascending degrees of sanctity which mark the court, the Holy Place, and the Most Holy respectively. In the dwelling itself we advance from the silver of the bases through the furniture of wood, thinly sheathed with gold, to the only mass of solid gold, the propitiatory, the seat of the deity. As regards the proportions, finally, which are so characteristic of the tabernacle, we find here just those ratios which are still considered 'the most pleasing' in the domain of architectural art, viz. those 'of an exact cube or two cubes placed side by side . . . and the ratio of the base, perpendicular and hypotenuse of a right-angled triangle, *e.g.* 3, 4, 5 and their multiples' (see art. 'Architecture' in *Encyc. Brit.*[9]). The perfect cube of the Most Holy Place is universally regarded as the deliberate attempt to express the perfection of J″'s character and dwelling-place, the harmony and equipoise of all His attributes. The similar thought, the perfection of the New Jerusalem, 'in which no truth will be exaggerated or distorted,' is expressed by the fact that 'the length and breadth and height of it are equal' (Rev 21^{16}).

The 'symbolism of numbers' in the measurements of the tabernacle, of which so much has been written, is too firmly established to admit of question (for general principles see art. NUMBER). The sacred numbers 3, 4, 7, 10, their parts ($1\frac{1}{2}$, 2, $2\frac{1}{2}$, 5) and multiples (6, 9, 12, 20, 28, 30, 42, 48, 50, 60, 100), dominate every detail of the fabric and its furniture.† In all this we must recognize an earnest striving to give concrete expression—in a manner, it is true, which our Western thought finds it difficult to appreciate—to the sacred harmonies and perfection of the character of the Deity for whose 'dwelling' the sanctuary is destined.

* For 'the fundamental sense of *unapproachableness* which is never absent from the notion of J″'s holiness,' see HOLINESS, vol. ii. p. 397[a].

† The curious student will easily detect these measurements and numbers in the previous sections.

On the other hand, that the author of Ex 25–29 intended to give expression to ideas beyond the sphere of J"s relation to His covenant people, or even within that sphere to invest every detail of material, colour, ornament, etc., with a symbolical significance, we do not believe. Following in the wake of Philo (*op. cit.*) and Josephus (*Ant.* III. vii. 7), the Fathers, and after them many writers down to our own day, among whom Bähr stands pre-eminent, have sought to read a whole philosophy of the universe into the tabernacle. Now it is designed to unfold the relations of heaven and earth and sea, now of body, soul, and spirit, and many wonderful things besides. Happily, the taste for these fanciful speculations has died out and is not likely to revive.

Quite apart from the authors of such far-fetched symbolisms stand several of the NT writers, who see in the tabernacle the foreshadowing of spiritual realities. Once and again the terminology of St. Paul betrays the influence of the tabernacle (*e.g.* the laver of regeneration, Tit 3^5 RVm). For the author of the Fourth Gospel the tabernacle on which rested the Divine glory in the cloud pre-figured the incarnate Word who 'tabernacled (ἐσκήνωσεν) among us, and we beheld his glory, the glory of the only begotten of the Father' (Jn 1^{14}). In the Epistle to the Hebrews, again, the tabernacle, its furniture, and ministering priesthood supply the unknown author with an essential part of his argument. With 'singular pathos,' to borrow Bishop Westcott's apt expression, he lingers over his description of the sacred tent and all its arrangements. Yet, like the whole Levitical ceremonial, it was but the shadow of the heavenly substance (8^5), a 'parable for the time present' of 'the greater and more perfect tabernacle' (9^{11}) which is heaven. Into this tabernacle Jesus Christ has entered, our great High Priest, by whom the restricted access of the former dispensation is done away, and through whom 'a new and living way' has been opened of free access into the 'true' Holy of Holies (9^{24}), even the immediate presence of God. Last of all, in the Book of Revelation we have the final consummation of the kingdom of God portrayed under the figure of the tabernacle: 'Behold, the tabernacle of God is with men, and he shall tabernacle (σκηνώσει) with them, and they shall be his people, and God himself shall be with them' (Rev 21^3—for v.[16] see above)—in which the final word of revelation takes up and repeats the sublime ideal of Ezekiel and the priestly writers. 'In this representation of the New Jerusalem culminates the typology of the OT sanctuary' (Keil).

LITERATURE.—Works on the tabernacle are legion, but there is no monograph from the standpoint of the foregoing article. The student must start from a careful study of the text of Exodus and of the more recent commentaries, such as Dillmann-Ryssel, Strack, Holzinger, Baentsch. The commentary in the International Critical Series by the writer of this article is in preparation. The critical problems are treated by Popper, *Der bibl. Bericht über die Stiftshütte*, 1862; Graf, *Die geschichtl. Bücher d. AT*, 51 ff., 1866; Kuenen, *Hexateuch*; Wellhausen, *Prolegomena*; and more recent writers (see § ii. above). In addition to the relevant sections in the *Archæologies* of Ewald, Haneberg, Keil, Benzinger, Nowack (vol. ii.), the articles should be consulted in the Bible Dictionaries of Winer, Riehm, and *PRE*[2] (by Riggenbach), all under 'Stiftshütte'; artt. 'Tabernacle' and 'Temple' (the latter especially) in Smith's *DB*. The more important monographs are by Neumann, *Die Stiftshütte*, 1861; Riggenbach, *Die Mosaische Stiftshütte*[2], 1867; Schick, *Stiftshütte und Tempel*, 1898; and (in English) Brown, *The Tabernacle*[6], 1899. The most exhaustive treatment of the tabernacle, its arrangements and its significance, is Bähr's *Symbolik d. Mosaischen Cultus*, 2 vols. 1837–39 (Bd. i. 2nd ed. 1874), full of fanciful ideas. On somewhat different lines is Friederich, *Symbolik d. Mos. Stiftshütte*, 1841. Sound criticisms of both, and an attempt to reduce the symbolism to saner limits, characterize Keil's full treatment in vol. i. of his *Archæology* (Eng. tr.). See also Westcott, *Epistle to the Hebrews*, 1889, Essay on 'The general significance of the Tabernacle,' p. 233 ff.; Ottley, *Aspects of the OT*, esp. p. 261 ff., 'The symbolical significance,' etc.

A. R. S. KENNEDY.

TABERNACLES, FEAST OF.—The names of this feast and the references to it in the Bible are given in the art. FEASTS AND FASTS.

As the present article is a supplement to the above-named general one, the reader is recommended to refer to the latter (vol. i.), especially pp. 860, 861, and the synopsis on p. 863. (In the reff. to Tabernacles outside the Pentateuch insert 'Neh' between 'Ezr 3^4' and '8^{14-17}'). In what follows, a number by itself will be a reference to a page in that article.

Of the six passages containing injunctions concerning the observance of this feast, two are from Ex. and two from Deut. (863). The two in Ex. call it the **Feast of Ingathering,** refer to it as one of the three Pilgrimage Feasts (860[a] and note), place it at the end of the year, and enjoin the attendance of all males at the sanctuary with offerings.

The injunctions in Deut. contain noteworthy additions to those in Exodus. The Feast of Ingathering is called the **Feast of Booths** (*sukkôth*, without explanation as if the term were familiar), its duration is fixed for seven days, and it is to be kept at Jerusalem, 'the place which the LORD thy God shall choose.' Also in the year of release in the Feast of Tabernacles the law shall be read before all Israel in their hearing (Dt $31^{10f.}$). The name of the festival points to the custom of erecting booths in the vineyards during the time of the vintage (cf. Is 1^8 'a booth in a vineyard,' RV), a custom which is continued to the present day in parts of Palestine; it served also (Lv 23^{40-43} [H]) to remind the Israelites that their fathers dwelt in booths or tents during their passage from the house of bondage to the Promised Land. Of the two ceremonies enjoined in Dt 26, the second (vv.[12-15]) was probably performed at this festival. Both in Ex. and Deut. the connexion of this and all three Pilgrimage Feasts with agriculture is clearly indicated (cf. 860[b]).

Before considering the two remaining passages, let us trace the observance of the feast before the Exile. It appears to have been a custom of the Canaanites to keep a vintage festival, for according to Jg 9^{27}, after gathering the vineyards and treading the grapes, the men of Shechem held a feast in the house of their god, and at this gathering dissatisfaction with Abimelech's rule was openly expressed. (For a discussion of this incident see art. ABIMELECH, and cf. Moore on Jg 9^{27}).

In Jg 21^{19} mention is made of a similar festival observed at Shiloh, when the maidens went out to dance in the vineyards; but note the contrast between the Canaanites *in the house of their god* and the *feast of the LORD* held by the Israelites. Although this festival was held at Shiloh, where the ark was, it appears to have been an observance by a tribe or part of Israel only.

The yearly sacrifice which Elkanah offered to the LORD of Hosts in Shiloh (1 S 1^3) was probably in the autumn. The dedication of Solomon's temple took place 'at the feast in the month Ethanim, which is the seventh month' (1 K 8^2),* *i.e.* at the Feast of Tabernacles. It was in imitation of this feast that Jeroboam instituted a feast at Bethel in the eighth month (1 K 12^{32}).

From these references to the feast in pre-exilic times it may be inferred that, (1) at least in the times before the establishment of the kingdom, the pilgrimage to the sanctuary was made but once a year (most probably in the autumn); (2) festivals at other times of the year were also observed [cf. 1 K 9^{25}, 2 Ch 8^{13}, Is 9^3 ('the joy in harvest'; the same word as in Ex 23^{16} is applied to the feast elsewhere called the **Feast of Weeks**)

* A difficulty arises in comparing this passage with 1 K 6^{38}, where it is stated that the house of the LORD was not finished till 'the month Bul, which is the eighth month.'

29[1] ('let the feasts come round,' RV) 30[29], Hos 2[11] Am 5[21]].

Let us now consider the two remaining passages, which contain injunctions concerning this feast (Lv 23 and Nu 29), and here we notice that, instead of prescriptions relating to the three Pilgrimage Feasts as in Ex. and Deut., we have a sacred calendar in which the position of each festival is fixed by the month and day. A special name (מִקְרָא קֹדֶשׁ 'a holy convocation') is given to the festivals, or rather to certain days of the festal periods, and servile work is prohibited on those days. The Feast of Tabernacles lasts for seven days as in Deut., but an eighth day is observed at its close as an עֲצֶרֶת 'a solemn assembly' (see Driver's note on Dt 16[8]).

The post-exilic references to this feast are contained in Ezra and Nehemiah. In Ezr 3[4] it is stated that the Feast of Tabernacles was observed by the returned exiles as soon as the altar was set up, and before the foundation of the temple of the LORD was laid. The terms used in vv.[3-6] show acquaintance with the prescriptions of P with reference to burnt-offerings.*

Very different in character from the notice in Ezr 3 is the account found in Neh 8[13-18]. Here the details are interesting and instructive. The reference to Lv 23[40-43] is clear. The material gathered by the people is that prescribed in Lv 23[40] (the wording of the two passages is in some respects different; cf. Ryle's note on Neh 8[15]). With it they make booths, and set them up in the courts of the temple and in the open spaces of the city, and dwell in them, according to Lv 23[42]. The feast was kept seven days, and the *'ăzereth* of the eighth day was duly observed.† The writer is aware that a new method of keeping the festival is introduced, one unknown to the people during the rule of judges and kings, and the ceremonial throughout is that enjoined in Leviticus. It is not, however, definitely stated whether the numerous sacrifices prescribed for this festival in Nu 29 were offered on this occasion.

The OT history of the Feast closes here. The eighth day, which is still distinguished from the seven days of Deut., is by the time of the writer of 2 Mac 10[6] reckoned as part of the Feast. Josephus (*Ant.* III. x. 4) speaks of keeping a festival of eight days, and also mentions the custom of bearing the *lulab*, consisting of a myrtle, willow, and palm branch in the right hand, and the *ethrog* or citron in the left. For this and other ceremonies observed at the feast see Jos. *Ant.* XIII. xiii. 5; the Talmudic treatise, *Sukkah*; Edersheim, *Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, ii. 149, 157; and the references on p. 861 of art. FEASTS; and the NT references in the synopsis.

On one point is stress laid in all the accounts: that the ingathering which the feast commemorates is general ('when thou gatherest in *thy labours out of the field*,' Ex 23[16]; '*the fruits of the land*,' Lv 23[39]; '*from thy threshing-floor and from thy wine-vat*,' Dt 16[13]). The Feasts of Unleavened Bread (*maẓẓôth*) and of Weeks or Harvest marked certain stages in the work of ingathering, but the autumn festival, the last of the yearly cycle, was the thanksgiving for the combined produce of the whole year. As the vintage and olive harvests had just been gathered, the worshippers might think chiefly of these rich gifts, yet the injunctions above quoted bade them take a wider view, and thank God for all His good gifts. It is also to be noted that in the autumn festival no special offering of the fruits of the earth is enjoined corresponding to the sheaf of the wave-offering (Lv 23[9-14]) at Passover, and the two wave-loaves with sacrifice at Pentecost (23[15-21]). Yet in other respects the Feast of Tabernacles is specially distinguished from other feasts. In Deut. it is the only one of the three at which the Israelite must dwell at Jerusalem for seven days, and in Numbers the sacrifices prescribed for this festival are in excess of those for any other (for details see p. 861[b]). Its pre-eminence is asserted by Josephus (*Ant.* VIII. iv. 1—it was ἑορτὴ σφόδρα παρὰ τοῖς Ἑβραίοις ἁγιωτάτη καὶ μεγίστη). In the OT it is sometimes called '*the* Feast,' κατ' ἐξοχήν: 1 K 8[2. 65] (=2 Ch 5[3] 7[8]), Ezk 45[25], Neh 8[14]; cf. Lv 23[39] (H), 1 K 12[32] (Driver, *Deut.* 197). But it was also the festival which in early times was common to Israel and to the heathen round about them. May it be that the wider view of the autumn festival and the avoidance of any special offering of the fruits of the ground at this season were designed in order to make a distinction between their own festival and that of their neighbours, and possibly to avoid excesses which attended the heathen celebrations,—to impress upon the Israelite, when he appeared before the LORD his God, that he was present at a harvest thanksgiving rather than at a vintage carnival?

A. T. CHAPMAN.

TABITHA.—See DORCAS.

TABLE.—A word used in several senses, either in sing. or plural, 108 times in the OT and 20 times in the NT. In the former when singular it is usually (56 times) the tr. of שֻׁלְחָן *shulḥân* (LXX τράπεζα, Vulg. *mensa*). 'Table' is used with the following meanings. **1.** A flat-topped stand, upon which victuals were set during meals, and around which people squatted or reclined. Such stands were usually small; in ancient Egypt they were rarely more than a foot in height. Lepsius represents a table of this kind heaped with meat, bread, and fruit, with two persons sitting by it (*Denkm.* ii. 52). In the Middle and New Empire stands are sometimes represented as frameworks of laths bearing jars and other vessels on the top, and with an undershelf for the solid food. Such tables are named *wṯḥ* or *wtn* or *tbhu*. In Assyrian contracts, temple tables are called *šalḫu*. The tables used by the fellahin of Palestine are mostly round, and rarely more than 12 inches high. Probably the ancient domestic tables were also round, as Goodwin and Zornius have inferred from such expressions as 'round about the table.' The table in the prophet's chamber (2 K 4[10]) was probably a stand of this kind. It is possible that the *shulḥân* may have been originally a mat or something spread under the food platter, as can be often seen at present among the fellahin; but it must sometimes have been sufficiently high to allow of portions of food dropping from it. The seventy kings who gleaned their meat under Adonibezek's table (Jg 1[7]) may have been fed from the leavings of the royal meals; but the boast is probably an Oriental exaggeration, and the number a copyist's mistake. Posidonius tells of the king of the Parthians throwing food to persons sitting around him (Athenæus, iv. 38). The Greek *trapeza* was usually four-footed, hence perh. the name (Eustath. *Comm. ad Odyss.* A. 111); nevertheless it was sometimes called *tripous* (Ath. ii. 32), a usage ridiculed by Aristophanes in an extant fragment of *Telmesses*. Homer represents each guest as having a

* The doubts raised as to the historical character of this section do not materially affect the statement here made.

† The difference between keeping the festival with and without the additional eighth day is illustrated by comparing the accounts of the dedication of Solomon's temple in Kings and Chronicles. In 1 K 8[66] it says, 'on the eighth day he sent them away,' *i.e.* on the 22nd of the month; but in 2 Ch 7[8-10] it says, 'in the eighth day they made a solemn assembly (*'ăzereth*) . . . and on the three and twentieth day of the seventh month he sent the people away. . . .' The Chronicler describes the feast as kept according to the rule of Leviticus; the writer of Kings assumes that the rule of Deut. was followed.

separate table (*Od.* xvii. 333). These were sometimes covered with a cloth (Crates, *Theria*, in Ath. vi. 267). The table was removed after the feast. The larger tables of a guest-chamber were longer *trapezai*, around which the guests reclined, and helped themselves from the common dishes; hence the expression in Lk 22[21] 'the hand . . . is with me on the table.' The food was usually on a platter, but sometimes laid on the table without any dish; hence the disgust of the condition described in Is 28[8].

2. *To prepare a table* for any one is to feed or nourish him, as in Ps 23[5]. Figuratively, the personified Wisdom is said to furnish a table for man's instruction (Pr 9[2]). Distributing the means of sustenance to those of the early Christians who lacked, was called by the apostles 'serving tables' (Ac 6[2]). *To eat at one's table* is to be a member of his household or an honoured guest. David, as one of Saul's officers, ate at the king's table (1 S 20[29]), and Mephibosheth as a guest ate at David's table (2 S 9[7-10. 11. 13], 1 K 2[7]). The 850 prophets who are said to have eaten at Jezebel's table (1 K 18[19]) did not necessarily sit down with their royal hosts, nor did the servants of Solomon who consumed the meat of his table, the variety and amount of which amazed the queen of Sheba (1 K 10[5]): the expression means that they were fed by the royal bounty (see Heraclides in Athen. iv. 26). The same is probably true of the 150 Jews and rulers whom Nehemiah claims to have had at his table (Neh 5[17]). The honour of sitting at meat with the king was a special favour (2 S 19[28]), requiring careful behaviour (Pr 23[1]), and sudden leaving of the table was a mark of displeasure (1 S 20[34]). Those round the table are said *to sit at table* (1 K 13[20]), and the members of the family circle are said to be round about the table (Ps 128[3]); squatting, as the children of the fellahin do still. 'The table,' in the sense of the *indulgence in dainties*, is to be a snare for the wicked (Ps 69[22], Ro 11[9]). God's table to which the birds of prey are invited is provided with the flesh of His enemies (Ezk 39[20]), a figurative description of His just judgment of the wicked. The table in Ezk 23[41] is prepared for purposes of the toilet.

In the NT 'table' is used in the sense of meal in Lk 22[21-30], Jn 12[2] (where RV substitutes 'sat at meat' for the AV 'sat at the table'). In Jn 13[28] 'no man at table' is the tr. of *οὐδεὶς τῶν ἀνακειμένων*. The dogs in the neighbouring Gentile district fed under the table (Mt 15[27. 28], Mk 7[28], Lk 16[21]). Lazarus the beggar desired the crumbs which were gathered and thrown out from under the rich man's table (Lk 16[21]),

3. For the table of shewbread see artt. SHEWBREAD, and TABERNACLE, p. 662 f.

4. The 'table of the Lord' stands in Mal 1[7. 12] (cf. Ezk 41[22] 44[16]) for *the altar*. In 1 Co 10[21], where it is contrasted with the 'table of devils,' it is evidently from the context the Lord's Supper as compared with pagan idol-feasts, the expression being probably borrowed from our Lord's words 'at my table' in Lk 22[30].

5. The tables of the money-changers (*αἱ τράπεζαι τῶν κολλυβιστῶν*) were the small square trays on stands which are familiar objects at the gates and bazaars of Eastern towns on which coins are displayed, and beside which the money-changers stand. These are not infrequently overturned in the numerous disputes about the value of exchanges. These money-changers were the bankers of primitive times: thus in the Isæus of Dionysius of Halicarnassus the expression *τράπεζαν κατασκευάζεσθαι* is used in the sense of setting up a bank (Reiske, vii. 309). Our Lord overthrew those set up in the courts of the temple (Mt 21[12], Mk 11[15], Jn 2[15]).

6. Table in the sense of a flat surface upon which writings were inscribed is expressed by the word לוּחַ. See following article.

7. In Ca 1[12] 'table' is the tr. of מְסִבּ, rendered by LXX *ἐν ἀνακλίσει αὐτοῦ* and Vulg. *in accubitu suo*; cf. perh. 1 S 16[11], and in late Heb. מִסְבָּה (Levy, 3. 163) and חַסְבּ (*ib.* 464; Schechter, *Ben Sira* 56). It probably means, from the context, a couch. See, further, the Comm. *ad loc.*

In RV 'table' is left out in Mk 7[4]. AV here tr. *κλινῶν*, 'tables,' but puts 'beds' in margin. The words *καὶ κλινῶν* are read by ADXΓΠΣΦ al min [pl] latt syrr. [pesh hel] go arm Or; omitted by ℵBLΔ min [perpauc] syr[sin] me.

LITERATURE.—Besides the authors cited in text see also Bähr, *Symbolik des Mosaischen Cultus*, Heidelberg, 1837; Schlichter, *De mensa facierum*; and Ugolini, 'De mensa et panis propositionis' in *Thes.* x. 995.

A. MACALISTER.

TABLE, TABLET.—1. לוּחַ (etym. unknown). This word, which may be used of *wooden* boards or planks (Ex 27[8] 38[7] in the altar of the Tabernacle, Ezk 27[5] in the ship fig. of Tyre, Ca 8[9] in a door) † or of *metal* plates (1 K 7[36] on bases of lavers in Solomon's temple)†, is far more frequently used of *stone* tablets, esp. those on which the Ten Words are said to have been written (Ex 24[12] 31[18 bis] 32[15 bis. 16 bis. 19] 34[1 ter. 4 bis. 28. 29], Dt 4[13] 5[19 (Eng. 22)] 9[9 bis. 10. 11. 15. 17] 10[1. 2 bis. 3 bis. 4. 5], 1 K 8[9], 2 Ch 5[10]); of a tablet for writing a prophecy upon (Is 30[8] [‖ סֵפֶר], Hab 2[2]); fig. in Pr 3[3] 7[3] (wise counsels are to be written on the table of the heart), Jer 17[1] (the sin of Judah is graven [חָרוּשָׁה] upon the table of their heart). In all these passages both AV and RV tr. לוּחַ, when used of *stone*, by 'table(s),' except Is 30[8] where RV has 'tablet,' a rendering which might well have been adopted uniformly. The LXX reproduces by *πλάξ* (except Ex 24[12], Is 30[8], Hab 2[2] [all *πυξίον*], Pr 3[3] 7[3] [both *πλάτος*], and Jer 17[1] [wanting in LXX]), and this is also the NT term (2 Co 3[3], He 9[4]). The 'writing-table' (*πινακίδιον*, RV 'writing-tablet') of Lk 1[63] was probably a waxen tablet. For a description of the use of both *stone* and *wax* for writing purposes see art. WRITING.

2. גִּלָּיוֹן (the tablet inscribed with a חֶרֶט [*stylus*], 'to Maher-shalal-ḥash-baz,' Is 8[1] AV 'roll'). The essential signification of this word appears to be something with a *smooth polished* surface, whether of wood, stone, or metal.* [For גּוּלָל גּ B has *τόμος καινοῦ μεγάλου*, A *τόμ. χάρτου κ. μ.*, Aq. *κεφαλὶς μεγάλη*, Symm. *τεῦχος μέγα*]. The only other occurrence of the Heb. word is in Is 3[23], where [in plur.] it prob. means 'tablets of polished metal,' 'mirrors' (so Targ., Vulg., Ges., Del., Cheyne, Dillm.-Kittel, but see Marti, *ad loc.*, and cf. the LXX *τὰ διαφανῆ Λακωνικά*). **3.** AV 'tablets' (כּוּמָז [etym. unknown]; LXX *περιδέξιον*, *περιδέξια*; RV 'armlets'), Ex 35[22], Nu 31[50]. The Heb. word prob. stands for some neck ornament † (RVm 'necklaces'; cf. Dillm.-Ryssel or Baentsch, *Exodus, ad loc.*). **4.** The 'tablets' (*i.e.* lockets) of AV in Is 3[20] become in RV 'perfume boxes' (so Ges.; cf. Vulg. *olfactoriola*), and some such sense [possibly 'ointment boxes'; so P. Haupt (deriving from Assyr. *pašâšu*, 'to anoint oneself') in Cheyne's 'Isaiah,' *SBOT* p. 82] is required by the context for the Heb. בְּפֶךְ תַּחַת נֶפֶשׁ, although it may be doubted whether נֶפֶשׁ ever in the OT [Pr 27[9] is a doubtful passage] actually *means* 'odour.' The meaning is perh. 'of health,' *i.e.* serving to give health to those who smell them (='reviving,' 'refreshing'; cf. the Niph. of the root נפשׁ, and its use in Ethp. in Syr.

* In the Talmud גִּלָּיוֹן stands for the empty margin of a page or roll.

† This is no doubt the meaning of the English word used by AV, for in the language of the day an ornament hanging from the neck could be called a 'tablet,' as Golding, *Ovid*, 123, 'Riche pearles were hanging at her eares, and tablets at her brest.'

= ἀναψύχω). See, further, art. PERFUME, vol. iii. p. 747[a]. J. A. SELBIE.

TABOR (תָּבוֹר; B Θαχχειά, A and Luc. Θαβώρ; Vulg. *Thabor*).—A city in Zebulun given to the Merarite Levites (1 Ch 6[77]). No name having any similarity to Tabor occurs in the earlier list of Levitical cities in Zebulun (Jos 21[34. 35]). Various suggestions, none of them quite satisfactory, have been made in regard to this place,—that the occurrence of the name in 1 Chron. is due to a transcriber's error; that it is an abbreviation of Chisloth-tabor, a town on the border of Zebulun (Jos 19[12]); that it is the Daberath of Jos 21[28], now *Debûrieh*; and that either a town on Mount Tabor or the mountain itself is intended. Some authorities suppose it to be the same place as Tabor on the border of Issachar (Jos 19[22], B Γαιθβώρ, A Θαφώθ, Luc. Θαβώρ), and that at which the brothers of Gideon were slain by Zebah and Zalmunna (Jg 8[18]). C. W. WILSON.

TABOR, MOUNT (הַר תָּבוֹר; LXX ὄρος Θαβώρ, τὸ Ἰταβύριον (in Jer. and Hos.); *Thabor*).—One of the most celebrated, and, at the same time, one of the most striking, mountains in Palestine. At the N.E. extremity of the rich plain of Esdraelon, and only about 5 miles E. of Nazareth, a limestone hill of unique outline rises to a height of 1843 feet above the sea. This is Mount Tabor, the *Atabyrium*, or *Itabyrium* of Greek and Roman writers, now called *Jebel et-Tûr*. The mount overlooks the adjacent hills of Lower Galilee, and, being connected with them only by a low ridge, is practically isolated. Its form approaches that of a truncated cone with rounded sides, and a fairly level, oval-shaped summit. When viewed from a distance, especially from the S.W., it has the appearance of a hemisphere, and is remarkable for its symmetrical form, its graceful outline, and its wooded slopes. The mount is often capped with mist, and even in the dry season heavy dews refresh the parched soil, and give new life to the oaks, pistachios, and other trees that partially cover its slopes. In these coverts, during the Middle Ages, wild beasts found shelter; and wild boars, birds, and small game still make them their home. The slopes are steep and rocky, but the ascent can be made with ease—nearly everywhere on foot, and in more than one place on horseback. The view from the summit is disappointing, in so far that there is no one spot from which a complete panorama can be obtained; but from many points places of the greatest sacred and historic interest can be seen. To the S.W. and W., stretched out like a map, the great plain of Esdraelon extends beyond Taanach and Megiddo to the gorge of the Kishon and the ridge of Carmel. To the N. are the heights of *Lûbieh* and the 'Horns of Hattîn,' where Guy de Lusignan and the Templars made their last stand before surrendering to Saladin; and beyond them lie *Ṣafed* and the hills of Upper Galilee, with snow-capped Hermon and the peaks of Lebanon in the distance. To the N.E. and E. are the Sea of Galilee and the rugged *Ḥaurân*, the Jordan Valley, the deep gorge of the *Yarmuk*, and the high tableland of Bashan; and to the S.E. the mediæval fortress of Belvoir (*Kaukab el-Ḥawa*), the Jordan Valley below Bethshean, and the mountains of Gilead. To the S., on the lower slopes of *Jebel Duhy* (Little Hermon), are Nain and Endor, and beyond *Jebel Duhy* can be seen the crest of Mt. Gilboa.

A mountain so situated, and so beautiful, necessarily played an important part in the history of Israel. Its isolation, and the steepness of its slopes, marked it out, from time immemorial, as a fortress or rallying point; and its attractive beauty led the Rabbis to maintain that it was the mountain on which the temple ought of right to have been built had it not been for the express revelation which ordered the sanctuary to be built on Mount Moriah (Schwarz, p. 71). Amongst the mountains of his native land, the Psalmist (Ps 89[12]) could have selected no more fitting representatives than Tabor with its rounded features and scattered glades, and Hermon with its lofty peak and pure canopy of snow. So, too, its natural strength and conspicuous position led the prophet (Jer 46[18]) to use it and Carmel as an image either of the power and pre-eminence of the king of Babylon, or of the certainty and distinctness of God's judgments. Some commentators suppose Tabor to be the mountain alluded to in Dt 33[18. 19] (see discussion in Driver, *ad loc.*); and hence it has been conjectured that Tabor was an early sanctuary of the northern tribes, which afterwards became the scene of idolatrous rites (Hos 5[1]).

Mount Tabor is mentioned by its full name only in Jg 4[6. 12. 14], where it is stated to have been the place at which Deborah and Barak assembled the warriors of Israel before the memorable victory over Sisera (Jos. *Ant.* v. v. 3).

The mount is probably (but see Dillm. *ad loc.*) intended in Jos 19[22], where the boundary of Issachar is said to have reached to Tabor; and this view was held by Josephus (*Ant.* v. i. 22) and Eusebius (*Onom.*). Whether the Tabor at which the brothers of Gideon were slain (Jg 8[18]) was the mount, is more doubtful (see preceding art., and Moore, *ad loc.*). According to Josephus (*Ant.* VIII. ii. 3), Mt. Tabor was in the district of Shaphat (Jehoshaphat in 1 K 4[17]), one of Solomon's commissariat officers. In the 3rd cent. B.C. there was an inhabited city, *Atabyrium*, on Mt. Tabor, which Antiochus the Great took (B.C. 218) by stratagem and afterwards fortified (Polyb. v. lxx. 6). In the time of Alexander Jannæus (B.C. 105–78) Tabor was in the possession of the Jews (*Ant.* XIII. xv. 4). But the mount passed to the Romans when Pompey conquered Palestine, and, near it, Gabinius, the Roman proconsul of Syria (*c.* B.C. 53), defeated Alexander, son of Aristobulus II., who had risen in revolt (*Ant.* XIV. vi. 3; *BJ* I. viii. 7). At the commencement of the Jewish war Tabor was occupied by the Jews, and fortified by Josephus, who surrounded the summit with a wall (*Vit.* 37; *BJ* II. xx. 6, IV. i. 8). A little later, after Josephus had been taken prisoner by the Romans at Jotapata, a large number of Jews took refuge in the fortress. Placidus was sent against them with a body of horse, and, having succeeded by a feint in drawing the fighting men into the plain, defeated them and cut off their retreat. Upon this, the inhabitants of the place, whose supply of water, derived from the rainfall, was failing, submitted (*BJ* IV. i. 8).

The later history of Tabor is connected with the belief that Christ was transfigured on the mount, and with the churches and monasteries erected upon it in consequence of that belief. The narrative (Mt 16. 17, Mk 8. 9) seems to demand a site near Cæsarea Philippi; but, apart from this, the existence of a fortified town on the summit of Tabor before and after Christ, makes the selection of that mountain improbable. Eusebius, who states (*Onom.*) that Tabor was situated in the plain of Galilee, and from 8 to 10 Roman miles E. of Diocæsarea (*Sefûrieh*), makes no allusion to the tradition; whilst the Bordeaux Pilgrim (A.D. 333) places the scene of the Transfiguration on the Mount of Olives. The first notice of Tabor as the place of the Transfiguration is a remark by Cyril of Jerusalem, *c.* A.D. 350 (*Cat.* xii. 16). Jerome, A.D. 386, says that St. Paula 'climbed Mt. Tabor on which the Lord was transfigured' (*Ep. Paul.* xvii.; cf. *Ep. ad Mar.* viii.), but does not mention

a church. Antoninus Martyr, *c.* A.D. 570, saw (vi.) three churches 'at the place where St. Peter said to Jesus: "Let us make here three tabernacles."' Arculf, *c.* A.D. 670, found (ii. 25) a large monastery with many cells, and three churches, enclosed by a stone wall. Willibald, A.D. 754, mentions (xiii.) a monastery and a church, 'dedicated to our Lord, and to Moses and Elias.' Sæwulf, A.D. 1102, saw three monasteries, and adds that the one dedicated to Elias stood a little apart from the others. The Russian abbot, Daniel, A.D. 1106–1107, gives a full description of the mount, which he compares to a haycock, and of its holy places (lxxxvi.–lxxxviii). Its slopes were covered with olive, fig, and carob trees; and on the summit, at the S.E. end of the platform, a small rocky knoll was shown as the place of the Transfiguration. Here there was a fine church, probably that built by Tancred, and near it, on the N. side, a second church dedicated to Moses and Elias. The churches and a Latin monastery were enclosed by solid stone walls with iron gates; and outside the walls were fields, vineyards, and fruit trees. A bowshot W. of the place of the Transfiguration was shown a rock-hewn cave in which Melchizedek was said to have dwelt and to have received Abraham when returning from the slaughter of Chedorlaomer (cf. Fetellus, A.D. 1130). Amongst the churches and monasteries noticed by Sæwulf and Daniel must have been the church built by Tancred, to whom Galilee was granted as a fief; and the monastery founded by the Black Friars of the reformed order of Benedictines of Cluny, who in A.D. 1111 disputed the jurisdiction of the archbishop of Nazareth (Albert of Aix, vii. 16; W. of Tyre, ix. 13; de Vitry). In 1113 the monasteries were pillaged by Arabs from Damascus, and the monks massacred; but they were soon reoccupied. Theoderich, in 1172, mentions a church and monks under an abbot (xlvi.) who, according to Ludolph von Suchem, 'used a leaden *bulla*, like the Pope'; and places the scene of the meeting between Melchizedek and Abraham at the foot of the mount. In 1183 the monks repulsed an attack by the troops of Saladin. Two years later, 1185, Phocas, a Greek monk, found a Latin monastery at the place of the Transfiguration, and to the north of it a Greek monastery. He also saw the grotto of Melchizedek, with chambers above and under ground, and many cells for anchorites; and close by, a church on the spot where Melchizedek met Abraham. In 1187 the mountain was laid waste by Saladin; but in 1212 it was strongly fortified by his brother el-Melek el-'Âdel. The fortress was unsuccessfully attacked by the Crusaders in 1217, and dismantled by el-'Âdel in the following year. The monastery and church must have been spared, or little injured, for Yâkût, A.D. 1225, mentions it (ii. 675; cf. *Mar.* i. 434) as standing on the S. side of the mountain; and adds that there were many vineyards, from which the monks made wine. This is confirmed by the tract '*Citez de Jherusalem*,' pt. ii., which notices 'a church of black Latin monks' on Mt. Tabor. In 1263 the Church of the Transfiguration was levelled with the ground by order of Sultan Bibars; and later visitors found only 'hollow places and caves beneath the ruins of splendid buildings, wherein lurk lions and other beasts.' Amidst these ruins, however, the Latin and Greek monks from Nazareth continued to hold an annual service in memory of the Transfiguration. The ruins on the summit are those of a fortress with square flanking towers, and, in places, a rock-hewn ditch. There are also many rock-hewn cisterns and a pool, and the remains of the churches and monasteries noticed above. The ruins are Jewish, Byzantine, Crusading, and Arab; but, without excavation, it is difficult to make any clear distinction between them. The Latins and Greeks have in recent years erected churches and monasteries on the sites of the earlier buildings, and the Latins have recovered the place of the Transfiguration mentioned by abbot Daniel.

LITERATURE.—*PEF Mem.* i. 367, 388–391; de Vogüé, *Église de T. S.* 353; Guérin, *Galilée*, i. 143–163; Robinson, *BRP*[2] iii. 351 ff.; Burckhardt, *Travels in Syria*, 1822, p. 332 ff.; G. A. Smith, *HGHL* 394, 408, 417; Buhl, *GAP* 107 *f.*, 216 *f.*; Barnabé, *Le Mont Thabor*. C. W. WILSON.

TABOR, THE OAK OF (AV THE PLAIN OF TABOR; אֵלוֹן תָּבוֹר; ἡ δρῦς Θαβώρ; *quercus Thabor*), is mentioned (1 S 10[3]) between Rachel's sepulchre in the border of Benjamin at Zelzah and the 'hill of God,' or Gibeah, as one of the points passed by Saul on his homeward journey after his anointing by Samuel. The site is unknown. Thenius emends, from Gn 35[8], אֵ֫לוֹן דְּבוֹרָה to אֵ֫לוֹן תָּבוֹר 'Oak (terebinth) of Deborah' (Rachel's nurse). This tree is called in the Genesis passage Allon-bacuth, and Ewald and others identify it further with the palm (תָּמָר) of Deborah mentioned in Jg 4[5]. (Cf. Moore on Jg 4[5]; Dillm. on Gn 35[8]; Siegfried-Stade and *Oxf. Heb. Lex. s.* אֵלוֹן).

C. W. WILSON.

TABRET (see art. TABER) is AV tr. of תֹּף in Gn 31[27], 1 S 10[5] 18[6], Is 5[12] 24[8] 30[32], Jer 31[4], Ezk 28[13]. The same Heb. word is tr. '**timbrel**' in Ex 15[20], Jg 11[34], 2 S 6[5], 1 Ch 13[8], Job 21[12], Ps 81[2] 149[3] 150[4]. The RV, strangely enough, follows this want of uniformity in rendering, except in 1 S 10[5] 18[6], where it substitutes 'timbrel' for 'tabret.' It might have been well to drop both 'timbrel' and 'tabret,' neither of which conveys any clear sense to a modern ear, and adopt some such rendering as 'tambourine' or 'hand-drum.' The LXX always tr. תֹּף by *τύμπανον* except in Job 21[12], where we have *ψαλτήριον*, and Ezk 28[13], where a different Heb. text. has been followed. [This last *may* have been the case even in Job 21[12]]. See, for a description of the תֹּף, vol. iii. p. 462[b].

The AV rendering of Job 17[6] 'aforetime I was as a tabret,' has arisen from a confusion of תֹּפֶת 'spitting' [ἄπ. λεγ.] with תֹּף 'tambourine.' The words תֹּפֶת לְפָנַי אֶהְיֶה, in parallelism with the preceding הֵצִינֵנִי לְמָשָׁל עַמִּים ('I am made [lit. 'one hath made me'] a byword of the peoples'), mean 'I am become one to be spit on in the face' (RV 'an open abhorring'). See A. B. Davidson, *ad loc.*, and cf. the notes of Dillm. and Duhm. The LXX reproduces תֹּפֶת by *γέλως*, 'a laughing-stock.'

J. A. SELBIE.

TABRIMMON (טַבְרִמּוֹן, 'RIMMON [*Ramman*] is good *or* is wise' [see TABEEL]; B Ταβερεμά, A Ταβενραημά, Luc. Ταβερεμμάν).—The father of Benhadad, 1 K 15[18].

TACHES.—An old word of French origin (cf. *attacher*) used by AV to render the Heb. קְרָסִים *ḳĕrāṣîm*, which occurs only in P's description of the tabernacle (Ex 26[6. 11. 33] 35[11] etc.). The Gr. rendering is *κρίκοι*, which denotes the rings set in eyelets at the edge of a sail for the ropes to pass through; Vulg. *circuli*, RV 'clasps.' The Heb. word evidently signifies some form of hook or clasp like the Roman *fibula* (see Rich, *Dict. of Rom. and Gr. Antiq. s.v.*). Fifty 'taches' or clasps of gold, attached at equal distances along the edge of one set of tapestry curtains, fitted into the same number of loops along the edge of the second set, and 'coupled' the two sets together. A similar arrangement of bronze clasps joined the two sets of hair curtains which formed the 'tent' (see TABERNACLE, § vii. (*α*)). The veil which divided the tabernacle or 'dwelling' into two parts, the Holy Place and the Most Holy, was suspended immediately underneath the line of

clasps, a detail of considerable significance for the dimensions of the tabernacle (see § vii. (*c*)).

A. R. S. KENNEDY.

TACKLING.—In Is 33[23] 'Thy tacklings (חֶבְלֶיךָ) are loosed,' the Heb. word plainly means a ship's ropes. And that was the ordinary meaning of the Eng. word 'tackling' about 1611, as in Shaks. *Rich. III.* IV. iv. 233—

'Like a poor bark, of sails and tackling reft.'

But the Eng. word was also used more comprehensively of the whole gearing, as in Ascham's *Schole-master*, 65, 'Great shippes require costlie tackling.' And so it is used in Ac 27[19] 'We cast out with our own hands the tackling of the ship' (RVm 'furniture'). The Greek word (σκευή) is as vague, says Rendall, as the English 'furniture,' and may include any heavy fittings that could be readily detached, or spare masts and spars. See SHIPS AND BOATS.

The word is of Scand. origin; the *le* in 'tackle' is the instrument, so that the tackle is that which *takes* hold of; the *ing* is collective.

J. HASTINGS.

TADMOR (1 K 9[18] [so *Ḳĕrê*, AV, RVm; **Tamar** in *Kĕthîbh* and RV; B om., A Θερμάθ, Luc. Θοδμόρ], 2 Ch 8[4] B[K] Θοεδομόρ, A Θεδμόρ, Luc. Θεδμάρ).—The Tamar of 1 Kings is believed by the present writer to be the same place as the 'Tadmor' of 2 Chronicles (see, however, art. TAMAR; G. A. Smith, *HGHL*[1] 270, n.[2]; Kittel, *Könige, ad loc.*).

Whatever view be held as to Tamar, Tadmor is undoubtedly the Palmyra of history, a city whose ruins have excited the admiration of all travellers, and whose history under the rule of Odenatus and Zenobia can never be read without feelings of high interest. The city rose from an oasis in the Syrian desert due to springs welling up through the sands, or from rivulets descending from the neighbouring hills, giving rise to vegetation and groves of palms.* At a later period it was supplied with water by means of an aqueduct built by Justinian. The position of the city is about 150 miles N.E. of Damascus, half-way between the valleys of the Orontes and the Euphrates; and the caravan routes in ancient times as well as in the beginning of our era, connecting the Persian Gulf with the Mediterranean, and between Northern Syria, Petra, and Central Arabia, passed through Palmyra. During the wars between Rome and Parthia, Palmyra endeavoured to maintain a position of neutrality; and, about the year A.D. 130, Hadrian took the city under his special favour, giving it the name of Adrianopolis. At a later period Palmyra received the *Jus Italicum* and became a Roman colony; and in the early period of the Persian wars the city became an important military post, and the inhabitants thus gained a knowledge of military tactics which they afterwards turned to use against their instructors.

Odenatus and Zenobia.—Up to this time Palmyra was governed by a senate; but on the defeat of the Roman army under Valerian by Sapor, king of Persia, and the rejection of the offer of alliance made by Odenatus, who had attained the position of king or prince of Palmyra, the Palmyrene army hovered round the Persian host as it was retreating across the Euphrates with the captive Roman emperor and enormous booty, and inflicted such loss on the Persians that they were glad to put the river between them and their pursuers.† By this exploit Odenatus laid the foundation of his future fame and fortunes. With the consent of the emperor Gallienus the Roman senate conferred the title of *Augustus* on the brave Palmyrene, and seemed to entrust to him the government of the East, which he in effect already possessed.*

On the death of Odenatus, by assassination, Zenobia his widow, who had shared with him the government of the kingdom, became his sole successor, with the title of 'Queen of Palmyra and the East.' Of this remarkable personage Gibbon says: 'Modern Europe has produced several illustrious women who have sustained with glory the weight of empire; nor is our own age destitute of such distinguished characters. But if we except the doubtful achievements of Semiramis, Zenobia is perhaps the only woman whose superior genius broke through the servile indolence imposed on her sex by the climate and manners of Asia. She claimed her descent from the Macedonian kings of Egypt, equalled in beauty her ancestor Cleopatra, and far surpassed that princess in chastity and valour.'† On ascending the throne (A.D. 267) Zenobia maintained the same policy of hostility, both to Persia and Rome, which had been adopted by her husband, and defeated a Roman army commanded by Heraclianus. She also invited the celebrated Platonic philosopher Longinus to her capital to be her instructor in Greek literature and her counsellor in affairs of state. But Aurelian, who had ascended the throne of the Western empire, had resolved to endure no longer the authority of a rival in the East; and in A.D. 272 he marched to attack Zenobia with all the forces of the empire. Zenobia, being but weakly supported in the unequal contest by Varahran, successor to Sapor, was defeated in battle, and attempted to escape by flight towards the Euphrates,‡ but was captured on the banks of that river and brought before her conqueror, who carried her to Rome to grace his triumph. While crossing the straits which divide Europe from Asia, Aurelian received intelligence that the Palmyrenes had risen in revolt and massacred the governor and garrison he had left behind. Enraged at this conduct he at once retraced his steps, and the helpless city felt the full weight of his resentment. A letter of Aurelian himself admits that old men, women, children, and peasants were involved in indiscriminate slaughter; but, taking pity on the miserable remnant of the inhabitants, he granted them permission to rebuild and inhabit the city. 'But (as Gibbon observes) it is easier to destroy than to restore. The seat of commerce, of arts, and of Zenobia gradually sank into an obscure town, a trifling fortress, and at length a miserable village. The present citizens of Palmyra, consisting of thirty or forty families, have erected their [mud] cottages within the spacious court of a magnificent temple.'§

Ruins.—The ruins of Palmyra attest its former magnificence. The principal building is the great Temple of the Sun (Baal), with its lofty arch and grand rows of columns, originally about 390 in number; but besides this there are remains of the walls of Justinian which enclosed the city, and outside the wall towards the north several ruined sepulchral towers, together with the remains of the aqueduct.‖ For an account of the Gr. and Aram. inscriptions see de Vogüé, *Syrie centrale*, pp. 1–8. Cf. also the interesting 'Zolltarif' (A.D. 155) published by Reckendorf in *ZDMG* (1888), p. 370 ff. (text and com.); text in Lidzbarski.

E. HULL.

* Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, i. 396.

† Peter Patricius, p. 25, quoted by Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, i. 352.

* *Hist. August. Scrip.* p. 180.

† *Decline and Fall*, i. 391. ‡ *Ib.* i. 398.

§ *Decline and Fall*, i. 400; the history of Zenobia and Palmyra is taken principally from the writings of Pollio; Vopsicus in *Hist. August.* i.; a modern romance, *Zenobia, or the Fall of Palmyra*, by Rev. W. Ware (1844), will repay perusal. See also Wright, *Palmyra and Zenobia*, 1895.

‖ An excellent plan of Palmyra, taken from R. Wood's *Ruines de Palmyre*, will be found in Baedeker's *Palestine and Syria*; and in Murray's *Syria and Palestine*, one of less merit.

TAHAN (תַּחַן). — The eponymous head of an Ephraimite clan, Nu 26[35 (39)] (Τάναχ), 1 Ch 7[25] (BA Θάεν, Luc. Θάαν). The gentilic name **Tahanites** (הַתַּחֲנִי, ὁ Ταναχ(ε)ί) occurs in Nu 26[35 (39)].

TAHASH (תַּחַשׁ, Τόχος).—A son of Naḥor by his concubine Reumah, Gn 22[24] [J]. The name means 'porpoise,' and this animal was probably the totem of the (unidentified) tribe that bore it.

TAHATH (תַּחַת).—**1.** A Kohathite Levite, 1 Ch 6[24 (Heb. 9)] (B om., A[a?] sup ras Θάαθ) [37 (Heb. 22)] (BA Θάαθ). **2. 3.** The eponym of two (unless the name has been accidentally repeated) Ephraimite families, 1 Ch 7[20] (A [only first time] Θάαθ, B om. both times).

TAHATH (תַּחַת; BA Luc. Κατάαθ, F Κατθάαθ).—One of the twelve stations in the journeyings of the children of Israel which are mentioned only in Nu 33. It comes between Makheloth and Terah (v.[26f.]), and, like them, has not been identified.

TAHCHEMONITE, AV Tachmonite.—See HACHMONI.

TAHPANHES, TEHAPHNEHES (תַּחְפַּנְחֵס Jer 43[7ff.] 44[1] 46[14], תְּחַפְנֵחֵס Ezk 30[18], תחפנס [text. error] in *Kĕthîbh* of Jer 2[16], Ταφνάς, Ταφναί).—A city on the E. frontier of Lower Egypt. There is no doubt that it is the same place that was known to classical writers as Daphnæ. The etym. of the name is unknown, and no hieroglyphic equivalent has yet been found. It seems likely, however, that this frontier city was named 'the beginning of the . . . (?)' *Ta-ḥat-p . . .* (?). The modern name, *Tell Defneh* (often mis-spelled *Defeneh* or *Defenneh* on maps) is very close to the Greek. The site is now a desolate mound on the edge of the desert, and but little removed from the brackish swamp of Lake Menzaleh. Formerly this district was to a great extent cultivated, being irrigated and drained by the Pelusiac branch of the Nile, now silted up. Pelusium, situate at the mouth of the Nile and surrounded by swamps, was nearly 20 miles away. Flinders Petrie excavated the site for the Egyp. Expl. Fund, and has demonstrated much of its history. One mound is apparently Ptolemaic and Roman, showing where the Daphno of the Rom. itineraries had been. Another mound, still apparently bearing a name connecting it with the Jews, contained remains of a palace or citadel destroyed by fire, which stood in the midst of a great camp. In the camp and fortress were found amongst other things thousands of arrow-heads, of small weights, and many fragments of fine Gr. and Egyp. pottery; while in the foundations of the central building were plaques inscribed with the name of the builder, Psammetichus I. This king, the founder of the Saite dynasty (B.C. 664) is recorded by Herodotus (ii. 30) to have established a garrison at Daphnæ as one of three chief frontier posts, and the Greek objects found there show that Herodotus was referring to the same place when he mentions (ii. 154) that Psammetichus established a camp of Ionians in this region. The number and variety of the weights afford some indication of the amount of trade and money-changing that must have gone on here. It is very unfortunate that no inscriptions of importance could be found; a great tablet of hard quartzite was indeed discovered, but, as it had been exposed for centuries to mutilation, few signs were left upon it. They are apparently the remains of a historical inscription of Psammetichus I. There was little indication of Daphnæ having existed before Psammetichus, but for two centuries from that time it was a frontier post of the highest importance, and a name particularly well known to nations living on the E. of Egypt. A colony of fugitive Jews under Johanan established themselves there after the murder of Gedaliah, Jer 43[7ff.] 44[1]. The fulfilment of Jeremiah's prophecy, made on this spot, that Nebuch. would invade and take Egypt (43[8-13]), has not yet been ascertained from the monuments, but the excavations gave evidence of violent destruction and conflagration. Herodotus (ii. 30) says that in his time the Persians kept up the garrison there. The place is mentioned Jth 1[9].

Hanes, in Is 30[4], can hardly be Daphnæ, for the latter did not rise to importance till a later date.

F. Ll. GRIFFITH.

TAHPENES (תַּחְפְּנֵיס; B Θεκεμείνα, A Θεκεμίνα, Luc. Θεχεμείνα).—The name of the queen of 'Pharaoh king of Egypt,' who gave his sister in marriage to Hadad the Edomite before the death of David (1 K 11[19]). Winckler (*AT Untersuch.* 1–6), and still more Cheyne (*Encyc. Bibl. s.v.* 'Hadad'), consider the passage as full of corruptions, the chief point being that Miẓraim (Egypt) should be corrected back to Muṣri (in North Arabia). If we accept the text as it stands, Hadad's marriage was not so grand as to be improbable. David was contemporary with the weak 21st dynasty, which appears to have had no influence abroad; nor is it probable that the 21st dynasty kings reigning at Tanis had any considerable authority even over the high priests at Thebes. The name 'Tahpenes' has an Egyptian appearance, but has not hitherto been found on the monuments.

F. Ll. GRIFFITH.

TAHREA (תַּחְרֵעַ).—A grandson of Mephibosheth, 1 Ch 9[41] (B Θαράχ, A Θαρά, Luc. Θαράα). The name appears (prob. by a copyist's error) in 8[35] as **Tarea** (תָּאֲרֵעַ; B Θερέε, A Θαρέε, Luc. Θαράα).

TAHTIM HODSHI, THE LAND OF (אֶרֶץ תַּחְתִּים חָדְשִׁי; B εἰς τὴν Θαβασὼν ἡ ἐστιν Ναδασαί, A εἰς γῆν Ἐθαὼν Ἀδασαί; *terra inferiora Hodsi*).—A place east of Jordan, which Joab and his officers visited when making the census for David (2 S 24[6]). It is mentioned between Gilead and Dan-jaan. The MT, however, is certainly corrupt. In all probability we should read תַּחְתִּים קֶדְשָׁה 'to the land of *the Hittites, towards Ḳadesh* [*sc.* Ḳ. on the Orontes].' The emendation תַּחְתִּים is due to Hitzig (*GVI* p. 29), קֶדְשָׁה to Thenius (who suggested קָדְשִׁי or קִדְשָׁה). Both emendations, which are strikingly confirmed by Luc. εἰς γῆν Χεττιελμ Καδής, are accepted by Wellh., Driver, Budde, *et al.* Another emendation of חדשי is that of Ewald (*Hist.* iii. 162), who would read חרמן (Ḥermon). This is supported by Buhl (*GAP* 69), and somewhat favoured by Löhr and H. P. Smith (*Sam. ad loc.*), mainly on the ground that Ḳadesh on the Orontes is too far north to suit the requirements of the passage.

C. W. WILSON.

TAKE.—The verb 'to take' is one of a short list of English words which Earle 'can offer with most confidence as words which have come in through Danish agency' (*Philology*, § 59). It is at any rate a Scand. word; and from the meaning of the Gothic *tekan* and its relation to Lat. *tangere* it is probable that its earliest meaning is to 'touch with the hand,' as in Morris' *Old Eng. Misc.* p. 31, 'Ure lord . . . spredde his hond, and tok his lepre; . . . and al so rathe he was i-warisd of his maladie.' From this would easily flow 'lay hold of,' 'seize,' 'receive,' and the like. The examples that deserve attention in AV may be grouped as follows:—

1. *To seize one's person:* Sir 23[21] 'This man shall be punished in the streets of the city, and where he suspecteth not he shall be taken (πιασθήσεται)'; Jn 7[30] 'Then they sought to take him (πιάσαι), but no man laid hands on him.' Cf. Mt 4[12] Tind.

'When Jesus had hearde that Jhon was taken, he departed into Galile.'

2. *To come upon one unexpectedly:* 2 Mac 5^{25} 'Taking the Jews keeping holiday, he commanded his men to arm themselves'; 1 Co 3^{19} 'He taketh the wise in their own craftiness.' Cf. Earle, *Microcos.* 'A Constable'—'Hee is a very carefull man in his Office, but if hee stay up after Midnight you shall take him napping'; Shaks. *As You Like It*, IV. i. 175, 'You shall never take her without her answer, unless you take her without her tongue.' So to be taken (*i.e.* 'overtaken') with *night*, Sir 36^{26}; with *evil*, Gn 19^{19}; *disease*, 2 Mac 9^{21}, Mt 4^{24}; *fever*, Lk 4^{38}; *palsy*, 1 Mac 9^{55}; *pangs*, Mic 4^{9}; *one's iniquities*, Pr 5^{22}; *a demoniacal seizure*, Mk 9^{18}; *fear*, Lk 8^{37}. Cf. Lk 7^{16} Rhem. 'And feare tooke them al, and they magnified God'; Rutherford, *Letters*, 61, 'Take you no fear.'

3. 'Take' was formerly used of the fascination of some good or bad influence, which was often supposed to be due to supernatural powers. Thus Palsgrave, '*Taken*, as chyldernes lymmes be by the fayries, *faée*'; Cotgrave, '*fée*, taken, bewitched'; Markham, *Treatise on Horses*, 'A horse that is bereft of his feeling, mooving, or styrring, is said to be *taken* . . . some farriers conster the word *taken* to be striken by some planet or evil spirit.' So Pr 6^{25} 'Lust not after her beauty in thine heart; neither let her take thee with her eyelids' (וְאַל־תִּקָּחֲךָ, LXX *μηδὲ συναρπασθῇς*); so 6^{2}; Sir 9^{4} 'Use not much the company of a woman that is a singer, lest thou be taken with her attempts' (*μήποτε ἁλῷς*; RV 'Lest haply thou be caught'), 23^{7}. Cf. Bunyan, *Holy War*, 17, 'They were taken with the forbidden fruit'; Adams, *II Peter* 46, 'It is said that Judith's pantofles ravished Holofernes' eyes; her sandals took him.'

4. The following phrases demand attention: (1) *Take care*, in the sense of 'be anxious' (see CARE), To 5^{20} 'Take no care, my sister, he shall return in safety' (*μὴ λόγον ἔχε*); 1 Co 9^{9} 'Doth God take care for oxen?' (*μὴ τῶν βοῶν μέλει τῷ θεῷ*; RV 'Is it for the oxen that God careth?' Tind. 'Doth God take thought for oxen?'—See THOUGHT. (2) *Take indignation*, Bel[28] 'They took great indignation' (*ἠγανάκτησαν λίαν*); 2 Mac 4^{35} (*ἐδείναζον*). The usual phrase is 'to have indignation,' as Mal 1^{4}, Mt 26^{8}. (3) *Take heart*, Bar 4^{30} 'Take a good heart, O Jerusalem' (*θάρσει*). (4) *Take one's journey*, Dt 2^{4}. Cf. Ex 40^{36} Tind. 'When the clowde was taken up from of the habitacyon, the children of Israel toke their iornayes as oft as they iornayed.' (5) *Take order*, see ORDER. Cf. Ac 8^{2} Rheims, 'Devout men tooke order for Stephens funeral.' (6) *Take a taste of*, 2 Mac 13^{18} 'When the king had taken a taste of the manliness of the Jews' (*εἰληφὼς γεῦσιν*). (7) *Take thought*, see THOUGHT. (8) *Take in vain*, see VAIN, and cf. Erasmus, *Crede*, 153, 'This thynge is to be noted and marked that he dyd not saye, thou shalte not name god, but he sayde, thou shalte not take the name of god. For that thynge is taken which is applyed and put to some use, and that thynge is taken in vayne and indiscreetly which is taken to a prophane and a vyle use, as when a man swereth by god in a matter of smal wayghte or valoure.'

Notice, finally, some antiquated uses of the phrase *to take up*: (1) *To lift*, Is 40^{15} 'He taketh up the isles as a very little thing'; cf. Ac 7^{43} 'Ye took up the tabernacle of Molech' (*i.e.* to carry it about with you); 21^{15} 'We took up our carriages' (*ἀποσκευασάμενοι*, edd. *ἐπισκ.*, RVm 'made ready'). (2) *To translate to heaven*, 2 K 2^{1} 'When the Lord would take up Elijah into heaven by a whirlwind,' 2^{16}, Ac 1^{2} 'Until the day in which he was taken up,' $1^{9.\,11.\,22}$. (3) *To utter*, used of a *parable*, as Nu 23^{7} 'He took up his parable, and said,' so $24^{3.\,15.\,20.\,21.\,23}$, Mic 2^{4}, Hab 2^{6}; also of a *proverb*, Is 14^{4}; a *word*, Am 5^{1}; a *reproach*, Ps 15^{3}; a *lamentation*, Jer 7^{29}, Ezk 19^{1}; a *weeping*, Jer 9^{10}; and a *wailing*, Jer 9^{18}. Cf. Ps 16^{4} 'Nor take up their names into my lips'; Ezk 36^{3} 'Ye are taken up in the lips of talkers.' (4) In Neh 5^{2} the meaning is *to obtain on credit*. 'We take up our corn for them, that we may eat and live' (RV 'let us get corn'; see Ryle's note). Cf. Jonson, *Every Man out of his Humour*, i. 1, 'I will take up, and bring myself in credit, sure.' J. HASTINGS.

TALE.—The Anglo-Sax. *talu* meant a 'number' (cf. Germ. *Zahl*) as well as a 'narrative,' and the verb *tellan* meant to 'count' as well as to 'narrate.' In all the examples but one of 'tale' in AV (apart from the Apocr.) it means 'number' or 'sum.' Thus Ex 5^{8} 'And the tale of the bricks which they did make heretofore, ye shall lay upon them'; so 5^{18}, 1 S 18^{27}, 1 Ch 9^{28}. In Nu 1^{36} Tindale speaks of Benjamin being numbered 'by the tale of names,' but in 1^{30} Zebulun is counted 'after the numbre of names,' and in 1^{38} Dan is numbered 'in the summe of names.'

In like manner 'tell' occurs frequently in the sense of 'count,' as Gn 15^{5} 'Tell the stars, if thou be able to number them'; 2 Ch 2^{2} 'Solomon told out threescore and ten thousand men to bear burdens'; Sir 18^{5} 'Who shall number the strength of his majesty, and who shall tell out all his mercies?' Cf. 1 S 14^{17} Cov. 'Saul sayde unto the people that was with him, Tell and se which of us is gone awaye. And whan they nombred, beholde, Jonathas and his wapen bearer was not there'; Is 10^{19} Cov. 'The trees also of his felde shalbe of soch a nombre, that a childe maye tell them'; Nu 1^{27} Cov. 'All that were able to warre, were tolde in the trybe of Juda'; cf. also Jer 33^{13}, 1 K 8^{5}, 2 K 12^{10}, Ps 22^{17} 48^{12} 56^{8} 147^{4} (in several of which 'tell' might be misunderstood as = 'mention'), and Milton, *L'Allegro*, 67—

> 'And every shepherd tells his tale
> Under the hawthorn in the dale.'

In 1 S 27^{11} occurs the expression 'tell on,' used, as it is still vulgarly, in the sense of 'inform against.' J. HASTINGS.

TALENT.—See artt. MONEY and WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

TALITHA CUMI.—The command addressed by our Lord to the daughter of Jairus (Mk 5^{41}), and interpreted by the Evangelist, 'Maiden, I say unto thee, arise.' The Aram. words טְלִיתָא קוּם (so Dalman, *Gram. d. Jüd.-Pal. Aramäisch*, p. 118, n. 6; p. 266, n. 1) have been variously transliterated in Greek MSS of NT. Tisch., with ℵACLNΠ, reads *ταλιθά*; WH, with B, *ταλειθά* (see on the spelling Westcott-Hort, *NT.* ii. Append. p. 155, and Winer-Schmiedel, *Gram.* pp. 43, 44). D has the extraordinary variant *ταβιτά* (found in different forms in Old Latin texts, *e.g.* the curious reading of *e*, *tabea acultha*; cf. Chase, *Syro-Latin Text*, p. 109 ff.). *κοῦμ* (rather than *κοῦμι*) has the best attestation. This is borne out by the occurrence of the same imperative קוּם in the Talmud, used in *Shabb.* 110*b* 'seven times in one page,' where a woman is addressed (so Edersheim, *Life and Times of Jesus*, i. p. 631). *ταλιθά* is probably the Aramaic fem. of טָלֶה, found in Hebrew only in plur. טָלֶאִים. The relating of the actual (Aramaic) words used by Jesus is characteristic of St. Mark's graphic narrative; cf. $7^{11.\,34}$ 14^{36} 15^{34}. It is needless to speak of 'mysterious Aramaic words' as Keim does (*Jesus of Nazara*, iv. p. 170) on the assumption that the Gospels clothe our Lord's words of command given in miraculous healings

'in Aramaic . . . as if they were magical formulæ' (iii. p. 183). The Evangelist simply reports the very sounds which fell from Jesus' lips upon the ears of the chosen disciples on a specially solemn and memorable occasion.

H. A. A. KENNEDY.

TALMAI (תַּלְמַי).—**1.** A clan, possibly of Aramaic origin, resident in Hebron at the time of the Hebrew conquest and driven thence by Caleb (Nu 13^{22} [BA Θελαμείν, Luc. Θαλαμείν], Jos 15^{14} [B Θοαλμεί, A and Luc. Θαλμαί], Jg 1^{10} [B Θολμείν, A Θαμεί, Luc. Θολμεί]). See, further, art. AHIMAN, No. 1. **2.** Son of Ammihur (or Ammihud), king of Geshur, and a contemporary of David to whom he gave his daughter Maacah in marriage. He was still living many years after Maacah's marriage, for her son Absalom, when he fled from David after the death of Amnon, found refuge with Talmai at Geshur (2 S 3^3 [B Θομμεί, A Θολμεί, Luc. Θολμί] 13^{37} [B Θολμαιλήμ, A Θολομαί, Luc. Θολμί], 1 Ch 3^2 [B Θοαμαί, A Θολμεί, Luc. Θολομί]).

G. B. GRAY.

TALMON (טַלְמוֹן, in Neh 12^{25} פַּלְמוֹן).—The name of a family of temple gatekeepers, 1 Ch 9^{17}, Ezr 2^{42}, Neh 7^{45} 11^{19} 12^{25} (B Ταμμάμ, Τελμών, Τελαμών, Τελαμείν; A Τελμάν, Τελμών, Τολμών; Luc. Σελμών, except in 1 Ch 9^{17} Τελμών). See, also, TELEM.

TAMAR (תָּמָר 'palm-tree').—**1.** (Θαμάρ) A Canaanite woman, married to ER and then to his brother ONAN. When Judah, deterred by the death, successively, of two sons, hesitated to give his surviving son, Shelah, to perform the duty of *levir* (see MARRIAGE, vol. iii. p. 269ᵃ), Tamar, who had assumed the disguise of a *ḳĕdēshāh* in order to effect her purpose, became by her father-in-law himself the mother of twin sons, PEREZ and ZERAH (Gn 38 [J], Ru 4^{12}, 1 Ch 2^4, Mt 1^3). **2.** (Θημάρ, Θαμάρ) The beautiful sister of Absalom, who was violated and brutally insulted by her half-brother, Amnon, 2 S 13^1. This conduct led to the murder of the latter by Absalom, v.$^{23ff.}$ The significance of v.^{13} ('speak unto the king, for he will not withhold me from thee') is noticed in art. MARRIAGE, vol. iii. p. 267ᵇ. **3.** A daughter of Absalom (2 S 14^{27} B Θημάρ, A Θαμάρ). The LXX adds that she became the wife of Rehoboam. She would thus be identical with MAACAH of 1 K 15^2, 2 Ch $11^{20ff.}$. Indeed Lucian reads Μααχά even in 2 S 14^{27}. This question, however, of the identity of Rehoboam's wife is involved in considerable obscurity. See the *Comm. ad loc.*

J. A. SELBIE.

TAMAR (תָּמָר 'palm-tree'; Θαιμάν; *Thamar*).—**1.** In the vision of Ezekiel, the eastern boundary of the land which the twelve tribes were to inherit was to terminate at the East, or Dead Sea; and the S. boundary was to be 'from Tamar as far as the waters of Meriboth-kadesh to the wādy of Egypt' (Ezk 47^{19}; read also תָּמָרָה 'unto Tamar,' for תְּמַדּוּ 'ye shall measure' in v.^{18}). The land was to be divided into parallel strips extending from E. to W., and the southern strip was to be assigned to Gad, whose S. boundary was to be that of the twelve tribes (Ezk 48^{28}). A comparison of the boundaries in Ezk 47 with those given in Nu 34, shows that the same limits are intended, and Tamar must therefore be looked for in the vicinity of the ascent of Akrabbim to the S. of the Dead Sea (cf. the boundary of Judah in Jos 15^{1-4}). Tamar cannot be 'Hazazon-tamar which is Engedi' (2 Ch 20^2), for this place is near the middle of the W. shore of the Dead Sea, and is mentioned under its later name by Ezekiel (47^{10}). It may possibly be the *Asasan Thamar* of Eusebius and Jerome (*Onom.* 85. 3, 210. 86), which they identified with *Thamara*, a village with a fort and Roman garrison, which was a day's journey from Hebron on the road to Elath. This place appears as Thamaro in the Peutinger Tables, on the road from Hebron to Petra; and as a place in Judæa in Ptolemy (v. xvi. 8). But it has not yet been identified.

2. In 1 K 9^{18} the RV, following the *Kĕthībh*, reads *Tamar* (B om., A Θερμάθ) as the name of one of the places which Solomon built, whilst AV, following the *Ḳĕrê*, reads *Tadmor* (cf. 2 Ch 8^4). All the other places mentioned in this passage, Gezer, Beth-horon, and Baalath, are in Southern Palestine, and the expression 'Tamar in the wilderness, in the land,' seems to imply that, like Baalath, it was either in the Negeb, or in the wilderness of Judah. It is probably the same place as No. 1 above. 'Tadmor' of the *Ḳĕrê* prob. came from 2 Ch 8^4, and its place there may have been due to a characteristic desire on the part of the Chronicler to bring Solomon into connexion with the historic Palmyra (see Thenius or Kittel, *ad loc.*).

C. W. WILSON.

TAMARISK (אֶשֶׁל, ἄρουρα).—This name occurs 3 times in OT (RV only; see GROVE, No. 2). Abraham planted a tamarisk tree in Beersheba, Gn 21^{33} (J); Saul sat under the tamarisk בָּרָמָה 1 S 22^6; Saul and his sons were buried under the tamarisk in Jabesh, 1 S 31^{13}. There are 8 or perhaps 9 species of tamarisk in Palestine and Syria. Of these the most abundant are *Tamarix Syriaca*, Boiss., *T. tetrandra*, Pall., *T. tetragyna*, Ehr., and *T. Pallasii*, Desv., all of which are found along the coast. There are also *T. Jordanis*, Boiss., *T. mannifera*, Ehr., *T. articulata*, Vahl, and *T. macrocarpa*, Bunge, desert species. They are shrubs or small trees, with a flattened hemispherical comus, and brittle branches and twigs, with minute scale-like leaves, white or pinkish, perfect or dicœcious flowers, in dense spike-like racemes. Most of them thrive, especially in sandy soil, or exposures where they receive the sea air laden with salt. They sometimes attain a height of 30 ft., and would easily, in that case, serve as landmarks (1 S 22^6). The tamarisk in Jabesh may have marked a shrine.

G. E. POST.

TAMMUZ (תַּמּוּז, Θαμμούζ, *Adonis*).—In the 6th year of Jehoiachin's captivity, and the 5th day of the 6th month, Ezekiel saw women in the north gate of the temple 'weeping for Tammuz' (Ezk 8^{14}). Tammuz was a Bab. deity whose worship had been imported into the west at an early period. The name was originally the Sumerian *Dumu-zi*, 'the son of life,' which became in Semitic Babylonian *Duwu-zu* and *Dûzu*, though in Babylonian contract-tablets of the age of Abraham we also find *Tamuzu* (see *Rec. de trav. relat. à la phil. et arch. égyp. et assyr.* t. xvii. p. 39 note). The form Tâ'ûz given by en-Nedîm, an Arab writer of the 10th century, contains a reminiscence of the abbreviated form, like the Thoas and Theias of Greek mythology.

Tammuz was originally the Sun-god, the son of Ea and the goddess Sirdu, and the bridegroom of the goddess Istar. He seems to have been primarily a god of Eridu, the culture-city of Babylonia on the Persian Gulf. His home was under the shade of the tree of life or world-tree, which grew in the midst of the garden of Eridu, and on either side of which flowed the rivers Tigris and Euphrates. The legendary poems of Babylonia described him as a shepherd, cut off in the beauty of youth, or slain by the boar's tusk of winter (see Macrob. *Saturn.* i. 21), for whom the goddess Istar mourned long and vainly. She even descended into Hades (see BABYLONIA, vol. i. p. 221ᵇ) in the hope of restoring him to life, and the hymn which described her descent through the seven gates of the infernal world was recited at the

annual commemoration of the death of the god by 'the wailing men and wailing women.' This took place in Babylonia on the 2nd day of the 4th month, which bore, accordingly, the name of Tammuz (our June), the day being called a day of 'weeping.' Istar was believed to have mourned her lover with the words, 'O my brother, the only (son)!' and to these the mourners further added, 'Ah me, ah me!' This mourning for the 'only son' is referred to in Am 8^{10} (cf. Zec 12^{11}), and the words of the refrain are given in Jer 22^{18}. Under the form of αἰλινον (*ai-lênû*, 'woe to us') they were carried from Phoenicia to Greece, and gave rise to the belief in the mythical Linos.

In Canaan Tammuz was addressed as Adonai, 'my lord,' the Greek **Adonis**, and the story of Adonis and Aphroditê, the Ashtoreth or Istar of the Semites, made its way to Cyprus, and from thence to Greece. But Tammuz had long since changed his character. He had ceased to be the young and beautiful Sun-god, and had become the representative of the vegetation of spring, growing by the side of the canals of Babylonia, but parched and destroyed by the fierce heats of the summer. Hence in Babylonia his funeral festival came to be observed in the month of June, and in Palestine two months later.

Gebal was the chief seat of the Phœn. observance of the festival. In the red marl brought down in the spring-time by the river Adonis (now *Nahr Ibrahim*), the women of Gebal saw the blood of the slaughtered god. 'Gardens of Adonis' were planted, pots filled with earth and cut herbs, which soon withered away, and in which a wooden figure of the god had been placed. The wailing women tore their hair and lacerated their breasts during the seven days that the period of lamentation lasted. In the time of the 26th Egyp. dynasty, Adonis of Gebal was identified with Osiris, and the festival of his resurrection was accordingly commemorated as well as that of his death. The announcement of it was made by a head of papyrus which came over the waves from Egypt, while the Alexandrians declared that it was at Gebal that Isis had found the dismembered limbs of Osiris (see Lucian, *de Dea Syr.* 7). How the funeral festival was celebrated in the temple of Aphroditê (Ashtoreth) on the Lebanon is described by Lucian (*de Dea Syr.* 6). In an ancient Bab. hymn Tammuz is called 'the lord of Hades.'

In the *Nabatæan Agriculture* of Kuthâmî, a Mendaite writer of Chaldæa in the 5th cent. A.D., we are told of the temple of the Sun at Babylon, in which the images of the gods from all the countries of the world gathered themselves together to weep for Tammuz, and Ibn Wahshiyyah, the translator of the work into Arabic, adds that he had 'lit upon another Nabatæan book, in which the legend of Tammuz was narrated in full; how he summoned a king to worship the 7 (planets) and the 12 (signs of the Zodiac), and how the king put him to death, and how he still lived after being killed, so that he had to put him to death several times in a cruel manner, Tammuz coming to life again each time, until at last he died.' Abû Sayyid Wahb ibn Ibrahim (quoted by en-Nedîm) states that the festival of weeping women in honour of 'Ta'uz' was on the 15th of Tammuz, and that Ta'uz had been put to death by having his bones ground in a mill. The Græco-Phœnician version of the legend is given by Melito in his *Apology* (Cureton's *Spicileg. Syriacum*, p. 25 of Syr. text): 'The sons of Phœnicia worshipped Balthi (Beltis), the queen of Cyprus. For she loved Tamuzo, the son of Kuthar, the king of the Phœnicians, and she forsook her kingdom and came to dwell in Gebal, a fortress of the Phœnicians. And at that time she made all the villages subject to Kuthar the king. For before Tamuzo she had loved Ares, and committed adultery with him, and Hephæstos her husband caught her, and was jealous of her. And Ares came and slew Tamuzo on Lebanon while he was hunting the wild boars. And from that time Balthi remained in Gebal, and died in the city of Aphaka where Tamuzo was buried.'

LITERATURE.—Sayce, *Rel. of the Ancient Babylonians*, ch. iv.; Frazer, *Golden Bough*, i. 278 [^{2} ii. 115 ff., 253 f.]; W. R. Smith, *RS* (Index *s.* 'Adonis'); Jensen, *Kosmol. der Bab., passim*; Movers, *Phön.* i. 191, 202 ff.; Jastrow, *Rel. of Bab. and Assyr.*, 1898, pp. 482, 564, 574, etc.; Toy in *PB*, 'Ezekiel,' *ad loc.*; and the Comm. on *Ezekiel*, esp. those of A. B. Davidson, Bertholet, and Krætzschmar; also Cheyne on Is 17^{10} and Driver on Dn 11^{37} (where Tammuz is very prob. alluded to).

A. H. SAYCE.

TANHUMETH (תַּנְחֻמֶת).—The father (?) of Seraiah, one of the Heb. captains who joined Gedaliah at Mizpah. He is called in 2 K 25^{23} the NETOPHATHITE, but in Jer 40 [Gr. 47]^8 the words 'and the sons of EPHAI' come between 'Tanhumeth' and 'the Netophathite' both in MT and LXX. The form of the name *Tanhumeth* (LXX in 2 K 25^{23} B Θανέμαθ, A Θανέμαν, Luc. Θανεέμαθ; in Jer 47^8 B Θανέμαιθ, A Θαναέμεθ) looks like a feminine (cf. Lagarde, *Bild. d. Nom.* 126 f.).

TANIS (Τάνις), Jth 1^{10}.—See ZOAN.

TANNER (βυρσεύς) occurs only in Ac 9^{43} $10^{6.32}$ of the Simon at whose house St. Peter lodged in Joppa; but tanning was a trade that the Jews carried on in OT times (Ex 25^5, Lv 13^{48}). It was, however, regarded with aversion (see the citations from Talm. in Farrar, *St. Paul*, i. 264 n.), as it necessitated more or less of ceremonial uncleanness, especially if the skins of unclean animals were dealt with. The fact that St. Peter did not hesitate to lodge in the house of a tanner indicates that he had already become somewhat liberal in his views regarding the ceremonial law. Simon's house was by the seaside, which accords with the custom to-day in towns by the sea. In ancient times tanneries were usually without the walls of towns, because of the unclean character of the trade, and the disagreeable odours caused by the work.

The process of preparing skins for use by the Jews may be inferred from what is known of it among the Egyptians and Arabs. The hair of the skins was removed by lime or the acrid juice of the *Periploca secamine*, a desert plant (Wilkinson, *Anc. Egyp.* ii. 186, ed. 1878); the skins were first treated with flour and salt for three days, and cleansed from fat and other extraneous matter. The stalks of the above plant were pounded and placed in water, and then applied to the inner surface of the skin. This caused the hair to loosen, after which the skin was left to dry for two or three days, and then subjected to the further processes of tanning. In these they used the pods of the *Sunt* or *Acacia Nilotica*, which is common in the desert, or the bark or leaves of certain species of *Sumac*, *Rhus Coriaria* or *R. oxycanthoides*, the former of which is common throughout the country (see Post's *Flora of Syr. and Pal.*).

Though the trade of the tanner in general was disliked by the Jews, the preparation of skins for parchment was regarded as an honourable calling.

H. PORTER.

TAPHATH (טַפַּת; B* Ταβληθεί, A Ταφατά, Luc. Ταβαάθ).—Daughter of Solomon and wife of Benabinadab, 1 K 4^{11}.

TAPPUAH (תַּפּוּחַ; B Θαπούς, A Θαφφού, Luc. Φεθρούθ).—A 'son' of Hebron, 1 Ch 2^{43}.

TAPPUAH (תַּפּוּחַ 'apple').—**1.** (BA om., Luc. Θαφφούα) A town in the Shephêlah mentioned between

En-gannim and Enam, and in the same group with Zanoah, Jarmuth, Adullam, and Socoh (Jos 15^{34}). It was probably to the N. of *Wâdy es-Sunt*, but the site has not been recovered. Tristram (*Bible Places*, p. 48) proposes *'Artûf*, near Zo'rah; G. A. Smith (*HGHL* 202 n.) places it in *Wâdy el-'Afranj*. **2.** (B Ταφού, Θαφέθ, A Ἐφφονέ, Θαφθώθ) A town on the border of Ephraim (Jos 16^{8}), which lay within the territory of Ephraim, whilst its lands belonged to Manasseh (Jos 17^{8}). It is mentioned in connexion with the brook Ḳanah (*Wâdy Ḳâna*), and is probably the same place as Entappuah. Tristram (*Bible Places*, p. 195) suggests *'Atûf*, on the N. side of *Wâdy el-Ferrah*. See EN-TAPPUAH. **3.** (B Ἀταφούτ, A Θαφφού) One of the towns W. of Jordan whose kings Joshua smote (Jos 12^{17}). It is mentioned between Bethel and Hepher, and was perhaps the same place as No. 2 above; but this is by no means certain.

C. W. WILSON.

TARALAH (תַּרְאֲלָה; B Θαρεηλά, A Θαραλά; *Tharala*).—A town of Benjamin mentioned between Irpeel and Zelah (Jos 18^{27}). It was unknown to Eusebius and Jerome (*Onom.* Θεραμά, *Therama*), and its site has not yet been recovered.

C. W. WILSON.

TAREA.—See TAHREA.

TARES (ζιζάνια).—There are 4 species of tares in the Holy Land: *Lolium perenne*, L., the Ray Grass, *L. multiflorum*, Gaud., *L. rigidum*, Gaud., and *L. temulentum*, L., the Bearded Darnel. The latter is the most common in the grain fields, and, being as tall as the wheat and barley, is doubtless the plant intended in the parable (Mt 13^{24-30}). The other species are lower, and have more slender spikes, and smaller grains. The Gr. and Lat. *zizania* are prob. derived from the Arab. *zû'ân* or *zuwân*, the common name for the tare. The seeds are poisonous to man and the herbivorous animals, producing sleepiness, vertigo, nausea, vomiting, diarrhœa, and convulsions, and sometimes death. They are, however, innocuous to poultry. They are sold in all Oriental grain markets as food for chickens. It is customary to gather out of the grain fields, not only tares, but all the taller plants growing among the grain, which can be easily pulled up without causing the person engaged to bend over in a way to endanger breaking the stalks of grain. This not only cleans the fields of other plants, but furnishes a large amount of forage for cattle. The allusion in the parable is in substantial accord with modern custom in the East, which is to leave the cleaning of the fields until the grain is well advanced towards the harvest, and can be readily distinguished from all other plants. Then the women and children go into the fields and weed them out, so that an Oriental grain farm in harvest-time is a model of cleanness and beauty. The Talmud asserts that tares are degenerate wheat; and Tristram (with Thomson and others) says that the peasants of the Holy Land believe 'that the darnel and the wheat spring from the same seed . . . and that in very wet seasons the wheat itself turns to tares; the fact being that, in such seasons, the wheat perishes, while the rain is favourable to the development of the darnel' (*Nat. Hist.* 487). It is clear, however, that the owner of the field, in the parable, had no such idea, as he attributes the result to the sowing of the seeds of tares by the hand of an enemy. The bearing of this parable upon theories of the Church and of Church government is beyond the scope of the present article, and must be studied in works on the Parables.

G. E. POST.

TARGET.—1. = a mark to aim at; see MARK (vol. iii. p. 244). **2.** = a shield; see BUCKLER and SHIELD.

TARGUM (תַּרְגּוּם * 'translation,' 'interpretation,' cf. מְתֻרְגָּם Ezr 4^{7}).—The Targums are the translations or paraphrases of the OT books made in the Aram. dialect, which superseded Hebrew as a spoken language among the Jewish population of Palestine and Babylon. The language of the Targums was formerly called *Chaldee*, but, while the incorrectness of this is universally recognized, no quite satisfactory designation has replaced it. The Targums were composed in Palestine; their language is the Aramaic of Judæa, a later representative of the Aramaic already found in Ezra and Daniel.† In the features that chiefly distinguish Eastern and Western Aramaic it agrees with the old Pal. forms as against the dialect of the Bab. Talmud. Those Targums that were officially recognized in the Bab. schools probably owe something to the influence of the Aramaic spoken by those who edited and copied them, while the influence of the Hebrew is seen in those translations which exhibit least tendency to free composition and paraphrase.‡

Jewish tradition connects the origin of the Targums with the need for an intelligible translation felt by those who no longer spoke or easily understood the Heb. language. The disuse of Heb. as the vernacular of the Jews, before the encroachments of Aramaic on all sides, was a very gradual process, and was probably not general much before the time of Christ. Several books or parts of books in the OT canon stand as proof that Heb. was written and read fully three centuries after the return from Babylon. The bilingual character of the books of Ezra and Daniel (however it is to be explained) presupposes equal familiarity with both languages. Then the Semitic words which occur in the NT are, with few exceptions, Aramaic. Probably the desire to possess explanations of the Heb. text in Aramaic made itself felt in some places earlier than in others. The first translations consisted of the oral explanations given along with the reading of the Sabbath lessons in the synagogue. These were made by a class or guild of interpreters called *mĕthorgĕmānîm* (מתורגמנים), appointed for the purpose, but in no sense was their exposition regarded as official or 'authorized.' How far back the custom extended we cannot be certain. The Mishna (*c.* 200 A.D.) contains some rules made to regulate the practice.§ Thus the reading of the Law was to proceed verse by verse, first in Heb. by the reader, and then its Aram. equivalent by the *mĕthorgĕmān*. In the reading of the lesson from the Prophets three verses at a time might be read, to be followed by their Aram. rendering. There is no mention here of reading out of written Targums, and elsewhere‖ the use of such writings was forbidden, at least for the Law, in the Sabbath service, but not the preparation and use of them by individuals for private study or school instruction (see, further, art. SYNAGOGUE, p. 641[b]). There must therefore have been a time when the caprice of the *mĕthorgĕmān* contributed to the form of the translation, and in fact it is known that certain renderings which have found their way into the Targums were not approved.¶ Nevertheless, the general phraseology of the oral translations would tend to become fixed by the custom of learning them, and by the recurring use of them in public. Thus we find in NT times traces of Aram. renderings of Heb. verses in books like

* Etymology unknown; probably non-Semitic.

† Nöldeke, *GGA*, 1872, p. 828 f.; *Die Semitischen Sprachen*, 1899, p. 35 f.

‡ Nöldeke, *Lit. Centralbl.* 1877, p. 304 f., 1884, p. 1345 f.; Dalman, *Grammatik*, p. 9, *Die Worte Jesu*, pp. 66, 67.

§ *Meg.* iv. 4.

‖ Jerus. *Meg.* iv. 1.

¶ See passages enumerated in Dalman, *Grammatik*, p. 24.

the Psalms.* The agreement of these with readings still found in Targums, which we know were not reduced to their present form till long after, cannot be purely accidental. The tradition of the confiscation of a Targum on Job in the 1st cent. A.D.† shows that written Targums existed then, though the use of them was not countenanced by the authorities and guardians of the sacred text. Of the character of these earliest attempts at translating the Heb. Scriptures into Aramaic we know nothing, as none of them have come down to us. All those in our hands are the products of a much later time, none perhaps older than the 4th or 5th cent. A.D. Like much else in Jewish literature, these late productions were based upon older exegetic material, the origin of which lies far behind our first means of access to it. But it is no longer possible for us to separate the different strata and assign them to different ages of composition. The examinations of them which have been made in this direction do not yield a sufficient number of cases of distinctly older contents to enable us with confidence to assign them to an early date, embedded as they are in documents admittedly late, of which they share the linguistic and other peculiarities.

The Targums now known to be extant are as follows:—

i. For the Pent., three Targums: (1) the Targ. of Onḳelos, also called the Bab. Targ. on the Pentateuch; (2) a Targ. of certain parts of the Pent., called the Jerus. Targ. II. or the Fragmentary Targum; (3) a complete Targ. on the Pent. akin to No. (2), called the Targ. of Jonathan [pseudo-Jonathan], or Jerus. Targ. I.

ii. On the Prophets, Earlier and Later: the Targ. of Jonathan bar Uzziel, also called the Bab. Targ. on the Prophets.

iii. On the Hagiographa we have Targums for (1) Psalms, Proverbs, Job; (2) the Megilloth (Cant., Ruth, Lam., Eccles., Est.); (3) Chronicles.

No Targums have been found for Ezra, Nehemiah, Daniel.

In harmony with their character as popular translations of religious books, intended in part to meet the wants of the religious community, the Targums are not always or primarily literal translations. The translations are often mixed up with curious paraphrases and stories such as we meet with in the other Jewish exegetical or homiletic works (*midrāshîm*). They contain, besides, expansions or alterations adapted to secure that the sense of Scripture current among the authorities should find access in an intelligible form to the minds of the people. The theology of the early books of Israel's history and religion took no pains to obviate the appearance of a very distinct anthropomorphic character, but the time came when the main feature of Jewish criticism and exegesis was the anxiety to remove or soften down all references to God that could thus give rise to misunderstanding in the popular mind. The history of the Heb. text itself bears witness to this scrupulous feeling for the Divine majesty: cf. the *tikḳūnê Ṣōphērîm*; the use of נאץ = ברך or קלל when used directly before the name of God; punctuation like לֵרְאוֹת Is 1[12], etc.; and the LXX has sometimes been influenced by the same solicitude (cf. Ex 24[10]). But the clearest expression of this hermeneutic principle is to be found in the Targums, and every page of them illustrates the practice. In fact the basis for anthropomorphic views of God is taken away by the Jewish notion that man was created, not in the image of God but in the image of the angels (cf. Gn 1[26] Jerus. Targ.). It will be sufficient here to enumerate the more usual ways by which everything was avoided that could lead to erroneous or undignified conceptions of God in His own nature or in His manner of revealing Himself.

When God is spoken of as coming into relation with man, walking, speaking, swearing, repenting, etc., some periphrasis for the Divine name is used, by which literary device it was felt that God was somewhat removed or raised above the plane of human affairs, and that His action, therefore, was less direct and more fittingly mediated. There is some evidence that דבורא דיהוה, 'word of Jahweh,' found only in the so-called Jerus. Targg. (cf. Lv 1[1]), was poetically and fantastically personified, and so treated as a mediating factor between God and the world.* In much the same way the מימרא דיי, as God's messenger in nature and in history, unfailingly operative wherever He sends it, is the most usual expression for bridging over the chasm between God and man. But it is so identified with Jehovah Himself as creator, judge, helper, deliverer of His people, that, from the mediating use of it, it has become but another name for Him (*e.g.* Gn 18[1] 35[9], Ex 3[12] 6[3] 12[42], Am 8[8], Is 42[1], Ps 24[1. 12], Job 1[21]). How completely מימרא has lost all reference to its own meaning is seen esp. from such a phrase as מיר מימרא דיהוה, Jos 22[31].†

God has His dwelling-place in the central division of the highest heavens, and the throne of His glory is there. This glory, resting upon the throne, is conceived of as light, and manifestations of God become manifestations of His glory, veiled doubtless in a cloud so as not to cause blindness (cf. Gn 27[1] Targ. Jerus.). This 'glory of God' (יקרא דיי) and 'the presence of the glory of God' (שכינת יקרא דיי) are further expressions which may be used for God Himself active in the world: Gn 28[13], Ex 3[1] 20[20] 34[5] (pseudo-Jon.), 1 K 22[19], Is 6[3], Ps 9[12] 17[8]; similarly זיו אפך Ps 13[2], cf. Ex 33[11] (pseudo-Jon.); זיו שכינתא דיי Ps 42[3]. This instance is indicative of the tendency in later times to use a double expression for the earlier simple one, *e.g.* שום מימרא דיי Gn 16[13] 21[33] (Frag.), יקר שכינתא דיי Gn 22[14] 49[27] (Frag.), Job 14[18].‡

As God is and remains infinitely exalted above and distant from men, His actions and theirs become, equally, events that happen in His presence as a spectator. Hence the preposition קדם is in almost exclusive use before the Divine name throughout the Targums. As a variant for it we sometimes find לשמא esp. in the Jerus. Targums (cf. Ex 22[19], Lv 23[12]); or such words as פולחנא, דחלתא are used before the Divine name (Nu 14[43], Dt 4[4]). Of course, unlike מימרא, יקרא, שכינא, these cannot be subjects of verbs.

Another way of removing the Divine name from too immediate a relation to man was found in putting a verb to which the name was subject in the passive voice: Gn 44[16], Ex 19[19], Nu 9[8]. In this way ידע, ראה become גלי קדם; שמע = שמיע קדם; יד, בוא = עבר, אתגלי.

In passages where eyes, arms, hands, fingers, face, mouth, wings, etc., are attributed to God, some other expression (as 'word,' 'might,' 'shekinah') is often (not always) employed: Gn 8[21], Ex 7[4] 8[15] 15[16], Jos 4[24] 9[14], Ps 36[8]. Expressions in the gen. case before the name of God are paraphrased: Gn 28[17] 31[13], Ex 4[20].

The sense of a passage is even altered from motives of reverence or to avoid anthropomorphisms: Gn 4[14] 20[13], Ex 33[3], Is 1[18] 10[6], Ps 27. Interrog. sentences are rendered by the words that expressed the translator's sense of what the answer intended would be: Gn 18[25], Dt 3[24].

When one and the same expression has for object both God and men, the difference to the translator's mind is obtained by using a different preposition: Gn 32[29] 50[20], Ex 14[31], Nu 21[5]. The word אלהים, when used of heathen deities, is usually rendered מעוא: Jos 23[7. 16], Jg 2[12]. When applied to men it is rendered רב (Ex 4[16] 7[1]), דיניא (Ex 21[6], in Ps 82[1] דינין); cf., further, Gn 35 אלהים = מלאכיא, Ps 8[6] אלהים = כרברין.

i. TARGUMS ON THE PENTATEUCH.—**1. Onḳelos.**—The official Targ. on the Pent. has been handed down under the name of the Targ. of Onḳelos. According to the Bab. Talmud, Onḳelos was a proselyte who lived in the 1st cent. A.D., but only once is any mention made of him as the writer of a Targum;§ and here the corresponding passage in the Jerus. Talmud,‖ which makes no mention of a Targ. of Onḳelos, makes it clear that a confusion with the Gr. translator Aquila is the origin of the tradition which connects Onḳelos with the Targ. called by his name. The author of the Targ. is quite unknown; and it is not at all certain that we have to seek for it a single author. It has certainly a uniformity of style and diction, but this may equally well arise from official revision. The work, or parts of it, may have been first compiled during the 2nd or 3rd cent. A.D. in Judæa,

* Mt 27[46], cf. Ps 22[2]; Eph 4[8], cf. Ps 68[19].

† Bab. *Shab.* 115. 1.

* Weber, *System der Altsynagogalischen Theologie*, p. 174 f.

† Notice the use of מימרי Job 7[8] 19[18] (of Job himself).

‡ Cf. Ginsburger, *Die Anthropomorphismen in den Targumim*, p. 44.

§ Bab. *Meg.* iii. 1.

‖ Pal. *Meg.* i. § 11.

but it never seems to have obtained any great currency or esteem in Palestine. It is first quoted by the name of Onḳelos in a writing of Gaon Sar Shalom in the 9th cent. A.D.* In the Bab. Talmud it is referred to as 'our Targum' (תרגום דידן), or by the formula 'as we translate.'† The name 'Babylonian Targum' does not therefore refer to its linguistic character, as was formerly supposed, for its language is the Aramaic of Judæa, but has been given to it because in the 4th or 5th cent., after a final revision in Babylon, the centre of literary activity among the Jews at that time, it was sanctioned or recognized as an 'authorized' version. It came, in fact, to enjoy the reputation of being the best of all the Targums, and a special Massorah was prepared for it as for the original text itself. Even after the original purpose of the Targ. had been left behind, when Aramaic had disappeared before the rise of Islam and the spread of the Arabic language, the Targ. of Onḳelos continued to be written, and printed, as an accompaniment of the Heb. text, verse after verse, or in parallel columns. The custom of reading it in the synagogue has gradually died out. Yemen, in South Arabia, is now the only exception to this.

Speaking generally, the translation is good, and faithful to the original. The text from which it was made was in all essentials the Massoretic text, and it is rendered in accordance with the conceptions that prevailed in the Jewish schools of the period. Poetic passages, *e.g.* Gn 49, Dt 32. 33, are not rendered so accurately, probably on account of their greater difficulty; paraphrase occasionally takes the place of translation; *midrāshîm*, both *halākhā* and *haggādā*, though by no means in the same degree as in the other Targg. to the Pent., are not entirely wanting. The removal of anthropomorphic or anthropopathic expressions referring to God is effected by the devices mentioned above; but, apart from this, the characteristic Jewish theological doctrines find scarcely any illustration in this Targum. Figurative language, as a rule, is not translated literally, but is explained: *e.g.* Gn 49^{25}, Ex $15^{3.\,8.\,10}$ 29^{35}. For an instance of cabbalistic interpretation in Onḳelos cf. Nu 12^{1}, where אתתא שפירתא is the Targ. for האשה הכושית. Gn 49^{10} and Nu 24^{17} are 'Messianically' explained. Geographical names are sometimes replaced by those current at a later time; cf. Gn 10^{10} 37^{25}, Dt 3^{17}.

The first edition of this Targum was published at Bologna in 1482.

2. **Fragmentary Jerusalem Targum.**—This Targ. contains only certain parts of the Pent., estimated at about 850 verses in all. Three-fourths of it are on the historical sections of the Pent., and the remaining fourth on the legislative sections in Exod., Lev., Numbers. In about 90 verses the translation refers only to some single word of the text, and in about 14 chapters there is no translation or annotation at all. Where longer sections of it occur it is often extremely paraphrastic, the text being overlaid with *midrashic* stories. Its language is Palestinian Aramaic, but of a degenerate type, foreign words occurring in it to a great extent. It has affinities with the language of Onḳelos, the Pal. Talmud, and *midrāshîm*, and also with the vocabulary of the Bab. Talmud.‡

Its fragmentary condition has been accounted for in various ways. (1) Zunz§ considered it a collection of various readings to the so-called pseudo-Jonathan Targum on the Pentateuch. But the agreements are no less numerous and striking than the differences, and cannot be reasonably explained by the assumed negligence of the compiler of the variants. (2) It has been supposed* to be a collection of variants and corrections to the Targ. Onḳ., more suited to the taste of the compiler and his age than the bald and literal version that had gained supremacy in the schools of Babylon. (3) Another form of this view† is that the Fragmentary Targ. contains extracts from an earlier Jerus. Targ. which at one time existed complete.

Its present form is not due to chance: the selection of passages was made to be interpolated in the Targ. Onḳ., supplementing or correcting it at certain points. Such an interpolated Onḳ., with the supplements and corrections combined, is actually found for the Song of Moses and for the Decalogue in old Machzor MSS, and has been made known by Hurwitz's publication of the Machzor Vitry.‡ That there was an earlier complete Jerus. Targ. on the Pent. has been inferred from the fact that in various Jewish works from the 11th to the 14th cent. there have been counted over 300 quotations from a Jerus. Targ. which are not to be found in the Fragmentary Targ., and nearly 300 which do not occur in the Targ. of pseudo-Jonathan. As these quotations often belong to several verses of the same chapter, and many chapters of all the books of the Pent. are represented, the source of them was evidently a continuous and complete work.§ The Fragmentary Targ. is more akin to this source than the Targ. of pseudo-Jon., for, in passages where both the Frag. Targ. and pseudo-Jon. exist, over 100 quotations are found in the Frag. Targ., while only about 20 are found in pseudo-Jon. which are wanting in the Frag. Targum.‖ In about 100 passages the older Jerus. Targ. shows itself dependent on late sources: the two Talmuds, Tanchuma, Rabbɛ Gen., and Rabba Leviticus. It cannot be dated earlier than the second half of the 7th cent., and may be later. The Frag. Targ. therefore cannot be earlier than the 8th century.¶

First edition of Frag. Targ., Venice, 1517.

3. **The Jerusalem Targ.** (*so-called pseudo-Jonathan*).—The complete Palestinian Targ. on the Pent. has, since the 14th. cent., borne the name of Jonathan bar Uzziel, the reputed author of the Targ. on the Prophets. From the manifest incorrectness of this—'תרגום intended for תרגום ירושלמי being read תרגום יונתן—the name pseudo-Jonathan has gained currency. The name ת' ארץ ישראל is found in writers of the 11th cent., and ת' ירושלמי is only another, not so accurate, variation of this. It had its origin in Palestine, and its language is the Pal. dialect. It is a complete Targ. on the Pent. (only about a dozen verses are wanting **), of the same general character as the Frag. Targ., and based partly upon this latter (or perhaps upon its source, the old Jerus. Targ. mentioned above) and partly upon Onḳelos. Its essential character is its free *haggadistic* handling of the text. The Targumist's purpose, plainly, was to make the translation but a vehicle for all the popular stories and comments that had grown up around the Biblical characters and events. Among the indications of its date may be noted: Ex 26^{9}, the six orders of the Mishna are referred to; Gn 21^{21} ערישא and פטימא, a wife and daughter of Mohammed, are mentioned as wives of Ishmael; Gn 49^{26}, Dt 33^{2}, Edom and Ishmael are spoken of as world-powers in a way possible only in the 7th cent. at the earliest. Like the other Targums, it sets aside figurative speech, and eliminates (though not with the same regularity as Onḳelos) all anthropomorphic expressions re-

* Dalman, *Grammatik*, p. 9.
† *Kiddushin*, 49*a*; cf. Zunz, *Gottesdienstliche Vorträge*2, p. 69; Deutsch, *Lit. Remains*, pp. 343, 380; Friedmann, *Onḳelos und Akylas*, p. 5 *n.*
‡ Dalman, *Grammatik*, p. 24.
§ *l.c.* p. 74.

* Seligsohn, *De duabus Hierosolymitanis Pent. Paraph.* 1858.
† Bassfreund, *Das Fragmententargum zum Pent.* 1896, p. 16 f.
‡ Bassfreund, *l.c.* p. 35.
§ See, on the other hand, Dalman, *Grammatik*, p. 25. 'He does not find any proof that the source of the quotations was a single work on the whole Pentateuch.
‖ Bassfreund, *l.c.* p. 21.
¶ *Ibid.* p. 98.
** Dalman, *Aram. Dialektproben*, p. 35.

ferring to the Deity. The heroes of Israel are idealized and their faults leniently passed by, as in the Jewish *midrashic* literature in general. The angelology and demonology of the earlier period appear in a much more developed form than even in the Frag. Targ.; but it is to be noted that some of the relevant passages do not occur in the latter, which has references of its own to angels that are wanting in pseudo-Jonathan. In general, the additions of the Frag. Targ. are found in pseudo-Jon. in a somewhat more condensed form, all the Scripture quotations being regularly omitted. Early geographical names are replaced by those current in a later age. The Targ. is a mine of information on most of the religious and dogmatic conceptions of the Judaism of the Talmudic age. Weber (*l.c.*) gives illustrations, from the Targums as well as from other Midrashic works, of the later Jewish doctrines of the Being of God, His dwelling-place, His revelation in the Torah, Angels, Creation, Sin, Death, the Messianic Kingdom, the resurrection of the just and the future life, Gehenna and its torments, the second death which the wicked die in the world to come, etc.

First edition of Jerus. Targ., Venice, 1591.

Order and mutual Relation of the Pent. Targums.—The question whether the Frag. Targ. was not a collection of variants and parallels to pseudo-Jon., and therefore later, has been referred to above. A further question was raised by Geiger,* when he claimed to prove that the Jerus. Targg. are, in respect both of a great part of their contents and of their general manner of interpretation, older than Onk., and that Onk was manifestly the result of a complete revision of the Targ. pseudo-Jon. in the fourth century. Bacher† holds, somewhat similarly, that the Targ. Onk. is an abridged and revised ed. of a Jerus. Targ. which has been only partially preserved, viz. in the Frag. Targ., and that the Targ. pseudo-Jon. is later than both Onk. and the Frag. Targ., being in fact a combination of them, with additional *midrāshīm*. The Targ. pseudo-Jon. would thus form the third and final stage in the development of the Pent. Targums. Both the Jerus. Targums in their present shape are admittedly much later than the Targ. Onk., as they contain additions made to them through successive generations down to the 7th or 8th cent. On the other hand, all the Targg. probably contain material that is much older than the date of their final compilation and redaction. It still remains questionable whether actual proof has been furnished that any given passage is really ancient, or that the Targ. Onk. has been made up from an older Jerus. Targ. by curtailment not always successfully effected. As passages for which a very ancient date has been claimed may be mentioned: Gn 15^{19}, Nu 24^{21}, the rendering of קיני by שלמאי, the contemporaries and allies of the Nabatæans (cf. in Proph. Targ. Jg 1^{16} 4^{17} 5^{24}); Gn 43^{2}, where Egyptian animal-worship is spoken of as though it still existed; Dt 33^{11}, the reference in which to Johannes Hyrcanus could (it is claimed) come only from a contemporary.‡ Further, the absence of polemics against the Christian faith points (it is thought) to an early pre-Christian date; but unless we are prepared to show that all the Targg. were fixed once for all at the early date, if the Jews at a later time had wished to combat Christian tenets, the opportunities for inserting such were not wanting, and there is no evidence of this. As regards the alleged dependence of Onkelos upon an earlier version of the Jerus. Targums, an examination of the passages adduced by Geiger and Bacher does not produce the conviction that the priority is on the side of the Jerus. Targums. That Onkelos received some revision in Palestine or Babylon is probable; but it is not probable, if the original Jerus. Targ. were to any great extent similar in character to our Frag. Targ., that a translation like Onk. could be reached by pruning it down. The resultant Targ. is too dissimilar to be spoken of as a revision of such a work. Onkelos, when compared with the MT, is quite as intelligible as any literal translation ever is; and though the same exegetic traditions or principles, drawn from the general mental atmosphere in which the compilers lived, may disclose themselves here or there, it has not been made out that the Targ. Onk. shows on the face of it any phenomena which are only reasonably to be explained by the use of the Jerus. Targums.

A few instances may be cited where the reader may judge whether the priority is necessarily on the side of the Jerus. Targums: Gn 4^{7} 40^{13} 49^{22}, Ex 3^{1} $12^{42.\,43}$ 14^{15} $33^{3.\,5}$, Lv 26^{43}, Nu 12^{12} 24^{4}, Dt 32^{6} 34^{7}. The decision remains with an examination of such passages, rather than by quoting passages on the other hand which presuppose dependence of the Jerus. Targ. on Onk., as no one denies that the Jerus. Targg. in their present form are later than Onk. and have drawn from it.

* *Urschrift u. Uebersetzungen der Bibel*, p. 455 *f.*, 'Das nach Onkelos benannte bab. Thargum' in his *Ztsch.* 1871.

† *ZDMG*, vol. xxviii.

‡ Nöldeke, *Die alttest. Litteratur*, pp. 256, 259; cf. Dalman, *Gram.* p. 23, and esp. *Worte Jesu*, p. 67.

ii. TARGUM ON THE PROPHETS.—The official Targ. on the Prophets bears the name of Jonathan (bar Uzziel), a disciple of Hillel in the 1st cent. B.C.* Elsewhere in the Talmud, passages are quoted from it under the name of R. Joseph bar Chija (A.D. 270–333), who was president of the school of Pumbadita. Its origin is at least in part to be sought in Palestine, and it received its final and authoritative form in Babylon in the 5th cent. A.D. Its language largely resembles that of Onkelos. Whether more than the sections which were read in the synagogue services were included in the first translation of the Prophets we cannot say. Making allowance for the difference between the historical and the prophetic books, our Targ. has a uniformity of style and character, due to a careful revision which aimed at producing this. Gesenius has shown that parallel passages (2 K 18 f. = Jer 36–39, Is 2^{2-4} = Mic 4^{1-3}) are tr. alike in both places of their occurrence, and vary only according to the variation of the originals, and that other features are common to the different books (*e.g.* תרגש rendered by יבא in Jonah, Jer., Ezekiel).† The Targ. on the Prophets is not so literal as the Targ. of Onk., yet the method of both translations is alike, and they are clearly meant to be companion works. From certain passages which both have verbally in common, it has been inferred, probably correctly, that Jonathan used Onkelos: cf. Jg 5^{8}, Dt 32^{17}, 1 S 12^{3}, Nu 16^{15}, 2 K 14^{6}, Dt 24^{16}, Jer $48^{45.\,46}$, Nu $21^{28\,f.}$.‡ The Targ. on the historical books is more literal than that on the *Prophetæ Posteriores*, but poetical or difficult passages are paraphrased: cf. 1 S 2^{1-10}, which is explained verse by verse with references to Sennacherib, Nebuchadnezzar, the Greeks, Hasmonæans, Mordecai, Esther, etc.; 1 S 15^{23} 17^{8}, 2 S 14^{11} 20^{18}. Of the prophetic books we have generally a faithful translation, with explanatory additions. For examples of paraphrase, cf. Is $28^{10.\,13}$ 49^{15} 50^{11}; for instances of *haggādā*, Is 12^{3} 33^{22} 62^{10}, Mic 6^{4}. With regard to the rendering of anthropomorphic expressions, figurative language, and the like, the usual rules of Targumic interpretation are observed: *e.g.* the whole story (Hos 1^{3}) of the prophet and Gomer gives place to a series of denunciations upon the continued sins of Israel, with promise of pardon on repentance, and the perplexing features of the original never once appear. Geographical names are mostly retained as in the Heb., but are sometimes tr. into more modern forms: שנער = בבל; בשן = כתנן; אמון מנא [or, more prob., נא alone] = אלכסנדריאה; קיר = קירוני; תוגרמה = גרמניא. The influence of the religious or dogmatic ideas of the author's time is more noticeable than in Onkelos. The Targum in this respect is a mean between Onk. and the Jerus. Targum on the Pentateuch.

First edition of this Targum, Leiria, 1494.

Reference has been made already to the quotations which Jewish writers make from Jerus. Targg. on the Pent., and which are not now found in either of our recensions (the Frag. Targ. or pseudo-Jon.). Similar fragments of Targg. on the Prophets have been printed from the Reuchlin Codex in Lagarde's ed. of the *Prophetæ Chaldaice*, and Bacher has investigated their character in *ZDMG*, 1874. He finds that the variants may be divided into five classes which come from as many sources, and concludes that they are remains of Jerus. Targg. to the Prophets, as they resemble in certain features of language and style the Jerus. Targg. to the Pentateuch. Some of them he considers older than the official Targ. to the Prophets (cf. his view, mentioned above, of the relation of the Frag. Targ. to Onk.); others he considers are the result of a *haggadistic* enlargement of earlier texts at a date later than the Bab. Talmud and the *midrāshīm* (cf. his view of the Targ. pseudo-Jon. in relation to the Fragmentary Targ. and Onkelos).

iii. TARGUMS ON THE HAGIOGRAPHA.—A Targ. on the Bk. of Job is mentioned as in existence in the 1st cent. A.D., but it is certain that no Targ. of

* Bab. *Meg.* 3 *a.*

† Cf. *Comm. über den Jesaia*, i. pp. 70, 71.

‡ Berliner, *Targ. Onqelos*, p. 124.

that age has come down to us. None of the Targg. to the Hagiog. which we possess is earlier than the close of the Talmudic period, and probably all of them are much later. The first mention of them is in the 11th century. Unlike the translations of the Law and the Prophets, the Targg. on the Hagiog. are entirely the work of individual translators, modelled upon the older Targums. They were never meant for public use in synagogue or school, having, in fact, been composed after the need for Aram. translations had ceased. They may be conveniently divided: 1. Psalms, Job, (Prov.). 2. The Megilloth. 3. Chronicles.

1. It is possible that the Targg. on the Psalms and Job come from a single author; at any rate they exhibit marks of similarity in their general method of handling the Heb. text, and they have some linguistic and other features in common. Unlike the Jerus. Targg. on the Pent., they aim at giving a pretty faithful rendering of the original. *Haggadic* additions are met with occasionally, but they are concise, and can easily be separated from the translation proper. Many verses are provided with double translations, the second being ascribed to a different Targ. (א"ת= תרגום אחר). In such cases one of the translations is generally *haggadic*, while the other is more literal. Between forty and fifty verses in Job have such alternative translations, but there are not so many in the Psalms. Half a dozen verses in Job have even a third rendering. The age of the interpolator has been given as the 8th or 9th cent., but there is really no reason for claiming a higher age for the Targg. themselves. Their language is late and artificial; they are compositions in what is no longer to the translators a living speech. The general exegetic devices of the older Targg. are reproduced. Anthropomorphisms as a rule, and all figures of speech, are set aside; references to the history of Israel, to the Law and its study, are frequently introduced; passages are applied to Edom, Ishmael, or Gog; and the eschatological ideas of the synagogue are all met with. We may note that סלה in the Psalms is rendered לעלמין (cf. Hab $3^{3.\ 9.\ 13}$).

The peculiar dialect in which the Targ. to the Proverbs appears has taken up so many features from Syriac that it can only be regarded as an incongruous mixture of the Aramaic of the Targg. and the Syriac of the Peshiṭta. Linguistic elements have been gathered from different quarters and placed side by side, without any regard to the unity of structure which must exist in a spoken or written language.* Many entire verses, estimated as forming a third of the whole book, are identical with the Syriac translation; in a further large number there are close resemblances between the two versions, all the more striking where they agree as against the Heb.; cf. 1^{7} 4^{26} 5^{9} $7^{22.\ 23}$ 9^{11} 12^{19} $16^{4.\ 25}$. It has been shown† that the peculiarities of the Targ. are due to the use of the Pesh. by the Targumist. The view that the Pesh. has borrowed from the Targ. does not account for the Syriasms which the latter contains; the analogy of the Jerus. Talm., where most of the peculiarities of the Targ. occur, though in less proportions, does not help us to understand why just in such large proportions these peculiarities are here found together. Apart from the distinctly Syriac forms, the language and style of the Targ. are akin to that of the Targg. on the Psalms and Job, and there is no reason for assigning it an earlier date. The translation is literal, and additions to the text are extremely rare.*

2. The Targg. on the Megilloth are distinguished among the Targg. to the Hagiog. by their extreme paraphrastic treatment of the text. In parts of them we can still find the translation embedded in the paraphrase, but in other parts the legendary and homiletic sections which have been added form the main feature of the work. These are made up in various ways. Historical parallels are cited for the narratives of the text, with what would be anachronisms if the Targ. were regarded as a tr. of an ancient writing; motives and reasons are supplied to explain the occurrence of events; proper names are etymologized and 'explained'; while figurative language is rendered into prose, allegory takes the place of narrative; the Sanhedrin is frequently mentioned, and the study of the Law introduced on every possible occasion; lengthy genealogies are appended to some of the names occurring in the text; general statements are connected with the names of particular individuals, esp. the patriarchs, Nimrod, Pharaoh, Nebuchadnezzar, Titus and Vespasian, Alexander (?=Antiochus), Messiah the king, and Elias the high priest. The books of Ruth and Lam. are less paraphrastic than Eccles., Esth., or Canticles. One text of the Targ. on Esther (that given in the Antwerp Polyglot) is, with few exceptions, a literal translation. Essentially the same text, with many *haggadic* additions, is printed in the London Polyglot, and this forms the usual Targum to Esther. The so-called second Targum (*Sheni*) is much more voluminous than the last named, and is regarded as an amalgam from other Targums and *midrāshîm* which from time to time were made for this favourite book. It is quoted by the commentators as 'haggādā' and as 'midrash.' More than half the work has nothing to do with the story of Esther, but contains legends about Solomon, the queen of Sheba, etc. The Targ. on Canticles is of the same *midrashic* class: on the basis of certain words of the text we have outlined for us the varying fortunes of the Jewish people from the days of Moses down to the Talmud. We may note besides in this Targ. references to the two Messiahs—Messiah son of David, and Messiah son of Ephraim (iv. 5, vii. 3; cf. Jerus. Targ. on Ex 40^{11}; also Jerus. Targ. on Zec 12^{10} in Lagarde, p. xlii).

3. No Targ. to the Books of Chronicles was known to exist until after the great Polyglot Bibles had been published. In 1680–83 a somewhat incomplete Targ. from an Erfurt MS was edited with tr. and notes by M. F. Beck;† and in 1715 a more complete form of the text from a Camb. MS was edited with tr. by D. Wilkins. There are numerous variations in the two recensions. The tr. is in many parts fairly literal, but examples of *midrashic* amplification are not wanting (cf. 1 Ch $1^{20.\ 21}$ 4^{18} 7^{21} $11^{11.\ 22}$ 12^{32}, 2 Ch 2^{6} 3^{1} 23^{11}). The author made use of the Jerus. Targg. to the Pent. (cf. Gn 10^{20} and 1 Ch 1^{21}, Gn 36^{39} and 1 Ch 1^{43}). The Targ. on the Books of Samuel and Kings was also largely used, of course with the changes in diction and orthography which characterize the Jerus. Targums. 1 Ch 16 is tr. from the Heb. text of Chronicles, and the variations from the Targ. on the Psalms are quite as noticeable as the agreements. Indications of the age of the Targ. are the translations or modern forms of geographical names. The redaction of the text represented by the Erfurt MS has been assigned to the 8th cent., that of the Camb. text to the 9th.‡

The *text* of the various Targg. has been handed

* Cf. the preform. Impf. 3 pers. masc. in נ *as well as* in י; emph. state of nouns in ..י; ל for ית; adverbs in אִית; גיר (=ארום), etc.

† Dathe, *De ratione consensus versionis chaldaicæ et syriacæ Prov. Salom.*, ed. Rosenmüller, 1814; cf. Nöldeke in Merx's *Archiv*, 1871, p. 246; Maybaum, *ib.* p. 66.

* Cf. Pinkuss in *ZATW*, 1894, p. 109. He mentions only two instances of paraphrase, 24^{14} 28^{1}.

† Cf. Lagarde, *Hagiographa Chaldaice*, 1873.

‡ Rosenberg und Kohler in Geiger's *Ztsch.* 1870.

down and edited in a very unsatisfactory condition. The official Targums on the Pent. and Prophets are relatively the best preserved, but an examination of MSS and the printed edd. shows that a critical ed. was never attempted, nor were the materials for it forthcoming. The early disuse of the Targg. accounts for the unskilful and arbitrary treatment of the texts, and of the non-official Targg. it would be correct to say that they never reached a fixed form till such was obtained by the multiplication of printed copies. The vocalization is specially faulty. The South Arabian MSS, with the simpler supralinear system of vowel points first brought to Europe in 1876, provide us with an older and more trustworthy recension of the Targ. on the Law and Prophets than any yet in our hands. MSS on the Pent., Prophets, and Megilloth are now to be found in London, St. Petersburg, and Strassburg, and selections from these have been published.*

Even when critically edited, the Targums are not likely to be of much use for the criticism of the Heb. text of the OT. That text was fixed as we have it before any of our Targg. were compiled, and it is but seldom that they throw any reliable light where it is needed. For a reflexion of the spirit of Judaism, on the other hand, as well as for the Jewish interpretation of the text of their sacred books, they are invaluable. Not that any importance would now be attached to the use formerly made of them by Christian controversialists. The Jewish Messianic ideas run throughout all their Targg.,† but it is now clear that the correct interpretation of particular passages was not exclusively to be found either on the Jewish or on the Christian side (cf. Is $7^{14f.}$ 52^{13}–53^{12}).

LITERATURE.—Carpzov, *Critica Sacra Vet. Test.*, Lips. 1748; Zunz, *Die Gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden*, Berl. 1832, 2nd ed. Frankfurt a/M. 1892; Geiger, *Urschrift und Uebersetzungen der Bibel*, Breslau, 1857; Levy, *Chald. Wörterb. über die Targumim*, Leipzig, 1867–68; Nöldeke, *Die alttest. Litteratur*, 1868, *Die Semitischen Sprachen*[2], Leipz. 1899, and reviews mentioned below; Maybaum, *Die Anthropomorphien bei Onqelos und den späteren Targumim*, 1870; Weber, *System der altsyn. Pal. Theol.* 1880, 2nd ed. 1897; Merx, *Bemerkungen über die Vocalisation der Targume*, Berlin, 1882, *Chrestomathia Targumica*, Berl. 1888; Ginsburger, *Die Anthropomorphismen in den Thargumim*, Braunschweig, 1891; Buhl, *Kanon und Text des AT*, Leipz. 1891 [Eng. tr.]; Schwally, *Idioticon des christlich-palästinischen Aramäisch*, Giessen, 1893; Dalman, *Gram. des jüd.-palästinischen Aramäisch*, Leipz. 1894, *Aram. Dialektproben*, Leipz. 1896, *Aramäisch-Neuhebräisches Wörterbuch*, Frankfurt a/M. 1897–1901, *Die Worte Jesu*, Leipz. 1898; The *Introductions to the OT*, by Eichhorn, de Wette, Riehm, Bleek-Wellhausen, König, Cornill, Strack; cf. also Deutsch, *Literary Remains*, Lond. 1874=art. 'Targum' in Smith's *DB*; Schiller-Szinessy, art. in *Encycl. Brit.*[9]; Volck, art. in *PRE*[2], revised by Nestle in 3rd edition.

On the Pent. Targums: Winer, *De Onqeloso eiusque Paraphrasi Chald.*, Lips. 1820; Petermann, *De duabus Pent. paraphrasibus chald.*, Berl. 1829; Luzzatto, *Philoxenus, sive de Onkel. chald. Pent. versione Dissertatio*, Vienna, 1830; Frankel, 'Einiges zu den Targumim' in *Ztsch. für die Interessen des Judentums*, 1846, *Zu dem Targum der Propheten*, Breslau, 1872; Seligsohn und Traub, 'Ueber den Geist der Uebersetzung des Jonathan zum Pent.' in Frankel's *Monatsschrift G. W. J.* 1857; Seligsohn, *De duabus Hierosol. Pent. paraphrasibus*, Breslau, 1858; Etheridge, *The Targums of Onkelos and Jonathan ben Uzziel on the Pent. with the Fragments of the Jerusalem Targum: from the Chaldee*, 2 vols. Lond. 1862–65; Geiger, 'Das nach Onkelos benannte babylonische Thargum zum Pent.' in his *Jüdische Ztsch.* 1871; Bacher, 'Ueber das gegenseitige Verhältnis der pent. Thargumim' in *ZDMG*, 1874; Berliner, *Die Massora zum Targum Onkelos*, Leipz. 1877 (cf. review by Nöldeke, *Lit. Centralbl.* 1877), *Targum Onkelos*, Berl. 1884 (cf. review by Nöldeke, *Lit. Centralbl.* 1884, by de Lagarde, *GGA*, 1886); Gronemann, *Die Jonathansche Pent.-Uebersetzung in ihrem Verhältnisse zur Halacha*, Leipz. 1879; Singer, *Onkelos und das Verhältniss seines Targums zur Halacha*, Halle, 1881; Kautzsch, *Mittheilung über eine alte Handschrift des Targum Onkelos*, Halle, 1893; Barnstein, *The Targum of Onkelos to Genesis, a critical enquiry into the value of the text exhibited by Jemen MSS*, London, 1896; Bassfreund, *Das Fragmententargum zum Pent.*, Breslau, 1896; Friedmann, *Onkelos und Akylas*, Vienna, 1896; Landauer, *Die Masorah zum Onkelos*, Amsterdam, 1896; Ginsburger, *Das Fragmententargum* (edited from MSS), Berl. 1899; Diettrich, 'Beobachtungen zu drei jemenitischen Handschriften des Onqelostargums' in *ZATW*, 1900.

Targums on the Prophets: Gesenius, *Commentar über den Jesaia*, Leipz. 1821, Einl. § 11; Pauli, *The Chaldee Paraphrase on the Prophet Isaiah*, Lond. 1871; Frankel, *Zu dem Targum der Propheten*, Bresl. 1872 (cf. review by Nöldeke, *GGA*, 1872); de Lagarde, *Prophetæ Chaldaice*, Lips. 1872 (cf. review by Nöldeke, *Lit. Centralbl.* 1872); Bacher, 'Kritische Untersuchungen zum Propheten-Thargum' in *ZDMG*, 1874; Prätorius, *Das Targum zu Josua in jemenischer Ueberlieferung*, Berl. 1899, *Das Targum zum Buche der Richter in jemen. Ueberl.* Berl. 1900.

Targums on the Hagiographa: Ginsburg, Translation of Targum on Ecclesiastes in his *Commentary*, London, 1861; Rosenberg und Kohler, 'Das Targum zur Chronik' in Geiger's *Ztsch.* 1870; Maybaum, 'Ueber die Sprache des Targum zu den Sprüchen und dessen Verhältniss zum Syrer' in Merx, *Archiv*, 1871, p. 66 f. (cf. Nöldeke's review, p. 246 f.); Bacher, 'Das Thargum zu Hiob' in *Monatsschrift G. W. J.* 1871, 'Das Thargum zu den Psalmen,' do. 1872; de Lagarde, *Hagiographa Chaldaice*, Lips. 1873; Weiss, *De Libri Jobi Paraphrasi Chaldaica*, Berl. 1873; Reis, 'Das Thargum Scheni zu dem Buche Esther' in *Monatsschrift G. W. J.* 1876, 1881; Munk, *Targum Scheni zum Buche Esther*, Berl. 1876; Cassel, *Das Buch Esther*, Berl. 1878 [gives tr. of the Targ.]; Baethgen, 'Der textkritische Wert der alten Uebersetzungen zu den Psalmen' in *Jahrb. Prot. Theol.* 1882; Gelbhaus, *Die Targumliteratur*, Heft 1, 'Das Targum Sheni,' Frankfurt a/M. 1893; Pinkuss, 'Die Syrische Uebersetzung der Proverbien' in *ZATW*, 1894; Levin, *Targum und Midrash zum Buche Hiob*, Mainz, 1895; David, *Das Targum Scheni*, Berlin, 1898.

T. WALKER.

TARPELITES (תַּרְפְּלָיֵא, plur. emph.; B Ταραφαλλαῖοι, A and Luc. Ταρφαλλαῖοι).—One of the peoples settled by Assurbanipal (?) in the cities of Samaria, Ezr 4^{9}. Their identity is quite uncertain. Rawlinson suggested the *Tuplai* of the Inscriptions, *i.e.* the Τιβαρηνοί on the coast of Pontus; Hitzig conjectured Tripolis in N. Phœnicia.

TARSHISH (תַּרְשִׁישׁ).—**1.** See following article. **2.** The eponym of a Benjamite family, 1 Ch 7^{10} (B Ῥαμεσσαί, A and Luc. Θαρσείς). **3.** One of the seven princes of Persia and Media who 'sat first in the kingdom,' and had the right of access to the royal presence, Est 1^{14} (LXX om.). See ADMATHA. **4.** The name of a precious stone (once Ezk 10^{9} אֶבֶן תַּרְשִׁישׁ, elsewhere simply תַּרְשִׁישׁ), Ex 28^{20} 39^{13}, Ezk 1^{16} 10^{9} 28^{13}, Ca 5^{14}, Dn 10^{6}; identified by AV and RV with the *beryl*, although RVm offers as alternative renderings *chalcedony* or *topaz* or *stone of Tarshish*. The LXX has in Exodus and Ezk 28^{13} (cf. Jos. *Ant.* III. vii. 5) χρυσόλιθος, in Ezk 40^{9} ἄνθραξ, elsewhere θαρσείς. See, further, artt. STONES (PRECIOUS), p. 620[b], and TOPAZ, p. 797.

J. A. SELBIE.

TARSHISH (תַּרְשִׁישׁ; LXX Θαρσείς [on other renderings see below]).—The name of a maritime country, situated far to the W. of Palestine. The biblical passages teach us the following facts about this much discussed name:—

In Gn 10^{4}=1 Ch 1^{7} Tarshish is one of the sons of Javan, under which latter name the Orientals seem to have comprised almost all Western maritime nations. In Gn 10 we find the order: Elishah (*i.e.* Cyprus, after the most modern researches), Tarshish, Kittim (AV Chittim, which was, until recently, usually explained as the Cyprians, but they belong, with all probability, to much more westerly tracts of the Mediterranean; cf. Winckler, *Forschungen*, ii. 442), and Dodanim (or Rodanim, a very obscure name). This arrangement does not allow any certain conclusions.—In Jon 1^{3} the prophet embarks at Joppa to flee to Tarshish (cf. 4^{2}), which seems to represent here the extreme ends of the earth, so far as it was known to the Hebrews, the country farthest away from Jehovah's seat.—In Is 66^{19} it represents, together with Javan, with the isles afar off and several Asiatic (if we except the somewhat doubtful Pul or Put) countries, the most remote quarters of the earth to which the exiled Jews may have fled; cf. below on 60^{9}.—Somewhat similarly, Ezk 38^{13} places Sheba and Dedan and the merchants of Tarshish parallel

* See the Literature, mentioned below, under the names Merx, Kautzsch, Prätorius, Dalman, Barnstein.

† Cf. Hühn, *Die Messianischen Weissagungen des israelitisch-jüdischen Volkes*, 1899, p. 111 f.

with (or, better probably, in contrast to) the mysterious Gog of Magog. It is impossible to draw any inferences about the situation of Tarshish from this parallelism; certainly vicinity to the Arabian countries Sheba and Dedan is not indicated (cf. Gn 10^{1}).—Ps 72^{10} quite analogously places the kings of Tarshish and of the isles in contrast to the kings of Sheba and Seba.—In Is 23^{6} the prophet sarcastically advises the Tyrians to flee from the approaching destruction of their city to Tarshish and the isle (read evidently the plural: isles). V.^{10} works this out more fully: 'Overflow (RVm) thy land as the Nile, O daughter of Tarshish: there is no more girdle' (AVm; text 'strength'), *i.e.* that country will be overcrowded by Phœnician fugitives. Evidently, Tyrian ships were specially familiar with the journey to Tarshish.

The remote position of Tarshish led to the use of the expression 'Tarshish ship' for a certain class of specially strong and large ships, destined for longer voyages, exactly as sailors used to mean by an 'East Indiaman' a type of ship, not only one sailing to or from India (thus, correctly, already Gesenius, *Thesaurus*). Ezk 27^{25} (RV) 'the ships of Tarshish were thy caravans for thy merchandise,' need not necessarily point to a prevalence of naval trade with Tarshish. Is 60^{9} 'the isles shall wait for me, and the ships of Tarshish first to bring thy sons from far,' might, indeed, also be understood literally as a parallel to 66^{19}. The curse on Tyre, however, in 23^{1}, beginning 'Howl, ye ships of Tarshish,' means, evidently, the Tyrian fleet, or its best ships; or, at any rate, not ships belonging to the inhabitants of Tarshish. Ps 48^{7} 'with the east wind thou breakest the ships of Tarshish,' intends only a very general illustration of God's power over the most mighty things. Cf., analogously, Is 2^{16} '(the day of the Lord shall be) on all ships of Tarshish.' In 1 K 10^{22} 'the king (Solomon) had at sea a navy (better: a ship) of Tarshish with the navy of Hiram,' and this ship was sent to bring 'gold and silver, ivory, and apes and peacocks'; evidently, the expeditions to Ophir (v.^{11} and 9^{28}) are meant. Wherever that country of Ophir may have been, it is clear that the Tarshish ship was not sailing to or from Tarshish, but along the E. African coast, as already its sailing port Ezion-geber shows. The Chronicler, however, no longer understood that old nautical expression, and interpreted it, literally, of an expedition sent to Tarshish. Thus 2 Ch 9^{21} 'ships that went to Tarshish with the servants of Huram,' etc. (after 1 K 10^{22}), and 20^{36} 'Jehoshaphat of Judah joined himself with Ahaziah, king of Israel, to build ships in Ezion-geber to go to Tarshish.' These ships were broken so that they were not able to go to 'Tarshish,' while the original text, 1 K 22^{48}, spoke merely of 'ships of Tarshish to go to Ophir for gold.' These passages might be understood (together with Ezk 38^{13}, Ps 72^{10}) as pointing to a region of Arabia, Africa, or even India, assumptions which of course would be in direct conflict with Gn 10, etc.*

The products of Tarshish are mentioned Ezk 27^{12}; Tarshish traded with Tyre with a 'multitude of all kinds of riches, with silver, iron, tin, and lead.' According to Jer 10^{9} 'silver spread (RV 'beaten') into plates' is brought from Tarshish. Finally, the precious stone called *tarshîsh* may be noticed; but this, unfortunately, cannot be identified. See preceding article.

The tradition of the ancient versions on the situation of Tarshish is very unsatisfactory. First, the passages are to be set aside where it was felt, correctly, that Tarshish, translated literally as a geographical name, would be misunderstood, *i.e.* the passages speaking of the Tarshish ships. The Jewish scholars translated, or rather paraphrased there freely, but not inadequately, 'sea ships.' Thus already LXX in Is 2^{16} (πλοῖα θαλάσσης).* The Vulg. extends this translation to less suitable passages; cf. Is $23^{1.\,10}$ (*filia maris*!) 60^{19} 66^{19} (*gentes in mari*), Ezk 27^{25}, 1 K 10^{22} (*per mare*), 2 K $22^{48\,(49)}$, otherwhere, mostly, *Tharsis*. Thus also the *Targum* (אתרשיש), usually, in the Prophets (for exceptions see below). This was followed by Saadia and modern versions (*e.g.* Luther). Jerome (on Is 2^{16}) was told by his Jewish teachers that *Tharsis* was the proper Hebrew word for 'sea'† (in opposition to Aramaic?): a strange artifice!

Another Jewish tradition appears in the LXX of Ezk 27^{12} (also Vulg.) and Is 23, where Tarshish is rendered 'Carthage' or 'Carthaginians'; likewise Targ. in 1 K 22^{49}, Jer 10^{9} 'Africa' (*i.e.* the Roman province of Africa, the former territory of Carthage). This tradition is evidently founded on the frequent association of Tarshish with Tyre, the apparent mother-city of Carthage,‡ but it does not suit the sense of the other passages.

Josephus (*Ant.* I. vi. 1) read the name apparently *Tarshûsh*, and explained it as Tarsus in Cilicia, an interpretation which formerly seemed very satisfactory. Now, however, we know from coins of Tarsus and from Assyrian inscriptions (Delitzsch, *Paradies*, 103, etc.) of Shalmaneser that the old Cilician city had the name תרז *Tarzi*, not as Josephus presupposed.

The interpretation most widely accepted at present was proposed by Bochart, *Phaleg* (preceded by Eusebius [*Onom.* ed. Lag. 166. 8, cf. 183. 17–18], who already combined Tarshish and the Iberes, *i.e.* Spaniards). Bochart found the Hebrew name Tarshish in the Greek *Tartessos*, explaining the seeming interchange of *t* and *sh* by the analogy of Aram. *th* for Heb. *sh* (which analogy, unfortunately, does not apply here, where no Aramæans come in question). The remote position attributed both to Tarshish and to Spain, the W. end of the world, according to the opinion of the ancients, suits well, and so does the wealth in metals (especially the Spanish silver and tin); finally, some connexion of the Phœnicians with Spain seems to be recognizable before the Carthaginian conquest. Tartessos is supposed to have been the name of a city (?), extended first to the S. of Spain, then to the whole country. The name of the southern coast, *Turdetania*, and of a tribe, somewhat farther north, the *Turdûli*, *Turdali*, seems to allow a comparison (cf. Strabo, below).

A very vigorous attack upon this popular theory has been made by P. le Page Renouf in *PSBA* xvi. (1894) 104. He urges that the whole theory rests only on a deceptive similarity of sound, that Bochart's appeal to Aramaic is unsuitable (see above), that we have no proof for Phœnician settlements in Spain (which were only alleged to have existed in order to suit Is 23^{6} etc.).§ He even claims that the city or country Tartessus seems 'to have existed only in the realms of imagination, like the isle of Calypso or the garden of the Hesperides. Its site was certainly unknown at the time of Strabo, though it was then identified on grounds of probability with the

* To avoid this conflict, Bochart assumed two Tarshishs—one in the W. of the Mediterranean, the other in the Indian Ocean. This desperate effort to avoid the acknowledgment of a small misunderstanding by the Chronicler is now universally abandoned. See, further, W. R. Smith, *OTJC*^{2} 140; A. B. Davidson, *Ezekiel*, p. 200; Sayce, *HCM* 130.

* This might, however, be taken from a Hexaplaric source (Symmachus or Theodotion?).

† 'Hebræi putant lingua propria mare Tarshish appellari.'

‡ More correctly, the mother-city was Sidon.

§ For such colonies, indeed, the tradition (Strabo, p. 157, Arrian, etc.) is very recent. It is questionable if those late writers were able to distinguish between Carthaginian and earlier Phœnician colonies.

neighbourhood of the Bætis or Quadalquivir.* Late writers, like Valerius Maximus, Pliny, and Arrian, confounded Tartessus and Gades.' The metallic treasures of Spain, Renouf claims, were developed only by Hamilcar Barcas after the first Punic war, and the tin in the bronze of earliest Greece and Babylonia came rather from Eastern mines (?).† Thus the necessity for going to Spain for tin is removed. Renouf's (*l.c.* p. 138) idea is that Tarshish has a Semitic etymology, 'the broken' (??), which might (!) mean 'shore, coast' (??), whence the translation 'sea' in the versions (?).‡ The passages connecting it with Tyre show then, he claims, that the Phœnician coast itself is meant. This theory is so inconsistent with Ezk 27, etc., and so forced, that it does not deserve a detailed refutation.

Winckler (*Forschungen*, i. 445) modifies the Tartessus theory of Bochart, by referring Tarshish to Ταρσηΐον, a place mentioned by Polyb. III. xxiv. 1 as one of the principal cities of Carthaginian Spain.§ This view, however, he puts forward with great reserve.

Cheyne (*Or. Lit.-Zeitung*, iii. 151; cf. the present writer, *ib.* 294) expresses the opinion that Tarshish is identical with Tiras (better vocalized probably *Tûr(a)s*) of Gn 10^2. This latter name might have come in from another source or as a gloss, so that the same nation would be represented in two different forms. Vocalizing *Turshûsh* (cf. Josephus), we should obtain the Tyrsenians, Tyrrenians or Etruscans, bold seafarers, and well known as pirates already to the ancient Egyptians (*c.* 1200 B.C.), by whom they were called *Tursha*. Their name might stand for the whole of Italy, possibly even for all European coasts west of Greece. This comparison with the Tyrsenians (proposed already by Knobel) agrees with the wealth in metals, especially with the tin. The Etruscans might have brought this from Spain, although a more probable assumption would be that they obtained it either in the harbours of Southern Gaul (cf. Diodorus, v. 38, on the trading of English tin through Gaul to Massilia) or more directly in Upper Italy, where it might have been brought from various places in Central Europe.

This last identification seems to the present writer the most plausible. Next to it, the identification with Spain might claim most relative probability. Certainty will hardly be obtained with our present means of knowledge.

W. Max Müller.

TARSUS (Ταρσός; on coins תרז) is mentioned in the Bible only as the city where St. Paul was born, of which he was a citizen (Ac 9^{11} 21^{39} 22^{3}), and in or near which he spent a number of years not long after his conversion (Ac 9^{30} 11^{25}). It has been universally recognized that his birth and his early education in this city were important factors in preparing the Apostle of the Gentiles for his career. No direct evidence is accessible as to the surroundings of St. Paul's early years, which makes it all the more necessary to study the general character of the city and the society in which he grew up. The history of Tarsus is at the same time the history of Cilicia, which affords the opportunity of somewhat fuller treatment of that subject than was given under Cilicia.

i. Situation.—Tarsus, the chief city of Cilicia in ancient times, was situated in a rich and fertile plain, only slightly elevated above sea-level, less than 10 miles from the seacoast at its nearest point. The river Cydnus flowed through the middle of the city, and entered the Rhegma,* a sort of lake† some distance below the city and close to the sea. This lake served as an arsenal and harbour for Tarsus; but ancient ships could ascend the river right up to the city (as Cleopatra did). In modern times the lake has become a large marsh‡ on the west side of the river, while the bed of the river has become shallow and impassable to anything larger than a small rowing-boat, and its mouth is blocked by a bar. These changes are the result of the ignorance, carelessness, and incapacity of government and inhabitants, neglecting the engineering operations which must have been applied by the ancients to regulate the river-bed. The proximity of the marshes has made Tarsus more unhealthy than it was in ancient times, though from its low situation in the plain under the mountains of Taurus it can never have had an invigorating climate. South-west of Tarsus towards Soli lay the strong walled city Anchialos, which must have been between Mersina and the Cydnus, a little way back from the coast.§ Mersina, the modern port of Tarsus, stands on or close to the ancient Zephyrion, a small town near a promontory of the same name, 16 miles W.S.W. from the great city. This promontory is a very little way west of Mersina. Anchialos is described by Ritter as the port of Tarsus, and as closely connected with it (like Piræus with Athens), so that the two might be regarded as a single great city, which would suggest that Anchialos was somewhere near the west side of the lake. But Aulai is said to have been the name of the port-town on the lake, and Ritter's view seems a misinterpretation of Arrian, *Anab.* ii. 5.‖ The statements of the ancients as to the mutual relations of these places are confused.

The Cydnus originally flowed through the heart of Tarsus, as many authorities mention. But, when a flood in the river had done great harm in the city, Justinian (527–563) cut an artificial channel to carry part of the water round the east side of the city. It would appear that gradually the branch of the river that flowed through the city grew smaller as its bed became choked, and in modern times almost the whole of the water passes through Justinian's channel.¶ In 1432 the inner branch is described as a tiny stream; and in 1473 the eastern branch is spoken of as the only one (see the quotations in Ritter's *Kleinasien*, ii. p. 184 f.). The falls of the Cydnus beside the northern entrance to the city are still very picturesque, though only a few feet high.

Tarsus possessed almost all the qualifications required for a great commercial city. Not merely did it possess a safe and good harbour and a rich territory, it was also placed in front of the

* Cf. Strabo (148 ff.), who, indeed, quotes this only as a hypothesis, does not know with certainty what the ancients meant by Tartessus, and cannot identify an alleged city Tartessus (at the mouth of the Bætis or at Carteia?). The old name Tartessis (!) of Spain seems to him to survive in that of the Τουρδοῦλοι (?) and Τουρδητανία (?). However, le Page Renouf seems to overstate here the shadowy position of Tarshish. Herodotus (*e.g.* iv. 192) uses it clearly for Southern Spain. Eratosthenes (in Strabo, 148) takes it more narrowly as the region around Calpe-Gibraltar.

† This belief, for which he quotes O. Schrader, *Prehistoric Ant.* 192, etc. (where the Paropamisus is thought of), has been refuted by Winckler, *Forschungen*, i. 161 (cf. the present writer in *Or. Lit.-Zeitung*, ii. 295, on the Egyptian texts). The tin of the ancient East came from the West, evidently through maritime commerce.

‡ *Sea* and *coast* are, however, very different ideas.

§ This was mostly confounded with Tartessus, while, in Polybius, it seems to have been another name of Mastia. The text in Polybius is, besides, very obscure.

* Ῥῆγμα, Strabo, p. 672.

† λιμνώδης τόπος, apparently a broadening of the river so as to look like a lake, Strabo, p. 672.

‡ A marsh 30 miles in circumference (Barker, *Lares and Penates*, p. 137).

§ Strabo, p. 671.

‖ Ritter, *Kleinasien*, ii. 202; Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Αὐλαι.

¶ Barker says that a canal from the Cydnus passes through Tarsus, and formerly flowed into the marsh, but was recently diverted to rejoin the river. This may be the old channel.

southern end of the great trade and war route across Mount Taurus, through the Cilician Gates, to Cappadocia, Lycaonia, and inner Asia Minor generally. Such a situation made it a great city from time immemorial.

ii. TARSUS THE ORIENTAL CITY.—Its foundation was attributed by legend to Sardanapalus, who was said to have built Tarsus and Anchialos in one day, and whose tomb is said to have been at the latter place. A more Oriental form of the legend, as reported by Eusebius (*Chron.* i. p. 27 *), named Sennacherib, king of Nineveh, as the founder. When Tarsus became a Greek city, a centre of Greek civilization and seat of a university, it could not be satisfied with such an origin, but invented a Greek foundation. Perseus or Herakles was named by the Tarsians as founder of the city (see Dion Chrysostom's *Oratio* xxxiii. *ad Tars.*; Libanius, *Or.* xxviii. 620); but this is only the Assyrian legend in a slightly Grecized form, for Perseus was a peculiarly Oriental and Assyrian hero (Herod. vi. 54), connected with the mythology and religion of many places in the eastern parts of Asia Minor; and Herakles was the Tyrian god, the founder of colonies. These legends contain a memory of the time when the Assyrian power extended over Syria and Cilicia, and Tarsus was their western capital. Tarsus is mentioned on the Black Obelisk of Shalmaneser among the towns which he captured in the middle of the 9th cent. B.C. Athenodorus, the Tarsian, said that the city was originally called Parthenia, from Parthenius, son of Cydnus, and grandson of Anchiale, daughter of Japetus: here, too, fancy is giving a Greek colour to local Asiatic legend.

Tarsus continued for a long time an essentially Oriental town. Its early coinage was struck, not by a municipal government like that of a Greek city, but by native kings or Persian satraps, who used Tarsus as their capital. It is true that at an early time considerable influence was exerted on the city by Greek trade and civilization. Thus Greek letters were sometimes engraved on the early coins, and the coinage as a whole was modelled after Greek coins, and was probably made by Greek artisans employed by the rulers of Tarsus. Yet even in the Roman period, after Tarsus had for centuries been transformed (at least externally) into a Greek city, marked Oriental characteristics are apparent. A deity standing on a horned lion, thoroughly non-Greek and Asiatic in character, probably the god Sandon, often appears on coins under the empire; and a monument at Anchialos, inscribed with letters believed to be Assyrian, is often mentioned† by Greek writers. Tarsus therefore was never so thoroughly Hellenized as to lose or to forget its Asiatic character and origin; even as a Greek city it was far from being wholly Greek. Its population, doubtless, was very mixed (as it is at the present day); and even to a greater degree than Syrian Antioch it may be regarded as a meeting-place of Greeks and Orientals.

In the Assyrian and afterwards in the Persian period hardly anything is known of Tarsus. When the central government was strong, presumably the city was governed by satraps. When the central government was weak, the satraps tended to become more and more independent, and even a dynasty of native kings seems to have held Tarsus during part of the 5th and 4th cents. B.C.

In the *Anabasis* of Xenophon, Tarsus is described about B.C. 400 as a great and wealthy city, containing the palace of Syennesis the Cilician king. But its coinage is much older. Electrum coins of the 6th cent. have been assigned to it, though not with great probability. The kings or satraps of Cilicia struck coins at Tarsus throughout the 5th and 4th cents., with legends mostly Aramaic, but partly Greek, frequently with Baaltars, the Baal or Zeus of Tarsus, enthroned, holding sceptre, grapes, and corn. Coins of Baaltars were struck during the last efforts of the Persians and under the earlier Seleucid kings; but they appear to have been minted at Babylon, and many of the extant specimens have come from India.

iii. TARSUS THE GREEK CITY.—In Seleucid times autonomous coins were first struck at Tarsus, showing its transformation from an Oriental town into a Greek *polis*, a highly important stage in its history. This municipal and strictly Greek coinage began under Antiochus IV. Epiphanes (B.C. 175–164), when the city was styled 'Antioch beside the Cydnus,'* and took that name on its coins. The growth of Tarsus is evidently the result of a change in the Seleucid rule; it is connected with their frontier policy, and shows that increasing attention was paid to Cilicia by that Syrian king. Before 190 Cilicia had been a district in the heart of the Seleucid empire; but, at the peace of 189, the whole of Asia Minor up to the Taurus mountains was taken from Antiochus III., and Cilicia became a frontier land. It was necessary now to pay more attention to its organization and defences; and the refoundation of cities like Tarsus-Antiocheia, Epiphaneia, Adana-Antiocheia, Magarsa-Antiocheia, belongs to the same reign.† Mopsuestia, guarding the important crossing of the Pyramus, was refounded as Seleuceia by Seleucus III. (187–175). Almost all these cities (along with Alexandria *ad Issum* and Hieropolis-Castabala) began to coin as self-governing municipalities in the reign of Antiochus IV.‡ It is therefore highly probable that Cilicia had previously been treated more like a subject country or satrapy,§ and that now its cities began to be allowed greater liberty and to be more thoroughly Grecized in their institutions, when it was important to make them heartily loyal. The incident mentioned in 2 Mac 4^{30} takes us into the midst of this process, and shows that about 171–169 is the probable date of this important transformation. In 171 Antiochus gave the revenues of Tarsus and Mallus to his mistress Antiochis. This provoked riot and even insurrection; and Antiochus had to go in person to quell the disturbances. Apparently he succeeded in this peaceably, by granting freer constitutions to the cities and reorganizing the country generally. The year 170 B.C., therefore, marks an epoch in the history of Tarsus, for it was now refounded as a Greek *polis*, and called by a new name, 'Antiocheia on the Cydnus.'

There is no reason to think‖ that the change of name was a mere act of adulation to the reigning king, implying no real development in the city constitution. It is true that the name Antioch soon fell into disuse, and the name Tarsus revived; but this was due partly to the fact that the town was not thoroughly Grecized, partly to the fact that the name Antioch was already too common, and the three new Antiochs would hardly establish a right to exist beside the many older Antiochs. Rather we must look on the refoundation of Tarsus as a critical epoch in its history.

The refoundation was certainly accompanied by an increase of population, for the regular Seleucid policy in such cases was to introduce a body of settlers whose loyalty might be reckoned on, and to give them special privileges in the city. The colonists whom the Seleucid kings most commonly planted in the cities of Asia Minor were Jews;¶ and therefore it is highly probable that a Jewish colony was established at Tarsus about B.C. 170.

* Ed. Schoene: Eusebius quotes from Alex. Polyhistor.

† Athenæus, viii. p. 335, xii. p. 529 f.; Strabo, p. 672; Cicero, *Tusc.* v. 35; Arrian, *Anab.* ii. 5; Clearchus Solensis in *Fragm. Hist. Græc.* ii. p. 305, 5.

* Steph. Byz. and le Bas-Waddington, *Inscr. d'Asie Min.* No. 1486.

† Compare Magarsos (see MALLOS).

‡ Hill, *Catalogue of British Museum Coins, Cilicia*, etc. pp. xcviii, ci, cx, etc.

§ The name satrapy was used in the Seleucid empire; see Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, i. p. 257.

‖ As Waddington (*l.c.*) wrongly thinks.

¶ See PHRYGIA, vol. iii. p. 868.

iv. TARSUS THE ROMAN CITY.—From the decaying Seleucid empire Tarsus passed into the hands of the Romans. From B.C. 103 onwards the name Cilicia became 'the Roman term for a great, ill-defined, half-subdued agglomeration of lands, comprising parts of Cilicia, Pamphylia, and other lands' (Ramsay, *Histor. Comm. on Galatians*, p. 103). In 66 Cilicia Campestris was decisively conquered by Pompey, after having been under the power of king Tigranes more or less since 83; and in 64 it was properly organized (see CILICIA) as a province with Tarsus for its capital, though considerable parts of the country were left for a long time under native kings—Tarcoudimotos I. and II. and Antiochus being the most famous.

Tarsus, while exposed to the oppression generally exercised on subject cities by the Roman republican officials, was favourably treated by Julius Cæsar, Antonius, and Augustus. Cæsar passed through the city on his march from Egypt to Pontus; and the strong partisanship of the Tarsians for him was shown by the name Juliopolis which was granted to, or assumed by, them (Dio C. 47. 26). In punishment for its devotion to Cæsar, Tarsus was harshly treated by Cassius in 43. But Antonius soon after granted it the privilege of enjoying its own laws (as *civitas libera*) and the right of duty-free export and import trade.* He also made it his residence for a time; and received here a visit from Cleopatra, who sailed up to Tarsus in B.C. 38 in circumstances of extraordinary magnificence and luxury. It formed part of the large realm which he bestowed on the Egyptian queen (see vol. ii. p. 86). When Augustus triumphed over Antonius he recognized that the Tarsians were partisans, not of Antonius specially, but of the Empire as contrasted with the Republic; and he even increased their privileges. Cilicia was now united in one large province with Syria.

Thus Tarsus, when St. Paul was a child, stood before the world at the entrance to the greatest province of the East as a metropolis, a free city with a free harbour, mistress of a large and fertile territory, a centre of Roman imperial partisanship. It had been a Greek self-governing city since B.C. 170, and the enthusiasm with which it had taken up Greek education and civilization had made it one of the three great university cities of the Mediterranean world. Strabo (14, 5, 13, p. 673) speaks of the Tarsian university as even surpassing in some respects those of Athens and Alexandria; and he observes that all the students were natives,† and no strangers came to it; but, on the contrary, many natives of the country went abroad to study and reside, few returning home again: Rome was full of Tarsian and Alexandrian scholars. So strong was the Tarsian love for letters and education! They filled their own university and foreign cities and Rome itself. Demetrius, as Plutarch tells (*de Defect. Orac., ad init.*), went to Britain and Egypt, the Erythræan Sea and the land of the Troglodytes, to satisfy his scientific curiosity. Athenodorus the Stoic was the companion of Cato the younger, and died in his house; another Stoic, Athenodorus Kananites, was the teacher of Augustus; Nestor taught the young Marcellus, his heir (and Tiberius the emperor, according to pseudo-Lucian, *Macr.* 21); Antipater the Stoic was head of the school in Athens and the great opponent of Carneades; and other philosophers and poets of Tarsus are named by Strabo, p. 674 f.

Philosophers governed Tarsus at the important crisis when it was adapting itself to the imperial system. Athenodorus retired to Tarsus in his old age, greatly honoured by his pupil Augustus, and invested by him with extraordinary authority in the city. He found that Tarsus had been seriously misgoverned and plundered by a certain clique, favoured by Antonius, but now greatly weakened since his defeat. After vainly attempting to bring them back by reason to a law-abiding spirit, Athenodorus, in virtue of the powers conferred by Augustus, sent them into exile, and reformed the constitution of Tarsus.* It appears from Dion Chrysostom (*Orat.* xxxiii. *ad Tars.* 20) that the constitution in the Roman period was of oligarchic or rather timocratic type, citizenship requiring a certain fortune;† and there can be no doubt that this was the kind of reform introduced by Athenodorus, for it was in harmony with the whole tendency of the Roman imperial policy.‡ After the death of Athenodorus, at the age of 82, another Tarsian philosopher named Nestor, who also had approved himself to Augustus, succeeded to his commanding position in the city, and enjoyed the respect of a series of provincial governors. The rule of these two philosophers probably continued from about B.C. 29 to some time after Christ.§ It is very probable that St. Paul may have seen and listened to Nestor, who lived 92 years.‖ The influence of Athenodorus, too, lasted long in Tarsus, where he was worshipped as a hero, for Dion Chrysostom about A.D. 100 quotes his name (in the Oration which he addressed to the Tarsians) as a household word among them. His doctrines may be taken as those which most influenced Tarsus in the time of St. Paul, and which the latter is likely to have been taught in the schools of that city. Being a Stoic, he found the aim and end of life in release from passions; but, if we may judge from the scanty quotations from or allusions to his writings, he estimated the quality of human action greatly by reference to its relation to God. 'Know,' said he, 'that you are set free from all passions, when you have reached such a point that you ask nought of God that you cannot ask openly'; and Seneca, who quotes this,¶ goes on to state as the rule of life, in his spirit, if not in his words, 'So live with men as if God saw; so speak with God as if men were listening.' The spirit in which he guided the politics of Tarsus is expressed in a longer extract,** the gist of which is: 'It would be best to strengthen one's mind by making oneself useful in politics to fellow-citizens and the world; but in the degraded and envenomed state of politics one must be content with the opportunity for free expansion of the mind in benefiting one and all by educating them, by encouraging virtue, by teaching them to comprehend the gods, and to have a good conscience: thus even in private life one fulfils a public duty. The student lives well, not by renouncing humanity and society, but by drawing friends round himself. He who lives and studies for his own sole benefit will from

* Pseudo-Lucian (*Macr.*) and Dion Chrys. (*ad Tars.*) assign this grant to Augustus, who gave it again when he might have taken it away.

† Among the natives (ἐπιχώριοι) Strabo includes, doubtless, persons from the neighbouring parts of Asia Minor. Athenodorus, the most famous of Tarsian philosophers, was called *Kananites*, from the name of his native village. The village probably was *Kanna* in eastern Lycaonia, which afterwards rose to be a city coining money.

* κατέλυσε τὴν καθεστῶσαν πολιτείαν (Strab. p. 674).

† See Kühn, *Städteverwaltung im röm. Kaiserreiche*, pp. 250, 470.

‡ See Kühn, *l.c.*

§ The exact date of Athenodorus is uncertain. He is commonly conjectured by modern writers to have been a pupil of Posidonius (B.C. 140-60); but Eusebius, *Chron.*, gives the date when he was flourishing as A.D. 7. This tends to show that the common dating of his career is too early; perhaps he may be placed B.C. 72 to A.D. 10; or, more probably, Eusebius made a mistake, taking his death in the height of influence for the date when he flourished: in that case 75 B.C. to 7 A.D. was his period.

‖ Pseudo-Lucian, *Macr.* 21.

¶ *Ep. Mor.* I. x. 5.

** Seneca, *de Tranq. An.* 3 (in *St. Paul the Trav.* p. 394, *Clem.* is mentioned wrongly in place of *Tranq.*).

lack of work fall into mere misuse of the time which nature requires us to spend. One must be able to give an account of one's time and prove one's old age by the amount of what one has done for the good of the world, and not simply by the length of time one has lived.'

Such was the environment, on its best side, amidst which St. Paul spent his early years. To estimate its influence on him would be out of place here; but we remember that, when he was rescued from imminent death, bruised doubtless and torn by the hands of the mob in Jerusalem, in answer to the question of the Roman officer, the words that rose to his lips as he recovered breath were: 'I am a Jew, a man of Tarsus in Cilicia, a citizen of no mean city' (Ac 21[39]). In such circumstances a man does not waste words, or speak what does not lie deep in his nature. St. Paul had to show the officer that he was not an Egyptian, but the tone in which he spoke of Tarsus shows a warm feeling about it as a city and for its own sake.*

The timocratic system introduced by Athenodorus into Tarsus has an important bearing on St. Paul's life. In a city where the mass of the inhabitants could be said to be 'outside of the citizenship,' *i.e.* not possessing the full rights of a citizen,† he claimed to be a citizen. Citizenship in Tarsus was the certificate of respectability and standing which he mentioned to Claudius Lysias, when it was necessary at once to explain away appearances which were certainly much against him as he was pulled out of the murderous hands of the mob. One may ask why he did not mention his Roman citizenship at that time, for Roman citizenship was a higher honour and a greater proof of respectability; and it seems hardly possible to make any other answer except that, in the excitement of that terrible scene, the feeling that lay deepest in his heart about worldly position rose to his lips. When he was a child he felt himself a 'Jew, a citizen of Tarsus,' and almost unconsciously the words rose to his lips. But the Tarsian citizenship had this value in the eyes of those who possessed it, because it was confined to a select small body.

The history of Tarsus under the empire is a large subject. The following points may be noticed as characteristic of the Asiatic Roman cities generally, and illustrative of their relation to the early Christians and to the Roman State:—

The loyalty of those great cities to the emperors was very strong, and is unusually well illustrated in the case of Tarsus, which assumed titles from the name of the emperors Hadrian, Commodus, Severus, Antoninus (Caracalla), Macrinus, and Alexander Severus,‡ dropping some when the emperor died, and keeping others for long. It took the title of Temple-Warden (νεωκόρος, δὶς νεωκόρος), indicating that one, or two, temples of the imperial worship were built in the city. It induced governors of the province and even the emperor himself, Alexander Severus, to accept office (of course merely honorary) in the city, and boasted of this on coins and in inscriptions.

Titles like these, however, sprang as much from vanity as from loyalty. The great cities vied with one another in inventing titles and appropriating the titles of rivals. Tarsus and Anazarbus competed with one another in this way. Each claimed such titles as Metropolis, First and Greatest and Fairest, Temple-Warden; but Anazarbus was never Twice Temple-Warden, nor Metropolis of the Three Eparchiai (Cilicia, Lycaonia, Isauria), but only Metropolis of the Nation (ἔθνους, *i.e.* Cilicia). On one occasion, about A.D. 218, Anazarbus induced the emperor Elagabalus to accept the office of Demiourgos § in the city, and struck coins to commemorate this honour. Tarsus doubtless was downcast till it could strike similar coins boasting of Alexander Severus as Demiourgos. Both cities boasted that the koinoboulion (Council of the Koinon of Cilicia) met within its walls; but Tarsus alone could boast of the festival and games common to the three united provinces. And so on, title after title was devised to imitate or outshine a rival.

Tarsus was saved by the barrier of Mount Taurus from many of the invasions which swept over Asia Minor. Only an enemy who took the route from Syria over Mt. Amanus through Cilicia would reach Tarsus; but most invasions preferred the route through Eastern Cappadocia, keeping north of Mt. Taurus. Thus, in the long peace of the empire the defences and the defensive powers of the people in Cilicia must have grown weak, and when at last an enemy entered the country they found it a helpless prey.

In the Byzantine ecclesiastical and political system Tarsus became even more important than in the older empire, owing to the steady growth of the Eastern provinces in wealth, education, and weight. Thus Basil of Cæsarea (*Ep.* 34), in A.D. 373 (or 369), emphasizes its importance as 'a city so placed as to be united with Cilicia, Cappadocia, and Assyria' (*i.e.* Syria).

Two churches are mentioned at Tarsus. In A.D. 485 Leontius forced Verina to proclaim him emperor at Tarsus in the Church of St. Peter outside the city. Such an important ceremony is likely to have been held in the principal church of Tarsus, and we may identify this Church of St. Peter as the great church of Tarsus destroyed by the Moslems in A.D. 885.* If so, it is remarkable that the principal church was not dedicated to St. Paul; but it is recorded that the Church of St. Paul in Tarsus was built by the emperor Maurice (583–602),† while we may be confident that the great church of Tarsus was built as early as the 4th century.

v. Tarsus the Arab City.—In view of the strongly Syrian associations of Tarsus, it is important to observe the way in which it lost its Western relations, and reverted to a purely Oriental type during the long wars against the Mohammedans. The Arabs first crossed into Cilicia by the Syrian Gates from Antioch in 641.‡ In 646 the Arabs found all the fortresses between Antioch and Tarsus deserted: presumably the terror of these raids and the neglect of frontier defence by the emperor made the people flee to the mountains.

In 650 the Arabs invaded Isauria (so Theophanes; 649 Ibn Al Athir). This would appear to imply that Tarsus, with Cilicia generally, was in Arab hands, though it must be remembered that the Arab invasions were often only passing raids, in which the forts and cities were left unattacked, or watched by detachments of the invading forces, while the open country was ravaged, and captives swept off into slavery. Cilicia, however, having been so neglected by the central government, was exposed defenceless to the Arabs. Yet the military strength of the empire soon revived, while the Arab raids made little permanent impression. Tarsus was quickly reoccupied by the Christians; but in 673 it was captured (after a defence presumably) by the Arabs. In the following years the Arab attacks were made chiefly by the north road nearer the Euphrates, or by sea; Cappadocia was occupied, and Armenia and Pontus attacked, while Cilicia was not much molested by formal invasions, but its cities seem to have still remained unprotected, and exposed to any small raids. Thus in 692 an Arab army advanced from the Euphrates nearly to Amorion, and returned by Cilicia.

In 699–700 the Christians recovered Cappadocia, and the Arabs henceforth made regular use of the Cilician route in invading the Byzantine empire. Mopsuestia at the important crossing of the Pyramus was fortified in 701, and Tarsus was now permanently occupied as an Arab capital on their north-western frontier. The northern part of Eastern Cilicia, with the town of Sision (now called Sis), was conquered in 703; in 706 the last struggle of the Romans to retain this country is recorded by Al Tabari. The wars of the following years imply that Cilicia was the permanent basis for the Arab operations § in Lycaonia, Pisidia, Phrygia, and Bithynia. At the same time Cæsarea, with Eastern Cappadocia, was again taken by the Arabs in 726, but recovered by Constantine in 746. After this the Arab frontier cities on the north were generally Melitene

* It must be remembered that such expressions as οὐκ ἀσήμου πόλεως, οὐκ ὀλίγου, often imply a strong assertion of the opposite.

† ἔστι πλῆθος οὐκ ὀλίγον ὥσπερ ἔξωθεν τῆς πολιτείας (Dion. Chrys. *ad Tars.* p. 321; see p. 687, col. 2, n. †). On the rights and meaning of πολιτεία see Szanto, *Das griech. Burgerrecht.*

‡ It calls itself Ἀλεξανδριανὴ Σευηριανὴ Ἀντωνινιανὴ Ἀδριανή in an inscription, and coins often give the last three cumulated.

§ Title of the chief magistrate in many Cilician cities; the title is Doric, and points to the old Doric relations of Cilicia.

* Muralt, *Essai de Chronogr. Byzant.* p. 740.

† Sim. viii. 13. There may have been an older Church of St. Paul, of course, in Tarsus, but this was built, not rebuilt, by Maurice.

‡ Dates from Arab authorities from 641–750 are given according to Mr. E. W. Brooks' papers in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1898, p. 182 f., 1899, p. 19 f.; dates from Byzantine authorities according to Muralt, *Essai de Chronogr. Byzant.*

§ This appears in incidental expressions, such as Theoph. p. 390, l. 18 f. (de Boor).

and Germaniceia, and a debateable land lay between them and Cæsareia, though the Christians attacked or even destroyed one or other of the two Arab fortresses in 750–754 and 778, while the Arabs frequently advanced north and north-west into Cappadocia, Paphlagonia, etc. In 806 and 830 the Arabs carried forward the Cilician frontier to Tyana, building a mosque and settling colonists there; but both attempts failed immediately, and Tarsus remained the capital of Orientalism against the West.

In 807 the emperor Nicephorus invaded Cilicia, and defeated the Arabs near Tarsus; but the Caliphs Harun and al-Mamun strengthened the Arab power on this frontier. The latter died at (or near) Tarsus in 833. About the middle of the 9th cent. Byzantine power grew stronger, and Cilicia and Tarsus were the scene of many conflicts, while the Caliphs' vigour waned. In 883 Tarsus is mentioned as a strong fortress, the capital of an independent Mohammedan State. In 891 an Arab fleet is said to have sailed from Tarsus towards the Byzantine coasts; and in 900 the fleet at Tarsus was burned by the Caliph on account of the disloyalty of the city. In 898 the Greek forces landed near Tarsus and gained a victory over the Arabs. About this time Tarsus is mentioned frequently as the centre of Mohammedan opposition to the reviving Christian power. In 904 a Tarsian fleet burned Thessalonica. At length, in 965, after all the rest of Cilicia had been recaptured by the Christians, Tarsus surrendered on favourable terms, the Moslem population were given safe retirement to Antioch, and only Christians were left in the city. The great gates of Tarsus were carried in triumph to Constantinople.

vi. MODERN TARSUS.—The new Christian city of Tarsus had a checkered history. Byzantine Greeks, Latins, Armenians, Turcomans, Turks, Egyptians struggled for it, and alternately held it and lost it. For a century Greek rule in Cilicia was practically unchallenged by the decaying Saracen empire; but even during this time Tarsus must have undoubtedly retained many traces of the three centuries of Arab rule, and become far more Oriental than it had been under the Roman and early Byzantine rule. About 1067 the Seljuk Turks began to ravage Asia Minor, and their terrible armies were seen and felt in Cilicia; and in 1071 the victory of Mauzikert laid the country prostrate and helpless at their feet. Their rule over Phrygia, Lycaonia, Cappadocia, Armenia, Pontus, was recognized by the feeble emperors; but Cilicia still remained, on the whole, in Christian hands, so that the wall of Mt. Taurus once more formed a line of demarcation between the two religions (though now Islam was on the north and Christianity on the south). A new power now appeared in Cilicia: in 1080 Reuben, the first Armenian prince of Cilicia (called often during the next three centuries Lesser Armenia), seized some forts in the eastern Taurus mountains on the north frontier of Cilicia. The history of Lesser Armenia was stormy, and its bounds varied from year to year, sometimes confined to the Taurus forts, sometimes including Tarsus and Cilicia as a whole. In 1097 Baldwin with his Crusading army captured Tarsus, and introduced another factor into the confused history of Cilicia.

The vicissitudes of Tarsian history in this period are so rapid and so numerous that they cannot be traced in detail. Tarsus, the capital, passed from hand to hand. The Turks, who captured it in 1078, did not hold it; the Crusaders were a more permanent power. The emperor John Comnenus took Tarsus in 1137, the Armenian Reuben II. in 1182. The Memluk Sultans of Egypt became a factor in Cilician history in 1260. The terrible Egyptian invasion of 1322 devastated the country. The Armenians suffered from quarrels in the governing family, from religious feuds, and from national inability to unite in a vigorous defensive policy. In 1375 the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia (Lesser Armenia) finally gave place to the Egyptian power, and Tarsus may from this time be said to have relapsed into its original condition of a purely Oriental city. But it was still not subject to Turkey. It was the prey sometimes of Egypt, sometimes of Turcoman chiefs called Ramazanoglu, whose tribes seem to have entered the Taurus fastnesses about 1200, and to have gradually established their hold on the plain, and to have brought the country once more almost into nomadic barbarism. In 1466 the Osmanli or Ottoman Turks entered Cilicia, when the army of Mohammed II. captured Tarsus; but the city was often recaptured, until Selim destroyed the Memluk power in 1516. Again in 1832 the Egyptian forces of Mehemet Ali entered Cilicia, and held Tarsus till 1840, when once more it passed under Ottoman power.

Tarsus remains a wretched town of the Turkish style, little more than a large collection of hovels, with a trying climate, an oppressive atmosphere, retaining not a trace of its former splendour, and few scraps even of ancient marbles. There are few places where the contrast between ancient and modern life is more conspicuous. The unsightly and shapeless mass of concrete, wrongly called the Tomb of Sardanapalus, is the only ancient monument that is displayed to the tourist. It is the substructure of the platform on which stood a temple of the Roman period, and was originally hidden under the marble walls and floors and steps, afterwards utilized to make mediæval buildings, which in their turn have been utterly destroyed.

LITERATURE.—Ritter, *Kleinasien*, ii. (*Erdkunde von Asien*, vol. xxi.) pp. 181–235; Beaufort, *Karamania*; Leake, *Tour and Geography of Asia Minor*, p. 214; Barker, *Lares and Penates*; Hill, *Catalogue of British Museum Coins of Lycaonia, Isauria, and Cilicia*, pp. lxxvi ff., 162 ff.; Koldewey in Robert, *Aus der Anomia*, p. 178 f.; Wernicke, *ib.* p. 77 f.; Sir C. Wilson in *Murray's Handbook*.

W. M. RAMSAY.

TARTAK (תַּרְתָּק; Θαρθάκ; *Tharthac*).—An idol of the Avvites, introduced by them into Samaria, whither they had been transported by the Assyrian king Sargon (2 K 17[31]). Tartaḳ is mentioned with another deity called NIBHAZ, and, according to the Bab. Talmud (*Sanhedrin*, 63*b*), was worshipped under the form of an ass.* Various speculations have been made as to the identity of this deity, the religious systems of the Egyptians, Persians, and Carmanians having been laid under contribution to supply points of comparison; but the Typhon of the first, and the sacrificing of an ass by the last to their god (identified with Mars), do not seem to afford satisfactory explanations. In Assyro-Babylonian mythology no god in the form of an ass is at present provable, and the comparison of the name Tartaḳ with the Babylonian god Itaḳ (on account of the second syllable) can no longer be made, the correct reading of the latter being Išum. In all probability no trustworthy identification of the deity, nor satisfactory explanation of his name, will be made until the position of the place (AVVA or IVVAH†) whence his worshippers came, has been determined.

T. G. PINCHES.

TARTAN (תַּרְתָּן; BA Ταναθάν, B[b] Ναθάν, א[c. a., d. a., al.] Q* Θαρθά[ν] in Is 20[1]; B Θανθάν, A Θαρθάν in 2 K 18[17]; *Tharthan*).—The title of an Assyrian military officer, sent by Sargon to Ashdod (Is 20[1]), and later (probably another person) despatched by Sennacherib, accompanied by RAB-SARIS and RAB-SHAKEH, 'with a great host,' against Jerusalem. Like the other titles in the latter passage, it was long thought to be a personal name; and it is apparently this (notwithstanding the presence of the article in the Greek) which has given rise to the variant Nathan (an abbreviation of Tanathan) in B[b]. In the Assyrian inscriptions and lists of officials, however, it appears as the title of the highest officer of State next to the king, and probably corresponds to the modern military title 'commander-in-chief.' In the list of officials given in *WAI* ii. pl. 31, ll. 26, 27, two grades appear, *turtanu îmni*, 'the *turtan* of the right,' and *tartanu šumēli*, 'the *tartan* of the left,' the former probably corresponding with the *turtanu rabú*, 'great Tartan,' or 'field-marshal' of Shalmaneser II., and the latter with the *tartanu šanû*, 'second Tartan,' mentioned by Johns. That the two forms, *turtanu* and *tartanu*, were interchangeable, is shown by the contract-tablet in which the form *turtanu šumēli* occurs, and the variant spellings *turtannu* and *tartannu* in the inscriptions of Sargon.‡ As one entitled to hold the office of Eponym, the Tartan came next in order to the king (see the titles for the Eponyms for B.C. 809, 780, 770, 752, and 742). Who the Tartans were who are referred to in Is 20[1] and 2 K 18[17] is not known. In B.C. 720, Ašur-iska(?)-udannin was Eponym, and possibly held the office, and in that case may have been the one sent to Ashdod. For the reign of Sennacherib we have Abda'u, who held the office during the eponymy of Ilu-ittêa, B.C. 694; and Bêl-

* The companion-deity, Nibhaz (changed to Nibhan by reading ן for ז), is stated to have been in the form of a dog—an explanation which is due to the supposition that the word was connected with *nābaḥ*, 'to bark.' It is therefore not improbable that the statement that Tartaḳ was a deity in the form of an ass may be due to a similar (popular) etymology.

† Sachau (*ZA* 12, 48) identifies it with the modern *Imm*, between Antioch and Aleppo.

‡ The forms with double *n* imply that the second vowel was long (*tartānu*), as in Hebrew.

êmuranni, who was Tartan and Eponym for B.C. 686. Either of these may have been the one sent against Jerusalem.

LITERATURE.—Schrader in Riehm's *HWB*[2]; Fried. Delitzsch, *Assyr. HWB*; Johns, *Assyrian Deeds*, vol. ii. pp. 68, 69; Driver in *Authority and Archæology* (ed. Hogarth), 140.

T. G. PINCHES.

TATTENAI (תַּתְּנַי).—The name of the governor (*peḥah*) of Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia under Darius Hystaspis, Ezr 5[3] (B Θαναναί, A Θαθθαναί, Luc. everywhere Ταυθαναῖος) [6] (B Ταυθανᾶς, A Θαθθαναῖς) 6[6] (LXX om.) [13] (B Ταυθαναί, A Θαθθαναί). He is called in 1 Es 6[3. 7. 27 (26)] 7[1] SISINNES (Σισίννης), which is simply a reproduction in Greek (cf. Σισίνης in Arr. i. 25. 3, vii. 6. 4) of a Persian name *Thithinaia* (orig. *Thathanaia* ?), with aspirated *t*. See Ed. Meyer, *Entstehung des Judenthums*, 32.

TAVERNS, THE THREE, is the rendering in Ac 28[15] of Τρεῖς Ταβέρναι, the Greek form which represents the Latin *Tres Tabernæ*, as the name of one of the two stations on the Appian highway whither Christian brethren from Rome, who had heard of St. Paul's arrival at Puteoli on his way to the capital, went forth to meet him. The first group of the brethren met him at a point earlier on his journey—the Market of Appius—(see APPIUS, MARKET OF) 43 (Roman) miles from Rome; the second awaited him at the stage called *Tres Tabernæ*, which was 10 miles nearer to the capital, being, according to the Itinerary of Antoninus, 33 miles distant from it. The Latin *taberna*, which is by no means to be identified with or restricted to our modern sense of *tavern*, but was applied to structures of boards, booths, huts, and shops of various kinds, probably denotes here an inn for travellers. Three such inns might fitly give name to a halting-place, which doubtless was the seat of local traffic, and from which a road branched off to Antium on the seacoast. Cicero mentions it in writing to Atticus (*Ep.* ii. 10, 12, 13). Its precise site has hardly been identified, but is generally referred to the vicinity of the modern *Cisterna*.

WILLIAM P. DICKSON.

TAW (ת).—The twenty-second letter of the Heb. alphabet, and as such employed in the 119th Psalm to designate the 22nd part, each verse of which begins with this letter. It is transliterated in this Dictionary by *t* or *th*.

For the use of *taw* (תָּו) in Ezk 9[4] and Job 31[35] see FOREHEAD, and MARK No. **6** (vol. iii. p. 244[6]).

TAXES, TAXING.—See PUBLICAN and QUIRINIUS.

TEACHER, TEACHING.—In the OT various Heb. words are used for teachers and their work (chiefly verbal forms, חבין, הורה, למד); and several other words are employed more indefinitely for teaching generally (אלף, הודיע, הוהיר, יסר, ירה, השכיל). This is one indication that in early times there was no recognized office of teacher with a technical title. Nevertheless the duty of teaching, especially in the education of the young, is much insisted on. In Deut. this is repeatedly urged as an obligation resting on parents (*e.g.* 4[10] 6[7] 11[19]). The head of the family is to be diligent in teaching his children the great precepts of the Law, and in talking of them habitually in the house and in the street. The prophets were recognized to be divinely-inspired teachers, commissioned to instruct the people in the knowledge of Jehovah and His will. The word *tôrāh* (תּוֹרָה), which was applied to Deut. in the days of Josiah (*e.g.* 2 K 22[8]), and from the time of Ezra to the Pent. (*e.g.* Neh 8[2]), means 'teaching' (lit. 'direction'), and was used in earlier times for the instruction given by the prophets. It is used in this sense by Hosea (4[6] 8[1] 8[12]), by Amos (2[4]), by Micah (4[2]), by Isaiah (1[10] 2[3] etc.), by Zephaniah (3[4]). It is to be observed that in all these instances of the occurrence of the word in the prophets we never read of 'the *tôrāh* of Moses' as in Ezra and later, but of 'Jehovah's *tôrāh*,' or 'the *tôrāh*' indefinitely. The clear distinction, now resulting from OT criticism on the date of the Pent., accentuates the importance of teaching under the prophets by demonstrating that what formerly appeared to be a reference to the Mosaic law is, in fact, an allusion to the prophets' teaching. In early times the priests also undertook the religious instruction of the people. Thus Micah, rebuking the mercenary leaders in Jerusalem, declares, 'the priests thereof teach (יורו) for hire' (Mic 3[11]). After the return from the Captivity an immense impulse was given to religious teaching. Religion had now passed into a literary phase. The public reading of the Law by Ezra was an indication that the new Judaism was to restore popular knowledge (Neh 8[1-8]). It is a significant fact that the high priest took no part in this effort to popularize what had hitherto been cherished as a mystery in the sacerdotal clan. The scribe who not only copies the Law, but teaches it, now becomes the leader of the Jewish religion among the people, gradually taking the place of the prophet, but with an inferior rôle, since he cannot pretend to come with an original message from Jehovah, and must content himself with interpreting, commenting on, and 'fencing' a fixed written *tôrāh*. Thus he in turn comes into antagonism with the priest who performs official functions, administers the Law, and enjoys an aristocratic rank; because the scribe's work in popularizing the Law lessens the power of the priesthood by opening the eyes of the people and by making religion more an affair of ideas than of ritual, or if of ritual still of observances within the reach of the laity. Accordingly, the growth of the synagogue goes on side by side with the development of teaching by the scribes. See RABBI.

In NT times teaching was most highly valued among the Jews, and the teacher held in great respect.* Josephus, writing the history of his people from the standpoint of his own day, relates how Moses commanded that 'boys should learn the primary laws (πρώτους τοὺς νόμους) as the best knowledge and the cause of prosperity' (*Ant.* IV. viii. 12); and affirms for his own time, 'We take most pains of all with the instruction of children' (*c. Apion.* i. 12). Similarly Philo writes: 'Since the Jews esteem their laws as divine revelations, and are instructed in the knowledge of them from their earliest youth, they bear the image of the law in their souls' (*Legat. ad Gai.* 31); and, 'They are taught, so to speak, from their swaddling-clothes, by their parents, teachers, and those who bring them up, even before instruction in the sacred laws and unwritten customs, to recognize one God as the Father and Creator of the world' (*ib.*). The Talmud abounds in traditional sayings on the importance of teaching. This is much insisted on in the *Pirkê Aboth*, where we read how Joshua ben Perachia said, 'Get thyself a teacher' (i. 6); Rabban Gamaliel, 'Appoint for thyself a teacher, so wilt thou avoid what is doubtful' (i. 16); Hillel, 'An ignorant man cannot be truly pious' (ii. 5). Certainly elementary schools existed in the time of the Mishna, and the way in which they are referred to implies that they were then established institutions. It is most probable that they were in existence in the time of Christ. The name of these schools was *beth-sepher* (בֵּית סֵפֶר)—'the house of the book'—*i.e.* of the *tôrāh*. Thus we read (Jerus. *Megill.* iii. 1), 'R. Pinchas said in the

* In 2 Mac 1[10] we read of a Jew named Aristobulus who had been Ptolemy's 'teacher' (διδάσκαλος).

name of R. Hoshaiah that there were 480 synagogues in Jerusalem, and each had a *beth-sepher* and a *beth-Talmud*, the former for the *mikra* (text of Scripture), the latter for the *mishna* (oral tradition).' A frequently quoted sentence about the order of a child's education—of late date, being found in an appendix to the *Aboth* of the post-Talmudic period—states that 'at 5 years old (he comes) to the reading of Scripture, at 10 to the Mishna, at 13 to the practice of the commandments, at 15 to the Talmud, at 18 to marriage,' etc. (*Pirkê Aboth*, v. 21). For further particulars on this point see Schürer (*HJP* II. ii. § 27, and artt. EDUCATION and SYNAGOGUE).

In the NT, teaching is mentioned chiefly with reference to the exposition of specifically Christian ideas. Nicodemus acknowledges Jesus to be 'a teacher (διδάσκαλος) come from God,' and addresses Him with the recognized Jewish name of a teacher, 'Rabbi' (ῥαββεί, Jn 3^2). In all four Gospels the usual name for our Lord is 'Teacher' (διδάσκαλος, tr. 'Master' in AV and RV, but 'Teacher' in RVm and in *Twentieth Cent. NT*). This word is not only used by the disciples; it is also employed by others in addressing our Lord, *e.g.* the Pharisees and Herodians (Mk 12^{14}). No doubt it is the evangelist's rendering of the Aramaic title, 'Rabbi,' which occasionally appears in its original form in Jn ($1^{38.\ 49}$ $3^{2.\ 26}$ 6^{25}, and once *Rabboni*, ῥαββουνεί, 20^{16}). It is important to observe that a clear distinction between 'teaching' (διδάσκω) and 'preaching' (κηρύσσω) is maintained throughout the NT. This is manifest in our Lord's public ministry. He commenced with preaching, as John had done before Him (Mk 1^4). This preaching was the call to repentance in connexion with the announcement that the kingdom of God was at hand, and was called 'preaching the gospel of God' (Mk 1^{14}). Then, having gathered some disciples about Him, our Lord proceeded to instruct them in the mysteries of the kingdom, its nature, laws, and principles. This instruction is called 'teaching,' and it was with such teaching rather than with preaching that the later part of His ministry was occupied.

A similar distinction was observed in the apostolic ministry and in the life and organization of the early Churches. Among the various functions in the Church mentioned by St. Paul in Romans occurs that of 'teaching' (Ro 12^7). It there takes the third place in a series, being preceded by prophecy and ministry, and followed by exhorting, giving, ruling, and showing mercy. The last of these functions being of a general character, and such as any one might be called on to exercise, suggests that the list as a whole may not point to definite offices. But, in a nearly contemporary and probably earlier epistle, teaching is assigned to specific persons. In 1 Co 12^{28} this also comes third in a list; but the list as a whole is different from that in Romans, containing titles of persons, not merely functions; so that we have 'teachers,' not merely 'teaching.' They are preceded by 'first apostles, secondly prophets'; then we come to 'thirdly teachers.' The form changes after this to gifts and functions—'miracles,' 'gifts of healing,' etc. That the teaching is ascribed in an especial way to some people, to the exclusion of others, is shown by St. Paul's questions, 'Are all apostles? Are all prophets? *Are all teachers?*' (v.^{29}). Nevertheless, the following questions, 'Are all workers of miracles? have all gifts of healing?' etc., show that the personal differences rest on differences of gift. At Corinth they who have gifts of teaching are teachers, as they who have gifts of healing are healers. Another arrangement appears in Ephesians: 'and he gave some to be apostles; and some, prophets; and some, evangelists; and some, pastors and teachers' (Eph 4^{11}). Here we have four offices, and that of teacher set last, an office not mentioned in the earlier lists—the evangelist's—coming between it and the offices of apostles and prophets. Further, it is also known by the name of 'pastor'; for the arrangement of the clauses ('and some' introducing each class) shows that the 'teachers' and the 'pastors' are the same persons. The distinction of the teacher from the evangelist is significant, suggesting the differentiation of function in which the evangelist preaches, declaring the gospel, and the teacher instructs the converts. The companion title 'pastor' points to a settled ministry within the Church as distinct from the travelling missionary activity of apostles and evangelists; but it is to be observed that the apostles gathered up in themselves the several functions that were afterwards distributed among various members of the Churches. Thus St. Paul describes himself as appointed 'a preacher and an apostle . . . a teacher,' etc. (1 Ti 2^7—assuming these to be St. Paul's words). When we turn to Acts we meet with yet another arrangement. Here teachers seem to be identified with prophets (Ac 13^1); but St. Luke may mean that the prominent men whose names he gives consisted of prophets and teachers, as two classes. In course of time the teacher melts into the bishop, his function is absorbed in the episcopate; as a separate officer he is discredited by comparison with the higher official, and ere long he disappears entirely. These stages may be noted thus: (1) At the first appearance of the teacher there is no reference to the bishop: thus there is no indication of bishops in 1 Cor. or Romans. (2) At the time of the Epp. of the Captivity the teachers seem to have practical oversight, like that of the early bishops, even if the name is not given to them, since they are called 'pastors' (Eph 4^{11}). It seems reasonable to suppose that these were equivalent to the 'bishops' of Ph 1^1, especially since the word 'bishop' in the latter case may be functional rather than official, as Dr. Hort suggested. (3) In the Pastoral Epistles teaching is joined to the episcopal office. The bishop must be 'apt to teach' (1 Ti 3^2; compare Tit 1^9). Especial honour is to be given to the elders who 'labour in the word and in teaching' (1 Ti 5^{17}): this suggests that teaching was not carried on by all the elders. St. Paul will not allow women to teach publicly in the Church (1 Ti 2^{12}), and yet he had written of aged women being 'teachers of that which is good' (Tit 2^3), when he must have meant home teaching, or perhaps teaching by example, unless we are to suppose that he changed his views on the subject between Titus and 2 Tim., which is improbable. Already the teacher's office is falling into unworthy hands; and the apostle writes of the time when people will not endure 'healthful teaching' (RVm ὑγιαινούσης διδασκαλίας, not 'sound doctrine' AV and RV), but, having itching ears, will heap to themselves teachers after their own lusts (2 Ti 4^3). (4) In the sub-Apostolic age we still meet with the teacher as distinct from the bishop, though teaching now is more and more appropriated by the latter officer, and the teacher is sinking in importance. In the *Didaché* there are 'teachers' as well as 'apostles' and 'prophets.' All three of these functionaries appear as itinerant ministers visiting the Churches. The teacher is to be tested by what he teaches, and received or rejected according as his instruction agrees with what is laid down in this treatise or differs from it (see *Didaché* xi.). These travelling teachers are quite distinct from the 'bishops and deacons' whom the writer bids his readers 'appoint for yourselves' (xv.). Still later we meet with 'teachers' in the *Shepherd of Hermas*, and here they appear among the officers of the Church, coming between the bishop and the

deacon. The stones in the mystical building 'are the apostles and bishops and teachers and deacons' (*Vis.* iii. 5). Hermas writes disparagingly of 'self-appointed teachers,' who 'praise themselves as having understanding,' 'senseless though they are' (*Sim.* ix. 22). We have no definite account of the manner in which the teachers performed their work, or of the substance of their instructions. We are tempted to think of the catechetical teaching of later times; but there is no clear indication of a catechumenate in NT. Still something of the kind must have arisen early from the necessity of the case. The *Didaché* seems to have been a text-book for some such teaching. It has been suggested that the *Logia* recently discovered in Egypt might be a list of sayings of Jesus drawn up for use in teaching. Possibly St. Matthew's *Logia* was compiled with that end in view; and the same may be suggested of the canonical Gospels (cf. A. Wright, *NT Problems*, p. 91 ff.). With reference to teachers and teaching in the NT see Allen, *Christian Institutions*, pp. 28, 29, 40, 42; McGiffert, *Apostolic Age*, 528 ff., 640 ff., 654 ff.; Weizsäcker, *Das Apostolische Zeitalter*, pp. 621, 622. W. F. ADENEY.

TEBAH (טֶבַח; A Τάβεκ, Luc. Τάβεχ).—A 'son' of Nahor by his concubine Reumah, Gn 22^{24} [J]. The name stands for an Aramæan town, prob. the same as is named in 2 S 8^{8} [where read, after LXX, Pesh., and 1 Ch 18^{8}, טבח for בטח. See TIBHATH].

TEBALIAH (טֶבַלְיָהוּ 'J" hath dipped, *i.e.* purified'; B Ταβλαί, A Ταβελίας, Luc. Ταβεήλ).—A Merarite gatekeeper, 1 Ch 26^{11}.

TEBETH (טֵבֵת, Τηβήθ).—The 10th (Bab.-) Jewish month. See TIME.

TEHAPHNEHES, Ezk 30^{18}.—See TAHPANHES.

TEHINNAH (תְּחִנָּה; B Θαιμάν, A Θανά, Luc. Θεεννά).—The 'father' of Ir-nahash, 1 Ch 4^{12}.

TEIL TREE.—A mistranslation (AV Is 6^{13}) of אֵלָה (RV 'terebinth'). For the various tr^{s} of *'ēlāh* see OAK and TEREBINTH.

TEKEL.—See MENE, MENE, TEKEL, UPHARSIN.

TEKOA (תְּקוֹעַ; LXX Θεκώε, Θεκοῦε, Θεκώμ, Θεκώς).—A town in the tribe of Judah, about 10 miles S. of Jerusalem and 5 S. of Bethlehem, situated on a detached hill about 2700 ft. high which is girt with other lower hills. From the summit there is a broad prospect. In the W. and S. the view is closed by hills, cultivated or clothed with low vegetation. On the N. is the ravine of Urtâs and its continuation Khureitûn, cutting deeply through the hills down to the Dead Sea. The Frank mountain and Bethlehem are visible: Jerusalem is hidden behind intervening hills, but the Mount of Olives can be seen and, still farther to the N., Nebi Samwîl. To the S.E. is another deep and wild valley, Wady Jehâr, running towards the Dead Sea, glimpses of which can be obtained through the distant cliffs. Eastwards the hill slopes down to the Wilderness of Judah. Canon Tristram describes the approach from the Wady Bereikeh: 'In front of us is a long hill, with a copious spring at its foot. . . . The district in its natural features seems to have been always what it is now—bare, treeless, open pasturage. We here lose all traces of the ancient terraces which gird the undulations of every hill farther west with their swathing bands. Here and there are still patches of cultivation in the hollows of the valleys, but the soil is dry and stony, and we begin here to lose the rich vegetable mould which, however scanty, still covers more or less the whole of the central hills, and have, in its stead, only a thirsty, chalky marl. That vegetable soil is doubtless due, in the first instance, to the primæval forest, which certainly once covered the whole of the Judæan, as of the Gilead, range, but has left no trace of its existence on the Western slopes towards the Dead Sea.'

The town is not mentioned very frequently in Scripture. The Heb. of Jos 15^{59} does not include it in the list of places belonging to Judah: the LXX gives it and ten other towns, one of them being Bethlehem. 1 Ch 2^{24} 4^{5} ascribe to Tekoa an antiquity coeval with the Conquest. According to these passages, Ashhur, Caleb's half-brother, was the father, *i.e.* the founder, of Tekoa. In 2 S 14 the wise woman of Tekoa is spoken of in such a manner as to convey the impression that her shrewdness had brought her dwelling-place into notoriety. David spent much time in this part of the country during his *Wanderjahre*: afterwards it was a recruiting ground for the ranks of his mighty men (2 S 23^{26}, 1 Ch 11^{28}). From 2 Ch 11^{6} we learn that it was one of the towns fortified by Rehoboam. Its commanding position and its situation on the utmost frontier of the cultivated land would ensure its being made a military post. Jer 6^{1} shows that its defences continued to be kept up. The prophet bids the children of Benjamin raise up a signal on Beth-haccherem (Jebel Fureidis, the Frank mountain), and blow the trumpet in Tekoa. This is not said merely for the sake of the play on words, *tiḳ'ú, Tĕḳōa'* [note also *taḳĕ'ú* in v.^{3}], but also because this was a garrison town. The Wilderness of Tekoa is named at 2 Ch 20^{20} as the battlefield where Jehoshaphat defeated the Ammonites and their allies. In the Bk. of Nehemiah ($3^{5.\ 27}$) the public-spiritedness of the commonalty is sharply contrasted with the contemptuous refusal of their chiefs to bend the neck to the Tirshatha's yoke. 1 Mac 9^{33} relates that Simon and Jonathan fled to the Wilderness of Tekoa from before Bacchides. The crowning glory of Tekoa was its connexion with the prophet Amos (Am 1^{1}).

Josephus, who mentions Tekoa as one of the 'strong and large cities' built by Rehoboam (*Ant.* VIII. x. 1), speaks of it as a village in the Maccabæan period (*BJ* IV. ix. 5) and in his own day (*Vita*, 75). Jerome (*Comm. in Jerem.* vi. 1) calls it a village, 12 (Roman) miles from Jerusalem, visible to him from Bethlehem every day. In the Pref. to Amos he adds: 'There is no village beyond Tekoa, not even [a probable conjectural emendation is 'except'] rustic huts, of the appearance of ovens, which the Africans call *mapalia*: such is the desolateness of the desert which extends as far as the Red Sea and the boundaries of the Persians, Ethiopians, and Jews. And because no kind of crop whatever grows on the dry and sandy soil, the whole neighbourhood is occupied by shepherds, to compensate for the barrenness of the soil by the multitude of sheep.' The same Father asserts that the tomb of Amos was shown at this place. The Talmud speaks of the oil of Tekoa as the best in the country; and one of the Arab geographers says that its honey was so excellent as to have become proverbial. In the early part of the 6th cent. Saba founded a new monastery here, which, in contradistinction to Laura (Mâr Sâba), was called Laura Nova, 'New Monastery.' Soon after his death it became the scene of fierce conflicts between the Monophysites and the orthodox. In Crusading times it was inhabited by a large population of Christians, who afforded considerable help to the Franks during the first siege of Jerusalem. The village was sacked by a party of Turks from beyond the Jordan in A.D. 1138, but

the majority of the inhabitants had taken refuge in the great cave of Khureitûn. There is a somewhat puzzling reference in Bahaoddinus, *Vita Salad.*, ed. Schultens, p. 237. He writes of 'the river of Tekoa (نهر تقوع), one parasang [=about 3 Eng. miles] from Jerusalem, which furnished a sufficient supply of water to Richard of England and his army' of Crusaders. It is obvious that the distance here given does not agree with the facts. The suggestion has been made that the water in question was that of the lake mentioned 1 Mac 9^{33} τὸ ὕδωρ λάκκου Ἀσφάρ (א, Ven.), or Ἀσφάλ (A), which Josephus (*Ant.* XIII. i. 2) calls τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ καλούμενον λάκκου Ἀσφάρ, and which Mühlau identifies with *ez-Zaferâne* S. of Tekoa, Robinson (*BRP*² ii. 202) with *Bir Selhub* S.W. of En-gedi.

The Palestine pilgrims of the Middle Ages do not enlighten us greatly as to the condition or history of Tekoa. In the account of St. Willibald's pilgrimage (8th cent.) it is said that he came hither, and 'there is now a church, and there rests one of the prophets.' The anonymous itinerary of this journey asserts that Nathanael was one of the infants at Bethlehem when Herod slew the children, that his mother hid him under a fig tree (Jn 1^{48}), and that he escaped to Tekoa. In the 12th cent. John of Würzburg and Fetellus state that the tomb of Amos was shown there, the latter adding, 'From its confines Habakkuk was borne by the angel to Babylon. In Thecua many of the prophets used to meet together to discuss divine things.' Isaac Chelo (A.D. 1134) speaks of the tomb of Amos as being in a cave at this place. From William of Tyre we learn that in A.D. 1144 queen Melesinda gave the spot to the canons of the Holy Sepulchre in exchange for property at Bethany.

The ancient name *Tekûa* still clings to the site (Robinson, *Pal.* ii. 406 ff.; Guérin, *Judée*, iii. 141 ff.). In the neighbourhood large flocks of sheep and goats, together with a few oxen, are pastured by Arabs, genuine representatives of the nomads who dwelt there in ancient days. On the level ground immediately near the hill corn is grown. The shepherds use for sheep-cotes the numerous caves with which the mountains are honeycombed. On the broad summit of the hill of Tekoa there are ruins which cover a space of four or five acres. They 'consist chiefly of the foundations of houses constructed of large hewn stones, some of them bevelled. At the N.E are the remains of a square tower, occupying a very commanding position; and near the middle of the site are the ruins of a Greek church, with several broken columns and an octagonal baptismal font of rose-coloured limestone, 5 ft. diam. on the outside, 4 on the inside, and 3 ft. 9 in. deep. There are also many cisterns excavated in the rock.' The view of the font in Wilson's *Picturesque Palestine*, iii. 184, is well worth seeing.

Cyril of Alexandria asserts that the Tekoa of Amos was an Ephraimite, not a Judæan city. The author of the *Lives of the Prophets* says that it was in the tribe of Zebulun—probably a mistake for Simeon, since Simeon bordered closely on Judah. Abarbanel and Kimchi place it in the tribe of Asher. But there is not a particle of real evidence in favour of a second Tekoa.

Tekoite.—A native or inhabitant of Tekoa. The adjective is used three times in the singular number (2 S 23^{26}, 1 Ch 11^{28} 27^{9}) of one of David's mighty men, Ira, the son of Ikkesh the Tekoite. In 2 S $14^{4.9}$ the Heb. has the fem. form, but our versions render the expression, *'ishshâh hat-tĕḳō'îth*, by 'woman of Tekoa.' In Neh $3^{5.27}$ the plural is employed for one of the bands of volunteers who rebuilt the wall of Jerusalem under Nehemiah. It is a little doubtful whether these men actually occupied Tekoa at the time. Tekoa does not figure in the list of repeopled towns given in Ezr 2; they may have been simply 'a clan of fellow-townsmen who had held together during the Exile, and were known by this name after they had settled in Jerusalem.' In any case their public-spirited zeal (v.[27]) sheds lustre on the name.

J. TAYLOR.

TEKOAH.—This is the AV form in 2 S $14^{2.4.9}$ for Tekoa, and is retained by RV in 1 Mac 9^{33} in the expression 'wilderness of Tekoah.'

TEL-ABIB (תֵּל אָבִיב, perh. 'hill of corn,' but see Del. *Heb. Lang.* 16; *μετέωρος*; *ad acervum novarum frugum*).—A place on the Chebar (Ezk 3^{15}), —one of the rivers or canals in Babylonia. The site is unknown. The LXX and Vulgate have translated the term as if it were not a proper name.

C. W. WILSON.

TELAH (תֶּלַח; B Θάλεες, A Θάλε, Luc. Θάλα).—An Ephraimite, 1 Ch 7^{25}.

TELAIM (תְּלָאִים 'the lambs'; *ἐν Γαλγάλοις*; *quasi agnos*).—The place at which Saul concentrated his forces, and numbered his fighting men before his campaign against the Amalekites (1 S 15^{4}). The LXX reads Gilgal for Telaim, and Josephus (*Ant.* VI. vii. 2) also makes Gilgal the place of assembly. Gilgal, however, though so frequently mentioned in connexion with the history of Saul, would be an inconvenient mustering-place for a force about to operate against the Amalekites in the desert S. of Palestine. Still it is possible that Saul may have started from the sanctuary to which he returned with his prisoner and booty. A more suitable locality for the place of assembly would, however, be in the Negeb, or South; and here lay **Telem** (Jos 15^{24}), with which Telaim is probably identical. So Wellhausen, Driver, and Budde, who prefer to point תְּלָאִם. Wellhausen reads תֵּלֶם also in 1 S 15^{7} for חֲוִילָה. The same reading should also probably be found in 1 S 27^{8} (see Wellh. and Driver, *ad loc.*, and Hommel, *AHT* 243).

C. W. WILSON.

TELASSAR (תִּלַאשַּׁר 2 K 19^{12}, תִּלְשַׁר Is 37^{12} 'hill of Asshur'; B Θαεσθέν, A Θαλασσάρ; *Thelassar*, *Thalassar*).—A town, inhabited by 'the children of Eden' (see EDEN), which had been conquered by Sennacherib's forefathers, and was in the possession of the Assyrians during that monarch's reign (2 K 19^{12}, Is 37^{12}). It is mentioned with Gozan, Haran, and Rezeph—places in Western Mesopotamia. In this direction lay Beth-Eden, or *Bît-'Adini* (see art. EDEN, vol. i. p. 642[b]), a district between the Euphrates and the Belik. It probably stretched along both banks of the Euphrates, between *Balis* and *Birejik*. In the inscriptions, Gozan, Haran, Rezeph, and Bît-'Adini are stated to have been destroyed by Sennacherib's forefathers—a fact which harmonizes well with what is said in 2 Kings and Isaiah (Schrader, *KAT*² 327). A place of this name (*Til-Aššuri*) is mentioned by Tiglath-pileser III. (Ann. 176, ed. Rost, cf. Nimr. ii. *a* 23); but this seems to have been in Babylonia. The name is, however, as Schrader remarks, one that might have been given to any place at which a temple had been built to Asshur; and the *Til-Aššuri*, which Esarhaddon speaks of having conquered (*KIB* ii. 219), near the land of the Mitanni, as Del. (*Parad.* 364) remarks, suits better.

C. W. WILSON.

TELEM (טֶלֶם; B Τέλημ, A א Τέλλημ).—A gate-keeper who had married a foreign wife, Ezr 10^{24}; called in 1 Es 9^{25} **Tolbanes**; perhaps the same as **Talmon** of Neh 12^{25}.

TELEM (טֶלֶם 'oppression'; B Μαινάμ, A Τέλεμ; *Telem*).—One of the uttermost cities of Judah

towards the border of Edom in the South, or Negeb (Jos 15^{24}). It is mentioned between Ziph and Bealoth, and may be the same place as **Telaim** (1 S 15^{4}). In the LXX reading of 2 S 3^{12}, Abner is said to have sent messengers to Thelam (Θαιλάμ), where David was; and, if this reading be correct, Telem or Telaim was probably intended. The site has not been recovered, but a trace of the name seems to linger in that of the Dhallâm Arabs who occupy the country S. of Moladah (*Tell Milh*). According to Schwarz (*HL* 71), who places Telem N. of Moladah, the whole district is called *Toulam*. Telem is probably the Talmia of the Talmud (Neubauer, *Géog. du Talm.* 121). A position to the S. of *Tell Milh* would meet the requirements of all the above passages. See, further, TELAIM.

C. W. WILSON.

TEL-HARSHA (תֵּל חַרְשָׁא 'hill of the wood'; B Θααρησά, Ἀρησά, A Θελαρησά, Θελαρσά; *Thelharsa*).—A Babylonian town, of unknown site, from which some of the Jews, who 'could not show their fathers' houses, and their seed, whether they were of Israel,' returned to Judæa after the Captivity (Ezr 2^{59}, Neh 7^{61}). In 1 Es 5^{36} the name is written **Thelersas.**

C. W. WILSON.

TELL.—See TALE.

TELMELAH (תֵּל כַּרְלָח 'hill of salt'; B Θερμέλεθ, Θελμέλεθ, A Θελμέχελ, Θελμέλεχ; *Thelmala*).—A Babylonian town, of unknown site, which is mentioned with Tel-harsha and Cherub (Ezr 2^{59}, Neh 7^{61}). In 1 Es 5^{36} it is written **Thermeleth.**

C. W. WILSON.

TEMA (תֵּימָא 'on the right,' 'south'; Θαιμάν, Θημάν; *Thema*).—A tribe of Ishmaelite Arabs, and a place or district in Arabia, which took their name from Tema, one of the twelve sons of Ishmael (Gn 25^{15}, 1 Ch 1^{30}, Is 21^{14}). The people were leaders of caravans, or camel-men, and their encampments were apparently on a caravan-route which would be followed by fugitives from Dedan (Job 6^{19}, Is $21^{13.\ 14}$). According to some authorities, the passage in Job refers to 'caravans crossing the desert in the dry season; pressing forward to look for water in the winter torrents, and finding none. Their disappointment is a lively image of the experience of Job when he looked for sympathy from his brethren' (Smith, *DB*, Amer. ed., note to TEMA). In Jer 25^{23} Tema is mentioned with Dedan and Buz, and it may be inferred from Is $21^{13.\ 14}$ that it was E. of the former place. Ptolemy (v. xix. 6) mentions a town called *Themma* (Θέμμη) in the Arabian desert; and, according to Schrader (*KAT*² 149), Tema is the *Timai* of Tiglath-pileser II., mentioned in conjunction with the *Mas'ai* (the Massa of Gn 25^{14}).

Tema is now *Teimâ*, a well-known place in N. Arabia, about 40 miles S. of *Dumat el-Jendel* (Dumah), and on an old route from the Gulf of 'Akabah to the Persian Gulf. The ancient city was enclosed by a stone wall about 3 miles in circuit, and there are still remains of this, and of some great rude stone buildings. *Teimâ* is described as 'a tall island of palms enclosed by long clay orchard walls, fortified with high towers.' The houses are low buildings of mud or clay (Doughty, *Travels*, i. 285). The Aramaic inscriptions discovered by Euting at Teima prove it to have been the seat of an ancient civilization (see *Sitzungsber. der Berl. Akad. der Wissensch.*, 1884, p. 813 ff.; and cf. *Studia Bibl.* i.). The LXX reading, followed by Eusebius and Jerome (*Onom.*), apparently connects Tema with Teman.

LITERATURE.—Dillmann on the passages above cited in *Genesis*, *Isaiah*, and *Job*; *Sitzungsber. d. Berl. Akad.*, 1884, p. 813 ff.; Euting, *Nabat. Inschr.* 9 ff.; Buhl's *Gesenius*, *s.v.*

C. W. WILSON.

TEMAH (תֶּמַח: AV Tamah is due to the occurrence of the word in pausal form תֶּמַח).—The eponym of a family of Nethinim, Ezr 2^{53} (BA Θέμα, Luc. Θεμαά) = Neh 7^{55} (B Ἠμαθ, A Θήμα, Luc. Θεμαά).

TEMAN (תֵּימָן 'on the right,' 'south'; Θαιμάν; *Theman*).—A district, and perhaps also a town, which received its name from, or gave it to, a grandson of Esau, who was one of the 'dukes' of Edom (Gn $36^{11.\ 15.\ 42}$, 1 Ch $1^{36.\ 53}$). Teman was one of the most important districts in Edom. From it ('the land of the **Temanites**,' Gn $36^{34.\ 35}$) came one of the early kings of Edom; and it is sometimes used poetically for Edom. The name is apparently used in its wider sense for Edom in Am 1^{12} (cf. Am $2^{2.\ 5}$, where the country and its chief town are connected); in Ob ^{9} (cf. 'the mighty men of Edom' in Jer 49^{22}); in the poetical parallel (Jer 49^{20}), where the inhabitants of Teman are those of Edom; in Hab 3^{3}, where Teman stands for Edom, as Seir does in Dt 33^{2}; and in Bar $3^{22.\ 23}$. In its narrower sense the name occurs in Gn $36^{34.\ 35}$, Job 2^{11} 4^{1} 15^{1} 22^{1} 42^{9}, Ezk 25^{13}, and perhaps also in Jer 49^{7}. The Temanites were pre-eminent for their wisdom (Jer., Ob., Bar., as quoted above); and it was fitting that ELIPHAZ, one of the wise men of Teman, should be the chief of the three friends of Job.

The name of Teman has not been recovered, and its position is uncertain. A district in the N. of Edom seems to be implied in Ezk 25^{13} 'from Teman even unto Dedan,' and in Am 1^{12} it is mentioned with Bozrah (*el-Buseireh*); but, on the other hand, it is connected with the Red Sea in Jer $49^{20.\ 21}$. Eusebius states (*Onom.*) that, in his day, Teman was a town 15 (Jerome 5) Roman miles from Petra, and a Roman post; but he does not give the direction. No trace of this place has been found, but it was probably on the road from Elath to Bozrah.

LITERATURE.—Dillmann on Gn 36^{11} and Job 2^{11}; Driver on Am 1^{12}; Wetzstein, *Ztschr. f. allgem. Erdkunde*, xviii. 52 f.

C. W. WILSON.

TEMENI (תֵּימָנִי, Baer תֵּיכָנִי [cf. Kittel, *SBOT*, 'Chronicles,' p. 52]; BA Θαιμάν, Luc. Θαιμανεί).—The 'son' of Ashhur, 1 Ch 4^{6}.

TEMPERANCE.—The Eng. word 'temperance' occurs in Scripture only in the NT; but the idea of temperance, *i.e.* **self-control,** pervades the OT as well as the Scriptures of the Christian period, and the duty of realizing it is strongly insisted on throughout the Bible. The legal regulations about clean and unclean foods required self-restraint in the matter of diet. The Wisdom literature dealing especially with practical conduct is explicit and urgent on the duty of self-control. This is prominent in the Bk. of Proverbs, as in the sayings concerning *eating*—'When thou sittest to eat with a ruler, consider diligently what (or who) is before thee; and put a knife to thy throat, if thou be a man given to appetite' (Pr $23^{1.\ 2}$); *wine-drinking*—'Look not upon the wine when it is red,' etc. (v.^{31}); *licentiousness*—the laws against adultery, the frequent warnings in Prov. against 'the strange woman'; *anger*—'He that is slow to anger is better than the mighty; and he that ruleth his spirit than he that taketh a city' (16^{32}); *revenge*—'Rejoice not when thine enemy falleth' (Pr 24^{17}); and elsewhere *greed of wealth*—'Thou shalt not covet' (Ex 20^{17}); 'Woe unto them that join house to house,' etc. (Is 5^{8}). A specific self-restraint was put upon the Nazirites (see NAZIRITE), and a similar self-restraint was practised by the Rechabites (see RECHABITES); and certain forms of abstinence were required by the Law in all the Jews, as at fasts (see FASTING), and pre-

vious to solemn religious services (Ex 19[15]). The religious life of the OT saint was not ascetic, but it was simple and free from the excesses of paganism. While the Israelite was encouraged to receive the gifts of God with thankfulness, and to use them without fear of any Nemesis on his prosperity, he was not to plunge into reckless self-indulgence. Solomon's luxurious living is not Israelite, but a result of the importation of foreign manners. Baal-worship was denounced for its licentiousness as well as for its idolatry, and the unfaithfulness to Jehovah it involved on the part of the Israelites. The prophets repeatedly denounce the luxurious living of the wealthy, and the growth of self-indulgence generally, as foreign to the rigour of righteousness, and certain to bring ruin on a nation (*e.g.* Am 4[1] 6[1-6], Is 3[17-24] 5[11. 12]).

When we come to the NT treatment of this subject, we have the description of John the Baptist in his rough dress and simple fare, feeding on the native products of the wilderness (Mk 1[6]), whom our Lord contrasts with those who 'wear soft raiment,' and 'are in kings' houses' (Mt 11[8]). But the supreme example of temperance is afforded by the life of Jesus Christ. That was not ascetic; the charge of gluttony and wine-bibbing was brought against our Lord by malignant slanderers because He did not practise asceticism. And yet the extreme simplicity of His living, the many hardships He voluntarily endured, and His complete unconcern with regard to His own comforts, as well as His perfect freedom from all forms of sin and selfishness, show Him to us as one who lived the ideal life of temperance, avoiding excess and extravagance in all directions. This was the method of life He inculcated on His disciples. There is no passage in His teaching requiring asceticism, and no direct commendation of fasting (the word 'fasting' is omitted in RV of Mk 9[29] and the parallel Mt 17[21] in accordance with best MSS); but there is much urgent dissuasion from the life of ease and self-indulgence. The disciple of Christ is required to hold his thoughts as well as his words and actions under control (*e.g.* Mt 5[21. 22. 27. 28]). In the parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus the self-indulgence of the former, while he ignores the sufferer at his gate, aggravates his guilt. The Gr. word for 'temperance,' ἐγκράτεια, and its verbal form, ἐγκρατευόμαι, are found in the NT only in Acts (there ascribed to St. Paul), St. Paul's Epistles, and 2 Peter. Derived from κράτος, 'strong,' they indicate the strength a man uses towards himself in self-control. St. Paul makes temperance one of the subjects of his very personal address to Felix (Ac 24[25]); and elsewhere brings it forward as one of the fruits of the spirit (Gal 5[23]). Using the verbal form of the same word, he appeals to the analogy of the athlete whose training involves universal self-restraint (1 Co 9[25]). The virtue is one of the requisites for a bishop (Tit 1[8]). In 2 P 1[6] it appears in an ascending series of commended attainments, following knowledge and preceding godliness.

See also art. SOBER.

W. F. ADENEY.

TEMPLE (A.S. *tempel*, from Lat. *templum*, a space marked out; a sanctuary: cf. τέμενος [from τέμνω, 'to cut'], a piece of land cut off from the rest and dedicated to a god).—In the EV 'temple' renders the Hebrew words:—הֵיכָל (*hêkāl*, in a narrower sense the Holy Place) and בַּיִת ('house,' including *hêkāl* and *dĕbîr* or Most Holy Place). Three Gr. words are tr. 'temple' in the NT: ἱερόν (more correctly the whole of the sacred enclosure), ναός (strictly the sanctuary or sacred edifice alone, embracing *hêkāl* and *dĕbîr*), οἶκος.

i. *SOLOMON'S BUILDINGS.*—The pile or series of edifices of which the Temple formed one part,[α] embraced in addition the king's house,[β] the porch of pillars,[γ] the throne porch,[δ] the house for Pharaoh's daughter now married to Solomon,[ε] the king's dwelling, and the *ḥaram*. The following is

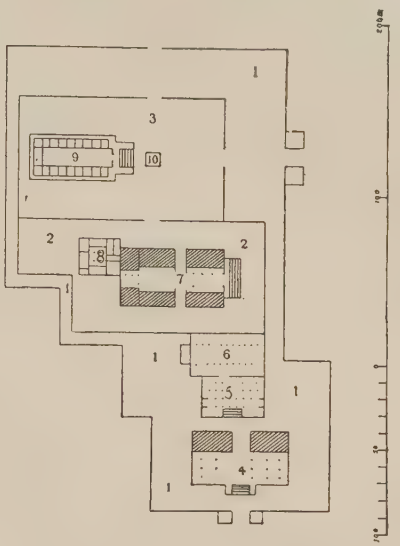


FIG. 1.—PLAN OF ROYAL BUILDINGS.

1. The great court. 2. The 'other' or middle court. 3. The inner (or temple) court. 4. House of Lebanon. 5. Porch of pillars. 6. Throne porch. 7. Royal palace. 8. Ḥaram. 9. Temple. 10. Altar.

Stade's[ζ] plan of the royal buildings as slightly simplified by Benzinger in his *Heb. Arch.* η and in his Com. on *Kings.* θ

The above plan takes for granted that the pile of buildings formed a complete whole. There was one 'great court' (1) which surrounded the whole. The 'other court' (2) encompassed the king's palace[ι] and *ḥaram*;[κ] in 2 K 20[4] it is called the 'middle court,' because it lay between the inner or temple court and the southernmost buildings (Lebanon house, etc.). The 'inner court' λ (3) was that which contained the temple and its belongings: 'inner' not in contrast with an outer court of the temple (of such a court Solomon's temple knows nothing), but as distinguished from the 'greater court,' which contained within it all the royal buildings. Apart from the description in 1 K 5–7, Ezk 43[8] μ makes it exceedingly likely that the whole of these buildings were together, making one whole.

On the other hand, Thenius,[ν] Furrer,[ξ] and others place the temple on the east hill, but the other royal buildings on the modern Mount Zion and the *ḥaram* hill, between which two

α But to the author, or at all events the editor, of even Kings the temple was the principal building of the group, if not the final cause of the whole.

β 1 K 7[2] 'House of the forest of Lebanon,' so called on account of the cedar wood used in its construction and the piles upon which it rested. J. D. Michaelis, Dathe, Iken (*Dissert. Philolog.* i. diss.), and Hamelsfeld (*Bibl. Geog.* i. p. 338) hold that the house in question was a summer residence for king Solomon built on Lebanon or at the foot of it. Dathe refers for support to 1 K 9[19], 2 Ch 8[6]. But the fact that Solomon deposited the golden shields in the house (see 9[19]) shows that the house was close to Jerusalem. Besides, we never read of Solomon's having more than one palace.

γ 1 K 7[6].
δ 1 K 7[7].
ε 1 K 7[8].
ζ *Gesch.* i. 315.
η p. 239.
θ p. 26.
ι 1 K 7[10. 12].
κ 1 K 7[8].
λ 1 K 6[36].
μ 'They (the children of Israel) shall no more defile my name . . . in their setting of their thresholds by my thresholds, and their posts by my posts, and the walls between me and them.'
ν On *Kings*; see his plan, Tafel i.
ξ Schenkel, iii. p. 222 ff.

hills the Tyropœon valley is situated. But the references we have are wholly opposed to this, as is also the probability that the king would have his palace erected in closer proximity to the royal sanctuary.

In 1 K $6^{2ff.}$ we read of the building of the temple. V.[36] tells us of an inner court, meaning clearly the court which enclosed the temple area and was itself included in the great court,[α] which had in it the whole complex of royal buildings, sacred and secular. The passage in Ezekiel[β] already noted makes this arrangement still more likely.

The eastern hill on which the royal buildings were erected is that which is known in the OT as ZION and also as MORIAH. The modern fiction, which fixes Zion on the hill west of the Cheesemongers' (=Tyropœon) valley, has nothing to support it except tradition. It has against it topographical and historical considerations which are overwhelming.[γ] Had the buildings been extended to a west hill, substructions of a deeper and more expensive character would have been necessary.

Relative positions of the Royal Buildings at Jerusalem.—Assuming that the royal buildings were all of them on the eastern hill, how were they relatively situated? The temple must have been either north or south of the other buildings, as the distance between the Tyropœon and the eastern declivities was too small to allow of its being on the east or west. It is exceedingly likely that it was on the north, and therefore on higher ground. From 2 K 11^{19}, Jer 22^{1} it follows that the way from the temple to the palace was a descent. On the other hand, in 1 K 8^{1} 9^{24}, Jer 26^{10} it is equally implied that it was an ascent from the palace to the temple. In these passages it is taken for granted that the temple was in proximity to the other royal buildings. When Jeremiah was arrested for foretelling the destruction of the temple, the princes were *at once* upon the scene and constituted themselves into a body of magistrates to deal with the matter[δ]—an incident illustrating the closeness of their residences to the sanctuary. Probably the southern wall of the temple was also the northern wall of the 'other' or 'middle' court, a gate leading from one into the other.[ε]

If we can fix the position of the altar of burnt-offering, we can locate at once the main parts of the temple and also the other royal buildings. There is good reason for believing that the *sakhra* or rock under the dome of the mosque of Omar is the spot where the altar in question stood. A very old tradition connects with this spot the incident in which Abraham prepared to offer Isaac, as also the threshing-floor of Araunah the Jebusite. It was on this threshing-floor that the destroying angel stood when Jehovah stopped him in his work of destroying the people.[ζ] Even if these associations with the place are imaginary, yet they show that it was a sacred spot from very primitive times, and in the conservative East there is but little change in roads or towns or sanctuaries. Solomon would be very likely to erect his chapel close to some spot where a Divine manifestation had been made or some altar had been raised.

The form of the stone gives good reason for concluding that it was that on which the sacrifices were offered. It is a huge limestone rock, measuring some 60 by 50 ft., standing above the marble pavement about 5 ft. On its top there is an opening, through which the blood of the victims sacrificed could pass. Lower down there is an open cave in the same rock, at the bottom of which the stones make a hollow sound when struck. This, with other indications, makes it very probable that there was an opening at the bottom through which the blood passed, this opening leading into a subterranean passage which continued its way to the Kidron Valley. This agrees with what the Mishna says,[η] that under the altar of burnt-offering there was a conduit by means of which the blood of the victim flowed into the valley of the Kidron.

Close to the *sakhra* or rock there were formerly two fountains, one of them still sending up fresh and beautiful water. The natives say the water of this last is very putrid, but Pierotti tasted it and found they were wrong. He was of opinion that the water had the name of being filthy on account of its long-time association with the sacrificial blood which mingled with it.[θ] Nowack[ι] thinks that, probably, the sacrificial blood after passing into the aperture at the bottom of the cave joined the waters of that 'fountain which flowed fast by the oracle of God,'[κ] and fell with them into the eastern valley, joining ultimately the Kidron.[λ]

The altar was rough and in its natural stone, which meets the requirement of Ex $20^{24f.}$,[μ] that the altar should be either of earth or of unhewn stone. Moreover, there were to be no steps going up to the altar,[ν]—a condition also satisfied by this rock, supposing it to be the altar of Solomon's temple. This last is, however, but twice named in Kings[α] and only once in Chronicles;[β] in all these three instances the altar is described as brazen; besides the size which the Chronicler gives,[γ] that is all we are told of the altar of burnt-offering of Solomon's temple. Nowack, indeed, completes the picture from the fuller description of Ezekiel's temple,[δ] but with questionable justification. It is likely enough that the adjective 'brazen' is a later addition, and that the altar of the first temple was one of unhewn stone. If this stone had not all along occupied a very important place in popular esteem, it could not have been tolerated, but it would many centuries before have been levelled to the ground.

Since the temple and its courts were arranged in terraces, the house itself, together with the altar, must have stood on the highest platform: this is true of the ground on which the rock rests.

Among leading authorities who have held that the altar was at the present *sakhra*, the following may be named:—Williams,[ε] Tobler, Furrer, Pierotti,[ζ] Stade,[η] Benzinger,[θ] and Nowack.[ι] Sir Charles Warren puts the altar just a little to the south of the rock, but quite close to it.[κ] If the *sakhra* marks the site of the altar,[λ] the house must have been to the west,[μ] the inner or temple court[ν] east, west, south, and north, while the remaining structures built on the hill would lie towards the south.

In order to make the rock-crowned Moriah fit for building upon, the rocky surface would have to be levelled—the *sakhra* being left as it was—and the parts lower down raised to be as high as the rest. Subterranean passages and rooms were erected, 'hewn stones,' 'costly stones,' 'great stones' being used, large quantities of earth being thrown in to fill up the intervening spaces.[ξ] There are to be seen at the present time remains of these underground buildings.[ο]

All agree that somewhere on the modern *Haram esh-Sherif* the temple was built; but this area is a quadrangle of unequal sides. Its west side measures 1590 ft., its east 1525 ft. The north and south sides are 1036 and 921 ft. respectively. It is impossible that the temple enclosure included the whole of this space, though de Vogüé, de Saulcy, Sir Henry James, and Sepp maintain that Herod's temple, with its courts and enclosures, did cover the Haram surface. German and French writers almost to a man, and the majority of English and American authorities, unite in holding that the temple building proper stood west of the rock as advocated above, and that with its adjuncts it covered about 600 ft. east to west and 400 ft. north to south.

A number of English writers have followed Fergusson[π] in maintaining that the temple occupied a square of some 600 ft. at the S.W. angle of the Haram (so Thrupp, Lewin,[ρ] and W. R. Smith[ς]). Fergusson was led to this view by architectural considerations, and especially by his acceptance of the Mosque of Omar site for the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. W. R. Smith states succinctly what is to be said for this opinion, but there does not seem much inclination on the part of students of the subject to accept it. Indeed, but for the necessity to support a foregone conclusion, Fergusson would hardly have hit upon this site for the temple at all.

Sources.—Our original sources for the history and description of Solomon's temple are threefold. (1) We have what is said in 1 K 6. 7, which leaves out much that is absolutely necessary to make a complete picture. Many technical terms are used, the meaning of which it is beyond our power to elucidate with any feeling of confidence. Moreover, the text is exceedingly corrupt and defective, so that conjectural emendation and addition have to be constantly employed. Böttcher in his *Aehrenlese*, Thenius in his Commentary, and especially Stade in his *ZATW* iii., have made praiseworthy attempts to supply the student with a correct text. (2) We have, further, the parallel history in 2 Ch 2^{1}–5^{5}; but that the history in this book, however sincere and pious, is constructed from the point of

[α] 1 K $7^{10.\ 12}$. [β] 4^{38}.
[γ] See art. ZION, Mühlau in Riehm², *s.* 'Zion,' and especially Guthe in *ZDPV* v. 271 ff.
[δ] Jer $26^{10f.}$ [ε] Cf. Ezk 43^{8}.
[ζ] 2 S $24^{15ff.}$, 1 Ch $21^{15ff.}$ (Ornan). [η] *Yoma* iii. 1.
[θ] *Jerusalem Explored*, London, 1864, vol. i. 88 ff.
[ι] *Heb. Arch.* ii. 41. [κ] Is 8^{6}. [λ] Cf. Ezk 47^{1a}.
[μ] Belonging to the Book of the Covenant. [ν] Ex 20^{26}.

[α] Viz. 1 K 8^{64} (in a narrative of the dedication of the temple) and 2 K $16^{17ff.}$ (A has supplemented it by an altar from Damascus).
[β] 2 Ch 4^{1}.
[γ] 20 cubits long by 20 cubits broad by 10 cubits high.
[δ] Ezk 43^{13-17}. [ε] *The Holy City*², p. 296 ff.
[ζ] *Op. cit.* [η] *Gesch.* i. 314 ff. [θ] *Könige*, p. 26 f.
[ι] *Heb. Arch.* ii. 27 f.
[κ] *Underground Jerusalem*, p. 60.
[λ] Fig. 1, 10. [μ] Fig. 1, 9. [ν] Fig. 1, 3.
[ξ] 1 K 7^{9-12}; Jos. *Ant.* VIII. iv. 82, etc.
[ο] See Warren's *Underground Jerusalem*, p. 61 ff.
[π] Essay on the 'Ancient Topography of Jerusalem,' 1847.
[ρ] *Sketch of Jerusalem*, 220 ff.
[ς] *Encyc. Brit.*⁹ *s.* 'Temple.'

view of a Jerusalem Levite of the time after the Exile, and represents events as they were *regarded* and not as they *were*, any one who compares Kings and Chronicles, and considers the history of religious thought and institutions among the Israelites, may see. Chronicles aims at glorifying David as the founder of the kingdom and of the religious society, especially of the priesthood and the psalmody. According to the Chronicler, David received from God a detailed plan of the temple,α and gathered together materials, especially gold, silver, copper, and iron,β for the building. Kings gives a fuller account, but leaves out this and similar things. (3) The temple of Ezekiel's visionγ must have been more or less suggested by the temple which he actually saw; and from its elaborate description one may, to a certain extent, fill in the omissions in the shorter description of Solomon's temple; only, it is to be considered that the temple which the prophet saw on the banks of the Chebar is as symmetrical as imagination unhampered by fact could make it. The text of Ezekiel is also corrupt; but Böttcher in his *Proben Alttest. Schrifterklärung*, the altar, the chambers, etc. This supposed connexion has led to many wrong results as to the dimensions of the first temple; as in the height of the building, which, because stated to be 30 cubits, *i.e.* thrice, not twice, that of the tabernacle, is made to refer to the exterior, not to the interior, though the other measurements are admitted to be internal. But the assumption of Fergusson, based on the oldest authorities, falls to the ground when it is remembered that the tabernacle in question had no actual existence at any time, and no existence in thought until about the time of the Exile. It would be far nearer the truth to say that the tabernacle is itself modelled upon the second temple, than to say that the first temple was modelled on the tabernacle. See TABERNACLE.

The temple of Solomon included the house and the court which surrounded and enclosed house, altar, and other belongings.

The 'house' was a rectangular building 60 cubits long (east to west), 20 cubits broad, and 30 cubits high.α These are inside measurements, as the account of the *dĕbîr*, or Holy of Holies, in 1 K 6^{16a} (cf. v.^{20}) shows, and as the temple of Ezekiel

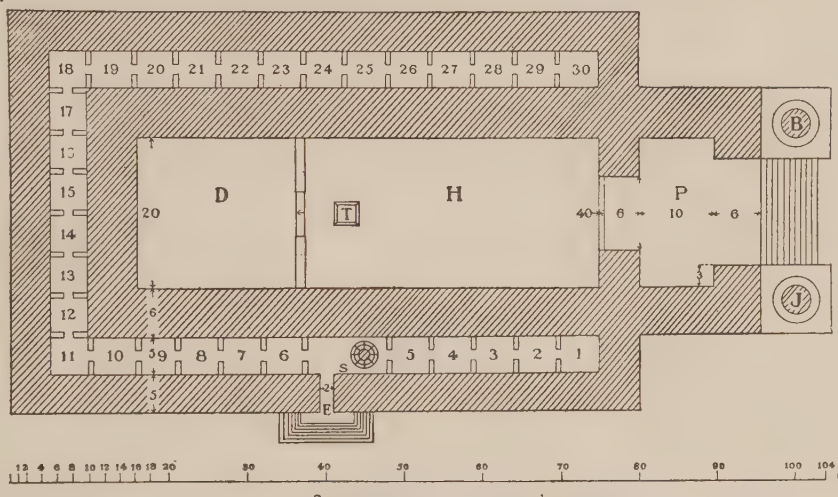


FIG. 2.—GROUND PLAN OF SOLOMON'S TEMPLE.

B and J = Boaz and Jachin—the pillars. P = the porch. H = the *hêkāl* or Holy Place. D = the *dĕbîr* or Most Holy Place. T = the table of shewbread. S = the stairway to the upper chambers. E = entrance to the chambers. 1, 2, etc., the chambers after Ezekiel's temple.

Smend, Bertholet, and especially Cornill, in their Commentaries, have done much to obviate this difficulty.—We have secondary sources in Josephus δ and the Mishnic tract *Middoth*, but these are valuable chiefly for Herod's temple; for, even when describing the temples of Solomon, Ezekiel, and Zerubbabel, it is Herod's which they have in mind. Josephus has also a strong passion for exaggeration, especially when the glory of the temple is concerned. In matters of size and measurement his imagination seems almost as free as was Ezekiel's.ε

1. PLAN AND DIMENSIONS OF SOLOMON'S TEMPLE.—Fergusson ζ says that the temple of Solomon was a copy of the tabernacle, the dimensions of the latter being doubled, and such other changes made as were necessary in a fixed as compared with a portable structure. But the resemblances so often, especially in former times, pointed out, are accompanied by differences of an important character—as in the porch, the two pillars Boaz and Jachin, suggests. But no allowance is made for the wall separating the *hêkāl*, or Holy Place, from the *dĕbîr*, which in Ezekiel's temple was 6 cubits thick.β The building looked towards the east. It is of course quite possible that this arrangement may have been due to the form of the hill, which made it much more suitable to build west to east than north to south.

The sanctuary structure.—The temple building had three parts, or rather two and a porch which is not reckoned as a portion of the house. The arrangement and number of the chambers is conjectural, being based on what we know of Ezekiel's temple.

The larger of the two parts of the house is the *hêkāl*,γ the *dĕbîr* δ being the smaller. The *hêkāl*

α 1 Ch 28$^{11\text{-}19}$. β 1 Ch 22^{14}.
γ Ezk 40–42 and in part 43 and 46.
δ *Ant.* VIII. iii., XV. xi. 3 ff.; *BJ* V. v. 1–6.
ε See Robinson's *BRP*^{2} i. 277 f.
ζ *Early Temples of the Jews*, p. 26 ff.

α 1 K 6^2 ‖ 2 Ch 3^3. The latter passage does not give the height.
β Ezk 41^5.
γ *Hêkāl* (הֵיכָל) is probably the same as the Accadian *e-gal*, 'great house,' as Schrader, Haupt, and most Assyriologists hold. It may mean properly a *hall* (*AJSL*, July 1901, p. 244 ff.). See the *Oxf. Heb. Lex.* on the word. Though used in other senses, its commonest meaning is that of the Holy Place (קֹדֶשׁ), which is the later term. In this article *hêkāl* has always this meaning.
δ *Dĕbîr* (דְּבִיר) is the term employed in Kings for what in the parallel parts of Chron. is often called 'Holy of Holies' (קֹדֶשׁ

was an oblong rectangle 40 cubits from west to east, and 20 cubits from north to south. The *dĕbîr* was a cube measuring 20 cubits in all three directions. Since the whole house was 30 cubits high—the house (הַבַּיִת) including *hêkāl* and *dĕbîr*—there must have been 10 cubits of space-room on the top of the *dĕbîr*, this being used probably for storing purposes, though Ewald says it was inaccessible and empty.

Stieglitz and Grüneisen view the *dĕbîr* as externally lower than the *hêkāl* by 10 cubits, but 1 K 6^2 says the whole house had a height of 30 cubits. Kurtz and Merx held that the *hêkāl* had an inside height of 20 cubits only, and that on the top of the whole house there was an upper room, 60 cubits in length, for keeping the relics of the tabernacle.α They say further that the Chronicler means this upper space by his הָעֲלִיּוֹת (LXX τὸ ὑπερῷον). But how could such an upper chamber be reached, and why do we never read about it or about the means of getting at it? The chambers about the house β reached, taking the three storeys together, to 15 cubits. Above these were the windows; γ but there would be scant room for the windows between the roofs of the chambers and the ceiling

word is said in Kings about the height of the porch, but in 2 Ch 3^4 it is said to be 120 cubits. But such a structure would have been called a מִגְדָּל (tower) and not a אוּלָם (porch). The proportions, 20, 10, 120, are impossible on both æsthetic and statical grounds. There is certainly a corruption of the text, or we have another example—a gross one here—of the love of exaggeration to which the Chronicler is prone when describing the sanctuary and its worship. It is most natural to think of the porch as having the same height as the house; and it is not stated in 1 K 6, because that would be inferred by the reader.

Walls.—There is no information given as to the thickness of the walls, but it must have been substantial, because they had rebatements of a cubit, or at least of half a cubit, at each successive storey of chambers.α It could be diminished therefore by 2 cubits, or at least by one, without any material change in the appearance. Ezekiel gives

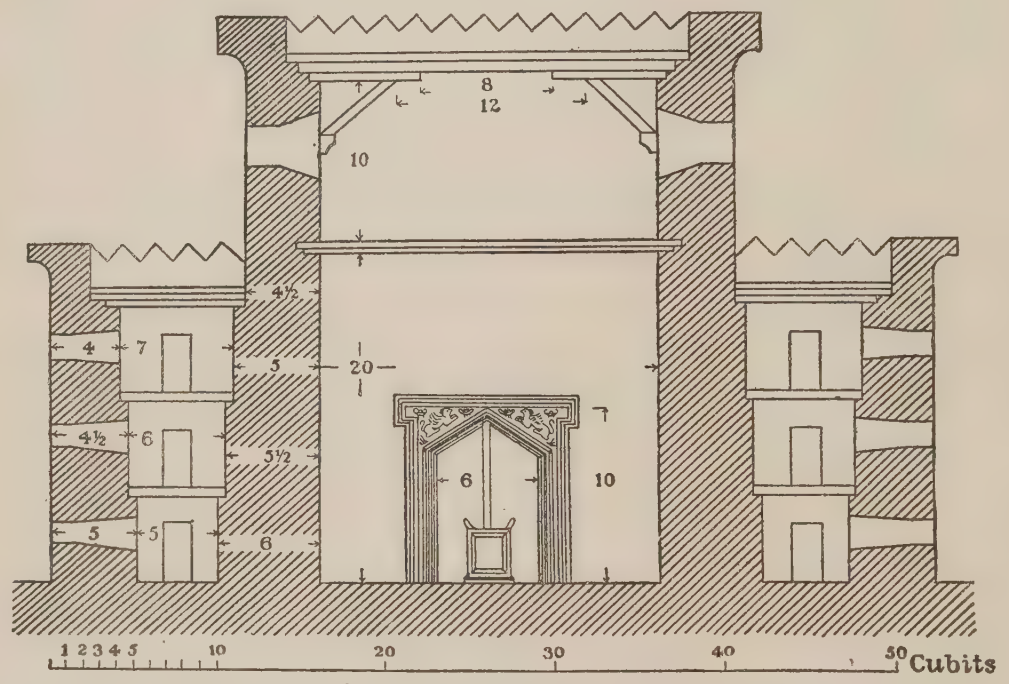


FIG. 3.—SECTION OF THE TEMPLE, NORTH TO SOUTH.

of the house if the latter were but 20 cubits above the floor. The Chronicler does not say where his עֲלִיּוֹת were placed, and it is most probable that by them we are to understand the צְלָעִים, or the chambers ranged along the three sides of the house.

The porch.—In front of the house and continuous with it—the two, indeed, forming one building—was the porch, δ which was not considered a part of the house. Its length, ε east to west, was 10 cubits; its breadth, north to south, being the same as the breadth ε of the house, viz. 20 cubits. Not a

the thickness of the walls of his temple as 6 cubits.β

In 1 K 6^{18} the cedar-covered walls are said to have figures carved on them of knops and open flowers; but this verse is not in the LXX, and it breaks in upon the account of the *hêkāl* in v.17 and of the *dĕbîr* in v.19, besides repeating what has been said in v.15. Probably this carving was the work of a later king, a later editor, by mistake, ascribing it to Solomon. Yet in v.35 the doors of both *hêkāl* and *dĕbîr* are said to have been adorned with figures of cherubim, palm trees, and open flowers; and the verse is above suspicion.

Roofing.—Very little is told us concerning the roof of the house. 1 K 6^{9b} γ is made by Bähr, Keil, Thenius, in their Comm. and Treatises, as also by the Targ., Peshṭ., Vulg., and Arabic versions, to refer to the covering of the roof. But Benzinger and the LXX take it to mean the covering or wainscotting of the walls; and 1 K 7^7 δ shows that the same verb certainly can be used of the walls,

הַקָּדְשִׁים). Jerome connected the word with the Hebrew דָּבַר (*dibber*) 'to speak,' and followed the LXX χρηματιστήριον in rendering it *oraculum* (*oraculi sedes*). It is really derived from the root still used in Arab., ﺩﺑﺮ (V) 'to be behind.' So *dĕbîr* דְּבִיר = what is behind; that is, what lies to the west, the east being called קֶדֶם, or what lies to the front, just as the south is the right-hand side (יָמִין) and the north the left-handed (שְׂמֹאל). *Dĕbîr* is the older term, and in the LXX of 1 Kings and in 2 Ch 3^{15} 4^{20} $5^{6.8}$ it is simply transliterated δαβίρ and δαβίρ. *Dĕbîr* occurs also in Ps 28^2, prob. also 2 K 10^{25} (for עִיר).

α 2 Ch 3^9.
β See below.
γ 1 K 6^4.
δ אוּלָם (*'ûlām*).
ε In the OT, length and breadth, when used of a surface of two dimensions, mean the greater and smaller measurement respectively.

α 1 K 6^6.
β Ezk 41^5.
γ 'He covered the house with beams and planks of cedar.'
δ 'And it (the throne porch) was covered with cedar from floor to floor.'

—which Thenius is inclined to deny,—and that it probably is so used in this passage. Yet, as Thenius objects, the wainscotting of the walls is described in 6^{15}. V.^{9} is otherwise awkward in its present position; and it is hard to make out the exact meaning of the technical terms translated 'beams and planks.'[α] Probably the verse is an interpolation.

1 K 6^{15}[β] in the EV has the word 'ceiling' in it. Instead of 'walls' we must read 'beams':[γ] 'from the floor of the house unto the beams of the ceiling.' We thus learn that the ceiling had cedar beams, but that is all we learn about it.

But these beams must have been covered with stone, probably the hard limestone of which the walls were built, to protect the house from the rain. In the three most rainy months there descends as much rain in Jerusalem and its neighbourhood as the average rainfall upon any similar area in Great Britain throughout the year.

Was the roof *flat* or *gable-formed*? Most certainly it was flat, as all ancient temples and houses were, and as, with hardly an exception, Eastern houses continue to be up to the present time. The custom with regard to private houses is to have a parapet all around the roof to prevent persons who are on the much-frequented roofs from falling.[δ] Certainly no other kind of roof than the flat one is hinted at anywhere in the Bible, nor is any other known in the primitive East. It is remarkable to find leading Rabbinical writers, followed by Lund,[ε] Hirt, Schnaase, Winer, and Thenius, plead that the roof was gabled. Hirt argues that there were spikes on the roof to keep off the birds, and that the roof was overlaid with gold. But he gets these, as perhaps also his gable roof, from the temple of Herod.[ζ]

Inner supports or not?—It is uncertain whether inside the house there were pillars to bear up the roof. In the *hēkāl*, at all events, it is very likely there were such supports, as the walls were 30 cubits high, and a roof of wood and of stone would be in great danger of tumbling unless there were something besides the walls to keep it up.

Fergusson[η] argues for such pillars, and he thinks there would be eight in all, four on each side of the house, one between each couple of tables and lampstands.[θ] Such an arrangement would, he thinks, promote at once architectural effect and the stability of the structure. He refers to 1 K 10^{12},[ι] but the word rendered pillars[κ] means 'support,' and the parallel word in Chron.[λ] means 'highways,' though it is rendered in EV 'terraces.' There is so much doubt as to what is meant that the passage cannot be made to carry what is put upon it.

The *material* of which the house and its appendages were built was the white hard limestone which abounds in the country, and which can be polished like marble; indeed it is a kind of marble. The slabs used were prepared at the quarry before they were brought to the temple, so that there was neither hammer nor axe nor any tool of iron heard in the house while it was in building.[μ]

The inside walls of the house were, as seen before, overlaid with cedar planks,[ν] on which were carved 'knops' and 'open flowers.' As to the gold said to cover the inside of the house,[α] see below under 'The gold covering of Solomon's temple' (p. 700[b]).

The floor of the house was probably made of hewn stone of the same material as that of the walls. But this stone floor was covered with cypress[β] wood, as the walls were with cedar; so that nowhere inside could the stone be seen.

Chambers surrounding the house.[γ]—In every side of the house except the east there were chambers[δ] arranged in three storeys. They did not go around the porch, as Grüneisen said, for the house only is mentioned; nor were there any on the east. We are not told how thick the walls of these chambers were, how many in number the chambers were, nor is anything said of their arrangement. For such details and others see *EZEKIEL'S TEMPLE*, below. Similar side rooms have been discovered at Birs Nimroud.[ε] The beams on which the upper storeys were constructed—made, no doubt, of cedar wood—rested upon rebatements in the temple wall, so as to prevent the wall from being built into—the house being too sacred for that.[ζ] The temple wall so built would therefore, at the roof of the first chambers, according to most writers, recede half a cubit, and at the roof of the next row of chambers it would recede another half cubit. The opposite wall—that built specially for the chambers—had a corresponding rebatement. So Keil, Stade, Now., Benz., and most; and at least symmetry is secured by this arrangement. Thenius[η] and others think the whole rebatement of one cubit at each storey took place in the house wall, and it seems to the present writer that this is likeliest, as not a word is written about rebatements in the chamber wall.

The chambers on the ground were 5 cubits broad, those on the middle storey being 6, while those on the top storey were 7 cubits broad. The chambers were entered from the court on the south side through a door[θ] (Fig. 2, E). In Ezekiel's temple there were entrances on the north as well as on the south. From the lowest storey one ascended to the others by means of a ladder and trap-door, and not, as used to be thought, by means of a winding stair: of such winding stairs the ancient East was quite ignorant.[ι] The history is silent as to whether or not there were windows in these chambers. Probably, however, there were, and they would be of the same kind as those of the house. See below concerning these. The chambers seem to have been used for the storing of the furniture, vessels, and other things belonging to the temple.[κ] In them, too, were placed some relics of the wilderness worship.[λ] 1 K 8^{4}, however, has many signs of having been tampered with. Of 'Levites' as distinct from 'priests,' Kings knows nothing. Nor does Kings show acquaintance with any tent besides that built by David for the ark.[μ] 'Tent of meeting,'[ν] if genuine, must have the sense it bears in JE (Ex 33^{7}, Nu 11^{16} 12^{4}) and not in P.

Windows.—There were no windows in the

[α] גַּבִּים, שְׂרֹרוֹת.

[β] 'And he built the walls of the house within with boards of cedar, from the floor of the house unto the walls of the ceiling.'

[γ] קוֹרוֹת for קִירוֹת with LXX, Then., Keil, Bähr, Stade, Benz., and ‖ 2 Ch 3^{7}.

[δ] Dt 22^{8}, Jg 16^{27}. [ε] 231 (or 324). [ζ] See art. PINNACLE.

[η] *Temples of the Jews*, p. 28 f.

[θ] On the tables and lampstands of the *hēkāl* see below under 'Contents of *hēkāl*.'

[ι] 'And the king made of the almug trees *pillars* for the house of Jehovah, and for the king's house.'

[κ] מְסֻעָד. [λ] 2 Ch 9^{11} מְסִלּוֹת.

[μ] 1 K 6^{7}. Ewald (*Gesch.* iii. 324, n. 2), Stade (*ZATW* iii. 136), and Benzinger (*Com. in loc.*) doubt the genuineness of this verse. It comes into the middle of the account of the side chambers (see art. QUARRY).

[ν] 1 K 6^{15}.

[α] 1 K 6^{21}.

[β] בְּרוֹשׁ 1 K 6^{15}; not 'fir,' as EV. [γ] 1 K 6^{5-8}.

[δ] יְצוּעַ (*Kĕrê* יְצִיעַ) should be read with LXX, Bött., Now., Benz., etc., צֵלָע. The word occurs in no other place. If retained it can but mean 'storey,' lit. what is spread out (יצע= وضع).

[ε] Fergusson, *History of Architecture*. [ζ] 1 K 6^{6}.

[η] See his diagram, Tafel ii. figs. 2 and 5 (at the end of Com.).

[θ] 1 K 6^{8} correcting 'middle'—first occurrence—to 'lowest,' with LXX, Targ., and nearly all writers.

[ι] See Stade, *ZATW* iii. 136 ff. [κ] 1 K 7^{51} ‖ 2 Ch 5^{1}.

[λ] 1 K 8^{4}, 2 Ch 5^{5}. [μ] 1 K 1^{39} 2^{28-30}, cf. 2 S 6^{17}.

[ν] אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד.

temple as the term 'windows' is now understood. In Bible times glass was not used for what are called windows; nor is it so used at the present time in Eastern countries. Indeed the main purpose of the apertures translated 'windows' is to let impure air out and pure in, rather than to give light to the house.[α] Considering the thickness of the walls—6 cubits, or say 9 ft., in Ezekiel's temple—it would have been difficult for the light to enter. In most Eastern houses the lamps are kept burning night and day; it is by them that the house is lighted. This was true probably of the temple as well.

In 1 K 6[4] the windows are described as *latticed* β—most Eastern windows are—and *beamed*: γ *i.e.*, besides the latticed covering, there were beams used to protect the opening and to form the framework of the window. Various other reconstructions of the windows have been suggested. The Targ., Pesh., several Rabbinical writers, Luther, and others have rendered 'windows broad within δ and narrow ε without.' Keil explains as 'windows with closed beams'; *i.e.* whose lattices cannot be opened or closed at pleasure, as the lattices of ordinary windows could.[ζ] For a statement and examination of other views see the Comm. of Thenius and Keil, and especially Keil's valuable treatise on Solomon's temple.

We know nothing about the size of the windows, nor is it stated in what part of the walls they were made. The chambers surrounding the house reached a height of 15 cubits—5 cubits being the height of each, if we are to infer from Ezekiel's temple. If, therefore, the windows of the house looked directly to the outside, they must have been some 20 cubits from the ground. It is probable that the chambers had windows as well; and in that case the house windows might have looked immediately opposite to those of the chambers, and have been put in three parallel rows. This is quite possible, as we are not told the number or the position of the windows. There was perhaps a row of windows above the chambers as well.

It is generally thought that there were no windows in the *dĕbîr*, and 1 K 8[12] η has been advanced to prove this. The difficulty of having windows between the uppermost roof of the chambers and the ceiling of the *dĕbîr* is pointed out. But this difficulty is not insuperable, for, assuming the chambers, between them, to reach a height of 15 cubits, there would still be a space above of several cubits for the windows. If, however, the windows of the house looked immediately upon those of the chambers, the difficulty in question disappears.

Doors.—Both *hêkāl* and *dĕbîr* had doors.[θ] We are not told what size they were, but in Ezekiel's temple they were 10 and 6 cubits broad respectively.[ι] How high they were is not said. The *hêkāl* door was square,[κ] while that of the *dĕbîr* was pentagonal.[λ] The door of the *hêkāl* was made of cypress wood, its posts being of olive wood. The door of the *dĕbîr* was of olive wood. Both doors were divided into two horizontal halves; but the two leaves thus formed were in the case of the *hêkāl* door further divided vertically, each into two folds, which were joined by hinges. It was not therefore needful to open the whole leaf in order to enter the *hêkāl*.

The *dĕbîr* door had two leaves only without the subdivisions, because it was not opened and shut as was the outer door, but was always kept open according to Keil,[μ] though he says the veil kept the interior hidden. See, however, below, and also VEIL.

Ezekiel's temple had the same construction for the *hêkāl* and *dĕbîr* doors, viz. that which seems to have obtained for the *hêkāl* door alone in Solomon's temple.[ν] This is the more striking,

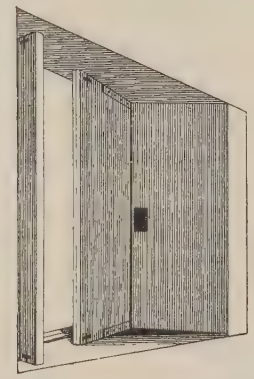


FIG. 4.—AN EGYPTIAN FOLDING DOOR, SHOWING VERTICAL DIVISION.[ξ]

as the idea of sanctity is more strictly recognized in Ezekiel's temple. Not at all improbably the inner door of Solomon's temple was constructed exactly like the other, though this is not stated owing to an oversight of the writer. Upon both doors were carved cherubim, palm trees, and open flowers;[ο] but there is no reliable evidence that the walls had such figures on them (see 'Walls').

In 2 Ch 3[14] it is said there was a veil before the door of the *dĕbîr*, corresponding to that of the tabernacle.[π] In Zerubbabel's temple there was such a veil,[ζ] and it was this which gave rise to the veil of the tabernacle, and caused the Chronicler to transfer it to the first temple; but Kings says nothing about it, though Thenius, approved by Riehm,[ρ] brings the word into 1 K 6[21] by arbitrarily altering a very difficult text; the text is, however, probably an interpolation, as Stade,[θ] Now.,[ι] and others hold. The veil was an invention of the time when the sacred had to be more rigidly separated from the profane. It was quite possibly introduced into the pre-exilic temple after Solomon's time, though of that we know nothing definitely.[σ]

The gold covering of Solomon's temple.—The following parts of the temple are said to have been overlaid with gold: (1) the walls of the *dĕbîr*;[τ] (2) the walls of the *hêkāl*;[υ] (3) the floor of the whole house;[φ] (4) the altar before the *dĕbîr* [but the support for this—1 K 6[22b]—is not to be found in the LXX, and it shows otherwise strong marks of being an interpolation. Far better with Stade[χ] and Benzinger omit the clause. With it goes the puzzle of knowing what is meant by the 'altar belonging to the *dĕbîr*.' He 9[4] speaks of an

α חַלּוֹן, lit. 'a perforated space,' 'a hole,' from חָלַל = 'to pierce *or* perforate.'

β אֲטֻמִים, lit. 'shut.' The Arabic word for such windows is *shubbāk*.

γ שְׂקֻפִים—prob. pass. ptcp. of denom. verb. There is no need to alter the vowels as Benzinger does, reading שְׂקָפִים 'beams.'

δ שְׂקֻפִים—such as could be seen through; cf. הִשְׁקִיף 'to look at from an eminence.'

ε אֲטֻמִים, lit. 'shut.'

ζ 2 K 13[17], Dn 6[10].

η 'Jehovah has said that he would dwell in the thick darkness.' Cf. Ps 18[11] 'He made darkness his hiding-place, his pavilion round about him; darkness of waters, thick clouds of the skies.'

θ 1 K 6[31. 34].

ι Ezk 41[2f.].

κ 1 K 6[33], reading, as LXX, Vulg., Then., and Benz., מְזוּזוֹת רְבֻעוֹת 'beams made into a square.'

λ It is better so to understand חֲמֻשִׁית in 1 K 6[31]. Ges. (*Thes.* I. 42 ff.), Keil, Bähr, Then., and Bött. take the numerals in 1 K 6[31. 33] to denote some fraction of either the width of the wall—Ges., Keil, and Bähr—or of the entrance wall (jambs, posts), as Then. and Böttcher. But no writer would choose this way of expressing this idea. It is far better, with the Rabbis, Stade (*ZATW* iii. p. 148), and Benzinger, to understand the words as above.

μ 1 K 6[31f.] ‖ 2 Ch 3[5f.].

ν 1 K 6[30].

ξ *ZATW* iii. 145.

α *Der Tempel*, 75.

β Ezk 41[24].

γ Merx and Ewald have held that the two leaves of the *hêkāl* door were divided horizontally only. But the epithet בְּלִילִים—'going around each other'—supports the first view; which is that defended by Thenius, Keil (Comm.), and Benzinger.

δ 1 K 6[32. 35].

ε Ex 26[31ff.].

ζ See VEIL.

η *HWB*[2] 1627[a].

θ *ZATW* iii. p. 145.

ι *Heb. Arch.* ii. 31.

κ See VEIL, and cf. TABERNACLE.

λ 1 K 6[20].

μ 1 K 6[21f.] ‖ 2 Ch 3[5f.].

ν 1 K 6[30].

ξ *ZATW* iii. 145.

altar[α] belonging to the *dĕbîr*, but this error arises from the above interpolated clause rightly rejected by Stade and Benzinger]; (5) the cherubim; [β] (6) the leaves of the door.[γ]

It is probable that the statement about gilding is a late addition in all the above instances, and that, in Solomon's temple, it had no place. It is significant that in every one of the passages in question there are other indications which awaken suspicion (for details consult Stade, *ZATW* iii. 140 ff.). When Shishak, king of Egypt, attacked and conquered Jerusalem, he took away the treasures of both temple and palace: the golden shields are distinctly named, but not a word occurs about the gold of the walls, etc.[δ] Jehoash, king of Israel, overcame the king of Judah, and took from Jerusalem the gold and silver and the temple vessels, but nothing is said about his stripping walls, etc., of the gold that covered them.[ε] Similarly, Ahaz in his extremity took the oxen on which the brazen sea rested, and also other things (2 K 16[8. 17]). One would expect to read of his purloining the gold that was so conspicuous if it covered walls, doors, inner altar, cherubim, and even floors. When Hezekiah stripped the doors and pillars of the temple, in order to make a present to the king of Assyria (2 K 18[15f.]), nothing is written about there being any gold given, though of course this is not denied either. 'Gold' in the EV, as the italics indicate, is not in the Hebrew.—Ezekiel's temple does not appear to have had any of this gold-overlaying. In short, apart from the suspicious reference named, we have no allusion in the subsequent history to this gold covering. In post-exilic times the wealth of Solomon was greatly exaggerated, just as his wisdom and power were, among Arabs as well as Hebrews, in yet later days. It was felt by those who made the additions *re* gold that Solomon's exalted character demanded them. Besides, the P tabernacle was pictured as plentifully supplied with gold: this would afford a strong motive for making gold more conspicuous in Solomon's temple.

2. The Pattern or Style of Architecture in which the Temple of Solomon was built.—Those who claim to speak with authority on this point have held opinions widely apart, showing that the data are inadequate for a clear and reliable decision.

Some (*e.g.* Williams, etc.) have found the model of Solomon's temple among the Greeks. Thrupp,[ζ] de Vogüé,[η] Thenius,[θ] and Benzinger[ι] pronounce the architecture of the temple to be Egyptian. Benzinger gives a detailed account of the temple of Amon Râ at Karnak, together with a plan, in order to show how much Solomon's temple resembled this. He calls special attention to the threefold division of porch, *hêkāl*, and *dĕbîr* which obtained in both temples. Nowack, on the other hand, points out that this same feature characterizes the ancient temples of Sicily.[κ] Thenius' diagrams at the end of his valuable Commentary on Kings are all based on Egyptian originals, and he is controlled throughout his Commentary and treatise by the idea that the first Jerusalem temple was a copy of the Egyptian temples. Puchstein[λ] and Nowack[μ] argue for a Syrian origin. W. B. Cobb[ν] makes the Syrian factor the principal one, as indeed Puchstein does, only the latter contends that Assyrian art was originally Syrian.

Fergusson[ξ] pronounces the problem insoluble, only that he says Egypt is out of the question. He thinks that either the valley of the Euphrates or Phœnicia was the most likely home of the temple architecture. But he does not give any arguments of weight to support his opinion.

Friedrich,[ο] Perrot and Chipiez,[π] and W. R. Smith[ρ] trace the style to Phœnicia. The fact that Hiram, the artificer (1 K 7[13f.], 2 Ch 2[13f.]), was a Phœnician, though connected with Israel, lends strong support to the last view, and Fergusson is not against it.

The natural conclusion to come to is that either Phœnician or Syrian art—it is hardly possible to distinguish these two—was that followed in the construction of Solomon's temple; but the arguments and illustrations adduced by Benzinger, Cobb, and others go to prove that there was a close resemblance between the sacred architecture of the Semitic world and of Egypt.

Contents of the hêkāl.—In front of the *dĕbîr* was an altar-shaped table on which the Shew-bread was set as an offering to God.[α] This is not the altar of incense, as Keil,[β] Bähr,[γ] and most of the older authorities contend, for we do not find such an altar named or implied in any pre-exilic document.[δ] There was no such altar in Ezekiel's temple, nor for a long time afterwards. See Benzinger, *Heb. Arch.* p. 401 n. On the other hand, there was in the latter temple a table-like altar of shewbread,[ε] which is more fully described than that of the first temple. See art. Incense, vol. ii. p. 467[b].

According to 1 K 7[48-50] the following were also made and set in the *hêkāl*: (1) a golden altar, the altar of incense; (2) a table for the shewbread: (3) ten golden lampstands,[ζ] five on the right side and five on the left; (4) lamps for these; (5) many other smaller things.

But these verses have all the appearance of being by a later hand, for the purpose of heightening the impression. In 1 K 6[20] the *hêkāl* is said to contain the altar-like table, but there is no hint of anything besides being in this part of the house. Chronicles[η] has, however, a parallel account to 1 K 7[48-50]. Jer 52[19] refers to 'lampstands'[θ] as taken by the Chaldæans, but in the parallel account of 2 K 25 nothing is said of lampstands. If, however, the writers of Jer 52[19], 1 K 7[48-50], and 2 Ch 4[19-22] were under the influence of P, they would have spoken of one lampstand, such as obtains in P's tabernacle, and not of ten. There must have been some ground for the tradition of the ten lampstands. Probably these did exist—but brazen, not golden ones—in Solomon's temple, or they were added soon after, for there must have been some way of lighting the interior of the house. They would be kept burning day and night, as house lamps in the East are at the present day.[ι] They might have been fixed upon pedestals,—the Eastern fashion,—but most likely they were set on the ten tables about which we read in 2 Ch 4[8].[κ] Keil, however, maintains that these tables were for the shewbread; but 2 Ch 13[11] 29[18] seem to show that there was but one such table.

Contents of the dĕbîr.—After the building of the temple was completed, the ark[λ] was brought from the city of David at the south-east of the temple hill, and placed in the *dĕbîr*, which, using the later name, is explained as the Holy of Holies.[μ] It was carried by the priests, though, according to the older history of 2 S 6[13], priests were not considered the only proper bearers of the ark.

The ark is said to have contained nothing except the two tables of the Law.[ν] In David's time and Solomon's the ark seems to have been looked upon as involving in some way the Divine presence,—as a kind of *numen præsens*. Stade, Benz., Nowack, and many others think that the ark held originally a stone which was considered to represent Jehovah, and that it was at a time later than Solomon's that it contained or was believed to contain the two tables of stone.

In He 9[4] the pot of manna and Aaron's rod are said to have been in the ark.[ξ] Nowhere else in the Bible is this said, though these articles are spoken of[ο] as being laid up before the ark of the tabernacle. The writer of Hebrews has on his side the common belief of the later Rabbis.[π]

Overshadowing the ark were two huge cherubim,[ρ] each being 10 cubits high, *i.e.* exactly half as high as the ceiling of the *dĕbîr*. These had two wings apiece, each being 5 cubits broad. These wings were outstretched, the outer ones touching the walls, the inner ones reaching to each other. The four wings of 5 cubits each were stretched from wall to wall, extending along the whole width of 20 (=4×5) cubits. The ark had its place under the two inner wings. On the form and significance of these cherubim see Cherubim.

[α] Θυμιατήριον is certainly 'altar' not 'censer.' So Bleek, Lünemann, Kurtz, Westcott, Delitzsch. *Per contra*, cf. Biesenthal and EV.

[β] 1 K 6[28]. [γ] 1 K 6[32. 35]. [δ] 1 K 14[26].

[ε] 2 K 14[14]. [ζ] *Ancient Jerusalem.*

[η] *Le Tempel de Jérusalem.* [θ] Com. and Appendix.

[ι] *Heb. Arch.* 385. [κ] *Heb. Arch.* ii. p. 34, n. 3.

[λ] *Jahrb. des Kaiserlichen deutschen archäol. Instituts*, vol. vii. pt. 1.

[μ] *Heb. Arch.* ii. 34. [ν] *Origines Judaicæ*, 242.

[ξ] *Temples of the Jews*, p. 33.

[ο] *Tempel u. Palast Salomo's, Denkmäler Phönikischer Kunst.*

[π] *History of Art in Sardinia, Syria, and Asia Minor*, p. 141 f.

[ρ] *Encyc. Brit.*[9], art. 'Temple.'

[α] 1 K 6[20b] renders the last part of this verse, 'And he *made* (not overlaid) an altar of cedar': so LXX, Then., Benz. etc.

[β] *Der Temp. Salom.* 178 f. [γ] *Der Temp. Salom.* 109 f.

[δ] Thus Ewald (*Gesch.* iii. 232), Thenius, Stade (*ZATW* iii. p. 168 ff.), Nowack, Benzinger.

[ε] Ezk 41[22].

[ζ] Not 'candlesticks.' The Bible knows nothing of 'candles' or of 'candlesticks.' Render in all cases, in OT and in NT, 'lamps' and 'lampstands.'

[η] 2 Ch 4[19-22]. [θ] מְנוֹרֹת.

[ι] The light in the temple of Shiloh was kept burning during the night only (1 S 3[3]).

[κ] 'He made also ten tables, and placed them in the *hêkāl*, five on the right side and five on the left.'

[λ] אָרוֹן 'chest'; תֵּבָה (an Egyptian word), meaning 'a hollow vessel,' is the word for Noah's ark.

[μ] 1 K 8[6]. [ν] 1 K 8[9]. [ξ] κιβωτός.

[ο] Ex 16[32-34] 25[16], Nu 17[10], Dt 10[5].

[π] See Ark. [ρ] 1 K 6[23-28].

In 2 K 18[4] it is recorded that Hezekiah 'removed the high places, and brake the pillars, and cut down the Asherah; and he brake in pieces the brazen serpent that Moses had made; for unto those days the children of Israel did burn incense to it.' Where in the temple—if in it at all—this symbol of deity was kept we have no intimation. The brief notice is interesting, however, as showing to how late a time the Israelites worshipped Jehovah in the form of some material object. See art. NEHUSHTAN.

The court.[α]—Keil and the older authorities generally hold that there was an outer temple court[β] as well as an inner one.[γ] What can be said for this view is well said by Keil in *Der Tempel Salomos*, p. 114 ff. So far, however, as the history and description of Solomon's temple are concerned, we know of but one temple court, the other courts mentioned not being temple courts at all. The epithet 'inner,' when employed to designate the temple court, gets its meaning from the fact that it was surrounded by the greater court, and formed, indeed, a part of the latter.[δ] This one court is called by the Chronicler the 'court of the priests,'[ε] but under the influence of later ideas and usages Ezekiel was the first to think of reserving a court for the priests, and in the later temples his conception was carried out. It was owing to stricter notions of holiness, and the belief in a more urgent need for Jehovah to be approached through His appointed ministers, that God's house—the place where He dwelt—came to be safeguarded by a walled space into which priests alone could enter. But in Solomon's day and for a long time afterward such conceptions were unknown. No need was therefore thought to exist for more than one temple court.

The greater court—of which the temple court formed a part—was surrounded by a wall made of three layers of hewn stone, and on the top of them a layer of cedar planks, the latter probably gable-shaped, so that the water might fall to the ground.[ζ] Keil[η] and others think the cedar planks stood upright, making a kind of railing. There was the same sort of wall around the temple court, as well as around the court below, in which the royal palace stood.

No information is supplied about the *extent* of the court. Ezekiel's inner court was 100 cubits square;[θ] and Keil thinks the court in question had the same size. But it must be remembered that the court about which Keil is thinking was, like Ezekiel's, for the *priests alone*; the one and only court of Solomon's temple was for the *people* as well as for the *priests*.[ι] The Rabbis say that the temple court was 187 cubits from east to west, and 135 cubits from north to south. They get these figures, however, from the second temple, and moreover they, too, believed that the first temple, like the others, had an outer court.

We are left equally in the dark as to the *form* of the court. Judging, however, from other temples, we should expect it to be rectangular, if not a square. Hirt and Grüneisen say the front or east side of it formed a semicircle; but this is simply a guess. The fact that so little is said concerning the court shows how small was the importance attached to it at this early time.

Gates of the court.—No court gates are named in the history of the building of the temple. It is natural to think that there was a gate on the south side, for it was on that side that the royal palace lay,[κ] and the king would enter by that gate. It is possible that the people also had to enter the sacred enclosure through this southern gate. But it is probable that there were gates on the north and east also, as there were in Ezekiel's temple.[λ] We have evidence that for some time before the Exile there were gates. In Jer 38[14] we read of a 'third entry into the house of Jehovah,' and three keepers of the threshold are referred to in Jer 52[24], 2 K 25[18]. But these references are not conclusive as to the court of Solomon's temple. Moreover, we read of a northern gate,[α] which is probably identical with the 'upper gate of the house of Jehovah,'[β] the 'upper gate of Benjamin,'[γ] and 'the altar gate,'[δ]—so called because to this the people brought their offerings. Assuming that the same gate is meant in all these passages, we gather from 2 K 15[35] that it was built by Jotham (B.C. 740–736); moreover, it is called a 'new gate.'[ε] It could not therefore have been made in Solomon's time, though it might have taken the place of a much older gate. In 1 Ch 9[18] an eastern gate is named, and it is called 'the king's gate,' probably because the king used it either principally or exclusively.[ζ] We have supposed that Solomon would be more likely to enter through a south gate, about which, however, we know nothing certain.

The *floor* of the court was paved; at least it was so in Ahaz' day (B.C. 736–728), for it was upon the pavement that he set the brazen sea after he had taken away its proper support.[η] The Chronicler[θ] says it was paved from the very first. Ezekiel's outer court was paved for 50 cubits all round the outer wall, except on the west;[ι] and it is likely that his inner court was paved, for the other is called the lower pavement, implying the existence of a higher. According to Smend,[κ] the whole of Ezekiel's inner court was paved.

Contents of the court.—**The Altar of Burnt-offering.**—We have in Kings no account of the making of this altar, though its existence is implied in 1 K 8[64], where it is called a 'brazen altar,' and in 2 K 16[10ff.], where we read that king Ahaz ordered Urijah the priest to set aside the brazen altar that was in the 'forefront of the house'[λ] in favour of a new altar, built according to an Assyrian model which the king saw at Damascus. In 2 Ch 4[1] it is said that Huram Abi, the temple artist, made an altar of brass, 20 cubits in both length and width, and 10 cubits high. Beyond the instructions thus given we know nothing authentic of this altar. Its being made of brass was contrary to the directions laid down in the Book of the Covenant,[μ] and is probably due to contact with surrounding peoples. Keil[ν] tries to save the character of Solomon by maintaining that the inside of the altar was made up of earth and unhewn stone, and that its outside was alone of brass,—brass plates, he says. But such an altar could hardly be called one of brass.

Keil[ξ] reconstructs the altar according to what we know of the altar of the tabernacle. Most modern authorities reconstruct it in accordance with what we know of Ezekiel's altar.[ο] But neither procedure is a safe one; certainly not the former, since the whole account of the tabernacle is conceived under the influence of late ideas and practices. Nor is it safe to argue from Ezekiel's to Solomon's altar of burnt-offering; for, assuming that the prophet's conception was governed by what he had seen of the pre-exilic temple at Jerusalem, yet many changes are likely to have been made between Solomon's time and that of the prophet. Some of these are known to us, and have already come under our notice.[π]

The altar of the first temple stood probably at the spot where David erected an altar after the plague was stayed.[ρ] Indeed this altar might have been the very one that David raised, though 2 Ch 4[1] is against this supposition, as is also the fact that the rest of the temple was new.

The Brazen Sea.[σ]—Between the house and the altar, but towards the south, was the Brazen Sea (called also 'the Molten Sea' and simply 'the Sea'). See SEA (BRAZEN).

The Layers.[τ]—On each side of the altar, at

[α] חֲצַר. The later term is עֶזְרָה. [β] חֲצַר הַתְּחִיצָנָה Ezk 10[5].

[γ] חֲצַר הַפְּנִימִית 1 K 6[36] 7[12]; but cf. *ZATW* iii. p. 152 f., and Benzinger's Commentary.

[δ] See above, p. 695[b]. [ε] 2 Ch 4[9] חֲצַר הַכֹּהֲנִים.

[ζ] 1 K 7[12]. [η] *Der Temp. Sal.* 115. [θ] Ezk 40[47].

[ι] 2 K 12[12], Jer 35[1ff.] 36[10] show that laymen were allowed to enter the court of the pre-exilic temple.

[κ] See p. 696[b]. [λ] Ezk 40[28ff.].

[α] Ezk 8[3] 9[2]. [β] 2 K 15[35]. [γ] Jer 20[2].

[δ] Ezk 8[5]. [ε] Jer 26[10] 36[10]. [ζ] Cf. Ezk 46[1ff.].

[η] 2 K 16[17]. [θ] 2 Ch 7[3]. [ι] Ezk 40[18].

[κ] On Ezk 40[18]. [λ] פְּנֵי הַבַּיִת. [μ] Ex 20[24f.].

[ν] *Der Temp. Sal.* p. 117 f. [ξ] *l.c.*

[ο] Ezk 43[13-17]. [π] Cf. 1 K 16[35], 2 K 16[17].

[ρ] 2 S 24[15ff.]. [σ] 1 K 7[23-26] ‖ 2 Ch 4[2-5]. [τ] 1 K 7[27-37].

the right and left wings of the temple, there were ten brazen stands on wheels, with brass basins set upon them (see the very elaborate article, with illustrations, entitled 'Die Kesselwagen des salom. Tempel,' by Stade, in *ZATW*, 1901, p. 145 ff.). They were filled with water, which was used for the purpose of washing the flesh that was to be offered in sacrifice. Perhaps the water in them was obtained from the brazen sea. Or it may be that both the brazen sea and also the lavers were supplied direct from the stream mentioned in Ezk 47[1].

In 1 K 7[40] (‖ 2 Ch 4[11]) we are told that Huram made also pots,α shovels,β and basins,γ but it is not stated where these were kept.

Of any additional chambers in the court besides those around the house the Biblical accounts say nothing. There is no mention, for example, of chambers for sacrificing, for washing the sacrificial flesh, for storing the instruments used in sacrificing, etc.

Rabbinical writers say there were eight stone tables on the north of the altar of burnt-offering, fastened to the pavement by twenty-four iron rings. Lund,δ who follows Jewish authorities far too slavishly, gives details of these tables, depending upon his Jewish guides. If, however, these tables obtained at all, it was in the temple of Herod alone, with which Jewish writers were familiar, and from which far too freely and uncritically they drew conclusions concerning the temple of Solomon.

Subsequent history of Solomon's temple.—Solomon did not intend the temple he built to be a rival to the already existing high places of the land, much less did he intend by his sanctuary to supplant the many others. For long after his time, as the genuine Books of Kings show, the *bāmôth* or high places had the stamp of approval as much as the Jerusalem sanctuary. The writings of the early prophets make this very clear. From Amos and Hosea we see that the people of the Northern kingdom made pilgrimages to Beersheba in the south (Am 5[5], cf. 8[14], Hos 4[15] (text as amended by Wellh., Now., etc.)), and that they worshipped there and at Dan, Bethel, and other places (Am 4[4] 5[5] 8[14], Hos 10[15]) without incurring blame, so far as concerned the locality of the sanctuaries. On the other hand, the inhabitants of Judah sacrificed at Gilgal as well as Jerusalem (Hos 4[15]; but text dub., see Wellh. *ad loc.*). The opposition to the *bāmôth* arose from the superstition and immorality associated with them, and the danger of worshipping the Canaanite deities to which they were originally consecrated.ϵ It should be noted that the temple-worship of Jerusalem is as strongly reprobated by Isaiah as worship at the *bāmôth* is by Amos and Hosea, and for a similar reason; see Is 1, etc. Elijah was one of the first to set his face against these local cults; but the first to make any attempt to suppress them was Hezekiah (B.C. 729–629).ζ But the high places continued to be recognized until about B.C. 621, when Josiah (B.C. 640–609) employed vigorous measures, and for the most part succeeded in stamping them out.η More and more the temple became the centre of the nation's life, religious and political, especially after the return from exile (see Smend, *Alttest. Religionsgesch.* 216 f., 230 f., 315 f., 438 ff., and especially his article in *SK*, 1884, p. 689 f.).

In 2 Ch 20[5] mention is made of a 'new court' belonging to the house of Jehovah before which Jehoshaphat stood; an outer court could hardly have existed at this time; probably the Chronicler is influenced by the temple of his own day.

We have already spoken of the following incidents connected with the temple: (1) the new gate made by Jotham;θ (2) the supplanting by king Ahaz of the altar of burnt-offering,ι and the removal by him of the brazen oxen on which the brazen sea rested;α (3) the taking away by Hezekiah of the gold, etc., of the house.β But worse than that of Ahaz or Hezekiah was the conduct of Manasseh, for he caused altars to be raised in the court to all the host of heaven, and an image to be put in the house of Jehovah.γ Moreover, he erected abodes for hierodules, in which women wove tents for the Asherah, these tents to be put up in the sanctuary.δ He had also horses, consecrated to the sun, kept in a part of the inner court.ϵ Josiah purged the temple of these abominations,ζ but unfortunately his life was cut short at Megiddo in the war with Egypt, about B.C. 609.η Twelve years later Jerusalem was attacked by the Chaldæans under their king, Nebuchadrezzar.θ In B.C. 586 Jerusalem and its temple were burned to the ground, and whatever of value remained in the temple was carried to Babylon.ι Thus ended the first temple after an existence of over four centuries.

α Reading סִירוֹת for the obviously inaccurate כִּיּוֹרוֹת.

β יָעִים. γ מְזֻרָקוֹת. δ Book iv. ch. 17.
ϵ Dt 12[2. 30], Nu 33[52], Ex 34[12f.]. ζ 2 K 18[4. 22].
η 2 K 23[29ff.] θ 2 K 15[35] ‖ 2 Ch 27[3]. ι 2 K 16[10].

ii. *EZEKIEL'S TEMPLE.*—Ezekiel's programme for the new State and temple was suggested to him by the sights he had seen in the Holy City, and the events amidst which he moved. Hence the picture he drew of the temple that was to be is helpful in understanding what the temple was immediately before its destruction. In a less degree, less than is generally supposed, it is an aid, too, in reconstructing the temple of Solomon.

But Ezekiel's temple obtains its chief significance from its relation to the future. The legislation set forth in the last 9 chapters of Ezekiel represents an intervening stage in ritual and theological conceptions between the Deuteronomic legislation and the Priestly. In Ezekiel's ideal picture the temple and its priesthood stand in the very foreground. Some items in his programme could not be realized. For instance, the territory in which each of the 12 tribes was to dwell is marked out, but the 12 tribes did not return. Again, the temple buildings did not, and could not, occupy exactly a square of 500 cubits each way.

The description of Ezekiel's temple is to be found in 40[1]–43[27] and parts of the following chapters.

The text is often very corrupt, and has to be conjecturally emended. Böttcher's *Proben alttest. Schrifterklärung* (1833) and Thenius' Com. on *Kings* are very serviceable in reconstructing the text. The Commentaries of Smend and of Cornill are of the utmost value in the same direction: especially Cornill's monumental work, which deals mainly with the text. One cannot but wish, however, that Cornill were less wedded to the text implied in the LXX. We ought not to omit noticing the Commentaries of Keil, Bertholet, and Kraetzschmar, all of which the present writer has found helpful, more particularly that of Bertholet.

Hävernick in his Commentary on *Ezekiel* has called attention to the fact that in the account of Solomon's temple it is the house—including *hêkāl* and *dĕbîr*—which receives most attention; but in the description of Ezekiel's temple it is the external circumstances that stand out most prominently, such as the courts with cells and doors, the guard-rooms, chambers, ornaments, dresses, and the like. The house is but slightly touched upon. This may be owing to the fact that in both temples the house was in all essentials identical: the differences and additions were in the external parts.

1. GENERAL ARRANGEMENT.—Solomon's temple was but one part of the complex of royal buildings on the eastern hill. It was enclosed in the great court, as were the royal palace, the house inhabited by his Egyptian wife, and other erections. In this temple court the people were in the habit of gathering to offer sacrifices. Priests and people mingled around the altar and in the immediate precincts of the house. In Ezekiel's time no palace and no State

α 2 K 16[17]. β 2 K 18[15f.]. γ 2 K 21[4. 5. 7].
δ 2 K 23[7]. ϵ 2 K 23[11]. ζ 2 K 23.
η 2 K 23[29]. θ 2 K 24[2ff.]. ι 2 K 25 ‖ Jer 52.

buildings were needed. The space on which these had been built was now devoted, accordingly, to that outer court which is the grand feature of this new temple. Israel had suffered for want of proper reverence. God had not been worshipped with becoming respect. His house had been desecrated, the sacrifices profaned. Now the house was to be shut off from secular buildings. In close proximity to it the priests alone were to be allowed; it was only in the large outer court, which stood where previously the royal buildings were, that the common people could gather. There was to be a new land separated to Jehovah, and cut off on the west by the sea, and on the east by the rapid Jordan and its consequent freedom from practical restraints. The area it covered was a square 500 cubits α on each side. The proportion 2 : 1 obtains largely. The gateways are 50 cubits long and 25 broad. The house with walls and chambers had a length of 100 cubits and a breadth of 50. Between the house and the 3 inner gates was a square of 100 cubits each side. A glance at the plan below will show the thoroughly symmetrical character of the whole. From square to square is 50 cubits.

The temple area was encompassed by a wall (g h i j) 6 cubits high and of the same thickness.β In the centre of the N., E. and S. walls there were gateways γ (G G G). Just opposite to them, towards

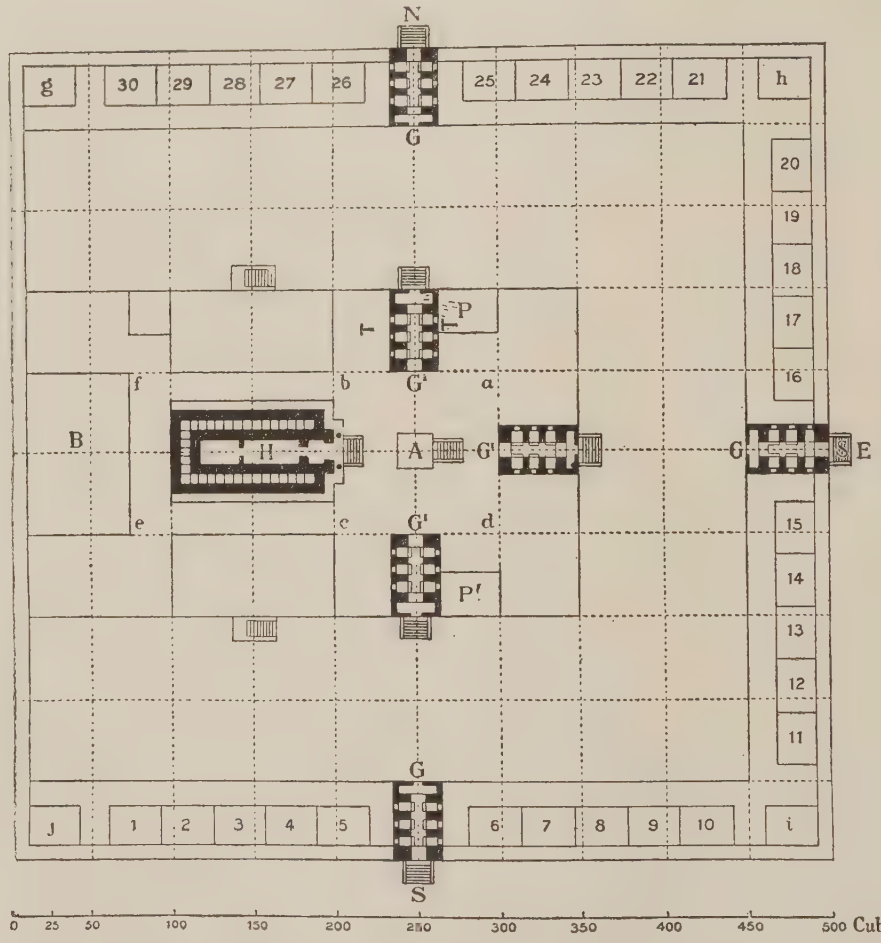


FIG. 5.—GROUND PLAN OF EZEKIEL'S TEMPLE. δ

g h i j = the encompassing walls. G G G = the 3 outer gates. G^1 G^1 G^1 = the 3 inner gates. P P′ = priests' cells. H = the house (*hēkāl* and *dĕbîr*). A = altar of burnt-offerings. The numbers around the outer walls mark the cells.

seas, or rather lakes. But of that all-holy land the temple hill was to be first secured as a kind of *tĕrûmāh* α or first-fruits. An enclosed land was to have its sanctuary enclosed—nay, doubly enclosed, the inner enclosure for the priests alone. It is no doubt this idea of the holiness of Jehovah and His house that prompted the prophet, in the spirit of his time and people, to appropriate the whole of the upper hill for his temple, and to substitute the outer court for Solomon's all-encompassing great court.

A leading feature in Ezekiel's temple is its *symmetry*: this is due to its ideal character, and its

α תְּרוּמָה, cf. Nu $15^{19f.}$ $18^{11ff.}$ 31^{41}.

the inside and exactly 100 cubits distant, there were three gates of the same construction leading into the inner court γ (G^1 G^1 G^1). Within the precincts of the inner court was the house, embracing both *hēkāl* or Holy Place and *dĕbîr* or Most Holy Place (H). In our more detailed description we shall follow the order in which the angel showed the temple to the prophet in the vision. We

α Ezk 42^{16} not 'reeds' as MT. The LXX has simply 500, but in v.^{17} it has 'cubits,' which should be understood in v.^{16}, as the general measurements and other passages show.

β Ezk 40^{5}. γ See below for full description.

δ The plan is adapted from Benzinger's *Heb. Arch.* 394. Benzinger takes his from Stade, *Gesch.* ii. 51. The squares are due to Benzinger.

begin, therefore, at the eastern gate of the outer court.

The first thing we encounter as we approach the eastern gateway is the ascent by 7 steps *α* to the level of the outer court, which was higher than the ground outside. At the inner gate there was a corresponding flight of steps which conducted to the inner court, but here there were 8 steps *β* not 7. In a similar way an ascent of 10 steps had to be made before the house could be entered.*γ* The whole constituted thus three terraces, all which would yield a commanding view from the mountains and high ground around, and from the lowest court.

Height of steps.—According to Ezk 41[8] the 10 steps leading immediately to the house were equal to an elevation of 6 cubits, *i.e.* each step was ⅗ of a cubit high. The other steps were probably of the same height.

FIG. 6.—AN OUTER GATE.

Having reached the topmost of the steps in front of the outer gateway, we enter the gateway itself, which, as is common in the East, has rooms on both sides,*δ* though it has none above, such as are often found in Eastern countries, and, indeed, not seldom in Europe. First of all we enter the threshold *e* (*T*), an open space with a length *ζ* (E. to W.) of 6 cubits *η* and a breadth *ζ* of 10 cubits.*θ*

Passing beyond the threshold, we find right and left of us guard-rooms *ι* in which the temple officers were stationed to keep order and to watch the house.*κ* These were four-square, the side being 6 cubits. Five cubits farther on there were two identical guard-rooms, and the same distance yet farther to the west there were two more. There were thus six guard-rooms in all (Fig. 6, *G G G G G G*).

No *doors* are mentioned as belonging to the guard-rooms, but it is probable that on the sides towards the outer court there were doors. On the inner side of each guard-room there was a 'border' (RV) or 'barrier' *λ* (Cornill, Bertholet, A. B. Davidson) (see Fig. 6, *m n*), of one cubit thickness. The purpose of this barrier was to enable the sentry to see along the whole length of the gateway without being jostled by the crowd that passed in and out. Of its form we are told nothing, but it was probably simply a straight stone wall, a cubit in thickness and 6 cubits across. Between the guard-rooms there were 'posts' (EV) or 'wall fronts' *α* (A. B. Davidson) (Fig. 6, *J J J J*), which from guard-room to guard-room were 5 cubits. There were four in all—two on each side. Their use was purely architectural. At the west end of the guard-rooms there was a second threshold *β* (*T'*), the same in all respects as the other, but acting as threshold to one entering from the outer court, as the other did to one entering from the outside.

We now enter the porch (*P*), an empty space 8 cubits long (E. to W.), *c d*, and 20 broad (N. to S.),*γ* *k i*. The breadth of the gateway all along its length was 10 cubits,*δ* except where the barriers occur: these occupying a cubit each side would reduce the distance between the guard-rooms from barrier to barrier (*m m n n*) to 8 cubits. The length of the gateway, leaving out the steps, which are not counted, was 50 cubits,*ε* and it was wholly roofed, as may be gathered from the fact that guard-rooms and intervening 'posts' required windows. The length of the gateway is thus made up—

Outer threshold (*T*) *a b*	6 cubits.
3 guard-rooms (*G G G*)	18 ,,
2 'posts' or 'wall fronts' (*J J*)	10 ,,
Inner threshold (*T'*) *n c*	6 ,,
Porch (*P*) *c d*	8 ,,
'Posts' or 'wall fronts' (*J' J'*) *d e*	2 ,,
Total	50 cubits.

Windows.—According to Ezk 40[16] there were windows in the guard-rooms, in the 'posts' between them, and in the porch. Those of the guard-rooms looked out into the court, and lighted at once the rooms themselves and also the adjoining gateway.*ζ* The windows in the 'posts' extended all through their thickness of 6 cubits. If these posts were solid walls, it must have been so, and not, as Davidson's diagram *η* represents, a mere opening on the outside wall. On the nature and function of the windows see above. There must have been windows on the north and south of the porch, and probably the 'post' walls had them too. See Fig. 6. The end 'posts' (*d e*) had palm trees engraved on them.*θ*

The north and south gates are said to have been exactly like the eastern gate, and so did not need separate description.

Outer court.—For remarks on the function and significance of the outer court see above. And

α Ezk 40[6], cf. 40[22. 26]. *β* 40[31]. *γ* 40[49] 41[8].

δ 2 S 18[24]; cf. Layard, *Nin. and Bab.* 57, and note.

ε סַף 40[6].

ζ Length in Ezekiel is greater dimension, breadth the smaller dimension.

η *i.e.* the breadth of the outer wall, with which it ran parallel.

θ Bertholet (see on 40[11. 12]) gives no good reason for making the breadth (Ezekiel's length) other than 10 cubits. His misapplied ingenuity arises from his acceptance of 40[11b], which Smend and Cornill rightly reject.

ι תָּא 40[7], AV 'little chamber'; RV 'lodge,' 'guard chamber.'

κ 1 K 14[28], cf. 2 K 11[6]. *λ* גְּבוּל Ezk 40[12].

α 40[10] אֵילִים; LXX *αἰλάμ*. *β* 40[7].

γ The width of the porch (N. to S.) is not given in the MT. In Ezk 40[14], however, we read, 'He made also posts of 60 cubits.' Kliefoth, followed by Heng., Keil, Schröder (Lange), Perrot and Chipiez—[see their restorations]—and others defend the text as it stands. The two 'posts' at the end of the porch were like church steeples—so says Kliefoth; and it was such gate pillars that suggested our church steeples. But the 'posts' in question formed no part of the sanctuary, as church steeples usually do: unless, indeed, Kl. was thinking of the *campanile* or bell-tower churches, such as is to be seen at Chichester, etc. It is far more sensible to emend the text with the aid of the LXX, and to read, 'And he measured the porch (changing אֵילִים *'êlîm* to אֵילָם *'êlām*) 20 cubits'; *i.e.* in breadth—the other measurements have been given: thus Smend, Cornill, Davidson, and Bertholet. This would leave 5 cubits for the two side walls, *i.e.* 2½ cubits apiece. The 'jambs' or posts towards the outside (*d e*) are said to have had a thickness of 2 cubits.

δ 40[11a].

ε Ezk 40[15]. The statement in v.[13] that the gateway was 25 cubits, though supported by the Versions, is in direct collision with v.[15], and must, with Smend and Cornill, be rejected as an interpolation. Bött., Hitz., Häv., and Keil retain, however, and explain thus: the whole gateway (שַׁעַר) consisted of a covered portion at each end, with an unroofed space in the middle. It is, they hold, the covered part that is meant in v.[13]. But if so, why is this not stated? Bertholet's defence of the words requires a non-natural interpretation of the verse.

ζ The 'barrier' was probably a wall sufficiently low for the light to pass over it. There is nothing in the text opposed to this. There might have been windows in the barrier itself; this is likely if the barrier walls were high.

η *Com.* p. 294. *θ* Ezk 40[16. 26. 31].

for considerations showing that the first temple had but one court, see '*Court*' under *SOLOMON'S TEMPLE*. The outer court was comparatively free from buildings. Besides the north, east, and south gates, it had 30 cells[α] ranged along its outer walls.

The 30 cells (Fig. 5, 1. 2. 3, etc.) which went around the court were used for keeping utensils and provisions, and served also as residences for the priests.[β] They were also used for sacrificial feasts. The ancient high places had connected with them a festive chamber, where sacrificial meals were partaken of.[γ]

We are not told the size of these cells, nor how they were distributed. A stone pavement extended from the outer wall to a distance corresponding to the gateways, *i.e.* 44 cubits, which with the width of the wall (6 cubits) made 50 cubits. The cells are said to have been 'upon the pavement,' which seems to mean that they had the pavement for floor. But the preposition rendered 'upon' means prevailingly 'to,'[δ] and the Hebrew permits the translation: 'the cells were attached to the pavement,' *i.e.* they were placed at the termination of the pavement without being on it. But the analogy of other cells makes it practically certain that these were attached to the boundary wall. Taking this for granted, the prophet is quite silent as to how they were arranged.

Most authorities—Stade,[ε] Benzinger,[ζ] Nowack[η] (both the latter follow Stade closely), Davidson, Perrot and Chipiez, Keil, etc.—place 10 cells on the north, east, and south sides, leaving the west side for the *binyān*[θ] (Fig. 5, B). Five are supposed to be on each side of the respective outer gates. This answers well to the symmetry so characteristic of Ezekiel's temple. Orelli and Bertholet—the latter treads closely in the footsteps of his Basel colleague—allocate six of these cells to the west side, 3 on each side of the *binyān* (*B*). There are then 8 on each of the remaining 3 sides, 4 on one side of each gate and 4 on the other. The *binyān* occupying but a small part of the western wall, leaves room enough for 3 cells on each side of it. The words 'chambers and a pavement' made for the court *round about*,[ι] support the plan of putting cells on each of the 4 sides, unless, indeed, with Kliefoth and Cornill, we limit the words 'round about' to the pavement.

Opinions are divided also as to the way in which the cells stood in relation to one another. Keil[κ] maintains that the cells on each side of the north, east, and south gates were but rooms in one building, like the rooms of a house. He has therefore on his plan but 6 buildings for the 30 cells, 5 cells in each. But in that case we should have expected to read of 6 buildings, and not merely of 30 cells. Davidson separates the cells by an intervening space.[λ] Stade, Benz., Now., Orelli, Berth., and Perrot and Chipiez join the cells, putting a mere wall between them; and this is the likeliest view, for on Davidson's conception there would be a considerable waste of labour and materials in the extra walls required.

Pavement.—The pavement already spoken of is called the 'lower pavement,'[μ] from which one would infer that the inner and upper court[ν] was also paved. Smend concludes from 2 Ch 7[3] and Aristeas' letter that the whole of the inner court was paved. Cornill rejects the words as an interpolation, though on purely subjective grounds.

Kitchens.—In each of the four corners of the outer court there was a kitchen in which the sacrificial meals were got ready,[ξ] the size of each being 40 cubits long by 30 broad. The 'ministers of the house'[ο] boiled in them what the people brought to be sacrificed.

The Inner Court.—The inner court was for the priests alone; and its being thus exclusively used, and there being more than one court at all, marks a new step in the religion of Israel. As compared with the outer and larger court, the inner was crowded with buildings having to do with the temple service, particulars of which will be found below. From the external margin of the outer walls to the walls of the inner court there was a distance of 150 cubits. The entrance to the inner court was by means of 3 gates opposite to the 3 outer gates and of the same construction, only that the parts—threshold to porch—occurred in reverse order; the porch of the inner gate being next the steps, and not farthest away, as in the outer gate, etc. There were 8, not 7 steps between the two courts—a sign perhaps of the increased progress in holiness as compared with the passage from the outside to the first court.

Sacrificial cell and tables about the porch of the inner Northern (or Eastern?) Gate.—On one side of the inner northern gateway, joining the porch, and with a passage into the porch, there was a cell, not further described as to structure, size, or position. Smend[α] represents it as on the south side of the porch, having the same length and a third of its breadth. This cell was used for washing the burnt-offerings.[β]

Kliefoth, Keil, and Schröder (Lange) maintain that the sacrifices were washed—the last process they were put through before they were laid upon the altar—at each of the 3 inner gates. Indeed Kliefoth goes so far as to say that there were two washing cells attached to each porch of the inner gates, one on each side. But the slaughtering took place at one gate only,[γ] and it is practically certain that the washing did too. 'Gates' in v.[38] should be read 'gate' with the LXX and most authorities.

Another debated and debateable question is—Which gate is meant at which this washing cell was situated? Ew., Hitz., Smend, Corn., and Berth. hold that it is the eastern, their principal grounds being, that (1) the eastern gate was the most sacred, that (2) the stream that supplied water for washing the sacrifices passed by the east end of the temple,[δ] and that (3) at the N. and S. gates there were other buildings[ε] (Fig. 5, P P'). On the other hand, Böttcher,[ζ] Hävernick, and Davidson hold that the northern gate is meant,[η] and for reasons which, to the present writer, appear conclusive. Here are some of them:—(1) The prophet is already at the N. gate. Cornill gets rid of this difficulty by his usual and often successful way of emending the text. In the beginning of v.[38] he introduces a clause answering to the beginning of v.[35] 'And he brought me to the door of the porch of the *eastern* gate.' But he has absolutely no external support for the change thus made. (2) According to the regulations in Leviticus,[θ] the slaughtering of animals for sacrifice was to take place at the N. side of the altar in the case of burnt-, sin-, and trespass-offerings. No directions are given as to peace-offerings.[ι] It is to be expected beforehand that Ezekiel's legislation and that of the Priestly Code would tally. (3) The N. gate is called in 8[5] the 'gate of the altar.' Since it was to this gate that the people brought their offerings, it was the most frequented. The two E. gates were kept shut except on Sabbaths and new moons,[κ] or on other special occasions when the prince desired to present freewill-offerings.[λ] The western gate was closed by buildings connected with the temple. In the pre-exilic temple the S. gate was joined to the palace court, which is partly true of the eastern gate as well.

Passing into the inner N. gate, on both sides of the porch—which is first reached—we see 4 tables, 2 on each side (T'), on which the burnt-, sin-, and trespass-offerings were slain;[μ] or at least they were used *in connexion with the* slaying of these sacrifices, as Keil and Davidson understand the words. The actual slaughtering took place probably on 4 tables outside, the 4 inside tables being used in that case for preparing the sacrifices for the altar. According to Lv 1[11] 6[25] 7[2] the above-named sacrifices had to be killed on the N. side of the altar.[ν] If these tables were placed near the N. gate, this requirement of P would be met.

There were without the porch two tables on each side—4 in all (T); on these, as stated above, the actual slaughtering took place.[ξ] In addition to the 8 tables noticed above there were 4 of hewn stone, each with a length and breadth of one cubit and a half, having a height of one cubit. They had ledges running round the 4 top edges a hand-

α For the sake of distinctness we use 'cell' for לִשְׁכָּה, 'guard-room' for נֵזֶר, and 'chamber' for עֲלִיָּה. Indian, Egyptian, etc., temples, as is well known, contained also, within their courts, dwellings for priests, besides kitchens, refectories, etc. See Beale's *Guide to Architecture*, p. 34.

β Ezk 40[17-45] 42[1ff.]; cf. 1 Ch 9[26], Ezr 10[6], Neh 13[4f.].

γ 1 S 9[22]; cf. Jer 35[4] 36[10].

δ אֶל פ.

ε *Gesch.* ii. 51.

ζ *Heb. Arch.*

η *Heb. Arch.*

θ Ezk 41[12].

ι Ezk 40[17] חֲבִיב חֲבִיב.

κ *Com.* p. 353, pl. 1.

λ *Com.* p. 299

μ 40[18].

ν 40[21].

ξ 46[21-24].

ο *i.e.* the subordinate officials; cf. Ezk 44[10-14].

α *Com.* p. 330.

β Ezk 40[38].

γ 40[39].

δ Ezk 47[1f.].

ε 40[44].

ζ *Proben.*

η 40[35-37].

θ 1[11] 4[24. 29. 33] 6[25] 7[2] 14[13].

ι 32. 8. 13.

κ 46[1ff.].

λ 46[12].

μ 40[39].

ν See above.

ξ 40[40]. Böttcher contends that these tables stood in the outer court, two at each of the angles formed by the steps and the gate front. His reasoning turns chiefly on the meaning of כָּתֵף, rendered 'side.' See *Proben*, etc. p. 330 f. But we have certainly to seek some spot in the inner court in which the angel and prophet now are.

breadth in width: those turned inwards. The instruments made use of in the burnt-offerings were kept on these stone tables.α

Priests' cells β (P P′).—Close to the N. and S. inner gates there were 2 cells for the officiating priests. The N. cell (P) was for the priests who saw to the house,γ its gates, sacrifices, etc. The other (P′) was for the Zadokite priests who had charge of the altar.

Between the house and the inner ends of the inner gates there was a square, having 100 cubits to the side (a b c d). The altar (A) was probably in the centre, and therefore equally visible from all the inner gates.α The space between the altar and the house was deemed specially sacred.β

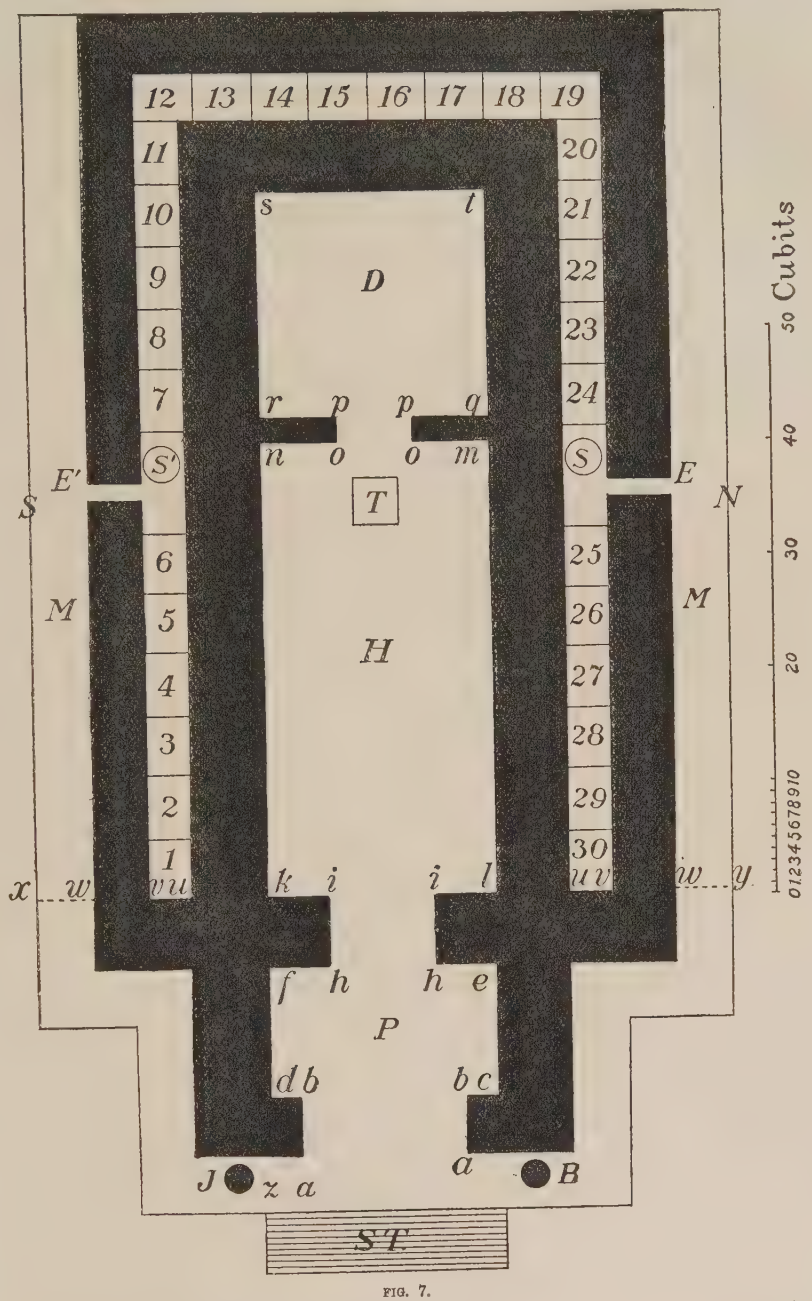


FIG. 7.

ST=steps before the porch. *P*=porch. *H*=*hēkāl*. *D*=*dĕbîr*. *E E′*=N and S. entrances to chambers. *S S′*=stairs connecting the storeys. *B*=Boaz. *J*=Jachin. *M*=the *munnāḥ*. *T*=the altar-shaped table of shewbread.

2. THE HOUSE AND ITS MEASUREMENTS.γ—The house and its appurtenances formed a square of 100 cubits each way. The manner in which this is made up will be shown in summary after the several details have been considered.

α 40^{42}. β 40$^{44\text{-}46}$.
γ In 44$^{15\text{-}31}$ the Lĕvites are said to have charge of the house.

α Ct. 43^{13}ff.. ε Ezk 8^{16}, Jl 2^{17}, Mt 23^{35}.
γ Ezk 40$^{48\text{-}41}$^{4}.

The porch α (*P*).—The porch (Fig. 7) was 20 cubits from N. to S. (*d c*), and 11 cubits, or rather 12,β from E. to W. (*d f*). The platform of the house was 6 cubits higher than the ordinary level of the inner court: this was reached by 10 steps.γ Close to the 'posts' or 'wall fronts' of the porch were two pillars,δ the Boaz and Jachin of 1 K 7[21] (*B J*).

The hêkāl or Holy Place ε (*H*).—The *hêkāl* was 40 cubits long (E. to W.) and 20 broad (N. to S.)—inside measurements. The posts of the entrance wall (*i h*) were 6 cubits thick. The door or entrance way into the *hêkāl* was 10 cubits (*h h, i i*).

The dĕbîr or Most Holy Place ζ (*D*, Fig. 7).—The *dĕbîr* was a cube of 20 cubits each way. Its posts (*o p*) were 2 cubits in thickness, this being the thickness of the wall (*n o*) which extended from the N. and S. walls of the house to the door. This wall η (*n o*) was 7 cubits wide, leaving 6 cubits for the door.θ

*Doors of hêkāl and dĕbîr.*ι—Both *hêkāl* and *dĕbîr* had folding doors of the kind already described.κ It is not said that the *dĕbîr* of Solomon's temple had such doors. The doors of the *hêkāl* were carved with cherubim and palm trees,λ as the *hêkāl* walls were.μ The porch entrance (*a–a*: *b–b*)—we read of no door—was 14 cubits wide.μ The door or entrance to the *hêkāl* was 10 cubits wide,ν that of the *dĕbîr* being 6.ξ The entrances were therefore in the proportion 7 : 5 : 3 (14 : 10 : 6). It is singular, though probably only a coincidence, that the wall projections (= 'sidepieces') ο had exactly opposite ratios, viz. 3 (*z a*) : 5 (*f h*) : 7 (*n o*).

*The side chambers.*π—On every side of the house except the east, Ezekiel's temple, like Solomon's, had side chambers. The MT gives the number of them as 33, and Smend displays much ingenuity in justifying the text, which in this connexion is by universal confession very corrupt. In favour of there being 30 are the LXX, Josephus,ρ Böttcher, Cornill, and most recent authorities, as also is the fact that there were 30 cells along the outer wall, not to add the greater symmetry of the round number. In Kings the number is not given. The chambers, arranged as in Solomon's temple in 3 storeys, were on the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd storeys respectively, 4, 5, and 6 cubits broad: in the first temple the figures were 5, 6, and 7. The 2nd and 3rd storeys rested upon rebatements, on which see p. 699[b]. Concerning the rebates in the temple wall, the ladders by which the upper storeys were reached, and the uses of the chambers, see above, p. 699[b].

Ezekiel's temple had doors (*E E'*), one N., one S., by which admission to the chambers could be obtained. There was but one for the first temple, and it was situated at the south σ (see Fig. 2, E). There was probably a ladder at each entrance: Ezekiel's temple would thus have two ladders (*S S'*), Solomon's temple one (Fig. 2, S).

*The munnāh,*τ *or 'what was left'* (EV).—On the outside of the chambers N. and S. there was an empty margin of 5 cubits (*M*). It was out of this *munnāh* that entrance was had to the chambers through the two doors (*E E'*).

*The gizrāh,*α *or 'separate place'* (EV).—On every side except the E. there was a space of 20 cubits, called the *gizrāh* (Fig. 5, b c e f). This court ran round the whole house buildings, including the *munnāh*, on N. and S.; or it went round the raised platform on which these stood. Reckoning together *gizrāh, munnāh*, chambers, and house, there was a breadth (N. to S.) of 100 cubits, which makes it highly probable that the *gizrāh* formed *part* of the upper platform, instead of merely enclosing it. The text β is silent as to any use to which the *gizrāh* was put. Perhaps, like our cloisters, it was for the priests to exercise themselves in, and take fresh air when unable to get farther afield.

The binyān γ *or 'building'* (EV).—On the W. side of the house and adjoining the *gizrāh* there was a rectangular structure called, apparently, technically *binyān* (Fig. 5, B), the inside measurements of which were 70 cubits from E. to W. and 90 from N. to S. Its encompassing wall was 5 cubits in thickness. Its W. limit reached to the western wall and joined it, as may be seen from the dimensions below:—

Length of *binyān* (E. to W.)	70 cubits.
2 walls of do. (E. and W.) 2×5	10 ,,
Gizrāh	20 ,,
Total	100 cubits.

We know that the western side of the house was 100 cubits from the outer wall, so that there could be no space between the latter and the *binyān*.

Thenius δ contends strongly that there was such an intervening space, and that behind the *binyān* there were gates through which wood and animals to be sacrificed were brought into the temple area, and through which refuse of every kind was carried away. Klief. and Keil hold that the *binyān* was made for the purpose of receiving the offal of the sacrifices and the sweepings of the gates. Curry ε says the carcase of the sin-offering was burnt at this building.ζ

It is very probable that by the *binyān* we are to understand the same as the הַפַּרְוָרִים η of 2 K 23[11] (places in which horses and chariots were kept) and the פַּרְבָּר of 1 Ch 26[18] (a part of the temple west of the house, of which the priests had charge).

In Ezk 41[15a] we read of the *binyān* and its 'galleries': for the last word we should certainly read, with Corn. and others, 'walls.'θ This is confirmed by calculation. Adding 90 cubits, the N. to S. dimension, to the widths of the two enclosing walls (5+5=10), we get 100 cubits. Besides, in no other place do we read of there being galleries in the *binyān*.

General measurements of the house.—The house and its belongings formed a square of 100 cubits a side,ι as shown below—

From E. to W. we have these details (see Fig. 7)—

ab Porch wall, Ezk 40[48]	5 cubits.
df Porch, 40[49]	12 ,,
fk Wall of *hêkāl*, 41[1]	6 ,,
kn Length of *hêkāl*, 41[2]	40 ,,
nr Wall of *dĕbîr*, 41[3]	2 ,,
rs Length of *dĕbîr*, 41[4]	20 ,,
Walls of house (W.), 41[5]	6 ,,
1, 2, etc., Side chambers, 41[5]	4 ,,
Wall of side chambers, 41[9]	5 ,,
Total	100 cubits.

This calculation proves that the *munnāh* (*M*) did not extend to the W. side.

These are the dimensions from N. to S.—

Breadth of house, Ezk 41[2]	20 cubits.
Side walls, 41[5], 6+6	12 ,,
Side chambers, 41[4], 4+4	8 ,,
Walls of side chambers, 41[9], 5+5	10 ,,
Munnāh, E. and W., 41[9], 5+5	10 ,,
Gizrāh, E. and W., 41[10], 20+20	40 ,,
Total	100 cubits.

α אוּלָם.

β Thus the LXX; and the other measurements require 12. See Summary at p. 708[b].

γ Ezk 41[8]. δ 40[49]. See BOAZ.

ε 41[1f.]. ζ 41[3f.].

η 41[3]. LXX correctly τὰς ἐπωμίδας τοῦ θυρώματος, reading וּכְתֹפוֹת instead of וְרֹחַב ('and the width').

θ 41[3]. ι 41[23-25].

κ Above, p. 700[b], Fig. 4. λ 41[26] 41[17ff.].

μ Though the Hebrew does not give the width, it is supplied by the LXX of 41[48]. Adding to this 14 cubits the two projecting walls (*d b, b c*) we get 6 (=2×3)+14=20, the width of the porch (N. to S.), which is a confirmation of the LXX.

ν 41[2]. ξ 41[3]. ο 41[3].

π 41[5-11]. ρ *Ant.* VIII. iii. 2.

σ 1 K 6[8]. τ כְּנֶגֶד Ezk 41[9. 11].

α גְּזֵרָה, from גָּזַר Ezk 41[12-15] 42[1. 10. 13].

β Ezk 41[12]. γ בִּנְיָן, lit. 'building,' from בָּנָה 'to build.'

δ See *Das vorex. Jerus. und dessen Tempel*, Taf. iii. fig. 3.

ε *Speaker's Comm.* ζ Ezk 43[21].

η AV 'suburbs,' RV 'precincts.' Both פַּרְוָר and פַּרְבָּר are derived by Gesen. (*Thes.*) from Pers. *farwar*, a summer-house, open on all sides to admit air. He considers the 'parbar' of 1 Ch 26[18] to have been an open porch adjoining the temple. In Rabbinical Hebrew (Mishna, etc.) *parbar* means temple court, and also suburbs of a city. See, further, art. PARBAR.

θ קִירוֹת for אֲתִיקִים. ι 41[15a-20].

Decoration of the inside of the house.—The walls α of *hêkāl*, *dĕbîr*, and porch were wainscotted, as were also the closed windows.β The wall decoration was arranged in compartments or fields,γ in each of which a cherub and palm tree were engraved, the cherub having faces of man and lion, one face looking upon the other.δ On the side walls of the porch, palm trees alone were carved.

Windows.—Little is said about the windows of Ezekiel's temple. Those of the gateway,ε the porch,ζ and the house η are characterized as 'closed,' θ *i.e.* 'latticed.' In 1 K 6[4] the windows of Solomon's temple are further characterized as 'beamed.' This second feature is probably understood of Ezekiel's temple too. See more fully above (p. 700[a]) on windows of Solomon's temple.

*Priests' cells in the Inner Court.*ι—N. and S. of the *gizrāh* there were 4 rows of cells in which the priests ate the holy food and deposited their garments, two rows being on the N. and two on the S. First there was one abutting upon the *gizrāh* and lying along its whole length of 100 cubits. Then came a parade or walk 10 cubits broad of the same length. Next to this, parallel to the *gizrāh* and the first row of cells, was a half row, starting at the west, the remaining space being taken up by a wall. The chambers had 3 storeys, but no pillars supporting them, as the 30 cells of the outer court had. The cells on the upper storey were narrower than the two below, so that in the direction of the house there was a balcony, or rather corridor. The entrance to the cells was at the E. end, and was apparently on lower ground than that on which the cells were.κ Bertholet concludes from this that the entrance was thus on the outer court level.

The MT does not say anything as to the number of cells there were, but the LXX gives the number as 30 in its best copies (A, etc.): *i.e.* 15 N. and the same number S., 10 in each full row and 5 in each half row. The total would, according to this, be identical with the cells along the outer wall.

Contents of the house—In the *hêkāl* of Ezekiel's temple there was nothing except the cedar wood altar,α which was 2 cubits in both length and breadth β and 3 cubits high. It had raised corners,γ wrongly called horns δ by the LXX, and is described as a 'table (set) before Jehovah.' ε The altar of burnt-offering is also called the table of Jehovah.ζ It cannot be the altar of incense that is meant, for we find no such table mentioned earlier than P. No doubt we are to understand the altar-shaped table of shewbread (Fig. 7, *T*), as in Solomon's temple, this table occupying the same position in both temples. Of other tables or of lampstands not a word is written. Nor is anything said about what the *dĕbîr* contained. This may, of course, be due to the brevity with which the house is treated; but as a matter of fact we do not read of the ark after the destruction of Solomon's temple.η

Ezekiel's altar is much more elaborate than that of Solomon's temple, and owing to the large number of technical terms θ and other difficulties it is harder to reconstruct.

The altar was in form as if made up of four square blocks of stone, the lowest being the largest, the next being smaller to the extent of one cubit

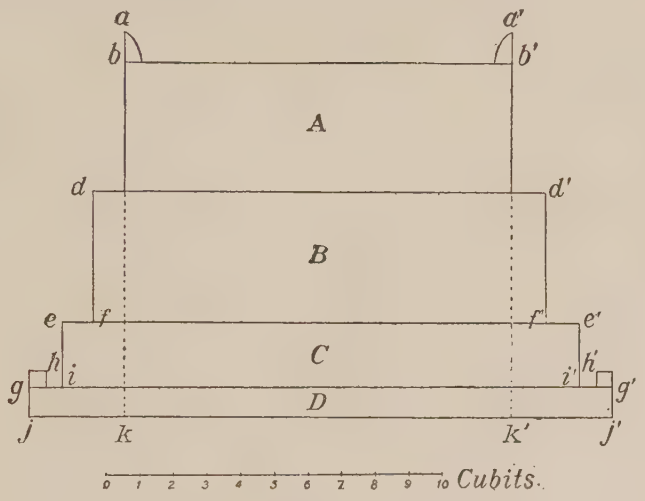


FIG. 8.—ALTAR OF BURNT-OFFERING IN EZEKIEL'S TEMPLE.ι

each side, the third and fourth having a superficial area less than the block below also of one cubit each side. There was thus a ledge or margin κ of one cubit in width at the basis of the three upper blocks (Fig. 8 *d d'*, *e e'*, *g g'*). On the outer half of the lowest margin there was an upright parapet λ (*g h*, *g' h'*), forming a kind of channel into which, according to tradition, the sacrificial blood flowed, whence it was conducted by a subterranean passage to the Wādy Kidron.μ The altar was not made of solid stone; its interior was of earth,ν but this was covered with stones, just as the altar of Solomon's temple had a covering of brass. The

α *i.e.* the walls enclosing the openings rendered 'openings.' These walls were themselves covered with beams; cf. שְׁקֻפִּים 1 K 6[4]: it was on these beams that the wood-carving was done. Berth., on account of the difficulty of understanding how windows could be covered with wood, rejects this clause; yet it is found in all the MSS and versions.

β 'Galleries' of MT must go—so LXX, Cornill, Davidson. Other changes are necessary in 41[16].

γ מְרוּחוֹת; cf. Neh 3[11. 19. 21]. The LXX omits the word.

δ Not four faces, like the cherubim of ch. 1. More than two faces could not be represented on a flat surface.

ε Ezk 40[16]. ζ 41[26]. η 41[16].

θ אֲמָתַּיִם. ι 41[10] 42[1-12]. κ Ezk 42[9].

α 41[22].

β The breadth is not given in MT, but it is supplied by the LXX.

γ מִקְצוֹעוֹת. δ κέρατα. ε 41[22].

ζ Ezk 41[22]. η See ARK. θ גַּב, גֵּבוֹל, חֵיק, עֲזָרָה.

ι Ezk 43[13ff.].

κ חֵיק. The majority of commentators follow the Targum, and make this word stand for 'basement,' גַּב being really the word used for this. Thus Gesen. (*Thes.*), Häv., Keil, Corn., Orelli, Bertholet, and Kraetzschmar. The view favoured in the text above is defended by Villalpando (†1608) and other older commentators, and by Smend (see his *Ezechiel*, where the arguments are given).

λ גֵּבוֹל. μ *Yoma* iii. 1. ν Ex 20[24f.].

altar had, however, the appearance of three blocks of solid stone, with three successive terraces, the lowest of them being bound by a parapet half a cubit wide. The uppermost surface was a square of 12 cubits each way; and as on this the sacrifices were offered, it is called, by way of pre-eminence, *the altar*.α

Keil and Cornill maintain that the altar proper was a cube of 12 cubits a side, the rest of the structure (all except *b b′ k k′*) being added for use or ornament, but forming no part of the altar; but in the text the word 'altar' is used of the entire structure; β and this larger sense is defended by Kliefoth, Ewald, Smend, A. B. Davidson, and Bertholet.

The *'ărî'ēl* γ or altar-hearth had four horns (*ba*, *b′a′*), each a cubit high, rising out of its four corners.δ The uppermost surface was, as stated, a square of 12 cubits on each side. The highest block (*A*) had a thickness of 4 cubits. The area of the next block (*B*) was a square of 2 cubits more on each side; that is, it was 14 cubits a side, and it had a thickness of 4 cubits. The third block from the top (*C*) had for its surface a square of 16 cubits on each side, and a thickness of 2 cubits. The lowest block, the back or base,ε had for its upper surface a square of 18 cubits a side, and a thickness of one cubit. The height of the upper surface of the whole was 12 cubits, as is seen from the following details:—

Basement (גֵּב)	1 cubit.
Lower block (עֲזָרָה)ζ	2 cubits.
Higher block (עֲזָרָה)ζ	4 „
Block of altar hearth (אריאל)	4 „
Horns	1 cubit.
Total	12 cubits.

The proportion of height and (assumed) basement is $\frac{2}{3}$ (=$\frac{12}{18}$),η a favourite ratio with Ezekiel. Note further that the height is identical with the altar surface: thus we get a cube (*a k*: *a′ k′*). In the calculation of height the horns are included. In fact the horns seem to have been an essential part, nay the most sacred part, of the altar.θ On them the blood was sprinkled; and to them fugitives came, feeling safe if they had hold of them. In early times the altar possessed no horns.ι Stade,κ Nowack,κ and others regard the horns as a survival of the bull image of Jehovah worshipped in the N. kingdom, which was also a representation of deities worshipped by the Egyptians, Canaanites, and Phœnicians. The holy stone or altar, it has been said, was in early times covered by the skin of the animal sacrificed, the skin of the bull having the horns attached. But why, in that case, was not the altar constructed with *two* horns, the number on one skin, instead of *double that number*? Villalpando λ thought the horns trophies of the animals sacrificed to God. Spencer μ inclines to the opinion that the horns were expressive of dignity, the horn being a decoration worn by distinguished persons.

iii. *ZERUBBABEL'S TEMPLE.*—The temple erected by the Jews who returned from exile is called Zerubbabel's, because he was the leader in promoting its erection, supporting Haggai and Zechariah in their endeavours to urge the people to build when the latter were inclined to relax. He was grandson of Jehoiachin and probably nephew of Sheshbazzar.ν In the spring of B.C. 537, forty-nine years after the temple had been destroyed, Sheshbazzar α was sent by Cyrus, king of Persia, to be governor of Judæa. He received permission to take with him his leading fellow-countrymen from Babylon, to restore their Jewish religion and rebuild the temple.β Sheshbazzar was accompanied by his nephew Zerubbabel and Joshua the high priest, representing respectively the royal and priestly lines. Cyrus not only gave orders that the temple should be re-erected, but he gave Sheshbazzar power to carry with him the sacred vessels taken by Nebuchadnezzar from the temple, and imposed a tax upon the provinces west of the Euphrates to meet the expenses of the return of the Jews to their own country.γ Phœnicia and Tyre were to supply the wood from Lebanon, and to send it on rafts to Joppa.δ Whether all the instructions given by the Persian king were carried out we have no means of knowing.

Seven months after the Return, the altar of burnt-offering was erected,ε probably upon the same site as the old one. The building of the house was slower work, but a collection was made to meet the needful outlay.ζ In the 2nd month of the 2nd year after the Return, the foundation-stone was laid.η Then there was a pause in the work owing to the opposition of the mixed population of Samaria,θ who, as not being pure Israelites, were not allowed to share in the rebuilding of the temple.ι

There is no confirmation of the statement κ that the people of Samaria intrigued with the Persian king to authoritatively stop the work. According to Haggai and Zechariah, it was the indifference of the people that was at the root of the delay. See especially Zec 1–8, where the various difficulties are met in the successive visions.

Nothing further was done until B.C. 520, the 2nd year of the reign of Darius Hystaspis. Sheshbazzar was probably dead now, and the lead was taken up by his nephew and successor Zerubbabel, aided by the high priest Joshua. Much of the new zeal was owing to the earnest pleadings of the new prophets named. Recommenced in B.C. 520, λ the temple was completed in B.C. 516.μ

Sources of information as to Zerubbabel's Temple.—These are very meagre: indeed we have hardly anything which for certain applies to the temple as it was at or soon after the Exile. There are scattered notices in Ezra and Nehemiah. Hecatæus of Abdera, contemporary and friend of Alexander the Great, is said by Josephus ν to have written a book concerning the Jews, and he quotes parts of it referring to the temple. It is by no means certain that Hecatæus wrote the book in question; nevertheless, the quotations made by Josephus are interesting and of value. The OT Apocrypha also has important allusions; especially is this true of the Books of Maccabees. But it is hard to say how far the statements are true of the temple completed in B.C. 516. Josephus is too much controlled by the temple as he saw it, to be a reliable guide concerning the earlier temples.

It is probable that the temple building occupied the same site as the earlier temple. Hecatæus says it was a 'great house.' Cyrus gave instructions that it was to be 60 cubits high and 60 cubits broad.ξ Probably this means that they were to build it as large as they liked—as large, if they

α הָאֲרִיאֵל: for the proper writing of the word see *SBOT*, notes on Isaiah 29[1] (Cheyne), and on Ezekiel 43[15] (Toy). It is probable that the word is not compound, the ending being a mere noun suffix as in בִּרְכֵל, כַּרְמֶל, and עַרְפֶּל. So Cheyne and Kraetzschmar, following Ewald (see *Comm.* and *Gram.* § 163*g*). The word simply means in that case 'burning place,' from אָרָה 'to burn.'

β See Ezk 43[13ff.].

γ So Cheyne would read it.

δ V.[15].

ε גֵּב.

ζ EV 'settle'; the Heb. word means elsewhere *court* or *enclosure*, from a Semitic root meaning to press in, to enclose. Perhaps the word stands in Ezk 43[14] strictly for the surrounding ledge of one cubit width; then for the square block above it.

η Ezk 40[42] 41[22].

θ Cf. Am 3[14].

ι Ex 20[25] (Book of Cov.); cf. Stade, *Gesch.* i. 465; Now. *Heb. Arch.* ii. 18.

κ *Loc. cit.*

λ *On Ezekiel*, ii. 393.

μ *De Legibus*, ii. 677 (ed. Tüb. 1732).

ν Called Sanabassar by the best Greek authorities.

α Not the same as Zerubbabel, as is often held; see Cornill, *History of People of Israel*, Chicago, 1898, p. 151 f.; Cheyne, *JRL* p. 6; and cf. SHESHBAZZAR and ZERUBBABEL.

β 2 Ch 36[23], Ezr 1[2ff.] 5[17] 6[1ff.].

γ Ezr 7[7ff.] 5[14f.] 6[8].

δ Ezr 3[7].

ε Ezr 3[1ff.].

ζ Ezr 2[68ff.], Neh 7[70ff.], cf. Ezr 1[6].

η Ezr 3[8f.].

θ See SAMARITANS.

ι Ezr 4[1ff.].

κ Ezr 4[8-23]. See Schrader on this section in *SK*, 1867, 367 ff.

λ Ezr 6[1ff.].

μ Ezr 6[15].

ν *c. Apion.* i. 22.

ξ Ezr 6[3].

would, as, say, some well-known temple in Babylon. We are not told that it was actually built of these dimensions, nor is it likely that Solomon's, which was 60 cubits long, 20 broad, and 30 high, should be so far exceeded by Zerubbabel's. It is not needful to consider the 60 cubits' length as meaning height of porch,[α] and the breadth as applying to the chambers as well.

It is inferred from Ezr 3[12] and Hag 2[3] that the second temple was greatly inferior to the first. But when these words were uttered, the temple was not finished: and the inferiority may refer to the absence of the ark and other sacred vessels which were for ever lost after the destruction of the first temple. According to Bab. Talmud (*Yoma* 22*b*), the second temple wanted five things which were in that of Solomon: (1) the ark, (2) the sacred fire, (3) the shekinah, (4) the Holy Spirit, (5) the Urim and Thummim.

Hêkāl or Holy Place.—The *hêkāl* had within it one holy lampstand, one table of shewbread, one golden altar of incense, together with pouring vessels and spices.[β] There would seem to have been the two *veils* of which we read as being before the *hêkāl* (*māsākh*) and *dĕbîr* (*pārôketh*) doors of the tabernacle.[γ] The fact that Antiochus Epiphanes is represented as plundering the gold, silver, etc., of the temple,[δ] is no proof that the walls, doors, etc., were covered with gold, as the MT declares to have been the case with Solomon's temple (see above, p. 700 f.), though Schürer seems to think it is.[ε]

Dĕbîr or Most Holy Place.—The *dĕbîr* had a veil in front of it, as the *hêkāl* also had. There was nothing in the *dĕbîr* according to Jos. (*BJ* v. v. 5), except that according to the Mishna[ζ] the stone of foundation[η] stood where the ark used to be. Upon the Day of Atonement the priests used to put their censers on this stone.[θ] Prideaux, without a tittle of evidence, held that the ark was in the second temple. Tacitus applies the words 'inania arcana' to the *adytum* or *dĕbîr* of the temple.[ι]

Courts.—This temple had two courts,[κ] but the separation between them was not perhaps rigidly enforced, for when Alexander Jannæus was sacrificing on the altar during the Feast of Tabernacles the people pelted him with citrons, etc. To stop such conduct, he ran a wooden wall around the priests' court. According to Ezr 6[4], three rows of hewn stone and a top row of new wood were to go about the temple, viz. the inner court.[λ]

The inner court had in it an altar of burnt-offering made of unhewn stone[μ]—so conforming to the ancient law of Ex 20[24], which Solomon's did not.

According to Hecatæus[ν] it had the same dimensions as the first temple, viz. 20 cubits long by 20 cubits broad by 10 cubits high. The Mishna[ξ] speaks of a כִּיּוֹר or laver as being in this court; and Sir 50[3] speaks of a 'cistern' as having been made by Simon the high priest. The Syriac leaves out 'cistern' altogether, and renders 'he dug a well.' The allusions are far too uncertain to infer from them that there was a molten sea in the inner court of the second temple.[ο]

There were cells in the outer court for storing furniture and for other purposes. In 1 Mac 4[38. 57] priests' cells are named.[π] Josephus makes mention of corridors with pillars.[ρ] The 'Miphkad gate' of Neh 3[31] was probably one leading into the outer court on the western side (see JERUSALEM, vol. ii. p. 593[b]). The 'prison gate' of Neh 12[39] was most likely on the north side (*ib.*). In later times there was a bridge crossing the Tyropœon or Cheesemongers' Valley from the modern Mount Zion to the temple hill. When Pompey besieged Jerusalem, many Jews took refuge on the temple area and broke this bridge, that the Roman soldiers might be hindered from coming to them. This was probably where the remains of Wilson's arch are now seen, though Rosen.[α] thinks the bridge was of Herod's making.

Later history of this temple.—Simon the high priest, son of Onias, repaired and fortified the temple; but the passage in which we have the information[β] is very obscure.

In B.C. 168 Antiochus Epiphanes plundered, laid waste, and desecrated the temple.[γ] He placed an altar to Jupiter Olympius on the altar of burnt-offering. The brazen vessels taken away by him were given by him to sympathizing Jews at Antioch, and they were transferred to the local synagogue.[δ] Three years[ε] later JUDAS MACCABÆUS recovered Jerusalem, cleansed and repaired the house, made a new altar, and also fresh vessels.[ζ] The Feast of Dedication, still observed among Jews, commemorates the opening ceremony of the restored and cleansed temple. At this time Judas also adorned the front of the temple by hanging up[η] gilded crowns and shields,[θ] and he also fortified the enclosure by putting high walls around it.[ι] These were razed to the ground by Antiochus Eupator,[κ] but restored by Jonathan Maccabæus;[λ] they were strengthened by Simon his brother.[μ] Reference has already been made to the wall put around the inner court by Alexander Jannæus. In B.C. 63 Pompey conquered Jerusalem, and after a long siege took the well-fortified temple hill. He entered the house, and even, in the face of loud protests, the *dĕbîr* itself; but he did not touch the sacred vessels.[ν] Nine years later (B.C. 54) Crassus plundered the temple of its valuable things most mercilessly, taking away what was worth two millions of pounds in English money.[ξ] Herod, afterwards called the Great, a descendant of the Maccabees, was made king of the Jews by decree of the Roman Senate. In B.C. 37 he stormed Jerusalem,[ο] and burned some of the temple walls, causing a goodly amount of blood to be shed. From other injury, however, he protected the temple.

iv. *HEROD'S TEMPLE.—The sources.*—The principal sources of information in regard to Herod's temple are: (1) Josephus, who in *Ant.* XV. xi. gives a full account of the outer court with its gates and rooms, and in *BJ* v. v. describes the inner court and also the house. Josephus was a priest, and was therefore familiar with the temple and its services from personal experience. He writes his history, however, from memory, and he is so full of admiration for the sacred enclosure that he falls into obvious exaggeration when giving measurements. (2) The Mishnic tract *Middoth* preserves valuable Jewish traditions (see Eng. tr. in Barclay's *Talmud*, reproduced in Fergusson's *Temples of the Jews*, Appendix i. In Surenhusius' *Mishna* [vol. vi.] there is a Lat. tr. of the text, as also the text and translation of Bartinora's Com-

[α] As Herod the Great; see Jos. xi.; Winer, *RWB*[3], *s.* 'Tempel'; Keil, *Bibl. Arch.* i. 184 n.

[β] 1 Mac 1[23] 4[49 ff.]; Jos. *Ant.* XIV. iv. 4; cf. Hecatæus as quoted *ap.* Jos. *c. Apion.* i. 22.

[γ] 1 Mac 4[51]; see VEIL. [δ] 1 Mac 1[23].

[ε] Riehm, *HWB*[2] 1662*a*. [ζ] *Yoma* v. 2.

[η] אֲבֶן שְׁתִיָּה. [θ] 1 Mac 1[22] 4[51]. [ι] *Ant.* iii. 9.

[κ] 1 Mac 4[38. 48]; cf. Jos. *Ant.* XIV. xvi. 2.

[λ] Cf. 1 K 6[36] 7[12]. [μ] 1 Mac 4[47].

[ν] In Jos. *BJ* v. v. 5. [ξ] *Midd.* iii. 6.

[ο] Ezr 8[29] 10[6], Neh 3[30] 10[37ff.] 12[44] 13[5ff.] לִשְׁכָּה in every case but Neh 3[30], where we find its equivalent נִשְׁכָּה (ל and נ interchanging. Cf. T. W. Davies, *Magic, Divination, and Demonology*, p. 51).

[π] παστοφορία LXX for לִשְׁכָּה. [ρ] *Ant.* XI. iv. 7, XIV. vi. 2.

[α] *Haram* 7 ff., cf. p. 64. [β] Sir 50[1ff.]

[γ] 1 Mac 1[23f. 49f. 57] 4[38], 2 Mac 6[2ff.]. [δ] Jos. *BJ* VII. iii. 3.

[ε] 1 Mac 4[43ff.], 2 Mac 10[3] (two years, according to last passage).

[ζ] חֲנֻכָּה; cf. Jn 10[22]. See 1 Mac 4[52. 54] 1[57 (54)]; Jos. *Ant.* XII. vii. 7.

[η] Inside the porch. [θ] 1 Mac 4[57].

[ι] 1 Mac 4[6] 6[7]. [κ] 1 Mac 6[62].

[λ] 1 Mac 6[62] cf. with 5[1], 2 Mac 12[36]; Jos. *Ant.* XIII. v. 11.

[μ] 1 Mac 13[53]. [ν] Jos. *Ant.* XIV. iv. 4.

[ξ] Jos. *Ant.* XIV. vii. 1; *BJ* I. viii. 8.

[ο] Jos. *Ant.* XIV. xvi. 2 f.

mentary). The *Middoth* is more modest in its dimensions than Josephus, and nearer the truth; but it is also often inaccurate. Rabbi Hildersheim's *Die Beschreibung des Herod. Tempel im Tractate Middot und bei Fl. Joseph.* states and examines the divergences between these authorities. (3) Maimonides in יר חוקה (part vi.) collects many passages about the temple which are scattered through the Talmud. These relate especially to the priests, temple furniture, etc., and have been put into Latin by Ludwig Compiègne. This tr. is to be met with in Ugolinus' *Thesaurus*, vol. viii. (4) Dr. John Lightfoot's work on *The Temple*, etc. (London, 1823), rests mainly upon Rabbinical sources, and is for that reason valuable.

Was Herod's temple the second or the third?—It is usual to speak of Herod's temple as the third Jerusalem temple. Modern Jews, however, followed by many Christian writers, regard it as simply the second temple rebuilt and improved, and so call it the second temple. Christians are led to this conclusion, or at least confirmed in it, by a consideration of Hag 2⁶⁻⁹. Messianically interpreted, the temple erected by Zerubbabel was, they say, to see the Messiah. But the passage is not Messianic, and, if it were, the prediction contained in it is made from the writer's point of view.

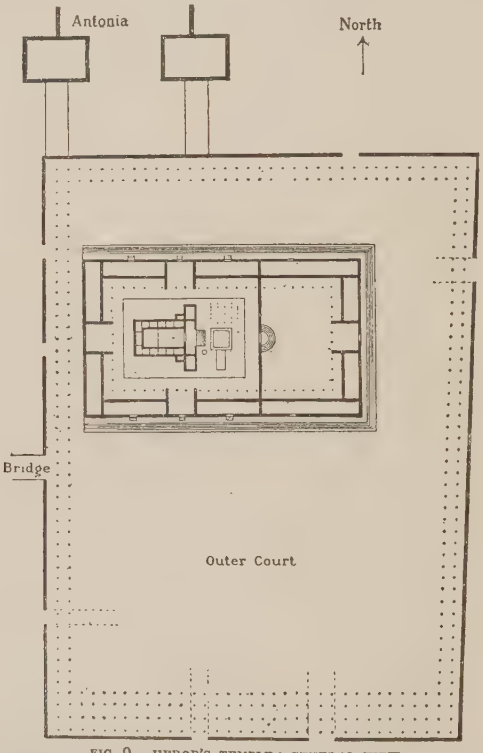


FIG. 9.—HEROD'S TEMPLE: GENERAL VIEW.

It was in the 18th[α] year of his reign (B.C. 20–19) that Herod the Great set about the rebuilding of the temple. In his day there was among the Romans a great rage for restoring Greek cities and their temples, and Herod probably caught the prevailing spirit. Josephus reports (*Ant.* xv. xi.) the speech in which Herod announces his intention, and gives as his reason a desire to promote the religious welfare of the nation; but the historian says the king's real purpose was to raise for himself an everlasting memorial. The Jews were at first afraid that, if the king pulled down their temple, no other might be for a long time put up in its place. To allay this fear, Herod got together all the material before the work of rebuilding was begun, and then pulled down and put up as gradually as could be done. Since only priests could enter the house and the inner court, he engaged a thousand of them to act as masons and carpenters in these parts. The building of the house was hastened on with great vigour, and was finished in a year and a half. Surrounding buildings took eight years, but the work went on, and was not ended until the time of the procurator Albinus (A.D. 62–64). The Jews (see Jn 2²⁰) said the temple had been forty-six years *in building*, and in fact it was still in building then, and was to be for over thirty years more (but see E. A. Abbott in *Class. Rev.* 1894, p. 89 ff.). The building is spoken of as exceedingly impressive in its grandeur. Its eastern front was covered with plates of gold, which threw back the rays of the rising sun, and formed an object of rare beauty for miles around. The stone of which it was built was white marble, and a large part of the side walls was covered with gold.

The area of Herod's temple is essentially that of the modern *Ḥaram esh-Sherif*, with the exception of the north end, at which, in Herod's day, the fortress Antonia was situated, the temple court being to the south of it. The excavations made beneath the Ḥaram and its surrounding walls show that the lie of the ancient walls on the west, south, and east agrees with those of the walls to be seen to-day (see Rosen. *Das Haram*, 4 ff.; Robinson's *BRP* iii. 222 ff.). The house itself would be sure to be erected on the site of the one preceding it.

For his temple Herod used double the space that was covered by Zerubbabel's temple,[α] and in order to obtain it he erected subterranean vaults in the south of the temple hill, and filled intervening spaces with stones and earth. The bounding line was raised from 4 stadia[β] to 6, the breadth remain

[α] According to Jos. *BJ* i. xxi. 1, the 15th.

[α] Jos. *BJ* i. xxi. 1. [β] Jos. *Ant.* xv. xi. 3.

ing 1 stadium, the length (N. to S.) being doubled.α The whole was surrounded by a high wall, covered with spikes,β the better to protect the place. The temple, including its courts, occupied an area of 1 stadium according to Josephus, or 500 cubits according to the Talmud. Assuming the stadium to be about 600 English feet, and the cubit to be about 18 inches, there is a difference of over 100 feet; but the numbers are round in each case, and the truth lies probably between them. Perhaps, as Fergusson suggests, the Talmud copies the dimensions of Ezekiel's temple: Fergusson's own dimensions, got by careful calculations, agree well with what Josephus says, viz. 585 ft. E. to W., and 610 ft. N. to S.; see *Temples of the Jews*, p. 77 ff.

Gates.—The principal entrance to the enclosure was on the western side. *Middoth*γ names one only on that side called 'Kiponos,' but Josephus has four.δ Probably that named in *Midd.* is the principal one, as it led to the king's palace and to the city. Two more to the south led to suburbs of the city, one coinciding probably with 'Barclay's' gate, the other with 'Warren's.' Remains of the fourth are to be seen perhaps to the south of 'Wilson's arch.' Josephus ε speaks of gates on the south, but he does not say how many there were. *Midd.* mentions the two Huldah gates, which are to be identified with the two gates buried in the existing south wall of the Ḥaram—one west of the double gate, the other east of the treble gate. Both these show Herodian workmanship. Through both these gates it was possible to ascend from the vaults below to the temple area. On the east, *Middoth* refers to one gate on which the palace of Shushan was carved. It has been commonly thought to have been the same as the modern Golden Gate, but the latter is undoubtedly a Byzantine structure. Josephus does not say anything of any east gate. He speaks quite incidentally of one gate on the north; ζ *Midd.* η calls it Ṭadi θ (or Ṭari?).

The Outer Court.—This is commonly called the Court of the Gentiles, because Gentiles were allowed to enter it; but in neither Josephus nor in *Midd.* does it get that name.

The walls of this court were surrounded on the inside by porticoes or cloisters. The north, west, and east sides had double porticoes, with two rows of white marble monolithic columns. The roofs were of carved cedar. On the south were the royal porticoes, the στοὰ βασιλική, which had 162 columns, with Corinthian capitals. These columns formed three aisles. The outermost row of columns were fastened into the wall of the enclosure. The middle of the three aisles was 45 ft. wide, the two side ones having a width of 30 ft. The inner portico was on higher ground than the two nearer the wall. The columns were so thick that three men with their hands stretched out could hardly clasp around one. On the east was what is called **Solomon's Porch** in the NT,α and is said by Josephus to have survived from the time of Solomon.β The east porticoes were, however, the work of Herod, according to the best judges; but it is singular that Josephus should have believed any part of these porticoes to have been the work of Solomon, unless it was much older than Herod's time. During the feasts the Roman soldiers used to walk on the roof of the porticoes in order to see that order was kept. The whole of the outer court was paved with stones. There were for the lower officials *pastophoria*γ or chambers ranged along the outer walls, probably between the walls and the porticoes, unless, indeed, they were between the double porticoes themselves. In close proximity to the west gate and the chambers was the *Beth Din*,δ where the SANHEDRIN met.

In the older sources (Josephus and *Middoth*) the Holy Place is not the *hêkāl*, as in the case of the previous Jerusalem temples, but the whole of the inner court, including the women's court, as contrasted with the outer court, which was open to heathen, and could be used for buying, selling, etc.ε The inner court was a rectangle, which included in it the women's court (4), the men's court or court of the Israelites (5),ζ the priests' court (6), and the house which stood in the last (10, 11). The inner court was on higher ground than the outer, there being five steps from the one to the other. Between the wall of the inner court and the porticoes of the outer court there was a free space of 10 cubits, higher than the rest of the outer court, and reached by a flight of fourteen steps. This formed a terrace all round the inner court except the east, and was called the *ḥêl* (חֵיל). At the inner edge of this *ḥêl* there was a stone parapet called *ṣôrēg* (סוֹרג).η On this tablets were put with inscriptions warning non-Jews against passing beyond this boundary. One such was found in recent years by the French consul, Clermont-Ganneau, on which, in Greek, the following words occur: μηθένα ἀλλογενῆ εἰσπορεύεσθαι ἐντὸς τοῦ περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τρυφάκτου καὶ περιβόλου. ὃς δ' ἂν λήφθη ἑαυτῷ αἴτιος ἔσται διὰ τὸ ἑξακολουθεῖν θάνατον, *i.e.* '*No stranger is to enter within the balustrade*

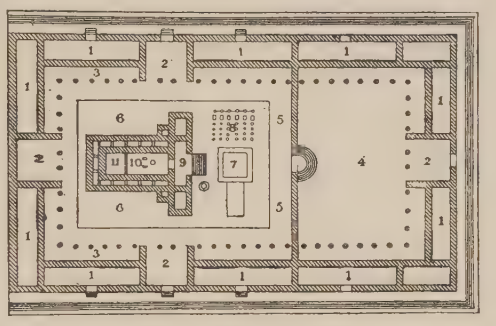


FIG. 10.—THE INNER COURT.

1. Chambers. 2. Gate-rooms (*Exedræ*). 3. Porticoes. 4. Women's court. 5. Court of Israelites. 6. Priests' court. 7. Altar of burnt-offering. 8. Place for killing, etc., animals. 9. Temple porch. 10. *Hêkāl*. 11. *Dĕbîr*.

α *BJ* v. v. 2.
β *BJ* iv. ix. 12; see PINNACLE.
γ i. 3.
δ *Ant.* xv. xi. 5.
ε *Loc. cit.* 5.
ζ *BJ* ii. xix. 5, vi. iv. 1.
η *Loc. cit.*
θ טרי (or טרי?).

α Jn 10^{23}, Ac 3^{11} 5^{12}.
β *Ant.* xx. ix. 7; *BJ* v. v. 1.
γ *BJ* iv. ix. 2.
δ בֵּית דִּין.
ε Jn $2^{13ff.}$
ζ Keil (*Bib. Arch.* i. p. 190) excludes the women's court from the inner court. Now. (ii. p. 78) includes it, and rightly, because it stood on the higher platform of the courts of Israelites and priests and of the house.
η Jos. *BJ* v. v. 2; *Midd.* ii. 3.

and embankment round the sacred place. Whoever is caught will be answerable for his death, which will ensue.' This illustrates Ac 21[26ff.], when St. Paul almost lost his life. The inner court was surrounded by a wall 40 cubits high on the outside, and on the inside but 25, owing to the raised ground inside. From the lower ground to the higher there were five steps.

Gates.—This wall had nine gates—four on the north, four on the south, and one on the east. The west had no gate at all. They had all of them folding doors, covered with gold and silver.[α] Of the four on the north side three were in the men's court (5), and one in the women's (4). Three of the north gates were called Nitzius, the Gate of Offering, and the Makad. On the south we read of the Flaming Gate, the Gate of Offering, and the Water Gate. The last opened upon the altar, and appears to have been a continuation of the Huldah Gate. The gate on the east was much more costly than the rest, and it is probably the 'Gate Beautiful' of Ac 3[2], and 'Nicanor's gate' of the Mishna.[β] It was made of Corinthian brass. Between the women's court and the men's there was a gate larger than the others, led to by fifteen steps, at the top of which was the level of the men's court. It was thickly overlaid with silver and gold.

Büchler[γ] argues ably that this is the Nicanor gate of the Mishna. *Midd.* i. 4, as all admit, states that; but it is argued by Schürer,[δ] Grätz,[ε] Spiess,[ζ] Nowack,[η] and most, that it is the gate on the east of the women's court that is meant by the above name. Büchler admits that Josephus is against him; but he charges the Jewish historian with inaccuracy, and calls the Talmud to his aid in proving this. Büchler's view is bound up with another position, which he also defends with ability,[θ] viz., that the wall of the inner court shut out the women's court altogether, as being part of the court of the Gentiles; the Nicanor gate being, then, that one at the east of the men's court through which one passed into the inner gate. Keil also speaks of the inner court as being reached by a gate at the western end of the women's court.[ι] But this is, as Büchler admits, against the common view, which is supported by Schürer,[κ] and Nowack,[λ] and the received text of Josephus.

Nicanor's gate—assuming the usual view—was 56 cubits high and 40 broad, the others that led out of the lower court being 30 high and 40 broad. Round the walls of the court there ran porticoes with a single piazza, the roof of which rested on lofty and highly-finished pillars. These porticoes were less indeed, but not less beautiful, than the porticoes of the outer court. Between the gates there were cells for storing the various properties belonging to the temple: these are called by Josephus[μ] γαζοφυλάκια.[ν] Concerning the special purposes of these rooms see Now. *op. cit.* ii. 79 n. 2. There were upper rooms over the gateways, hence justifying Josephus' description of them as tower-shaped. The cells between the gates had also upper rooms; hence we read of the upper room of Bet-Abtinas.[ξ] Somewhere within the women's court would be placed the thirteen boxes for receiving contributions to the temple. At least one must have been in the women's court, else the widow (Lk 21[1f.]) could not have put in her mite. See TREASURY. According to *Midd.* ii. 5, there were four cells in the women's court, but both Schürer and Now. think this unlikely.

The inner court was divided into an eastern part, into which women were admitted as well as men, and a larger western portion, which included the men's court and the priests' court. The house and the altar were in the latter, and were surrounded by its rampart. Just as the whole inner court was separated from the outer, and within the inner the men's was shut off from the women's, so the remainder was subdivided into a larger part for priests only. The men's court was 11 cubits wide, and surrounded the priests' court on all four sides.[α] The Mishna, however, appears to reduce the space for men to 11 cubits on the east alone. The altar and all the arrangements for sacrificing, as well, of course, as the house itself, were in the priests' court.

The house.—The higher ground of the house was attained by means of twelve steps. The inside area was 60 cubits high and the same in length, by 20 cubits in breadth. There were, as in the other temples, two divisions—the *hêkāl* or Holy Place,[β] which was 40 cubits long, and the *dĕbîr* or Most Holy Place, which was 20 cubits long. This last was empty, and was entered by the high priest once a year, viz. on the Day of Atonement. The *hêkāl* or larger room had in it the following:—Table of shewbread,[γ] altar of incense, the seven-armed lampstand.[δ] The altar stood in the middle, between the temple walls: to its north was the table, and the lampstand was on its south.[ε] Only the officiating priests were permitted to enter the *hêkāl*, to bring in the incense morning and evening, to trim the lamp, which was done once a day, and to supply the table with fresh shewbread, which was done every Sabbath.

The porch was 100 cubits in both height and breadth, and 11 cubits deep. It stood, therefore, like a high wall in front of the house. The breadth of the house, including its surrounding chambers, being 70 cubits,[ζ] the porch projected 15 cubits on each side.[η] There was an entrance to the porch 40 cubits high and 20 broad. There was, however, no door. Above the entrance Herod placed a golden eagle, which as a Roman emblem was very distasteful to the Jews; and during a turmoil, some time before the king's death, it was destroyed. From the entrance of the porch the *hêkāl* door, gilded like the court gates, could be easily seen. It was adorned with carvings of golden vines, with grapes, according to Josephus, as large as a man.[θ] Tacitus also speaks of this vine.[ι]

Veil.—In front of the *hêkāl* door there hung a beautifully coloured Babylonian veil. The *hêkāl* was shut off by a veil or veils, but there was no wall, nor therefore any door, leading into the *dĕbîr*. According to the Mishna,[κ] there were two veils between the *hêkāl* and the *dĕbîr*, with a cubit's free space between them. The outer was loose on the south side, the inner being loose on the north. On the Day of Atonement the high priest entered the *dĕbîr* with his censer by passing to the south side and getting behind the outer veil, until he reached the north of the inner veil, where he was able to enter the *dĕbîr*. In the NT this veil is spoken of in the singular, the two perhaps being looked upon as one.[λ] The veil outside the door of the *hêkāl* is never referred to in the NT. See VEIL.

Light.—No natural light came into the house from roof or side wall: it depended, for what light it had, upon the lampstand.

Chambers.—On all sides except the east, where

[α] They were the gift of a Jew from Alexandria.
[β] *Midd.* i. 3.
[γ] *JQR*, Oct. 1898.
[δ] Riehm's *HWB*[2] 1666[b].
[ε] *Monatssch.* 1876, 434.
[ζ] *Das Jerusalem des Josephus*, p. 76.
[η] *Op. cit.* ii. p. 78.
[θ] *JQR*, July 1898.
[ι] *Op. cit.* i. p. 190. But he is inconsistent, for in the previous page (Eng. ed.) he says the inner court went around the women's court, and he takes the view that Nicanor's gate was on the east of the women's court.
[κ] Riehm, *HWB*[2] 1666[b].
[λ] *Op. cit.* ii. 78.
[μ] *BJ* v. v. 2, vi. v. 2.
[ν] See TREASURY.
[ξ] *Yoma* i. 5; *Tam.* i. 1.

[α] Jos. *BJ* v. v. 6; cf. *Ant.* viii. iii. 9, xiii. xiii. 5.
[β] Not called 'the Holy Place' in the sources.
[γ] See SHEWBREAD, TABLE OF.
[δ] See LAMPSTAND.
[ε] Cf. Ex 26[35] 40[22-26].
[ζ] See below.
[η] Twenty, according to Josephus.
[θ] Josephus says 70 cubits high by 25 broad.
[ι] *Ann.* v. 5.
[κ] *Yoma* v. 1.
[λ] See Mt 27[51] || Mk 15[38] || Lk 23[45].

the porch was, there were small chambers in which temple utensils were kept and priests resided. They were thirty-eight in number, and arranged in three storeys, in such a way that on the north there were five on each storey, making fifteen on that side: on the south there were also five on each storey. On the west there were three on the lowest and three on the middle storey, two being on the top. The three storeys reached, together, the same height as the house. The main entrance was on the N.E. of the house, where a small door communicated directly from the porch with the nearest chamber. From this chamber there was a stairway leading to the upper and middle storeys. This stairway was erected at the N.E. corner; just opposite, on the S.E. corner, there was an arrangement for carrying off the water. Above the house proper there was an upper room 40 cubits high, and of the same ground area as the house itself. The entire building, including the intervening wall and the ceiling, attained a height of 100 cubits, *i.e.* exactly that of the porch. The upper room had on the south a door leading upon the roof of the upper chambers on that side. By means of the stairs on the N.E. the top chambers could be reached. Passing round from N.W. to S. one came to the door leading into the top room of the house. In the floor of this upper room there were trap-doors, through which workmen were let down in boxes, that they might not be able to see any part of the house except where they were repairing.

Including the side chambers, the house had a width of 70 cubits, which is thus made up—

1.	Wall of stairway	5 cubits.
2.	Stairway	3 ,,
3.	Wall of chamber	5 ,,
4.	Chamber itself	6 ,,
5.	Wall of house	6 ,,
6.	Space within the house	20 ,,
7.	Wall of house	6 ,,
8.	Chamber	6 ,,
9.	Its wall	5 ,,
10.	Room for letting off water	3 ,,
11.	Wall behind	5 ,,
	Total	70 cubits.

Altar of burnt-offering. — In the east of the priests' court, immediately in front of the porch, was the altar of burnt-offering made of unhewn stone. It was larger than Solomon's altar, it being, according to the Rabbis, 32 cubits in length and breadth, and 10 cubits high. Josephus, however, gives 15 cubits as length and as breadth. The length and breadth given above are for the base, for it rose in three sections, so that at the top it formed a square of 24 cubits. According to Lv 6^9, fire was to be always burning on the altar. On the east of the altar there was a stairway of unhewn stone leading up to the altar: it was 32 cubits long and 16 broad. Altar and steps were whitewashed twice in the year, viz. at Passover and Tabernacles.[α] In the S.W. corner of the altar there were two holes for receiving the sacrificial blood, which passed thence to a passage in the ground, by which it was conveyed to the Kidron. Close by there was a marbled opening, down which men went to cleanse the channel along which the blood ran to the Kidron.

Between the altar and the house there was a space of 22 cubits, taken up largely by the twelve steps which led up to the porch. South of these steps there was a laver or wash-basin, in which priests washed their hands and feet. It was supplied through two pipes from the temple spring: these two pipes were increased to twelve at a later time by a certain ben Katin, who also made arrangements by which the water could be regularly renewed.[β]

α *Midd.* iii. 1–4. β *Yoma* iii. 10.

North (8) of the altar the sacrificial animals were slain, and to aid in this there were six rows of rings, four in each row, all fixed in the ground. The animals that had to be killed were attached first of all to these rings, and then despatched. Still farther north there were eight low pillars with boards on them, each board having three rows apiece of iron hooks from which the animals after death were suspended. The spot would look much like a butcher's shop. By the side of these pillars there were eight marble tables on which the slain animals were flayed, washed, etc., ready for the altar.[α]

Priests' Court.—No one except a priest was usually permitted to enter the priests' court, which was regarded as more sacred than the men's court. Yet lay Israelites were allowed admission when they had sacrifices to offer, that they might, according to the ritual, lay their hands on the victim.[β] As before stated, this court was bounded all round, and not merely on the east by the men's court, which was 11 cubits broad.

The temple police. — The charge of the sacred enclosure was in the hands of the priests and Levites. The head of police—the captain of the temple[γ]—held so dignified a position that he was ranked with the chief priests. The entire external arrangements of the temple were under his authority. We read in Mark[δ] and Luke[ε] of 'rulers of the temple,' who were subordinates of 'the captain.' The guardianship of the temple was entrusted mainly to Levites, but partly also to priests. By day they were to see that no one overstepped the boundary beyond which he had no right to go, *e.g.* Gentiles had to be kept out of the inner court, women out of the men's, laymen out of the priests', and non-officiating priests out of the house; the *dĕbîr* to be entered but once a year, and even then by the high priest only. By night the gates were all shut, and none were allowed within except priests and Levites, who were stationed at different points. Three places of the inner court were guarded by priests; at twenty-one positions Levites kept watch, especially at the various gates. During the whole night the captain walked around to see that each was at his post. If the guard did not immediately arise on the captain's approach, the captain exclaimed, 'Peace to you.' If the guard were asleep the captain would strike him with a stick, and he had the right even to set fire to his clothes. Each day the guards were changed, those who followed receiving the keys from their predecessors at mid-day.[ζ] The senior of the men in charge kept the key of the court, in which the men were sentry, in a hole covered by a marble slab, to the under side of which was fastened a chain: the key was attached to this chain.

When the time came to close the gates, the marble slab was lifted and the key taken: the priests locked the inner court, replacing the key in the usual place. On the slab under which the key was, the guard in charge laid his clothes, and on them lay down to sleep.[η] How many were at one time in charge of the enclosure we do not know, but according to Josephus 200 men were appointed for the gates alone.

For the fate which befell the temple in the last years of its existence, reference must be made to the histories of Josephus, Grätz, and others. See, especially, short but striking accounts in Cornill, *History of the People of Israel*,[θ] and Cheyne, *JRL*.[ι] Already, in the days of Archelaus, the courts of the temple became the scene of revolt and

α *Midd.* iii. 5, v. 2; *Tam.* iii. 5; *Shek.* vi. 4.
β *Kelim* i. 8.
γ Ac 4^1 5^{24-26}.
δ 5^{22}.
ε 8^{49}.
ζ Jos. *c. Apion.* ii. 8.
η *Midd.* i. 9.
θ Chicago, 1898.
ι New York and London, 1898.

bloody massacres.[a] During the last Jewish revolt the most horrid scenes were witnessed. In A.D. 70 Roman soldiers were in possession of the fortress of Antonia, close to the enclosure. One of them, though contrary to the wish of Titus the emperor, threw a firebrand into the house itself, which took fire and burned to the ground. Thus perished the last of the Jerusalem temples. All of them were built by a people feeble politically, in art and in literature (except religious) despised; yet these temples are better known, and their records more fully preserved, than is the case with any other ancient temple, Egyptian, Assyrian, or Indian.

LITERATURE.—(A) *JEWISH WRITINGS.*—Josephus, *Ant.* xv. xi., *BJ* v. v.; cf. Spiess, *Der Tempel zu Jerusalem nach Josephus*, 1880; the Mishnic tract. *Middoth*; cf. Rabbi Hildersheim, *Die Beschreibung des Herod's Tempel im Tractat Middot und bei Flavius Josephus* ('Jahresbericht des Rabbiner-Seminars für das Orthodox Judenthum,' Berlin, 1876–77). There is a good edition of *Middoth* (no Gemara has been handed down) with Latin tr. and Com. by L'Empereur (Lugd. Bat. . . . 1630, small 4to). See also Surenhusius' *Mishna*. Maimonides, in part vi. of his חוקה יד, gives the Rabbinical traditions regarding the temple, its furniture, priests, etc. This was put into Latin by Ludwig Compiègne, and is found in vol. viii. of Ugolinus' *Antiquitates Hebraicæ*. Monographs on the temple have been written in Hebrew by O. Altschul (Amst. 1724) and others, but none of them are of much importance.

(B) *CHRISTIAN WRITINGS.*—Of the older treatises by Christian writers the following are noteworthy:—Villalpando and Prado, *In Ezech.* 3 vols. 1605; Capellus, *Τρισάγιον Sive Triplex Templi Delinatio* (Amst. 1643; also included in the Introd. to the London Polyglot); Lamy, *de Tabernaculo Fœderis, de Sancta Civitate Jerusalem et de Templo ejus* (Paris, 1720); Lightfoot (Dr. John), *Descr. Templi Hieros.* (Eng. in vol. ix. of Pitman's edition of his works in English; also published separately, Lond. 1825),—Lightfoot uses the Rabbinical material, but deals mainly with the temple of Herod; Lund, *Die alten Jüd. Heiligthümer*, Hamb. 1695, bk. ii. (several other editions). For a detailed recital of the older literature see Winer, *RWB*[3], *s.* 'Tempel,' and Bähr, *Der Tempel Salomo's*. The following are the most important modern treatises:—Hirt, *Der Tempel Salomo's*, Berlin, 1809 (strong on the architectural side, but deficient in Biblical scholarship); J. Fr. von Meyer, *Der Temp. Salom.*, Berlin, 1830; Stieglitz, *Gesch. der Baukunst*, Nürn. 1827, p. 127 ff., *Beiträge zur Ausbildung der Baukunst*, Leipz. 1834; Bähr, *Der Temp. Sal.* 1848; Keil, *Der Temp. Sal.*, Dorpat, 1839 (critical and constructive, valuable), *Biblical Archæology*, T. and T. Clark, i. 162 ff.; Robinson, *BRP* (1841) i. 415 ff.; G. Williams, *The Holy City* (1849), ii. 296 ff.; Fergusson, *Essay on the Ancient Topography of Jerusalem*, 1847, *The Holy Sepulchre and the Tomb*, 1865, *The Temples of the Jews*, 1875, art. 'Temple' in Smith's *DB* (Fergusson's fanciful views as to the site of the temple, etc., have failed to win conviction except to a very limited extent); Warren, *The Temple and the Tomb*, 1880, *TSBA* vii. 309 ff. (in both he answers the arguments of Fergusson); T. H. Lewis, *The Holy Places of Jerusalem*, 1880; Th. Friedrich, *Tempel u. Palast Salom.* etc., Innsb. 1887; O. Wolff, *Der Tempel von Jerusalem und seine Maase*, 1887; Stade, *Gesch.* i. 311 ff. (the author, an acknowledged Biblical scholar, was aided by his colleague von Ritgen, professor of architecture); Perrot et Chipiez, *Le Temple de Sol.*, Paris, 1889, large folio, with fine diagrams; *History of Art in Sardinia, Judæa*, etc., London, 1890, i. 142 ff.; Conrad Schick, *Die Stiftshütte der Tempel in Jerus. und der Tempelplatz der jetz. Zeit*, Ber. 1896 (by an architect; the scholarship is weak, and proof references almost wholly wanting, though the constructions and plans are good). In addition to the older treatises on *Biblical Archæology* by Jahn (in English also), de Wette (4th and last edition improved by Räbiger, 1864), Allioli, and Keil (cf. also Spencer, *de Legibus, Dissertatio Sexta*), note particularly the works by Benzinger and Nowack, both issued in 1894, and based on the latest results. Nowack's work is the fuller, but Benzinger's the more compact and interesting. See also the Commentaries and other works referred to in the course of this article.

T. W. DAVIES.

TEMPT, TEMPTATION.—The Heb. and Gr. words which are translated 'tempt' and 'temptation' in EV have a range of meaning which covers every form of testing or putting to the proof, whether of man by God or of God by man.

The Heb. words rendered 'tempt' in AV are—

1. *Nissāh*, which signifies (1) to attempt to do a thing, as Dt 4^{34} (EV 'assay'); (2) to test or prove a thing, such as a weapon, 1 S 17^{39} (EV 'prove'); but chiefly (3) to test a person: in AV translated 'tempt' of God's testing Abraham, Gn 22^{1}; elsewhere of men faithlessly and provokingly putting God to the proof, Ex $17^{2.\ 7}$, Nu 14^{22}, Dt 6^{16}, Ps $78^{18.\ 41.\ 56}$ 95^{9} 106^{14}, Is 7^{12}.

2. *Bāhan*, synonymous in meaning with *nissāh*, but translated 'tempt' in AV only Mal 3^{15}, of tempting God. In Mal 3^{10} and a few other places it is translated 'prove' in AV and RV; but most frequently the Eng. rendering is 'try.'

The only Heb. word translated 'temptation' is *massāh* (formed from *nissāh* above), used of the *testing* by Jehovah, through signs and wonders, of the heart of Pharaoh and the Egyptians, Dt 4^{34} 7^{19} 29^{3}; and of the *trial* or *testing* of an innocent person, Job 9^{23} (EV 'trial')—unless the word here comes from *māsas* and means despair, RVm 'calamity.' The word is translated 'temptation' also in Ps 95^{8}, but there the place Massah (so RV) seems to be intended, as in Ex 17, Dt 6^{16} 9^{22} 33^{8}. See art. MASSAH.

The Greek words translated 'tempt' are—

1. *πειράζω*, which means (1) to attempt something, as Ac 9^{26} 16^{7} (EV 'assay'); (2) to test a person, without evil intent, as Jn 6^{6}, Rev 2^{2}; (3) to tempt to evil, as Mt 4^{1}, 1 Co 10^{13}, Ja $1^{13.\ 14}$. On this verb see Cremer, *s.v.*; Hatch, *Essays in Biblical Greek*, 71 f.; Kennedy, *Sources of NT Greek*, 106 f. For the distinction between *π.* and *δοκιμάζω* see Trench, *NT Syn.* 267 ff.; also Cremer, *s. πειράζω*, and Berry, *s. δοκιμάζω*.

The devil is called 'the tempter' (*ὁ πειράζων*) in Mt 4^{3}, 1 Th 3^{5}.

2. *ἐκπειράζω*, to put to the proof, or test. (*a*) God, Mt 4^{7}, Lk 4^{12}; (*b*) Christ, Lk 10^{25}, 1 Co 10^{9}—all translated 'tempt' in EV, Amer. RV always 'try.'

3. In Ja 1^{13} *ἀπείραστος* (only occurrence) is translated by the verb 'tempt'—'God cannot be tempted (literally, 'is untemptable') with evil,' RVm 'is untried in evil.'

The only Greek word translated 'temptation' is *πειρασμός*, which is the translation in the LXX of *massāh* everywhere except Dt 33^{8} (*Πείρα*) and Job 9^{23} (where a different reading is followed). This word is used in NT for (1) a *testing* or *proving*, as 1 P 4^{12} (EV 'trial'), He 3^{8}, or that which tests or proves a person, as Gal 4^{14}; (2) *enticement to sin*, as Mt 6^{13}, Lk 4^{13} 8^{13}, Ja 1^{12}, 1 Co 10^{13}; and (3) of *affliction* or *calamity*, due to persecution or other trial from without, as Lk 22^{28}, Ac 20^{19}, Ja 1^{2}, 1 P 1^{6}. On this word see Hatch, *Essays*, 71 f.; Mayor on Ja 1^{2}, and his *Com.* 183 ff.; Hort on 1 P 1^{6}; Swete on Mk 14^{38}.

About 1611 the Eng. words 'tempt' and 'temptation' were used almost as widely as those Heb. and Gr. words, the only difference being that the verb had ceased to mean 'to attempt.' Examples (outside AV) of 'tempt' in the sense of 'test,' 'put to the proof,' without evil intent, are Jn 6^{6}, Wyc. 'But he said this thing, temptynge hym; for he wiste what he was to do'; Dt 13^{3} Tind. 'For the Lorde thy God tempteth you, to wete whether ye love the Lord youre God with all youre hertes and with al youre soules'; Dt 8^{2}, in Wilson's *Christian Dictionary* (1611), 'tempting thee that hee might know what is in thy heart.' In the same sense is 'temptation' used in 1 P 4^{12} Rhem. 'My deerest, thinke it not strange in the fervour which is to you for a tentation, as though some new thing happened to you.' And in the allied sense of trial, affliction, we find 'temptation' employed by Tymme in *Calvin's Genesis*, p. 717, 'But this also was a moste greevous temptation, to be banished from the promised lande, even unto death'; and p. 815, 'This was a verie sore temptation, that holie Jacob, of whome the Lorde had taken care, shoulde almoste he and his perish with hunger.' See also Driver on Dt 6^{16} and in *Par. Psalt.*, Gloss. i. under 'Prove.'

J. HASTINGS.

TEN COMMANDMENTS.—See DECALOGUE.

TENDER.—The adj. 'tender' is somewhat more restricted in use now than formerly. Probably under the influence of the Biblical 'tender mercies,' it has become mostly figurative, and is chiefly used in a good sense. We might still speak of diamonds as 'tender' with Maundeville (*Travels*, 106, 'Other diamonds men find in Arabia that be not so good, and they be more brown and more tender'); but we should not speak of wax so, as Wyclif does (*Select Works*, iii. 103, 'The tendre wex maketh no preynte in the seel, bot the seel maketh a preynt in tendere wex'). The meaning in AV is usually 'soft,' 'delicate,' used of children (Gn 33^{13}); gently nurtured youths (1 Ch 22^{5} 29^{1}, Pr 4^{3}), men (Dt 28^{54}, Is 47^{1}), and women (Dt 28^{56}); also of herbs (Dt 32^{2}, Job 38^{27}), plants (Is 53^{2}), grass (2 S 23^{4}, Pr 27^{25}, Dn $4^{15.\ 23}$), grapes (Ca $2^{13.\ 15}$ 7^{12}), branches (Mt 24^{32}, Mk 13^{28}) in spring. In 2 Ch 13^{7} Rehoboam is called 'tender hearted'

[a] Jos. *Ant.* xvii. ix. 3, x. 2.

(רַךְ־לֵבָב, LXX δειλὸς τῇ καρδίᾳ, Vulg. *corde pavido*), a phrase which has now quite a different meaning. The modern meaning is found in Eph 4^{32} (εὔσπλαγχνος). In Gn 29^{17} we read that 'Leah was tender eyed' (וְעֵינֵי לֵאָה רַכּוֹת; LXX οἱ δὲ ὀφθαλμοὶ Λείας ἀσθενεῖς, Vulg. *sed Lia lippis erat oculis*), where the Heb. as well as the Eng. probably means that Leah's eyes were weak (not 'bleared' as Vulg.), and so, as Dillmann and others suggest, 'without brightness or brilliancy of lustre.' See LEAH. The Heb. word רַחֲמִים *raḥămîm* (in this sense always plu.) is translated occasionally in AV 'tender mercies' (Ps 25^{6} 40^{11} 51^{1} 69^{16} 77^{9} 79^{8} 103^{4} $119^{77.\ 156}$ 145^{9}, Pr 12^{10}). The sing. 'tender mercy' occurs in NT, Lk 1^{78} (σπλάγχνα), Ja 5^{11} 'The Lord is very pitiful, and of tender mercy' (οἰκτίρμων, RV 'merciful').

The verb 'to tender' in the sense of 'care for' occurs in 2 Mac 4^{2} 'Thus was he bold to call him a traitor, that had deserved well of the city, and tendered his own nation' (τὸν κηδεμόνα τῶν ὁμοεθνῶν). Cf. Cranmer, *Works*, i. 136, 'But to be plain what I think of the Bishop of Winchester, I cannot persuade with my self that he so much tendereth the king's cause as he doth his own'; Latimer, *Sermons*, 96, 'How God tendreth and regardes the cause of the widdow and the poore.' The verb in this sense is a direct derivative from the adj. (which is from Lat. *tener*, through Fr. *tendre*), not the same as the verb to tender (fr. Lat. *tendere*, through Fr. *tendre*), meaning to proffer, show. J. HASTINGS.

TENT.—אֹהֶל (οἶκος, σκηνή) is the word commonly used for 'tent'; AV often 'tabernacle,' but RV consistently 'tent.' מִשְׁכָּן (σκηνή) 'habitation,' is usually rendered 'tabernacle,' only once (Ca 1^{8}) 'tent.' For distinction between אֹהֶל and מִשְׁכָּן see art. TABERNACLE. סֻכָּה='booth' made by interweaving leaves and branches; once (2 S 11^{11}) AV 'tent' (RV 'booth,' LXX σκηνή) and AVm (1 K $20^{12.\ 16}$ RVm 'hut'). According to the Rabbis, a booth becomes a tent if a bit of cloth is spread over it to protect it from the sun, or stretched under the roof to prevent leaves and twigs from falling on the table (*Succah* i. 3). קֻבָּה (κάμινος) from [קָבַב] 'to hollow out,' is once in AV tr. 'tent' (Nu 25^{8} RV 'pavilion,' marg. 'alcove'; cf. Arab. *kubbah* 'a large vaulted tent,' also 'dome,' 'vault,' whence, with the art., through the Spanish, 'alcove,' orig. *a vaulted recess*). From חָנָה (παρεμβάλλω) 'to encamp,' AV 'to abide in tents' (Nu $9^{20.\ 22}$, Ezr 8^{15}), comes מַחֲנֶה 'camp' (LXX ἀπείχισται), tr. by AV 'tents' in Nu 13^{19} etc.; in each case RV corrects.

We may safely take the modern tent as closely resembling that of ancient times. No simpler dwelling can well be imagined. The tent-cover is rough, strong cloth of dark goats' hair. It is commonly supported by nine poles arranged in rows of three; the middle row lengthwise, is somewhat higher, measuring from 6 to 7 ft.: the roof therefore slopes to front and back. The cover is stretched, and the tent held in position by means of long cords fastened to the cloth, and attached to pins firmly driven into the ground. A curtain of the same material, but rather lighter, is hung round the more exposed side of the tent, to shelter from sun and wind. A similar curtain, drawn across the middle, fixed on the tent-poles, divides the tent, the one end forming the men's apartment, the other that of the women (חֶדֶר, cf. Arab. *khidr*). Very seldom, and that only in cases of considerable wealth, the women have a tent to themselves.

The making, pitching, striking, packing, and unpacking of the tents is all women's work. They spin the hair yarn, twist the cords, and weave the cloth in long narrow strips, with very primitive appliances. To form roof or curtain, these strips are sewn together to the required breadth. The greatest care is taken with the roof. When it has been used for a little, and is somewhat shrunken, it becomes quite waterproof, and will turn the heaviest rain. Sometimes cloth for the roof is bought by way of barter, from such villages as Khabab, in el-Lejâ, or Judeideh, overlooking Merj A'yûn, which are famous for their hair manufactures. To excel in skilful driving home of the tent-pegs is an immemorial ambition among Arab women.

The furniture of this 'house' or 'house of hair' (*bait, bait sha'r*, or, less frequently, *bait wabar*) is extremely simple. In a few tents of the rich may be found cushions and mattresses covered with coloured silk; but for the most part a couple of coarse straw mats serve the purposes of chairs and table by day, and bed by night. A circle of thin leather, about 2 ft. in diameter, drawn into a sort of bag by means of a thong passed through holes round the edge, contains the thin loaves baked in the desert, and is spread flat on the ground at meal-time. The lamp (anciently of clay) or lantern is now generally of tin, made by Jewish travelling tinkers, from empty petroleum cans. Clay ware is too brittle to be of much use. Usually each tent has a metal plate, flat or convex, for baking; a few pots or pans for cooking, the food being eaten from the dish in which it is cooked; perhaps a hand-mill; and if the owner make any pretensions to dignity, mortar and pestle; and the necessary utensils for roasting the beans and making coffee. The fireplace may be a few stones set loosely together, or a hole in the ground just at the edge of the tent. Goat-skins, half tanned, with the hair outward, are made into bags, which hold grain, water, butter-milk, and other liquids; and when swung on a tripod serve to churn butter. The butter is always melted at once, and is carried about in these skins. The saddles of horse and camel, with corresponding saddle-bags of rough hair cloth, complete the tent furniture. Most things are crowded together in the women's apartment; that of the men is always free for the reception and entertainment of guests.

When the tents are few in number, belonging to some small family or division, they are set in a circle; the sheikh's tent is that to the right of the entrance. In larger camps the order varies. One visited by the present writer contained upwards of 150 tents, and from a distance resembled a town of black-roofed houses, arranged in irregular streets. The sheikh's tent is distinguished from the others only by its greater size. It always faces the direction from which strangers are most likely to arrive.

The black tents of the nomads have flitted shadow-like over Syrian field and Arabian steppe from the dawn of human history. The ancient fathers of the Hebrew race dwelt in tents (He 11^{9} etc.). Their wealth consisted mainly in cattle. The tent, so easily portable, is by far the most convenient 'house' for the flock-master, who is ever on the move in search of fresh pasture. After the settlement in Palestine, those portions of the people who followed the herdsman's life continued to dwell in tents, *e.g.* those east of the Jordan who held the grazing lands towards the desert. This old form of life left its impress in the language of later times, *e.g.* נָסַע, where the root-idea is the pulling out of the tent-pegs. When the tent-life was long past, men still spoke of going home as going 'to their tents' (Jos 22^{4}, 2 S 20^{1}, 1 K 12^{16}). The tent and its appurtenances play a considerable part in sacred imagery. Fleeting life is like the shepherd's tent, here to-day, gone

to-morrow (Is 38[12]). When the cord gives way the tent collapses; hence the tent-cord as a figure of the thread of life (Job 4[21]). The secure city is a tent whose pegs cannot be plucked up, nor its cords broken (Is 33[20]). Prosperous growth is pictured as a lengthening of the cords and a strengthening of the stakes (Is 54[2]). See also in NT 2 Co 5[1. 4], 2 P 1[13. 14], Lk 16[9].

On tent-making see, further, art. HAIR, vol. ii. p. 285[a], and PAUL, vol. iii. p. 699[a].

W. EWING.

TEPHON (ἡ Τεφών; *Thopo*; Syr. *Tephus*).—One of the towns in Judæa fortified by Bacchides (1 Mac 9[50]). Josephus gives the name as Tochoa (Τοχοά, *Ant.* XIII. i. 3), which is suggestive of Tekoa; but he always writes this place Θεκώα, or Θεκωέ. Tephon was probably an old Tappuah; but whether it was Tappuah 1 or 2, or Beth-tappuah, is uncertain. The occurrence of the name with Timnath and Pharathon suggests Tappuah 2. See TIMNATH.

C. W. WILSON.

TERAH (תֶּרַח, Θάρρα and Θάρα).—The father of Abraham, Naḥor, and Haran, Gn 11[24-32], 1 Ch 1[26], Lk 3[34]. Along with his three sons he is said to have migrated from Ur of the Chaldees to Ḥarran, where he died. In Jos 24[2] it is said that he 'served (עבר) other gods,' a statement which gave rise to some fanciful Jewish *haggādôth* about Terah as a *maker* of idols (see, *e.g.*, *Bereshith rabba*, § 17, and cf. Bk. of Jubilees, chs. 11. 12). The question whether Terah is to be taken as a *personal* name is involved in the same uncertainty as arises in connexion with the names of all the patriarchs (see art. ABRAHAM, and esp. art. JACOB, vol. ii. p. 533 ff.). Knobel compares the name with *Tharrana*, south of Edessa. W. R. Smith makes *Teraḥ* = 'wild goat' as totem, comparing Syriac ܛܪܙܐ, to which Frd. Delitzsch (*Prolegom.* 80) adds Assyr. *turâhu* with same meaning [but see *ZDMG* xl. [1886] 167 f. (where Nöld. points out not only that ܛܪܙܐ in the passage quoted is an error for the correct ܛܪܨܐ, but also that the root is ארה, of which in Heb. the א would not be readily elided); cf. Gray, *HPN* 110]. Jensen (*ZA* vi. 70, cf. *Hittiter*, 150 ff.) thinks it may be the name of a god, comparing the first syllable of N. Syrian or Hittite personal names, such as *Tarḥular*, *Tarḥumazi*, etc. (cf. Mez, *Gesch. d. Stadt Ḥarran*, 23). Any of these explanations appears preferable to that suggested in Riehm, *HWB*[2] 1478[b], that the name is to be accounted for because Terah *remained behind* (late Heb. *tārah*, Aram. *tĕraḥ*) in Ḥarran, while Abraham journeyed farther.

J. A. SELBIE.

TERAH (תָּרַח; B Τάραθ, A Θάραθ).—One of the stations of the Israelites in the desert (Nu 33[27. 28]). It comes between Tahath and Mithkah, and has not yet been identified.

TERAPHIM (תְּרָפִים).—The word is plural according to its form. But its derivation, the purpose of that which it denoted, and the method of its use, still present many obscurities. Several of the older Jewish commentators derive the word from תּוֹרֶף *tōreph*, which means 'foulness,' and especially *pudendum*; but, if this is correct, it is plausible to suppose that this word, expressive of contempt, was substituted for and finally supplanted the original name, in which case that name is entirely lost (cf. בּשֶׁת for בַּעַל). Among the numerous later derivations the one which most deserves consideration is that suggested by Schwally (*Leben nach dem Tode*, p. 36 n.), who connects the word with רָפָה *rāphāh*, a derivation which would bring it into contact with the *rĕphā'îm* or 'shades' of Is 14.

Teraphim are generally supposed to have been household deities (cf. Gn 31[19], 1 S 19[13. 16], but see Ezk 21[21]). Hence it has for long been the habit to compare the reverence paid to them with that which was offered to the *Lares* and *Penates* in Roman times. Further, almost every passage in which the word occurs in OT shows that their use was bound up with the practices of magic and soothsaying (cf. especially Ezk 21[21]). The above passage in Samuel makes it also certain that the figures sometimes represented the human form. It is unknown whether these were always full life-size. Thus, on the one hand, the fact that Michal could deceive the messengers from her father by leading them to believe that the muffled teraphim which she had laid on the bed was the figure of her husband, makes it probable that some were so. And, on the other hand, the fact that Rachel (Gn 31[34]) could hide those which she had stolen from Laban beneath her in the camel-litter, while her father searched the baggage for his lost property, is sufficient to prove that others were considerably smaller. Again, there is nothing in the incident with Michal to show conclusively whether such a figure represented the entire human form, or whether it was simply a head or at most a bust. Thus the suggestion of some among the Jewish commentators (see Moore, *Comm. on Judges*, p. 382) is not devoid of probability, viz. that the teraphim, at least in the early period, were mummied human heads, for which the refinement of later centuries substituted more or less rude representations in wood or in the precious metals. One might then bring their use (of which among the Hebrews we hear very little) into comparison with the customs of divination by means of such heads among the Hauranians (cf. Chwolsohn, *Die Ssabier u. der Ssabismus*, ii. pp. 19 ff., 150 ff.). With great likelihood then do Stade (*GVI* i. p. 467) and Nowack (*Heb. Archäol.* ii. 23) consider that the teraphim came to represent the figures of ancestors, and make the consulting of them a kind of Manes oracle. This would further make it easy to understand how their use was common to the Israelites and the Aramæans (cf. Gn 35[2. 4]), and how Nebuchadnezzar is represented as resorting to this method of divination (Ezk 21[21]). And it would serve to explain, since they were used for oracular purposes, why in 2 K 23[24] they are set alongside 'those who consult familiar spirits' and 'wizards.' The reverence paid them as household deities, and the fact that their use was common to all the nations of the region, make it more natural that, though the teraphim were abolished by Josiah, they reappear during the years of the Exile (Zec 10[2]). And if we recognize that they were used for such oracular purposes, and were not honoured with supreme worship, we can find it easier to understand how men who sincerely worshipped J" might not note the inconsistency of their presence in their homes. See, further, art. SOOTHSAYING.

It may be added that in Hos 3[4] and Jg 17[5] teraphim are mentioned along with the ephod, as though they were in some way connected with that. It was an old suggestion by Spencer (*De legibus Hebr. ritualibus*, l. iii. diss. 7, sec. 2), that the Urim were of the same nature as, and eventually took the place of, the teraphim. The LXX at Hos 3[4] reads δῆλα for תְּרָפִים, and this may imply that the translator found in the Heb. text אוּרִים.

A. C. WELCH.

TEREBINTH does not occur at all in AV, and only thrice in RV, being substituted in Is 6[13] for 'teil tree,' in Hos 4[13] for 'elm,' and in Sir 24[16] for 'turpentine tree.' Strong reasons, however, can be urged (see the very full discussion in Ges. *Thes. s.v.*) for rendering by 'terebinth' when-

ever the Heb. is אִיל [only in constr. אֵיל and plur. אֵילִים] or אֵלָה or אֵלוֹן, and for reserving the tr. 'oak' (by which these words are commonly rendered in AV and RV)* for אֵלוֹן [in Jos 24[26] אֵלָה, unless, as is probable, we should read here אֵלָה]. See esp. Del. and Dillm. on Gn 12[6], cf. *Oxf. Heb. Lex. s.vv.*, and note that in Hos 4[13] and Is 6[13] אֵלָה and אֵלוֹן are clearly distinct. The references to the terebinth in Scripture would thus be the following: †—

(1) אִיל: Is 1[29] 'They shall be ashamed of the terebinths which ye have desired,' 57[5] 'ye that inflame yourselves among the terebinths,' 61[3] 'that they might be called terebinths ‡ [prob. the figure is derived from the strength and durability of this tree] of righteousness,' Ezk 31[14] 'nor that their terebinths § [perh. fig. of pride] stand up in their might.' ELIM, the second station of Israel after passing the Red Sea (Ex 15[27] 16[1], Nu 33[9. 10]), may have derived its name originally from the presence of terebinths, although latterly associated more with *palms*.

(2) אֵלָה: Gn 35[4] 'the terebinth which was by Shechem,' Jos 24[26] [reading אֵלָה for אֵלָה] 'the terebinth that was in the sanctuary of the LORD,' Jg 6[11. 19] 'the terebinth which was in Ophrah,' 2 S 18[9. 10. 14] the terebinth in which Absalom was entangled, 1 K 13[14] the terebinth under which the 'man of God' sat, 1 Ch 10[12] the terebinth in Jabesh under which the ashes of Saul and his sons were buried [this tree is called in 1 S 31[13] a tamarisk ‖], Hos 4[13] (‖ אֵלוֹן and לְבֻנָה) 'they burn incense . . . under oaks and poplars and terebinths,' Ezk 6[13] 'their idols . . . under every thick terebinth,' Is 1[30] Judah is to be 'as a terebinth that withereth,' 6[13] (‖ אֵלוֹן) 'as a terebinth and as an oak whose stock remaineth when they are felled.' This tree gives its name to the Vale of ELAH (עֵמֶק הָאֵלָה) 1 S 17[2. 19] 21[9 (10)], and to ELAH Gn 36[41] (=EL-PARAN Gn 14[6], ELATH Dt 2[8], 2 K 14[22] 16[6], and ELOTH 1 K 9[26], 2 K 16[6]).

In Gn 49[21] we should probably tr. 'Naphtali is a slender terebinth [reading אֵלָה for אַיָּלָה], the one who sends out beautiful tops' [referring to the heroes and national leaders sprung from this tribe]; so Dillm. and many modern commentators. For other suggested renderings, with their justification and the necessary textual emendations, see Gunkel ('Naphtali is a nimble hind, which drops fine lambs,' as an alternative to Dillm.'s rendering), Ball ('Naphtali is a branching vine that yieldeth comely fruit'), Hommel ('Naphtali is a hind let loose, which drops he-goat lambs,' *i.e.* which has a numerous male progeny [*Expos. Times*, Oct. 1900, p. 46[b]]).

(3) אֵלוֹן: Gn 12[6] (so Dt 11[30]) 'the terebinth of MOREH' ('director's terebinth'), 13[18] 14[13] 18[1] 'the terebinths of MAMRE,' Jg 4[11] 'the terebinth in ZAANANNIM' (cf. Jos 19[33] [reading אֵלוֹן not אֵלוֹן] 'the terebinth of BEZAANANNIM'), 9[6] 'the terebinth of the pillar that was in Shechem' (see art. PILLAR [PLAIN OF THE]), 9[37] 'the terebinth of MEONENIM' ('soothsayers' terebinth'), 1 S 10[3] 'the terebinth of Tabor' [where it is possible that we should read דְּבוֹרָה 'of Deborah'].

The terebinth is repeatedly (see, amongst above passages, esp. Gn 12[6] 35[4], Jos 24[26], Jg 6[11. 19], Is 1[29] 57[5], Hos 4[13], Ezk 6[13]) mentioned in connexion with Canaanitish or Israelitish religious rites (see art. SANCTUARY, p. 395[b]). The tr. 'terebinth' we have contended for is supported by the circumstance that this tree was less common in Palestine than the oak and would thus be better suited to mark a locality, while the higher age it attains would cause it to be esteemed as more sacred.

The terebinth (*Pistachia terebinthus*, L.) grows in Palestine to the height of 15–17, rarely 20, feet. It has a thick gnarled trunk, numerous long branches with slender twigs, feathery leaves with 7 oval lanceolate leaflets, which are at first of a reddish, but afterwards of a glossy dark-green colour. In Palestine the tree is deciduous, being an evergreen only in more southern latitudes. The male and female flowers grow upon different trees, the fruit consists of small oval berries which are produced in grape-like clusters. **Turpentine** of a very pure quality may be obtained by making incisions in the stem and branches, and collecting the resin which exudes. In modern Palestine this practice appears to be unknown (Rob. *BRP*[2] ii. 222 f.).

J. A. SELBIE.

* The distinction between the Heb. terms is no more maintained in the LXX than in the EV. Cf. the conspectus of renderings in art. OAK.

† In many of these passages RVm gives 'terebinth.'

‡ AV and RV poorly 'trees of righteousness,' LXX γενεαὶ δικαιοσύνης, Vulg. [taking from a different אִיל] *fortes justitiæ*.

§ AV 'trees,' RV [taking from a different אִיל] 'mighty ones.' The text is very doubtful; Cornill strikes out אליהם; for conjectural emendations see Bertholet and Kraetzschmar, *ad loc.*

‖ It is possible that the Chronicler may have substituted אֵלָה for אֲשֵׁל as being a less distinctively sacred tree marking a shrine.

TERESH (תֶּרֶשׁ).—A chamberlain of Ahasuerus, who along with BIGTHAN formed a plot against the king, which was foiled by Mordecai, Est 2[21] (BA א om., א[c.a. mg sup] Θάρας) 6[2] (BA א om., א[c.a. mg] Θάρρας). It is possible that the name should be read תרש, *i.e.* Theudas (see Willrich, *Judaica*, p. 19). He is called in Ad. Est 12[1] THARRA.

TERTIUS (Τέρτιος). — The amanuensis through whose agency St. Paul wrote the Epistle to the Romans. In Ro 16[22] he joins personally in sending his greetings. St. Paul seems to have generally written by means of an amanuensis, adding just a few words at the end (1 Co 16[21], Col 4[18], 2 Th 3[17]) in his own hand, by way of authentication, perhaps written in large and bold characters (Gal 6[11]). In the case of the Epistle to the Romans he probably added the concluding doxology (16[25-27]). It is an interesting subject of speculation how far the employment of different amanuenses who wrote out their shorthand notes may have influenced the style of different epistles or groups of epistles (see Sanday - Headlam, *Romans*, Introduction, p. lx).

A. C. HEADLAM.

TERTULLUS.—The name is a diminutive from Tertius, as Lucullus from Lucius, etc. It is thoroughly Latin, and occurs in the 2nd cent. as *agnomen* of Pliny's colleague Cornutus, and as a *cognomen* borne by Flavii and by Sulpitii. In Ac 24 Ananias arrives at Cæsarea to accuse Paul before Felix, accompanied by certain elders, 'and, as pleader (ῥήτωρ), one Tertullus.' Tertullus was doubtless one of the Italian *causidici* who abounded in the provinces. The proceedings, even in the inferior court of a mere *procurator* like Felix, would probably be in Latin (Smith's *Dict. Gr. and Rom. Antiq.*, *s.* 'Conventus'; yet see Schürer, *HJP* II. i. 50; Lewin, ii. 684) and conducted under Roman forms, requiring the services of a professional advocate. Tertullus was not a Jew, as Blass needlessly infers from his use of the first person plural. The advocate naturally identifies himself with his clients. Tertullus' speech begins with a characteristic *captatio benevolentiæ*. He gives to Felix the coveted praise of *Pacator provinciæ* (v.[2]), and welcomes the reforming hand of the governor, present at every place and in every matter (v.[3a]); whereas Tacitus remarks of Felix (*Ann.* xii. 54), 'intempestiuis remediis delicta accendebat' (cf. *Hist.* v. 9). These singularly gross compliments, evidently condensed by Luke, culminate in a subtler turn: Tertullus hints (v.[4]) that they must be distasteful to so modest a man. The body of the speech is evidently, in its uninterpolated form, a mere jotting by Luke, who may

have been present (20[17] 27[1]), of the heads of the accusation. But these are carefully preserved: Paul is (1) a stirrer up of *στάσεις*, (2) the ringleader of a sect, and (3) guilty of an attempt to profane the temple. The charges are most skilfully chosen. Felix, with his experience (v.[10]) of Jewish affairs, would realize how dangerous such a prisoner was to the peace of his province. Tertullus is a competent counsel, and knows his man.

The grammar of the speech is dislocated, the participle of v.[15] has no proper principal verb; the interpolated passage only partially supplies this defect. Cases of broken construction are somewhat frequent in the speeches of the latter part of Acts: see 24[18f.] 26[2. 16. 23.] (an obvious condensation)[28]. The author had not worked up his drafts into their final form, or at any rate the finishing touches were not given. A more remarkable example of this may be found in the eighth book of Thucydides, where all the speeches are left in the form of rough abstracts.

On fanciful etymologies suggested for the name (*τερατολόγος*, Ter-Tullius) see Basil Jones in Smith's *DB*, *s.v.* A. ROBERTSON.

TESTAMENT.—This word does not occur in the EV of the OT; and, whereas in the AV of the NT it occurs 13 times, this number is reduced to 2 in the RV by the substitution of '**covenant**' in 11 places. In the NT the Gr. equivalent both of 'testament' and of 'covenant' is invariably *διαθήκη*. In the LXX the same Gr. word is the equivalent of *bĕrîth* ('covenant') except in two passages, Dt 9[15] (*μαρτύριον*, pl.) and 3 (1) K 11[11] (*ἐντολή*, pl.), while it represents no other Heb. word, according to the best authorities, except about 8 times: Ex 27[21] 31[7] 32[15] (*ĕdûth*, 'testimony'), Dt 9[5] (*dābār*, 'word'), 2 Ch 25[4] (*kāthûb*, 'what is written'), Jer 41 (34)[18] (*dibrê habbĕrîth*, 'words of the covenant'), Dn 9[13] (*tôraḥ*, 'law'), and Zec 11[14] (*aḥăvāh*, 'brotherhood'). This double exclusiveness is a peculiarity of the LXX version, for *bĕrîth* is often represented in the later versions of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion by *συνθήκη*, the common Gr. word for 'covenant' in its more exact sense of *compact between parties*. Apparently, then, the choice of *διαθήκη* was deliberate, and has severely ruled out *συνθήκη*, even where the latter would have been more strictly correct, as Ps 82 (83)[5] the compact made with one another by Edom, Moab, etc.; 1 K (S) 23[18] the covenant between David and Jonathan. Why this deliberate determination, extending even to solecism? The idea mainly associated with *bĕrîth* was religious, that of an independent, voluntary engagement or settlement on the part of God, and the 'least unsuitable' Gr. equivalent for this was *διαθήκη*, an arrangement by one, not *συνθήκη*, an agreement between two; for though *διαθήκη* meant, in ordinary Greek, a disposition *by will*, the verb *διατίθεσθαι* covered authoritative arrangements generally. This 'one-sided' sense of *διαθήκη* (the acceptance of which is in harmony with Dr. Davidson's interpretation of *bĕrîth* in art. COVENANT) comes out very clearly in such uses of it as in Sir 14[12. 17] 'the covenant of the grave' (the imposition of death), 'the covenant . . . "Thou shalt die the death."' In Sir 24[23] *διαθήκη* is made equivalent to the *Law*, and in 3 (1) K 11[11] *bĕrîth* is *ἐντολαί* (commandments), which Solomon had not kept. But the Divine 'arrangement' was a gracious one: 'the Divine *διαθήκη* is a promise' (Vaughan on Ro 9[4], cf. Eph 2[12]); hence St. Paul, while he uses *διαθήκη* only 9 times, uses *ἐπαγγελία* 25 times, because it lays stress on God's free grace; cf. Gn 15[18] ('the Lord made a covenant with Abraham . . . I will give,' etc.), Ex 34[10] ('I will make a covenant . . . I will do marvels'), Is 59[21] ('This is my covenant . . . my spirit shall not depart'). It is true that there are conditions to be fulfilled; but the idea is that God imposes these as part of His beneficent arrangement; just as a will imposes conditions, but is not a *covenant* in the strict sense of the term. (Cremer asserts that Philo uses *διαθήκη* in no other sense than that of 'one-sided' disposition).

The LXX translators made their choice of *διαθήκη* before its older signification was seriously affected by the extensive spread of will-making among the Greeks, and the assimilation by them of 'Roman ideas on wills' (Ramsay, *Galatians*, p. 360). Thus they had still at their disposal in the word the connotation of the solemnity and publicity of an irrevocable disposition by which, as a religious act, the maker of the disposition voluntarily, and by his own authority, bound his heir and, concurrently, himself in the presence of the community and its gods, assigning to the heir primarily the religious duties and rights of the family, and imposing arrangements which the heir had to carry out, and which he could at once undertake, and into the advantages of which he could at once enter, while he who made the disposition was still living. A word with such a connotation suited the idea of an irrevocable promise made by God to His chosen people, freely and on His own absolute authority, a promise of a religious inheritance into which they could at once enter by fulfilling the conditions which God, on the same absolute authority, imposed (Ramsay, *Galatians*, p. 361 ff.).

Διαθήκη is of course often used in the NT in the OT sense, Lk 1[72], Ac 3[25], Ro 9[4], Eph 2[12]. In some passages engagement and testamentary disposition seem to be combined (He 9[16], 1 Co 11[25]), the *διαθήκη* being a testament in the light of the death, an engagement in the light of the blood shed as a pledge (Evans). The sense of '**will**,' the ordinary Gr. sense, is an exclusively NT usage; and this usage varies in its aspect according to the conceptions of the readers for whom the Epistles in which it occurs were designed. Thus the Epistle to the Hebrews—even if it was intended for a Church in Jerusalem and not in Rome—was written to a people who knew only the Roman will, out of which the rabbinical will in Palestine arose, and on which it was modelled. Hence the will there spoken of is regarded as in force only after the maker's death (9[15-17]), and consequently the writer is led to argue that a death is connected with every Divine *διαθήκη*, specially with the last will, that of Christ; and according to Roman law the last will was alone valid. In Gal 3[15], on the other hand, where again a human will, a will dealing with an inheritance (3[18]), furnishes the parallel, the writer conceives of a will known to his readers as irrevocable and unalterable, even by the maker, when once it has been made by him and ratified by public authority, and argues from this analogy that the Law could not, as a hostile codicil, abrogate the Promise. Further, the devolution under this will was a devolution of religious responsibilities and rights, and those who inherited these under the will became there and then *sons* as inheriting and continuing the faith of Abraham (3[7]). Such a will was not Roman but Greek, or rather Græco-Syrian, and its regulations are found in the Roman-Syrian law-book, which recognized Græco-Syrian law as still largely in force in the Eastern provinces. This law regarded will-making as *per se* son-making; and where sons were thus made by adoption (Gal 4[5]), which was not a Jewish practice of any importance, they could not be put away; they were even in a better position than sons by birth. Thus the line of thought is that the believing Gentiles inheriting and continuing the faith of Abraham became thereby adopted sons, with a title more secure than the 'Jews by nature.' But at Ro 8[17], 'If sons, then heirs,' the idea is

reversed. Here we are in the atmosphere of Roman law; and the idea in Roman law was that children must inherit.

It is noticeable that the Latin word *fœdus*, signifying a covenant between parties, is also applied to an independent, 'one-sided' disposition, arrangement, imposition. When Lucretius (ii. 254) writes of *fœdera fati* he means nothing else than the arrangements imposed by fate; and Vergil (*Georg.* i. 60) and Ovid (*Met.* x. 353), as well as Lucretius (v. 924), speak of the *fœdera* imposed by nature. But the classical usage of διαθήκη as 'will,' and the close connexion of the word in the OT with the idea of κλῆρος (inheritance), together with the intensification in the NT of the idea of sonship, combined to bring *testamentum* into greater favour than *fœdus* as the rendering of διαθήκη, especially as *fœdus* suggested equality and *testamentum* superiority. Finally, as a consequence, *testamentum* became the title of the documents containing the attested promises of blessings willed by God and bequeathed to us in the death of Christ.

LITERATURE.—Ramsay, *Historical Commentary on Galatians*; Mitteis, *Reichsrecht und Volksrecht*; Bruns und Sachau, *Ein syrisch-römisches Rechtsbuch aus dem fünften Jahrhundert*; Cremer, *Bibl.-Theol. Wörterbuch*; the publications by Grenfell and Hunt on the Egyptian papyri; and the various Commentaries and Bible Dictionaries. J. MASSIE.

TESTAMENTS OF THE XII PATRIARCHS.—i. TITLE AND CONTENTS.—This most valuable pseudepigraph has never received the attention it deserves, but the next few years will witness a full atonement for past neglect. This writing consists, as the title indicates, of the dying commands of the twelve sons of Jacob to their children. The idea is in part derived from the Testament of Jacob in Gn 49. Each Testament treats of some virtue or vice which finds special illustration in the life of this or that patriarch. In some cases the virtue or vice in question appears in the title. This holds true of the Greek MS C throughout. But in this respect C is late; for in O* and R all mention of the virtues and vices is omitted, and where they appear in P (as they do in a few cases) they differ in all but two instances from C. In the Armenian Version the titles of Simeon, Benjamin, Issachar, and Zebulun contain no reference to ethical characteristics, and those of Levi and Gad differ from their forms in CP. It is probable, therefore, that the name of each Testament was originally merely Διαθήκη in the Greek Version, followed by the name of the particular patriarch to whom it was ascribed, and צואת in the original with a similar sequence. (Compare the Hebrew title of the Testament of Naphtali צואת נפתלי, published by Gaster, and observe that צוה is used technically of a man's last will and testament, 2 S 17[23], 2 K 20[1], Is 38[1]). According to R, it is true that the title of each Testament is merely the name of the patriarch. The title of the entire work was probably 'The Twelve Patriarchs'; for it is mentioned simply as Πατριάρχαι in the Stichometry of Nicephorus, the Synopsis Athanasii, and other lists.

In the next place it is to be observed that in each of the Testaments three elements can be distinguished. (1) The patriarch gives a brief history of his life, in which he emphasizes his particular virtue or vice. This history is generally a midrashic expansion of certain biblical statements, but in some cases it contains materials that are in direct conflict with them. (2) The patriarch next proceeds to 'improve' on the incidents just set forth in his own career, and exhorts his children to imitate the virtues or to shun the vices that were conspicuous in it. (3) Finally, the patriarch deals prophetically with the destinies of his descendants, emphasizes the premier rank and authority of Levi and Judah, and foretells the evils of overthrow and captivity that they will bring upon themselves should they fall into sin and disown the hegemony of Levi and Judah. These predictions are for the most part of purely Jewish authorship, but not a few are distinctively Christian.

ii. CRITICISM.—To account for the conflicting Jewish and Christian elements which appear side by side in the work, Grabe (*Spicileg. Patrum*[2], 1714, i. 129–144, 335–374) suggested that the book was written by a Jew and subsequently interpolated by a Christian. This hypothesis, however, failed till recently to gain the suffrages of scholars, mainly owing to the opposition of Corrodi (*Krit. Gesch. des Chiliasmus*, ii. 101–110). For nearly two centuries after Grabe little progress was made. Nitzsch (*de Test. XII Patriarch. libro VT pseud.*, Wittenberg, 1810) described the author as a Jewish Christian of Alexandria, who had imbibed many Essene doctrines; whereas Ritschl (*Entstehung der altkathol. Kirche*[1], 322 ff.) assigned the book to a Gentile Christian, mainly on the ground of Benjamin 11, a chapter which, we now know, is a Christian interpolation; but in the second edition of the work abandoned this view and advocated a Nazarene authorship.

It is needless here to enter on a discussion of the views of Kayser (*Die Test. der Zwölf Patr.*, in Reuss and Cunitz's *Beiträge zu den theolog. Wissenschaften*, 1851, pp. 107–140), who, falling back on Grabe's theory of interpolation, traced the book to Ebionitic circles; or on those of Vorstman (*Disquisitio de Test. XII Patriarcharum origine et pretio*, 1857), who submitted Kayser's theory to a severe criticism, and concluded that the Testaments showed no trace of Ebionism, but were the product of Gentile Christianity. This conclusion, which upholds Ritschl's first view, was subsequently upheld by Hilgenfeld (*ZWT*, 1858, pp. 395 ff.; 1871, 302 ff.), while the view of Nitzsch was adopted by Langen (*Das Judenthum*, 1866, pp. 140–157 and Sinker (*Test. XII Patr.* 1869, pp. 16–34; Appendix with collation of R and P, 1879; art. 'Test. XII Patr.' in Smith's *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, iv. 865–874).

It must be confessed that, so far, few results of permanent value were arrived at, but in 1884 a great advance was made through Schnapp (*Die Test. der XII Patr. untersucht*, Halle, 1884), who revived in an improved form Grabe's hypothesis of Christian interpolation of an originally Jewish work. Schnapp's theory is that in its original form the book consisted of biographical details respecting each of the patriarchs, and of appropriate exhortations founded on these details. Thus the work embraced only two of the three elements mentioned above. At a later date this book was worked over by a Jewish writer, who enriched all the Testaments with sections dealing with the coming destinies of the various tribes and with other details of an apocalyptic character. Finally, the book was re-edited by a Christian, who in some cases made large additions, and in others merely modified the text in order to adapt its predictions to Christianity.

Subsequent research has notably confirmed part of the above theory. Thus Conybeare's collation of the Armenian Version in the *JQR* [1893], 375–398; [1896], 260–268, 471–485, proved that very many of the passages marked by Schnapp as Christian interpolations were absent from that version.

Since Schnapp's work the Testaments have been rehandled from various sides, by Kohler (*JQR*, 1893, pp. 400–406), Gaster (*PSBA*, 1893, 1894), Marshall (*PSBA*, 1894), Charles (*Encyclopædia Biblica*, 1899, i. 237–241), and Bousset (*ZNTW*, 1900, 142–175, 187–209). Bousset's articles are of great value, and will call for frequent reference.

Since many of the above articles were published before Kautzsch's *Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments*, 1900, it must be confessed that it is with disappointment

* COPR denote Greek MSS. See below, § v. (*a*).

that scholars have turned to Schnapp's introduction to and translation of the Testaments in that volume. Both are quite inadequate from the standpoint of our present knowledge.

1. *Christian Interpolations.*—These were, as we have seen, rejected by Schnapp merely on internal grounds in 1884, though he could occasionally have justified his conclusions from R. But even in his translation * of 1900 he has repeatedly failed to call attention to the fact that his conjecture is confirmed by MS evidence, and in many passages he has attributed too much to the interpolator, where a study of his textual authorities would have enabled him to make much smaller and neater excisions. But not only can the student summon rich textual materials to his aid, he can also in not a few cases detect the interpolator's hand in certain poetical passages where the foreign element destroys the rhythm and parallelism. Thus Levi 18, Judah 25, Simeon 6, Dan 5 are either wholly or in part Hebrew poetry. Only the first of these has been recognized by Schnapp as being such. We quote a few lines as an illustration—

Τότε ἐκλείψει ἡ γῆ Χάμ,
Καὶ πᾶς λαὸς ἀπολεῖται.
Τότε καταπαύσει ἡ γῆ πᾶσα ἀπὸ ταραχῆς,
Καὶ πᾶσα ἡ ὑπὸ οὐρανὸν ἀπὸ πολέμου.
Τότε Σὴμ ἐνδοξασθήσεται,
Ὅτι Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς μέγας τοῦ Ἰσραήλ, φαινόμενος ἐπὶ γῆς
ὡς ἄνθρωπος καὶ σώζων ἐν αὐτῷ τὸν Ἀδάμ.
Τότε δοθήσονται πάντα τὰ πνεύματα τῆς πλάνης εἰς καταπάτησιν,
Καὶ ἄνθρωποι βασιλεύσουσι τῶν πονηρῶν πνευμάτων.

It will be seen that v.[6] destroys the parallelism. We must reject as interpolations *μέγας τοῦ Ἰσραήλ* and *σώζων ἐν αὐτῷ τὸν Ἀδάμ* from a comparison of the two Armenian recensions (see Bousset, *ZNTW* [1900], 147). The *ὡς ἄνθρωπος* is against the parallelism. The verse probably read—

Ὅτι Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς φανήσεται ἐπὶ γῆς.

By means of textual authorities the Christian interpolations can be removed from Reuben, Issachar, Judah, and Zebulun. Those in Simeon can be reduced to one or two phrases in 6. 7, and likewise those in chapter 8. Dan 5. 6. 7 cannot be wholly purged by means of textual authorities, nor yet Naphtali 4. 8.—In Joseph 19 the Greek is defective and the Armenian corrupt; but Schnapp is wrong in branding the bulk of it as a Christian interpolation, it is probably a fragment of an early Maccabæan Apocalypse.—As regards Benjamin, though the distinctively Christian phrases are omitted by the Armenian at the close of 3, yet the promise of redemption through Joseph is suspicious. Though *ἄμωμος ὑπὲρ ἀνόμων παραδοθήσεται* could be said of him, yet the next phrase *ἀναμάρτητος ὑπὲρ ἀσεβῶν ἀποθανεῖται* cannot be justly referred to him. In 9 the Christian interpolations in the Gr. are wanting in the Arm., save the words *ὑβρισθήσεται* (cf. Lk 18[32]) and *ἐξουθενωθήσεται* (Lk 23[11]), which appear Christian. In Levi 2. 3 the text of COP is very corrupt, but by means of recension *α* of the Armenian and R it is possible to recover the primitive Jewish text. This latter text described the three heavens, but this account was intended by the interpolator to be an account of the seven heavens. To this question we shall return presently. In Levi 4 and 10 and in 14[5] † Christian interpolations are present alike in Gr. and Arm., and one or two phrases at the close of 16. The famous passage in Levi 8, which claims for the descendant of Levi the triple honours of prophet, priest, and king, becomes intelligible through the aid of R and the Arm., and is of Jewish origin. It refers to John Hyrcanus. To this section we shall return later.

The Christian interpolations, therefore, which cannot be eliminated by textual authorities, do not extend beyond certain phrases or sentences in Sim. 6. 7, Levi 4. 10. 14. 17, Dan 5. 6. 7, Napht. 4. 8, Asher 7, Joseph 19, Benj. 3 (?). 9.* Thus by means of recent research about three-fourths of the Christian interpolations have been removed from the text.

2. *The Source and Character of the Christian Interpolations.*—Schnapp was of opinion that all the Christian passages were inserted in the text by a single Christian interpolator. The present writer in 1899 (*Encyc. Biblica*, i. 239) contended that the evidence pointed rather to a succession of interpolators. Bousset, however (*ZNTW* [1900], 174), has since maintained Schnapp's view, on the ground of the unusual affinities subsisting between the interpolated passages. Assuming, then, that all the interpolations were from one hand, Bousset has not much difficulty in determining the probable period of the interpolator to be between A.D. 150 and 200. But his assumption cannot be maintained, as we hope to show presently. In the meantime, excluding the conflicting statements, we have the following theological doctrines in the Christian additions :—

Thus 'the Lamb of God,' Benj. 3[18], 'the Only-begotten,' Benj. 9[8], should be born of a virgin of Judah, Jos. 19[3f.], a man, indeed, Napht. 4[11], a man from the seed of Judah, Jud. 24[2], yet at once God and man, Sim. 7[4]. 'God' should 'take a body,' Sim. 6[15], and appear as 'God in the flesh,' Benj. 10[18f.], and dwell with men on earth, Napht. 8[3ff.]. He should be 'sinless,' Jud. 24[4], Benj. 3[19], 'the Light of the world,' having come 'to lighten every man,' Levi 14[9], 'the Branch of the Most High and Fount of life for all flesh,' Jud. 24[8]. He should be a High Priest, Reub. 6[13f.], and 'the Saviour of Israel,' Napht. 8[3], 'the Saviour of the Gentiles,' Dan 6[16], the Saviour of the world, Levi 4[11] 17[5], Benj. 3[18], and 'save Israel and all the Gentiles,' Asher 7[8] (Benj. 3[20]), yea, all mankind, Levi 2[19] (Sim. 6[11f. 16]). On earth He should be baptized, Levi 18[14], and acknowledged by the voice of the Father from heaven, Levi 18[12], should afterwards be seized by the high priests, Levi 14[5. 6], 'insulted, set at nought and lifted up on a tree,' Benj. 9[3f.], crucified, Levi 4[13], 'die for the godless,' Benj. 3[19]. The veil of the temple should be rent, Benj. 9[10], Hades robbed through His sufferings, Levi 4[5]: He should redeem His sons from Beliar, Zeb. 9[16ff.], take the captives from Beliar, even the souls of the saints, Dan 5[25f.], ascend from Hades, Benj. 9[11f.], rise from the dead, Levi 16[7] 17[5f.], ascend into heaven, Levi 18[6], Benj. 9[12]. †

The above is a fairly full Christology to be worked into a Jewish book. We have now to draw attention to conflicting statements on the doctrine of the Incarnation.

In accordance with the account just given, it is said in Benj. 10[14f.] that 'the King of heaven will appear on earth in the form of a man' (*ἐν μορφῇ ἀνθρώπου*). On the other hand, the doctrine is probably Docetic in Zeb. 9[19] 'ye will see God in the fashion of a man' (*ἐν σχήματι ἀνθρώπου*), and undoubtedly so in Asher 7[9] 'God in the semblance of man' (*θεὸς εἰς ἄνδρα ὑποκρινόμενος*). Again, there is a third view represented, the Patripassian, in Sim. 6[10f.], where we read of 'the Lord, the great God of Israel,' appearing on earth as man. In Asher 7[6f.] the language betrays the same standpoint: 'The Highest (*ὁ Ὕψιστος*) will visit the earth—as man, eating and drinking with men'; and in Levi 4[5] 'the sufferings of the Highest.' The contrast is brought into fuller relief by such a declaration as that in Levi 4[11] 'Till the Lord visit all the nations through the mercy of his Son.' Again there is a want of uniformity as regards the descent of Christ. Thus He is said to be from Judah only, Napht. 8[3], from Judah and Levi, Gad 8[1-3], Dan 5[23], from Levi and Judah, Sim. 7[4], Lev. 2[18. 19].

Together with the above phenomena, we should observe that the Christian additions are very differently attested by the Gr. MSS COPR. R has the fewest of these, and in many cases attests single-handed the non-interpolated text against COP and the two Arm. recensions; OP attest it in a few cases, and C in at least one (Levi 18[17]). Of the two Armenian recensions, *α* agrees most with R, and *β* with COP. Finally, each Gr. MS has Christian additions peculiar to itself, and

* Schnapp has printed in his translation all the passages he considers Christian interpolations, in spaced type. This is a very convenient arrangement. We shall touch upon most of these in the sequel.

† Where a form such as 14[5] is used in reference to the Testaments, it means ch. 14, line 5, in Sinker's edition.

* Bousset (*op. cit.* p. 173) makes the list slightly shorter.

† In addition to the above, observe the important passage (Benj. 11) regarding St. Paul, which mentions his writings and achievements; also the expansion of the account of the three heavens into one of the seven heavens in Levi 2. 3; but this expansion may be due to a Jewish hand.

similarly the Armenian Version (cf. Sim. $7^{1f.}$) and apparently each of its recensions.

From the above facts, therefore, we conclude that the Christian additions are due to several hands, and were made at different periods, probably from the middle of the 2nd cent. onwards.

3. *Integrity of original Jewish Testaments.*—We have seen how thoroughly critical research has confirmed Schnapp's theory that the Christian references in the text are the result of interpolation. We have now to consider his second hypothesis, that the apocalyptic sections do not belong to the original work, which confined itself to biographical details and practical exhortations founded on these. Thus two different sources are postulated. But Schnapp has not succeeded in establishing this hypothesis as he did the former. He has tried to show, indeed, that in the Testament of Joseph we have two partially conflicting accounts of Joseph's history, derived from different authors—*i.e.* 1–10^{a} and 10^{b}–18. But, even if we agreed with him that these sections sprang from two distinct sources, this concession would not support his hypothesis. On the other hand, his analysis of this Testament may be quite wrong. We may have here merely a transposition of the text such as is found in the Ethiopic Enoch, chs. 91–94. Nearly every difficulty disappears if we read it in the following order—1. 10–16. 2–9. 17–20. In the Testament of Levi the section ch. 2, ὡς δὲ ἐποιμαίνομεν . . . 6, ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ μου, certainly conflicts with its present context. This vision does not refer to the events before and after, except in 5^{5-8}, but has a general fitness, in that its object is the glorification of Levi. The writer of the Testament may have embodied this section from already existing materials, or it may have been added subsequently by an interpolator. But, neglecting further consideration of Schnapp's hypothesis of two Jewish sources, we may observe that the evidence points rather to a groundwork, written, as we shall presently see, in the 2nd cent. B.C., in praise of the earlier Maccabæans, and enlarged with certain interpolations of a conflicting character in the 1st cent. B.C. These interpolated sections, which constitute an attack on the later Maccabæans, are Levi 10. 14–16, Judah 21–23, Dan 5 (certain paragraphs), Zebulun 9, Sim. 7^{4}.* With these sections we shall deal presently when establishing the dates of their origin and that of the groundwork.

iii. DATE.—The earliest reference to our book by name is not earlier than Origen (*Hom. in Josuam*, 15^{6} [ed. Lommatzsch, xi. 143]: 'In aliquo quodam libello qui appellatur testamentum duodecim patriarcharum, quamvis non habeatur in canone, talem tamen quendam sensum invenimus quod per singulos peccantes singuli satanæ intelligi debeant'). An earlier reference may exist in *Fragment* 17, Irenæus (ed. Stirren, i. 836, 837). External evidence, therefore, is of slight service for our present purpose. The internal evidence, however, is happily clear and decisive.

The groundwork of the Testaments constituted an apology on behalf of the Maccabæan high priests. Thus in Reub. $6^{19.20}$ the words ἀπολανεῖται ἐν πολέμοις ὁρατοῖς καὶ ἀοράτοις can only be interpreted of a high priest who is also a warrior.† Such a description would suit John Hyrcanus. Earlier in the same chapter this double function is referred to more clearly, διαστελεῖ εἰς κρίσιν καὶ θυσίας ὑπὲρ παντὸς Ἰσραήλ. And a few lines later, εὐλογήσεται τὸν Ἰσραὴλ . . . ὅτι ἐν αὐτῷ ἐξελέξατο Κύριος βασιλεύειν παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ (R). But the reference becomes still clearer in Levi 8^{19-21} ὁ τρίτος ἐπικληθήσεται αὐτῷ ὄνομα καινόν, ὅτι βασιλεὺς ἐν τῷ (Arm. Gr. MSS give ἐκ τοῦ wrongly) Ἰούδα ἀναστήσεται, καὶ ποιήσει ἱερατείαν νέαν, κατὰ τὸν τύπον τῶν ἐθνῶν, εἰς πάντα τὰ ἔθνη.* These clauses point clearly to the civil and priestly functions of the Maccabees subsequent to B.C. 153, and a few lines further on the attribution of prophetic powers to this family (ἡ δὲ παρουσία αὐτοῦ ἀγαπητή, ὡς προφήτης ὑψίστου [O]) enables us to identify the very member of this dynasty to whom our author alludes. This was John Hyrcanus,† who, according to Josephus (*BJ* I. ii. 4; *Ant.* XIII. x. 7), combined in his own person the threefold offices of prophet, priest, and king (τρία γοῦν τὰ κρατιστεύοντα μόνος εἶχεν τήν τε ἀρχὴν τοῦ ἔθνους καὶ τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην καὶ προφητείαν). This limits the date of the work to B.C. 135–105. To the above period belongs the eschatology of the Messianic hymn in Dan 5^{23-33}, according to the best textual authorities, with the exception of such an expression as τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν ἁγίων καλέσει εἰς ἑαυτόν (so Arm.) in Dan 5^{26}, and of one or two phrases.‡ The same is true of the Messianic hymn in Jud. 24 and the account of the resurrection in Jud. 25.

Unhappily, the second Apocalypse in Jos. 19 is too hopelessly corrupt, even in the Armenian,§ to arrive at any definite chronology. Finally, in Napht. 5^{14-16} the successive nations are mentioned that brought Israel into bondage; the last of these is the Syrians: Ἀσσύριοι, Μῆδοι, Πέρσαι, Ἐλιμαῖοι, Γαλαχαῖοι, Χαλδαῖοι, Σύροι, πληρονομήσουσιν ἐν αἰχμαλωσίᾳ τὰ δώδεκα σκήπτρα τοῦ Ἰσραήλ. Thus the passage was written prior to the domination of Rome, *i.e.* before B.C. 63.

The book, therefore, so far as we have considered it, was written between B.C. 135 and 63. Since, however, no reason has appeared for bringing the *terminus ad quem* later than B.C. 103, the work may safely be assigned to the years B.C. 135–103.‖ It would thus form a sequel to Eth. Enoch 83–90, which was written before B.C. 161. It reproduces some of its phraseology in Jos. 19.

But certain passages, to which we have already referred, belong, like Eth. Enoch 91–104, and the Psalms of Solomon, to a later date. In these the Maccabæan king-priests are the object of the fiercest invective. These attacks are made in Levi $10^{14.15}$, where, as in Ps-Sol 2. 4. 8, the priests are charged with destroying the Law and teaching false doctrine (cf. Eth. En. 94^{2}), with seducing Israel (cf. Eth. En 94^{5} 104^{10}), with profaning the temple, with committing fornication, and marrying the daughters of the Gentiles. Again, in Jud. 23, Judah is charged with every kind of abomination and idolatry (cf. Eth. En 99^{7-9}). But the notes of time are still more manifest in Jud. 22^{1-3}, which speaks of internal divisions and civil wars and the overthrow of the Maccabæan dynasty by aliens (ἐπάξει δὲ αὐτοῖς διαιρέσεις κατ' ἀλλήλων καὶ πόλεμοι συνεχεῖς ἔσονται ἐν Ἰσραήλ, καὶ ἐν ἀλλοφύλοις συντελεσθήσεται ἡ βασιλεία αὐτῶν [Arm. Gr. μου]). The aliens may be taken to be the Romans or the Herodian dynasty (which was of Idumæan origin). In Zeb. $9^{4.7f.}$ the civil strife between Aristobulus II. and Hyrcanus II. is clearly depicted: Μὴ σχισθῆτε εἰς δύο κεφάλας . . . Ἐν ἰσχάταις ἡμέραις . . . διαιρεθήσεσθε ἐν Ἰσραήλ, καὶ δύο βασιλεῦσιν ἐξακολουθήσετε. Since the writer in the last passage says that this civil war will be ἐν ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις (cf. Levi 10, ἐπὶ συντελείᾳ τῶν αἰώνων; also Levi 14), it follows that the composition of Levi 10. 14–16, Jud. 22. 23, Dan 5^{13-23}, Zeb. 9, cannot be of a much later date, and may be reasonably assigned to the years B.C. 60–40. It is more difficult to determine the date of Jud. 21. This chapter stands by itself in attacking the monarchy and in upholding the priesthood. Bousset (*op. cit.* 192) assigns it to the time of Hyrcanus II.

iv. LANGUAGE.—The time of composition in itself determines this question in the main. The various writers of the work belonged in all cases to the ranks of the HASIDÆANS, who maintained the doctrines afterwards upheld by the Pharisees. The original, we therefore presume, was written in Semitic, and, in all probability, in Hebrew. The present writer has elsewhere pointed out (*Encyc. Biblica*, i. 239–241) that (1) Hebrew constructions and expressions are frequent, (2) that paronomasiæ which are lost in the Greek can frequently

* This kingly high priest is the theme also of Levi 18^{2}—

Τότε ἐγερεῖ Κύριος ἱερέα καινόν,
Ὧ πάντες οἱ λόγοι Κυρίου ἀποκαλυφθήσονται.
Καὶ αὐτὸς ποιήσει κρίσιν ἀληθείας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἐν πλήθει ἡμερῶν,
Καὶ ἀνατελεῖ ἀστρον αὐτοῦ ἐν οὐρανῷ ὡς βασιλέως (P Arm.).

† So already Kohler, *JQR* v. 402; and subsequently Bousset.

‡ The Messianic hope here appears as in Eth. En. 83–90. The Messiah is said to proceed from 'Judah and Levi.' This is certainly wrong for 'Judah' or 'Levi' or 'Levi and Judah'; cf. Dan 5^{9}, Reub. 6, Sim. 5. 7, Levi 2, Iss. 5. The order 'Judah and Levi' is found in Christian interpolations, as Bousset has already recognized; cf. Gad 8, Jos. 19. According to Jud. 24, the Messiah is to be descended from Judah. This no doubt is what is meant in Eth. En. $90^{37.38}$; for the Messiah is there distinguished from Judas Maccabæus, who is represented as fighting till the advent of the Messianic kingdom. Bousset assigns both these hymns to the latter half of the 1st cent. B.C.; but the character of the eschatology is wholly against this assumption.

§ See Preuschen's translation in *ZNTW* [1900], 138.

‖ This date holds good of the narrative portions also. See Bousset, *op. cit.* 197–205.

* So also Bousset on the whole (*op. cit.* 189 ff.) in 1900. The present writer had drawn attention to this fact in his *Eschatology, Hebrew, Jewish, and Christian*, 1899, and to the early elements in the Testaments in *Encyc. Biblica*, i. 237–241.

† Another reference to the warrior priests occurs in Sim. $5^{9f.}$ καὶ ἐν Λευὶ ἀδικήσουσιν ἐν ῥομφαίᾳ ἀλλ' οὐ δυνήσονται πρὸς Λευί, ὅτι πόλεμον Κυρίου πολεμήσει.

be restored by retranslation into Hebrew, and (3) that certain passages which are obscure or unintelligible in the Greek become clear on retranslation into Hebrew. We shall content ourselves with one or two examples of the above statements.

Thus in Reub. 3 ἐν αὐτῷ ἐξελέξατο = בחר בו ; Levi 8[19] ἐπικληθήσεται αὐτῷ ὄνομα καινόν = יקרא לו שם חדש. Napht. 1[9] ἐν πανουργίᾳ ἐποίησε Ῥαχήλ . . . διὰ τοῦτο ἐκλήθην Νεφθαλείμ = . . . נפתלה רחל לכן נקראתי נפתלי. Finally, in Napht. 6[3f.] ἰδοὺ πλοῖον ἦρχετο . . . μεστὸν ταρίχων, ἐκτὸς ναυτῶν καὶ κυβερνήτου, the phrase μεστὸν ταρίχων, which = מלא טָרִיחָה, has arisen from a corrupt dittography of מלא = ἐκτὸς ναυτῶν. This last fact was pointed out by Gaster (*PSBA*, Dec. 1893, Feb. 1894) in his edition of the Hebrew text of a Testament of Naphtali, and may be regarded as conclusive; for the above phrase is found in this Hebrew Testament—והנה אנייה הולכת . . . מלא מלח.

v. VERSIONS (Greek, Aramaic, Syriac, Armenian, Slavonic, Latin).—The earliest versions were the Greek, the Armenian, and probably the Syriac. (*a*) Of *the Greek Version* six MSS are known. Of these, the Cambridge MS (C) of the 10th and the Oxford MS (O) of the 14th cent. have already been made known through Sinker's edition of the Greek text (*The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, 1869); the Vatican MS (R) of the 13th and the Patmos MS (P) of the 16th cent., through the Appendix he published in 1879. The two remaining MSS are still unpublished, but are being used by Sinker in forming a new Greek text. It is to be presumed that in the new text R will be mainly followed and not C as in the old edition.

(*b*) *The Aramaic Version.*—This version was not brought to light till quite recently. Only one complete leaf and a half of the entire MS have been preserved. The MS was brought by Schechter from the Cairo Genizah in 1896, and its contents recognized in 1900 by H. L. Pass, who, together with J. Arendzen, published the text in the *JQR* [1900], 651–661. The fragmentary folio contains a passage somewhat similar to Jud. 5. The complete folio has portions of Levi 11–13. Although at times the Greek and Aramaic agree word for word, they more often diverge both as to contents and to order. The Aramaic is much fuller. It is noteworthy that it agrees in this respect with the Syriac fragment against the Greek. To this point we shall return in dealing with that version.

(*c*) *The Syriac Version.*—Of this version only a fragment remains, preserved in a Syr. MS [Brit. Mus., Add. 17,193 — *Cat.* ii. 997], dated A.D. 874. This MS consists of a series of 125 extracts from different sources, No. 80 of which is derived from Levi 12. This extract contains three sentences which are unattested by the Greek, and it was probably on this ground that Preuschen (*ZNTW* [1900], 108) declared that its evidence was valueless as regards the existence of a Syriac Version. Now, it is worthy of remark that these additional three sentences are present word for word in the newly discovered Aramaic; and yet, so far as all three versions have a common text, the Syriac and Greek agree against the Aramaic. Thus, Gr. and Syr. give ὀκτώ where Aram. = ὀκτωκαίδεκα, and where the former give ὀκτωκαίδεκα the latter = ἐννεακαίδεκα.

(*d*) *The Armenian Version.* — It is to F. C. Conybeare that we owe our first knowledge of the value of the Armenian Version, through his collation of the Armenian with Sinker's Greek text of the Testaments of Reuben, Simeon, Judah, Dan, Joseph, Benjamin (*JQR* [1895], 375–398; [1896], 260–268, 471–485). In 1896 the first Armenian edition of the text was published by the Mechitarist Fathers at Venice in a small volume, including many other non-canonical writings of the OT. This edition is based on five MSS.* Subsequently Preuschen wrote a learned article (*ZNTW* [1900], 106–140), in which he shows, in dependence on the Venice edition, that there were two recensions of the Armenian text *α* and *β*, of which the former is much the briefer and earlier, and contains likewise fewer Christian interpolations. In this article he gives a German translation of the Testament of Levi. For further details see *op. cit.* 130–140.

(*e*) *The Slavonic Version.*—This version exists in two recensions, which are published by Tichonrawow in his *Monuments of Old Russian Apocryphal Literature* [1863], i. 96–145 and 146–232. With the help of Bonwetsch, Bousset tested this version and found it worthless for textual purposes. It is most nearly related to the Greek text of O (P).

(*f*) No earlier *Latin* Version is known than that of Robert Grosseteste. This was made from C, and is valueless, therefore, from a critical standpoint.

vi. VALUE OF THE TESTAMENTS. — This work has been simply a sealed book till the present, owing to the difficulty of discriminating the various elements in the text. Now that we have achieved this task in its main outlines, we discover that we have in the groundwork of the Testaments a unique work of the 2nd cent. B.C.; for, with the exception of Jubilees, it constitutes the only Apology in Jewish literature for the religious and civil hegemony of the Maccabees from the Pharisaic standpoint. To the few Jewish interpolations which belong to the next cent. a large interest attaches; for these, like Eth. Enoch 91–104 and the Psalms of Solomon, constitute an unmeasured attack on every office — prophetic, priestly, or kingly—administered by the Maccabees. But, turning aside from the historical to the religious bearings of the book, we may notice shortly its eschatology, its teaching on the various heavens, and its peculiar view as to the twelve tribes of Israel.

(*a*) *The Eschatology.*—We shall confine our attention to three Messianic passages, Levi 18, Jud. 24. 25, and Dan 5[23ff.]. According to Levi 18, the Messiah is to spring from Levi and be the eternal High Priest and civil ruler of the nation, Levi 18[16]. During his rule sin should gradually cease, Levi 18[17]; Beliar be bound, Levi 18[20. 21]; the gates of Paradise be opened and the saints eat of the tree of life, Levi 18[19-21]. We have here an eternal Messianic kingdom on earth as in Eth. Enoch 83–90. In Jud. 24. 25 and Dan 5[23-33] the forecast is on the whole the same, save that the Messiah is to spring not from Levi but from Judah (Jud. 24[2], Dan 5[23] †), as no doubt also in Eth. Enoch 90[37. 38]. These hymns would be earlier, if we are right, than that in Levi 18, and would thus be written before enthusiasm for John Hyrcanus had reached its height. According to these hymns, the resurrection (of the righteous?) is to take place during the Messiah's reign (Jud. 25), the evil spirits are to be cast into eternal fire (Jud. 25[10]), the saints to live in Eden (Dn 5[28]), and all the nations to rejoice (Jud. 25[16]), and God to abide with men (Dan 5[31]). Here also we have an eternal Messianic kingdom on earth, in which the Gentiles participate.

* There are seven other MSS known to scholars. Two of these have been collated by Conybeare, belonging respectively to the London Bible Society and to Lord Zouche; see *ZNTW* [1900], 108–110.

† In Dan the text says 'Judah and Levi.' Since this is the order of these names in the Christian interpolations, we must emend the phrase into 'Levi and Judah,' or simply 'Levi' or 'Judah.' But, since the Messiah is nowhere else in the Testaments said to be sprung from 'Levi and Judah' (though it is declared that by means of Levi and Judah God will deliver Israel), we must fall back simply on 'Levi' or 'Judah' as the original text. We take it that 'and Levi' is an intrusion here. See p. 723[b] note ‡.

(*b*) *The three heavens and the seven heavens.*—From R and the Armenian Version of Levi 2. 3 it is now clear that these chapters contained originally a description of only three heavens. R* alone preserves the true text here; for the two recensions of the Arm. α and β are both confused and corrupt, the former mentioning only two heavens, and the latter four. It was Lueken (*Michael* [1898], 92) who first recognized this fact. Its further elucidation we owe to Bousset (*ZNTW* 159–163). Thus it appears that a belief in the three heavens prevailed early in the 2nd cent. B.C. It has thus an older attestation in Judaism than that of the seven heavens, but which is in reality the earlier we cannot at present say.

(*c*) *The Twelve Tribes.*—The Twelve Tribes are supposed to be in existence at the date of the composition of this work, and in Palestine. Thus in Napht. 5^{16} the Syrians are said to hold sway over them. In Reub. 6^{13} the high priestly ruler (*i.e.* John Hyrcanus) is 'to judge and offer sacrifice for all Israel till the consummation of the times'; and 'to bless Israel and Judah' (Reub. 6^{17}). The very fact that the book is addressed to the Twelve Tribes, although it speaks of the ultimate dispersion or destruction of Reuben (6^{9}), Dan, Gad, and Asher (Asher 7^{13}), points in the same direction. Bousset calls attention to the fact that the Letter of Aristeas states that Eleazar the high priest sent six men of each of the Twelve Tribes to Ptolemy. This naturally presupposes the presence of the Twelve in Palestine or its neighbourhood. The idea that the Jewish kingdom embraced once again the entire nation, could easily arise when the Maccabees extended their sway northwards over Samaria and Galilee and eastwards beyond the Jordan. This displaced the older belief that nine tribes were still in captivity (see Eth. Enoch 89^{72}, written 20 to 30 years before the Testaments). But with the growing degradation of the later Maccabees the older idea revives. According to the Psalms of Solomon ($17^{28.\ 34.\ 50}$), the dispersed tribes are to be brought back. This thought reappears frequently in the 1st cent. A.D., and then in new forms. The nine or ten tribes were in the far East enjoying great prosperity (Philo, *Leg. ad Gaium*, 31; Jos. *Ant.* XI. v. 2; *Sib. Or.* ii. 170–173), or, according to a later view, they were lost, and their place of abode was unknown to men, but God was keeping them safely till the Messianic times (4 Ezr $13^{39\text{-}47}$). This form of the idea, which is now the current one, is not attested till after the fall of Jerusalem, A.D. 70.

LITERATURE.—The principal authorities have been cited in the body of the above article. See, further, Schürer, *GJV*^{3} iii. 262 [*HJP* II. iii. 124]. Since the above article was written, an English translation of the Armenian Version has been published (*Uncanonical Writings of the OT found in the Armenian MSS of St. Lazarus*, Issaverdens, Venice, 1901, pp. 351–478). As the translator has made no attempt to distinguish between the two recensions, this translation is worthless from a critical standpoint. R. H. CHARLES.

TESTIMONY.—In the OT this word is scarcely, if at all, used in the ordinary sense of 'witness' or 'evidence,' although it has this meaning frequently in the NT. We will reserve the treatment of this sense of the term and partly of the OT 'testify' for art. WITNESS, and devote the present art. to the special OT usage.

The Heb. terms are [עֵדָה] and עֵדוּת or עֵדֻת. The existence of the first of these has been postulated to account for the plur. עֵדָה, which is found (alone or with suffixes) in Dt 4^{45} $6^{17.\ 20}$, Ps 25^{10} 78^{56} 93^{5} 99^{7} $119^{2.\ 22.\ 24.\ 46.\ 59.\ 79.\ 95.\ 119.\ 125.\ 138.\ 146.\ 152.\ 167.\ 168}$. Such a course appears, however, to be unnecessary, for in every instance עדת might be vocalized עֵדָת, or עֵדַת might be taken as a contraction of עֲדוּת (*ʿēdwôth*), the plur. of עדות (so Stade, § 320*b*; Siegfried-Stade, Buhl). The form עֵדוֹת is found in 1 K 2^{3}, 2 K 17^{15} 23^{3}, Jer 44^{23}, 1 Ch 29^{19}, 2 Ch 34^{31}, Neh 9^{33}, Ps $119^{14.\ 31.\ 36.\ 99.\ 111.\ 129.\ 144.\ 157}$. In both these sets of passages the name 'testimonies' is applied to God's laws as being a *solemn declaration* of His will or a *protest against* deviation from its performance (see Driver, *Deut.* p. 81, who compares בְּ העיר = 'testify or protest *against*' [not 'unto'], 2 K 17^{15}, Jer 11^{7}, Ps 50^{7} 81^{5}, Neh $9^{26.\ 29.\ 30}$).* 'The testimony' (הָעֵדוּת) is a technical term, esp. in P, for the Decalogue (LXX τὰ μαρτύρια, Ex $25^{16.\ 21}$ 40^{20}) as being *par excellence* the declaration of the Divine will. Hence the expressions 'tables of the testimony' (LXX αἱ πλάκες τοῦ μαρτυρίου, Ex 31^{18} 32^{15} 34^{29}); 'ark of the testimony,' which contained these tables (LXX ἡ κιβωτὸς τοῦ μαρτυρίου, Ex 25^{22} $26^{33.\ 34}$ $30^{6.\ 26}$ 31^{7} 39^{35} $40^{3.\ 5.\ 21}$, Nu 4^{5} 7^{89}, Jos 4^{16} [Dillm.; but Bennett, Steuernagel, *et al.*, הָאָרוֹן 'ark of the covenant']);† 'tabernacle of the testimony *or* witness' (LXX ἡ σκηνὴ τοῦ μαρτυρίου [so in Ac 7^{44}, Rev 15^{5}]), Ex 38^{21}, Nu $1^{50.\ 53\ bis}$ 10^{11} [all *mishkan hā-ʿēdûth*], Nu 9^{15} $17^{7.\ 8}$ 18^{2}, 2 Ch 24^{6} [all *ʾōhel hā-ʿēdûth*]. See art. TABERNACLE, p. 655. 'The testimony' is an abbreviation for 'the ark of the testimony' in Ex 16^{34} (LXX ἐναντίον τοῦ θεοῦ) 27^{21} (ἐπὶ τῆς διαθήκης) $30^{6.}$ (ἐπὶ τῆς κιβωτοῦ τῶν μαρτυρίων) ^{36} (ἀπέναντι τῶν μαρτυρίων), Lv 16^{13} (ἐπὶ τῶν μαρτυρίων) 24^{3} (ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ τοῦ μαρτυρίου), Nu $17^{10.}$ (κατέναντι τοῦ μαρτυρίου) ^{25} (ἐνώπιον τῶν μαρτυρίων). A later usage extended the term *hā-ʿēdûth* from the Decalogue to the Law in general: Ps 19^{8} 78^{5} (‖ תּוֹרָה) 81^{6} (‖ חק 'statute') 119^{88} 122^{4}.

For הָעֵדוּת ('the *testimony*') of 2 K 11^{12} = 2 Ch 23^{11} we should prob. read הָצְּעָדוֹת ('the *bracelets*,' see Wellh.-Bleek, p. 258 n.), although LXX has τὸ μαρτύριον and τὰ μαρτύρια in the respective passages.

In Sir 45^{17}, where the LXX has 'to teach Jacob the testimonies' (B τὰ μαρτύρια, A μαρτυρίαν), the Heb. text has 'so he taught his people statute' (חק). J. A. SELBIE.

TETH (ט).—The ninth letter of the Heb. alphabet, and as such employed in the 119th Psalm to designate the 9th part, each verse of which begins with this letter. It is transliterated in this Dictionary by *ṭ*.

TETRARCH (τετράρχης, WH τετραάρχης).—A ruler of a fourth part of a country or province, or at Sparta a commander of four companies of soldiers. The compound occurs first in Eur. *Alc.* 1154 in reference to Thessaly, which in early times and again in the constitution given by Philip of Macedon was divided for civil administration into four districts (Demos. *Philipp.* iii. 26). In Galatia, too, each of the three tribes had its four tetrarchs (Strabo, 566 f.), until Pompey reduced the number (App. *Mithrid.* 46, *Syr.* 50; Livy, *Ep.* 94), retaining the name. Thenceforward little attention was paid to the original signification of the title, which was freely applied to dependent princelings in possession of some of the rights of sovereignty. They were of subordinate rank to kings or ethnarchs, and were especially numerous in Syria (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* v. 74 *et al.*; Cicero, *Milo*, xxviii. 36 *et al.*; Horace, *Sat.* I. iii. 12; Tacitus, *Ann.* xv. 25; Cæsar, *Bell. Civ.* iii. 3; Plutarch, *Anton.* 36; Jos. *Ant.* XVII. x. 9; *et al.*). The title as used in NT retains in part its etymological meaning in two cases. For both Antipas (Mt 14^{1}, Lk $3^{1.\ 19}$ 9^{7}, Ac 13^{1}) and Herod Philip (Lk 3^{1}) inherited each a fourth part of his father's dominions (Jos. *Ant.*

* COP agree in giving the corrupt text which contains an account of the Seven heavens. For an account of the latter see Charles, *Book of the Secrets of Enoch* (1895).

* Cf. תְּעוּדָה, used of prophetical testimony or *injunction*, in Is $8^{16.\ 20}$.

† BA ἡ κιβωτὸς τῆς διαθήκης; om. τῆς διαθήκης, F* (habet F^{1} mg); μαρτυρίου in mg et sup ras A^{a}?.

xvii. xi. 4; *Wars*, ii. vi. 3). At the same time, since their father had himself received the same title without geographical significance from Antony (Jos. *Ant.* xiv. xiii. 1; *Wars*, i. xii. 5), and as Antipas is styled king (Mt 14^{9}, Mk $6^{14ff.}$) almost as often as tetrarch, it is not unlikely that the latter title was applied to him without any designed allusion to its strict meaning. In a similar sense Lysanias [which see] is called tetrarch of Abilene in Lk 3^{1}, the district of Abila in the Lebanon having been severed from the Ituræan kingdom subsequently to the death of Lysanias I. and placed under the rule of a younger man of the same name. In support of St. Luke's accuracy may be cited two inscriptions in *CIG*, Nos. 4521, 4523. See, for further details and for the literature of the subject, Schürer, *HJP* I. ii. 7 f. R. W. Moss.

TEXT OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.—A history of the text of the OT, in the proper sense of the word 'history,' it is not possible to write, even if one were content to start from the period in which the OT was closed. For in the first place we do not know the date when, or the way in which, this closing was effected. Further, we have no MSS of the Heb. OT from the first eight centuries of the Christian era, at least none whose date is certain. Unfortunately, moreover, we are as yet without critical editions either of the most important early Versions (LXX, Pesh., Targg.), or of the ancient Jewish literary works (Talmuds, Midrashim) in which a great number of Bible passages are cited and explained. And, finally, the history of the text is much older than the close of the Canon. Even during the period when the writings which are now gathered into one in the OT had still a more or less separate circulation, the text underwent a variety of changes, due partly to the carelessness of copyists, and partly to intention, what was considered objectionable being dropped out, and additions being made. The proper course of procedure, then, appears to us to be to work *backwards* from a fixed point, viz. the printed text. We will discuss—

i. The printed editions.
ii. The manuscripts.
iii. The work of the Mas(s)oretes (and the punctuation).
iv. Earlier traces of the Heb. text of the OT.
v. The importance of the ancient Versions.
vi. Observations on the history of the growth of the OT.

i. Printed Editions of the Heb. OT.—A. *Fifteenth Century.*—The first portion of the Heb. Bible ever printed was the Psalter, 1477 (small folio, prob. Bologna), with D. Ḳimḥi's commentary. Only the first psalms have the vowel points, in a very rude form (Ginsburg, *Introd.* 780–794). ‖ The first ed. of the Pent. appeared in 1482 (Bologna folio, pointed), with Targ. Onḳ. and Rashi. ‖ Ed. *princeps* of the Prophets, 1485 (Soncino, folio, 2 vols. [the 2nd has no date]), with D. Ḳimḥi's com., neither vowel points nor accents. ‖ Ed. *princeps* of the Hagiographa, 1487, 86 (Naples, folio, 3 parts). The vowel points are most unreliable, the printers having done their work very carelessly. There are no accents. The accompanying comm. are Ḳimḥi on the *Psalter*, and Immanuel on *Proverbs*. ‖ The first ed. of the whole OT appeared at Soncino in 1488, folio; it had vowel points and accents, like almost all the following editions; ‖ 2nd ed., Naples, *c.* 1491–93 [neither date nor place is given]; ‖ 3rd ed., Brescia, 1494. Luther used this ed. in translating the OT into German; ‖ Pesaro, 1494 (?, see Wolf, *Bibliotheca Heb.* ii. 364, iv. 109; B. Riggenbach, *Das Chronikon des Konrad Pellikan*, Basel, 1877, p. 20).

B. *Sixteenth Century.*—Heb. OT, Pesaro, 1511–1517, folio, 2 vols. ‖ The Complutensian Polyglot, Alcala, 1514–1517, *Vetus testamentū multiplici lingua nūc primo impressum*, folio, 4 vols. (Heb., LXX, Vulg., Targ. Onḳ.). No accents; the vowel points cannot be relied upon. The editors used, for the compilation of their Heb. text, the Lisbon Pent. (1491), the Naples OT (1491–1493), and the MS of the OT in the Madrid University Library No. 1. The consonantal text is, according to Ginsburg (p. 917), remarkably accurate and of great importance. ‖ First Rabbinical Bible, folio, 4 vols., Venice, 1516–1517. The editor, Felix Pratensis, was the first to indicate, in a purely Hebrew Bible, the Christian chapters* on the margin of the Heb. OT, and to divide Samuel, Kings, Ezra, and Chronicles each into two books. He was likewise the first to give, though not consistently, the consonants of the *Ḳĕrê* in the margin. ‖ The first Venice quarto Bible (1516–1517) is only a re-issue of the folio, without the Targums and the commentaries. ‖ The second Rabbinical Bible, folio, 4 vols., Venice, 1524–1525, with the Mas(s)ora collected and arranged by Jacob ben Chayim ibn Adonijah. 'No textual redactor,' says Ginsburg (p. 964), 'of modern days, who professes to edit the Heb. text according to the Mas(s)ora, can deviate from it without giving conclusive justification for so doing.' ‖ Third Rabbinical Bible, 1547–1548; fourth, 1568, Venice, folio, 4 vols.; ‖ *Biblia Sacra, Hebraice, Græce et Latine*, Antwerp, 1569–1572, folio [OT vols. i.–iv.]; printed at the expense of Philip II. (hence surnamed *Biblia Regia*), ed. Arias Montanus. ‖ Of the great number of other editions we will mention here but two: " מקדש *Hebraica Biblia Latina planeque nova S. Munsteri tralatione . . . adiectis insuper è Rabinorum cōmentarijs annotationibus*, Basel, 1534–1535, folio, 2 vols. [2nd ed. 1546]; and דרך הקדש *Biblia Sacra eleganti et majuscula characterum forma, qua . . . literæ radicales [plenæ et nigræ] & seruiles, deficientes & quiescentes &c. [vacuæ] situ et colore discernuntur.* Authore Elia Huttero, Hamburg, 1587, folio.

C. *Seventeenth Century.*—Fifth Rabbinical Bible, Venice, 1617–1619; sixth, Basel, 1618–1619, revised and edited by J. Buxtorf the elder; unfortunately, he altered the vowel points in the Targums according to the Aram. portions of Daniel and Ezra. ‖ The Paris Polyglot, printed at the expense of the Paris barrister, Guy Michel le Jay, 1629–1645, folio [OT vols. i.–iv.]. ‖ Much better, and indeed the best of all the Polyglot Bibles, are the *Biblia sacra polyglotta*, ed. Brian Walton, London, 1657, folio [OT vols. i.–iv.]. ‖ The basis of nearly all the newer editions are the *Biblia Hebraica . . . lemmatibus Latinis illustrata* à J. Leusden, Amsterdam, 1667, publisher Athias. ‖ *Biblia Hebraica . . .* ex recensione D. E. Jablonski, Berlin, 1699. The latter follows Leusden's edition, but has collated also other edd. and some MSS. In the Preface he states that he has found and corrected more than 2000 *errata* in the Bible of 1667.

D. *Eighteenth Century.—Biblia Hebraica . . .* recensita . . . ab Everardo van der Hooght, Amstelædami et Ultrajecti, 1705. This OT is very often extolled as the best octavo ed. of the Bible, but without sufficient reason. The ed. of the *Biblia Hebraica*, Amstelædami, 1725, pub. by Salomo ben Joseph Props, is far superior. ‖ Seventh Rabbinical Bible: ספר קהלות משה, pub. by Moses of Frankfort, Amsterdam, 1724–1727, folio, 4 vols. ‖ J. H. Michaelis, *Biblia Hebraica, ex aliquot manuscriptis et compluribus impressis codicibus, item masora . . . diligenter recensita. Accedunt loca scripturæ parallela . . . brevesque adnotationes*, Halle, 1720. This is the first printed attempt at a critical edition. The Erfurt MSS collated by Michaelis are now in Berlin. ‖ The Mantua Bible, 1742–1744,

* The division of the books of the Bible into chapters was the device of Stephen Langton of Canterbury (1205 A.D.), who introduced it in the Vulgate.

4°, pub. by Raphael Chayim Basila, contains Salomo Norzi's mas(s)oretical commentary on the OT. ‖ B. Kennicott, *Vetus Test. Heb. cum variis lectionibus*, Oxford, 1776, 1780, folio, 2 vols., gives the text of van der Hooght, without the vowel points and accents. The MSS are for the most part very perfunctorily collated (cf. Bruns' ed. of the *Dissertatio Generalis*, and see below, ii. J).

E. *NINETEENTH CENTURY.—Biblia Hebraica* . . . recensita ab E. van der Hooght. Editio nova emendata a J. D'Allemand, London, 1822, and often. ‖ *Bibl. Heb.* . . . recensuit Aug. Hahn, Leipzig, 1831, and often. ‖ *Bibl. Heb.* . . . curavit C. G. G. Theile, Leipzig, 1849, and often. ‖ [Christian] David Ginsburg, עשרים וארבעה ספרי הקדש מרויקים היטב . . . עם חלופים והגהות, London, 1894, 2 vols.

F. *EDITIONS WITHOUT VOWEL POINTS AND ACCENTS.—Bibl. Heb. non punctata* . . . accurantibus Joh. Leusdeno & Joh. Andr. Eisenmengero, Francofurti, 1694, 16mo. ‖ *Bibl. Heb. sine punctis*, Amstelædami et Ultrajecti, 1701, 16mo. ‖ תקון הסופר והקורא, *Pent.* ed. S. Baer, Roedelheim, 1866, and often. ‖ *Bibl. Sac. Heb.: Pent., Jos., Jud., Sam., Psalmi* . . . *sine punctis* ediderunt R. Sinker et E. T. Leeke, Cambridge, 1870. ‖ *The Psalms in Heb., without points*, Oxford [Clarendon Press].

G. *S. BAER'S EDD. OF SEPARATE BOOKS* (those issued down to 1890 have prefaces by F. Delitzsch), Leipzig: Genesis, 1869; Jos., Jud., 1891; Sam., 1892; Kings, 1895; Isaiah, 1872; Jer., 1890; Ezekiel, 1884; Minor Proph., 1878; Psalms, 1880; Prov., 1880; Job, 1875; Megilloth, 1885; Dan., Ezr., Neh., 1882; Chron., 1888. Cf. H. Strack in *Theol. Litztg.* 1879, No. 8, and Ginsburg's criticisms in his *Introduction*.

H. *CRITICAL EDITIONS.—The Sacred Books of the OT: a critical ed. of the Heb. text, printed in colours* . . . under the editorial direction of Paul Haupt: Leipzig, Baltimore, and London, 4°. The following have appeared at the date of this article: Genesis by C. J. Ball, 1896; Leviticus by Driver and White, 1894; Numbers by J. A. Paterson, 1900; Joshua by W. H. Bennett, 1895; Judges by G. F. Moore, 1900; Samuel by Budde, 1894; Isaiah by Cheyne, 1899; Jeremiah by Cornill, 1895; Ezekiel by Toy, 1900; Psalms by J. Wellhausen, 1895; Proverbs by A. Müller and E. Kautzsch, 1901; Job by C. Siegfried, 1893; Daniel by A. Kamphausen, 1896; Ezra-Nehemiah by H. Guthe and L. W. Batten, 1901; Chronicles by R. Kittel, 1895.

A critical edition of the Aramaic portions of the OT is given by the present writer in his *Grammatik des Biblisch-Aramäischen*[3], Leipzig, 1901 (Dn $3^{12-15.\ 20-24}$ 4^{21}–7^{7} also with supralinear punctuation).

LITERATURE.—Joh. Chr. Wolf, *Bibliotheca Hebræa*, Hamburg, ii. (1721) pp. 364–385 (on whole Bible), 385–413 (on parts), iv. (1733) pp. 108–123 (Bible), 123–154 (parts); ‖ Jac. le Long, *Bibliotheca sacra* . . continuata ab A. G. Masch, Halle, i. (1778) pp. 1–136; ‖ J. B. de Rossi, *Annales hebræo-typographici sec. XV.*, Parma, 1795, *Annales hebræo-typogr. ab anno MDI ad MDXL digesti*, Parma, 1799, *De ignotis nonnullis antiquissimis hebraici textus editionibus ac critico earum usu*, Erlangen, 1782; B. W. D. Schulze, *Vollständigere Kritik über die gewöhnlichen Ausgaben der heb. Bibel, nebst. . . . Nachricht von der Heb. Bibel, welche der sel. D. Luther bey seiner Übersetzung gebraucht*, Berlin, 1766; ‖ M. Steinschneider, *Catalogus librorum hebræorum in bibliotheca Bodleiana*, Berlin, 1852 ff., cols. 1–164; ‖ B. Pick, 'History of the printed editions of the OT' in *Hebraica*, ix. (1892–1893), pp. 47–116; ‖ Ch. D. Ginsburg, *Introd. to the massoretico-critical ed. of the Heb. Bible*, London, 1897, pp. 779–976 (describes 24 early printed edd. of the whole OT or of parts of it).

On the Polyglot Bibles: Wolf, ii. 332–364, iv. 99–107; le Long-Masch, i. 331–408; Ed. Reuss in *PRE*[2] xii. 95–103; Franz Delitzsch, *Zur Entstehungsgesch. der Polyglottenbibel des Kardinals Ximenes*, Leipzig, 1871, 1878, 1886 (44, 38, and 60 pp.), 4°.

ii. THE MANUSCRIPTS.—A. *Rolls.*—The oldest form of book is the roll (מְגִלָּה, *volumen*). Even at the present day the books which are read aloud in the principal part of the synagogue service are written in the roll form: namely, the Pentateuch (סֵפֶר תּוֹרָה), from which a *pārāsha* is read every Sabbath, and the five Megillôth (*quinque volumina*), namely, the Song of Songs (read at the Passover), Ruth (at Feast of Weeks), Lamentations (on anniversary of Destruction of Jerusalem by the Chaldæans), Ecclesiastes (at Feast of Tabernacles), Esther (at Feast of Purim).

The material of the rolls is usually parchment; in the East, leather was also employed. At the beginning and the end there is a wooden roller (עֵץ חַיִּים 'the tree of life'), and the columns that have been read are rolled up on the first of these. Neither vowel signs nor accents are present. In seven parchment rolls at Tzufutkale the present writer noticed a point at the end of each verse, in two of them two points. The letters ש ע מ נ ז ג ץ have generally small ornamental strokes (תגין *coronulæ*). Between each book of the Torah four lines are left blank. The whole Pent. is divided into 669 sections (*pārāshas* פָּרָשִׁיּוֹת), which are called, according to the character of the spaces which separate them, open (*apertæ* פְּתוּחוֹת, marked פ) or closed (*clausæ*, סְתוּמוֹת, marked ס). The 54 Sabbath *pericopes* are marked פפפ and סססס respectively (with the exception of the 12th, Gn 47^{28}, at whose commencement the intervening space is only that of one letter). Six words, whose initial letters are ביה שמו (Ps 68^{5}), stand, particularly in Spanish (Sephardic) MSS, at the beginning of a column: בראשית Gn 1^{1}, יהודה Gn 49^{8}, הבאים Ex 14^{28}, שני Lv 16^{8}, מה Nu 24^{5}, and ואעידה Dt 31^{28}; in others, particularly the German (Ashkenazite) MSS, the ש and מ are represented by Dt 16^{18} שפטים (or 12^{28} שמר 23^{24} מוצא. Instead of יהודה some MSS have ישששכר of Gn 49^{14} at the commencement of a column. Many copyists begin each column with a new verse, some begin each with the letter *waw*, וי הָעַמּוּדִים. The poetical passages Ex 15 and Dt 32 are written (and even printed) in artistically constructed divisions. On these and other rules to be observed by the writers of rolls, see the Literature. Epigraphs are rare. The rules that have to be observed by a modern copyist of a Torah roll may be learned very conveniently from S. Baer's ed. of the Pentateuch, תקון הסופר והקורא, Rœdelheim, 1866 and often.

B. MSS in *book* form. These may contain the whole Bible, or one or two of its four principal parts (Pent., Prophetæ priores, Prophetæ posteriores, Hagiographa). The material is either parchment or paper (on the employment of the latter see Steinschneider, *Handschriftenkunde*, p. 18 f., and cf. art. WRITING). The size is very frequently quarto; in ancient times folio is commoner than octavo. Almost all codices have vowels and accents. The omission of the double point *soph pasuk* at the end of the verse is rare (four codd. at Tzufutkale, and cod. Brit. Mus. Orient. 4445; see Ginsburg, *Introd.* p. 473); still rarer is the placing of only a single point (cod. Tzufut. 102).—Most MSS contain also *mas(s)ora, i.e.* observations on the number of times that particular words and word-forms occur: *mas(s)ora parva* (*Kĕrê* and *Kĕthîbh*; the indication of the number of occurrences of a word or word-form, *e.g.* ב=twice, קלו= 134 times) on the side margins; *mas(s)ora magna* (detailed lists with citation of passages) on the top and bottom margins; *mas(s)ora finalis*; some MSS have Mas(s)oretic material also at the beginning. The extent of these observations was regulated by the space available, the inclination of the copyist, and the remuneration offered by the man who ordered the copy. Some copyists wrote part of the *mas(s)ora magna* in figures (animals, leaves, etc.) formed by elaborate flourishes, so that the reading is at times a matter of no little difficulty. Such embellishments have also proved not infrequently detrimental to the accuracy of the copy

Highly valuable, but unfortunately found only in a portion of the MSS, are the epigraphs, especially when these give the date, the country, and the name of the scribe.—The punctuation and the *mas(s)ora* are frequently not from the hand of the writer of the consonantal text, but have been added by one or two other scribes. The punctuator is called נַקְדָן.

C. A scientific examination and collating of all ancient or otherwise important MSS of the OT has not as yet been undertaken. Collections of various readings are given by Sal. Norzi, J. H. Michaelis, and B. Kennicott (see above, i. D), J. B. de Rossi (below, J), S. Baer (i. G), and Ch. D. Ginsburg (i. E). Some of the most important MSS are—

(*a*) Codex of the Former and the Latter Prophets, written by Moses ben Asher 827 years after the destruction of the temple, *i.e.* A.D. 895, now in the Karaite synagogue at Cairo. See M. Weissmann in the Heb. weekly *Hamaggid* i. (1857), Nos. 47, 48, 50, ii. 16; Jacob Sappir, אבן ספיר, Lyck, 1866, fol. 14; on the other side Ad. Neubauer in *Studia Biblica*, iii. (Oxford, 1891) pp. 25–27.—(*b*) Bible written by שלמה בן בוּיאעא; the vowel points, the accents, and the *mas(s)ora* are added, according to an epigraph, by Aaron ben Asher. It is now in the possession of the Jewish community at Aleppo. See Sappir, fol. 12, 13, 17–20; Strack, *Prolegomena*, pp. 44–46, and in Baer-Strack, *Die Dikduke ha-ṭ^eamim des Ahron ben Moscheh ben Ascher*, Leipzig, 1879, pp. ix–xiv. W. Wickes (*Treatise on the accentuation of the twenty-one so-called prose-books of the OT*, Oxford, 1887, p. ix) contends that this epigraph 'is a fabrication, merely introduced to enhance the value' of the codex. The present writer is still doubtful whether Wickes is right. Ginsburg (*Introd.* p. 242) does not call in question the credibility of the epigraph.—(*c*) St. Petersburg Bible written at Cairo in the year 1009 by Samuel ben Jacob, who declares that he copied the codex of Aaron ben Asher. See Harkavy-Strack, *Catalogue*, pp. 263–274. Wickes (*l.c.*) says, indeed, that the codex 'is much younger,' but the present writer feels certain that he is wrong. Ginsburg, too, believes in the trustworthiness of the epigraphs.—(*d*) *Prophetarum posteriorum codex Babylonicus Petropolitanus* [B3], edidit H. L. Strack, Leipzig, 1876 (449 and 37 pp.), fol. max., written A.D. 916. Regarding the readings of this MS see Ginsburg, *Introd.* pp. 215–230, 439–441, 475 f.

D. The *age* of many MSS is much controverted. Cod. Brit. Mus. Add. 4708 (Latter Prophets) was assigned by the late Dr. M. Margoliouth to the 6th cent.; Mor. Heidenheim judged that it might have been written between the 6th and the 8th cent.; B. Kennicott (cod. 126) ascribed it to the beginning of the 15th century. Ginsburg says: 'The writing is such as we meet with in the Sephardic codices of the 12th and 13th centuries,' and, so far as the present writer can judge without having examined the MS for himself, Ginsburg is right. ‖ The Bible Cambridge 12 bears the date '7 Adar, 616,' *i.e.* 18th Feb. 856 A.D. We wonder that so sagacious and learned a scholar as the late S. M. Schiller-Szinessy accepted this date as correct (see his *Catalogue*, p. 13). Cf. L. Zunz, *Zur Gesch. u. Literatur*, Berlin, 1845, p. 214 f.; Ad. Neubauer in *Studia Biblica*, iii. pp. 27–36.

The number of unquestionably genuine ancient epigraphs in Bible MS is not large. At Tzufutkale the present writer in 1874 noted the following, which emanate from the writers of the MSS themselves: 922 A.D. = 1234 Seleuc., cod. 34, Moses ben Naphtali, known as a contemporary of Aaron ben Asher; 930 A.D. = 1241 Seleuc., cod. 35/36, Salomo ben בוּיאעא, *mas(s)ora* written by Ephraim ben בוּיאעא; 943 A.D. = 4703 of the Creation, cod. 39, Isaak ben Jochai; 952 A.D. = 4712 of the Creation, cod. 40, Joseph ben Daniel; 961 A.D. = 4721 of the Creation, cod. 41; 989 A.D. = 1300 Seleuc., cod. 43, Joseph ben Jacob; 994 A.D. = 4754 of the Creation, cod. 44, Moses ben Hillel; 1051 A.D. = 4811 of the Creation, cod. 11, Moses (?) ben Anan.—Unfortunately, the Karaite Abraham Firkowitsch (both in his first collections and in the latest just mentioned, which since 1875 has likewise been in St. Petersburg) either himself wrote entirely a great many epigraphs, or falsified them by altering dates and names. For instance, in cod. Tzufut. 11 he changed 4811 of the Creation into 4411 = 651 A.D.!

Much fresh information is to be hoped for from the treasures of the Genizah of Old Cairo brought by S. Schechter to Cambridge; see the description of the Genizah by E. N. Adler in the *JQR*, 1897, p. 669 ff.

E. Why is the number of ancient MSS of the Heb. OT so small? Why have we no MSS as old as those of the NT, the LXX, and the Peshiṭta? The reasons are: (1) Not a few Bible MSS, especially Pentateuch rolls, were destroyed by fanatical Christians during the persecutions of the Jews in the Middle Ages, particularly in the time of the Crusades. (2) A much larger number, however, of MSS were destroyed by the Jews themselves by means of the *genizah* (גְּנִיזָה). Already the Talmud (*Megilla*, 26*b*) tells of how a worm-eaten Pentateuch roll is buried beside the corpse of a sage; cf. *Shulḥan 'Arukh*, *Joreh De'ah*, 282, § 10. This custom was later extended to all Heb. MSS of Biblical and non-Biblical texts, frequently, indeed, with the modification that a room, generally a cellar, in the synagogue was devoted to their concealment. To the dryness of the Egyptian climate we owe the abundance of the material which, as was mentioned above, has been found in the synagogue of Old Cairo. But it was not only such MSS as had been damaged by the tooth of time, by fire, by water, or by constant use, that were deposited in the *genizah*; further, all Torah rolls that contained more than three mistakes in a column had to be concealed (see Talm. *Menaḥoth*, 29*b*; *Shulḥan 'Arukh*, *Joreh De'ah*, 279). This rule partly explains how the MSS that have come down to us represent in the main one and the same text. Codices which deviated from the text of the recognized *naḳdānîm* and the mas(s)oretic principles were considered 'incorrect,' and were consigned to the *genizah*. A very notable instance of this is the codex of 916 A.D. found by Abr. Firkowitsch (cf. A. Firk., אבני זכרון, Wilna, 1872, p. 12, No. 29). Hence the present writer is unable to adopt the view of J. Olshausen, P. de Lagarde, and most moderns, that all Heb. MSS go back to a single standard copy (cf. also his discussion in G. A. Kohut's *Semitic Studies*, Berlin, 1897, pp. 563–571).

F. Literature.—In general: Wolf, *Biblioth. Heb.* ii. 281–332, iv. 78–98; ‖ O. G. Tychsen, *Tentamen de variis codicum Heb. generibus*, Rostock, 1772; *Befreyetes Tentamen*, 1774; ‖ J. G. Eichhorn, *Einleit. in das AT*[4], ii. 456–584, Göttingen, 1823; ‖ H. L. Strack, *Prolegomena critica in VT Heb.*, Leipzig, 1873, pp. 9–58 [this book has been long out of print; the author hopes to write a new work on the subject]; 'Die biblischen und die massoret. Handschriften zu Tschufut-Kale in der Krim' in *Ztschr. f. luther. Theologie*, 1875, pp. 587–624; ‖ M. Steinschneider, *Vorlesungen über die Kunde hebräischer Handschriften, deren Sammlungen und Verzeichnisse*, Leipzig, 1897 (110 pp.); ‖ Ad. Neubauer, 'The Introduction of the square characters in Biblical MSS, and an account of the earliest MSS of the OT' in *Studia Biblica et Eccles.* iii. (Oxford, 1891) pp. 1–36.

G. On rules for the writing of rolls destined for synagogue use: Joel Müller, *Masechet Soferim* [מַסֶּכֶת סוֹפְרִים], *Der talmud. Tractat der Schreiber, eine Einleit. in das Studium der altheb. Graphik, der Masora und der altjüd. Liturgie*, Leipzig, 1878; ‖ J. G. Chr. Adler, *Judæorum codicis sacri rite scribendi leges*, Hamburg, 1779 [chs. i.–v. of סֵפֶר תּוֹרָה]; ‖ Raph. Kirchheim,

Septem libri Talmudici parvi Hierosolymitani, Frankfurt a. M., 1851, pp. 1–11 'Ṣepher torah'; Moses Maimonides, *Hilkhoth tephillin umezuzah wesepher torah* [separate impression of chs. vii.–x. in Jac. Henr. van Bashuysen, *Observationes sacræ*, Frankfurt, 1708]; ‖ Leop. Löw, *Graphische Requisiten und Erzeugnisse bei den Juden*, 2 vols., Leipzig, 1870–71; ‖ Salomo Ganzfried, *Dine kethibath ṣepher torah*, etc., Ungvar, 1860; ‖ A. G. Waehner, *Antiquitates Ebræorum*, i., Göttingen, 1743, pp. 187–208.

H. Catalogues of important collections of MSS.—Berlin: M. Steinschneider, *Das Verzeichniss der heb. Handschriften*, 1878 (149 pp.) and 1897 (172 pp.), 4°. ‖ Cambridge: S. M. Schiller-Szinessy, *Catalogue of the Heb. MSS preserved in the University Library*, i. 1876 (248 pp.). ‖ Florence: A. M. Biscioni, *Bibliothecæ Ebraicæ Græcæ Florentinæ . . . Catalogus*, 1757. ‖ London, British Museum: Ginsburg, *Introduction*, pp. 469–728 [describes 49 MSS collated for his edition of the OT]; R. Hoerning, *Description and Collation of six Karaite MSS of portions of the Heb. Bible in Arabic characters*, London, 1889 (68 pp. and 42 facsimiles). ‖ Oxford: Ad. Neubauer, *Catalogue of the Heb. MSS in the Bodleian Library*, Oxford, 1886 (1168 cols. and 40 facsimiles). An Appendix by Ad. Neubauer and A. E. Cowley is in the press. ‖ Parma: *MSS codices hebraici biblioth. J. B. de Rossi*, Parma, 1803, 3 vols. ‖ St. Petersburg: A. Harkavy und H. L. Strack, *Catalog der heb. Bibelhandschriften der kaiserl. öffentl. Bibliothek zu St. Petersburg*, Leipzig, 1875 (296 pp.). ‖ Rome: *Bibliothecæ Apostolicæ Vaticanæ codicum manu scriptorum Catalogus . . .* Steph. Evod. Assemanus et Jos. Sim. Assemanus . . . recensuerunt, vol. i., Rom, 1756, fol. (Heb. and Sam. MSS). ‖ Turin: B. Peyron, *Codices hebraici . . . in Taurinensi Athenæo*, 1880. ‖ Vienna: A. Krafft und S. Deutsch, *Die handschriftl. heb. Werke der K. K. Hofbibliothek zu Wien*, 1847, 4°.

J. On the MSS collated for Kennicott's work (above, i. D): *Dissertatio generalis in VT Heb. . . . auctore B. Kennicott.* Recudi curavit et notas adiecit P. J. Bruns, Brunswick, 1783 (596 pp.). ‖ J. B. de Rossi, *Variæ lectiones Vet. Test.*, Parma, 1784–88, 4°, and *Scholia critica in VT libros*, 1798, 4° [describes not only his own MSS, but all the codd. used by or for Kennicott which he had been able to see for himself].

K. Facsimiles of Bible MSS: The Palæographical Society's *Facsimiles of ancient MSS* (Orient. series), ed. W. Wright, London, pt. iii. plate 40: Brit. Mus. Harley 5720, Former and Latter Prophets, 2 K 19^{22-35} ('seems to be of the 12th cent.'); plate 41: Cambridge Univ. 25, Hagiographa with Targum, Dn 1^{1-4}, Jan. 1347 A.D.; pt. iv. (1879) plate 54: Brit. Mus. Orient. 1467, Pent. and Targ. Onk. with the supralinear vowel signs, Nu 22^{41}–23^{15} ('written in Babylonia or Persia, about the 12th cent.'). ‖ Ad. Neubauer, *Facsimiles of Heb. MSS in the Bodleian Library*, Oxford, 1886, plate 1, cat. 64: Dt 9^{5-7}, with supralinear vowel signs and accents; plate 8, cat. 2322: Gn 1^{1-26}, Span. square character, 1476 A.D.; plate 14, cat. 20: Ex 18^{25}–19^{9}, German, 1340 A.D.; plate 21, cat. 1144: beginning of the book of Jonah, followed by a Gr. tr., before 1263 A.D.; plate 31, cat. 2328: 2 S 22^{2-11}, Yemen, 1561 A.D.; plate 38, cat. 2484: Pr 4^{14-53}, Yemen, with the simplified supralinear punctuation; plate 39: Mal 1^{1}–2^{13}, unknown characters, from a MS in private possession in Kertsch (see A. Harkavy, *Neuaufgefundene heb. Bibelhandschriften*, St. Petersb. und Leipzig, 1884 [48 pp. and 5 facsim.]). ‖ Ch. D. Ginsburg, *A series of fifteen facsimiles from MS pages of the Heb. Bible, with a letterpress description*, London, 1897, fol. max. [13 of these MSS are in the Brit. Mus., 1 is in the possession of the Earl of Leicester, 1 is cod. Petropol. 916 A.D.]. ‖ B. Stade (*GVI*) gives facsim. of: cod. Petropol. 916 A.D.; cod. Karlsruhe 1 [Kennicott 154], Former and Latter Prophets with Targum, once in the possession of Reuchlin, 1 S 30^{26-31}; Erfurt Bible, now Berlin Orient. fol. 1213, Is 11^{26}; Hagiographa, with the simplified supralinear punctuation, Yemen, Berlin Orient. Quarto 680, Ps 101^{4}–102^{11}. ‖ W. Wickes (*Accentuation of the Prose books*) gives as frontispiece a photograph (reduced scale) of a page of the Aleppo codex, Gn 26^{34}–27^{30}. ‖ Ad. Neubauer in *Studia Biblica et Eccles.* iii. gives facsimile of cod. Cairo A.D. 897 and cod. Cambridge 12 (see above, D). ‖ On other facsimiles (mostly from non-Biblical MSS) see M. Steinschneider, 'Zur Literatur der heb. Palæographie' in *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, 1887, pp. 155–165.

L. On A. Firkowitsch: H. L. Strack, *A. Firk. und seine Entdeckungen*, Leipzig, 1876 (44 pp.); *ZDMG*, 1880, pp. 163–168; *Lit. Centralbl.* 1883, No. 25, cols. 878–880. ‖ A. Harkavy, *Altjüd. Denkmäler aus der Krim*, St. Petersburg, 1876 (288 pp.), 4°.

iii. THE WORK OF THE MA(S)SORETES.—Whence comes the text of our extant MSS? In all essentials, of course, from older MSS. But there is no doubt that *all* copyists meant to work עַל־פִּי הַמָּסֹרֶת, *i.e.* according to the traditions which had been handed down to them as to the writing and reading of the sacred texts.

A. First of all, as to the word מסרת. It is the custom now in many quarters to write מָסֹרֶת (cf. בָּצֹרֶת, נָבֹרֶת), and to derive from the post-Biblical verb מסר 'hand down.' The older form of writing it, however, is מָסֹרֶת. This word is taken from Ezk 20^{37} (where it signifies 'binding', from the root אסר), but in post-Biblical usage it assumed quite a different sense (as אותות of Is 41^{23} 45^{11} means in New Heb. not 'coming things' but 'letters'). מסרת in New Heb. means primarily 'tradition,' *e.g.* Mishna, *Sheḳalim*, vi. 1; hence the derivation from מָסַר (*Aboth*, i. 1) might be *per se* admissible, and even the pronunciation מְסֹרֶת, but the oldest witnesses, as has been said, are in favour of מָסֹרֶת. In the next place, מסרת stands for the tradition relating to the interpretation of Scripture. R. 'Aḳiba says (*Aboth*, iii. 13), 'Masoreth is a fence to Torah,' *i.e.* the prescriptions of the oral Law make transgression of the written Law difficult. Further, however, the word *Māsōreth* was applied to the tradition relating to the Bible text, and those who busied themselves with this tradition were called בַּעֲלֵי הַמָּסֹרֶת, or *Ma(s)soretes*.

B. The 24 books of the OT were considered, at all events as early as the 1st cent. of the Christian era, as holy (see Jos. *c. Apion.* i. 8 [cf. *PRE*[2] vii. 427 f. = [3] ix. 751 f.]). It was an object to preserve the text of these books, in particular and above all that of the Pentateuch, and its traditional understanding for coming generations. This was accomplished first by *attention to the consonantal text.*

(*a*) Conscientious care on the part of the copyists was ensured by numerous rules about the writing out of Bible codices, especially of synagogue rolls (cf. above, ii. G).

(*b*) They *counted* the verses and the words of each of the 24 books and of many sections; they reckoned which was the middle verse and the middle word of each book; nay, they counted the letters both of particular sections and even of whole books. The Talmud, *Kiddushin*, 30*a*, says: 'The ancients were called Sopherim because they counted [ספר 'to count'] all the letters in the Torah. They said: Waw in נחון Lv 11^{42} is the middle letter in the Torah; דרש דרש Lv 10^{16} is the middle word; והתנלה Lv 13^{33} is the middle verse; 'Ayin in מיער Ps 80^{14} is the middle letter in the Psalms, and והוא רחום Ps 78^{38} is the middle verse.' R. Joseph asked: 'To which side does *waw* in 'gahôn' belong? Answer: Let us bring a Torah, and I will count. Surely, Rabba bar bar Ḥanna has said that they did not go away until they had brought a Torah and counted' (cf. Morinus, *Exercitationes biblicæ*, Paris, 1669, p. 442). They counted also the frequency of the occurrence of words, phrases, or forms, both in the whole Bible and in parts of it. *Shabbath*, 49*b*: 'As the sages sat together, the question was raised, To what do the 39 principal works that are forbidden on the Sabbath day correspond? Ḥanina b. Ḥama said: To the [39] works at the building of the tabernacle; Jonathan b. Eleazar said in name of Simeon b. Jose: They correspond to the 39 occurrences of the word מלאכה in the Torah. Then Rab Joseph asked, Does Gn 39^{11} belong to the number or not? Abaji replied, Let him bring a Lawbook and count.'

(*c*) They collected *notabilia* into groups, and thus not only helped the recollection of these, but also facilitated the control of the MSS. For instance, 8 words written with final *waw* are read with *he* (cod. 916 A.D., Jer 2^{24}); 14 words written with final *he* are read with *waw* (cod. 916 A.D., Ezk 37^{22}). There is a great fondness for anything alphabetical; *e.g.* we have an alphabetical list of words which occur only twice in the OT—once with and once without *waw* at the beginning: אֶבְלָה 1 S 1^{9} and וְאֶבְלָה Gn 27^{19} etc. (cod. 916 A.D., Jer 10^{19}).

(*d*) The *scriptio plena* and *scriptio defectiva* and other peculiarities of the traditional text were very often noted in the Haggādā (esp. in the Midrashim), and not seldom also in the Halākhā. These notes serve on the one hand as a proof that the form of writing remarked on was actually received from tradition; and on the other hand they helped to ensure that this particular form was retained in

the Bible codices. For instance, in Gn 23[16] the name *Ephron* is written the first time עפרון (*plene*) and the second time עפרן (*defective*). On this the midrash Gen. rabba 58 remarks: 'Pr 28[22] "He that hath an evil eye hasteth to be rich, and considereth not that poverty shall come upon him"; that is Ephron who wished to get possession of the riches of the just one, but afterwards he came into poverty.' In Hag 1[8] *Kĕthîbh* has אכבר, *Ḳĕrê* אכברה. Talmud, *Yoma*, 21*b* asks: 'Why is ה not written? Answer: Because five [ה as numerical sign = 5] things which were present in the first temple were wanting in the second, the ark of the covenant with *kappôreth* and cherubim, the holy fire, the Divine gracious presence (Shekinah), the Holy Spirit, and the Urim and Thummim.'

C. By means of the invention of *punctuation* (vowel signs and accents) between the 6th and 8th cent. it was sought to ensure the preservation of the traditional pronunciation; perhaps there was also the intention of lightening the task of learners of the language. Unfortunately, we are without precise details as to the history of this invention; the only point that is practically certain is that Syriac influence must be assumed. (In Syr. a point above the letter indicates the fuller, stronger pronunciation; a point under it the finer, weaker vocalization or even the absence of a vowel). Attention to these signs involved a large addition to the studies of the later Ma(s)soretes. For instance, 18 words beginning with *lamed* occur twice—in the one instance with *shĕwa* (or *ḥireḳ* with following *shĕwa*), in the other with *pathaḥ* (cod. 916 A.D., Is 8[20]); alphabet of words ending in ך which occur once (cod. 916 A.D., Is 34[12]).

D. Two systems of punctuation are completely known to us: (*a*) that employed in most MSS and in all printed editions, the so-called Tiberian, named from the city of Tiberias, where the study of the Ma(s)sora flourished for centuries. This system has special accents for the three books, Psalms, Proverbs, and Job.—(*b*) the supralinear punctuation, so named because all the vowel signs are placed over the consonants; it was in use, alongside of the Tiberian system, among a portion of the Jews of Babylonia (hence its usual designation, 'Babylonian punctuation') and Yemen (in Yemen till the 18th cent.). The signs for the principal vowels *a*, *u*, *i* are formed from the *matres lectionis* א, ו, י; the disjunctive accents have mostly the form of the letter with which their name begins: *e.g.* זקף = ז *zakeph*, מרחא = מ *ṭarḥa*. The accentual system is certainly dependent upon the Tiberian; the vowel system, too, gives the impression, at least to the present writer, of less originality. The most important MS in which this system is employed is cod. Proph. post. Bab.-Petropol. 916 A.D. — The simple supralinear punctuation system adopted in many later Yemen codices is derived from the complicated system of cod. Petropol. 916 A.D. (G. Margoliouth, it is true, is of the opposite opinion). —(*c*) M. Friedländer describes 'A third system of symbols for the Heb. vowels and accents' in *JQR*, 1895, pp. 564–567. (In two fragments of Bible text found lately in Egypt and acquired by the Bodleian Library; see Neubauer's *Catalogue*, No. 2604, xi., and 2608, i.). Cf. C. Levias in *AJSL* xv. 157–164, and P. Kahle in *ZATW* xxi. (1901) pp. 273–317.

E. As the very name indicates, it was not the aim of the Ma(s)soretes to give anything new, but to preserve for future generations the Bible text exactly as it had come down to them, and this in regard not only to the consonantal text but also to its pronunciation. 'Tendency' of any kind was foreign to them. Instead of הֵילֵל in Is 14[12] we should certainly read הֵילֵל, but the former pronunciation is proved by Aquila and the Peshiṭta to have been in use *before* the punctuation. The name of the well-known Canaanite god can hardly have been *Molekh*, but *Melekh*; but already LXX, Aq., Symm., Theod. have Μόλοχ = MT מֶלֶךְ.

F. The distinction between Ma(s)soretes and punctuators is no absolute one. The Ma(s)sora, as is shown by cod. 916 A.D., was complete before the end of the 9th century. Aaron b. Moses b. Asher, 'the great teacher' (המלמד הגדול), whose activity fell within the first third of the 10th cent., enjoyed already in his lifetime a great reputation, and as early as the year 989 the Bible codex supplied by him with punctuation and Ma(s)sora was regarded as the model codex and as authoritative. This is the judgment, too, of the writer of the St. Petersburg Bible MS B19*a* (1009 A.D.), Moses Maimonides, of David Ḳimḥi and of the later Jews. Aaron ben Asher himself had a rival in Moses b. David b. Naphtali, whose views were different not only regarding many *minutiæ* of punctuation (*daghesh*, *metheg*, accents), but even, at least in some passages, regarding the consonantal text (see Ginsburg, *Introd.* pp. 241–286). In like manner there were not a few differences amongst the older Ma(s)soretes. The tradition about the text was not a uniform one, and it must be acknowledged that there were different schools of Ma(s)soretes. According to the readings of the codices employed as standards must have been the different indications in the Mas(s)oretic rubrics; and S. Baer is not justified when, in the case of two statements that differ, he simply as a rule pronounces one to be wrong and corrects it from the other.

G. The content of the Mas(s)ora was collected into special books or reproduced in Bible MSS. Of those collections the best known is the book which is named from its opening words אֶבְלָה וְאֹכְלָה (ed. Frensdorff, Hanover, 1864); cf. Ginsburg, *Introd.* p. 464. In the MSS the detailed statements of the *Mas(s)ora magna*, varying indeed greatly in extent, according to the inclination or the ability of the scribe, are found on the top and bottom margins, some at the end of a codex or a book, only a few at the beginning. For the fullest collection of such material we are indebted to Ch. D. Ginsburg.

H. Literature.—H. L. Strack, art. 'Massora' in *PRE*[2] ix. pp. 388–394; ‖ W. Bacher, 'A contribution to the history of the term Massorah' in *JQR*, 1891, pp. 785–790; 'Die Massora' in Winter und Wünsche, *Die jüd. Litteratur seit Abschluss des Kanons*, ii. (Trier, 1894) pp. 121–132; ‖ Is. Harris, 'The rise and development of the Massora' in *JQR*, 1889, pp. 128–142, 223–257; ‖ Ginsburg, *Introd.* (above, i. J) *passim*, esp. p. 421 ff.; ‖ Elias Levita, ספר מסורת המסורת, Venice, 1538, 4°; Ch. D. Ginsburg, *The Massoreth ha-massoreth of E. L., with an Eng. tr. and . . . notes*, London, 1867; J. Buxtorf, *Tiberias sive commentarius masorethicus triplex*, Basel, 1665 (1st ed. 1620); ‖ S. Frensdorff, *Massoretisches Wörterbuch*, Hannover, 1876 (20 and 387 pp.), 4°; ‖ Ch. D. Ginsburg, *The Massorah compiled from MSS, alphabetically and lexically arranged*, London, 1880–85, 3 vols. fol. (758, 838, and 383 pp.); ‖ S. Baer und H. L. Strack, *Die Dikduke ha-teamim des Ahron ben Moscheh ben Ascher, und andere alte grammatisch- massorethische Lehrstücke*, Leipzig, 1879 (42 and 95 pp.).

iv. Earlier Traces of the Heb. Text of the OT.—The work of the Ma(s)soretes was ended (see above, iii. F) at the latest in the 9th cent., and lies before us in this form in the St. Petersburg codex of the Latter Prophets, 916 A.D., and in other MSS. What other means have we now of ascertaining what was the form of text in earlier times?

A. On the margins of many codices, sometimes also at the end, there are notices of differences between various authorities, and of readings found in MSS that are now lost. From these notices we gather, for instance, that the Jews of the West (מַעֲרָב), *i.e.* Palestine, differed from those of the East (מְזוֹרָח, כְּדָרָנָא), *i.e.* Babylonia, even in regard to their Bible text. This difference, moreover, con-

cerned not only the Prophets and the Hagiographa, but also the Pentateuch, not only the consonants, but also the punctuation; cf. Ginsburg, *Introd.* pp. 197–240. The Eastern *Madnᵉḥa'ê* were not always at one among themselves; the views of the scholars of Ṣura differed on not a few questions from those of the scholars of Neharde'a. Cf. Strack, 'Ueber verloren gegangene Handschriften des AT' in Geo. Al. Kohut, *Semitic Studies*, Berlin, 1897, pp. 560–572.

B. The quotations in the Talmuds and the oldest Midrashim. The present writer has called attention to the importance of these quotations in his *Prolegomena critica in VT Heb.*, Leipzig, 1873, pp. 59–111, esp. p. 94 ff. A prerequisite, which has not yet been supplied, for such investigations is critical editions of the Jewish literature just named.

C. As to the activity of the *Ṣopherim* (γραμματεῖς), *i.e.* those students of the Law who preceded the Ma(s)soretes, and laboured during the last centuries B.C. and at the beginning of the Christian era, we have, unfortunately, only very scanty information. The principal passage is Talmud, *Nedarim*, 37*b*, 38*a*: 'A law given to Moses on Sinai (*i.e.* a very ancient tradition) is the following: מקרא סופרים, the pronunciation fixed by the *Ṣopherim*, *e.g.* שְׁמַיִם *shamáyim*, accented on the penult; ס׳ עשור, the cancelling [of *waw*] by the *Ṣopherim* before אַחַר Gn 18^5 24^{55}, Nu 31^2, Ps 68^{26}, and before משפטיך Ps 36^7; קרין ולא כתיבן, words read which are not written in the text, *e.g.* פָּרֹת 2 S 8^3, after יִשְׂרָאֵל 2 S 16^{23}, בָּאִים Jer 31^{38}, לָהּ after יהי Jer 50^{29}, אֵת before כָּל־ Ru 2^{11}, אֵלַי Ru $3^{5.17}$; כתיבן ולא קרין, words written but cancelled in reading, *e.g.* נָא after the second יִסְלַח 2 K 5^{18}, את before המצוה Jer 32^{11}, the second ירוד Jer 51^3, the second חָמֵשׁ Ezk 48^{16}, אם Ru 3^{12}.'* This record does not give all the instances: there were many differences as to the presence or the absence of the *waw* conjunctive. There were more words read but not written, and written but not read; see Frensdorff, *Okhlah we'okhlah*, Nos. 97, 98; and Ginsburg, *Massor.* ii. p. 54 f. We learn from the above extract that the *Ṣopherim* were not simply copyists but revisers of the text.—A large part of their work consisted in removing everything which could give offence in any way to pious souls when the sacred texts were used in the course of public worship. Further, the Divine names, especially the Tetragrammaton, had to be protected against irreverent, and above all against frequent, utterance (see §§ v., vi., and Ginsburg, *Introd.* pp. 345–404).

It may be assumed as certain that the results of the common labours of the *Ṣopherim* in Jerusalem were utilized in the Bible codices that were prepared under their superintendence. These codices would then serve as the basis of future copies. When differences were remarked between MSS, especially those kept in the sanctuary, it was the custom to follow the majority; cf. Pal. Talm. *Ta'anith*, iv. fol. 68*a* [according to *Ṣopherim*, vi. 4, Resh Lakish is the author of the record]: 'Three codices of the Pent. were in the court of the temple. In Dt 33^{27} one read מעון, two מעונה; they accepted the text of the two, and rejected that of the one. In Ex 24^5 one read ועטומי, two נערי; they accepted the text of the two, and rejected that of the one. In one codex היא was written nine times, in two eleven times; they accepted the text of the two, and rejected that of the one.' (ועטומי was, according to Talm. *Meg.* 9*a*, one of the alterations made by the seventy-two elders in translating the Pentateuch into Greek. הוא, as is well known, is written in the Pentateuch for both masculine and feminine gender; היא occurs in MT of the Pentateuch only eleven times).

v. The Importance of the Old Versions.—As really old MSS of the Heb. OT are not available (ii. C–E), the ancient Versions have been examined in order to discover the character of the text at a period earlier than that for which the MSS and the Mas(s)ora give their evidence. On these Versions see the separate articles in the present work. Here it may be generally remarked that an exhaustive use of these aids is impossible so long as we are without critical editions. Such editions we do not as yet possess, whether of the LXX, the Targums, the Peshiṭta, or the work of Jerome.

Of all the Versions the most important for our purpose is the Alexandrian, *i.e.* the LXX (see the Literature in Strack's *Einleit. in das AT*, § 87, and art. Septuagint above). Although, as has been just remarked, a critical edition is not yet in existence (for Dr. Swete gives only the text of cod. B with the variants of the oldest uncials), this much can be affirmed with certainty that the Heb. text which was the basis of the Alex. translation frequently differed from the MT. But from the circumstance of this difference it by no means follows that the Heb. text used for the LXX was a better one than the MT. (This assumption is a capital error in the painstaking work of A. W. Streane on Jeremiah). Owing to the variety of translators, a special examination is required for every part of the OT. The LXX is of most use for the recovery of the Heb. text in the books of Samuel, Ezekiel, and partially Kings. For instance, in 1 S 8^{16}, where MT has בחוריכם, LXX has rightly τὰ βουκόλια ὑμῶν, *i.e.* בקריכם. But in many passages the text was corrupt even prior to the LXX: for example, 1 S 6^{19} '50070' and 2 S 15^7 '40.'

The Hebrew exemplars from which the Alexandrian translators worked had, at least in most of the books, the *scriptio continua*, that is, there was no separation of the words: for example, 1 Ch 17^{10} וְאַגֶּד לָךְ appears in LXX as καὶ αὐξήσω σε =וְאַגְדֶּלְךָ; Pr 2^7 הלכי תם, LXX τὴν πορείαν αὐτῶν; 18^3 גַּם בָּא, LXX εἰς βάθος αὐτῶν (cf. Driver, *Notes on Heb. text of Sam.* p. xxx f.; Ginsburg, *Introd.* 158–162).—The *matres lectionis* were less frequently employed than is now the case in the MT (cf. Driver, *l.c.* pp. xxxii–xxxiv; Ginsburg, *l.c.* pp. 137–157.—It is uncertain whether any, or how many, MSS with the old Heb. (Canaanite) script were used by the Alex. translators, and hence whether deviations from the present MT may be explained by interchange of letters which resemble each other in the old form of writing (cf. Ginsburg, *Introd.* pp. 291–296; A. J. Baumgartner, *L'état du texte du livre des Proverbes*, Leipzig, 1890, pp. 272–282).

Of the revising activity of the *Ṣopherim* many traces are to be discovered from the LXX, a circumstance which shows that this activity had commenced long before. Ish-baal the son of Saul is called in the LXX Ἰεσβόσθε, as in MT אישׁ־בשׁת (see vol. ii. 501 f.). The most of the emendations of the *Ṣopherim* (תקון סופרים) are found also in the LXX, *e.g.* Jer 2^{11} כבודו τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ for כבודי; but in two passages at least the ancient text is preserved: 1 S 3^{13} מקללים להם, LXX κακολογοῦντες θεόν, *i.e.* מ׳ אלהים, and Job 7^{20} עָלָי, LXX ἐπὶ σοί, *i.e.* עָלֶיךָ.

vi. Observations on the History of the Text of the OT.—What means have we of getting back to still earlier times?

A. Comparison of parallel passages. *Historical.*

* It is worth while to remark that at least two of these examples give the Eastern readings, namely, Ru 2^{11} את before כל read but not written, and Jer 32^{11} ואת before המצות written but not read.

Gn 5, etc. and 1 Ch 1; 2 S 23[8ff.] and 1 Ch 11; Sam., Kings *passim*, and Chron.; 2 K 18[13]–20[19] and Is 36–39; 2 K 24[18]–25[30] and Jer 52. *Legislative:* Ex 20 and Dt 5 (the Decalogue); Lv 11[2ff.] = Dt 14[4ff.]. *Poetical:* 2 S 22 = Ps 18; Ps 105. 96. 106 and 1 Ch 16[8ff.]; Ps 14 and 53; Ps 40[13ff.] and 70[1ff.]; Ps 57[7ff.] and 108[1ff.]; Ps 60[5ff.] and 108[6ff.]. *Prophetical:* Is 2[2-4] and Mic 4[1-3]; Ob [1-9] and Jer 49[7ff.]. Some of the differences which show themselves between parallel passages may be explained by the assumption that they are due to an intention on the part of a later author or redactor (even if this intention was based on nothing more than the principle of *variatio delectat*). To intention, for instance, must be ascribed the deviations of the Deuteronomic Decalogue from Ex 20. Intention, too, explains the diversity of construction of the word אֱלֹהִים 'God,' which is plur. in Ex 32[4. 8] (הָלְכוּ) but sing. in Neh 9[18] (הָעָלָה), and so 2 S 7[23] הָלְכוּ, but 1 Ch 17[21] הָלַךְ. It is very remarkable that the revising activity of the *Ṣopherim* is less manifest in Chronicles than in the books that were earlier accepted as canonical. One of David's sons is called in 2 S 5[16] אֱלִידָע, LXX Ἐλιαδέ, but in 1 Ch 14[7] בְּעַלְיָדָע the original form of the name has been preserved (cf. אִישׁ־בֹּשֶׁת of 2 S 2[8] *al.* with אִשְׁבַּעַל of 1 Ch 8[33] *al.*).—In many instances, however, we must assume an error in the tradition: Gn 10[3. 4] *R*iphath and *D*odanim, 1 Ch 1 *D*iphath and *R*odanim; 1 K 5[6] [Eng. 4[26]] '40,000,' but 2 Ch 9[25] '4000'; 1 K 7[26] '2000,' but 2 Ch 4[5] '3000'; 1 K 7[24] 'knops' (*pĕḳā'îm*), but 2 Ch 4[3] 'oxen' (*bĕḳārîm*). Both texts cannot be correct; the one or the other rests upon a mistake. Possible sources of error are: freaks of the eye or (in cases of dictation) the ear, wandering of the memory (*e.g.* the putting down of a synonymous word, cf. 2 S 22[7] אקרא and Ps 18 אשוע), false interpretation of abbreviations, or, conversely, failure to recognize the abbreviated form of words. All these sources of change and of error were of course at work also in those passages where, on account of the non-existence of a parallel passage, we cannot so readily recognize them.

B. Carrying the Heb. text, as it presently exists in the so-called square script, back to the ancient Heb. form of writing. It is natural to assume that, in connexion with the change of written characters, errors must have slipped in, whose discovery may be facilitated by restoring the old script. The art. ALPHABET (vol. i. p. 70 ff.) can now be supplemented and improved with the help of the admirable work of M. Lidzbarski, *Handbuch des nordsemitischen Epigraphik*, Weimar, 1898 (pp. 173–203, 'Die Schrift der nordsem. Inschriften').

C. We have seen that the text of the OT books has undergone not a few changes since their composition. We must be careful, however, not to exaggerate the importance of these changes. The circumstance that we are still in a position to analyze, in the main with perfect confidence, most sections of the Pentateuch, *i.e.* to separate from one another the sources from which these sections have been composed, is a convincing proof that even the sum of all the changes in question has been far smaller than one might be disposed to think, and far smaller than critics like Aug. Klostermann have held it to be.

vii. LITERATURE.—F. Buhl, *Kanon und Text des AT*, Leipzig, 1881 [Eng. tr. Edinburgh, T. & T. Clark], §§ 23–99; F. G. Kenyon, *Our Bible and the ancient MSS, being a history of the text and its translations*[2], London, 1896; T. H. Weir, *A short history of the Heb. text of the OT*, London, 1899 [both the last two works are of a popular character]; A. Loisy, *Hist. critique du texte et des versions de la Bible*, 2 vols., Paris, 1892. 95; A. Dillmann and F. Buhl, 'Bibeltext des AT' in *PRE*[3] ii. 713–728; the OT *Introductions* of Eichhorn, Ed. König, H. L. Strack.

HERMANN L. STRACK.

TEXT OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.—

i. Introduction: Uncertainty about the Text of the Greek Testament.
ii. Materials for restoration of the text.
1. Manuscripts.
2. Versions.
3. Quotations.
4. Number of Variations increased by the new materials.
5. Rules of Textual Criticism.
Literature and Addenda.

[In this article '*Introd.*' or '*Introduction*' stands for Nestle's *Introd. to the Gr. NT.*, 1901].

i. INTRODUCTION: UNCERTAINTY ABOUT THE TEXT OF THE GREEK TESTAMENT.—For the general reader, as a rule, no question exists about the text of the book which he is reading. The copy in his hand is for him the work of the author. It is only under special circumstances that the question arises how far we may rely upon the text in our hands. Especially since the invention of the printing-press such circumstances have become much more rare, but they are far from having disappeared altogether. It may suffice to recall the obscurity in which the works of Shakespeare and the early editions of them are enveloped, or questions like that as to the origin of some Rubrics in the Prayer-Book.* But in the case of works composed at a time when their multiplication was possible only by means of copying, it requires little thought and experience to bring home this point with full force. It presses upon the mind with increased weight in the case of the NT, which was or is no 'book' at all, properly speaking, but a collection of writings, a great many of which were at the outset not destined for publication and multiplication. When St. Paul wrote his first letter to the Thessalonians he did not write it with the intention that it should or might be published afterwards, and consequently did not give it the form appropriate to such an object. Neither had he—or she, perhaps a poor slave or an old woman—who first copied it the intention of copying it for publication. Hence parts may have already been omitted which did not appear of importance, *e.g.* the address, or the date and subscription; sentences may have been abbreviated or expressions changed. It is similar with the Gospels. When the first collection of sayings of Jesus or the first narrative of His deeds was set down in writing, the next who copied it might feel inclined to enlarge it or to change any detail according to the form in which he had heard it, without any bad intention.

In spite of this situation of things, not only readers but even editors of the Greek Testament rested for a long time satisfied in the naïve belief that the next best, *i.e.* worst, text in their hands was *the* text of the NT. When Erasmus finished, on the 1st March 1516, the first edition of the Greek Testament sold in print, he put at the end: *Finis Testamenti totius* AD GRÆCAM VERITATEM *vetustissimorumque Codicum Latinorum fidem ad probatissimorum authorum citationem et*

* A most significant example in German literature has been investigated lately by Prof. Tschackert of Göttingen. What is the original text of the *Confessio Augustana*? It was handed to the emperor Charles v. on the afternoon of the 25th June 1530, in two copies, German and Latin. Both copies have disappeared. The Confession appeared in print as early as Sept. 1530, and two months later there was a semi-official publication of it by its author, Melanchthon; but neither of these gave the original. Therefore Prof. Tschackert examined 35 manuscript copies, all dating from the year 1530, and nine of which once belonged to men who had subscribed the Confession. In an official document like this we expect now that all duplicates shall agree to the very letter. Yet, besides orthographical differences, Prof. Tschackert had to collect hundreds of variants, and the writer of the present article is convinced that the true text has not been restored by him in every case. In one case it concerns a quotation from the NT (Gal 1[8]), where Prof. Tschackert, following his MS N, prints '*der* sei verflucht,' 'let *him* be accursed,' while the present writer believes that the other MSS ARZ give the true reading, '*das* sei verflucht,' *i.e.* 'let *it* be cursed.'

interpretationem ACCURATE *recogniti, opera studioque D. Erasmi Roterodami.* This *ad Græcam veritatem* does not mean only 'the Greek Original' or 'the original Greek' in contradistinction to the Latin translation, but was meant to include the idea of original correctness and integrity. Erasmus was convinced that he had (on the whole) edited *the* original Greek Testament. In like manner, it was no empty boast, but an expression of their full persuasion, when the Elzevir printers put in the preface of their edition of 1633 the words: *textum ergo habes nunc ab omnibus receptum* IN QUO NIHIL IMMUTATUM AUT CORRUPTUM DAMUS. For the following comparison with the faithful representation of ancient monuments and inscriptions shows that they were really persuaded that they had given *the* original text to their readers (*qui, cum lapides ac monumenta antiquorum quidam venerentur ac religiose repræsentent, multo magis chartas has ab origine θεοπνεύστους vindicandas a mutatione ac corruptela iudicamus*). And yet the difference is clear. In the case of an ancient monument and inscription, the original is before our eyes, in our hands; in the case of literary works, we are removed from the original by thousands of years, and are brought into connexion with it only through a series of repeated copyings; and every fresh copy—perhaps even the first—was a source of errors, *even when the copyists took all possible pains to be correct.* We have already pointed out and accounted for the fact that in the case of the NT there was at first a *period of textual laxity* (cf. Westcott-Hort, §§ 6–14, 'Transmission by writing,' where it is shown how, even when the copyist has the intention of transcribing language (not *sense*), he, by mental action, passing from unconscious to conscious, may come to introduce free modification of language and even rearrangement of materials). A few examples may show to what differences copying gave rise—

What is the name of the tenth apostle in Mt 10[3]?

(*a*) One set of our witnesses gives	Θαδδαῖος.
(*b*) Another,	Λεββαῖος.
(*c*) A third, combining (*a*+*b*),	Θαδδαῖος ὁ ἐπικληθεὶς Λεββαῖος.
(*d*) A fourth (*b*+*a*),	Λεββαῖος ὁ ἐ. Θαδδαῖος.
(*e*) A fifth,	*Judas Zelotes.*
(*f*) A sixth,	*Judas the son of James.*
(*g*) A seventh (=*e*+*b*+*a*),	Ἰούδας ὁ καλούμενος Λεββαῖος ὁ ἐπικληθεὶς Θαδδαῖος.
(*h*) An eighth,	*Thatheus Zelotis.**

Or, what was the clothing of John the Baptist? According to Mk 1[6] 'Camel's hair and a leathern girdle about his loins'? or only 'the skin of a camel' without a girdle (δέρριν καμήλου)? The latter is the reading of D, while the girdle is missing also in several Old Latin MSS.

How does the Apocalypse and the NT conclude? We have—leaving out such minor variations as the addition of 'Amen' or 'Amen, Amen,' or the grace 'of the Lord Jesus,' or 'our Lord Jesus,' or 'the Lord Jesus Christ,' or 'Christ' alone—the variations—

(1) 'With the saints' (RV).
(2) 'With all' (RVm).
(3) 'With *you* all' (AV).
(4) 'With *us* all.'
(5) 'With all the saints.'
(6) 'With all men.' †

* WH adopted (*a*) on the authority of ℵB 17, 124 *c corb* vg me the Hier. *loc.* (apparently), and adduced § 304 among the examples of important or interesting readings, attested by ℵB, but lost from the rest of all extant uncials; Tischendorf, on the contrary, preferred (*b*) on the strength of D 122 *k* Orig. Aug.—and so does Blass now—a reading which is by WH here and in Mk 3[18] declared 'a Western corruption,' these being the only two places where either name occurs. (*e*) is a well-supported 'Old Latin' reading (*a, b, h,* found also in the Roman Chronography of 354, see art. THADDÆUS); (*g*) is found in 243 and the *Apostolic Constitutions*; (*h*) in the Rushworth Gospels, on which see *JThSt*, iii. p. 96.

† The third reading, 'with *you* all,' has no Gr. MS authority at all, but was retranslated by Erasmus from the Latin Vulgate because the only Gr. MS of Revelation which was at his disposal was defective at the end; it has been retained in the Lutheran Version even after its revision, while the RV replaced it by the first (and second). Also the fourth does not seem to have any MS authority, but to be, as Ed. Reuss styled it, *pium correctoris aut typothetæ suspirium* in a Basle edition of 1545, from which it passed over into the edition published in the same year and place by Melanchthon, who mentions, however, ὑμῶν in his Appendix (*Introd.* p. 159 is to be supplemented). With (5) compare the reading of D* (for 3) in He 13[25].

On *internal* grounds it would be quite impossible to decide which is the true reading; how difficult a decision is on the basis of all arguments (witnesses and internal grounds) is shown by the difference between the latest editors.

For more examples it is sufficient to refer to the margins of the AV (Mt 1[11] 'Some read'; 26[26] 'Many Greek copies have'; Lk 10[22] 'Many ancient copies add these words'; 17[36] 'This 36th verse is wanting in most of the Greek copies'; Jn 18[13], Ac 25[6] 'as some copies read'; 1 Co 15[31], Eph 6[12], Ja 2[18], 2 P 2[2. 11], 2 Jn 8); but especially to those of the RV which are crowded with such remarks as 'Some (many) ancient authorities read (insert, omit, etc.)' from Mt 1[18] down to Rev 22[21]. Cases like the Doxology of the Lord's Prayer, the close of the Second Gospel, the *comma Johanneum* (1 Jn 5[7]), will readily occur to the mind of the reader.

It is not possible here to count up all the ways in which errors may originate; every one who has to do with copying and printing has some testimony to bear regarding it. One of the commonest is, for instance, the so-called *homoioteleuton*, by which arise what our printers call 'match' or 'funeral,' whereby a passage is either written twice or totally omitted; the latter being, of course, the more dangerous case. By such an omission in the editions of Erasmus the words χαριν [1]—χαριν [2] (Ja 4[6]) were wanting in the Bibles of Luther till 1568 or even longer. Another equally frequent source of error is the *transposition* of *letters* (especially where *liquidæ* are concerned) or of *words*. In Jn 8[12] six possibilities are represented in the position of the words: 'Jesus spake unto them'—

(1) αὐτοῖς ἐλάλησεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς, ℵB,
(2) αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐλάλησεν, EF,
(3) ἐλάλησεν αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς, D 1, 33,
(4) ἐλάλησεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς αὐτοῖς, Cyril, iv. 484,
(5) ὁ Ἰησοῦς αὐτοῖς ἐλάλησεν, TR,
(6) ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐλάλησεν αὐτοῖς, N[2];

and a seventh, the combination of (1) and (4), is given by N* αὐτοῖς ἐλάλησεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς αὐτοῖς.

A third source is the *addition* of words which the copyist found missing; the subject, for instance, as 'God,' 'the Lord,' 'Jesus.' By such a (wrong) supposition, *e.g.*, the text is explained which ascribes the *Magnificat*, Lk 1, to Mary instead of Elisabeth (see *Introd. ad loc.*).

In view of all the perils to which literary works like the NT have been exposed, it is really astonishing to find how much has been preserved, and, on the whole, how faithfully. And we willingly subscribe to the words of Bengel, placed at the end of *the editio minor* of the 'NT in the original Greek,' which is at present the nearest approach to the goal, that of WH: *Ipsa summa in libris omnibus salva est, ex Dei providentia: sed tamen illam ipsam providentiam non debemus eo allegare, ut a lima quam accuratissima deterreamur.* But also the sequel will still hold good: *Eorum, qui præcessere, neque defectum exagitabimus, neque ad eum nos adstringemus: eorum, qui sequentur, profectum neque postulabimus in præsenti, neque præcludemus in posterum: quælibet ætas pro sua facultate veritatem investigare et amplecti, fidelitatemque in minimis et maximis præstare debet.*

ii. MATERIALS FOR RESTORATION OF THE TEXT. —The means of arriving at the original text, and the rules for the application of these means, are of course the same for the NT as for other literary works of antiquity; only that for the NT we are in a much better situation than for most other works, as, for instance, the Greek and Latin classics, or the OT, owing to the abundance, variety, and comparative excellence of the documents at our disposal. These documents are: *Manuscripts, Versions, Quotations.* The colophon

of the first edition of Erasmus, quoted above, mentions these three classes of documents.

1. *Manuscripts* (cf. WH, §§ 98–106).—The first place in the class of MSS would be held by those of the authors themselves if they were extant—the *autographs*. The possibility of their existence cannot be denied, seeing that we have documents written on papyrus, *i.e.* on the same writing material which was used in NT times, and from regions not far removed from the birthplace of the NT, of twice, almost three times the age which the autographs of the NT would have to-day (see art. WRITING, p. 950[b]). But, as a matter of fact, the NT autographs have been lost. Already Irenæus appeals only to careful and old copies (*ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς σπουδαίοις καὶ ἀρχαίοις ἀντιγράφοις*), and the testimony of those who have themselves seen the author (*καὶ μαρτυρούντων αὐτῶν ἐκείνων τῶν κατ' ὄψιν τὸν Ἰωάννην ἑωρακότων*), and to internal evidence (*καὶ τοῦ λόγου διδάσκοντος ἡμᾶς*).

On the style in which the autographs of the NT may have been written, and the whole question how we have to conceive of them, see *Introd.* p. 29 ff., and art. WRITING, p. 951. Of expressions referring to books and writing we have in the NT: *βίβλος, βιβλίον, βιβλαρίδιον* (only in NT [Rev.], with the variant *βιβλιδάριον*), *μεμβράνας, χάρτη, κάλαμος, μέλαν, γράφειν*, etc.

The hope which Bengel expressed with reference to the much disputed passage 1 Jn 5[7] *etiam atque etiam sperare licet, si non autographum Johanneum at alios vetustissimos græcos . . . in occultis divinæ providentiæ forulis latentes suo tempore productum iri*, has been fulfilled lately in a way that could not have been expected at his time.

Erasmus (1516) had at his disposal for his first edition only one or two MSS, the oldest being of the 10th cent.: Stephen used for his *Regia* (1550), besides the printed edition of Ximenes, two uncials (DL) and 13 cursives. The London Polyglot (1657) was for the first time able to make use of the Codex Alexandrinus. More additions to the stock of witnesses were made by Mill (1707), Bengel (1734), especially Wetstein (1751); but of the two MSS which are now reckoned best, the *Vaticanus* was not yet accessible in a trustworthy form, and the *Sinaiticus* was not yet discovered.

Tischendorf knew in his 7th edition (the last which he fully completed) for the Gospel 52 uncial MSS or fragments of such, at the head of them the codex Sinaiticus, ascribed by him to the middle of the 4th cent.* When Gregory completed the Prolegomena to Tischendorf's *editio octava*, he counted for the Gospels alone about 25 uncials more; and in the most recent work on the subject, Gregory's German revision of the said Prolegomena (*Textkritik des Neuen Testamentes:* Erster Band, 1900), he describes 97, promising the description of 4 more for the appendix. It is similar with the other parts of the NT. And while hitherto very few MSS had been known on *papyrus* (the writing material of Apostolic times), and none earlier than the age of Constantine, now several fragments on papyrus have been found recently, and two at least are assigned to the 3rd cent. (see WRITING, p. 952[a]).

Of *cursive* or *minuscle* MSS (see on them art. WRITING, p. 954[a]) about 3000 are now known, if we include the Lectionaries; and 2000, so it is estimated by Gregory, wait for description and classification. As a whole the cursive MSS are less valuable than the uncials, but several of them are very important, even more than uncials, because the text of a cursive MS, in spite of the recent date of the MS, may be much older than that of an uncial. It is impossible to give here a list either of the uncials or, still less, of the cursives; some of the former have been treated in separate articles, see A, ALEPH, B, C, D, L; we must refer to Tregelles' revision of Horne's *Introduction* (vol. i. 1856), Tischendorf-Gregory, Scrivener-Miller[4], Gregory, i. (see Literature).

* Compare also the table in WH, § 19, showing the late date at which primary MSS have become available.

Special attention is due, though they have not received it hitherto, to the *Lectionaries*, *i.e.* the manuscripts of ecclesiastical lessons taken from the NT (WH, §§ 103, 104; Scrivener, i. 74 ff., 327 ff.; Gregory, *Textkritik*, i. 327 ff.). 'Comparatively few of them have as yet been collated. Some of these have been found to contain readings of sufficient value and interest to encourage further inquiry *in what is as yet an almost unexplored region of textual history*, but not to promise considerable assistance in the recovery of the apostolic text' (WH, *l.c.*). Liturgical books are always conservative, are official books, and can be localized with much more certainty than other MSS of the NT. Gregory is inclined to believe that the order of lessons read on Sundays originated perhaps as early as the first half of the 2nd cent., that for the Saturdays towards the end of the third quarter of this century, and that for the week-days towards the end of the same century (p. 337). In the *Apostolic Constitutions*, ii. 57, it is prescribed that, after the Lessons from the OT, are to be read the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles of Paul, and after this, by the deacon or presbyter, the Gospels of Matthew and John, Luke and Mark. No mention is here made at all of the Catholic Epistles and the Apocalypse. This is exactly the old Canon of the Syriac Church (see SYRIAC VERSIONS, p. 647). The redactor of the *Constitutions* knows, apparently, the First and Second Epistle of Peter, but he does not make use of James, 1–3 John, Jude, and Rev.; for the references to Ja 1[6. 7] and Rev 22[18. 19] (ed. Lag. p. 203, 10. 204, 9) must be changed into *Didache*, ch. 4, Dt 4[2] (see Zahn, *Geschichte des Kanons*, ii. 182 f.). Up to the present day no lessons from Rev. are found in the system of the Greek Church; and there seem to be preserved Lectionaries which even do not contain lessons from the Catholic Epistles either; see *Apost.* 65 (Scriv. = 68 Greg.), a MS in the possession of the Baroness Burdett-Coutts, iii. 25, though it may be only of the 14th cent. (according to Gregory; 12–13th acc. to Scrivener). A MS like this, which has preserved such an old system of lessons, is likely to contain also a text of ancient character. Up to the present, however, these MSS have not been examined on this point.

2. Similarly the second class of our documents has been enriched, namely, the ancient *Versions*.

See WH, §§ 107–122; art. VERSIONS, and the separate artt. ARABIC, vol. i. p. 136; ARMENIAN, *ib.* 153; EGYPTIAN, *ib.* 668; ETHIOPIC, *ib.* 741; LATIN, vol. iii. p. 47; SYRIAC, p. 645; VULGATE, p. 873.

The very first edition of the Gr. Test., the Complutensian Polyglot of Cardinal Ximenes (1514–17), placed side by side with the Greek Text the Latin Vulgate,* and even remodelled the former after the latter in various places (especially 1 Jn 5[7]; see art. SEPTUAGINT, p. 440[a]). On Erasmus see above (p. 732[b]). Beza (1519–1605) made a modest beginning with the use of Oriental Versions, publishing a triglot edition of the NT, 1569 fol., Greek, Latin, and Syriac, the latter edited by Immanuel Tremellius, and using for Acts and 1 and 2 Cor. an Arabic Version, put at his disposal by Franciscus Junius. These versions were presented in a convenient combination by the '*Polyglots*', especially that of Walton, 1657 (Syriac, Ethiopic, Arabic, and, for the Gospels only, Persian). J. Fell (1675) took care to insert in his apparatus the Gothic and the Coptic, as *versiones antiquissimas et a regionibus qua patet orbis maxime distantibus orientes*. But the older of the Egyptian Versions, the Sahidic, was first mentioned in 1778, and edited in 1799;

* On the Gr. MSS used by St. Jerome, see, besides the *Epilogus* of Wordsworth-White (pp. 653–671); E. Mangenot, *Rev. des Sciences Ecclésiastiques* (Jan. 1900); J. H. Bernard, *Hermathena* (xi. No. xxvii. 1901, 335–342).

and of an older Syriac Version, only one, and this a mutilated MS, had been made known by Cureton as late as 1858, till the Syriac-Sinai palimpsest was discovered by Mrs. Lewis and Mrs. Gibson in 1892. F. C. Burkitt is inclined to ascribe the latter MS to the end of the 4th cent.; and there is no doubt that the version contained in it is in some way or other connected with the Diatessaron of Tatian, the pupil of Justin Martyr, *i.e.* a work of the third quarter of the 2nd century.

3. The mention of Justin may lead to our third class of documents, the *Quotations* (cf. WH, §§ 123–126, 'Fathers'). The finds of the last century have greatly enriched this source (cf. Clem. *ad Corinthios*, Barnabas, Hermas, Aristides, *Didache*, etc.); and for those Fathers whose works had been previously known, but only in inadequate editions, trustworthy editions are now everywhere in the course of preparation or publication; cf. the *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, edited by the Academy of Vienna (now more than 40 vols.), and *Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte*, to be published by the Academy of Berlin (up till now 7 volumes, including 3 of Origen).

For illustrations of how untrustworthy the printed editions have hitherto been, partly owing to the fault of the editors, see *Introd.* p. 145 ff., from Origen, Cyril, Cyprian; on Ephraem Syrus see F. C. Burkitt in *Texts and Studies*, vii. 2.

And yet the importance of the quotations is very great. Some of the Christian writings belong to the 1st cent.,* of most of which the date and birthplace are exactly known: thus they help us as landmarks for the fixing of texts handed down in MSS of unknown origin. Especially valuable are those passages in which the Fathers refer to the *manuscripts* in their hands (*ἀντίγραφα, exemplaria, libri*) and their variants, from Irenæus downwards (see above, p. 734[a]), and it is strange that these passages are not yet collected and sifted.

Most welcome will be *Sancti Irenæi Novum Testamentum*, edited by W. Sanday, advertised as in preparation by the Oxford University Press; on Clement of Alexandria see P. M. Barnard (*T. and St.* v. 5, but only for Gospels and Acts); on Tertullian, Rönsch, *Das Neue Testament Tertullians*; see also *Introd.* p. 144 ff. From Augustine alone P. de Lagarde collected 29,540 quotations from the NT, together with 13,276 from the OT (now in the Library of Göttingen [MS Lagarde, 34]); Dean Burgon, with the help of several ladies, filled 16 thick volumes of quotations, which were acquired after his death by the Trustees of the British Museum. See Ed. Miller, *Textual Commentary upon the Holy Gospels*, I. i. pp. xii f., xx ff.

On the other hand, it is clear that all depends on the exactness with which the author has quoted his text. Amongst the earliest quotations we may reckon the use made in the NT itself by one writer of an earlier writing, for instance by Luke and Matthew of Mark, by Jude of 2 Peter, or *vice versa*.

4. *Number of Variations increased by new materials.* — Bewildering as this cloud of witnesses is, still more bewildering is the mass of variants presented by them. Already in the time of Mill the number of variations in the NT was estimated as 30,000. Scrivener reckoned in 1874 at least four times that quantity, Schaff (*Companion*, 1892) stated that now it cannot fall much short of 150,000, *i.e.* more variants than words, or, as the NT consists of 7959 verses, about 20 variants for every single verse. And yet every new document that comes to light increases them. Take so short a letter as that of Jude. The discovery of the codex Sinaiticus alone brought to light 9 readings not recorded before in Tischendorf's 7th ed., among them the addition of *καὶ ζωῆς* after *σωτηρίας* in v.[3], and the substitution of *πᾶσαν ψυχήν* for *πάντας τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς* in v.[15].

The first part of the *Amherst Papyri*, published by Grenfell and Hunt, 1900, supplied the single verse He 1[1] written (along with Gn 1[1]) in a small uncial hand of the late 3rd, or more probably early 4th cent., at the top of a papyrus leaf containing a letter from Rome. It furnishes the reading *τοῖς πατράσιν ἡμῶν* not recorded before. In the same volume was published a single vellum leaf, dating apparently from about the 5th or 6th cent., containing Ac 2[11-22] with lacunæ; it furnished as singular readings v.[12] *πρὸς τὸν ἄλλον*; v.[13] *ἐχλεύαζον λέγοντες*, the latter reading being practically that of D (*διεχλεύαζον λέγοντες*), with which D had stood hitherto alone, instead of *χλευάζοντες* (or *διαχλευάζοντες*) *ἔλεγον*.* Even in the case of documents known from early times a fresh revision will enrich (or correct) the critical apparatus of our present editions. Cf., for instance, the notes of the present writer on cod. D in *ZWTh*, 1895, 157 ff., and the collation of this codex in *NT Gr. Suppl.* p. 66. The reading *παρακαλοῦμεν* (*præs. hist.*) in Ac 21[12], not mentioned by Blass in 1895 (Gött.), has been received by him into his text in 1896 (Lips.). On certain readings of B see *Introd.* p. 289. On 1 P 1[16] Tischendorf states that ℵC have *ὅτι γέγραπται*, in reality they have *διὸ γέγρ.* etc. F. C. Burkitt was the first to make out, in 1899 (*JThSt*, i. 278), that the Old Latin MS *k* read in Mk 15[34] by its first hand *maledixisti*, corroborating thus *ὠνείδισας* of D. In regard to the Gothic translation of Ulfilas, Tischendorf does not mention the very curious reading *managaiṇi*, Jn 7[15]=*turbæ*, for *Ἰουδαῖοι* (see cod. *f*), and the fact that there are various readings on the margins, as *καυχήσωμαι* 1 Co 13[3], *ἀναγινώσκετε* Gal 4[21], *ὑμᾶς* Eph 1[15].

The same holds good of the *Versions* and of the *Fathers*, that a new revision will greatly enlarge or rectify the critical apparatus of our present editions. Cf. Mk 7[7] *τιμᾶ*: *αγαπᾶ* D a b c; yet cf. Clem. of Alexandria, who is older than any of our MSS: *ὁ μὲν γὰρ τοῖς χείλεσιν ἀγαπᾶν λαός* (583); *ἔστι γὰρ καὶ ὁ λαὸς ὁ τοῖς χείλεσιν ἀγαπῶν* (614). The use of *ἀγαπᾶν* is of course a reminiscence of Ps 78[36]; see Clem. *Strom.* iv. 32 (Dind. ii. 334, l. 2, compared with 333, l. 27, where Ps 58[11] is a misprint for '78') *ἀπέχει*: *ἄπεστιν* L 2[pe] Clem. Rom.; but in Clem. *ad Cor.* i. 15 only cod. A has *ἄπεστιν*, cod. H *ἀπέχει*. The reading *ῥακκάν* or *ῥακκάμ* (cod. O) Mt 5[22], in the *Apostolic Constitutions*, ii. 22; *ἀρχαίαν* for *πρώτην* in Lk 15[22], *ib.* ii. 41 (cf. קדמיתא in the Syriac translation of I Clem. *ad Cor.* 47 for *ἀρχαίαν*).

We leave out—for want of space—all variations concerned with the later additions to the text, as headings, summaries, numbering of sections, *stichi*, quotations, miracles, Eusebian sections, notes on the voyages of Paul, noting of church lessons, etc.; though some of these particulars are of great importance for the history of the text, especially for the classification of MSS. Only by way of example we may mention that Tischendorf gives, for the inscription of the Epistle of Jude, eleven, and for its subscription twelve different forms; *for the heading of the Apocalypse their number actually rises to eighteen.* We confine ourselves strictly to the text.

If any of our readers is startled by this mass of variations, though it will no longer cause him dogmatical anxieties and heart-burnings as it did to J. A. Bengel in former times, he may console himself, in the first place, by observing that the variety is not nearly so great as it might have been, and as it actually is in a closely allied department, —that of the *Apocryphal* literature (Gospels, Acts, etc.).

Let us compare the statement of A. C. Headlam, on the Clementine literature (*JThSt*, iii. 48), and simply cast a glance at the very first item in Tischendorf's 2nd ed. of the *Evangelia Apocrypha*, the so-called 'Protevangelium Jacobi.' Take as an example Tisch. 24, where the original text said that 'the chapiters of the temple wailed and *were rent from the top to the bottom*' at the murder of the father of John the Baptist by Herod. One manuscript writes that the priests rent *τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτῶν*, another changes this into *καὶ ἐθρήνησαν θρῆνον μέγαν*.

We have nothing like this in the canonical NT. Even the greatest variations offered by D

* 'There are perhaps as many as a hundred ecclesiastical writers older than the oldest extant codex of the NT; while between A.D. 500 and A.D. 600 (within which limits our five oldest MSS may be considered certainly to fall) there exist about two hundred Fathers more' (Dean Burgon, *Last Twelve Verses of Mark*, p. 21).

* How common such variations are may be seen from Wis 11[14], where the very same example occurs: *ἀπεῖπον χλευάζοντες* ℵAB, *ἀπειπόντες ἐχλεύαζον* C.

(in Luke and Acts, which have been called '*monstra* potius quam variæ lectiones') are tame compared with these. Nevertheless, we should be only too glad to have a thread of Ariadne to guide us through the labyrinth of NT criticism.

5. *Rules of Textual Criticism.*—To meet this want, the *rules* drawn up for literary criticism in general have been applied to the NT in particular. We can only touch on some of them. First of all, that of Bengel: *proclivi scriptioni præstat ardua*, which is commonly quoted in the shorter but less balanced form: *difficilior lectio placet* or *difficilior lectio principatum tenet.* Under this rule falls that of Griesbach: *Brevior lectio præferenda est verbosiori*; also that which Wordsworth-White formulated (in the *Oxford Latin NT*): *Vera lectio ad finem victoriam reportat* [*i.e.* where a phrase occurs several times with variations, that reading is the true one which is attested at the later places: 'sæpe enim scribæ quod primo loco pro mendo habent, secundo pro vero agnoscunt'].* But it is clear that these rules have a very limited application. *Internal* judgment is liable to much error, even if the textual critic has a special gift—and has developed it by practice—of divining what the author is likely to have written (*intrinsic* probability), and what a copyist is likely to have made him seem to have written (*transcriptional* probability).

Of greater importance is the *external* evidence, the MSS, Versions, Quotations. But here again some warnings are necessary. For instance, the rule of Sauppe: '*Do not overrate your Codex*,' that which you may have discovered (as Tischendorf did with ℵ), or in which you are for some reason or other specially interested. Or the rule from the *Ten Commandments for a philologist*—we think they are by the late Professor A. Lehrs of Königsberg—'Thou shalt worship no Codices.' Or the saying: 'Common sense is older than any Codex'; or in Latin: 'Ratio et iudicium centum codicibus potiora.'

How are we to sift and judge the evidence? That it is not allowable to *count* the witnesses is now generally acknowledged; in theory, too, it is acknowledged that we have to distinguish between the *age* of the MS and that of its text; but in practice too great weight is still allowed to the oldest of our MSS. Neither is it sufficient to follow an *eclectic course*,† to decide each case by itself, to stop at the comparison of single readings. This is only the first step; and for this it is sufficient to take the most *significant* variations, *i.e.* (*a*) such as offer a considerable divergence of meaning with a small variation of form, whether it be brought about (*a*) accidentally or (*β*) by purpose; or (*b*) such as offer identity of meaning with great variation of form; or, finally (*c*), additions, omissions, and transpositions.

Such passages are, for instance, for (*a*) from Revelation‡—

1^5 λύσαντι, ℵAC . . .
λούσαντι, QP . . .

8^{13} ἀετοῦ, ℵAQ . . .
ἀγγέλου, P . . .

13^{18} '666,' almost all.
'616,' C 11 (MSS quoted by Irenæus).

22^{14} πλύνοντες τὰς στολὰς αὐτῶν, ℵA . . .
ποιοῦντες τὰς ἐντολὰς αὐτοῦ, Q . . .

But as in Rev. the documents are rare, it is of greater importance to quote from other books—

Mk 6^{20} ἠπόρει, ℵBL.
ἐποίει, almost all.

Lk 3^{32} Ἰωβήλ, ℵ*BD*(ωβηλ).
Ἰωβήδ, the rest.

1 Co 13^3 καυχήσωμαι, ℵAB 17.*
καυθήσομαι (-ω-), the rest.

He 2^9 χάριτι, almost all.
χωρίς, M 67^b, mentioned by Origen.

1 Ti 4^{10} ἀγωνιζόμεθα, ℵ*AC.
ὀνειδιζόμεθα, ℵ³DL.

1 P 1^{23} σπορᾶς, BKL.
φθορᾶς, ℵAC.

2 P 2^{13} ἀδικούμενοι, ℵ*BP.
κομιούμενοι, ℵ²AC . . .

,, ἀπάταις, ℵA*C.
ἀγάπαις, A³B.

Jude 12 ἀγάπαις, ℵBKL.
ἀπάταις AC.†

,, 22. 23 οὓς μὲν ἐλεᾶτε . . . οὓς δὲ ἐλεᾶτε, ℵB (with minor variations).
οὓς δὲ ἐλέγχετε . . . οὓς δὲ ἐλεατε, A.‡

(*b*) Of the second class compare—

Mk 3^5 πωρώσει, almost all.
νεκρώσει, D, old lat. syr^{sin}.

* Cf. further: '*id verius, quod prius*,' called by Dean Burgon an axiom which holds every bit as true in Textual Criticism as in Dogmatic Truth (*Last Verses*, 76).

† How dangerous an eclectic course is may be seen from the latest recension of the NT, that of B. Weiss, who reads in Lk 5^2 πλοιάρια δύο (diminutive, and δύο as second word), a reading which none of our witnesses offers—

ℵD . . . δύο πλοῖα.
B . . . πλοῖα δύο.
AC* . . . δύο πλοιάρια.

‡ In the first line is put the reading adopted in the text by WH. Only a selection of the witnesses is given, chiefly uncial MSS.

* WH adduce for this reading also Clement of Alexandria, 614: ἔστι γὰρ καὶ ὁ λαὸς ὁ τοῖς χείλεσιν ἀγαπῶν (see above, p. 735), ἔστι καὶ ἄλλος παραδιδοὺς τὸ σῶμα, ἵνα καυχήσηται, '*for so the parallelism to* τοῖς χείλεσιν *makes it necessary to read; the only extant MS has* καυθήσεται.' As the passage is of primary importance, the present writer consulted the future editor of the works of Clement (for the Berlin edition), Dr. Stählin, who does not think this change justified, pointing to the preceding φόβῳ δέ, which refers to a violent martyrdom. We may refer further to Clement, 588 ff., where Clement, after several references to 1 Co 13, mentions examples of heathen who endured the fire (Postumus, Anaxarches), and goes on to say: μένει δὲ ἐλευθέρα κἂν . . . τῷ παμφάγῳ ὑποστίξῃ πυρὶ . . . ταῖς θείαις ἀπαρτωμένη φιλίαις ἀδούλωτος ἄνω περιπολεῖ τὸ σῶμα παραδοῦσα τοῖς τούτου μόνου ἔχεσθαι δυναμένοις. Here there seems to be a reference to 1 Co 13^3 as well as to Mt 10^{28}.

† Here, as in Lk 3^{32}, 1 Co 13^3, the decision of WH seems influenced by their predilection for ℵB. To what is remarked (*Introd.* p. 324 ff.) on these two passages add the following: Whatever view may be taken of the relation of 2 Peter to Jude, it seems clear (1) that the reading must be *the same* in both Epistles, either ἀπάταις or ἀγάπαις; the one Epistle quoting from the other—Peter from Jude, or Jude from Peter. (2) To the present writer, at least, it is clear that ἀπάταις is the true reading. The apparatus of Tischendorf is very misleading, as the translation of Jerome (*convivia* in Peter, *epulæ* in Jude) testifies in both cases for ἀπάταις = diversions, pastimes. Cf. in Jude the reading εὐωχίαις in cod. 66^b; Protev. Jacobi, 6. 1: διεπλάνων αὐτήν; 7. 2 (cod. L): εἰς πλάνην αὐτῆς = pseudo-Matthias 8. 4 *ad solatium*; Sir 14^{16} ἀπάτησον τὴν ψυχήν σου = 'let thy soul fare delicately' (Taylor, Heb. פנק); Syriac 'רנ (lit. = τέρπειν) for διαπλανᾶν in the Protevangelium. Bigg (*Commentary*, 1901, pp. 212, 282, 333) declares ἀγάπαις in both places to be the right reading.

‡ Here WH remark: 'The smooth reading of A, etc., has every appearance of being a correction of the difficult double ἐλεᾶτε of ℵ and B. . . . Some primitive error evidently affects the passage. Perhaps the first ἐλεᾶτε . . . is intrusive.' Cf., on this verse, the elaborate paper by R. A. Falconer in the *Expositor*, Sept. 1901; but note that the *Didache*, or, rather, the still older writing which forms the basis of the first part of the *Didache*, clearly testifies for ἐλέγχετε. In the only extant MS of the *Didache*, it is true, οὓς μὲν ἐλεήσεις has fallen out, in its Latin text also ἀλλὰ οὓς μὲν ἐλέγξεις before it and περὶ δὲ ὧν προσεύξῃ after it; but after the *Apostolic Canons* (Greek and Syriac) we must read in the *Didache* οὐ μισήσεις πάντα ἄνθρωπον, ἀλλὰ οὓς μὲν ἐλέγξεις <οὓς δὲ ἐλεήσεις>, περὶ δὲ ὧν προσεύξῃ, οὓς δὲ ἀγαπήσεις ὑπὲρ τὴν ψυχήν σου. The passage seems one of the best examples of the value of quotations, and yet the latest commentator does not even quote it (Bigg), and Falconer declared that nothing can be made of the supposed reference in the *Didache* on the question whether there are three or two clauses in the verse.

Mt 17[20] ὀλιγοπιστίαν, ℵB curs. syr^{cu} . . .
ἀπιστίαν, CDEF . . . it vg . . .

(*c*) Of the third for additions, omissions, and transpositions—

Mt 5[22] ὁ ὀργιζόμενος τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ, ℵB.
+ εἰκῇ, most.*
25[1] τοῦ νυμφίου, ℵBC . . .
+ καὶ τῆς νύμφης, DX*Σ . . . latt syr^{sin} vg hl, with the remark of Thomas that 'the bride' is not found in all copies, especially not in the 'Alexandrian'; see on the importance of this difference for the explanation of the parable a paper of A. Hilgenfeld in *ZWTh*, xliv. (1901) pp. 545–553.

It is sufficient to recall the doxology in the Lord's Prayer, the end of Mark, 1 Jn 5[7].

Transpositions—

Jn 7[53]–8[11] stands after Lk 21[38] in the closely-related MSS 13–69–124–346, the principal members of the so-called Ferrar group.

In Romans 'the great doxology' (16[25-27]) is found also after 14[23] in AP 5, 17, here alone in the 'Syrian' text (Greek, Gothic, and Syriac). On the inferences which may be drawn from this fact, see WH, Appendix, Lightfoot, *Bibl. Ess.* 287 ff., and Zahn, *Einleitung*, on the one hand, and on the other Fr. Spitta, *Untersuch. über den Brief des Paulus an die Römer* (*Zur Gesch. und Litt. des Urchristentums*, iii. 1, 1901). Textual criticism here passes over into higher criticism. Cf., further, B. W. Bacon, 'The Doxology at the end of Romans' (*JBL* xviii. 167–176).†

These examples show that, according to WH at least, ℵ and B, and especially the combination ℵB, have preserved in most cases the true reading. But WH came to this decision not on the basis of the intrinsic merits of these readings, but led by their important principle: *Knowledge of documents should precede final judgment of readings* (§ 38); and: *All trustworthy restoration of corrupted texts is founded on the study of their history*, that is, of the relations of descent or affinity which connect the several documents (§ 49). This is undoubtedly the true principle, and may be called the historical or genealogical method of textual criticism. It consists in the attempt to retrace the history of the text in the opposite direction from that which it has taken, *i.e.* from recent times backwards, step by step, if possible to the very original. In many cases (compare the Heb. OT and the Greek and Latin Classics) the *scantiness* of our materials does not allow of such a method; in the case of the NT it is, on the contrary, made difficult by the wealth of materials and the complicated character which this history must have had. And the great question of the textual criticism of the NT at present is, whether the study of its history led WH to correct conclusions. Only the principal results can be mentioned here: for all particulars see vol. ii. of their great edition, or the Appendix of their manual edition.

This study led them to recognize (1) that the text of Chrysostom and other Syrian Fathers of the 4th cent. is substantially identical with the common late text (§ 130). This text must be due to a '*recension*' in the strict sense, with an elaborateness which implies deliberate criticism (§ 185). This part of their theory is very generally accepted, except by the defenders of the traditional text, like Burgon and Ed. Miller. But, further, WH believed themselves able to distinguish (2) an *Alexandrian* text, the chief characteristics of which are said to be temperate forms of incipient paraphrase and of skilful assimilation, with careful attention to language, and without bold paraphrase or interpolation from extraneous sources (§§ 181–184); (3) a *Western* text, not limited to the West, but widely used; not single and created at once, but various and progressive, with its two chief characteristics, boldness of paraphrase and readiness to adopt extraneous matter; represented, especially by codex D, Old Latin MSS, but also the Old Syriac (§§ 170–176); finally (4) the *neutral* and comparatively pure text, to be discovered, especially by comparison of ℵ and B, the ancestries of which WH believe to have been separate from a remote antiquity, so that an exceptional purity of text would be found in readings common to ℵB.*

§ 297: one of three alternatives must be true; either the respective ancestries of ℵ and B must have diverged from a common parent extremely near the apostolic autographs;

Or, if their concordant readings were really derived from a single not remote MS, that MS must itself have been of the very highest antiquity;

Or, lastly, such single not remote MS must have inherited its text from an ancestry which, at each of its stages, had enjoyed a singular immunity from corruption.

This is the most elaborate theory about the text of the NT put forward in the 19th cent. as the

* To the witnesses for the omission of εἰκῇ is to be added the *Didascalia* as edited by Lagarde (p. 53[26]); the *Constitutions*, ii. 53 (p. 79[21], ed. Lagarde, not mentioned in his Index), and the MS of the *Didascalia* published by Mrs. Gibson in the *Studia Sinaitica*, add εἰκῇ, ℘'ℵ.

† In a note at least we may touch on the question of *Conjectural Emendation*. There has been so much misuse of this art, that of late it has fallen somewhat into contempt; and, on the other hand, there are so many good documents for the NT at our disposal, that its place is very inconsiderable (WH, §§ 93–95); but to say that Conjectural Emendation must *never* be resorted to, even in passages of acknowledged difficulty (Scrivener[4], ii. 244), or to say that it is not allowed 'prêter de l'esprit à l'Esprit saint' (Lagrange, *Revue Biblique*, 1900, 206), is to go too far. The reading φθονεῖτε of the TR in Ja 4[2] seems to be a conjecture of Erasmus put forward in his second edition; ἀκολούμασιν, mentioned by WH among the suspected readings, is a conjecture of Nösselt, approved by J. C. Vollgraff (*de tribus locis interpolatis in Evangelio secundum Marcum*, Mnemosyne, 1901, 148–161). When the present writer hit upon the reading ἐπὶ πόντον instead of ἐπὶ τόπον or ἐπὶ πλοίων (Rev 18[17]), received into the text by Baljon, it was by mere conjecture, though it was confirmed afterwards by the reading *super mare* of Primasius (the confusion of πόντον and τόπον is very common, see Eus. *HE* iv. 15, v. 15, 23). Baljon's edition gives a convenient collection of the conjectures of his countrymen. Fr. Blass received into the text of his *Evangelium secundum Matthæum cum variæ lectionis delectu* (Lipsiæ, 1901) 7 conjectural emendations, marking them with a star (*): 7[25] προσέπεσαν, 16[23] ὀπίσω σου, 17[27] ἰχθύα, 22[31] ζωῆς (for ἀναστάσεως), 25[1] ἔλαβον . . . ἐξελθεῖν, 26[50] ἆρε for ἑταῖρε, 27[46] ἐζαφθανί. Of remarkable readings of this edition note συνορίαν for Συρίαν 4[24] (a complete collation of it at the end of the 3rd ed. of Nestle's *Gr. Test.*).

* As examples of important or interesting readings attested by ℵB, but lost from the texts of all other extant uncials, WH quote (§ 304), *e.g.*, Mt 5[22] omission of εἰκῇ, 10[3] Θαδδαῖος (see art. THADDÆUS), 11[19] ἔργων for τέκνων, Mk 9[29] omission of καὶ νηστείᾳ, 16[9-20] omission, Eph 1[1] omission of ἐν Ἐφέσῳ.

WH do not, of course, deny the presence of wrong readings in ℵB (see § 303), still less in ℵ or B, but they are slow to acknowledge them. Cf. their note on Mt 27[49], which is, to all appearance, an intrusion from the Gospel of John. 'Two suppositions alone are compatible with the whole evidence. First, the words may belong to the genuine text of the extant form of Mt. . . . Or, secondly, they may be a very early interpolation.' They are extant in ℵBCL, etc. WH included them within double brackets, but did not feel justified in removing them from the text altogether, and were not prepared to reject altogether the alternative supposition. Dean Burgon, on the other hand, *Last Verses*, p. 80: 'There does not exist in the whole compass of the NT a more monstrous instance of interpolation . . . in defiance of reason as well as of authority,' cf. pp. 313–318. Though the verse is not attested by Ephraem's Commentary on the Diatessaron or the Arabic revision of it, we see no reason why we should doubt the statement of the scholion that the sentence was present εἰς τὸ καθ' ἱστορίαν εὐαγγέλιον Διαδώρου, καὶ Τατιανοῦ καὶ ἄλλων διαφόρων ἁγίων πατέρων (cod. 72, where Διαδώρου may have arisen from διὰ δ', *i.e.* διατεσσάρων). Comp., further, Mk 4[21] ὑπὸ τὴν λυχνίαν, attested by ℵB* 13–69–346 33: 'the concurrence of four such documentary authorities, all independent, implies the highest antiquity, the number rendering accidental coincidence very unlikely.' To the four authorities quoted by WH is to be added a fifth, Σ, and just on that account it becomes more likely that the coincidence is accidental; comp. He 7[1] ὅς, rejected in spite of ℵABC[2]D; 9[2] the addition of καὶ τὸ χρυσοῦν θυμιατήριον in B and its omission in v.[4].

result of its study during thirty years. Fifteen years after its first publication the then surviving editor brought out a new edition with some Supplementary Notes, required by the discovery of fresh documents, especially the Syriac palimpsest from Sinai; at the same time declaring that *no arguments* had been advanced against their general principles which were not fully considered by themselves in the long course of their work, and, in their judgment, dealt with accurately. And in their Introduction itself it is declared (§ 105): 'Nothing can well be less probable than the discovery of cursive evidence sufficiently important to affect present conclusions in more than a handful of passages, much less to alter present interpretations of relations between the existing documents.' Again, in the concluding paragraphs on the 'Conditions of further improvement of the text' (371–374) they wrote: 'It would be an illusion to anticipate important changes of text from any acquisition of new documents,' and did not hesitate to express the conviction that no trustworthy improvement can be effected except in accordance with the leading principles of their method; further, 'that the general course of future criticism must be shaped by the happy circumstance that the fourth century has bequeathed to us two MSS, of which even the less incorrupt must have been of exceptional purity among its own contemporaries, and which rise into greater prominence of character the better the early history of that text becomes known.'

The present writer is not prepared to contradict these statements. Yet, on the other hand, it cannot be denied that there is a growing doubt whether the importance of the so-called *Western* variations has not been underrated and the purity of the text of ℵB overrated.* See, besides the contributions of Fr. Blass of Halle, the latest statement by C. H. Turner in *JThSt*, iii. 3, p. 111 f.: 'If the authority for the words of the Evangelists is to be sought primarily or even partially from the "Western" text, it must be admitted that a problem lies before us which, if it may well call forth all the energies of Christian scholars, will make heavy calls alike on their patience, their caution, and their courage.'†

The other question is whether WH estimated the testimony of ℵB correctly. What if ℵB or their ancestors were not separated from a remote antiquity, but one codex was influenced by the other? WH were inclined to believe that B was written at Rome, and that all its ancestors may have been there, while to ℵ they ascribed an Egyptian origin. Tischendorf, on the other hand, believed he could demonstrate that one and the same copyist worked at both MSS. Quite recently the suggestion has been thrown out that B originated under the influence of Athanasius (Rahlfs, Nestle, Zahn), and is perhaps the very copy which was procured by Athanasius for Constans. If so, it is a question how an exceptional purity can have been handed down till that time. On the other hand, this fact would explain how B seems to have left no children; the private copy of an emperor would not be given out that other MSS might be copied from it; certainly not at first. It is at all events strange that no MS seems to have been found as yet which might be pronounced with certainty to have been copied from B.* In some books of the OT ℵ and B have an almost identical text; in others they present us with quite different recensions; in the Book of Judges B contains a version not quoted by the Alexandrian Fathers from the 2nd to the 4th cent. (Clement, Origen, Didymus), but for the first time by Cyril, which therefore some scholars have been inclined to ascribe to Hesychius. In the NT it is easier, as Burgon stated, 'to find two consecutive verses in which the two MSS differ the one from the other, than two consecutive verses in which they entirely agree.' But this, instead of sensibly detracting from our opinion of the value of their evidence, as Burgon believed, on the contrary enhances it where they agree. It is intelligible that, as long as cod. B stood alone among extant MSS in the omission of Mk $16^{9\text{-}20}$, scholars were slow to follow it; even after ℵ had come to its support, Burgon was not justified, but might be excused for coming, after an investigation of more than 250 pages, to the conclusion 'that cod. B and cod. ℵ must be henceforth allowed to be *in one more serious* particular untrustworthy and erring witnesses. They have been convicted, in fact, of bearing false witness in respect of St. Mark $16^{9\text{-}20}$, where their evidence had been hitherto reckoned upon with the most undoubting confidence.'† But now, since F. C. Conybeare found in 1893 the Armenian manuscript which between v.[8] and v.[9] has the words 'Ariston eritzou,' *i.e.* of the 'Presbyter Arist[i]on' (see the facsimile in Swete's *Commentary* and in *Introd.* pl. ix), and has preserved even the name of the man to whom (directly or indirectly) we owe the longer conclusion of the Second Gospel, no reasonable doubt is any longer possible. Therefore in this important case ℵB turn out to be our best witnesses among extant MSS. This awakens, of course, a strong prejudice in their favour. But what, on the other hand, about the 'Western non-interpolations'? and the other places where D alone seems to have preserved the original reading? See WH, §§ 240–242, 283. Certain apparently Western 'omissions' are shown by their internal character to be original, *i.e.* non-interpolations; that is to say, only those Western documents remained free from interpolations which found their way into all other documents. Their presence in

* Even Burgon speaks favourably of D, despite of its many 'monstra potius quam variæ lectiones' (*Last Twelve Verses of Mark*, p. 20).

† There has just appeared the Prospectus of the great undertaking of Prof. H. von Soden of Berlin: *Die Schriften des Neuen Testamentes in ihrer ältesten erreichbaren Textgestalt hergestellt auf Grund ihrer Textgeschichte*; Berlin, A. Duncker, 2 vols.—2328 Codices have been examined, 454 more than are mentioned by Gregory, with the result that the text of ℵB is held to be decidedly that of a recension, not the neutral or original, as WH believed. This forthcoming edition will henceforward form a new starting-point [24th March 1902].

* The reading φανερῶν (He 1^{3} for φέρων), which is attested by Tischendorf only from B*,—a second hand changed it into φέρων, a third restored it, and wrote on the margin ἀμαθέστατε καὶ κακέ, ἄφες τὸ παλαιόν, μὴ μετατροΐυ,—has now been found in an Egyptian treatise (see J. A. Robinson, *Texts and Studies*, v. 5, p. x).

It is a great drawback that our critical editions do not permit of an easy glance over the differences of these principal MSS; there is Hansell's edition (*NT græce: Antiquissimorum codicum textus in ordinem parallelum dispos.; notas crit. et collationem Cod. Sinaitici adjecit Ed. H. Hansell*, Oxonii, 3 vols., 1864, 52½ sh.), and now that of Schjott (*NT græce ad fidem testium vetustissimorum recognovit necnon variantes lectiones ex editionibus Elzeviriana et Tischendorfiana subjunxit*, Hauniæ, 1897).

† This conviction as regards B arose from the fact, first pointed out in its importance by Burgon, that the scribe of B, after ending the Gospel with v.[8] in the second column of a page, has, contrary to his custom, left the third or remaining column blank, evidently because one or other of the two subsequent endings, and apparently the longer of the Textus Receptus, was known to him personally, while he did not find it in the exemplar which he was copying. That the same scribe, by retaining on the margin the sectional figures in the Epistles of Paul, has preserved for us the knowledge that the Epistle to the Hebrews had formerly a different position from what it has now in B, may be mentioned here with due thanks to him, and as proof how the smallest particulars may be of importance in textual criticism. That in the OT part one of the scribes was in the habit of using for the name Ισραηλ the abbreviation $\overline{\text{Ιηλ}}$, the other $\overline{\text{Ισλ}}$, enabled E. Abbott to recognize their different hands without even seeing the codex, while the Roman editors were not able to discern it from the handwriting which lay before them.

even the best of these documents appeared to WH such an extraordinary phenomenon that they were led to the thought—worked out later by Blass—that 'the Western and the non-Western texts started respectively from *a first and a second edition* of the Gospels, both conceivably apostolic.' WH decided finally to leave them in the text, but to mark them by double brackets ⟦ ⟧. Apart from the singular addition to Mt 27[49] (see above, p. 737[b] n.), these Western non-interpolations are all found in the last three chapters of Luke (22[19f.] 24[3. 6. 12. 36. 40. 51. 52]).

Of other places where D alone (or nearly alone) seems to have preserved the original reading, B. Weiss mentions (*Die vier Evangelien*, pp. 48, 180) Mk 13[22] the omission of ψευδόχριστοι καί, and the reading ποιήσουσιν for δώσουσιν; Lk 12[27] πῶς οὔτε νήθει οὔτε ὑφαίνει, Mk 3[14] etc.

In his *Philologica sacra* (1896) the present writer pointed out other passages of this kind, *e.g.* Mt 6[8] πρὶν ὑμᾶς **ἀνοῖξαι τὸ στόμα** instead of αἰτῆσαι αὐτόν; 26[73] ὁμοιάζει for δῆλόν σε ποιεῖ; Lk 18[30] **ἑπταπλασίονα**, etc. Blass has received a great deal into his edition of St. Matthew (1901). And the great question of the day is the weight to be allowed to D. But it seems that new materials must come to light before a decision can be reached. In the meantime the task will be (1) to collate as many MSS, Versions, and Fathers as possible; (2) to collect all statements of the Fathers about what may be called editions or recensions of the NT; (3) to compare these statements with the results of our collations.

That Marcion edited a NT (Gospel of Luke and Epistles of Paul) is well known. Are traces of his work to be found in any existing MS or MSS? and, if so, in which? Of Tatian we know not only that he composed his *Diatessaron*, but also that he tampered with the text of Paul: τοῦ δὲ Ἀποστόλου, φασί, τολμῆσαί τινας αὐτὸν **μεταφράσαι φωνὰς** ὡς **ἐπιδιορθούμενον** αὐτῶν τὴν τῆς φράσεως σύνταξιν (Eus. *HE* iv. 29). Has the *Diatessaron* left its traces in D or anywhere else? and what is the relation of the so-called Western text of the Pauline Epistles to Tatian? When the Epistle to the Philippians begins in D_2 etc.: **Ἐγὼ μὲν εὐχαριστῶ τῷ κυρίῳ ἡμῶν** (v.[3]) instead of Εὐχαριστῶ τῷ θεῷ μου; when FG will not allow a πορθεῖν but only a πολεμεῖν of the Church through Saul (Gal 1[13. 23]), not a ζυμοῦν but a δολοῦν as the result of the leaven (1 Co 5[6], Gal 5[9]), on which side is the 'metaphrasis,' and from whom did it proceed? Who were the ὀρθόδοξοι who took away (ἀφείλαντο) a passage from the Gospel of Luke, so that it is found only ἐν τοῖς ἀδιορθώτοις ἀντιγράφοις, in the 'uncensured copies' according to Epiphanius (*Ancor.* 31)? See on Lk 19[41].

What about the 'Codices quos a *Luciano* et *Hesychio* nuncupatos paucorum hominum adserit perversa sententia, quibus utique nec in veteri testamento . . . nec in novo profuit emendasse, cum multarum gentium linguis scriptura ante translata doceat falsa esse quæ addita (cod. E edita) sunt,' according to Jerome's preface to his Latin Gospels? What about the 'Evangelia quæ falsavit Hesychius apocrypha' in the so-called *Decretum Gelasii*? to which some MSS add a similar statement about Lucian.

What about the 50 copies of the Bible which Eusebius procured by order of Constantine for the Churches (not of his 'empire,' correct *Introd.* p. 54, but) of his capital, which Eusebius sent off ἐν πολυτελῶς ἠσκημένοις τεύχεσι τρισσᾶ καὶ τετρασσᾶ? Does this mean that they were written in three or four columns or bound in three or four volumes? and still more, did they leave no traces at all? or is the Sinaiticus really one of them? What about the recension of the Pauline Epistles which was undertaken according to the subscription in cod. H,—its fragments are now dispersed in Athos, Kiew, Moscow (at two places), St. Petersburg,* Paris, and Turin,—and other testimonies by a certain Euthalius (or Euagrius) of Sulke? Basil the Great († 379) corrected a copy with his own hand: may it not be traced? His younger brother, Gregory of Nyssa, is the sole authority besides Marcion for that peculiar form of the second petition in the Lord's Prayer: ἐλθέτω τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμά σου ἐφ' ἡμᾶς καὶ καθαρισάτω ἡμᾶς. How did this creep into the codex 604 (of the 12th cent., in the British Museum), which exhibits 2724 variations from the Textus Receptus and 270 readings peculiar to itself? Has the last word been spoken about the origin of the *Ferrar* group? Where are the *accurate* copies (ἐσπουδασμένα) or the *ancient* in Jerusalem to be sought for, deposited on the Holy Mount (ἐκ τῶν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις παλαιῶν ἀντιγράφων τῶν ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ ὄρει ἀποκειμένων), with which, according to their subscription, cod. Λ and some cursives have been collated?

We might go on asking such questions,—and that these questions do not belong to those which a fool asks, and which no wise man answers, may be exemplified by the reading of the Ferrar group in Mt 1[18] which WH, in their (first) edition did not find worth mentioning; and now there appears suddenly an old *Syriac* fragment from the far East, containing that reading, which was hitherto known only in some *Latin* witnesses from the far West, and in those four solitary *Greek* MSS written probably in Cala ria towards the end of the Middle Ages,—a reading which seems to have some connexion with the very composition of the First Gospel.

'Criticism,' said Ph. Schaff, in his excellent *Companion to the Greek Testament and the English Version* (at the opening of the fifth chapter, which treats of the Nature and Object of Textual Criticism),—'Criticism is a dry study.' Dry? Surely we do not know a study of more interest. It requires, it is true, as the same writer said, 'an unusual amount of patience and attention to the minutest details.' Yes, but then it will be rewarded. 'The smallest particle of gold,' said Bengel, in the connexion from which Westcott-Hort took the word with which they closed their task, 'is gold, but we must not allow that to pass as gold which has not been proved.'

'Codicibus emendandis primitus debet invigilare sollertia eorum qui scripturas nosse desiderant, ut emendatis non emendati cedant,' said Augustine (*de Doctrina Christiana*, ii. 14, 21). It is a satisfaction that in the same country in which and from which the British and Foreign Bible Society circulated, for almost a century, more than a hundred thousand copies of the Textus Receptus of Elzevir-Stephen-Erasmus, the most decided attempt has been made to fulfil the task imposed by these words of Augustine, to fulfil the command of one greater than Augustine,—the word of St. Paul, πάντα δοκιμάζετε, τὸ καλὸν κατέχετε (1 Th 5[21]), or of the Master Himself, though it is not recorded within the compass of our present New Testament: γίνεσθε δόκιμοι τραπεζῖται.

LITERATURE AND ADDENDA.—(1) On the history of the Printed Text, which seemed unnecessary here, see WH, §§ 15–18, 244–255 (Mill, Bentley, Bengel, Semler, Griesbach, Hug, Lachmann, Tischendorf, Tregelles); Scrivener-Miller[4], ii. 177–243; P. Schaff, *Companion to the Greek Testament and the English Version*[4], 1892; S. P. Tregelles, *Account of the Printed Text of the Greek NT*, 1854; Nestle, *Introduction*, i. pp. 1–27; E. Reuss, *Bibliotheca Novi Testamenti Græci, cuius editiones omnes . . . quotquot reperiri potuerunt collegit digessit illustravit*, Brunsvigæ, 1872.†

* One leaf at St. Petersburg is no longer extant, but its contents may be read by the mirror on the opposite page, on which it is impressed.

† Justice must be done at least in a footnote to the edition (not mentioned by Scrivener or Nestle) of Ed. Harwood,

(2) On the MSS see the Literature quoted in *Introd.* pp. 30, 32, *e.g.* Ch. F. Sitterley, *Praxis in Manuscripts of the Greek Testament. The mechanical and literary processes involved in their writing and preservation.* With table of MSS and thirteen facsimile plates, New York [1898].—On the Autographs add the statement that according to the *Acta Joannis* (ed. Zahn) the Apostle dictated his Gospel to Prochorus in two days and six hours, to be written on parchment.—K. Lake, *Text of the New Testament* (Oxford Church Text-Books), 1900; M. Lundberg, *Nya Testamentets text*, Lund, 1899.—*Facsimiles of Biblical Manuscripts in the British Museum*, edited by F. G. Kenyon, London, 1901, fol., cf. the same author's *Handbook to the Textual Criticism of the NT*, London, 1901; John W. Burgon, *The Last Twelve Verses of the Gospel according to St. Mark, vindicated against recent critical objectors and established.* With facsimiles of codex ℵ and codex L, Oxf. and Lond. 1871.

On cod. D. See on the Italian origin of codex Bezæ, K. Lake and F. E. Brightman (*JThSt*, i. 441, 445, 454); J. R. Harris, *The Annotators of the Codex Bezæ*, London, 1901. The reasons which make against the theory of Blass, that D preserved for Acts a first recension, are said (*Expos. Times*, xiii. 96) to be best summed up in an appendix to the new edition (1900) of Mr. Page's *Acts* (Macmillan).

On the new Purple MS from Sinope see H. Omont, 'Notice sur un très ancien manuscrit grec de l'Évangile de saint Matthieu en onciales d'or sur parchemin pourpré et orné de miniatures' . . . Paris, 1900 (*Notices et Extraits*, xxxvi.; and *JThSt*, ii. 590 ff.). On the leaf found in Russia see *Acad. des Inscr.*, 8 fév. and 29 mars 1901.—Conti-Rossini, 'L'evangilo d'oro di Dabra Libânos' (*Rendiconti dei Lincei*, vol. x. 5, 6, pp. 177–219 [not seen]). A fragment of Jn $7^{6\text{-}10}$ $9^{17\text{-}23}$ has been published by F. C. Burkitt and Mrs. Gibson in *Studia Sinaitica*, ix. p. 45 f.

Cursives: J. R. Harris, *Further Researches into the History of the Ferrar Group*, London, 1900. On ev. 47 and 67 ms, 565, see F. C. Burkitt in *JThSt*, i. 626 f.

As to the *age of Church Lessons*, Job was read in the 'Great Week' as early as the time of Origen.

Versions: On the use of two languages in the Service see the Itinerary of Sylvia Aquitana (in Jerusalem); the Sacramentary of Serapion of Thmuis (*JThSt*, i. 254).—*Latin:* F. C. Burkitt, on the age of codex Bobbiensis *k* (*Cambridge Univ. Reporter*, 5th March 1901; rather of the 4th than 5th or 6th cent.); the same author doubts more and more whether there was a Latin Version in the time before Cyprian (*JThSt*, i. 627), and finds an early Latin text of the *Diatessaron* as one of the constituent elements of the mixed and curious text of *g* (*TSt*, vii. 2, p. 46). On the influence of the Gothic Version on *f* (brixiensis) see F. C. Burkitt (*JThSt*, i. 129 ff.) and Fr. Kauffmann (*Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*, vol. xxxiv.); see also J. Heidenreich, *Der neutestamentliche Text bei Cyprian verglichen mit dem Vulgatatext*, Bamberg, 1900. *Egyptian:* H. Hyvernat, 'Un fragment inédit de la version sahidique du NT' (Eph $1^{6\text{-}28b}$) in *RB*, April 1900, 248–253. On middle-Egyptian see W. E. Crum in *JThSt*, i. 416 ff., and Egyp. Exploration Fund Report for 1899–1900, 1900–1901.

Quotations: On the liberties taken by copyists and editors. In a quotation from Mt 21^{21} Hippolytus (ed. Lagarde=Nicephorus), 138, 16, has πρῶτος; ed. Achelis, 1, 2, pp. 68, 4, ἔσχατος. In the Chronicon of Georgios Hamartolos a report of Papias on the end of John the Evangelist is preserved; '26 MSS write ἐν εἰρήνῃ ἀνεπαύσατο, one μαρτυρίου κατηξίωται.'

The *dictum agraphum* of Ac 20^{35} reads in the *Apostolic Constitutions*, in one class of witnesses: ἐπεὶ καὶ ὁ κύριος μακάριον εἶπεν εἶναι τὸν διδόντα ἢ περ (cod. Ο ὑπὲρ) τὸν λαμβάνοντα. καὶ γὰρ εἰρηται πάλιν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ· Οὐαὶ τοῖς ἔχουσιν; in the other: μακάριόν ἐστι διδόναι μᾶλλον εἶπεν ἢ λαμβάνειν. καὶ πάλιν ἀλλαχοῦ εἰρηται· οὐαί, etc.

On the falsification of MSS by heretics see, besides the notices in *Introd.* p. 197 ff., Bartholomæus Germon, Jesuita non indoctus in *Opusculo de veteribus hæreticis Ecclesiasticorum Codicum corruptoribus*, part 2, cc. 8 and 9, 'ubi de codicibus MSS Colbertino, Carnutensi, et Vaticano disserit' (known to the present writer only from Cas. Oudin, *Trias dissertationum criticarum:* Prima de codice MS Alexandrino, Lugd. Bat. 1717, ch. 5).

On Justin: E. Lippelt, *Quæ fuerint Justini Martyris ἀπομνημονεύματα quaque ratione cum forma Evangeliorum syro-latina cohæserint*, i., Halle, 1901.

(3) Theory of Textual Criticism: Ed. Miller, *The Present State of the Textual Controversy respecting the Holy Gospels*, [1899]; *The Textual Controversy and the Twentieth Century*, 1901; *The Oxford Debate on the Textual Criticism of the NT, held at New College on May 6, 1897, with a Preface explanatory of the Rival Systems*, London, 1897; F. C. Burkitt, *Two Lectures on the Gospels*, Macmillan, 1901; Fr. Blass, *Philology of the Gospels*, Macmillan, 1898; G. Salmon, *Some Thoughts on the Textual Criticism of the NT*, London, Murray, 1897; Nicol. 'The Lower Criticism of the NT' (*Lond. Quart. Rev.* April 1901); Fr. Blass, *Notwendigkeit und Wert der Textkritik des Neuen Testaments*, Vortrag, Barmen, 1901 (popular); G. L. Cary, *The Synoptic Gospels, with a chapter on the text. criticism of the NT*, New York, 1900; Marvin Vincent, *History of Textual Criticism of the NT*, Macmillan, 1900. According to *Studia biblica*, iii. 235, Prof. Sanday has had an *Introduction to the Textual Criticism of the NT* for some time in preparation. Its publication will be welcomed by all students of the NT. C. Tischendorf, *Haben wir den ächten Schrifttext der Evangelisten und Apostel?* Leipzig, 1873 (popular), 1st and 2nd ed., tr. by H. W. A. Smith in *Presbyterian Quarterly and Princeton Review*, Oct. 1874; A. N. Jannaris, 'Misreadings and Misrenderings in the NT' (*Expositor*, Dec. 1898, April and Aug. 1899); Aug. Pott, *Der abendländische Text der Apostelgeschichte und die Wir-Quelle*, Leipzig, 1900; F. Blass, 'Textkritische Bemerkungen zu Matthäus,' Gütersloh, 1900 (in Schlatter-Cremer, *Beiträge zur Förderung christlicher Theologie*, iv. 4); G. Delors, *Essai de critique du texte Jean 18¹²·²⁸*, Thèse, Cahors, 1900. A work is announced by C. F. Gregory on *Canon and Text of the New Testament*, in the 'International Theological Library series,' published by T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh.

Postscript.—The article SYRIAC VERSIONS was already in type when two publications came to hand, which are of primary importance not only for the Syriac Versions, but also for the Text of the Greek Testament; therefore this is the fit place to add a word on them. The one is a short study, the other a bulky edition. They are *S. Ephraim's Quotations from the Gospel*, collected and arranged by F. Crawford Burkitt (Cambridge, 1901, *Texts and Studies*, vii. 2); and *Tetraeuangelium sanctum* juxta Simplicem Syrorum Versionem ad fidem Codicum, Massoræ, Editionum denuo recognitum. Lectionum supellectilem quam conquisiverat Philippus Edwardus Pusey, A.M., olim ex æde Christi, auxit, digessit, edidit Georgius Henricus Gwilliam, S.T.B., Collegii Hertfordiensis socius. Accedunt Capitulorum Notatio, Concordiarum Tabulæ, Translatio Latina, Annotationes (Oxonii, 1901, xvi. 608 pp. 4°).

By a minute examination of St. Ephraem's quotations from the Gospel—note the *singular*—Burkitt not only proves his statement quoted above (p. 647), that we can never trust a biblical quotation (in the Roman edition of Ephraem's works) where it agrees with the Peshiṭta, but shows positively that his quotations from the Gospel 'afford *no proof of the use of the Peshiṭta*, the Syriac Vulgate.' On the other hand, there are marked differences between his quotations and the text contained in the Curetonian MS and Sinaitic palimpsest: 'these differences suggest that it was not the Old Syriac Version of the Four Gospels, the *Evangelion da-Mepharrĕshe*, that St. Ephraem was using, but the *Diatessaron*.' This suggestion the present writer also is inclined to accept, and there is no longer any hindrance to our accepting the third suggestion, that the great event, the production and introduction of the Peshiṭta, 'took place soon after 411 A.D. under the auspices of Rabbula, who had been in that year appointed bishop of Edessa,' and that the words of his biographer quoted above (p. 646) contain 'a description of the making and production of the Syriac Vulgate.'

It is clear that in this case the Peshiṭta ceases to be the queen of the NT versions, and loses especially the importance which it had for the upholders of the *Textus Receptus*, whose 'sheet-anchor' it was (see above, p. 646[b]). One of their fundamental arguments used to be: the theory of WH cannot be right; for what WH declare to be a late Syrian recension is attested already by the Peshito; and the Peshito was in use already by Ephraem, nay, is a work of the 2nd cent. Nevertheless, all biblical scholars, and not the Syriacists only, will be thankful to have at last, through the labours of the late Ph. E. Pusey and his successor in the work, for the Gospels at least, in the edition mentioned above, the most solid ground they can wish for. *Forty* MSS of the highest age, mostly from the 5th or 6th cent., have been collated —MS 4 was written between 530 and 540, No. 40 is *dated* from 548, No. 26 from 586, No. 32 from 615, No. 39 from 634; neither for the Greek nor for the

London, 1776 (Reuss, pp. 185–190). It is the first edition which omitted εἰκῇ Mt 5^{22}, the first which made a more decided use of the codex Bezæ Cantabrigiensis and Claromontanus.

Of modern editions a convenient survey is given by the *Resultant Greek Testament*, ed. by R. Fr. Weymouth, London, Stock [1886] (with new title 'cheap edition,' 1892, again 1896); and, on a smaller scale, by the *NT cum apparatu critico ex editionibus et libris manu scriptis collecto*, prepared by the present writer for the Württemberg Bible Society (3rd ed. 1901).

Latin MSS have we a similar exactness in date. The result is, on the whole, a very thorough corroboration of the printed text; but this does not diminish our thankfulness for the new edition. For while hitherto we were not sure about the basis of the texts in our hands, we have now the firmest foundation. And there are not wanting passages where the printed text finds no witness in any of the MSS collated by Pusey-Gwilliam. They do not affect, so far as the present writer is yet aware, the Greek text, but only the Syriac wording; cf. Mt 5^{17} 6^{27} 7^{14}. But we must first be sure of the Syriac text before we can proceed, and this end is reached by the edition of Pusey-Gwilliam, which, it is to be hoped, will give a new stimulus to studies concerning the text of the four Gospels.

If one word may be added about the best method to be pursued in these studies, it would seem best first to single out those sections which were contained in Tatian's *Diatessaron*, and to study their language, in all extant Syriac texts; then to compare their language with that of the rest of the Gospels. In this way it ought to be possible to get an answer to the fundamental question, whether Tatian made use of a pre-existing Syriac Version of the Gospels, or whether our Syriac Gospels are based on Tatian. To quote one example: all our Syriac texts (sin, cur, pesh, together with the Ethiopic Version and the Arabic Tatian) arrange the gifts of the Magi (Mt 2^{11}) in the order 'gold and myrrh and frankincense'; so also the Syriac translation of the *Protevangelium Jacobi* (21^3). Epiphanius (p. 1085 D, where he reads ἤνοιξαν **τὰς πήρας** αὐτῶν, adding the strange statement ἢ **τοὺς θησαυρούς**, ὡς ἔχει ἔνια τῶν ἀντιγράφων), has the order 'myrrh and frankincense and gold.' Is the agreement in the Syriac (Arabic, Ethiopic) texts accidental, or does it go back ultimately to Tatian? EB. NESTLE.

THADDÆUS.—The name in Mt 10^3 (AV '**Lebbæus,** whose surname was Thaddæus'; RV only 'Thaddæus') and Mk 3^{18} of the apostle who is called by Luke (6^{16}, Ac 1^{13}) 'Judas of James.' In Matt. most critics now read only Θαδδαῖος (Lachmann, Tregelles, WH [who quote this reading, § 304, as proof for the unique excellence of ℵB], Revisers, Weiss, with ℵB sah vg; Evang. Ebionit.), others only Λεββαῖος (Alford, Tischendorf, Blass, with D 122 *k* Origen; 'Western' reading); the TR (AV) combined both readings, Λεββαῖος ὁ ἐπικληθεὶς Θαδδαῖος (cf. *e.g. Constit. Apost.* vi. 14, viii. 25, where in a marginal note the names are reversed: Θαδδαῖος ὁ καὶ Λεββαῖος ὁ ἐπικαλούμενος Ἰούδας Ζηλωτής); some Old Latin MSS, finally, have *Judas Zelotes*, a reading which found its way into the *Chronicon* of the year 354 and the Roman *Canon* of 382 ('Judæ Zelotis apostoli epistula una').

See on the latter reading Zahn, *Grundriss der Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons*, 1901, p. 60; *Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift*, xii. (1901) p. 743; R. A. Lipsius, *Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten*, Ergänzungsheft (1890), p. 209; and the passage of the *Apostolic Constitutions* quoted above (ed. Lagarde, p. 282; ed. Pitra, p. 59, note).

In Mark all editors agree in reading Θαδδαῖος, Λεββαῖος being again the 'Western' reading; in Luke one of the MSS collated by Wordsworth-White adds to *Judam Jacobi* on the margin '*i.e.* Tadeus,' just as Luther added in Matt. to the Received Text the marginal note 'ist der fromme Judas.' This identification (Thaddæus = Lebbæus = Judas of James*) is indeed the most natural result of a comparison of the Gospels; cf. vol. ii. p. 199, artt. JUDAS, and JUDE (THE LORD'S BROTHER),

* The same Judas is apparently meant in Jn 14^{22}, though the Syrians identify this Judas with Thomas.

and vol. iii. p. 92, art. LEBBÆUS. But whence this twofold or threefold name?*

The solution has been sought in the linguistic identity of the name *Lebbæus*, from Heb. לֵב 'heart,' with *Thaddæus*, from Aram. תַּדּ = Heb. שַׁד 'female *breast*'; so still, *e.g.*, Sieffert (*PRE*² vii. 277); Resch, *Paralleltexte*, iii. 827. But this is more than doubtful. There is more probability in the view adopted by WH, that Λεββαῖος or Λεβαῖος is some form for Levi,† caused by Mk 2^{14} 'Levi the son of Alphæus.' This is denied by Bengel ('Λεββαῖος *non est idem, quod* Λευΐ'), but accepted by Nilles, *Calendarium ecclesiæ utriusque*², i. 184 (on 19th June): Ἰούδα ἀποστόλου. 'S. Judas, qui et Thaddæus et *Levi* et Zelotes,' etc. A similar view had been proposed already by Grotius on the ground of Origen, *contra Celsum*, i. 62 (ed. Koetschau, i. 113).‡ Grotius quoted further from Theodoret (*Quæstiones ad* Nu 16): Θαδδαῖος ὁ καὶ Λεβί. Dalman (*Grammatik*, p. 142) denies that Λεββαῖος has anything to do with Levi, and is more inclined to see in it an abbreviation from חלב or חלבו, or to combine it (*Worte Jesu*, p. 40) with a Nabatæan name לבאי. The other name תרי (תראי, *Erubin*, 23*c*) he connects with the Gr. Θευδᾶς as an abbreviation from Theodotos, Theodosios, or Theodoros.§ The etymology of both names, *Lebbæus* and *Thaddæus*, is at present quite doubtful. The Jacobite Syrians vocalized *Labbī* and *Thaddī*, the Nestorians *Labbaj* and *Thaddaj*, Pusey-Gwilliam spell *Labbi* and *Taddai*.

Matters became even more complicated in the post-canonical literature. Eusebius (*HE* i. 12) states that Θαδδαῖος was one of the Seventy, and then tells the story of his mission to Abgar of Edessa. But already Jerome (on Mt 10^4, ed. Vallarsi, 1769, vii. 57 = Migne, xxvi. 61) understands this of the *Apostle*, writing: '*Thaddæum* apostolum ecclesiastica tradit historia missum Edessam ad Abgarum regem, qui ab Evangelista Luca *Judas Jacobi* dicitur et alibi appellatur *Lebæus* quod interpretatur *corculum*,‖ credendumque est eum fuisse *trinomium*.' How great the confusion became may be shown by the *Acta Thaddæi* (first published by Tischendorf, *Acta Apostolorum apocrypha*, 1851, p. 261 ff.). This piece begins: Λεββαῖος ὁ καὶ Θαδδαῖος ἦν μὲν ἀπὸ Ἐδέσσης τῆς πόλεως . . . ἦλθεν εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις Ἰωάννου τοῦ βαπτιστοῦ . . . ἐβαπτίσθη καὶ ἐπεκλήθη τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Θαδδαῖος . . . καὶ ἐξελέξατο αὐτὸν [Ἰησοῦς] εἰς τοὺς **δώδεκα**, κατὰ μὲν Ματθαῖον καὶ Μάρκον δέκατος ἀπόστολος. Nevertheless, the piece is headed in one of the MSS used by Tischendorf: πρᾶξις καὶ κοίμησις τοῦ . . . ἀποστόλου Θαδδαίου ἑνὸς τῶν **ἑβδομήκοντα**, in the other as ἑνὸς τῶν ιβ′. Zahn (*Forschungen*, i. 366, 382) believes that the whole confusion is due to Eusebius, who substituted

* In the 'Preaching of Simon son of Cleophas' (*Studia Sinaitica*, v. 62, 65, ed. Gibson) we even read: 'Simon son of Cleophas, who was called *Jude*, which is, being interpreted, *Nathanael*, who was called the *Zealot*, and was bishop in Jerusalem after James the brother of the Lord'; see Zahn, *Forschungen*, vi. 293.

† Cf. Jastrow, *Dictionary of the Targumim*, p. 689, where לַבְיָא *Labya* is quoted as the various reading for *Levi*.

‡ ἴστω δὲ καὶ ὁ Λευὶς—this is the true reading, not Λιβῆς—τελώνης ἀκολουθήσας τῷ Ἰησοῦ· ἀλλ' οὔτι γε τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ τῶν ἀποστόλων αὐτοῦ ἦν, εἰ μὴ κατά τινα τῶν ἀντιγράφων τοῦ κατὰ Μάρκον εὐαγγελίου. From the same combination between Mk 2^{14} and 3^{18} WH explain the 'Western' reading Ἰάκωβον for Λευΐν in 2^{14}. Interesting, in this connexion, is the article of Hesychius (rec. M. Schmidt, ii. 338): Ἰάκωβος Ἀλφαίου, ὁ καὶ Θαδδαῖος καὶ Λευὶ παρὰ τῷ Μάρκῳ, παρὰ δὲ τῷ Ματθαίῳ Λεβαῖος, παρὰ δὲ Λουκᾷ Ἰούδας Ἰακώβου. Schmidt wishes to read Ἰάκωβος Ἀλφαίου καὶ Θαδδαῖος ὁ καί, etc.

§ Instead of תַּרְשׁ Est 2^{21} 6^2 Θευδᾶς (תרש) may perhaps be read; see Willrich, *Judaica*, p. 19.

‖ The same interpretation (surname of Scipio Nasica) is found in Jerome's *Liber interpretationis* (Lagarde, *Onomastica sacra*, p. 62), where the name Thaddæus is entirely omitted. It is curious that also in the list of the names of the apostles (*l.c.* p. 174) Thaddæus, Lebbæus, and Judas are missing.

for the name *Addai* אדי of the Syriac legends the Gr. name *Thaddæus*. It is very strange that the Syriac translation of Eusebius' *HE*, in one of its MSS (A), substitutes in 10 cases out of 15 the spelling תדי (with ה, not א), which has not been found hitherto anywhere else, for תדי for the name Θαδδαῖος; see the edition of Wright - McLean, p. 49_{18} 53_{10} $54_{3\,4}$ 55_4. (The same version gives everywhere אדא for *Agabus*). When in the *Book of the Bee* (ed. Budge, p. 124) Aggai (אגי), the disciple of the Syriac Addai, is followed by *Thaddai* ('his father' as is added in the recension published by I. H. Hall in the *Journal of the Amer. Or. Soc. Proc.*, Oct. 1888, pp. lxxv, lxxxi), giving the series Addai—Aggai—Thaddai, the question arises whether this is the result of contamination of Greek and Syriac legends. The names themselves recall Ἀδ[δ]αῖ διδάσκαλος καὶ Ἀγγαῖος Λευίτης in the *Acta Pilati*, ch. 14, etc.

According to some statements, Thaddæus was from Jerusalem and of the tribe of Judah (*Book of the Bee*, Barhebræus), and preached the gospel in the African language (*Gospels of the XII Apostles*, ed. J. R. Harris, pp. 26, 29); while the Syriac Addai is said to have been from Paneas. Bar Bahlul (p. 939) refers *Labbi* to the tribe of Simeon.

The apocryphal 'Gospel of Thaddæus' (*Evangelium Thaddæi*), mentioned in some MSS and editions of the *Decretum Gelasii*, seems to be due to a clerical error (*PRE*[3] i. 663).

For the extra-canonical statements on Thaddæus see Lipsius, *Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten*, ii. 142–200, and his art. 'Thaddæus' in Smith and Wace's *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, iv. 875–881. As a Christian name Thaddæus never seems to have been very frequent.* EB. NESTLE.

THANK-OFFERING. — See SACRIFICE, under 'Peace-offering.'

THARRA (BA Θαρρά, Luc. Θεδεύτης).—Ad. Est 12^1 = TERESH of Est 2^{21} 6^2.

THASSI (A Θασσίς, ℵV Θασσ(ε)ί).—The surname of Simon the Maccabee, 1 Mac 2^3. The meaning of the word is quite uncertain. As likely an interpretation as any is 'the zealous,' obtained by connecting with Aram. and New Heb. חסם 'to bubble up *or* ferment' (used of new wine). For the history of Simon see art. MACCABEES, vol. iii. p. 185.

THEATRE (θέατρον). — At the disturbance recorded in Ac $19^{21ff.}$ we are told that the crowd rushed to the theatre, and that it was there that the somewhat tumultuous meeting, afterwards described, took place. We also learn from Josephus (*Ant.* XIX. viii. 2) that it was in the theatre at Cæsarea that the events described in Ac 12^{20-23} took place.

For general descriptions of the Greek and Roman theatre, reference must be made to the ordinary Dictionaries of Antiquities. The theatre at Ephesus was on the slope of Mt. Coressus, and was famous as being one of the largest, if not the largest, in the ancient world. A description of the remains with a plan may be found in Woods, *Discoveries at Ephesus*, ch. iv. p. 68. A large number of inscriptions also were found on the site, which have been published in full in Hicks' *Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum*. These are specially important as illustrating the very varied part the Greek theatre played in public life, as the place not only of amusement, but of every form of large assembly. The results are well summed up by Lightfoot, *Essays on Supernatural Religion*, p. 299—

'The theatre appears as the recognized place of public assembly. Here edicts are proclaimed, and decrees recorded, and benefactors crowned. When the mob, under the leadership of Demetrius, gathered here for their demonstration against St. Paul and his companions, they would find themselves surrounded by memorials which might stimulate their zeal for the goddess. If the "town clerk" had desired to make good his assertion, "What man is there that knoweth not that the city of the Ephesians is sacristan of the great goddess Artemis?" he had only to point to the inscriptions which lined the walls for confirmation. The very stones would have cried out from the walls in response to his appeal.'

The same Greek word is also used in 1 Co 4^9 'for we are made a *spectacle* unto the world, and to angels, and to men,' where the meaning is the scene or spectacle in the theatre.

A. C. HEADLAM.

THEBAIC VERSION. — Now generally called the **Sahidic** Version. See EGYPTIAN VERSIONS, vol. i. p. 669[b].

THEBES.—See NO-AMON, vol. iii. p. 555.

THEBEZ (תֵּבֵץ 'brightness' (?); B Θηβής, Θαμασί, A Θαιβαίς, Θαμασεί; *Thebes*).—The place at which Abimelech was killed by a millstone which a woman threw down upon him from a tower that was holding out after the city had been taken (Jg 9^{50}, 2 S 11^{21}; Jos. *Ant.* v. vii. 5). Eusebius and Jerome (*Onom.*) say that in their day there was a village called Thebes, about 13 Rom. miles from Neapolis, on the road to Scythopolis. The Roman road from N. to S. can still be traced, and on it, about 10 miles from *Nâblus*, is *Tûbâs*, which Robinson was the first to identify with Thebez (*BRP*[2] ii. 317, iii. 305). *Tûbâs* is a large village, surrounded by olive groves and cornfields, on the western slope of a broad fertile valley. Its oil and corn are held in high estimation; and the villagers, who are divided into three factions, own large flocks of sheep and goats. There are numerous rock-hewn cisterns, on which the people depend for their water-supply; and rock-hewn dwelling-places, of which many are still occupied. There is a tomb of *Neby Toba* in the village, which the Samaritans believe to be that of Asher, son of Jacob. The village suffered greatly from the earthquake of 1837 (*PEF Mem.* ii. 247; Guérin, *Samarie*, i. 357; Baedeker-Socin, *Pal.*[3] 224). C. W. WILSON.

THEFT.—See artt. CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS in vol. i. p. 522[b], and MAN-STEALING in vol. iii. p. 239.

THELERSAS (B Θελερσάς, A Θελσάς), 1 Es 5^{36} = Tel-harsha, Ezr 2^{59}, a Bab. town.

THEODOTION.—See SEPTUAGINT, p. 453[a], and VERSIONS (Greek other than LXX), p. 866[a].

THEODOTUS (Θεόδοτος).—**1.** One of the messengers said to have been sent by Nicanor to Judas Maccabæus, 2 Mac 14^{19}. **2.** The author of a plot to assassinate king Ptolemy Philopator, which was frustrated by Dositheus, a renegade Jew, 3 Mac 1^2.

THEOPHILUS (Θεόφιλος).—The name of the person to whom the Third Gospel and the Acts of the Apostles were addressed (Lk 1^3, Ac 1^1). It has been supposed by some (and the supposition is an early one*) that the name is, after all, only a general name applicable to any Christian, as meaning 'beloved by God' or 'the friend of God.' Others (*e.g.* Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller and*

* The Church days for Thaddæus (Judas of James) are in the Greek Church 19 June and 21 Aug., in the Latin 28 Oct. (together with Simon); on the Armenian see Nilles[2], ii. 589, 627; on the Coptic 702, 721 f. (2 and 28 Epip = July); on the Syriac, i: 480 (20 Aug.), 485 (18 Oct.) 489. The Calendar in McLean's *East Syrian Daily Offices* mentions Mar Adai for the Sixth Sunday of the Resurrection.

* It is certainly as old as Epiphanius (*Hær.* 51, p. 429).

the Roman Citizen, p. 388) hold that the use of this name puts forward the Acts, as a complete work at least to the time of Domitian, and supports the idea that the book is a composite one, consisting of the original notes of St. Luke ('called the 'Travel-Document'), added to and increased by a later editor. The name is certainly that of an individual; and this statement is confirmed by the title *κράτιστος* prefixed to the name in Lk 1^3, as it is prefixed to the names Felix and Festus in the Acts (23^{26} 24^3 26^{25}). The title implies that the person to whom it was ascribed belonged to the equestrian order—he must certainly have been a Gentile. Attempts have been made to fix the place of his residence at Antioch, Alexandria, in Achaia, or at Rome, but there are not sufficient data to go upon to establish any of these theories. Other theorists have gone so far as to deny that he was a Christian, or to say that, at any rate, he knew very little about Christianity.* A step still further has been taken in an attempt to identify him with a high priest of his name (Joseph. *Ant.* XVIII. iv. 3) who held office for about five years, and was perhaps the high priest to whom Saul, afterwards Paul, went to ask for 'letters to Damascus unto the synagogues,' that he might take any Christians who were there prisoners to Jerusalem. Whether Theophilus was a learned and cultivated man or not we do not know, but the dedication to him of the Third Gospel is in style the most elegant piece of writing in the NT. Tradition has not been busy with him as it has with most of the early Christians.

H. A. REDPATH.

THERAS, 1 Es 8^{41} (A Θέρα, B om.) [60] (BA Θερά).—The name of the place and river where Ezra's caravan halted, called AHAVA in Ezr $8^{21.\ 31}$, and now usually identified with the modern Hit on the Euphrates. The origin of the form of the name in 1 Es. is uncertain. Jos. (*Ant.* XI. v. 2, *εἰς τὸ πέραν τοῦ Εὐφράτου*) possibly read *πέραν* for Θέραν.

THERMELETH (Θερμέλεθ), 1 Es 5^{36}.—The equivalent of TELMELAH, a Bab. town in Ezr 2^{59}, where Cod. B gives the same Gr. form of the name.

THESSALONIANS, FIRST EPISTLE TO THE.—

i. Date.
ii. Circumstances.
iii. Analysis.
iv. Value.
v. Authenticity.
vi. Integrity.
Literature.

i. DATE.—The date of this Epistle in relation to St. Paul's life is fixed within the limits of a few months. It was written during the eighteen months which he spent at Corinth at the end of his Second Missionary Journey (Ac 18^{11}). For it was written after he had left Thessalonica, and while the memories of his first visit there were still fresh (chs. 1. 2 *passim*, esp. 2^1 *γέγονεν*); after he had gone on to Athens and had left it (3^1); after he had been rejoined by Silvanus and Timothy (1^1, Ac 18^5); while Silvanus and Timothy, of whom Silvanus is not mentioned in any subsequent journey, are still his companions (1^1); and, lastly, while he is in some central place where he hears news readily from Macedonia and Achaia, and even from wider sources (1^8 *ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ, i.e.* perhaps the Asiatic and Syrian Churches [so Zahn, *Einleitung*, p. 147]; but may it be that Aquila and Priscilla had told him that they had heard even at Rome of the conversion of the Thessalonians? and might Jason have been the channel of communication? Ac 17^5 18^2, Ro 16^{21}). It was, then, at Corinth—but not very early or very late in that stay; not very early, as time must be allowed for the mission and return of Timothy (3^6), for the occurrence of some deaths at Thessalonica (4^{13}), for the active brotherliness of the Thessalonians to manifest itself to other Christians in Macedonia (4^{10}), and the news of their faith to have spread widely even beyond Macedonia and Achaia ($1^{7.\ 8}$). Nor again very late, if 2 Thess. is genuine, for room must be left for the circumstances which led to the writing of that Epistle. The exact date will depend on the system of chronology adopted. It must lie between 49 and 53 (see CHRONOLOGY OF NT).

ii. CIRCUMSTANCES.—St. Paul and his companions, full of hope owing to the Divine call which had led them to preach in Europe, and encouraged by the spiritual success which, in spite of the insults to their Roman citizenship (2^2), they had gained at Philippi, reached Thessalonica. This was a larger and more important centre than Philippi. It was the capital of one of the four divisions of Macedonia; it was a great commercial centre (? cf. 4^{10} *ἐν τῷ πράγματι, im Handel* [Luther], *in Geschäften* [Weizsäcker]), holding easy communication with East and West both by sea and by land (cf. 1^8 4^{10}); it was a free town with its public assembly and its local magistrates (Ac 17^5 *εἰς τὸν δῆμον*; v.^{6} *ἐπὶ τοὺς πολιτάρχας*, cf. *CIG* 1967), and a mixed population of native Greeks, Roman colonists, and Orientals, the Jewish settlement being large enough to have a synagogue. St. Paul began as usual with the synagogue, preaching there for three weeks, appealing to the Jewish Scriptures, proving that Jesus was the Messiah, and that His sufferings and Resurrection were in accord with the Scriptures. The result was that some Jews threw in their lot with Paul and Silas, and so did a larger number of Greek proselytes and of leading ladies. The Acts thus bears witness to the fact that a majority of the Church were of Gentile origin, but speaks only of Gentile proselytes, whereas the Epistle implies converts from heathenism (1^9 2^{14}). The Epistle, though it implies that St. Paul's stay was prematurely cut short, yet seems to require more than three weeks, and Ph 4^{15} shows that St. Paul twice received supplies from Philippi during the time, even though he was supporting himself by his own work (2^9). It is therefore probable that the three weeks of Ac 17^2 were confined to exclusive work in the synagogue; that after that St. Paul, as at Corinth and Ephesus, made some new place, perhaps the house of Jason (Ac 17^5), his abode and place of teaching for Gentiles; and the chronological data would admit of a stay of six months (Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller*, p. 228). It was a time of hard work: St. Paul and his companions rose early, working before daylight to support themselves (2^9, II 3^8); they preached with effectiveness and conviction (1^5); they laid stress on the worthlessness of idols, on the reality of the living God (1^9); they told of the wrath that was coming on the world, when God would punish the heathen world for its impurity (1^{10} 4^6) and the Jews who refused to accept the gospel (2^{16}, II 1^8); of the death of Jesus, of His Resurrection, of His power to deliver from this wrath (1^{10} 4^{14} $5^{9.\ 10}$). They added that God had now established His kingdom and called heathen into it (2^{12}); that such a call required a holy life, a separation from impurity (4^2), an active life of work (4^{11}, II 3^{10}); that Christianity would lay them open to persecution (3^4); but that after certain signs had appeared (II 2^5) Jesus would return suddenly, like a thief in the night (5^2), and they would be with Him for ever. Their preaching met with great

* This theory is based mainly on the ground that Theophilus from his title 'most excellent' was an official, and that it is not likely that any of the early Christians would hold high office under the Roman authorities.

success (1[8] 2[13]) in spite of much conflict (2[2]); the gifts of the Spirit, especially that of prophecy, were manifested (5[19-20]); the Divine word made the converts strong to bear persecution (2[13-15]). There is no indication of the size of the Church; but some of the chief men, perhaps Jason (Ac 17[5]), Aristarchus, and Secundus (Ac 20[4]), took the lead in active work and preaching (5[12-14]), and probably St. Paul, as elsewhere, officially appointed them to this position; apparently, also, some form of almsgiving was organized (II 3[10]).

These results roused the jealousy of the Jews. They misrepresented the teaching of Christ's kingdom as treason to the emperor: working on the heathen populace, they attempted to bring St. Paul before a hastily called meeting of the assembly; but, failing to find him, they took Jason, his host, and other Christians before the native magistrates (cf. *ὑπὸ τῶν ἰδίων συμφυλετῶν*, 2[14]). These were bound over to keep the peace, *i.e.* probably to send Paul and Silas away; and the same night they withdrew to Berœa. Probably, even while there, they planned a return to Thessalonica, but were unable to carry it out (2[18] *ἅπαξ*: there would scarcely be time for two such proposals at Athens). From Berœa St. Paul passed on to Athens, leaving Silas and Timothy there, but sending back word that they should join him as quickly as possible (Ac 17[15]). The writer of the Acts gives the impression that they did not do so until after he had reached Corinth (18[5]); but this impression must be supplemented from this Epistle. They came at once to him while at Athens, perhaps bringing news of some fresh persecutions at Thessalonica (3[3] *ταύταις* and [4]). Paul, Silas, and Timothy were anxious to return; the tie between them and their converts had been very close; their stay had been interrupted before their work was done; they had only meant to be absent a short time; their converts were young, and might be tempted by persecution or cajolery (3[2]) to renounce their faith (2[17] 3[5]); their opponents, whether Jews or, more probably, heathen, knew well how to misrepresent their motives; their very taunts (*πλάνη, ἀκαθαρσία, δόλος, κολακεία, πλεονεξία, ζητοῦντες δόξαν*, perhaps *ἐν βάρει ὄντες*) are echoed in this letter (2[3-6]). But there were obstacles; perhaps the guarantee which Jason had given to the magistrates was still enforced (Ramsay, *l.c.*). So Paul and Silas (*ἐπέμψαμεν*, 3[2]) decided to send Timothy to Thessalonica, and Silas probably returned to visit some other Church in Macedonia. Possibly St. Paul in his growing anxiety sent yet another messenger (*κἀγὼ . . . ἔπεμψα*, 3[5]).* While they were absent, St. Paul moved on to Corinth, and Silas and Timothy both rejoined him there.

The news that Timothy brought was in the main good: the faith of the Thessalonians had stood the test of persecution (1[3] 3[6]); their love showed itself in hospitality and charity, even to other Macedonian Christians (1[3] 3[6] 4[9-10]); they strove to edify each other (5[11]); they tried to walk obedient to Christ's commands (4[1]); they were loyal to their teachers, and wished to see them once more (3[6-7]). At the same time the calumnies against the new Christian teachers were still prevalent, and the converts were still persecuted; they were also exposed to the ordinary perils of a new Church in a heathen town; they were tempted to fall back into impurity (4[1-8]); some of the poorer members, perhaps abusing the charity of the richer, were living a life of idleness and dependence (4[9-12]), others were careless and forgetful of the coming of Christ (5[1-11]). There was a tendency, perhaps due to 'the old Macedonian spirit of independence' (Lightfoot, *Biblical Essays*, p. 248), to disorder and contempt of those in authority (5[12-15]; *ἄτακτος, ἀτάκτως, ἀτακτεῖν* only in these two Epp.; *στηρίζειν* 4 times, 2 elsewhere). There was a danger of a misuse of spiritual gifts at the meetings of the Church (5[19-22]); while some had lost friends by death and were afraid that these would not share in the blessings of Christ's Advent (4[13-18]). On receipt of this news St. Paul writes this Epistle; he writes in the name of Silas and Timothy as well as himself, so that, with a few exceptions (2[18] 3[5] 5[27]), he uses the plural number and speaks for them all; probably he dictated it to Timothy and added the conclusion (5[25-28]) in his own handwriting (cf. II 3[17]). Their hope is still to return to Thessalonica, but meanwhile they write to express their delight at the good news, to defend their own conduct as teachers, and to complete what was left wanting in the faith and life of their converts. The words of 4[1] *καθὼς καὶ περιπατεῖτε, ἵνα περισσεύητε* form the connecting link between the two parts. He aims at 'binding closer the link between the community and himself, and at more effectually severing the link between it and heathenism' (Jülicher). [For the circumstances cf. Lightfoot, *Biblical Essays*, vi., vii.; Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller*, ix–xi; Spitta, *Zur Gesch. und Litt. des Urchristenthums*, i. pp. 111–154; Zahn, *Einleitung*, pp. 145–160.]

iii. ANALYSIS.—After a salutation, entirely free from all official titles or allusions to controversy, written as from friends to friends, as by men who are still anxious not *ἐν βάρει εἶναι ὡς Χριστοῦ ἀπόστολοι* (cf. 2[6]), the writers give thanks for the spiritual state of the Thessalonians, reviewing their personal relations with them in the past, both at Thessalonica (1[4]–2[16]) and at Athens (2[17]–3[5]), their feelings in the present on the receipt of the news from Timothy (3[6-9]), and their hopes for the future (3[10-13]).

The didactic part deals with questions of personal morality (4[1-12]), with teaching about the dead (vv.[13-18]), and the need of watchfulness (5[1-11]); ending with regulations for the community-life (vv.[12-22]).

A. *Personal* (1[2]–3[13]).

Gratitude for their spiritual virtues is based upon the conviction which the writers felt (*εἰδότες*) of the election of their converts by God (1[3. 4]); and this is proved (i.) by the effectiveness and assurance of their first preaching, and by the results in the lives of the Thessalonians (vv.[5-7]); (ii.) by the reports of others, who bear witness both to the success of their preaching (*περὶ ἡμῶν*) and the reality of the conversion of the Thessalonians (vv.[8-10]); (iii.) by the knowledge of the Thessalonians themselves (*αὐτοὶ γὰρ οἴδατε*), who can bear witness to the boldness of their preaching, to the purity of their motives, to their tenderness, and the absence of all self-assertion, to the example of self-sacrifice, to their fatherly entreaties (2[1-12]). This preaching produced the true results in the lives of the converts; they had been bold to endure persecution—as the Churches in Judæa had from the Jews, the determined opponents of the gospel (vv.[13-16]). Consequently, when obliged to leave Thessalonica, they had longed to return; Paul himself had twice planned a visit, but had been prevented; and so at last Paul and Silas had sent Timothy. Paul himself had sent yet a second messenger to comfort and strengthen them and to reassure himself (3[1-5]). The news that Timothy has brought is like a new gospel, a new life to them, making them thank God and desire to revisit and to complete such faith (vv.[6-10]). So they pray that God will make a visit possible, and meanwhile increase the love of the Thessalonians (vv.[11-13]).

B. *Ethical.* Guidance for the future (4[1]–5[22]).

They must press forward in the spiritual life; they must be specially on their guard against all forms of impurity, for God specially punishes that sin, and it is inconsistent with the Christian calling and the gift of the Spirit (4[1-8]). They must increase their brotherly love, active as it already is (vv.[9. 10]); they must live an orderly, industrious life, that they may gain the respect of the heathen and be independent (vv.[11. 12]). They need not be anxious about their dead friends: the union of Christians with the Risen Christ ensures their resurrection (vv.[13. 14]), and a special word of the Lord has revealed that the dead will meet the Lord, even before the living (vv.[15-18]). But they must not relax their vigilance, for the Lord comes as a thief in the night, and they must watch and be sober, ready to gain the salvation which He will bring (5[1-11]).

Finally, the community-life is regulated; the members of the

* It is possible that St. Paul sent a short letter with Timothy, and that the Thessalonians also replied by a written answer (cf. *Expositor*, Sept. 1898, pp. 167–177, where J. Rendel Harris ingeniously reconstructs the Thessalonian letter).

Church (ὑμᾶς, v.12) are to pay due honour to those in authority, and *they* (ὑμᾶς, v.14) are to keep discipline and be long-suffering. Joy, prayers, and thanksgiving are to be constant; and spiritual utterances are not to be discouraged but tested (vv.12-22).

The Epistle ends with a prayer to the God of peace for their complete preservation; with a request for their prayers; a command to greet one another with the holy kiss; a solemn charge by Paul himself that the Epistle be read to all the members of the Church, and a simple benediction (vv.23-28).

iv. VALUE.—The value of the Epistle is twofold: it represents most closely St. Paul's preaching to the heathen world, and therefore is to be compared with the speeches at Lystra and at Athens (cf. Sabatier, *L'Apôtre Paul*[3], pp. 86–101); St. Paul's antagonists were Jews defending national prejudices; Judaizing Christians are perhaps alluded to in 2[6], but quite incidentally: and also it is not only the earliest of St. Paul's Epistles, but possibly the earliest extant specimen of Christian literature.

It shows us St. Paul as the *missionary*, in the absence of any special controversy; as the *consoler* and the *prophet*. We see his self-denial for the sake of others (2[6-9]; cf. 1 Co 9–11); his intense sympathy with his converts and dependence on their sympathy (2[7. 11. 17] 3[5-10]); his power of self-adaptation (2[7] νήπιοι ἐγενήθημεν; cf. 1 Co 9[20]); his sensitiveness to the opinions of others; his assertion of the purity of his own motives (2[1-5]); his appeal to his own conduct as an example (1[6]); his insistence on spiritual progress, based upon a hearty recognition of the good already achieved (1[2] 4[1. 10] 5[11]); his indignation with those who thwart God's work (2[16] 4[6]); his sense of union with Christ (4[1]); his prayerfulness (1[3] 3[11-13] 5[23]); his gratefulness (1[2] 3[9]). This is exactly the character which reappears, intensified by controversy, in 2 Corinthians.

The witness to the *organization* and *faith* of the Church is equally interesting. The local Church forms one congregation (1[1]). The only official title that occurs is ἀπόστολοι, which is apparently used to include Silvanus and Timothy as well as St. Paul; these apostles hold a position of superiority (ἐν βάρει (?) 2[6]), including the right to be maintained there as in other Churches (2[9]); they speak generally in a tone of entreaty (4[1. 11] 5[12. 14]); once St. Paul, separating himself from the others, uses the language of solemn authority (5[27]). But, under the apostles, there are already officers who preside—probably both for discipline and for worship (5[12-22]). There are meetings with the holy kiss, the symbol of brotherhood (5[26]), and with prophetic utterances (5[19. 20]); probably at such a meeting the letter would be read (5[27]). There is a link of sympathy and charity between them and other Churches (1[8] 2[14] 4[10]).

The faith of the Church is directed to God (1[8]), a God of life and truth (1[9]) and judgment; a Father, who has called them and marked them out for salvation (4[7] 5[9]). Christ is thought of mainly in His future capacity as Judge. Christian life is a waiting for Him (1[10]). Christians have to be always watchful (5[1-12]); He may come at any moment, and will come to inflict punishment on sin, as well as to give joy to His followers (4[6] 2[19]; ἡ παρουσία of Christ's coming, four times in 1 Thess., twice in 2 Thess., once only elsewhere in St. Paul). But Christ is more than this: His death was the means of salvation in the past (5[9]); He is now ὁ κύριος, ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν, the OT language about Jehovah being applied to Him (5[2]); He is God's Son (1[10]); He is united with the Father as the mystic source of life both for the living and the dead (1[1] 2[14] 4[16]). He is the object of prayer, working with the Father in bestowing earthly as well as spiritual blessings (3[11] κατευθύναι, [12] 5[18. 23]). The Holy Spirit is given to all Christians to enable them to conquer evil (4[8]); it gives them joy under persecution (1[5. 6]), and inspires the utterances of the prophets (5[19]). This Epistle gives us the fullest division of human nature into spirit, soul, and body (5[23]). The picture of the Christian life has all the freshness and glow of early days. It is true that it needs steadying and disciplining, but it is strong and radiant. The converts welcome the good news; they put it to active proof; the message is handed on, as by a trumpet note, to others; they imitate their teachers and become objects of imitation to others; they are taught of God; there is mutual affection and confidence between teachers and taught; there is an atmosphere of love, of joy, of life; they live 'en plein jour.' [For the theology cf. Weiss, *Biblical Theology*, pt. iii. § 1, cap. i.; Lechler, *Apostolic and Post-Apostolic Times*, pt. ii. § 2, cap. i.; *The Speaker's Commentary*, iii. pp. 691–701].

RELATION TO THE OT AND TO CHRISTIAN LITERATURE.—The OT is never appealed to as authority or directly quoted; but its history is referred to (2[15]) and its language perhaps consciously adapted (2[16] 4[5. 6. 8. 9] 5[8. 22 (?)]). There is a certain similarity of language between 4[15-17] and 2 Es 5[42], but the thought there is different, the writer considering the justice of God's dealing with different generations of men, and the language is not sufficiently similar to suggest literary dependence on either side; if there is any, probably 2 Esdras is the later work.

There is no reference to Christian *literature*, but it is possible that 1[9. 10] point to the germ of some profession of faith in the Father and the Son made at Baptism (ἀληθινός here only in St. Paul); it is possible again that 4[2] (παραγγελίαι διὰ τοῦ K. Ἰησοῦ) refers to the definite enactments of Ac 15[29], and that 4[14] is a semi-quotation from a creed. There seems a reminiscence of St. Stephen's speech (Ac 7[51]) in 2[15]; and of our Lord's eschatological discourse in 2[16] (Mt 23[32. 36]) 4[15-17] (Mt 24[31. 37. 39]) 5[2. 5] (Mt 24[43]) 5[3] (Lk 21[34], Mt 24[8]); but the majority of these are too much the common language of all Apocalypses to allow us to build on them with certainty.

A comparison of 3[4] with Ac 14[22] 2 Ti 3[12] suggests a semi-quotation of our Lord's words, *e.g.* Mt 24[9], Jn 16[33], but a suggestion that there is a reminiscence of our Lord's sayings recorded in Jn 6[29] in 1[3] and of Jn 17[3] in 1[9] (P. Ewald, *Das Hauptproblem der Evangelien-Frage*, pp. 85, 93) is more doubtful.

In 4[15] ἐν λόγῳ Κυρίου is a possible quotation of some saying unrecorded in the Gospel (cf. Zahn, p. 159); and 5[19], which is often found combined with the *agraphon* γίνεσθε δόκιμοι τραπεζῖται, is perhaps another (cf. Resch, *Agrapha*, p. 116). All these cases point rather to an oral tradition than to written documents.

v. AUTHENTICITY.—The authenticity is now generally admitted, though there are still opponents (cf. Holtzmann, *Einl.*[2] p. 237). The external evidence outside the NT is less strong than for some Epistles, as this Epistle did not lend itself readily to quotation; but it was included in Marcion's canon (*circ.* 140), and that implied some previous Catholic collection. The language of 2[16b] (ἔφθασε . . . τέλος) is found in exactly the same form in the *Test. XII Patr.* (Levi, ch. 6; but see below). There are possible reminiscences of 4[15-17] in *Didaché* xvi. 6; and of 1[5] and 4[3] in Clem. Rom. ch. 42 (but not of 5[23] in Clem. 38, where the thought is different). But the strongest support is given by 2 Thess., which, whatever its date, implies the existence and the recognition of the Pauline authorship of our Epistle. No doubt of its authenticity was raised before the 19th century.

The internal evidence equally supports the genuineness, in spite of a few difficulties. The objection that the Epistle implies a longer lapse of time than a few weeks is met by the consideration that the Acts will permit of an interval of nearly a year between the foundation of the Church and the writing of the letter. The difficulties of reconciliation with the Acts about the movements of Silas and Timothy and the persecution by heathen have been discussed above. As far as they are difficulties, they affect the historical character of the Acts rather than of 1 Thessalonians.

A few other objections deserve notice. It is urged that St. Paul's eager defence of his motives (2[1-5]), and incidentally of his apostolic rights (2[6]), implies a later stage in his life, when Jewish Christians had attacked his apostleship. But such depreciation of his motives would be natural to Jews longing to thwart him (cf. 2[16]), or to heathen, indignant at the con-

version of their friends. The incidents of Ac 15, and probably of Gal 2^{11}, lay behind him, and would account for the incidental allusion in 2^{6}; while, even apart from any attack of opponents, he might think it well to contrast his motives with those of other teachers with whom he might be confused—such as Jewish impostors like Elymas (Ac 13^{10} *πλήρης παντὸς δόλου*), heathen rhetoricians or sophists, taking pay for their teaching (*πλεονεξία*); or, again, he may have desired to dissociate himself from the impure teaching (*ἐξ ἀκαθαρσίας*) of the priests of the Cabeiri (Lightfoot, *Biblical Essays*, p. 257).

Again, 2^{16b} has been interpreted as implying the previous destruction of Jerusalem. If this were so, it would be more rational to strike out the last sentence as the interpolation of a scribe pointing out the fulfilment of St. Paul's words; but the words do not necessarily mean more than that 'sentence has been pronounced upon them; the wrath of God is gone forth; the kingdom of God passed from them when they rejected the Messiah'; they are parallel to the thought of 1 Co 2^{6-8}, Ro $11^{19.\ 25}$, and Ac 13^{46} 18^{6}; and the use of the phrase in the *Test. XII Patr.* perhaps shows that it was a half-stereotyped Rabbinical formula for declaring God's judgment. Moreover, the present participles *ἀρεσκόντων*, *κωλυόντων*, and the phrase *εἰς τὸ ἀναπληρῶσαι* are inconsistent with the destruction of Jerusalem.

Once more, 4^{17} offers an apparent inconsistency with 2 Co 5^{8}; but a change of expectation on such a point would not be unnatural, and a careful comparison of 5^{10} with 2 Co 5^{10} will show that there is no real antithesis.

Lastly, the solemn command of 5^{27} may have been due to the presence of disorderliness and dissension ($5^{14.\ 15}$), and would be natural, even without such a supposition (cf. Col 4^{16}).

The objections, then, can be fairly met, while on the other hand the style, the character of the writer, the many points of contact with 2 Cor., the simplicity and directness of the thought, the primitive stage of Church organization, the state of the spiritual gifts, the question about the dead which must have arisen very early in any Church, the absence of any motive for forgery, the apparent discrepancies with the Acts, the improbability that a later forger would put language in St. Paul's mouth which at least seems to imply that he expected the Parousia in his lifetime, — all these carry conviction of its genuineness. The arguments on both sides are well stated in Holtzmann (*l.c.*), and the genuineness well defended by Jowett, Weizsäcker (*Das Apostol. Zeitalter*, p. 250), Jülicher (*Einl.*[3] pp. 41-45), and most fully by von Soden (*SK*, 1885), and Bornemann, § 5.

vi. INTEGRITY. — The integrity of the Epistle has been questioned both on a large and on a small scale.

(1) Pierson and Naber (*Verisimilia*, Amsterdam, 1886) treat it as a composition of two authors. The first was a pre-Christian Jewish writer, writing a hortatory address to Gentiles before the first coming of the Messiah to foretell His advent, and to exhort them to live a life of Jewish morality. The second was a Christian bishop, whose date is not given, named Paul, who inserted into the Jewish treatise a few Christian phrases and a justification of his own motives and preaching. This analysis is based upon the variety of tone,—now that of an authoritative prophet, now that of a humble pastor—the want of close sequence of thought between the paragraphs, and the difference in the usage of particular words (*ἡμέρα*, *γρηγορεῖν*), and the scantiness of specially Christian teaching. But the criticism is pedantic, and often inconsistent with itself in details: it requires from a letter the exact structure of a scientific treatise, and allows no play to varieties of mood and thought within one writer's mind.

(2) A list of suggestions of interpolations on a smaller scale will be found in Clemen, *Die Einheitlichkeit der Paul. Briefe* (Göttingen, 1894). The most important affect $2^{15.\ 16}$ and 5^{27}. The objection to $2^{15.\ 16}$ as a whole is groundless, the attack on the Jews being as natural to St. Paul as it had been to St. Peter or St. Stephen (Ac 2^{23} 3^{14} 7^{52}); but v.^{16c} *ἔφθασε . . . τέλος* might be an editorial comment added after the destruction of Jerusalem, to point out the fulfilment of St. Paul's words (*εἰς τὸ ἀναπληρῶσαι*); yet, as we have seen, they are quite natural in St. Paul's own mouth at the time. 5^{27} might also be a later addition, emphasizing the importance of the Epistle; but there, too, a natural reason for the words is to be found in the circumstances of the moment (cf. Schmiedel, *Hdcom. ad loc.*; Moffatt, *Histor. NT*, p. 625).

The chief questions of textual criticism affect the reading in 2^{7} (see Westcott-Hort, *NT*, ii. App. p. 128) $^{8.\ 12}$ 3^{3} $4^{1.\ 8}$ $5^{3.}$ (*ib.* p. 144) ^{4}.

LITERATURE.—Of ancient commentators, Chrysostom, though discursive, is excellent in entering into the writer's point of view; and the moral homilies—*e.g.* those on friendship (1 Th 2^{8}), on the fear of hell (1 Th 4^{18}, 2 Th 1^{8}), on intercession (2 Th 3^{2})—are very spiritual and pointed. Theodore of Mopsuestia (*circ.* 415 A.D.) has more of the modern exegetical instinct, and explains the exact meaning and the historical and practical references well, but at times forces the language to suit his own views. Theodoret, while dependent on these two, shows independence of judgment. His notes are clear and sensible, and he is especially careful to draw out the dogmatic inferences of the Epistle.

Of modern writers, Jowett, A. J. Mason (Ellicott's *Comm. for English Readers*), Bishop Alexander (*Speaker's Comm.*), and J. Denney (*Expositor's Bible*) are most interesting on Introduction and doctrinal teaching. More careful exegesis will be found in Ellicott, Alford, Findlay (*Cambr. Bible for Schools*), Lightfoot (*Notes on Epistles of St. Paul*, 1895), P. W. Schmiedel in the *Hdcom. z. NT*, and, most completely of all, in Börnemann-Meyer^{6}. Useful notes on 2^{6} and 5^{4} will be found in Field, *Notes on Trans. of NT* (*ON*^{2}); and on 2^{3-8} by F. Zimmer in 'Theologische Studien D. B. Weiss dargebracht' (Göttingen, 1897); Askwith, *Introd. to Thess. Epp.* (1902).

W. LOCK.

THESSALONIANS, SECOND EPISTLE TO THE.—

i. Date and Circumstances.
ii. Analysis.
iii. Literary Dependence.
iv. Authorship.
v. Integrity.
vi. Value.
Literature.

i. DATE AND CIRCUMSTANCES. — The genuineness of this Epistle is more contested than that of any other attributed to St. Paul, except the Pastorals. If it is not genuine, the exact date and circumstances are merely a literary setting, of little historical value. Yet, even so, a definite situation was in the writer's mind and must be examined.

The following points fix that situation. Apparently the temple is still standing (2^{4}), *i.e.* the date is before A.D. 70. Further, Paul, Silvanus, and Timothy, after having founded the Church at Thessalonica (2^{5} 3^{1-10}) and written a letter, probably 1 Thess., to it (2^{15} and perh. 2^{2} 3^{14}), are still working together (1^{1}) in some place where they are thwarted by perverse and malicious men (3^{2}), and where there are other churches in the neighbourhood (1^{4}). This will suit exactly the time of Ac 18^{5-11} (cf. 2 Co 1^{1} with 1^{4}); late in the stay at Corinth, but probably before the appeal to Gallio had stopped the Jewish persecution. At this time news about the Thessalonian Church reached them at Corinth (3^{11} *ἀκούομεν*); perhaps brought by the messenger implied in 1 Th 3^{5}, perhaps by the bearer of 1 Thess. on his return, perhaps by some chance passer-by. They were still exposed to persecution, and were still bravely enduring it; but there were tendencies to disorder and insubordination; idlers were presuming on the charity of their neighbours; and there was a tendency to excitement caused by an expectation of the speedy setting-in of 'the day of the Lord'; spiritual utterances, not duly tested (1 Th 5^{20-22}), increased the expectation; sayings of Paul, Silvanus, and Timothy were exaggerated to countenance it; possibly a forged letter in their name was circulated, or (more likely) the language of 1 Th 4. 5 was distorted in the same interest (2^{2}). The three teachers feel that their converts must be praised and comforted, yet stimulated and steadied. They write a common letter—always in the plural, except that once one of them, probably Paul, intervenes with a special appeal to his own teaching

(2^5), and Paul confirms the whole with his autograph at the end (3^{17}).

ii. ANALYSIS.—

$1^{1.2}$ Greeting.

A. *Gratitude for their spiritual state*, especially for their loyal endurance under persecution ($^{3.4}$).
Strengthening of them by the thought of
(1) the justice of God (^{5});
(2) the special manifestation of that justice, which will accompany the Appearance of the Lord Jesus ($^{6\text{-}10}$).
Prayer to God to complete their Christian life, that Christ may be glorified in them on 'that day' ($^{11.12}$).

B. *Fuller teaching about that day.*
Warning against being misled into thinking it immediately at hand ($2^{1.2}$), and a reminder of Paul's past teaching (^{5}), which implied (*a*) a mystery of lawlessness and of error already at work; (*b*) a restraining power or person; (*c*) a removal of that restraint at some future date; (*d*) a great apostasy; (*e*) the appearance of the man of sin; (*f*) the appearance of the Lord destroying the man of sin and all who have been deceived by him ($^{3.4.6\text{-}12}$).
Thanksgiving to God that He saved them from this doom ($^{13.14}$).
Exhortation to abide loyally by their past teaching (^{15}).
Prayer to God to comfort and to steady them ($^{16.17}$).

C. *Request for their intercession* ($3^{1.2}$). Assurance of God's faithfulness (^{3}), and of their teacher's faith in them (^{4}).
Prayer to God to give them love and patience (^{5}).

D. *Regulation of their community-life.*
They are to shun all disorderly brethren (^{6}); for such disorder is contrary to the example which their teachers had set ($^{7\text{-}9}$), and their repeated command (^{10}). Such brethren must earn their own bread ($^{11.12}$). The rest must be forbearing, but yet break off intercourse with any one who persists in disobeying this written command ($^{13\text{-}15}$).
Prayer to the God of peace to give peace to them *all* (^{16}).
Autograph salutation in Paul's own handwriting (^{17}).
Benediction (^{18}).

iii. LITERARY DEPENDENCE.—(1) The Epistle presupposes the existence of 1 Thessalonians. For II 2^{15} explains itself readily by reference to I $4^{1\text{-}8}$ $5^{1\text{-}10}$; II 3^6 to I 4^{11}; II 3^{14}, perhaps, but less probably, to I $4^{10\text{-}12}$; and II 2^2 may imply a misunderstanding of I 4^{17} $5^{2.3}$. Further, there is a remarkable similarity of structure, *e.g.*, in the form of greeting (I 1^1, II $1^{1.2}$), of thanksgiving (I 1^2, II 1^3), of prayers (I 3^{11} 5^{23}, II 2^{16} 3^{16}), of transition (I 4^1, II 3^1). And this extends to many verbal points, as will be seen by a comparison of the following places:—

I 1^3 with II 1^3.	I 2^{12} with II 1^5.
I 1^4 with II 2^{13}.	I 3^2 with II 2^{17}.
I 1^6 with II 1^4.	I $4^{1.10}$ 5^{11} with II 3^4.
I $1^{8.9}$ with II 1^4.	I 5^9 with II 2^{14}.
I $2^{6\text{-}9}$ with II 3^9.	I $5^{14.15}$ with II 3^{13}.

The writer of 2 Thess. must have lately written 1 Thess., or have known it as a piece of literature.

(2) *Previous apocalyptic teaching* is also presupposed. No one passage of the OT is appealed to, but the apocalyptic descriptions $1^{6\text{-}10}$ $2^{3\text{-}12}$ weave together phrases from Is $2^{10.19.21}$ 11^4 [found in a similar context in Ps-Sol $17^{27.39}$] 49^3 $66^{5.14}$, Jer 10^{25}, Ezk 28^2, and Dn 11^{36}. There are also striking resemblances between the language here and that of our Lord's eschatological discourse; cf. 1^9 with Mt $25^{31.46}$; 2^1 with Mt 24^{31} (*ἐπισυνάξουσιν*); 2^2 with Mt 24^6 (*θροεῖσθαι*, here and Mk 13^7 only in NT); 2^3 with Mt 24^5; 2^4 with Mt 24^{15} (*ἐν τόπῳ ἁγίῳ*), Mk 13^{14} (*ἑστηκότα ὅπου οὐ δεῖ*); 2^7 with Mt 24^{12} (*ἀνομία*); 2^9 with Mt 24^{24}. Such similarities may be due to the fact that each draws independently from the common stock of apocalyptic imagery, and they do not prove a literary dependence on any written Gospel, but they make probable a knowledge of some oral tradition of that discourse.

(3) A knowledge of other Gospel sayings may lie behind 1^5=Mt 5^{10}, 3^3=Mt 6^{13}. The command in 3^{10} is a quotation of a Rabbinical saying, but possibly it had been already used by our Lord Himself, and may have been taken by St. Paul from Him (cf. Resch, *Agrapha*, pp. 128 and 240).

iv. AUTHORSHIP.—Church tradition universally ascribed the Epistle to St. Paul. It is directly attributed to him by Polycarp (c. xi.), who quotes 1^4, though by mistake he quotes it as addressed to the Philippians. Reminiscences of the apocalyptic language may underlie Justin Martyr, *Dial.* xxxii. cx.; *Didache*, c. 16; and more prob. *Ep. Vienne and Lyons*, *ap.* Eus. v. 1 (*ἐνέσκηψεν ὁ ἀντικείμενος, προοιμιαζόμενος ἤδη τὴν μέλλουσαν ἔσεσθαι παρουσίαν αὐτοῦ . . . Χριστὸς . . . καταργῶν τὸν ἀντικείμενον . . . οἱ υἱοὶ τῆς ἀπωλείας*), but in no case can the reference be called undoubted. Marcion included the Epistle in his Canon as Pauline, and so did the Latin and Syriac translators.

The internal evidence on the whole supports this view. The general structure of the Epistle, the style and phraseology, the affectionate tone, the frequent intercession for the readers, the request for their prayers, the appeal to his own teaching and example, the sharp insistence on his own authority in a matter of discipline, are all characteristic of St. Paul. But two main objections are raised.

(*a*) The relation of the style to that of 1 Thessalonians. In spite of the points of likeness (see above), there is a difference; the tone is more official (*εὐχ. ὀφείλομεν*), the feeling less vivid, the sentences more involved, the same things are being said, but said with less point and directness; they suggest a second person adapting Pauline thought (Spitta, pp. 116–119). But the variety seems equally explicable as that of one writer writing after a short lapse of time, and in a different mood. A comparison of the style of 2 Timothy with 1 Timothy, of Colossians with Ephesians, of 2 Co 11 with 1 Co 9, will show very similar variety.

(*b*) The eschatology is said to be un-Pauline. It is true that no such detailed anticipations are to be found elsewhere in St. Paul (but 2 Co 6^{15} *τίς συμφώνησις Χριστοῦ πρὸς Βελίαρ* may refer to the Antichrist tradition). But such teaching was naturally esoteric; and, even here, the writer seems intentionally to avoid being explicit, through fear, perhaps, of giving the Roman authorities a handle against himself or his converts (cf. the reticence of Jos. *Ant.* X. x. 4, about the interpretation of Daniel's prophecies). Further, some such teaching was common among the Jews, so that St. Paul would have inherited it; and, lastly, it is almost universal in Christian writers (Synoptists, John [5^{43}], James, 1. 2 John, Apoc.), so that the probability is in favour of St. Paul having shared the expectation in some form.

But is the form implied here Pauline? This again is difficult to answer, because of the difficulty of deciding what the writer was pointing to. There lay behind him in the history of the doctrine the following stages. (1) A common Oriental myth of a struggle between the power of evil, represented by a dragon (Bab. Tiāmat) and the Creator of the world (Marduk), in which the dragon had been bound, but would revive for another conflict with God before the end of the world (see articles RAHAB, SEA MONSTER, and REVELATION). The connexion of this with the following is only a conjecture, but a very possible conjecture. (2) A Jewish expectation, springing up during the Exile, of an attack upon Israel by foes led by some human leader or (later) by Satan or Beliar, which would be frustrated either by J" or the Messiah. Such a victory is described in Ezk 38. Something similar recurs in the prophecies of Daniel (7. 8 and 11) about the conflict with Antiochus Epiphanes. The expectation did not cease with the death of Antiochus; it was applied to the thought of deliverance from the Roman empire in 2 Es 5^1, Ps-Sol 17, Orac. Sib. iii. 60, Apoc. Baruch, c. 40, Asc. Is. c. 4 (cf. MAN

OF SIN). (3) This anticipation had become Christian. Our Lord had contemplated a leader 'coming in his own name' (Jn 5^{43}) and demanding allegiance; some person, 'the abomination of desolation, standing in the holy place (*ἑστηκότα*)'; many false prophets, a growth of lawlessness, a destruction of Jerusalem, and a coming of the Son of Man (Mt 24, Mk 13, Lk 21). Similar teaching had been given at Thessalonica by the writer frequently (*ἔλεγον*, 2^5), but it was shared by his fellow-teachers (*ἐρωτῶμεν . . . ὡς δι' ἡμῶν*, $2^{1.2}$), and the phrases *ἡ ἀποστασία*, *ὁ ἄνθρωπος*, *ὁ ἀντικείμενος*, *ὁ κατέχων* are quoted without explanation as from a well-known body of teaching. (4) A new point had probably been given to the expectation among the Jews in A.D. 39 or 40, by the attempt of Caligula, frustrated only by his death, to erect his own statue in the temple of Jerusalem (Jos. *Ant.* XVIII. viii.; Tac. *Hist.* v. 9). This would help to explain the language of 2^4, and Spitta suggests that St. Paul and his colleagues had adapted a Jewish form of the apocalyptic teaching written in view of Caligula's attempt; but there is no necessity for such a suggestion, interesting and possible as it is.

This history of the doctrine helps us to define the probable application which is implied in this teaching. It is not indeed necessary to suppose in St. Paul's mind any clear identification with a definite person or a definite time; yet the language is more natural on such a supposition, and the interpretation will come in one of two directions.

(*α*) Probably the opposition comes from Jewish soil. *τὸ μυστήριον τῆς ἀνομίας* is the opposition of the Jews to the spread of Christianity (cf. $3^{1.2}$, 1 Th 2^{16}, Ac 18^6 and *passim*); the *ἐνέργεια πλάνης* is the blinding of the eyes of the Jews to the gospel (Ac 13^{41-46}, 1 Co 2^6, 2 Co 3^{14}, Ro 11^{25}); *τὸ κατέχον* is the Roman empire controlling the Jews 'assidue tumultuantes' (cf. Ac 18^2) and preventing their illegal attacks on the Christians; *ὁ κατέχων*, the Roman emperor, or perhaps on the analogy of Dn $10^{13.20}$ some archangel who presides over the order of the empire (so Goebel, *ad loc.*); *ἡ ἀποστασία* is the final rejection by the Jews of their Messiah, or possibly some Christian apostasy such as is contemplated in He $10^{35ff.}$; *ὁ ἄνθρωπος τῆς ἁμαρτίας* is some false Messiah, expected to lead the Jews in a final rising against the Roman empire; and his destruction lies in the overthrow of the Jewish polity and the salvation and establishment of the Christian Church. This interpretation is most in accord with the Synoptists and with the subsequent Church tradition, as well as with St. Paul's own circumstances at the moment.

(*β*) The opposite view has been frequently maintained of late, which sees the explanation in heathen opposition and especially in the worship of the Cæsars. The lawlessness and deceit will then be that of heathen wickedness and error; the restraining power, the antagonism of the Jewish State (Warfield), or the imperial authority (Jülicher); the man of sin, the emperor or some heathen personification of evil proclaiming himself as God; the apostasy, that of the Jews, or, as on the former theory, of some Christians; and the coming of the Son of Man will be the ultimate annihilation of Cæsarism and the establishment of Christianity as the religion of the world. This view would be more in accordance with the past history of the application to Antiochus Epiphanes, with the attempt of Caligula, and with the reference to Nero in the Apocalypse; but it seems less in accord with St. Paul's own circumstances at the time.

Either of these views gives a setting possibly Pauline; the language, no doubt, is indefinite; it is capable of being applied to the theory of a Nero *redivivus* (*c.* 69 A.D.), or to some Gnostic opposition to Christianity in the 2nd cent.; but none of the language requires such an interpretation. Nor, again, is this view fatally inconsistent with St. Paul's expectation elsewhere. 1 Th 5^{1-3} certainly foretells a sudden surprising appearance of the day of the Lord; but that is consistent with a previous preparation of events, the length of which is left, as here, wholly indefinite. Ro 11^{26} also implies a hope that 'all Israel will be saved,' which seems scarcely consistent with a great Jewish antagonism; but the language cannot be rigidly pressed; the failure of a Jewish false Messiah might be a stage in the conversion of the Jewish nation; and it is possible that St. Paul's expectation on this point may have changed. Again, 1 Ti 4^1, 2 Ti 3^1 point to an expectation of an apostasy within the Christian Church; but that would not be inconsistent with the view maintained here.

Recent investigations have emphasized the strength of the tradition both Jewish and Christian; but they have also shown the versatility of its application; it is applied to the danger which threatens the truth at any moment. Daniel gives it a heathen application to Antiochus Epiphanes; the writer of the Psalms of Solomon to Pompey; St. Paul, thwarted by Jews, applies it to them; St. John sees many Antichrists in teachers untrue to Christianity; the writer of the Apocalypse, when the Roman empire had become a persecuting power, applies it to the Roman emperor; the writers of the Ep. of the Churches of Vienne and Lyons see in the persecution there an anticipation of the final conflict: 'he that opposeth' swoops down upon the Christians; Christ in the martyrs 'brings to naught' him who opposeth; the apostate Christians are 'the sons of perdition.' This application is all the more interesting that it is incidental, and the passage is not quoted. Consequently there may be many applications and many fulfilments yet in the future, as long as the cleavage between faith and unfaith, error and truth, remain. [Cf. MAN OF SIN, vol. iii. p. 226; PAUL, vol. iii. p. 709; Bousset, *Der Antichrist* (Göttingen, 1895, Eng. tr. 1896); in *Encyc. Bibl. s.v.*; Thackeray, *The Relation of St. Paul to Contemporary Jewish Thought*, pp. 136–141; Stanton, *Jewish and Christian Messiah*, iii. c. 2; R. H. Charles, *Eschatology*, p. 380 ff., and art. 'Apocalyptic Literature' in *Encyc. Bibl.*; Schürer, *HJP* II. ii. 154 f.; B. B. Warfield in *Expositor*, 1886, ii. pp. 30–44; G. G. Findlay, *ib.* 1900, ii. pp. 251–261].

There is, then, no reason for denying the authorship to St. Paul. Spitta in a valuable examination of the Ep. (*Zur Gesch. und Litt. des Urchristentums*, i. pp. 111–154) suggests Timothy as the real author, supposing that St. Paul, instead of dictating as usual, left Timothy to compose it, and that Timothy is referring in 2^5 to his own separate teaching at his last visit to them; St. Paul then adds a general authentication in 3^{17}. In this way he attempts to explain the difference of style between 1 Thess. and this Ep., and the difference of the eschatological view. But these differences are not so great as to call for such an explanation; further, St. Paul would not authenticate a letter which contained any substantial difference from his own teaching; the Thessalonians would naturally refer *ἔλεγον* of 2^5 to the leading apostle whose name stands first (1^1) and who is named in 3^{17}, the only other use of the singular; and $2^{1.2}$ imply that the teaching of the one teacher (2^5) was shared by all. If another author were needed, Silvanus seems a more natural suggestion, for he, as a prophet, might be the source of the prophetic passage; but the theory creates more difficulties than it solves.

Those who reject the Pauline authorship altogether suppose that at some later date an expecta-

tion of the immediate coming of Christ arose and produced excitement and neglect of daily duties; that some one in authority tried to meet the peril implied in the excitement by writing a letter which described the stages that would precede that coming, and in order to gain weight for it composed it in the name of Paul, deliberately modelling it upon 1 Thess., the Pauline Epistle which was most cognate in subject. Of the many suggested situations, that of Schmiedel seems the best, who would connect it with the expectation of a return of Nero, and so place it after Nero's death (June 68), and before the destruction of the temple (August 70). It would then deal with the same circumstances as the Apocalypse (ch. 13). But there is no detail here, which connects 'him that opposeth' clearly with Nero *redivivus*, and the very elaborateness of the theory is against its truth.

v. INTEGRITY.—The difficulties of 2^{1-12} have naturally led to suggestions of interpolation. Pierson and Naber (*Verisimilia*, pp. 21–25) treat 1^{5-10} 2^{1-12} 3 (except $^{7-13.\ 16-18}$) as parts of a pre-Christian Jewish apocalypse, worked up into a Christian form by some unknown bishop of the name of Paul (cf. preceding art.). Schmidt, S. Davidson, and others treat the main body as Pauline, with 2^{1-12} as a late insertion of about 69; Hausrath treats 2^{1-12} as the only Pauline fragment worked up into an Epistle at a later date. But there is no MS support for any of these theories, and 2^{1-12} cannot be separated from 1^{5-10}, which latter section shows striking similarities with the Jewish expectations; cf. esp. 1^{8} and 2^{9} with Sib. Orac. iii. 67 f. of the coming of Beliar—

ἀλλ' οὐχὶ τελεσφόρα ἔσσετ' ἐν αὐτῷ
ἀλλὰ πλάνα, καὶ δὴ μέροπας πολλούς τε πλανήσει
τιστοὺς τ' ἐκλεκτοὺς θ' Ἑβραίους ἀνόμους τε καὶ ἄλλους
ἀνέρας, οἵτινες οὔπω θεοῦ λόγον εἰσήκουσαν·

(cf. Clemen, *Die Einheitlichkeit der Paul. Briefe*, pp. 17, 18; Moffatt, *Historical NT*, p. 626).

vi. VALUE. — Short as the Epistle is, it is of great value, both doctrinal and historical. It marks the high position attributed from the first to Christ, the language of the OT about Jehovah being applied to Him (1^{7}), and He being ranked with the Father as the one source of comfort and strength (2^{17} *παρακαλέσαι . . . στηρίξαι*, each in the singular). It shows us the strength of the expectation of the Second Advent in the Early Church; the deep sense of the struggle between good and evil, between truth and falsehood, its consummation in definite persons, and the final triumph of the good and true; the faith in the ultimate justice of God to right the injustice of this world. It shows the method in which the apostle met the feverish impatience that would antedate the end: (*a*) laying stress on those elements in the traditional expectation which implied lapse of time and an overruling Providence which fixed the right moment for the coming (*ἐν τῷ αὐτοῦ καιρῷ*, cf. Ps-Sol 17^{23} *εἰς τὸν καιρὸν ὃν οἶδας σύ, ὁ θεός*); (*b*) insisting on the duty of each man earning his own livelihood and discouraging all cringing dependence on Church charity; (*c*) strengthening the bonds of discipline, pressing the authority of his own commands, and calling upon the Church to rise to the duty of keeping its ranks free of unworthy members; 3^{14} marks the commencement of Church discipline. It sanctions the tendency to read the signs of the times and to see the great struggle between good and evil working itself out in contemporary events; and even if we cannot for certain identify St. Paul's application, or even if it was not fulfilled exactly as he expected, yet as the great expectation had grown with centuries and was rooted in principles, so it remains still, claiming a more adequate fulfilment. For applications made in subsequent Christian times see Smith's *DB*, *s.v.* 'Anti-Christ.'

Historically, the section 2^{1-12} was of great importance; for the identification of the Roman empire with *ὁ κατέχων* led to its being treated as the great protecting power, and so gave special point to the prayers for it and for the emperor (cf. Tertullian, *Apol.* 32: 'est et alia major necessitas nobis orandi pro imperatoribus, etiam pro omni statu imperii rebusque Romanis, qui vim maximam universo orbi imminentem ipsamque clausulam sæculi acerbitates horrendas comminantem Romani imperii commeatu scimus retardari'). The language of 3^{17} is also valuable, as indicating that St. Paul had a larger correspondence than we now possess, and probably hints at a danger of forged letters even at this early date.

LITERATURE. — See at end of preceding article, and add Goebel, *Die Thessalonischen Briefe*, a crisp, terse, sensible commentary. The authorship is best discussed, as against St. Paul, by Spitta (see above), Schmiedel, *Hdcom.* pp. 7–11: as for St. Paul, by Jülicher, *Einl.*[4] pp. 45–51; Zahn, pp. 160–182; Moffatt, *Historical NT*, pp. 142–148; Börnemann in Meyer's *Commentar zum NT*. Interesting suggestions for the emendation of the text (in 1^{10} *ἐπιστώθη*, 2^{2} *ὡς δὴ ἡμῶν*) will be found in Westcott-Hort, ii. App. p. 128; Field, *Notes on Trans. of NT*, p. 202.

W. LOCK.

THESSALONICA (Θεσσαλονίκη), a city of Macedonia, still known by that name under the but slightly altered form of *Saloniki*, has long held a prominent place in history, and still ranks, after Constantinople, as the most important town in European Turkey. It is situated on the innermost bay, or north-eastern recess, of the larger gulf, which now takes its name from the modern town, but was known to the ancients as the Thermaic Gulf, after an earlier town on the same site, called Therme. It is built in the form of an amphitheatre on the slopes at the head of the bay; and it is seen from a great distance, crowned by its citadel above, and conspicuous by white-washed walls several miles in circuit. 'The situation,' says Tozer, 'recalls the appearance of Genoa from the way in which the houses rise from the water edge, and gradually ascend the hillsides towards the north. It is admirably placed for purposes of communication and trade, as it lies in the innermost bay of the winding gulf, and forms the natural point of transit for exports and imports; besides which it commands the resources of the immense plain, which reaches in a vast arc as far as the foot of Olympus, and receives the waters of three important rivers, the Axius, the Lydias, and the Haliacmon' (*Geog. of Greece*, 1873, p. 204). It is said to have borne earlier the names of Emathia and Halia: certainly it bore that of Therme, by which it is known to Herod. (as a halting-place of Xerxes on his way to Greece, vii. 121, 123, 124, 127, 128, 183) and Thucyd. (i. 61, ii. 29), and which it probably owed to hot mineral springs (*thermæ*), still existing in its vicinity. The name Thessalonica (as to the origin of which various conjectures are brought together by Tzetzes, *Chil.* xiii. 305 ff.), which is first employed by Polybius (xxiii. 4, 4; 11, 2; xxix. 3, 7), would appear to commemorate a victory over the Thessalians, of which nothing definite is known as to time, place, or victor (Philip?). It was most probably given to the city by Cassander (who rebuilt it about B.C. 315, and transferred to it the inhabitants of several small townships in the vicinity; Strabo, vii. fr. 21) in honour of his wife of that name, who was daughter of Philip, and step-sister of Alexander. The place soon gained importance, becoming, on the conquest of Macedonia by the Romans, the capital of the second of its four divisions (Liv. xlv. 29), and, on the conversion of the country a few years later into a province, practically the capital of the whole, and residence of the Roman governor; called

'the mother of all Macedonia' (*Anthol. Gr.* ed. Jacobs, ii. p. 98, *Epig.* 14), although the name 'metropolis,' occurring on coins of the city, is of later date. The Romans had docks (*navalia*) there (Liv. xliv. 10); the great Egnatian highway traversed the city from west to east, the remains of arches at either end of a long street still marking the site of its gates; Cicero during his exile found friendly shelter there for seven months with Plancius the quæstor (*Orat. pro Planc.* 41; *Ep. ad Att.* iii. 8 ff.). In the first Civil war it supplied a basis of operations for Pompeius and the Senate (Dio Cass. xli. 20); in the second it espoused the cause of Antonius and Octavianus (Plut. *Brut.* 46; Appian, *Bell. Civ.* iv. 118), which brought to it apparently the privilege of becoming a free city (*liberæ conditionis*, Pliny, *HN* iv. 36), for there are several coins inscribed with the words ΘΕΣΣΑΛΟΝΙΚΕΩΝ · ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΑΣ, probably to be associated with the victory at Philippi, from the reverse bearing the joint names of Antonius and Augustus. This privilege implied autonomy (hence the mention of *τὸν δῆμον* in Ac 17[5]), and the appointment of their own magistrates, who were in this instance designated *πολιτάρχαι*, as is apparent from Ac 17[6. 8], where the term is rendered RULERS OF THE CITY (which see). Tafel, in his comprehensive monograph (*De Thessal. eiusque agro dissertatio geographica*, Berol. 1839), follows out the fortunes of the city as under the later Empire a main bulwark against the Gothic and Slavonic invasions (of which he enumerates six); and, during the Middle Ages, thrice captured,—by the Saracens in 904, by the Normans under Tancred in 1185, and by the Turks in 1430. It has still a population of about 70,000, whereof 20,000 are Jews.

When St. Paul, along with Silas, visited Thessalonica on his mission to Macedonia and Greece, the Jews there, who were numerous and influential enough to have founded a synagogue, were his most active opponents. The discussions with them on three Sabbaths persuaded few Jewish hearers, but a much larger number ('a great multitude') of 'the devout Greeks'—*i.e.* proselytes—'and of the chief women not a few' (Ac 17[4]). But the Jews, who were not won over, called to their aid some worthless idlers of the market-place (*ἀγοραῖοι*), excited a tumult, beset the house of Jason, and, not finding there those whom they sought, dragged Jason and others before the politarchs, accusing them of having received disturbers of the world's peace, and of contravening the imperial decrees by owning another king in Jesus. Upon this alarm, the politarchs took securities from the accused and dismissed them; but the brethren at once sent away Paul and Silas by night to Berœa. The subsequent fortunes of the Church which their brief ministry had formed called forth from the apostle (courteously associating with himself Timothy as well as Silvanus=Silas) the two Epistles to the Thessalonians. See preceding two articles.

WILLIAM P. DICKSON.

THEUDAS (*Θευδᾶς*; the name is supposed to be a contraction of *Θεόδωρος*).—In the speech of Gamaliel contained in Ac 5[34ff.] the speaker is represented as referring to the rebellion of a certain Theudas, who professed to be some one great: 400 men followed him; but he was killed, and his following came to nothing. At a later date, Gamaliel goes on to say, Judas of Galilee arose at the time of the taxing, and his following too were scattered. In Josephus (*Ant.* xx. v. 1) we have an account of one Theudas. While Fadus was procurator, he tells us, a certain magician whose name was Theudas persuaded a great part of the people to take their effects and follow him across the Jordan. He pretended he could divide the river by his power as a prophet. Fadus attacked him suddenly, cut off his head, and dispersed his followers. It is perfectly clear that if this Theudas be the same person as is mentioned in the Acts, the author of that book has been guilty of an anachronism. For he puts into the mouth of Gamaliel, who must have spoken before A.D. 37, a reference to a revolt which occurred about A.D. 45 or 46. This discrepancy is one of the chief difficulties in the Acts of the Apostles, and various suggestions have been made to account for it.

1. Reference has already been made to the suggestion that the mistake arose through the blundering use of Josephus (vol. i. p. 30). It is not necessary to add anything to what is said there, except that a careful reperusal of the passages does not tend to make the hypothesis more credible.

2. Bishop Lightfoot (Smith's *DB*[1] i. 40) points out that Theudas (=Theodorus, Theodotus, or Theodorius) would be quite natural among the Jews as the Gr. equivalent to several Heb. names; and that Josephus (*Ant.* XVII. x. 8; *BJ* II. iv. 1) tells us of many disturbances which took place at this time without giving names. He also quotes an opinion of Wieseler's that Theudas may be the Gr. form of the name of Matthias, son of Margalothus, mentioned by Josephus (*Ant.* XVII. vi. 2). But the identification is hardly probable.

3. Blass (*ad loc.*) seems to suggest that the name Theudas has been interpolated in the passage of Josephus from the Acts, because the Christians thought that the two passages illustrated one another. We have some reason for thinking that Josephus was interpolated by the Christians; but in this instance it is hardly probable that anything of the sort was done.

We do not know enough to explain the difficulty. It is perfectly possible that the explanation of Lightfoot may be correct; it is quite possible that the mistake of St. Luke may only be one of name, and it is very bad criticism to condemn an author for an apparent discrepancy when our knowledge of the circumstances is so limited. But, assuming that the Acts are incorrect, we may ask what this implies. It implies that, to a certain extent at any rate, the speech of Gamaliel was the author's composition. This may mean only that he supplied one of the incidents which Gamaliel referred to, having from some source a general knowledge of the attitude of the speaker; or it may mean that he took this manner of putting before his readers what he had reason to believe was a tendency of a section of the Jews.

A. C. HEADLAM.

THICKET.—See FOREST.

THIGH (יָרֵךְ, *μηρός*).—The girding of the sword *upon the thigh* is referred to in Ex 32[27], Jg 3[16] (Ehud girded his sword upon his *right* thigh, whence, being left-handed, he could most conveniently draw it, v.[21]), Ps 45[3], Ca 3[8]. Jacob's thigh was dislocated by his opponent in wrestling, so that next day he limped upon it, Gn 32[25 (26)] [J]. In an editorial note this circumstance is assigned as the basis of the Jewish custom of declining to eat of 'the sinew that shrank,' v.[32 (33)]. See art. FOOD, vol. ii. p. 39[a]. In the jealousy ordeal one of the effects looked for in the event of a wife's guilt was the falling away (נפל) of her thigh, Nu 5[21. 22. 27] [P]; see Dillm. *ad loc.* In the *waṣf* in praise of the Shulammite it is said, 'the roundings of thy thighs (חֲמוּקֵי יְרֵכַיִךְ) are like jewels,' Ca 7[1]. Smiting upon the thigh appears in Jer 31[19] and Ezk 21[12] as a token of consternation. For the phrase 'smite them hip upon thigh' (הכה אותם שׁוֹק עַל־יָרֵךְ), see art. HIP.

Special attention is due to a set of passages in which the thigh appears as the seat of procreative power. In Gn 46[26], Ex 1[5] [both P], Jg 8[30] a man's

descendants are spoken of as proceeding from his thigh (יֹצְאֵי יָרֵךְ). Cf. W. R. Smith, *Kinship*, 34, *RS*[2] 380. This throws light upon the placing of the hand under the thigh [=the genital organ] in taking an oath, Gn 24[2. 9] 47[29] [all J]. The *sacredness* attributed to this organ in primitive times (see Holzinger or Gunkel on Gn 24[2]) would give special solemnity to an oath of this kind. Moreover, seeing that 'it is from the thigh that one's descendants come, to take an oath with one's hand upon the thigh could be equivalent to calling upon these descendants to maintain an oath which has been taken, and to revenge one which has been broken' (Dillmann).

It is not clear how we should understand Rev 19[16] 'He hath on his mantle and on his thigh (*ἐπὶ τὸ ἱμάτιον καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν μηρὸν αὐτοῦ*) a name written, King of kings and Lord of lords.' The *καί* may be epexegetical, when the meaning would be that the name is written on His mantle where this falls upon His thigh (so Düsterdieck, B. Weiss, Holtzmann). Spitta suggests that *μηρός* [this is its only occurrence in NT] may be the name of an article of uniform, perhaps the sword-belt.

J. A. Selbie.

THINK.—This verb is frequently used in AV in the sense of 'devise,' 'intend,' as Gn 50[20] 'But as for you, ye thought evil against me' (חֲשַׁבְתֶּם רָעָה, LXX *ἐβουλεύσασθε εἰς πονηρά*, RV 'ye meant evil'); Ex 32[14] 'And the Lord repented of the evil which he thought to do unto his people' (אֲשֶׁר דִּבֶּר לַעֲשׂוֹת, RV 'which he said he would do'); Nu 24[11] 'I thought to promote thee unto great honour' (אָמַרְתִּי, LXX *εἶπα τιμήσω σε*); Neh 6[6] 'It is reported . . . that thou and the Jews think to rebel' (חֹשְׁבִים לְמָרוֹד, LXX *λογίζεσθε ἀποστατῆσαι*). So Jn 11[53] Wyc. 'Fro that day thei thoughten [1688 soughten] for to sle him'; Mandeville, *Travels*, 87, 'This Tartary is holden of the great Caan of Cathay, of whom I think to speak afterward.'

To think on or upon is to remember, as Gn 40[14] 'But think on me when it shall be well with thee' (כִּי אִם־זְכַרְתַּנִי אִתָּךְ, LXX *ἀλλὰ μνήσθητί μου διὰ σεαυτοῦ*, RV 'But have me in thy remembrance'); Neh 5[19] 'Think upon me, my God, for good, according to all that I have done' (זָכְרָה־לִּי, RV 'Remember unto me, O my God, for good, all that I have done'); 6[14] 'My God, think thou upon Tobiah and Sanballat according to these their works' (זָכְרָה, LXX *μνήσθητι*, RV 'Remember'); Jon 1[6], Sir 18[25] 51[8]. So He 10[17] Wyc. 'I schal no more thenke on the synnes and wickednessis of hem' (*οὐ μὴ μνησθήσομαι*, Vulg. *non recordabor*).

In Anglo-Saxon there were two distinct verbs, *thencan* to think, and *thyncan* to seem, the latter used impersonally. These verbs began to be confused very early, and in course of time were always spelt alike. In poetry we still use 'methinks,' where the pron. is in the dative, and the word means 'it seems to me.' In *Rich. III.* III. i. 63, the Quartos have 'Where it thinks best unto your royal self,' but the Folio reads 'Where it think'st best,' probably from confusion between 'it thinks' (=it seems) and 'thinkst thou.' Knox in his *History*, p. 315, says, 'But to this houre I have thought, and yet thinks my selfe alone more able to sustaine the things affirmed in that my Work, than any ten in Europe shall be able to refute it,' where the ungrammatical 'I thinks' may be due to familiarity with the form 'methinks.'

In AV we find the verb 'think' = *seem* in 'me thinketh,' 2 S 18[27] 'Me thinketh the running of the foremost is like the running of Ahimaaz.' Cf. Gn 41[3] Tind. 'And him thought that vii other kyne came up after them out of the ryver'; Lv 14[35] 'Me thinke that there is as it were a leprosy in the house'; Mandeville, *Travels*, 117, 'And them thinketh that the more pain, and the more tribulation that they suffer for love of their god, the more joy they shall have in another world.' This is the verb that is used in the phrase 'think good,' Dn 4[2] 'I thought it good to shew the signs' (RV 'It hath seemed good unto me'); Zec 11[12] 'If ye think good, give me my price'; 1 Th 3[1] 'We thought it good to be left at Athens alone' (*εὐδοκήσαμεν*).

J. Hastings.

THISBE (BN Θίσβη, A Θίβη).—The place from which Tobit was carried away captive by the Assyrians (To 1[2]). Its position is described as being on the right hand (south) of Kedesh-naphtali in Galilee above Asher. No trace of the name has yet been found. Some commentators maintain that Thisbe was the home of Elijah the Tishbite, but this is very doubtful. The LXX reading of 1 K 17[1], which makes the prophet come from 'Tishbeh (or perh. Thisbon) of Gilead,' seems more likely to be correct. See ELIJAH in vol. i. p. 687[a].

C. W. Wilson.

THISTLES, THORNS.—There is probably no country on earth of the same extent which has so many plants with prickles and thorns as the Holy Land. One would be tempted to believe that this is a providential provision to protect them from the ravages of goats, asses, and camels, were it not that the mouths of these creatures are provided with a mucous membrane so tough that it seems impervious to thorns. One of the spectacles most striking to a stranger in this land of surprises is that of a flock of goats, browsing in a patch of *Eryngiums*, or *Cirsiums*, or prickly Centaureas, and crunching down the heads, a couple of inches in diameter, composed of stiff thorns, and then masticating them with evident relish. The camel deals even with the *noli-me-tangere* spheres of the *Echinops*, the huge heads of the *Onopordon*, *Carlina*, and *Cynara*, and the thorny plates of the Indian fig. *Zilla myagroides*, Forsk., a most impracticable crucifer, with a juice as pungent as its long stiff thorns, is the favourite desert food of the camel. He tears off and devours the twigs of the thorny *Astragali*. Only a few thorny plants, with little succulence to tempt, and with extraordinary defensive armour, such as the acacia trees, the buckthorn, and some of the more erinaceous *Astragali* of the alpine regions, and *Calycotome villosa*, escape the devourers. Notwithstanding this, the thorns flourish and multiply, and, in many places, take possession of the land. Thistles grow to a height of 10–15 ft. Thorny *Astragali* cover acres of ground on the high mountains. *Poterium spinosum*, *Rhamnus punctata*, and *Calycotome villosa* are everywhere. So abundant is the first of these, the thorny burnet, in one region of Hermon, as to give its name to the district, which is called *Muḳâta'at el-Billân*, *i.e.* District of the Thorny Burnet. A large part of the lime produced in the country is burned with this shrub, which is 'cut up' (Is 33[12]) with pruning-hooks. It is then bound in huge bundles, and transported on the backs of men or animals to the kilns. Often an acre or more around a lime-kiln is seen covered with these large heaps of most combustible fuel. It produces a high heat, and makes excellent lime. These and other thorns are also used in ovens, and for culinary purposes (Ec 7[6]). Owners of asses thresh out various species of thistles and thorns, and use them for feeding their beasts. It is probably in allusion to this custom that Gideon is said to have 'taught [*threshed*] the men of Succoth (*along*) with thorns of the wilderness and briers' (Jg 8[16]).* It is not strange that, with such a number of prickly plants as exist in Palestine, there should have been many names in Heb. to express them. Few or none of these denote species, and the VSS have not attempted to tr. them with any uniformity. We subjoin an analysis of these terms.

1. אָטָד *'āṭād*, *ῥάμνος*, *rhamnus*, occurs twice as the name of a plant (Jg 9[14. 15] AV 'bramble,' m. 'thistle,' RV 'bramble,' m. 'thorn,' Ps 58[9] AV and RV 'thorns'). It occurs once as a proper name in the expression 'the threshing-floor of Atad' (Gn 50[10. 11]). The Arab. *'aṭād* is defined as the branches of the *'ausaj*. The *'ausaj* is 'a species of thorn, having a round red fruit, like the carnelian bead, which is sweet, and is eaten,' or 'a

* On the text of this verse and on its interpretation and its relation to v.[7], see, above all, Moore's note, *ad loc.*

species of thorn trees, having a bitter red fruit, in which is acidity . . . when it grows large it is called *gharkad* . . . some regard it as the *'ulleik*.' It is clear that the term *'ausaj*, and therefore *'ăṭăd*, must have been applied to a number of plants. *'Ulleik* most commonly signifies the bramble or blackberry, but also the *smilax*, and other prickly climbers. The *gharkad* is *Nitraria tridentata*, Desf., a plant confined to salt marshes, of which the fruit is called in Arab. *'enab-edh-dhîb*, *i.e.* 'wolf's grapes.' Dioscorides (*Avicenna*, ii. 232) seems to include a number of plants in his vague description of *'ausaj*. The other descriptions would apply to the boxthorn, of which there are 3 species in the Holy Land, *Lycium Europæum*, L., *L. Arabicum*, Schw., and *L. Barbarum*, L., all of which have thorns and red berries. Or they would, in part at least, apply to the jujube, of which there are also several species, *Zizyphus vulgaris*, L., the *'ennâb*, *Z. Lotus*, L., and *Z. Spina Christi*, L., the *nebk* or *sidr*. All of these would have been included under the term *Rhamnus*, the buckthorn, a genus from which *Zizyphus* has been set off in modern botany. This genus contains one thorny species, *R. punctata*, Boiss., with its variety *Palestina*, which is found everywhere in Palestine and Syria. This species would admirably suit the needs of the passages. It is a thorny shrub, 2–6 ft. high, with obovate-oblong to elliptical leaves less than an in. long and about ⅓ in. wide, insignificant flowers, and small fruits. It is well known under the Arab. name *'ajram*, is used for light fuel, and suits exactly the contrast intended in Abimelech's speech between the *'ăṭăd* and the lordly cedar. To speak of sitting under the shadow of this contemptible straggling bush is the acme of irony. Being far more general than the boxthorn, especially in the hill-country where Abimelech spoke, it is more likely to have been in his mind. The boxthorn would never have been spoken of by the Greeks as *ῥάμνος*, which is the classical name of the *buckthorn*. The writer has never met with the former in the hill-country. It is a plant of the coast and Jordan Valley and the interior plateaus.

2. בַּרְקָנִים *barḳānîm* (Jg 8$^{7.16}$). According to Moore (*Judges*, *ad loc.*), 'in the Egyp. dialect of Arabic *berqan* is the name of *Phaceopappus scoparius*, Boiss. = *Centaurea scop.*, Sieber, a composite plant, with thorny heads.'

3. דַּרְדַּר *dardar* (Gn 3^{18}, Hos 10^{8}, each time coupled with קוֹץ). The Arab. *dardâr* signifies the elm or the ash, but *shaukat ed-dardâr* is generic for the thorny Centaureas, star thistles or knapweeds, which are not proper thistles, *i.e.* of the genus *Cirsium*. In both the passages cited the LXX has *τρίβολος*, Vulg. *tribulus*. At least 2, perhaps 3, plants were known to the Greeks by this name: *Trapa natans*, L., the water chestnut, and *Tribulus terrestris*, L., a prostrate herb of the order *Zygophyllaceæ*, with pinnate leaves, resembling those of the milk vetch, and a fruit composed of bony cells, with a prickly back. These are liable to get into the shoe or between the sandal and the foot, and produce a veritable *tribulation*. The caltrop, an instrument suggested by them, was used in war to impede the charge of cavalry. Some have identified the *tribulus* with the thorny Centaureas.

4. חֵדֶק *ḥēdeḳ* (Pr 15^{19}, LXX *ἄκανθα*, AV and RV 'thorn'; Mic 7^{4} [LXX text differs] AV and RV 'brier') refers to some unknown kind of thorn, certainly in the first passage one of those used for hedges. The most common of these in Palestine and Syria is *Eleagnus hortensis*, M.B., the silver berry or oleaster, known in Arab. as *zaizafûn*. It has stiff, sharp thorns, and grows in a dense fashion which well fits it for this purpose. The ordinary brambles, species of *Rubus*, are also much used for hedges, especially along the coast. Also *Paliurus aculeatus*, Lam., one of the so-called Christ thorns, a plant of the order *Rhamnaceæ*, growing in the interior tablelands. Also *Cactus Ficus-Indica*, L., the prickly pear, *Smilax aspera*, L., the green brier, which makes a most efficient hedge, and the boxthorn, which is common in hedges about Jaffa, Lattakia, and elsewhere. The hawthorn, Cratægus, of which there are several species, is not used in this way.

5. חוֹחַ *ḥôaḥ*. This is variously tr. (2 K 14^{9} 'thistle,' RVm 'thorn'; 2 Ch 25^{18} 'thistle,' AVm 'furze bush' [*Calycotome villosa*] or 'thorn,' RVm 'thorn'; Hos 9^{6} 'thorns'; Is 34^{13} AV 'brambles,' RV 'thistles'; Job 31^{40} 'thistles,' RVm 'thorns'; Pr 26^{9} 'thorn'; Ca 2^{2} 'thorns'; 1 S 13^{6} חֲחִים 'thickets' [better *thorn brakes*, unless we read with Ew., Wellh., Driver, *et al.* חוֹרִים 'holes']; Job 41^{2} AV 'thorn,' RV 'hook,' m. 'spike'; 2 Ch 33^{11} AV 'thorns,' RV 'in chains,' m. 'with hooks'). From the above inconsistencies, which are quite parallel to those of the LXX and Vulg., it is clear that no specific meaning can be attached to *ḥôaḥ*. It would seem, however, rather to designate thorns and thorny shrubs and trees than prickles and prickly herbs like thistles.

6. מְסוּכָה *mĕsûḳāh* (Mic 7^{4}) is a 'thorn hedge.' Of what kind we have no means of determining (see **4**).

7. נַעֲצוּץ *na'ăẓûẓ*. The Arab. *nu'd* corresponds with this, and signifies *a thorn tree growing in Arabia*. It may be one of the thorny acacias. In the two passages in which it occurs (Is 7^{19} 55^{13}) it is tr. 'thorns.' In the latter (LXX *στοιβή*) it is said that it will be replaced by the *bĕrôsh*. See FIR.

8. סִירִים *sîrîm*. This seems to refer to the lighter thorns, like the thorny burnet, which often grows in ruins (Is 34^{13}), and many of the star thistles, etc. The burning of these produces a crackling (Ec 7^{6} AVm 'sound,' where there is a word-play between סִיר 'pot' and סִירִים 'thorns'). 'Folden together as thorns' (AV Nah 1^{10}, RV 'like tangled thorns') would well suit such as the *burnet*, and many others in Palestine. As *ḥôaḥ* came to mean 'hook,' from the resemblance to a thorn, so *sîrôth* is once used in this way for 'fish-hook' (Am 4^{2}).

9. סִלּוֹן *ṣillôn*, AV and RV 'brier' (Ezk 28^{24}); סַלּוֹנִים *ṣallônîm*, AV and RV 'thorns' (Ezk 2^{6}, but text dub.), are stout thorns, such as are found on the midrib of the palm leaf, corresponding exactly to the Arab. *sulâ*.

10. צָרָבִים *ṣārābîm* is from an obsolete root signifying perh. *to be refractory* or *rebellious*. In the single passage where it is used (Ezk 2^{6}), the context points to some stiff, refractory thorn, of which *ṣārābîm* was prob. the ancient name. It is associated with the stout thorn of the palm, *ṣillôn* (**9**); but we have no Arab. clue, as in the other case, to help us to a knowledge of what it was. AVm tr. it 'rebels'; but this is forced. Instead of 'briers and thorns' (סָרָבִים וְסַלּוֹנִים), Cornill, Bertholet, *et al.*, would read 'resisting and despising' (סֹרְרִים וְסֹלְלִים).

11. סִרְפַּד * *ṣirpad*.—A plant of neglected and desert places, mentioned with נַעֲצוּץ (Is 55^{13}), to be replaced by the myrtle as *na'ăẓûẓ* will be by the fir. The LXX has *κόνυζα* = *Inula viscosa*, L., the elecampane, a plant which grows on all the hillsides of Palestine and Syria. It is a perennial of the order *Compositæ*, growing from 2–3 ft. high, with lanceolate to linear-lanceolate leaves, and yellow heads, about ⅓ in. long. It is very glutinous, and has a strong, disagreeable smell. It is a plant worthless either as forage or fuel. It possesses only two merits. The first is that brooms made of the green stems with their leaves on are used to

* So Baer; MT סִרְפָּד *ṣirpād*.

sweep the floors of the native houses, and help to rid them of the fleas, which adhere to the slime which covers the plant. The other is that it grows on dry, rocky hillsides, and mitigates by its greenness the otherwise deserted and barren aspect of the landscape. Now it happens that the myrtle grows on similar hillsides, often side by side with the elecampane. The contrast between this worthless plant and the myrtle, with its delicious fragrance, its beautiful foliage, exquisite flowers, and edible fruit, is quite sufficient for the requirements of the passage. 'Brier' of AV and RV, and *urtica* = 'nettle' of Vulg., besides lacking the authority of the LXX, would not convey a meaning so forcible as the elecampane. The Arab. name for the plant is *'irḳ et-ṭayyún*.

12. צִנִּים *ṣinnîm* is used twice: Job 5[5] (LXX *κακῶν*), where both MT and meaning are doubtful [Bevan, *Journ. of Philol.* xxvi. 303 ff. reads plausibly וְאוֹנָם יִקָּחוּ צִנִּים, and renders 'and their wealth barbs lay hold of it']; and Pr 22[5] (LXX *τρίβολοι*), where the froward wander into desert places, where they are sure to meet with thorns. Another form of the same, צְנִינִים *ṣĕnînîm* (Nu 33[55], where it is associated with שְׂכִים [see 15], Jos 23[13]), simply refers to thorns as piercing the flesh, not to any particular plant.

13. קוֹץ *ḳôṣ* is a generic term for thorny and prickly plants, tr. indifferently 'thorn' (Ezk 28[24] where it refers to an individual thorn, Hos 10[8]), or 'thorns' (Gn 3[18], Is 32[13]), pl. קוֹצִים or קְצִים *ḳôṣîm* (Jg 8[7], Jer 4[3] etc.).

14. קִמְשׁוֹנִים *ḳimmĕshônîm* is once (Pr 24[31]) tr. 'thorns,' but the sing. form קִמּוֹשׁ (Is 34[13]) and קִימוֹשׁ (Hos 9[6]) 'nettles.' See NETTLES.

15. שִׂכִּים *sikkîm*, the pl. of שִׂךְ = Arab. *shauk*, generic for thorns (Nu 33[55]), tr. 'pricks.'

16. שַׁיִת *shayith* occurs only in Isaiah, and always associated with שָׁמִיר *shāmîr* (5[6] 7[23-25] 9[18] 10[17] 27[4]); always tr. 'thorns,' as *shāmîr* is tr. 'briers.'

17. שָׁמִיר *shāmîr* means both 'thorn' and 'adamant.' In the former signification it occurs only in Isaiah, and each time but one (32[13], where it is associated with *ḳôṣ*) in company with *shayith*. It is uniformly tr. 'briers.' Its Arab. equivalent, *samûr*, is the desert *Acacia Seyyal*, or *A. tortilis*.

Most of the above names were probably specific and well understood in the days when they were used; but, as has been seen, few, if any, can certainly be identified. The NT words for 'thorns and thistles,' *ἄκανθαι* and *τρίβολοι* (Mt 7[16], Lk 6[44]), and 'thorns,' *ἄκανθαι* (Mt 13[7]), and 'thorn' (rather 'stake'), *σκόλοψ* (2 Co 12[7]), are indefinite. There are not less than 50 genera and 200 species of plants in Syria and Palestine furnished with thorns and prickles, besides a multitude clothed with scabrous, strigose, or stinging hairs, and another multitude with prickly fruits.

Crown of Thorns.—It is impossible to tell of what species our Saviour's crown (*στέφανος ἐξ ἀκανθῶν, ἀκάνθινος στέφανος*) was composed. It is certain, however, that it must have been made from a plant growing near to Jerusalem. It is often identified with *Zizyphus Spina-Christi* (see Tristram, *Nat. Hist. of Bible*, 429). It might well have been *Calycotome villosa*, Vahl, the *ḳundaul* of the Arabs. Crowns of this are plaited and sold in Jerusalem, as representatives of our Saviour's crown. The facility with which the branches of this shrub are wrought into the required shape, and the evident adaptation of the resulting crown to the torture intended, make it highly probable that this was the material used. *Poterium spinosum*, L., is also wrought into such crowns, but makes a much softer and less efficient instrument of torture than the last. A cruel one could be made of *Rhamnus punctata*, Boiss., also of *Ononis antiquorum*, L., the *shibruḳ* of the Arabs.

G. E. POST.

THOCANUS (B *Θόκανος*, A *Θώκανος*, AV Theocanus), 1 Es 9[14] = Tikvah, Ezr 10[15]. Probably תקוה was read as תקנה.

THOMAS (*Θωμᾶς* = תאמא).—One of the Twelve, always placed in the second of the three groups of four in which the names of the apostles are arranged in the NT lists. In the oldest extant list (Mk 3[16f.]) the names are not distributed in *pairs*, and he is No. 8, as also in Lk 6[14f.]; but in the later lists he is coupled with Matthew and assigned the seventh place (Mt 10[2f.]), or given the sixth place, coupled with Philip (Ac 1[13f.]). No incident is recorded of him by the Synoptists, but from John we learn that he played a conspicuous part in the anxieties and questionings which followed the Resurrection, which perhaps accounts for the higher position assigned to him in the lists as soon as the names began to be arranged or classified; cf. Jn 21[2], where he is placed after Peter and before the sons of Zebedee. John thrice describes him as *Θωμᾶς ὁ λεγόμενος Δίδυμος* (11[16] 20[24] 21[2]). תְּאוֹם is a 'twin' [only Gn 25[24] 38[27], Ca 4[5] 7[3], always in plur.], and of this *Θωμᾶς* is a transliteration, *ὁ δίδυμος* being the Gr. translation. This last would be the form of the title most natural among the Greek-speaking Christians of Asia Minor, for whom the Fourth Gospel was written. His personal name is not given in the NT, but he is called 'Judas Thomas' in the apocryphal *Acta Thomæ*, in the Syr. *Doctrina Apostolorum*, and also in the Abgar legend (Eus. *HE* i. 13), which represents him as sending THADDÆUS to Abgar with Christ's letter. The name 'Judas' was a common one, and it may well have been his; at any rate the ascription of it to him led in time to his identification with Judas 'of James,' and Judas the 'brother' of the Lord (Mk 6[3]), and so to the widespread tradition that the Apostle Thomas was the twin brother of Jesus (*Acta Thomæ*, § 31). The identification of Thaddæus (Mt 10[3], Mk 3[18]) with Luke's Judas 'of James' (Lk 6[16], Ac 1[13]) accounts for a later Syrian tradition which makes Thomas and Thaddæus the same person. Another story makes one Lysia the twin sister of Thomas.

The three notices of Thomas in John reveal a personality of singular charm and interest. When the other apostles would have dissuaded Jesus from the risk of going to Bethany where Lazarus lay dead, and Jesus had said that He would nevertheless go, Thomas at once declared his intention of sharing the danger: 'Let us also go that we may die with him' (Jn 11[16]). His eager devotion could not endure the thought of separation, and so the announcement at the Last Supper that the Master was about to depart filled him with perplexity: 'We know not whither thou goest; how know we the way?' (Jn 14[5]). Like the other disciples, he could not but suppose that the Crucifixion had put an end to his hopes, although it does not appear from the narratives (as has sometimes been assumed) that Thomas had severed his connexion with the other companions of Christ, for 'the eleven' are mentioned as still a coherent body (Lk 24[9. 33] [Mk] 16[14]), and Thomas is found in their company on 'the first day of the week,' presumably for worship and conference, even after he had expressed his doubts as to the Resurrection (Jn 20[26]). When, however, the Christ appeared to the other apostles at Jerusalem, Thomas was not with them, although the reason of his absence is not recorded (Jn 20[24]). They were invited to assure themselves by the test of touch that the vision was not that of a phantom but of the Risen Jesus (Lk 24[39]), and even this did not convince them until He 'did eat before them' (Lk 24[41. 43]). Thomas, on being informed of the vision of the Lord, refused to believe until he too had satisfied

himself by sight and touch that there was no misapprehension (Jn 20^{25}); but when this test was offered to (and applied by?) him, his recognition of his Master was immediate and adoring: 'My Lord and my God' (Jn 20^{28}). No greater confession of faith is recorded in the NT. These three incidental notices of Thomas depend entirely, as has already been pointed out, on the authority of the Fourth Gospel; but there is nothing in any of them which is either incredible in itself, or inconsistent with the Synoptic accounts, and the psychological truth and naturalness of the resulting picture of the man confirm belief in the trustworthiness of the Johannine narratives.

The *Acta Thomæ* or Περίοδοι Θωμᾶ* is a Gnostic work probably going back to the 2nd cent., and written by one Leucius the author of several apocryphal *Acts*. It begins by telling that, at the division of the field of the world among the apostles, India was allocated to Thomas; that he was at first unwilling to go there, but was persuaded by a vision of Christ, who sold him as a slave to an Indian merchant. After some adventures by the way (which display the Gnostic tendencies of the writer; see Salmon, *Introd. to NT*[7] p. 334 f.), he arrived in India, and there (being a carpenter) was entrusted by his master with the building of a palace, but expended the money on the relief of the poor. His missionary efforts were at last crowned with success. The connexion of his name with India, for which these *Acta* are the earliest authority, was widely accepted after the 4th cent. in both East and West. The Malabar 'Christians of St. Thomas' still count him as the first martyr and evangelist of their country. It is probable, however, that these Christians were evangelized from Edessa, and that the traditional account of their origin is due to a confused memory of one of the pioneer missionaries from that place, who was called Thomas after its patron saint. For there is a quite distinct (and seemingly earlier) account of the missionary activity of the apostle which makes Parthia the scene of his labours (Eus. *HE* iii. 1; see also Clem. *Recogn.* ix. 29, and Socrates, *HE* i. 19), and Edessa his burial-place (Rufinus, *HE* ii. 5, and Socrates, *HE* iv. 18). According to the Roman Martyrology his remains were brought from India to Edessa, and thence, it was said, to Ortona in Italy during the Crusades. The oldest extant tradition as to the manner of his death is that it was from natural causes (Clem. Alex. *Strom.* iv. 9. 73).

J. H. BERNARD.

THOMEI (B Θόμθει, A Θόμει, AV Thomoi), 1 Es 5^{32}=Temah, Ezr 2^{53}, Neh 7^{55}.

THORNS.—See THISTLES.

THOUGHT.—In 1 S 9^{5} 'Come, and let us return; lest my father leave caring for the asses, and take thought for us,' the phrase 'take thought' means 'be anxious,' 'grieve.' The same verb (דאג) is translated 'sorrow' in 10^{2} 'Thy father hath left the care of the asses, and sorroweth for you.' RV has 'take thought' in both passages, but Amer. RV gives 'be anxious' in both. In Ps 38^{18} both versions render the Hebrew word 'I will be sorry.' 'Thought' was once freely used in English in the sense of 'anxiety' or 'grief.' Thus Cranmer, *Works*, i. 162, 'Alas, Master Secretary, you forget Master Smyth of the Exchequer, who is near consumed with thought and pensiveness'; *Somers Tracts*, 'In five hundred years only two queens have died in childbirth. Queen Catherine Parr died rather of thought'; Shaks. *Hamlet*, III. i. 85—

> 'And thus the native hue of resolution
> Is sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought';

and IV. v. 177—'And there is pansies, that's for thoughts.' Cf. Wyclif's use of the verb, *Select Works*, iii. 9, 'As a bird of a swalowe, so I schal crie, I schal thinke as a dowve.' In AV 'thought' occurs in this sense only in the phrase 'take thought.' Besides 1 S 9^{5} (above) the examples are Mt $6^{25.\ 27.\ 28.\ 31.\ 34\ bis}$ 10^{19}, Lk $12^{11.\ 22.\ 25.\ 26}$ (all μεριμνάω), and Mk 13^{11} 'take no thought beforehand' (μὴ προμεριμνᾶτε); RV always 'be anxious.' Cf. Coverdale's tr. of 1 S 10^{2} (see above), 'Thy father hath put the asses out of his mynde, and taketh thoughte for the, and sayeth: What shall I do for my sonne?' and Shaks. *Jul. Cæsar*, II. i. 187—

> 'If he love Cæsar, all that he can do,
> Is to himself take thought and die for Cæsar.'

J. HASTINGS.

THRACIA (Θράκη) was the country lying east of Macedonia, bounded on the north by the Danube and on the south by the Ægean Sea, the Dardanelles, the Sea of Marmora, and the territory of Byzantium (a 'free city,' connected with the Roman province of Bithynia from B.C. 74). Thrace is never mentioned in the NT, nor did any action alluded to in the NT take place in that country. Philippi and Neapolis, indeed, had originally been in Thrace; but the boundaries of Macedonia were extended far towards the east by the conquests of the Macedonian kings, and included both cities. Before the Roman period the boundary between Macedonia and Thrace was the boundary between civilization and barbarism, and this varied as civilization enlarged its limits. Originally the name Thracia was used in a very loose and vague fashion, and the Macedonians were even sometimes spoken of as a tribe of Thrace, which in that case practically meant the land north and north-east of Greece. The Macedonians were akin to the Thracians, but came under the influence of Greek civilization earlier.* It was not until A.D. 46 that Thrace was incorporated as a province in the Roman empire.

In 2 Mac 12^{35} a Thracian soldier is mentioned as saving the life of Gorgias, governor of Idumæa† under Antiochus Epiphanes, in a battle against Judas Maccabæus, about B.C. 163. The Thracian tribesmen, barbarous, hardy, and inured to war, were much used as mercenaries by the Greek kings of Syria, Pergamum, Bithynia, etc. This is several times mentioned by Polybius (v. lxv. 10, lxxix. 6); and inscriptions along with other evidence entirely corroborate him. Thracian mercenaries were settled as colonists in many of the garrison cities founded by those kings, *e.g.* in Apollonia of Pisidia (where they are often mentioned on coins, etc., in the full title of the city) and in other places: the Thracian mercenaries were sometimes called *Traleis* or 'warriors'; see Ramsay, *Histor. Geogr. of Asia Minor*, p. 112, *Cities and Bish. of Phrygia*, i. p. 34; Fränkel, *Inschr. Pergam.* i., No. 13, p. 16.

W. M. RAMSAY.

THRASÆUS (A Θρασαῖος, V*vid Θαρσίας, Va Θαρσέας).—The father of Apollonius, 2 Mac 3^{5}; but see APOLLONIUS, No. 1, and cf. RVm.

THREE CHILDREN, SONG OF THE (or, more accurately, as in Codex B: 'The Prayer of Azarias' and 'the Hymn of the Three'), is one of the additions to the book of Daniel, extant only in the Greek Bible and in versions taken from the Greek. It contains 67 verses, and is inserted between v.[23] and v.[24] of Dn 3 in the canonical text. In Codex A our 'addition' forms also two of fourteen canticles appended to the Book of Psalms. The ninth and tenth of these canticles are called respectively προσευχὴ Ἀζαρίου (Prayer of Azarias) and ὕμνος τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν (Hymn of our Fathers).

i. CONTENTS.—The apocryphon contains three sections: (1) the Prayer of Azarias; (2) descriptive narrative; (3) thanksgiving of the Three for their deliverance from the fiery furnace.

* The best edition of the Gr. and Lat. texts of these *Acta* is that of Bonnet (1883); for the Syriac *Acts* see Wright, *Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles* (1871); and, for the Æthiopic version of the story, Malan, *Conflicts of the Holy Apostles* (1871). For all legends about Thomas the best and fullest account will be found in Lipsius' *Die Apokryphen Apostelgeschichten* (1883–1890), vol. i. pp. 225–347.

* It is maintained by some scholars that Thrace, in that early wide extension, is alluded to in Gn 10^{2}. In that verse the sons of Japheth are said to be Gomer, Magog, Madai, Javan, Tubal, Meshech, and Tiras; but see TIRAS.

† *Idumæa* is suspicious: it has been thought to be an error for *Jamnia*.

(1) *The Prayer of Azarias*, vv.[1-22] (Gr. [24-45]).—In Dn 3[23] it has been narrated that the three men, Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, fell down bound into the midst of the burning fiery furnace. After 3[23] Theodotion (whose text is followed in Vulg. and the English Apocr.) proceeds: 'And they walked ['in their chains,' Syr W] in the midst of the fire, praising God.' The connexion is, in LXX, effected thus: 'Thus then prayed Hananias and Azarias and Mishael and sang praises to the Lord, when the king commanded them to be cast into the furnace.' Both then say that 'Azarias stood and prayed in the midst of the fire'; LXX adding 'together with his companions,' which Theod. omits, as he does also the statement of LXX that 'the furnace had been heated exceedingly by the Chaldæans.' The Prayer opens with praise to God for His righteous acts to the nation, acknowledging His justice even in the disasters which He has brought upon Jerusalem. National ruin was completely justified, because of national sins. He complains, however, that the nation by which God had chastised His people was a very lawless one, and that their king was the most wicked king on earth, treating Israel scornfully and tyrannically. He then pleads the covenants with the fathers and the promises of the vast expansion of the nation as the ground of God's intervention to the very small remnant. They had been brought very low: the State was dissolved: State functionaries had ceased to be: State religion was no longer possible; but with the sacrifice of a contrite heart, rather than of myriads of rams, they would seek the LORD and implore Him to remove their shame and transfer it to their foes; that all may know that J″ is God alone.

(2) In vv.[23-27] of EV (Gr. [46-51]) we have *a continuation of the narrative* of Dn 3[23], describing how the king's servants kept on heating the furnace with naphtha and pitch till it was seven times as hot as usual, and the flame reached 49 cubits above the furnace. Then an angel came down, called in Syr. 'the angel of dew,' and by means of a dewy whistling wind made the centre of the furnace cool, forming an inner zone which the flames could not touch. After this 'the three' unitedly began to praise God.

(3) *The Hymn of Thanksgiving*, vv.[28-68] (Gr. [52-90]). This Hymn, like Ps 136, contains, as the second line of each verse, a refrain. As the Psalm repeats throughout the words, 'For his mercy endureth for ever'; so our Hymn, in every verse, ascribes praise to God. For the first six verses the ascription is verbally varied, though identical in meaning. After that, the second line of each verse is ὑμνεῖτε καὶ ὑπερυψοῦτε αὐτὸν εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, 'Praise and superexalt him for ever.' In the first place the Psalmist (for such he really is) exults in the fact that J″ is worthy to be praised in the heavenly temple, sitting on the throne of His glory: from the loftiest heights looking down on the deepest depths. Then he apostrophizes all the works of God and calls on them to praise the Lord: angels, the heavens, the celestial waters, sun, moon, and stars. From things celestial he passes to what *we* call meteorological phenomena, but which, to the Jewish mind, were changes presided over by an angel,—if not indeed themselves actual entities,—rain and dew, winds, frost and snow, light and darkness, lightnings and clouds. Then the terrestrial creation is addressed, mountains, vegetation, showers, fountains, monsters, fowls, and beasts. After that, men of various ranks and conditions in life: Israel, priests, slaves, the righteous, the humble, and last of all, as Ps 103 terminates with the words 'Bless the LORD, *O my soul*,' we have in v.[88] 'O Hananias, Azarias, and Mishael, bless ye the Lord.' The last two verses are from Ps 136, and were probably appended by some later hand.

ii. LITERARY ESTIMATE. — The judgment of Eichhorn (*Einleitung*, 419, ed. 1795), that the Prayer of Azarias is unsuitable to the circumstances, and that it betrays a lack of literary art to suppose that in a fiery furnace any man could pray as he does, is endorsed by most later scholars (Fritzsche, 115). There are 'no groans,' 'no personal petitions,' 'no cries for help.' The author makes Azarias review the history of the Jewish nation as calmly as an aged saint might do under the fig-tree of solitude at the time of evening prayer. On one supposition, however, the Prayer becomes thoroughly relevant. If we might assume that the author of the Prayer regarded the narrative of Dn 3 as a Haggada, a symbolical, but not historical, account of the Babylonian captivity: as in Zec 3[2] the angel says concerning Joshua the high priest, 'Is not this a brand plucked out of *the fire*?'—then the Prayer would be quite suitable. As to the *poetical* character of the Hymn, critics differ. Fritzsche considered the accumulation of doxologies devoid of all literary skill, and the enumeration of the powers of creation, frigid. Ball, however, replies (*Speaker's Com.* 307) that the very monotony is effective. 'It is like the monotony of the winds or the waves, and powerfully suggests to the imagination the amplitude and splendour of God's world, and the sublimity of the universal chorus of praise. The instinct of the Church which early adopted the *Benedicite* for liturgical use was right.' Zöckler sympathizes so strongly with Ball against Fritzsche that he quotes the above in English. The Hymn is modelled after Ps 136, and has equal claim to be considered poetical.

iii. AUTHORSHIP.—The name and date of the composer of the Prayer and Hymn are quite unknown. It is even disputed whether they come from the same author. The chief argument for duality is that v.[15 (38)] implies the cessation of Temple worship. 'There is no . . . sacrifice nor place to offer sacrifice before thee': whereas in v.[31 (54)] there is reference to a Temple, and in v.[62 (85)] to priests. The argument is not valid. The Temple in v.[31] is the heavenly Temple, where the Lord is enthroned on the cherubim. Further, the priesthood was hereditary. A man did not cease to be a priest when the Temple was destroyed; and hence we note that v.[15] does *not* say, 'There is no priest.'—It is even more eagerly disputed whether the Gr. text is the original, or a translation from Heb. or Aramaic. Eichhorn in his first edition favoured Gr. authorship. In his second edition he adduced reasons for regarding it as a translation, but held the evidence to be indecisive. This uncertainty still remains. Fritzsche, Keil, Bissell, and Schürer are against a Semitic authorship. Ball attaches more importance than they do to Eichhorn's indications of translation. The difficulty is this: every extant version is clearly based on the LXX. Where Theod. differs from LXX, it is usually in very small matters of addition or omission. There are no synonymous, but verbally variant, phrases, indicating that both are translated from the same original. There are no marks that Theod. or any version used a Semitic copy in order to correct LXX. In such cases the only evidence of translation work is to be sought in the awkward, barely intelligible phrases. We have to retranslate these into the hypothetical original, and see if by some slight modification of this we can secure a better rendering. In the case before us the results are disappointing. We may premise, however, that if there ever was a Semitic original, it would be Heb. and not Aramaic. The orthodox Palestinian Jew considered Heb. the language of heaven, and always used it in prayer and praise.—The evidence in favour of Heb. stands thus: (1) The style is intensely Hebraistic, perhaps more so than an Alexandrian Jew would use in original composition. (2) The names of the three men are their original Hebrew names (Dn 1[7]), not the Aramaic names found in Dn 3[16. 19. 23. 26] etc. (3) V.[17 (40)] is very obscure. In LXX it reads literally, 'Let our sacrifice be before thee, and may it *make atonement* behind thee' (ἐξιλάσαι ὀπισθέν σου). Theod. reads ἐκτελέσαι ὀπισθέν σου, 'May it *make requital* behind thee.' At the end of the verse in LXX there occurs an incorporated marginal gloss: τελειῶσαι ὀπισθέν σου, 'let it *be perfect* behind thee.' These three Gr. verbs seem very diverse, but, if we might assume a Heb. original from which they are a tr., the matter is simplified. These Gr. verbs may represent different forms of the Heb. root שלם. The Hiphil הִשְׁלִים 'to make peace' may account for ἐξιλάσαι. The Piel שִׁלֵּם and the Gr. τελείω both mean to 'pay,' 'requite'; and the Qal שָׁלֵם means to 'be perfect.' We do not attempt to explain ὄπισθεν. (4) It might seem that the phrase 'to *scatter* a covenant' in v.[11], instead of '*violate*,' was a confusion of פרר and פרר: but the same thing occurs in LXX of Gn 17[14] and Lv 26[15. 44]. So also the use of ἀπό with καταισχύνεσθαι, 'to be ashamed,' might arise from translating the Heb. קָן (Eichh. 428); but both ἐκ and ἀπό are used

in LXX with verbs of 'shame,' and thus this also may be a Hebraism, and due to familiarity with the LXX. The evidence of a Heb. original is not irresistible, but probable.

iv. VERSIONS.—The LXX presents the earliest extant text. Theod. edited the LXX with sundry emendations of little significance: none of them so important as in 'Bel and the Dragon' (vol. i. 267). A collation of the two versions is given by Eichhorn (422 ff.), and also in Field's *Hexapla* (ii. 914 ff.). The Vulg. is in the main an accurate tr. of Theodotion. The Syriac as given by Lagarde is the same text as Walton's, the differences being merely such as occur in transcription. Worthy of note are the readings: 15 (38), 'a place where we may offer *spices* and a sacrifice': 17 (40), 'let not thy servant be ashamed' for ἐξιλάσαι ὅτι σθῆν σου: 49 (72), 'The angel *of dew* went down into the furnace.' The Syro-Hexaplar text is a tr. of the LXX.

v. CANONICITY. — Ball gives several citations from Jewish writings of the incidents narrated in the Biblical portions of Dn 3; but it is difficult to find Rabbinic quotations of our apocryphon. *Pesachim* 118*a* tells how R. Hiskiah describes the three martyrs as reciting Ps 115, clause by clause, in rotation; and how R. Samuel the Shilonite used to say that Yorkemi, the prince *of hail*, begged to go down to cool the furnace; but Gabriel offered not only to make the furnace cool within (as the hail would do), but also to make it hot without (*Speaker's Apocr.* 306 f.).

In the Christian Church, Hippolytus gives a few notes explanatory of the Song. Julius Africanus disputed the canonicity of the additions to Daniel. Origen wrote in reply defending their genuineness, and on several occasions quotes 'the Prayer'; *e.g.* in *Com. on Matt.* bk. xiii. 2 he quotes v.[64 (86)] 'as it stands in the book of Daniel according to the LXX' as representing the difference between the soul and the body. Cyprian, *de Lapsis*, c. 31, quotes v.[2 (25)] as 'scriptura divina'; and he adduces the Prayer of the 'tres pueri in camino inclusi' as a model of public prayer (*de Orat. Dominica*, c. 8).

LITERATURE.—Ball in *Speaker's Apocr.* ii. 305 ff.; Fritzsche, *Handbuch zu den Apokr.* i. 123 ff.; Schürer, *HJP* II. iii. 183 ff.; Zöckler, *Apokr. des AT* 230 ff.; Bissell in Lange's *Apokr.*; Eichhorn, *Einleitung in die Apokr. Schriften*, 419 ff.; Rothstein in Kautzsch's *Apokr. u. Pseudepigr. d. AT* i. 172 ff. J. T. MARSHALL.

THRESHING.—See AGRICULTURE, vol. i. p. 50.

THRESHOLD.—1. In Neh 12[25] אֲסְפֵי הַשְּׁעָרִים (AV 'thresholds of the gates') undoubtedly means 'storehouses of the gates' (so RV; cf. RV 'storehouse' as tr. of בֵּית הָאֲסָפִים [AV 'house of Asuppim'] in 1 Ch 26[15], and of אֲסָפִים alone [AV 'Asuppim'] in v.[17]). The text of the LXX is in this verse defective, but the words *ἐν τῷ συναγαγεῖν με τοὺς πυλωρούς* obviously represent בְּאָסְפִי הַשְּׁעָרִים. **2.** סַף: Jg 19[27] the Levite's concubine was found in the morning dead, with her hands upon the threshold; 1 K 14[17] Jeroboam's wife had just reached the threshold of the palace at Tirzah when her son died; Am 9[1] 'Smite the chapiters [of the columns supporting the temple roof] till the thresholds shake'; Is 6[4] 'the foundations of the thresholds were moved at the voice of him that cried'; Ezk 43[8], referring to the circumstance that the royal palace and Solomon's temple were within the same enclosure and formed one set of buildings, God makes it a matter of reproach that they have set 'their threshold by my threshold, and their door post beside my door post'; Zeph 2[14] 'desolation [חָרֵב; but Wellh., Now., *et al.*, after LXX *κόρακες*, read עֹרֵב 'raven(s)'] shall be on the thresholds (of ruined Nineveh).' A class of temple officials were 'keepers of the threshold' (שֹׁמְרֵי הַסַּף): Jer 35[4] [in sing.], 2 K 12[10] 22[4] (=2 Ch 34[9]) * 23[4] 25[18] [=Jer 52[24]]; 2 Ch 23[4] [שֹׁעֲרֵי הַסַּף]; in 1 Ch 9[19. 22] [in the latter verse שֹׁעֲרִים בַּסַּף] similar officials are provided for the tabernacle; the office is a secular one in Est 2[21] 6[2], answering more to that of bodyguard (cf. the LXX *ἀρχισωματοφύλακες* in 2[21]). In Ps 84[11] the pilgrim declares that he prefers *being at the threshold* (B *παραριπτεῖσθαι*) in the house of God to *dwelling* in the tents of wickedness. The other occurrences of סַף are: Ezk 40[6 bis. 7] 41[16 bis], 2 Ch 3[7].

* These keepers of the door are in 2 K 12[10] 'priests'; in 2 Ch 34[9] they characteristically become 'Levites.'

The principal LXX renderings of סַף not noticed above are: *τὸ πρόθυρον*, Jg 19[27], 1 K 14[17], Ezk 43[8]; *τὸ ὑπέρθυρον*, Is 6[4]; *τὰ πρόπυλα*, Am 9[1]; *οἱ πυλῶνες*, Zeph 2[14], 2 Ch 3[7]; (*ὁ φυλάσσων* or *οἱ φυλάσσοντες*) *τὴν αὐλήν*, Jer 35 (42)[4], or *τὸν σταθμόν*, 2 K 12[10 (9)] 22[4] 25[18], or *τὴν πύλην*, 2 Ch 34[9], or *τὴν ὁδόν*, Jer 52[24], or *τὴν εἴσοδον*, 1 Ch 9[19]; (*εἰς τὰς πύλας*) *τῶν εἰσόδων*, 2 Ch 23[4]; *θυρίδες*, Ezk 41[16].

3. מִפְתָּן: 1 S 5[4. 5] Dagon was found prostrate before the ark, with his head and hands cut off upon the threshold; hence, it is said, the worshippers of Dagon leap over the threshold, to avoid contact with a spot rendered sacred by having been the resting-place of these members of the god. It is impossible to decide whether it is this (Philistine) custom that is referred to in Zeph 1[9] 'every one who leaps over [or 'upon,' עַל] the threshold.' See art. CHERETHITES, vol. i. p. 377[a]. The threshold of the temple is referred to in Ezk 9[3] 10[4. 18] 46[2] 47[1] (in the last named passage as the source of the stream which is seen in vision to flow forth to fertilize the 'Arabah).

The usual LXX equivalent for מִפְתָּן is *αἴθριον*: Ezk 9[3] 10[4. 18] 47[1]; in 46[2] and 1 S 5[4] *πρόθυρον*; in 1 S 5[5] *βαθμός*; in Zeph 1[9] *πρόπυλα*.

For Trumbull's view (*The Threshold Covenant*, 303 ff.) of the Passover as a *threshold cross-over sacrifice*, see art. PASSOVER, vol. iii. p. 689. Cf. also art. FOUNDATION. J. A. SELBIE.

THRONE is OT rendering of the Heb. כִּסֵּא [in 1 K 10[19 bis], Job 26[9] כִּסֵּה; in Dn 5[20] 7[9 bis] Aram. כָּרְסְיָא], which is used for any seat of honour or state, *e.g.* of the high priest, 1 S 1[9] 4[13. 18]; of an honoured guest, 2 K 4[10]; of the *pehah* beyond the River, Neh 3[7]; of a judge, Ps 94[20]; of a military officer, Jer 1[15]; but far more usually of a king, Gn 41[40] [E], Ex 11[5] 12[29] [both J], 1 K 2[19], Is 47[1], Ezk 26[16], Est 5[1]. Solomon's throne is described in 1 K 10[18-20] [=2 Ch 9[17-19]]. It was overlaid with ivory and the finest gold (see Kittel, *Könige*, *ad loc.*), and was ascended by six steps, with twelve lions standing upon them. For figures of Assyrian and Egyptian thrones see Riehm, *HWB*[2] ii. 1106, 1684. God as the heavenly King has His throne: Is 6[1], Ezk 1[26] 10[1], 1 K 22[19] [=2 Ch 18[18]], Job 26[9], Ps 11[4]; heaven is called His throne in Is 66[1] (cf. Mt 5[34]), Jerus. in Jer 3[17], the sanctuary in 17[12] and Ezk 43[7]. 'Throne' is frequently used as = *royal dignity, authority, power*, *e.g.* 1 K 2[45] ('the throne of David shall be established,' cf. 2 S 7[16] [=1 Ch 17[14]]), Is 16[5], Pr 16[12]; of God, La 5[19], Ps 47[9] 89[15] 93[2] 97[2] 103[19], Jer 14[21]. For the cult of 'empty thrones' see Reichel, *Ueber vorhellenische Götterkulte* (Wien, 1897), and Budde's art. 'Imageless Worship in Antiquity' in *Expos. Times*, ix. (1898) 396 ff.

Similar is the use of 'throne' (*θρόνος*; once Ac 12[21] *βῆμα*, lit. 'judgment-seat,' of Herod) in NT; almost always [the exceptions are Mt 19[28] ‖ Lk 22[30] 'ye shall sit upon twelve thrones,' etc., Col 1[16] 'thrones' as a rank of angels (?; see art. DOMINION), Rev 20[4] 'I saw thrones, and they (the assessors of the heavenly Judge) sat upon them'] of the throne of God or of Christ: Mt 5[34] (‖ Lk 23[22]) 19[28] (‖ Lk 22[30]), Lk 1[32], Ac 2[30] 7[49], He 1[8] 4[16] 8[1] 12[2], Rev 1[4] 3[21] and very often.

In Ps 45[7] the Heb. text כִּסְאֲךָ אֱלֹהִים וגו׳ ('thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever'; LXX *ὁ θρόνος σου, ὁ θεός*, followed in He 1[8]) is probably corrupt. In addition to the tr. of EV the following renderings have been proposed: (1) 'Thy throne is God' (Döderlein, supported most recently by Westcott [on He 1[8]] and Hort); (2) 'thy throne of God' ['thy God's throne'] (Ges. *Jes.* i.

p. 365); (3) 'thy throne is (a throne) of God' (Aben Ezra, Hitzig, Ewald, Baethgen). To all these renderings there are either grammatical or exegetical objections. Bickell and Cheyne would insert נכונה ישׁורתו הקימו 'thy throne [its foundation is firmly fixed], God [hath established it].' Perhaps the simplest solution is to substitute יְהִי for אֱלֹהִים ('thy throne shall be for ever'). This original יְהִי might easily be misread יהוה (Jahweh), which in turn would be intentionally changed into אֱלֹהִים. So Giesebrecht, Wellh. ('Psalms' in *SBOT*, following Bruston, *Du texte primitif des Psaumes*, Paris, 1873), Duhm (in *Kurzer Hdcom.*). See, further, Driver, *Heb. Tenses*[3], § 194, Obs.; Cheyne, *OP* 182.

J. A. SELBIE.

THUMB (בֹּהֶן [in Jg 1[6. 7] plur. בְּהֹנוֹת, as if from sing. בֻּהֹן, the form used throughout the Sam. Pent.] joined with יָד 'hand' means 'thumb,' while with רֶגֶל 'foot' it means 'great toe').—In all the Scripture passages where 'thumb' occurs, it is coupled with 'great toe.' In the consecration of Aaron and his sons, blood was sprinkled upon the tip of the right ear, upon the thumb of the right hand, and upon the great toe of the right foot (Ex 29[20], Lv 8[23. 24]). It has been generally held (Dillm., Baentsch, *et al.*, *ad loc.*, Nowack, *Heb. Arch.* ii. 123) that this procedure symbolized the consecration of the organs of hearing, handling, and walking, the priests becoming thus fitted to hear God's voice, to handle holy things, and to tread holy ground. This explanation fails, however, to account for the selection of these three organs alone, and it does not harmonize well with the circumstance that the cleansed leper was similarly sprinkled (Lv 14[14. 17. 25. 28]). There is more probability in the view of Holzinger (*Exodus*, *ad loc.*) that, like the horns of the altar, the *extremities* of the human body, with inclusive sense, are chosen for consecration.—The cutting off of Adonibezek's thumbs and great toes (Jg 1[6]), a mutilation which he declares he had himself practised on seventy kings (v.[7]), disabled him from fighting, and possibly disqualified him from reigning (see Moore, *ad loc.*, where parallels from classical writers are cited; cf. also art. ADONIBEZEK).

J. A. SELBIE.

THUMMIM.—See URIM AND THUMMIM.

THUNDER (רַעַם, *βροντή*) is the loud sound which accompanies the discharge through the atmosphere of electricity from the clouds. It seems to follow the lightning flash after an interval proportioned to the observer's distance from the place of disturbance. Thunderstorms are frequent in Palestine during the winter season, but very rarely occur at any other time of the year (Schwarz, *Palestine*, 327). They are always accompanied by rain or hail. In the OT thunder is both poetically described and popularly regarded as the voice of God. It is spoken of as a voice in Ps 77[18] 104[7], Sir 43[17] (cf. 1 S 7[10]). In several passages (Ex 9[23ff.] 19[16] 20[18], 1 S 12[17. 18], Job 28[26] 38[25]) 'thunder' or 'thundering' is simply the tr. of קוֹלוֹת ('voices'), and even where קוֹל is rendered 'voice' the verb רָעַם ('to thunder') in the context sometimes shows that thunder is meant (2 S 22[14], Job 37[4. 5] 40[9], Ps 18[13] 29[3]; cf. the use of *φωναί* in Rev 4[5] 8[5] 11[19] 16[18]). Ps 29 is throughout a sublime poetic description of a thunderstorm and its effects, though the noun רַעַם does not once occur in it, but only the often repeated phrase קוֹל־יהוה. The sequence of thunder after lightning is referred to in Job 37[4], Sir 32[10], and the general connexion of the two phenomena in Job 28[26] 38[25]. In Ps 104[7] the creative voice of God which bade the waters go to their appointed place (Gn 1[9]) is identified with thunder. Thunder accompanied by hail is enumerated in Ex 9[23ff.] as the seventh of the PLAGUES OF EGYPT (see vol. iii. p. 891). From Ps 77[18] it would appear that it was a thundercloud which came between the Israelites and the Egyptians at the crossing of the Red Sea, and this is probably alluded to in Ps 81[7]. Thunder was one of the impressive phenomena amidst which the Law was given at Sinai (Ex 19[16] 20[18]). A thunderstorm decided the issue of a battle between Israel and the Philistines (1 S 7[10], Sir 46[17]), and another served to deepen the impression made by Samuel's warning to Israel when they desired a king (1 S 12[17. 18]). This latter event was all the more significant because it occurred at a most unusual season,—that of wheat harvest.

In Job 39[25] thunder is used figuratively for the noise of battle; and in Job 26[14] the difference between a whisper and thunder is used to illustrate the contrast between what man sees of God's ways, and the reality of God's power. In Sir 40[13] the goods of the unjust are said to go off in a noise like thunder; and in Mk 3[17] 'sons of thunder' is the interpretation of the title *βοανηργές* given by Jesus to the sons of Zebedee (see BOANERGES). In Is 29[6] thunder is among the metaphors describing the disasters impending on Ariel, and it appears in a similar connexion in Rev 8[5] 16[18]. Like other convulsions of nature, it enters largely into the imagery of the Apocalypse (4[5] 11[19]). Voices like thunder are mentioned in 6[1] 14[2] 19[6], and in 10[3. 4] actual thunders are conceived to have an articulate meaning. In view of this last fact, and of the close OT association between thunder and the voice of God, it seems probable that the 'voice out of heaven' (Jn 12[28. 29]) was a thunder-peal, as indeed most of those present thought, and that its significance was recognized and interpreted by Jesus alone. A similar construction may be put on the voices in the narratives of the Baptism and Transfiguration of Jesus, and the whole subject is illustrated by the Jewish doctrine of the בַּת־קוֹל, which was always supposed to be preceded by a thunder-clap (Barclay, *Talmud*, p. 16, note).

The Greek word *κεραυνός*, like Lat. *fulmen*, denotes thunder and lightning together. It is used in Wis 19[13] of the punishment of the Egyptians at the Exodus (EV 'thunders'), and in 2 Mac 10[30] of certain human missiles of destruction (AV 'lightnings,' RV 'thunderbolts'). *κεραύνωσις* is the LXX tr. of נֶפֶץ in Is 30[30], where all the phenomena of a thunderstorm occur in the context as metaphors for the disasters awaiting Assyria. AV renders נֶפֶץ 'scattering,' RV 'blast,' RVm 'crash,' Delitzsch 'cloud-burst.'

In Ps 78[48] 'thunderbolt' is the tr. of רֶשֶׁף (mg. 'hailstone'). For the meaning of this word see under COAL, **4.** vol. i. p. 451[b]. In Job 39[19] AV has 'thunder' as a mistranslation of רַעְמָה (RV 'quivering mane').

JAMES PATRICK.

THYATIRA (Θυάτειρα) was an important and wealthy city in the northern part of Lydia, in a district which was in early times sometimes assigned to Mysia; and it was sometimes called 'the last city of the Mysians,'* owing to the uncertainty about national boundaries in Asia Minor. In its situation in the open fertile valley of the Lycus, a stream that flows south-west from the Mysian frontier to join the Hermus, it must have been a settlement (doubtless a large village beside a temple, after the Anatolian fashion) from the earliest time; and according to Pliny and Stephanus it was then called Pelopia Euippa Semiramis; but these seem to be mere epithets, and the name Thyateira is probably an old Lydian word, meaning 'the town or citadel of Thya': Teira occurs as a Lydian city name. But the importance of Thyatira began when it was refounded with a colony of Macedonians by Seleucus Nikator between B.C. 301 and 281.† Its history as a Greek

* Steph. Byz. *s.v.* So Iconium was 'the last city of Phrygia.'

† So Stephanus; but Schuchhardt (*Athen. Mitth.* 1888, p. 1 ff.) attributes the new foundation to a later date in the 3rd cent.,

city dates from that time; and it continued to be a rich and busy commercial city throughout ancient times. The peacefulness and prosperity of its development afford little for the historian to record. Antiochus the Great lay encamped there for a time in B.C. 190, until he was forced to retire on Magnesia; and the decisive battle against the Romans under Scipio was fought between the two cities. Thyatira derived its importance strictly from the valley in which it was situated, and not from lying on a great trade route. Hence it was limited in its development by the restriction of its range, and it never became a metropolis or leading city of Asia, nor was it honoured with the Neokorate in the State cultus of the emperors. Ptolemy, indeed, styles it metropolis of Lydia (v. ii. 16); but the title never occurs in inscriptions or on coins, and is probably erroneously given. The epithets by which Thyatira sought to glorify itself are therefore rather vague in character, λαμπροτάτη, διασημοτάτη, μεγίστη, etc. But in A.D. 215 Caracalla passed through the city, and issued an edict (which came before, and was probably addressed to the *Koinon* of Asia, and was of course carried into effect by vote of the *Koinon*), ordering that it should be one of the seats of *conventus* of the Province (ἐδωρήσατο τῇ πατρίδι ἡμῶν τὴν ἀγορὰν τῶν δικῶν).

In regard to religion, Thyatira also rejoiced in the title 'the holy city of the προπάτωρ θεὸς Ἥλιος Πύθιος Τυριμναῖος Ἀπόλλων' (just as Ephesus boasted itself the city of Artemis); and the inscriptions often mention the patron god. The coins often show the horseman-god Tyrimnos, with double-axe on shoulder (a figure common under various names in Lydian and Phrygian cities), and a goddess of the Greek Artemis type, called Boreitene. But Boreitene is simply a surname of the goddess who was worshipped along with the patron god, probably derived from some locality in the territory of the city with which the goddess was specially associated. The Boreitene Artemis was, undoubtedly, closely related to the Ephesian Artemis on the one hand, and to the East Lydian and Pontic Anaitis (Persian in origin, called Persike on the coins of the neighbouring Hierocæsareia) on the other. Apollo Tyrimnaios is known only from the inscriptions, which show that there was a sacred *temenos*, with a *propylæum*, containing doubtless a temple: games called Tyrimnaia, in honour of the god, are also mentioned. The priest of Apollo and the priestess of Artemis were husband and wife (*Bull. Corresp. Hellén.* xi. p. 478, No. 57), showing how intimate was the relation between the two deities in the Thyatiran cult. This deity was Πρόπολις (with his temple in front of, not inside, the city) and Προπάτωρ (patron of the city, and ancestor of some leading family or families, doubtless priestly families, in it). Tyrimnos was evidently the ancient Lydian sun-god,* identified with the Greek Apollo Pythius. Under the Roman empire the worship of Apollo Tyrimnaios was united with the cult of the emperors, as we see in the ceremony of the Sebasto-Tyrimnæan festival (τῆς Σεβαστείου καὶ Τυριμνήου πανηγύρεως). The worship of Artemis and Apollo was conjoined with mysteries, which were under the direction of the priestess (*CIG* 3507).

Further, there was outside of the city (πρὸ τῆς πόλεως) a shrine of the Oriental (Chaldæan, or Persian, or Hebrew) Sibyl Sambethe, or Sambathe, in the sacred precinct of the Chaldæan (πρὸς τῷ Σαμβαθείῳ ἐν τῷ Χαλδαίου περιβόλῳ,* *CIG* 3509). It may be taken as certain that this shrine was a seat of soothsaying, and that a prophetess was the recipient of inspiration and uttered the oracles at the shrine. It is also highly probable that this foundation arose from an eclectic religious system, combining some Hebrew conceptions with pagan forms and customs. So much may be taken as generally admitted; but to this Schürer (*Die Prophetin Isabel in Thyatira* †) has added the, at first sight, attractive theory that the woman Jezebel of Rev 2^{20} was the prophetess at the shrine, who perhaps played the part of the Sibyl herself, and whose character was perhaps not purely heathen but contained a mixture of Jewish elements. We cannot, however, consider this probable. While we must agree with Schürer and many older scholars that 'Jezebel' here denotes a definite woman, the context seems to require a woman of great influence within the Thyatiran Church (like Jezebel within the kingdom of Israel), in all probability an official, active, prominent in religious observances, claiming to be and accepted in the Church (ἀφεῖς) as one of those prophetesses who were so important in the early Church, using her position to disseminate her own views, maintaining and teaching the doctrine (against which the letter inveighs so bitterly) that it was possible to be a Christian and yet remain a member of ordinary pagan society and belong to the social clubs, which were so characteristic of pagan life, and fulfilled many useful purposes of a charitable or beneficial kind, but were (according to St. John and St. Paul alike) inextricably implicated in idolatrous observances, and conducive to luxury and sensual enjoyment.‡ The person who was condemned so strenuously by the author was not a pagan prophetess, but a danger within the Church, and the Church itself is censured for treating her with allowance and respect instead of casting her out with abhorrence. Yet a time for repentance is granted even to her, before her punishment shall come upon her.

The passage of Rev. places us amid the difficulties besetting the Thyatiran Christians in the early period of the Church. The population of the city was divided into trade-guilds, many of which are mentioned in inscriptions. To belong to the guild was a most important matter for every tradesman or artisan; it aided his business, and brought him many advantages socially. Each guild was a corporate body, possessing considerable powers, directed by elected officers, passing decrees in honour of Roman officials or other persons who had aided it, possessing property or revenues under its own direction, constructing works for the public; many of them, if not all, were benefit societies for mutual aid, and showed vigorous life, and were on the whole healthy and praiseworthy associations.

The objection to the guilds from the Christian point of view was twofold. In the first place, the bond which held a guild together lay always in the common religion in which all united, and in the common sacrificial meal of which all partook; the members ate and drank fellowship and brotherhood in virtue of the pagan deity whom they served. In the existing state of society it was impossible to dissociate membership of a guild from idolatry, and the idolatry was of a kind that by its symbolism and its efficacy exerted

and regards Thyatira as a Seleucid garrison founded to resist the growing Pergamenian power.

* We cannot adopt the view of Blakesley in Smith's *DB* and others, that Tyrimnas (as they wrongly call him) was a Macedonian deity brought by the colonists from their own country. They may have brought the name (Tyrimmas was a mythical Macedonian king), but not the religious institution.

* From a single reference it is impossible to determine whether a Chaldæan deity, or a Chaldæan who instituted and regulated the cultus, is meant. M. Clerc (*de Rebus Thyatir.* pp. 23, 79) puts the shrine of the Sibyl near the Chaldæan's precinct; but the inscription defines the position of the grave as by the Sibyl's shrine in the Chaldæan's precinct.

† In *Theolog. Abhandl. Weizsäcker gewidmet*, 1892, p. 39 ff.

‡ On this see *Expositor*, Dec. 1900, p. 429 ff.; Feb. 1901, p. 93 ff.

great influence on its adherents, making them members of a unity which was essentially non-Christian and anti-Christian. In the second place, the common banquets were celebrated amid circumstances of revelry and enjoyment that were far from conducive to strict morality, as is evident from representations of the feasts in such clubs; see *Bulletin de Corresp. Hellén.* 1900, p. 592 ff., and authorities there quoted.

But, considering the many good characteristics in these guilds, it was a serious question whether the Christian converts were bound to cut themselves off absolutely from them. In Rev $2^{20ff.}$ we see that the question had not yet been decisively answered in the Thyatiran Church, but was still under discussion: one influential female member, who was generally believed to be inspired, taught that Christians might continue in their guilds and share in the duties and privileges thereof. On the other hand there was a section of that Church (Rev 2^{24}) which opposed the teaching of the prophetess in this respect; we should probably gather from the whole passage that this section was the minority in the Church. This minority shares in the general condemnation of 2^{20} for suffering the woman Jezebel: they had not condemned her absolutely, but treated her teaching as mistaken in this one point, while otherwise regarding her as worthy of respect. The minority, however, is not threatened with any further penalty, provided they continue to reject the teaching of the prophetess. Thus the letter to Thyatira reveals to us a very early stage in Christian history. The very first problems, which must have faced the Christians in the Ægean cities, connected with their relation to the pagan society and institutions, are still unsettled. No final decision had yet been come to in Thyatira on the subject; and contrary opinions were maintained by members of the same community. The decision had indeed been pronounced by St. Paul as regards Corinth,* but in somewhat veiled and general terms, and had not as yet become the current and definite principle of all the Churches. As regards date, it might appear that this points to an earlier period than the reign of Domitian, and favours the earlier date for Rev. which many scholars have advocated; but a single detail is not conclusive, and exceptional circumstances must be admitted as possible in outlying communities like Thyatira and Pergamum (Rev 2^{14}). In Ephesus, the administrative centre of the Asian Churches, the decision of the Church was already fixed (Rev 2^{6}). Here it is implied that the error of the prophetess had already been denounced, 'and I gave her time that she should repent' (2^{21}). It is only after that previous formal warning that her punishment is now denounced as immediate: her followers have still an opportunity of escaping the punishment, if they repent, but otherwise it will affect them and her together.

The punishment denounced is illustrated by the nature of such guild-feasts, as shown in ancient reliefs. The members and worshippers reclined on couches at the banquet; and it is probable that the κλίνη of Rev 2^{22} should be understood, not as a bed (AV and RV), but as a couch: 'I set her on a couch, and her associates alongside of her (no longer for the revelry of their idolatrous celebrations, but) for tribulation' (see *Expositor*, Feb. 1901, p. 99 ff.).

Apart from this serious fault, the Church of Thyatira is praised highly for its energetic and truly Christian conduct, and for its steady progress: 'thy last works are more than the first.'

The guild of coppersmiths (χαλκεῖς) seems to have been influential in Thyatira (see inscription in *Bull. Corr. Hell.* x. p. 407, belonging to the early imperial times). The type on coins, Hephaistos forging a helmet, probably refers to the bronze trade; and perhaps the enigmatic allusion to the unknown χαλκολίβανος would be understood, if more could be learned about the Thyatiran bronze or copper work. Mr. Blakesley has suggested that the description of the Son of God, whose feet were like *chalcolibanos* (Rev 2^{18}), may have been suggested by the way in which the tutelary deity of the city was represented in Thyatira.

The guild of dyers is mentioned in several inscriptions. M. Clerc's view, that the dyeing in Thyatira was performed in ancient times with madder-root, *rubia* (as in the mediæval and modern trade), not with the juice of the shell-fish (as in Tyre and Laconia), nor with the worm *Coccus ilicis* (κόκκος), may be regarded as practically certain; and in that case the purple stuffs which the Thyatiran Lydia sold in Philippi (Ac 16^{14}) were dyed with what is, in modern times, called 'Turkey red' (as the purple proper, the scarlet of the *coccus*, and the red of *rubia* seem to have been all included under the generic title purple).

Thyatira lay close to the road connecting Pergamum with Sardis, and hence is placed between the two in the list of the Seven Churches of Asia (Rev 1^{11}). No evidence remains as to how and when Christianity reached the city, except that, if we press the words of Ac 19^{10}, the new religion was preached there by some of St. Paul's coadjutors and helpers during his first residence in Ephesus.

The modern town of Ak-Hissar occupies the site, approximately, of the ancient Thyatira. It is a busy commercial town, possessing a railway station and a considerable industry in carpet-making, etc. The population is about 20,000, of whom 7000 are Christians.

LITERATURE.—Clerc, *de rebus Thyatirenorum*, Paris, 1893; Stosch, *Antiquitatum Thyatirenarum Libri duo*, Zwollæ, 1763; Zaka, *περὶ τῶν τῆς πόλεως Θυατείρων*, Athens, 1900 (tr. from Clerc, with some additions and *corpus* of Thyatiran inscriptions); Imhoof-Blumer in *Revue Suisse Numism.* vii.

W. M. RAMSAY.

THYINE WOOD (ξύλον θύϊνον, *lignum thyinum*).—The product of *Thuja articulata*, Desf., a tree of the order *Coniferæ*, growing in the Atlas. It is of the same genus as the *lignum vitæ*, and was specially valued by the Greeks and Romans for tables. It formed part of the precious merchandise of Babylon [Rome] (Rev 18^{12} AVm 'sweet wood'). It is dark brown, very hard and durable, and withal fragrant. G. E. POST.

TIBERIAS (Τιβεριάς) is unlike most cities in Palestine in that we have a definite account of its origin, and can fix pretty accurately the date when it was built. Herod Antipas, the ruler of Galilee, was its founder, and it was named in honour of the emperor Tiberius. In the very beginning of his reign Antipas had already honoured Julia the mother of Tiberius, by rebuilding Betharamatha or Betharamptha (the Beth-haram of Jos 13^{27}), and calling it Julias or Livias. This was on the Shittim Plain east of Jericho. At a later period, some time between A.D. 20 and A.D. 30, Tiberias was built on the west shore of the Sea of Galilee. We are able to fix its site, because Josephus (*Ant.* XVIII. ii. 3) says that there were warm baths at no great distance from it in a place called Emmaus (the Hammath of Jos 19^{35}).

To secure sufficient room for the new city, an old cemetery had to be removed; and this fact, on account of the law of defilement by dead bodies, created a prejudice against it in the minds of the stricter Jews, which took a long time to overcome. Hammath was an ancient fortified town, and, as was customary, the dead were buried without the walls. These graves may have been a part of the cemetery of that old city, since the site of Antipas' new city was nearly a mile to the north of it. It

* 1 Co 10^{15-22}.

is a curious historical fact that, while at the beginning the Jews thought Tiberias unclean, so that they could hardly be forced to settle there, at last in the course of time they chose it as one of their sacred cities (see below).

People from various quarters helped to make up the first inhabitants of Tiberias. Some foreigners came, some poor people were compelled to make it their residence, and many persons who were 'not quite freemen' were brought thither and given certain privileges in the way of houses and lands. Some of those who settled there, however, are described as persons of wealth and position. The place grew rapidly, gates, colonnades, and marble statues made the streets attractive. Soon Tiberias could boast of 'the finest synagogue in Galilee,' a device of Herod to conciliate the Jews. From all accounts at our command, the city, touching the water of the lake, must have been beautiful, and its social and political importance were assured when Antipas removed thither from Sepphoris, till then the capital of Galilee, the seat of his government. His palace was a building of elegance, with costly furnishings, and in it was a large amount of the royal treasure (Jos. *Life*, xii. 13).

The Gr. character of the town may be the reason why, although Christ was so thoroughly identified for long with the Sea of Galilee, there is no evidence that He ever visited Tiberias, the new capital of the civil ruler to whom He was subject. The NT has little to say about this city; once the fact is mentioned that 'boats came from Tiberias' near to the spot where the Feeding of the Five Thousand took place (Jn 6^{23}); further than this the Gospels are silent.

At the time of the war with Rome, A.D. 66–70, Tiberias was one of the chief cities of Galilee. It had a council of 600 members. Its citizens were loyal to the national cause. When Gaius wanted to set up his statue in the temple at Jerusalem these people made such a desperate resistance, showing that they were ready to die rather than have their laws transgressed (*Ant.* XVIII. viii. 3), that the foolish project was at last abandoned. The strength of the place is shown by the fact that Vespasian led against it three legions before its inhabitants would open their gates to him. Another change awaited Tiberias, this time one of humiliation, when Herod Agrippa II. degraded it from being the chief city, and restored that honour to Sepphoris, where he kept the public archives and had stored a magazine of arms.

If in this way Tiberias lost political prestige, it gained in another direction, for after the destruction of Jerusalem it became the chief centre of Jewish schools and learning, so that it has a large place in the history of Palestine, and indeed of the world, while its rival Sepphoris is practically forgotten. At one time during this flourishing period its synagogues numbered no fewer than thirteen. Here the Mishna and the Palestinian Talmud were compiled and published, *c.* A.D. 220 and A.D. 420 respectively. The beautiful situation of the city, some of the noted scholars who either lived or were buried there, the hot springs which helped to make the place famous, and the earthquakes from which it has occasionally suffered, have been mentioned under GALILEE, and GALILEE (SEA OF).

The founder of this city is remembered as the murderer of John the Baptist, and as being present in Jerusalem at the passover when Jesus was arrested and put to death (Lk 23^{7}). What was once attractive is now a place of filth and misery. On the shore S. of the town are some interesting ruins, which, could they be properly excavated, might reveal remains and possibly treasures of this royal city of Herod Antipas. *Tabariyeh* (the modern name of the town) has a population of 5000 or 6000 souls, made up of a few Christians, some Mohammedans, and a large number of Jews. It has a Protestant mission with a school and a resident physician.

LITERATURE.—Schürer, *HJP* II. i. 143 ff.; G. A. Smith, *HGHL* 447 ff.; Neubauer, *Géog. du Talm.* 208 ff.; Graetz, *Gesch. d. Juden*, iv. 473; Reland, *Pal.* ii. 1040; Robinson, *BRP* iii. 342 ff.; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xv. 315 ff.; Baedeker-Socin, *Pal.* 382 ff.; Guérin, *Galilée*, i. 250 ff.; Merrill, *East of Jordan*, 125 f.; de Saulcy, *Journey in Bible Lands*, ii. 394 f.; Stanley, *Sinai and Pal.* 368 ff.

SELAH MERRILL.

TIBERIAS, SEA OF (Jn 21^{1}). —See GALILEE (SEA OF).

TIBERIUS (Τιβέριος).—The second Roman emperor, A.D. 14–37. The former is the date of Tiberius' accession on the death of Augustus. But there is good reason to suppose that St. Luke (3^{1}) in his reference to the 15th year of the reign of Tiberius Cæsar, as the beginning of John the Baptist's ministry, is reckoning from the date of Tiberius' association with Augustus in the empire some two years before the death of the latter. For the argument see art. CHRONOLOGY OF NT in vol. i. p. 405 f. The exact year of Tiberius' adoption by his stepfather in the government is not known. Mommsen puts it A.D. 11, other authorities A.D. 13. Perhaps the use of the word ἡγεμονία (AV and RV 'reign') implies that Tiberius was only acting as regent before the death of Augustus. From the evidence of coins struck at this date it is shown that it was customary to regard Tiberius' reign as beginning A.D. 12 or A.U.C. 765. This reign spread over the most momentous period in Christian chronology. In it occurred our Lord's ministry and death (A.D. 29); the Resurrection; the pouring out of the Holy Ghost; the martyrdom of St. Stephen, and the general persecution that immediately followed. All allusions to Cæsar during our Lord's life, *e.g.* in the case of the tribute money and the taunt levelled against Pilate, 'Thou art not Cæsar's friend,' refer to Tiberius. The last years of his reign witnessed the conversion of St. Paul and the beginning of his preaching.

Tiberius at his accession retained Valerius Gratus as procurator of Judæa, in order to lessen the frequent changes, and thus diminish the extortion in the provinces. Each new governor, expecting only a short lease of power, exacted as much as possible in the shortest time. Gratus deposed Annas and made his son Eleazar, and afterwards Caiaphas, his son-in-law, high priest. Pontius Pilate, the successor of Gratus, was also appointed by Tiberius, and was the nominee of Sejanus, the emperor's unprincipled favourite.

The name *Tiberias*, given to the city and lake, was intended by Herod Antipas as a compliment to the reigning emperor. See art. TIBERIAS.

C. H. PRICHARD.

TIBHATH (טִבְחַת 'extensive,' 'level'; B Μεταβήχας, A Ματεβέθ; *Thebath*).—A city of Hadarezer, king of Zobah, from which David took much brass (1 Ch 18^{8}). In 2 S 8^{8} the name of the town is **Betah,** but the original reading was probably **Tebah,** as in the Syriac version, and as a tribal name in Gn 22^{24}. The site of Tibhath is unknown, but it was possibly on the eastern slopes of Anti-Lebanon, between which range and the Euphrates Aram-zobah is supposed to have been situated.

C. W. WILSON.

TIBNI (תִּבְנִי; B Θαμνεί, A Θαμνί, Luc. Θαβεννεί).—After the seven days' reign of ZIMRI had ended in his death in the flames of his palace, Tibni disputed the throne for four years (compare 1 K 16^{15} with v.^{23}) with OMRI, whose sway was acknowledged only after the death of Tibni and his brother Joram. Our knowledge of Joram we owe to the

LXX, whose addition (in 1 K 16[22]) καὶ Ἰωρὰμ ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ no doubt preserves an original ויורם אחיו בעת ההיא which has dropped out of the Heb. text.

TIDAL (תִּדְעָל; A Θαλγά, Θαλγάλ, Luc. Θαργάλ; *Thadal*).—King of GOIIM, who, along with Arioch of Ellasar and Amraphel of Shinar, followed his suzerain, Chedorlaomer of Elam, in his campaigns in Palestine (Gn 14[1. 9]). His name has recently been found * by Mr. Pinches in a cuneiform tablet (*Sp.* iii. 2. 13) under the form of Tudghula in connexion with Eri-Aku of Larsa, Khammu[rabi] of Babylon, and Kudur-Laghghamar of Elam. Tudghula is here called the son of Gazza[ni]. In another tablet relating to the same historical events we read: 'Who is Kudur-Laghghamar, the worker of evil? He has assembled the Umman Manda, he has laid waste the people of Bel (*i.e.* the Babylonians), and [has marched] at their side.' The Umman Manda, or 'Barbarian Hordes,' were the mountaineers who lived to the north of Elam, and the name given to them is the Bab. equivalent of the Heb. Goiim. It seems probable, therefore, that Tudghula or Tid'al came from the mountains N.E. of Babylonia. A. H. SAYCE.

TIGLATH-PILESER (תִּגְלַת־פִּלְאֶסֶר; B Ἀλγαθφελλάσαρ,, Θαλγαθφελλάσαρ, Θαλγαλφελλάσαρ, A Ἀγλαθφαλλάσαρ, Luc. Θεγλαφαλάσαρ; Assyr. *Tukulti-Pal-Ešarra*, '(my) trust is (Ninip) the son of É-Sarra,' É-Sarra signifying 'the House of Hosts.' The Heb. spelling of the first part of the name is peculiar, but precisely the same spelling is found in the Aram. inscriptions of Zinjerli, which are contemporaneous with the reign of Tiglath-pileser. In 1 Ch 5[6. 26] and 2 Ch 28[20] we find the corrupt form **Tilgath-pilneser** [תִּלְגַּת־פִּלְנֶסֶר; B Θαλγαβανάσαρ, Θαγναφαμάσαρ, Θαλγαφελλάδαρ; A Θαγλαθφαλνάσαρ; Luc. Θεγλαθφαλάσαρ]).

The Tiglath-pileser of OT is Tiglath-pileser III. of the native monuments, whose original name was Pulu (the **Pul** of 2 K 15[19]). He usurped the Assyr. crown, the 13th day of Iyyar, B.C. 745, after the fall of the older Assyr. dynasty, and assumed the name of Tiglath-pileser from that of a famous Assyr. king and conqueror who had reigned four centuries previously. In Babylonia, however, he continued to be known by his original name Pulu.

Tiglath-pileser III., the founder of the second Assyr. empire, was a man of great ability, both military and administrative. He introduced a new system of policy, the object of which was to weld the whole of W. Asia into a single empire, bound together by a bureaucratic organization. It was the first experiment in political centralization. He also established a standing army, which he made, by careful training and equipment, an irresistible engine of war. And it was he who first devised the system of satrapies and finance which prevailed in the Persian empire of later days.

Immediately after his accession he marched into Babylonia, where he subdued the Aramæan tribes and united the northern portion of the country to Assyria. In B.C. 744 he chastised the wild tribes on the eastern frontiers of his kingdom, penetrating into the remotest parts of Media. Next he had to defend himself against Sarduris II. of Ararat and his allies from Asia Minor. These he defeated in a pitched battle, capturing no fewer than 72,950 soldiers of the enemy as well as the city of Arpad in N. Syria. Here he received tribute from various princes, including Rezin of Damascus and Hiram of Tyre. Arpad, however, revolted immediately afterwards. In B.C. 742, accordingly, he began the siege of it; but it did not fall till B.C. 740. In B.C. 739 the Assyrians came into conflict with Azariah of Judah (not Yadi in N. Syria, as has recently been suggested; but see art. UZZIAH, and ASSYRIA, vol. i. p. 185[b]), whose allies from Hamath were overthrown, and the 19 districts of Hamath placed under Assyr. governors. Meanwhile the Assyr. generals had suppressed a revolt among the Aramæan tribes in Babylonia. Transportations of the conquered populations now took place on a large scale. This was the beginning of a policy which was afterwards more fully developed by the Assyr. and Bab. kings. Tribute was again brought to Tiglath-pileser by the kings of Asia Minor, Syria, and Palestine, among them being Menaḥem of Samaria (2 K 15[19]).

In B.C. 737 there was another campaign in the east, the Medes and other neighbouring tribes being overrun, and in 736 war again broke out with Ararat. In B.C. 735 Ararat itself was invaded, and, though the capital Dhuspas (now *Van*) resisted capture, the country round it was ravaged to the extent of 450 miles. Next year (B.C. 734) Tiglath-pileser was summoned to the help of Ahaz of Judah, called Jehoahaz in the cuneiform texts, who had been attacked by Pekah of Israel and Rezin of Damascus. Rezin was defeated in a decisive battle, and fled to his capital, which was thereupon closely invested by the Assyrians. With another portion of his army T. now ravaged 16 districts of Syria, captured Samahla (the modern *Zinjerli*), and descended on the kingdom of Samaria. Gilead and Abel-[Beth-Maacah] were annexed to Assyria (2 K 15[29]); tribute was received from Ammon and Moab; the Philistine cities, Ekron, Ashdod, and Ashkelon, were conquered, and Gaza was plundered. Edom was also compelled to submit as well as Samsi, queen of the Arabs of Saba or Sheba. Various cities of N. Arabia, including Tema (now *Teima*), were taken at the same time. In B.C. 732 Damascus fell at last, Rezin was put to death, and an Assyr. satrap appointed in his place. After the capture of Damascus, T. held a court there, which was attended by the subject princes, Kustaspi of Comagênê, Urikki of Ḳuê, Sibittibaal of Gebal, Eniel of Hamath, Panammû of Samahla, Tarkhu-lara of Gurgum, Suluval of Milid (*Malatiyeh*), Uas-survi of Tubal, Uskhitti of Tuna, Urpalla of Tukhana, Tukhammu of Istunda, Matan-baal of Arvad, Sanibu of Ammon, Solomon (Salamanu) of Moab, Metinti of Ashkelon, Jehoahaz (Yahu-khazi) of Judah, Ḳausmalaka of Edom, and Khanun (Hanno) of Gaza. It was while he was at Damascus that Ahaz saw the altar of which he sent the pattern to Jerusalem (2 K 16[10ff.]). Soon afterwards Uas-survi of Tubal revolted: for this the people were fined, and a new king established over them. Metenna of Tyre was also forced to become tributary to Assyria, and to pay 150 talents of gold to the Assyrian exchequer.

About B.C. 730 (or perhaps 733) Pekah of Samaria was murdered by Hoshea, whom T. claims to have appointed to the throne. In B.C. 731 the Assyr. king marched into Babylonia, and received an embassy from Merodach-baladan, the Kaldâ prince who ruled in the marshes at the mouths of the Tigris and Euphrates. But it was not until B.C. 728 that he succeeded in occupying Babylon and receiving the crown from the hands of Bel, thereby making his title to the throne legitimate, and becoming king of Western Asia *de jure*. In the following year, B.C. 727, in the early part of the month Tebet, he died. He had built two palaces—one at Nineveh, the other at Calah (now *Nimrûd*). A. H. SAYCE.

* King, *Letters of Hammurabi*, i. (1898) p. liii, and Ball, *Light from the East*, p. 70, however, question these identifications.

TIGRIS.—See HIDDEKEL. The Tigris rises a little south of Lake Göljik, and flows south-

ward to Diarbekr. After passing Diarbekr, it receives the eastern Tigris (which rises in the Niphates mountains) at Osman Kieui. Then it flows through narrow gorges into the plateau of Mesopotamia, where it receives from the east the Greater and Lesser Zab, the Adhem or Radanu, and the Diyaleh or Tornadotus. On the E. bank, opposite Mosul, were Nineveh and Calah, a little N. of the junction of the Tigris and Greater Zab; and on the W. bank, N. of the Lesser Zab, was Assur (now Kalah Sherghat), the primitive capital of Assyria. The Tigris is about 1150 miles in length, and rises rapidly in March and April owing to the melting of the snows, falling again after the middle of May. A. H. SAYCE.

TIKVAH (תִּקְוָה).—**1.** The father-in-law of HULDAH the prophetess, 2 K 22^{14} (B Θεκκουαύ, A Θεκκουέ, Luc. Θεκουέ), called in 2 Ch 34^{22} **Tokhath** (*Kĕrê* תּוֹקְהַת, *Kĕth.* תּוּקַהַת; B Καθουάλ, A Θακουάθ, Luc. Θεκωέ). **2.** The father of JAHZEIAH, a contemporary of Ezra, Ezr 10^{15} (B Ἐλκειά, A Θεκουέ), called in 1 Es 9^{14} **Thocanus.**

TILE, TILING (לְבֵנָה, *κέραμος*).—In Ezk 4^{1} 'tile' is the rendering of לְבֵנָה, which is elsewhere tr. 'brick' (LXX *πλίνθος*). See BRICK.

In Lk 5^{19}, in the account of the healing of the paralytic at Capernaum, the sufferer is said to have been let down *διὰ τῶν κεράμων* (AV 'through the tiling,' RV 'through the tiles'). The parallel passage (Mk 2^{4}) is more detailed in its expressions (*ἀπεστέγασαν τὴν στέγην . . . καὶ ἐξορύξαντες*), and a difficulty has been felt in reconciling these with Luke's phrase. The roofs of Oriental houses are usually formed by laying tree trunks with the branches and twigs from wall to wall. Above these is a layer of earth about a foot thick, and over this is spread a paste of clay and straw, which hardens in the sun and renders the roof impervious to rain. This upper layer needs to be renewed at the beginning of the winter season (Nowack, *Heb. Arch.* i. 140; Benzinger, *Heb. Arch.* 116). Mark's account seems to suggest the breaking-up of such a roof as this, while Luke's expression does not, and various explanations of the latter have been attempted. The idea of a door or trap in the roof does not fit either narrative. It has been suggested that *διὰ τῶν κεράμων* is to be understood in the general sense of 'through the roof,' though, if taken literally, the words would be more applicable to Greek and Roman houses than to those of Palestine. Another explanation is that the court of the house was partly roofed over but had an opening above the centre, which was covered in wet weather by tiles, which could be easily removed (so Godet, following Delitzsch, *Ein Tag in Capernaum*, 44–46). The best view, however, is that of Tristram (*Eastern Customs in Bible Lands*, 34, 35), who states that ordinary Galilæan houses of the present day have a court separated from the street by a wall on one side, while on the other three sides it is surrounded by apartments opening into it. The roofs of these apartments are always of earth and lime, firmly pressed down and whitewashed. The roof may be supported by pillars on the side next the court, from which the rooms may be separated only by movable curtains. From the roof proper, however, eaves stretch over the court for six feet or more. These are supported on light rafters, and are covered with matting or with shingles (wooden tiles) lightly tacked together. The principal apartment is on the side of the court away from the street. In the case before us both this and the court itself would be full of people, and Jesus, in order to be heard by all, would be standing at the outer margin of the room. Access could be gained to the roof by an outside stairway, and if the covering of the eaves were removed, as it could easily be, the paralytic could be let down from the edge of the roof proper to the very spot where Jesus was. The expressions in Mark, though applicable to the breaking through of an earthen roof, describe this proceeding equally well. JAMES PATRICK.

TILGATH-PILNESER.—See TIGLATH-PILESER.

TILON (*Kĕrê* תִּילוֹן, *Kĕth.* תּוֹלוֹן; B Ἰνών, A Θιλών, Luc. Θωλείμ).—A son of Shimon, 1 Ch 4^{20}.

TIMÆUS, only Mk 10^{46}.—Father of the blind beggar BARTIMÆUS (vol. i. p. 248). If the name be Greek, it must be written Τίμαιος, and thus WH write even the second name Βαρτίμαιος; if it be Semitic, like most names in *-αιος* in the NT, it must be Τιμαῖος, like Ζακχαῖος, Βαρθολομαῖος, etc. Both suppositions have their difficulties. Again, 'the son of Timæus' (*υἱὸς Τιμαίου*) seems a mere translation of Βαρτιμαῖος. Ecclesiastical tradition gives to the name the meaning 'blind' (see *Onomastica sacra*, ed. Lagarde, 176, 35, Βαρτιμαῖος *υἱὸς τυφλός*; 66, 10 (Jerome): *Barsemia* filius cæcus, quod et ipsum quidam corrupte Bartimæum legunt).* סַמְיָא, סְמָא means 'blind'; but how are we to get from *sĕmē* to *timai*? Jastrow (*Dictionary*, p. 532; similarly, Krauss, *Lehnwörter*) mentions from *Koh. rabba* to Ec 9^{7} ר' יהושע בריה דר' טימי, but Yalk. Koh. 979 has only ר' שמלאי, and with Dalman, *Aramäisch-neuhebräisches Wörterbuch*, p. 162, we must perhaps read שִׁימִי=Simeon. The *Thesaurus Syriacus* (486, 1462) mentions a place בֵּית טִימַי. The Syriac Versions, including the Arabic Tatian, Syrus Sinaiticus, and the Palestinian Syriac (Land, *Anecdota Syriaca*, iv. 141), read *Timai bar Timai*, the Egyptian *Catenæ* as published by Lagarde (1886, p. 101), ΒΑΡΤΙΜΕΝΟϹ ΠωΗΡΙ ΝΤΙΜΕΝΟϹ. Origen connected the name with *τιμή* (*ὁ τῆς τιμῆς ἐπώνυμος*); Strauss thought of *ἐπετίμων* in v.^{48}; others of טמא 'unclean'; Neubauer (*Studia Biblica*, i. 57) would spell it תֵּימָא, against the general rule that ת=מ. The etymology is still obscure, and so is the relation of the account of Mark to that of Luke and Matthew. See Schmiedel, *Enc. Bibl.* i. 489–491; Nestle, *Marginalien*, 1893, pp. 83–92; art. BARTIMÆUS in vol. i. p. 248. EB. NESTLE.

TIMBREL.—See TABRET.

TIME.—i. ERAS.—The Bible offers insufficient data for confident generalizations regarding the methods employed at various periods for measuring and indicating the passage of time. We should naturally expect considerable changes in these methods as the Israelites passed through various phases of civilization and modes of living. The literary records, however, do not completely reflect all these modified conditions, and just as Josephus translates the current Jewish dates of his age into their Macedonian equivalents, so earlier writers would probably date past events in accordance with their own rather than with the ancient systems of the calendar. Until the 2nd cent. B.C. we know of no fixed *era* from which events were dated by the Israelites. The books of the Maccabees show us the Seleucidean era (beginning B.C. 312) in full force. This era (*minyan Yevanim* 'numbering of the Greeks,' or *minyan shetaroth* 'numbering of documents') was the first to be adopted and the last to be rejected by the Jews; it survived among the Egyptian Jews till the 16th cent. A.D. The ordinary Seleucid era began with the autumn of the year B.C. 312; but Schürer (*HJP* I. i. p. 37) maintains that the

* On the Syriac lexicographers (Bar Ali, Bar Bahlul) see Nestle, *Marginalien*, p. 87.

authors of the books of the Maccabees reckon the year from the spring season, though later Jews counted from the autumn (Tishri). Wellhausen rejects Schürer's theory (*IJG*[4] 258). Several of the Hellenistic cities founded along the seacoast of Judæa and in the north had eras of their own in the Greek period (after Alexander the Great), but the only exact Jewish parallel is found in the time of Simon the Maccabee (143–2 B.C.). 'In the hundred and seventieth year (of the Seleucidean era) was the yoke of the heathen taken away from Israel. And the people began to write in their instruments and contracts, "In the first year of Simon the great high priest and captain and leader of the Jews"' (1 Mac 13[41]). No documents so dated are extant, but it has been doubtfully conjectured [but see art. MONEY in vol. iii. p. 424 ff.] that some silver coins bearing the year numbers 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5, and the inscription ירושלם קדשה, etc., refer to this era. That the era of Simon was of short duration is certain; even in 1 Mac. (14[27]) it is only employed side by side with the more permanently used Selucidean epoch.

The prevalent method of dating events both in OT and NT is by regnal years of monarchs, or by synchronism with other events [see CHRONOLOGY]. The Exodus from Egypt was sometimes taken as an era (1 K 6[1], cf. Ex 19[1], Nu 33[38]); and Ezekiel (1[1]) perhaps turns the reformation of Josiah (B.C. 622–1) to this purpose. It is unlikely that the 'thirtieth year' refers to Ezekiel's own age [but see Budde in *Expos. Times*, Oct. 1900, p. 39 ff., and Aug. 1901, p. 525 f.], though the patriarchal dates are often collated with the ages of various characters. At the beginning of the Christian era, the Jews were compelled to adopt the year of the Roman emperors as their norm (Graetz, *History of the Jews*, Eng. tr. ii. 134). The erection of Solomon's temple (1 K 9[10]), the commencement of the Egyptian entanglement (Gn 15[13]), the Babylonian Exile (Ezk 33[21] 40[1]), and such natural phenomena as a remarkable earthquake ('two years before the earthquake,' Am 1[1]), were also in a minor degree used as eras. Soon after the time of Christ, the Jews must have devised a method of counting by *anno mundi*, for the Talmud assumes that something like 4000 years separated the destruction of the temple from the Creation. The dating by A.M. first occurs in the *Seder Hadoroth*, a work attributed to Jose ben Chalafta. The Jewish system differs from the Dionysian era (6th cent. A.D.), and, while Ussher dates the Christian era as 4004 A.M., the current Jewish numbering assigns the year 3760 A.M. to the beginning of that era. Thus the Jewish year beginning September 1901 is 5662 A.M. Jews in later times occasionally used the Mohammedan era, and dated from the Hegira. There is no indication whatever that the Jews ever turned the jubilee period to calendar use in the same manner in which the Olympiads were employed. They may, however, have made use of the idea of the *dor* or 'generation.'

ii. THE YEAR.—In the main, the Jewish *year* was lunar, with corrections designed to bring about a more or less exact correspondence with the solar seasons. It seems to have been the view of the writer of the first report of the Flood (P) that the oldest Hebrew year was a *pure* lunar year, containing 12 lunar months and 354 days. In Gn 7[11] (cf. 8[14]) the Flood is said to have lasted from the 17th of the 2nd month in one year to the 27th of the 2nd month in the next year, or 1 year and 11 days. This reckoning, as Benzinger suggests (*Heb. Arch.* p. 198), arose through the translation of a solar year into its lunar equivalent. The actual duration of the Flood was in the general Semitic tradition a year, meaning a solar year of 365 days. 'In the presupposition that the oldest ages had a pure moon year, P, when dating the Flood, uses such a year as the basis, and shows his archæological knowledge and his pretended historical exactitude by not giving the round figure a year, but he gives the right total in an inferential manner.' It may, however, well be that we have here a genuine tradition of an ancient pure lunar year; moreover, even when solar corrections were made, *some* Jewish years were more or less purely lunar. From another factor in the Flood narrative, the 150 days, which amounted to 5 months, a year of $12 \times 30 = 360$ days has been inferred (Schwarz, *Der Jüdische Kalender*, p. 7). So much is certain, that in the historical time the Hebrew year was solar, though the months were lunar. The Calendar must have been roughly congruous with the cycle of natural life. The old Arabs had a sun-year of 365 days before Mohammed converted it into the pure lunar year of 354 days, which still prevails.

The fact that solar considerations must early have affected the Hebrew Calendar is obvious from the cycle of feasts which on the one hand fell in definitely fixed lunar months, and on the other hand coincided with equally definite seasons of the solar year. In the pure lunar year, Passover would, in a period of about 34 years, make the round of all the four seasons (Schwarz, p. 9). This was an impossibility in the Jewish Calendar. How the correction was effected we have no means of discovering. The lunar character of the Calendar must have prevented the intercalation of an odd 10 or 11 days annually (as Lewisohn suggests, *Gesch. und Syst. d. K.* p. 6), yet we are nowhere told of an intercalary *month*, unless the law as to the deferred Passover (Nu 9[10]) be held to be some indication of it. The Talmud (*Sanhed.* 12 *a*) proves the biblical knowledge of the intercalary month from 1 K 4[7], but the argument is ineffective. On the other hand, 1 Ch 27, where arrangements for the succession of royal officers are only made for 12 months, cannot be held to prove the total ignorance of intercalation of a thirteenth month. The knowledge of this method was very ancient in Babylon, an intercalated Elul being older than the intercalated Adar. The latter, being sacred to Ashur, must have been the work of astronomers standing under Assyrian authority (Jastrow, *Rel. of Babylonia and Assyria*, p. 463).

The Babylonian year seems to have consisted of 12 lunar months of 30 days each, intercalary months being added by the priests when necessary (W. Muss-Arnolt, 'The Names of the Assyro-Babylonian Months and their Regents,' in *JBL* vol. xi. p. 72 f.). In later times, according to Strassmaier and Epping (*Astronomisches aus Babylon*), months of 30 days alternated with months of 29 days (Nisan, Tammuz, Elul, Tishri, Kislev, Shebat, and Adar had 30 days, while the others had only 29). Muss-Arnolt expresses himself as uncertain whether the intercalary months were fixed, or were added whenever the priestly directors of the Calendar discovered that the disagreement between it and the true year had become serious. We may fairly assume that the latter was the method in ancient Israel, at all events till well into the post-exilic period. Without any definite rules a month was probably intercalated on occasion, when the discrepancy was sufficiently marked (Schwarz, p. 14) to render correction imperative. Some have sought to find the key to the ancient intercalations in the jubilee periods (Zuckermann, *Ueber Sabbatjahrcyklus und Jobelperiode*; Schwarz, pp. 10–12), with 18 or 19 intercalary months inserted in every 49 or 50 years. All such exact calculations, including those based on eras of 8 or 84 years, and more particularly on the Metonic cycle of 19 years, certainly belong to

the post-Christian period. Jewish tradition is very consistent in its evidence that the old method of empiric intercalation both of a monthly day and a yearly month prevailed for many centuries after Christ (see NEW MOON). Schürer (Appendix iii. to Division i. vol. ii.) expounds the generally accepted view of Jewish scholars as against Wieseler (see, however, CHRONOLOGY). Throughout the Middle Ages the empiric method partially held its ground. Nevertheless, calculation (of which we have early indications in Enoch 72 ff.) must have much aided observation, and we read of family traditions in the case of Gamaliel (*Rosh Hashana* 25*a*), and the mean duration of the lunar month (about 29½ days) must have been known long before the destruction of the temple (see the evidence for this in Schwarz, p. 19). By the middle of the 2nd cent. A.D. the calculated calendar was on the way to acceptance (*Sanhed.* 12*a*), but it was not fully adopted till the 4th cent. under Hillel II. In the intervening period the proclamation of New Moon and of the intercalary months was still dependent on the evidence of eye-witnesses as to the re-appearance of the moon on the one hand, and the relation of the lunar months to the solar seasons on the other. But astronomical calculation was certainly utilized as well, and, by observing 2 days' new moon in places distant from the Patriarchate, some of the difficulties of the Diaspora were removed. (See on this and on other points of the Rabbinic calendar, Zuckermann, *Material. zur Ent. der altjüd. Zeitrechnung*). The fixing of the Day of Atonement was, however, a perennial difficulty until a calculated calendar was finally adopted, based on the Metonic cycle with variations which do not belong to the scope of the present article.

Beginning of the Year.—'The Hebrew year had begun in the autumn with the month of September; but side by side with this West-Semitic calendar there had also been in use in Palestine another calendar, that of Babylonia, according to which the year began with Nisan or March. It was the Babylonian Calendar which was now introduced for ritual purposes. While the civil year still began in the autumn, it was ordained that the sacred year should begin in the spring. The sacred year was determined by the annual festivals, and the first of these festivals was henceforth to be the Passover. The beginning of the new year was henceforth fixed by the Passover moon' (Sayce, *EHH* p. 178). According to Dillmann (*Monatsberichte*, Societas Regia Scientiarum, Berlin, 1881) both the autumn and the spring new years are pre-exilic. The autumn era was, he holds, an economic rather than a calendar year; but, as Nowack well remarks, to an agricultural people the economic year must have coincided with the calendar year. That at all events an economic year began in the autumn is clear from such phrases as תְּקוּפַת הַשָּׁנָה, תְּצֵאת הַשָּׁנָה ('the end of the year,' Ex 23^{16} 34^{22}, cf. 1 S 20) used in describing the autumn harvest festival. The narrative of the Flood places the commencement on the 17th of the 2nd month, which on an autumn reckoning would correspond with the rainy season. The sabbatical year began in autumn (Lv 25^{9}), though it was not at the beginning of a calendar year (being on the 10th of the month). The royal years also at one time began in the autumn, and the synchronism of the Jewish events with the regnal year of Nebuchadnezzar in Jeremiah (46^{2}) seems to support the same conclusion. Dillmann at all events infers that the second half of the Jewish royal year corresponded with the first half of the Babylonian royal year (the fourth year of Jehoiakim corresponds both to the first year of Nebuchadnezzar, Jer 25^{1}, and to the twenty-first of his predecessor Nabopolasar, in which the battle of Carchemish was fought).

But besides the autumn year a spring era seems also to have been pre-exilic. The use of the term תְּשׁוּבַת הַשָּׁנָה for the resumption of royal campaigns (2 S 11^{1}, 1 K $20^{22.\ 26}$, 2 Ch 36^{10}) points to a spring era. So also does the order of the feasts. In the oldest form (Ex 23^{14-16}), as well as in J (Ex 34^{18-22}), and Deut. (16^{1-17}), the cycle begins with Passover and ends with Tabernacles. A Babylonian influence, to which was, however, due the introduction of the new names for the months, need not therefore be sought for this fixing of the beginning of the year in the spring (Ex 12^{2}, and in Priestly Code throughout), but the period of the Exile no doubt did mark the completion of the change from the autumnal to the vernal equinox. By this arrangement the order of the months began in Nisan, but the succession of years began in Tishri. Josephus is clearly accurate when he says (*Ant.* I. iii. 3): 'Moses appointed that Nisan, which is the same with Xanthicus, should be the first month for their festivals, because he brought them out of Egypt in that month: so that this month began the year, as to all the solemnities they observed to the honour of God—although he preserved the original order of the months as to selling and buying and other ordinary affairs.' The Mishna (*Rosh Hashana* i. 1) enumerates four new years—Nisan (for kings and the cycle of feasts), Elul (for the tithes of cattle), Tishri (for years, as at present in the Jewish Calendar, sabbatical years and jubilees, and other agricultural purposes), Shebat (for trees). 'During the Exile,' says Benzinger, 'the new year seems to have been calculated not on the first but on the 10th of the 7th month (Lv 25^{9}, Ezk 40), only later was the great Atonement festival fixed on this day.' But it may be doubted whether the 10th of the 7th month was ever the beginning of a calendar year. But the 1st of Tishri with its rite of blowing the *shōphār* (see TRUMPET), and its later spiritual associations as a day of penitence, acquired great importance in the Jewish Calendar. (On the history of the New Year Liturgy see Friedmann in *JQR*, vol. i. p. 62 f.).

Divisions of the Year.—The regular Hebrew word for 'year' is שָׁנָה (Assyr. *sanu* 'to change,' whence *sattu* 'year'). In Daniel עִדָּן means both an indefinite period of time (like the Heb. עֵת), and more definitely a *year* (Dn 4 and 7^{25}). Buhl compares a similar definition of meaning in the case of the word χρόνος, which in new Greek signifies 'year.' In Daniel, again (12^{7}), we meet with a use of מוֹעֵד for 'year,' though elsewhere the word more generally denotes an appointed or recurrent period such as the feast (exclusive of the Sabbath and New Moon). Another word זְמַן, which occurs only in late Hebrew (Ec 3^{1}, Neh 2^{6}) as a generic term for 'time,' had already acquired in canonical Hebrew (Est $9^{27.\ 31}$) the sense of season or festival, which it conveyed in Rabbinic Hebrew.* The ordinary seasons of the year were also distinguished in Hebrew as קַיִץ 'summer' and חֹרֶף 'autumn and winter.' August is usually the warmest month, February the coldest in Judæa. The חֹרֶף was further divided into two parts (Dt 11^{14}) by the יוֹרֶה 'earlier rain' (October) and מַלְקוֹשׁ 'the later rain' (spring equinox). Generic terms for the differences of temperature were קֹר 'cold' (Gn 8^{22}) and חֹם 'heat' (*ib.*). The sowing period was known as זֶרַע (*ib.*), the harvest-time as קָצִיר (mid-April till mid-June, the barley and wheat-harvest being meant).

* The Babylonian year was divided into *reš satti* 'beginning of the year,' *mišil satti* 'the middle of the year,' and *kit satti* 'end of the year.' Two of the terms are paralleled in Hebrew.

iii. MONTHS.—The Hebrew months have always been lunar, and extended from one new moon to another. The oldest Semitic word for month was *archu* (יָרֵחַ), which properly signifies the 'beginning of the month' (Muss-Arnolt, p. 73. Much of the following information is derived from this excellent authority). The same word appears in Aramæan (Ezr 6^{15}, Dn 4^{26}), Phœnician, and Ethiopic. In Hebrew the word is common in the pre-exilic passages, but it became entirely superseded by חֹדֶשׁ. This last word, properly 'new-moon' (which see), is employed (like the Assyrian *iddisu*) only for the beginning of the month, by other Semitic peoples; its use for 'month' was an innovation of the Israelites.

There are three sets of terms to distinguish the biblical months—(*a*) old (Canaanite) names, (*b*) numbers, and (*c*) the Babylonian names.

(*a*) Of the first class only four have survived: these names are all derived from climatic and economic conditions. Similarly, the earliest epithets of the months among the Babylonians are connected with agriculture and the pastoral life.

Abib (אָבִיב month of the ripening ears, Ex 13^4 etc.), subsequently the 1st month.

Ziv (זִו month of flowers, 1 K 6^1), subsequently the 2nd month.

Ethanim (אֵתָנִים month of perennial streams, 1 K 8^2), subsequently the 7th month.

Bul (בּוּל rain month, 1 K 6^{38}), subsequently the 8th month.

The last two names also occur in Phœnician inscriptions; *Ethanim* having been found in Cyprus (middle of 4th cent. B.C.) and *Bul* in Sidon (4th cent. B.C.; see Driver in Hogarth's *Authority and Archæology*, pp. 137, 138, and Buhl-Gesenius, *s.v.*).

(*b*) In the time of the Exile these old Canaanite names were dropped, and the months were distinguished by numerals, as in parts of Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Kings (in the latter the old names are explained by numbers, 1 K $6^{1.\ 38}$ 8^2), lastly in Haggai (1^1 2^1) and Zechariah (1^7 7^1). See Nowack, *Heb. Archäologie*, i. p. 217.

(*c*) From the Exile the new Babylonian names begin to find a definite place in the Hebrew Calendar. The proofs for the Babylonian origin of these names may be found in Muss-Arnolt, in Schrader, *COT* (ii. 69). Cf. Schürer, Appendix iii. Of the twelve names only seven occur in Scripture, but the whole twelve appear in the *Megillath Ta'anith*, which in its original form dates before the Christian era.

(1) **Nisan** נִיסָן, Ξανθικός, **Xanthicus**, March–April.

The English equivalents are inexact: Nisan mostly corresponds to part of March and part of April. Nisan occurs in Neh 2^1, Est 3^7. The Gr. form Νισάν (Νισα[ν]) occurs in 1 Es 5^6, Ad. Est 1^1, and often in Josephus. The Macedonian *Xanthicus* is found in 2 Mac $11^{30.\ 33.\ 38}$. The first month in the Babylonian year is *ni-sa-a(n)-nu*, from *nesu* (Heb. נסע) 'to move,' or 'start.' It is the opening month of the ecclesiastical year. That the vernal equinox occurred in Nisan is attested by Josephus (*Ant.* I. x. 5) and also in cuneiform literature (Muss-Arnolt, p. 77). Nisan corresponded to the first zodiacal sign (Aries) in which the vernal equinox fell. That Josephus frequently uses the Macedonian names as equivalent to the Heb.-Bab. does not imply that he thought that the two series of months began on identical days.*

(2) **Iyyar** אִיָּר, Ἀρτεμίσιος, April–May.

Not named in Scripture, but found in Mishna, *Rosh Hashana* i. 3; Jos. *Ant.* VIII. iii. 1 (Ἰάρ), *Hypomnest.* 27 (Εἴαρ); Bab. *a-a-ru*. Derivation uncertain; perhaps connected with אור 'to be bright' (so Delitzsch), or איר 'to send forth, open, germinate,' whence ARU 'flower' (so Muss-Arnolt). This would make the meaning equivalent to *Ziv* and April (*aperire*). The *Megillath Ta'anith* identifies Iyyar with the 2nd month mentioned in 1 Mac 13^{51}.

(3) **Sivan** סִיוָן, Δαίσιος, May–June.

Est 8^9; Mishna, *Shekalim* iii. 1, etc. Gr. Σιουάν (Bar 1^8), also Σιουάλ; Bab. *si-ma(n)-nu*, pronounced later *si-vanu*. Delitzsch (*Hebrew and Assyrian*, p. 16) derives from *samu* 'to appoint' (שים), Haupt from *asamu* 'to mark.'

(4) **Tammuz** תַּמּוּז, Πάνεμος, June–July.

The word but not the month mentioned in Bible (Ezk 8^{14}). Mishna, *Ta'anith* iv. 5; Bab. *du-uzu*. LXX has Θαμμούζ.

(5) **Ab** אָב, Λῶος, July–August.

Not mentioned in Bible. Mishna, *Pesachim* iv. 5, etc.; Bab. *a-bu*; Jos. *Ant.* IV. iv. 7, Ἀβά [Niese reads Σαβά]. Delitzsch derives from Assyr. *abu* 'hostile' (from excessive heat of month), Haupt from *abe* 'bulrushes' (cf. Job 9^{26} אבה), the season in which bulrushes were cut for building purposes. This, with two other months, was consecrated by the Babylonians to building.

(6) **Elul** אֱלוּל, Γορπιαῖος, August–September.

Neh 6^{15}; Mishna, *Shekalim* iii. 1, etc.; Ἐλούλ, 1 Mac 14^{27}; Bab. *ululu*. Perhaps from יָלַל (*alalu*) 'to shout for joy,' inasmuch as the month represented the resurrection of Tammuz-Adonis (Muss-Arnolt).

(7) **Tishri** תִּשְׁרִי, Ὑπερβερεταῖος, September–October.

Not named in Scripture. Mishna, *Shekalim* iii. 1, etc.; Gr. Ὀιορί; Jos. *Ant.* VIII. iv. 1 [as amended by Hudson; Niese reads Ἀθύρι]; Bab. *tish-ri-tum*. From *surru* 'begin,' 'dedicate.' The Assyrians, like the Jews, had two new year days—Nisan for the sacred year, Tishri for the civil. The Seleucidean year began in Nisan, the Arsacidan with Tishri (Epping and Strassmaier, *Astronomisches aus Babylon*, p. 177). The month was dedicated to the sun-god, and Halévy (*Mélanges de critique et d'histoire*, p. 178) conjectures that this originated the later Jewish association of Tishri with the Creation and the Day of Judgment.

(8) **Marcheshvan** מַרְחֶשְׁוָן, Δῖος, October–November.

Not named in Scripture. Mishna, *Ta'anith* i. 3, etc.; Jos. Μαρσουάνης; Bab. *arachsamna* ('eighth month')=יָרֵחַ שְׁמִינִי. Original form probably ורחשמן, whence מרחשון (ו and מ being often interchanged in later Babylonian). Modern Hebrew regarded Heshvan as the name of the month (*mar* being taken to mean 'drop,' 'rainy season'). Dillmann and Stade see in the Bab. name of this month a relic of the oldest method of counting the months by numbers and not by names. See Siegfried-Stade, *Dict. s.v.* ירח.

(9) **Kislev** כִּסְלֵו, Ἀπελλαῖος, November–December.

Zec 7^1, Neh 1^1; Mishna, *Rosh Hashana* i. 3, etc.; Gr. Χασιλεῦ (1 Mac 1^{54} etc.; Jos. *Ant.* XII. v. 4, χασλευ); in Palmyrene Inscriptions כסלול; Bab. *kislimu*. Derivation uncertain.

(10) **Tebeth** טֵבֵת, Αὐδυναῖος, December–January.

Est 2^{16}; Mishna, *Ta'anith* iv. 5, etc.; Jos. Τίβεθος (*Ant.* XI. v. 4, but see Niese); Bab. *tebetum*. *Tebu* (Heb. טבע)='to sink,' 'dip.' The rainy season begins in 10th month.

(11) **Shebat** שְׁבָט, Περίτιος, January–February.

Zec 1^7; Mishna, *Rosh Hashana* i. 1; Gr. Σαβάτ (1 Mac 16^{14}); Bab. *sha-ba-tu*.

(12) **Adar** אֲדָר, Δύστρος, February–March.

Freq. in Esth., Ezr 6^{15}; Mishna, *Shekalim* i. 1, etc.; Ἀδάρ, 1 Mac 7^{43}; Jos. *Ant.* IV. viii. 49, etc.; Bab. *addaru*. Delitzsch derives from a root 'to be dark' in contrast to *aru*. It was, says Muss-Arnolt, the name of this month that induced former investigators to derive the Heb. names from Persian, for Adar is also a Persian month name. (See Benfey, *Monatsnamen einiger alter Völker*). The intercalated month was a second Adar (Heb. אֲדָר שֵׁנִי, *Megilla* i. 4, or וַאֲדָר).

iv. WEEKS AND DAYS.—The week of seven days (שָׁבוּעַ) is an obvious derivative of the lunar month, for the week corresponds roughly to the phases of the moon. The discrepancy would not affect the Hebrew week, for there is no indication that the new moon in historical times coincided with the beginning of the week. The Assyrians and Babylonians knew the seven-day week, and the week began with the moon, whereas the Hebrew week ran regularly through the whole year, especially when the weekly Sabbath replaced the new moon in importance as a sacred day. Nowack (ii. 215) unnecessarily assumes that the Israelites probably borrowed the week from the Babylonians. He, with others (see Holzinger on Ex 12^3), detects

* The **Dioscorinthius** of 2 Mac 11^{21} is quite obscure (cf. note in RVm). It is barely probable that the author wrote *Dioscurus* (the reading of O.L.), the name of the third Cretan month (see Kamphausen's note in Kautzsch's *Apokr. ad loc.*).

traces of an older Hebrew week of *ten* days (Gn 24^{55}, Ex 12^{3}), but this is very doubtful. It would perhaps fit in with the idea of a year of 360 days (traces of a thirty-day month being detected by Nowack in Nu 20^{29}, Dt 34^{8}, cf. 21^{13}, as well as in the Flood narrative). Driver holds that 'it is difficult not to agree with Schrader, Sayce, and other Assyriologists in regarding the week of seven days, ended by a Sabbath, as an institution of Babylonian origin' (*op. cit.* p. 18). The week thus is presupposed by the Creation narrative, and is not derived from it. 'In other words, the week determined the "days" of Creation, not the days of Creation the week' (*ib.*). This may well be, and yet the Hebrew week not necessarily a derivative from Babylon. (Jastrow has shown that the Hebrew Creation narrative is more independent of Babylonian parallels than has usually been supposed. *JQR* xiii. p. 620 ff.). See, further, on this subject, Jensen in *Ztschr. f. deutsche Wortforschung*, Sept. 1900, p. 153 ff.; and art. SABBATH above, p. 319.

In the NT (as in neo-Hebrew) the week is termed *σάββατον*, and the days of the week were numbered, not named. The eve of the Sabbath (Friday) was called *παρασκευή* (Mt 27^{62}, Lk 23^{54}, Jn $19^{31.\ 42}$; *πρόσαββατον* Mk 15^{42}, Jth 8^{6}). Mondays and Thursdays acquired special importance in the later Jewish life, for the public reading of the Law and the holding of law-courts occurred on those days (see Schürer, ii. 1–83, 190). Schwarz (*Jüdische Kalender*, p. 7) suggests that the numbering of the Christian *Feriæ* was derived from the Heb. usage רִאשׁוֹן שֵׁנִי יְשִׁלִישִׁי בַּשַּׁבָּת. See, however, Ideler, *Handbuch*, ii. 180.

The Babylonians divided the day (יוֹם) into equal parts by sun-watches, and were also acquainted with the 60 system (minutes and seconds). The Syrian peoples may have acquired similar knowledge from the Babylonians, but there is no trace of this among the Israelites in the pre-exilic period. There was an important difference between the Israelites and Babylonians, for, while the former began the day at sunset, the latter began the day with the morning. There are, according to most modern commentators, indications of the Babylonian reckoning in the first chapter of Genesis and, according to Dillmann, in Ex $12^{6.\ 18}$, Lv 23^{32}. The chaotic darkness (Gn 1^{5}) lies behind the reckoning; with the creation of light began the first morning, and the first day extended till the next morning (so Dillmann). The reckoning from evening to evening became the exclusive Jewish method 'with the triumph of the Law.' The system is also met with among the Arabs, Athenians, and Gauls (cf. Pliny, *HN* ii. 79). The evening-morning day was the עֶרֶב בֹּקֶר of Dn 8^{14} (though Driver and others explain the phrase in Daniel to mean half-days). Cf. the *νυχθήμερον* of 2 Co 11^{25}. There was no exact division of the day into parts before the Exile, the natural order being followed: עֶרֶב 'evening,' בֹּקֶר 'morning,' and צָהֳרַיִם 'mid-day.' The day *declined* (Jg 19^{8}), perhaps with reference to shadows on a sundial (so Moore, but cf. Jer 6^{4}; see DIAL), the evening *turned in* פְּנוֹת עֶרֶב (Gn 24^{63}); there were also terms for the evening twilight when the cool sea-breeze blew (נָשַׁף Job 24^{15}, cf. לְרוּחַ הַיּוֹם Gn 3^{8}); the dawn ascended (עָלָה חַשְׁחַר Gn 19^{15} 32^{24}); compare such expressions as 'when the day was hot' (חֹם הַיּוֹם Gn 18^{1}, cf. 1 S 11^{9}). In neo-Hebrew there were other phrases of a similar nature (Mishna, *Berakhoth* i.). We meet in the Bible with parts of the day described as the time when certain occupations were usual; as the time when girls were accustomed to fetch the water required for domestic use (Gn 24^{11}); 'while the day was still great' (Gn 29^{7}) is another similar phrase, but it indicates an earlier point in the afternoon; the time of bringing the meal-offering (1 K 18^{29}) and of the evening sacrifice (Ezr 9^{4}, Dn 9^{21}). These last two refer to the same point of time. יוֹם sometimes means 'day' in contradistinction to 'night' (לַיְלָה) Gn 29^{7}, sometimes it represents the civil day of 24 hours, including night (Gn 1^{5} etc.). The phrase בֵּין הָעַרְבַּיִם 'between the two evenings' (Ex 16^{12} etc.), the time at which the paschal lamb and (Ex 29^{39} etc.) the daily evening offering were brought, represents some period in the late afternoon.

The Hebrews also had terms for the days in relation to one another—אֶמֶשׁ 'the previous evening,' תְּמוֹל or אֶתְמוֹל 'yesterday,' מָחָר 'to-morrow,' שִׁלְשׁוֹם 'the day before yesterday.' But they did not divide the days into hours until late; in fact, the custom long persisted of counting by portions of the day. The term רֶגַע (in derivation = 'moment,' *movimentum*) meant an 'instant,' or a longer, but still very brief, interval of time, the chief idea being suddenness or rapid passage. שָׁעָה 'hour' is Aramaic (Dn 3^{6}), and is common in Syr. and in later Hebrew. 'Originally it denoted any small interval of time, and was only gradually fixed to what we call an "hour"' (Driver). The hours of the Mishna differed in duration, as they were reckoned as $\frac{1}{12}$th of the actual day. Earlier than the division of the day into hours was the division of the night into three **watches** (אַשְׁמֹרֶת, אַשְׁמוּרָה), La 2^{19}, Jg 7^{19}, Ex 14^{24}, 1 S 11^{11}. The threefold division continued into post-Roman times, 1st cent. (*Berakhoth* 3*b*); but the Roman division into four watches was also known (*ib.*; cf. Mk 13^{35}, where all four watches are referred to: 'in the evening' *ὀψέ*, 'at midnight' *μεσονύκτιον*, 'at cock-crowing' *ἀλεκτροφωνίας*, or 'in the morning' *πρωΐ*), and these extended from six to six o'clock. **Cock-crow** is an interesting note of time (Lk 22^{60}), to which considerable importance was attached by Rabbinical Jews. There is still a morning benediction in the Jewish liturgy to be recited at cock-crow.

I. ABRAHAMS.

TIMNA (תִּמְנָע, *Θαμνά*). — Concubine of Eliphaz, Esau's son, and mother of Amalek, Gn 36^{12}. The branch of the Amalekites in question was closely associated with the Horites, Gn $36^{22.\ 40}$, 1 Ch $1^{39.\ 51}$. In all these passages the spelling should be Timna, the Heb. being everywhere תִּמְנָע. RV has inadvertently followed AV spelling **Timnah** in Gn 36^{40}. See TIMNAH, No. **3.**

TIMNAH (תִּמְנָה 'lot,' 'portion').—**1.** A place on the N. boundary of Judah, situated between Beth-shemesh and 'the side of Ekron' (Jos 15^{10} B *λίβα*, A *νότον*, *Thamna*). It was a Philistine town (Jg 14^{1} *Θαμναθά*, *Thamnatha*), within the territory of Dan (Jos 19^{43} B *Θαμναθά*, A *Θαμνδ*, *Themnatha*), to which Samson went down from Zorah to take his wife (Jg $14^{1.\ 2.\ 5}$; Jos. *Ant.* v. viii. 5, 6), whose father is called the **Timnite** in Jg 15^{6}. There Samson slew the young lion, and propounded his well-known riddle at the marriage-feast. Timnah was taken by the Philistines during the reign of Ahaz, not long after they had been completely subdued by Uzziah (2 Ch 28^{18} *Θαμνά*, *Thamna*); and later it was occupied by Sennacherib after he had defeated the Egyptians at Elteke (*Altaku*). It is called in the inscriptions *Tamnâ*, and is mentioned as lying between Elteke and Ekron (Schrader, *KAT*^{2} 170).

Timnah retains its old name almost unchanged, and is now *Tibneh*, on the S. side of the valley of Sorek (*Wâdy es-Surar*) and to the W. of Beth-shemesh (*'Ain Shems*). The site is deserted, but is marked by ruined walls and rock-hewn caves, cisterns, and wine-presses. On the N. side of the ruins is a spring. Vineyards and olive groves still cover the hill-slopes between *Tibneh* and *Wâdy es-Surar* (*PEF Mem.* ii. 417, 441).

2. (B Θαμναθά, A Θαμνά; *Thamna*) A town in the hill-country of Judah, mentioned with Cain and Gibeah (Jos 15[57]). It is now *Tibna* near *Jeb'a* (Gibeah), and about 8 miles west of Bethlehem. The site is marked by a few foundations only, and is reached by a path from *Beit Nettif*, about 2¾ miles to the west (*PEF Mem.* iii. 53). This is probably the Timnah (Gn 38[12. 13. 14], Θαμνά, *Thamnatha*), to which Judah 'went up' to visit his sheep-shearers. The narrative gives no other indication of position.

3. (תִּמְנָע; Θαμνά; *Thamna*) The name of one of the 'dukes' of Edom, and probably also of a town or district (Gn 36[40], 1 Ch 1[51]; cf. Gn 36[12. 22], 1 Ch 1[39]). See also art. TIMNA. Eusebius and Jerome (*Onom.*) identify it with *Thamna*, a town of Edom in their day. C. W. WILSON.

TIMNATH (AV Thamnatha; Θαμνάθα; *Thamnata*).—One of the strong cities in Judæa built by Bacchides (1 Mac 9[50]). The name occurs between Bethel and Pharathon. Pharathon may perhaps be a corruption of Ephraim (*et-Taiyibeh*), and in this case Timnath would be Thamna, now *Tibneh*, on the Roman road from Antipatris to Jerusalem, which Josephus says was the chief town of a toparchy (*BJ* III. iii. 5). G. A. Smith (*HGHL* 355 n.) considers that the two names Timnath and Pharathon should not be separated, and that they represent one place,—Pharathon being *Wâdy Far'ah*, and Timnath being recognized in the name *Tammûn*, so common now at the head of *Wâdy Far'ah*. But this position is too far N. to have been in Judæa. C. W. WILSON.

TIMNATH-HERES (תִּמְנַת חֶרֶס 'portion of the sun'; B Θαμναθάρες, A Θαμναθάρ· εως; *Thamnath Sare*).—The name of Joshua's inheritance and burial-place (Jg 2[9]), which is called **Timnath-serah** in Jos 19[50] and 24[30]. *Ḥereṣ* is supposed by some commentators (Ewald, Bertheau, Mühlau, etc.) to be a very early copyist's error for *Ṣeraḥ*. On the other hand, it is held to be the correct form of the name by the Jews and Samaritans, who identify the place with *Kefr Ḥâris*.* But see TIMNATH-SERAH.

C. W. WILSON.

TIMNATH-SERAH (תִּמְנַת סֶרַח; B Θαμαρχάρης, Θαμναθασαχαρά, A Θαμναθσαρά, Θαμνασαχάρ; *Thamnath Seraa*, *Thamnath Sare*).—The place given by the children of Israel to Joshua as an inheritance, and in the border of which he was buried. It was in the hill-country of Ephraim, and on the north side of the mountain of Gaash (Jos 19[50] 24[30]). In Jg 2[9] the name is written **Timnath-Heres** (see preceding art.). According to Josephus, Joshua was buried at Thamna (Θαμνά), a city of Ephraim (*Ant.* v. i. 29). This is apparently identical with Thamna, the chief town of a toparchy (*BJ* III. iii. 5), which adjoined the toparchy of Lydda (*Onom.*), and was reduced to subjection by Vespasian before he marched on Lydda and Jamnia (*BJ* IV. viii. 1). Thamna, now *Tibneh*, occupied an important position on the road from Jerus. to Antipatris and Cæsarea. It was taken by Cassius (*Ant.* XIV. xi. 2), and was occupied by John the Essene, at the commencement of the Jewish war (*BJ* II. xx. 4). Eusebius and Jerome (*Onom. s.* Θαμναθσαρά) say that Timnath-ṣeraḥ, the town of Joshua, where his tomb was shown, was in the hill-country, and that it was in the territory of Dan. They identified it with the *Thamna* to which Judah went up to visit his sheep-shearers (Gn 38[12]), and placed it in Dan, or Judah, on the border of Lydda, and on the road from that place to Jerus. (*Onom.* Θαμνά). Elsewhere (*s.* Γαάς) they state that Joshua's tomb was shown near Thamna, on the N. side of Gaas, a mountain of Ephraim. Jerome takes St. Paula to Timnath-serah after leaving Bethel, and before reaching Shiloh (*Ep. Paul.* xv.). The place referred to by Eusebius and Jerome is *Tibneh*.

Two sites have been proposed for Timnath-ṣeraḥ, and their claims may be thus stated—

(1) *Tibneh* is an old Tibnath, and the position, guarding an approach to the interior of the country, is a suitable one for the home of the great Jewish warrior. Josephus probably, and early Christian tradition certainly, identifies it with the city of Joshua. In the north face of a hill to the S. of the ruins there is a remarkable group of rock-hewn tombs; a great oak tree near the tomb is called *Sheikh et-Teim*, 'the chief servant of God'; and about 3 miles to the E. is *Kefr Ishu'a*, or Joshua's village (*PEF Mem.* ii. 374–378; Guérin, *Samarie*, ii. 89, etc.). The identification with *Tibneh* is accepted by most moderns, *e.g.* Dillm. (on Jos 19[50]), Moore, Mühlau (in Riehm's *HWB*), Buhl (170).

(2) *Kefr Ḥâris*, about 9 miles south of *Nâblus*, is, according to existing Samaritan tradition, the burial-place of Joshua and Caleb. It is also the *Kefr Cheres* of the Jewish pilgrims, Rabbi Jacob (A.D. 1258), hap-Parchi, etc., which Schwarz (151) places S. of *Nâblus*. To the E. of the village there are two sacred places (*mukâms*)—one named *Neby Kifl*, the 'Prophet of the Division by Lot,' the other *Neby Kulda*, or *Kunda*. Conder identifies the first with Joshua, the second he takes to be a corruption of Caleb (*PEF Mem.* ii. 378). If the identification with *Kefr Ḥâris* be accepted, it must be supposed that the name of the place, *Timnath*, has disappeared whilst its distinctive title, *Ḥereṣ* or *Ṣeraḥ*, has survived. C. W. WILSON.

TIMON (Τίμων).—One of the seven elected (Ac 6[5]) to assist the apostles by 'serving tables.' Later legends about him will be found in the *Acta Sanctorum* under April 19, when he was commemorated.

TIMOTHEUS (Τιμόθεος). — **1.** A leader of the Ammonites who was defeated in many battles by Judas Maccabæus (1 Mac 5[6ff. 34ff.], 2 Mac 8[30] 9[3] 10[24-37]). According to 2 Mac 10[37] he was slain at the capture of Gazara by the forces of Judas. For the unchronological setting of the narrative in 2 Mac. see vol. iii. p. 191[b]. **2.** The AV form of the name TIMOTHY everywhere in NT except 2 Co 1[1], 1 Ti 1[2], 2 Ti 1[2], Philem[1], He 13[23].

TIMOTHY (Τιμόθεος), St. Paul's young and trusted companion, was a native of Lystra, or possibly of Derbe (Ac 16[1] 20[4], where see Blass); the son of a Greek father and of a mother who was a Jewess at least by religion (2 Ti 1[5]) and probably also by birth. The son of a mixed marriage, he received a name which was fairly common in Greek (1 Mac 5[6ff.], 2 Mac 8[30]), but which by its significance would be acceptable to a religious Jewess; he was trained by his mother in the OT Scriptures (2 Ti 3[15]), but was not circumcised. When St. Paul reached Lystra on his First Missionary Journey, the young Timothy accepted Christianity, being converted by St. Paul (1 Co 4[14-17]), and probably was a witness of his sufferings at this time (2 Ti 3[10. 11], cf. Ac 14[22]). By the time of the Second Missionary Journey he was a disciple well known to the Christians both in Lystra and in Iconium: the mention of his mother first, the description of her in some MSS of the Western text as 'a widow,' and perhaps the use of ὑπῆρχεν (Ac 16[3]), make it probable that his father was already dead.

St. Paul was attracted by Timothy, and wished to have him as a travel-companion to take the place of John Mark, if not of Barnabas. If we

* It is not improbable that by an intentional metathesis, to avoid anything that savoured of idolatry, Timnath-*heres*, 'portion *of the sun*,' was changed into Timnath-*ṣeraḥ*. See HERES, *ad fin.*; and cf. Moore on Jg 2[9].

may refer to this occasion the language of 1 Ti 1^{18} 4^{14}, 2 Ti 1^{6}, St. Paul was not left unaided in this decision. Prophetic utterances, perhaps those of Silas, who was himself a prophet (Ac 15^{32}), led Paul to him: the local presbyters laid their hands upon him (cf. Ac 13^{3}); Paul joined in the formal setting apart of 'his son' for the task; he himself witnessed a noble confession in their presence (1 Ti 6^{13}); and thus received a formal ministry (2 Ti 4^{6}, Ac 19^{22}), perhaps with the title of 'evangelist' (2 Ti 4^{5}), but in 1 Th 2^{6} he is loosely classed with Paul and Silas as an 'apostle.' In one respect Timothy was not fitted for the task: St. Paul's plan was to preach first to the Jews, and they would be offended by the presence of one who was half-Jew by birth and yet never circumcised, so St. Paul took him and perhaps with his own hand circumcised him (cf. Hort, *Judaistic Christianity*, pp. 84–87; *The Christian Ecclesia*, pp. 178–188; and, as against the historical character of this incident, Holtzmann, *Die Pastoral-Briefe*, pp. 67–78). Timothy now became a loyal companion, slaving for St. Paul as a son for a father (Ph 2^{22}); he took an active part in preaching at Thessalonica (1 Th 1. 2 *passim*); accompanied Paul to Berœa, and stayed there when St. Paul was obliged to withdraw to Athens, but at the apostle's request followed him speedily thither. Thence he was despatched at once on an important mission to strengthen the Thessalonians who were suffering under persecution, and on returning with his report found St. Paul already removed to Corinth. His presence and the news he brought gave St. Paul new life, for Timothy joined him in preaching Jesus Christ the Son of God (2 Co 1^{19}): he was associated with Paul and Silvanus in both letters to the Thessalonians, and was perhaps the scribe in each case, though there is not sufficient ground for accepting Spitta's theory (*zur Gesch. des Urchristenthums*, i. p. 110) that 2 Thess. was his composition. After this time he is not mentioned again until we find him with Paul at Ephesus on the Third Missionary Journey (Ac 19^{22}); he may have been with him all the time, or may have stayed at Ephesus, a stay which would have qualified him for his later work there. On this occasion he was sent again on a mission—this time with Erastus and apparently other brethren (1 Co 16^{11}) to Macedonia and thence to Corinth (1 Co 4^{17}). The mission took place shortly before the writing of 1 Cor. (4^{17}); its purpose was to remind the Corinthians of St. Paul's 'ways in Christ'; St. Paul was anxious about the result; he was afraid that Timothy would be timid, and that others might set him at nought, and he bespoke a kindly reception for him (1 Co $16^{10.\ 11}$). The effect of his mission was not successful; he brought back news which caused Paul great anxiety and necessitated a mission of Titus; it is possible that a personal attack was made on Timothy, and that he is ὁ ἀδικηθείς of 2 Co 7^{12} in whose interests Paul had demanded sharp punishment on the offender (see PAUL, vol. iii. p. 711[b]). However this may be, he followed Paul to Macedonia, was associated with him there in the writing of 2 Cor., and was with him in Corinth as an active worker (ὁ συνεργός μου) who sends greeting to the Christians at Rome (Ro 16^{21}, if this chapter belongs to this date). When Paul started on his last journey to Jerusalem, Timothy was one of his party, and was with him at Troas (Ac $20^{4.\ 5}$); but he is not mentioned again in the Acts, though he probably completed the journey to Jerusalem. He must also have joined Paul in his imprisonment at Rome, as he is associated with him in writing Col. (1^{1}), Philemon (v.[1]), and Philippians (1^{1}); and St. Paul contemplates sending him on a mission to the Philippian Church ($2^{19\text{-}24}$). Of this no more is heard; but on the supposition of the genuineness of the Pastoral Epistles, Paul when released joined Timothy in the East, and while on a journey to Macedonia left him in charge of the Church of Ephesus (1 Ti 1^{3}). His task was to be the representative of the absent apostle, who was hoping to return shortly; he was to check false teaching, to order public worship, to regulate the requisite qualifications for the ministry, and to exercise discipline over all orders in the Church. It may be that for this task he was formally set apart by laying on of hands both of the apostle and of the presbyters (1 Ti 1^{18} 4^{14}, 2 Ti 1^{6}, but see above). As the apostle might be delayed from returning, he wrote 1 Timothy to lay stress on the points of primary importance and to strengthen and embolden Timothy. Not long thereafter Paul was arrested a second time and carried to Rome; thence he wrote 2 Timothy, begging Timothy not to be ashamed of the gospel, but to come with Mark to help him in his imprisonment, and, before he leaves, to secure the transmission of true teaching by ordaining trustworthy ministers. It may have been on this visit to Rome that Timothy was himself arrested on the occasion on which the writer of the Ep. to the Hebrews mentions his release (He 13^{23}).

Of Timothy's subsequent history little can be said with certainty. He *may* be [but this is very unlikely] the 'angel' of the Church of Ephesus addressed in Rev $2^{1\text{-}7}$; he may be one of the sources from which St. Luke gained information for the composition of the Acts, though there is no ground for regarding him as the author of the book or of the 'We' sections (see Zahn, *Einleitung*, ii. p. 424). Church tradition regarded him as having continued bishop of Ephesus until his death (*Const. Apostol.* vii. 46; Euseb. iii. 46), as having been martyred in a popular tumult when he tried to dissuade the people from taking part in the violent and coarse orgies of the καταγώγιον (a festival of which there is no mention elsewhere), and his bones are said to have been transferred to Constantinople by Constantius (Polycrates and Simeon Metaphrastes quoted in the *Acta Sanctorum*, iii. pp. 176–183, *Menæon*, ad Jan. 22; Lipsius, *Die Apocryphen Apostelgesch.* ii. 2, 372–400).

Though Titus is a stronger man and more able to deal with crises, yet Paul's love and affection goes out more lavishly to the younger Timothy, whose character is clearly marked. He is affectionate to tears (2 Ti 1^{4}), delicate and often ill (1 Ti 5^{23}), timid (1 Co 16^{10}), shrinking from a proper assertion of his own authority (1 Ti 4^{12}), needing to be warned against youthful lusts (2 Ti 2^{22}), to be encouraged to face shame for Christ's sake (2 Ti 1^{8}). Yet he has been Paul's loyal follower and imitator from the first (2 Ti 3^{10}); he is his 'genuine' son (1 Ti 1^{2}), his loved son (2 Ti 1^{2}), his son loved and faithful in the Lord (1 Co 4^{17}); of one mind with himself (Ph 2^{20}), 'working the Lord's work as I do' (1 Co 16^{10}); 'my fellow-worker' (Ro 16^{21}); 'our brother and God's minister' (1 Th 3^{2}); 'the slave of Jesus Christ' (Ph 1^{1}), who 'seeks the things of Jesus Christ' (*ib.* 2^{21}).

Timothy's death is commemorated in the Greek and Armenian Churches on Jan. 22, in the Coptic Church on Jan. 23, in the Latin and Maronite Churches on Jan. 24, though the earlier Latin calendars place it on Sept. 27, perhaps as following the day of the commemoration of St. John, who was thought of as his predecessor in the see of Ephesus (Lipsius, *l.c.* p. 392; Nilles, *Kalendarium Manuale utriusque Ecclesiæ*, Innsbruck, 1896).

W. LOCK.

TIMOTHY, FIRST EPISTLE TO.—

i. Historical Situation.
ii. Analysis.
iii. Literary Dependence.
iv. Situation implied at Ephesus: (*a*) False teaching; (*b*) Church organization.
v. Authorship.
vi. Integrity.
vii. Value.

Literature.

i. HISTORICAL SITUATION. — St. Paul had recently been with Timothy: either they had been together in Ephesus, or Timothy had come from

Ephesus to meet Paul at some point on his journey to Macedonia (cf. the situation of Ac 20^{17} with 1^{3}). St. Paul was bound to go forward, but hoped to return shortly: yet he was so much impressed with the dangerous tendencies of some false teachers at Ephesus, who were tempting the brethren there from walking in 'sober gospel ways,' that he pressed Timothy to stay on in order to counteract them.

Some time elapsed. Paul may have heard that all was not prospering at Ephesus, possibly through a letter from Timothy himself, or his natural anxiety (cf. I Thess.) may have prompted him to write. Timothy was, indeed, a 'genuine son'; he had witnessed a good confession in the past, prophecies had pointed him out for the task, he had received a special gift for his ministry by the laying on of hands ($1^{2.\ 18}$ 4^{14} 6^{12}); yet he was naturally timid, he was young (4^{12}), he had frequent attacks of illness (5^{23}), he might be misled (5^{7} 6^{11}); St. Paul's own return might be delayed (3^{15}): so he writes this letter to press his original charge more solemnly on Timothy, to encourage him in his work, to guide him in his teaching and dealing with various classes in the Church, and to regulate certain points of Church order, which needed organization without delay.

The central purpose is summed up in 3^{15} *ἵνα εἰδῇς πῶς δεῖ ἐν οἴκῳ θεοῦ ἀναστρέφεσθαι.*

The subjects are miscellaneous, and no very exact analysis can be expected; but three points stand out clearly in the structure. (1) There is a rough correspondence between the introductory and the concluding sections; cf. $1^{3\text{-}11}$ with $6^{3\text{-}10}$, $1^{18\text{-}20}$ with $6^{11\text{-}16.\ 20.\ 21}$. These form a framework for the central part. (2) The central part falls into clearly-marked halves, and the kernel of the whole Epistle, which divides these halves, is 3^{16}. The mystery of the Incarnate, Risen, and Ascended Lord is the fact on which Christian life and teaching is to be based, by which the Christian minister is to be inspired. (3) $6^{17\text{-}19}$ is a postscript, which would more naturally have been placed before or after $6^{1.\ 2}$, but which was added as an after-thought, perhaps first suggested as needing treatment by $6^{9.\ 10}$.

ii. ANALYSIS.—

$1^{1.\ 2}$. Greeting.
Introductory, $1^{3\text{-}20}$.
(*a*) Reminder of the purpose for which Timothy was left at Ephesus (^{3}), description of the false teaching as speculative rather than ministering to the spiritual life ($^{4.\ 5}$), as ignorantly taught by teachers who lay stress on law ($^{6.\ 7}$) without knowing the true purpose of law and its relation to the gospel ($^{8\text{-}11}$).
(*b*) Personal expression of Paul's own gratitude to Christ Jesus, who had entrusted him with the ministry in spite of his past sin, as a proof of God's long-suffering and as an encouragement to others, for the gospel is summed up in the *faithful saying*, Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς ἦλθεν εἰς τὸν κόσμον ἁμαρτωλοὺς σῶσαι ($^{12\text{-}17}$).
[This section is not only a personal digression called out by the thought of God's mercy to himself, but is intended to point Timothy to the same source of strength for his task (ἐνδυναμώσαντι, cf. II 2^{1}), and to fix his mind on the central message of the gospel as a gospel of salvation from sin (cf. ^{5} and ^{19})].
(*c*) Reiteration of the charge to Timothy, and enforcement of it by (1) a reminder of the past prophecies about him (^{18}); (2) a warning drawn from the fate of two false teachers ($^{19.\ 20}$).
Formal advice, $2^{1\text{-}6^{2}}$. A. *General*, $2^{1\text{-}4^{5}}$. B. *Personal*, $4^{6\text{-}6^{2}}$.
A. *General regulations of Church Life.*
I. *The proper scope of Public Prayer.*—This is to include all mankind, and specially rulers, that Christians may live a quiet life ($2^{1.\ 2}$). This is based on God's desire to save all men ($^{3.\ 4}$), which itself rests on (1) the unity of God (^{5}); (2) the nature of Christ representing both God and man (*ib.*); (3) the conscious purpose of Christ's death, who died for all, and commissioned Paul to teach this truth ($^{6.\ 7}$).
II. *The position of men and women at Public Prayer.*—Men are to lead the prayers (^{8});
Women to dress modestly and avoid ostentation ($^{9.\ 10}$), to listen in silence and subjection ($^{11.\ 12}$). This is based on the order of creation (^{13}), and woman's action at the Fall (^{14}). Yet woman too will share the Christian salvation, if she abide in a Christian life, for the *faithful saying* declares σωθήσεται διὰ τῆς τεκνογονίας (^{15}).
III. *Rules for the choice of ministers.*
(1) For the ἐπίσκοπος. His position is one of honour and of work (3^{1}), hence he must be tested as to his private character ($^{2.\ 3}$); as to his power of ruling his own family well ($^{4.\ 5}$); he must not be a new convert (^{6}), he must have won the respect of the heathen world (^{7}).
(2) For διάκονοι: their private character must be tested ($^{8\text{-}10}$), and their relation to their own family (^{12}). For their office, too, may be one of honour, and will raise their status in Christ's sight (^{14}).
(3) For γυναῖκες. They too, if in any official position, must have a high character (^{11}).
The purpose of all these regulations is to secure a right moral life and intercourse in God's family, because it is His Church, and the upholder of the Truth. This truth is summed up in the well-known hymn about Christ—

ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί,
ἐδικαιώθη ἐν πνεύματι,
ὤφθη ἀγγέλοις,
ἐκηρύχθη ἐν ἔθνεσιν,
ἐπιστεύθη ἐν κόσμῳ,
ἀνελήμφθη ἐν δόξῃ.

Warning.—Yet there are symptoms of false teaching, that will contradict this great truth, depreciating marriage and food, though they are God's creatures, God's gifts, capable of sanctification, if received with prayer and thanksgiving ($4^{1\text{-}5}$).
[This section forms the transition from A to B. It stands in contrast to 3^{16} (4^{1} δέ), but leads on to 4^{6} (ταῦτα)].
B. *Personal advice to Timothy.*
(*a*) *With regard to his own teaching and conduct.*—He is to be loyal to these truths (^{6}), to avoid foolish fables (^{7}), to exercise a true asceticism, such as will produce true holiness—for holiness, according to the *faithful saying*, ἐπαγγελίαν ἔχει ζωῆς τῆς νῦν καὶ τῆς μελλούσης,—and any effort is worth while, for our hope rests on a God of life, a Saviour of all mankind ($^{6\text{-}11}$). He is to assert himself, in spite of his youth; to be a model of Christian character; to attend to public reading, exhortation, teaching; to remember the gift given him for his task, and to throw his whole heart into his work ($^{12\text{-}16}$).
(*b*) *For his dealings with various classes of people.*
1. *Men*, old and young (5^{1}). — 2. *Women*, old and young (^{2}).—3. *Widows*, who are to be supported by the Church, only if their own families cannot do so (^{3} and ^{4}), who are to lead a religious life of prayer ($^{5.\ 6}$). There is to be kept a list of widows above 60 years of age, of good character; but younger widows are not to be enrolled upon it, but are to be encouraged to marry ($^{7\text{-}16}$).—4. *Presbyters:* the hard-working are to be rewarded ($^{17.\ 18}$); the sinful to be formally tried and punished impartially ($^{19\text{-}21}$); he must not ordain (? remit penalties) hastily, lest he should be entangled in the sins of others (^{22}); but he must keep himself pure, though this need not imply total abstinence (^{23}), and he will need caution in judgment, whether for praise or blame ($^{24.\ 25}$).—5. *Slaves*, whether under heathen or Christian masters ($6^{1.\ 2}$).
Conclusion.
(*a*) Further denunciation of the false teachers, as conceited, ignorant, excited about questions which only produce envy and strife, striving to make money, knowing nothing of true Christian content, but ruining themselves through the desire of gain ($3^{10}=1^{3\text{-}10}$).
(*b*) Solemn appeal to Timothy to avoid such teaching: to aim at spiritual qualities, to lay hold of eternal life, remembering his past confession; and to hold fast Paul's commandment with the thought of the future appearance of the Lord ($1^{14}=1^{18\text{-}20}$).
Doxology ($^{15.\ 16}$).
Postscript.—Further advice as to the teaching which Timothy is to give to the rich ($^{17\text{-}19}$).
Final appeal to Timothy to guard the deposit and to avoid false claims to knowledge ($^{20.\ 21}$).
Salutation.

This analysis will have shown that the primary interest is ethical and spiritual. Morality, Salvation, Truth are the keynotes; the Church worship and Church ministries are to minister to them. The kernel is the great hymn of 3^{16}, but each section has some great doctrinal statement or some faithful saying embedded in it, which leads up to or away from that climax (1^{15} $2^{4\text{-}6}$ 2^{15} $4^{4.\ 8\text{-}11}$ 6^{6}). The Epistle is full of the thought of the Salvation of all mankind, the consecration of all Creation.

At the same time it is personal throughout; and it is hard to believe that it was intended to be read out as it stands, in public; though a greeting to the whole Church is added (6^{21}), and though the substance of the teaching was meant to be conveyed

to the Church (4^{11} 5^{7} $6^{2.\ 17}$), and though certain sections ($2^{1\text{-}15}$ $3^{1\text{-}13}$ $5^{3\text{-}16}$) are necessarily of a general kind. In these it is hard to feel sure whether the writer has only the local needs of Ephesus in his mind, or whether he was consciously framing rules which would be of universal application and obligation (cf. 1 Co 7^{17}). The phrase *ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ* (2^{8}) favours the latter view; so perhaps does the use of *ἐκκλησία* in 3^{15}; and some of the rules deal with such essential doctrines or points of morality that the writer may have regarded them as *ipso facto* binding on every one: but his primary thought was probably only for the church or churches of which Timothy was in charge.

iii. Literary Dependence.—The OT is quoted as authoritative only once, 5^{18}=Dt 25^{4} (cf. 1 Co 9^{9}); but its language is consciously adapted or its history appealed to in—

2^{13}=Gn 2^{22} (cf. 1 Co 11^{8}).
2^{14}=Gn 3^{6} (cf. 2 Co 11^{3}).
4^{4} =Gn 1^{31}.
5^{5} =Ps 4^{6} (?) (cf. 1 P 3^{5}).
5^{19}=Dt 19^{15} (cf. 2 Co 13^{1}).
6^{1} =Is 52^{5} (cf. Ro 2^{24}).

It will be noticed that nearly every passage had been used in earlier Pauline Epistles.

In $2^{13.\ 14}$ we have perhaps a later Jewish adaptation of the OT history. A Christian rhythmical hymn is quoted in 3^{16}; Christian sayings in 1^{15} 2^{15} (?) 4^{9} (?) (*πιστὸς ὁ λόγος*); Christian prophecy in 4^{1} (cf. 1^{18} 4^{14}); liturgical doxologies are used, which had probably passed from Jewish into Christian worship, in 1^{17} $6^{15.\ 16}$; traces of a creed seem to underlie 6^{13}; and Greek proverbial sayings, 1^{9} (?) 4^{4} 6^{7}.

With regard to writings of the NT, there are interesting parallels with the Gospels, especially with St. Luke, which in 5^{18} may possibly be treated as 'Scripture' on a level with the OT; but none of the other parallels give the impression of literary quotation, so that it is probably not so here.

Cf. 2^{6} with Mk 10^{45}.
4^{8} ,, Lk 18^{30}.
5^{5} ,, ,, 2^{37}.
5^{18} ,, ,, 10^{7} (where Luke agrees verbally with 1 Tim., but Matt. differs).
5^{21} ,, ,, 9^{26}.
$6^{17\text{-}19}$,, ,, $12^{20.\ 21}$.

There are striking points of contact with 1 Peter; cf. $2^{9\text{-}11}$ with 2 P $3^{1\text{-}6}$, 3^{16} with 1 P $3^{18\text{-}22}$, 5^{5} with 1 P 3^{5}; but it is not clear whether they do (so von Soden) or do not (so Jülicher) imply literary acquaintance: if they do, the priority seems to be clearly on the side of 1 Timothy.

On the other hand, 'an intimate acquaintance with the Pauline letters must be assumed on the part of the writer' (Jülicher). There are certainly conscious parallels with Romans and 1 and 2 Corinthians.

Cf. 1^{1}	with Ro	16^{26}.	1^{12}	with 1 Co		7^{25}	15^{10}.
1^{5}	,, ,,	13^{9}.	$2^{11.\ 12}$	,,	,,	11^{12}	14^{34}.
1^{8}	,, ,,	7^{16}.	4^{4}	,,	,,	10^{30}.	
1^{10}	,, ,,	13^{10}.	4^{8}	,,	,,	9^{25} (?).	
1^{17}	,, ,,	16^{26}.	5^{18}	,,	,,	9^{9}.	
2^{5}	,, ,,	3^{30}.	5^{19}	,,	,,	9^{14}.	
2^{7}	,, ,,	9^{1}.	1^{11}	,,	2 Co	4^{4}.	

The likeness culminates in the relation to Titus and 2 Timothy.

Cf. 1^{1} and ^{11}	with Tit	1^{3}.		1^{12}	with 2 Ti	1^{3}.	
2^{6}	,, ,,	2^{14}.		2^{7}	,, ,,	1^{11}.	
$3^{2\text{-}4}$	,, ,,	$1^{6\text{-}8}$.		3^{7}	,, ,,	2^{26}.	
4^{11}	,, ,,	2^{15}.		4^{1}	,, ,,	3^{1}.	
4^{12}	,, ,,	2^{7} and ^{15}.		4^{14}	,, ,,	1^{6}.	
5^{13}	,, ,,	1^{11}.		5^{13}	,, ,,	3^{7}.	
6^{1}	,, ,,	2^{5}.		5^{21}	,, ,,	4^{1}.	
6^{2}	,, ,,	2^{15}.		6^{11}	,, ,,	2^{22}.	
6^{14}	,, ,,	2^{13}.		6^{12}	,, ,,	4^{7}.	

The parallels with Romans and 1 and 2 Cor. are explicable either as deliberate adaptations by some later writer or as the reiterations of the same thought by Paul himself. Those with 2 Tim. and Titus are stronger, and either point to nearly contemporary composition by one writer or to a deliberate adaptation. It has been held by von Soden (*Hdcom.* p. 154), Moffatt (*Historical NT*, p. 560), McGiffert (*Apost. Age*, p. 413), that 1 Tim. is the latest of the three, and based on 2 Tim. and Titus; but a mere comparison of style does not indicate any priority as between 1 Tim. and Titus, and favours the priority of 1 Tim. to 2 Timothy. The other points of difference—fuller organization in 1 Tim., fuller description of the false teachers, etc.—are as explicable by the difference of circumstances in each place as by a difference of date.

iv. Situation implied at Ephesus.—(*a*) *The False Teachers.*—The primary purpose of the letter is to remind Timothy of the charge given to him to check certain false teachers; but, as he is assumed to know them, they are described in such general terms that it is difficult for us to identify them. It is not, indeed, necessary to assume that all the descriptions apply to one set; Ephesus supplied a great variety of forms of religion, heathen, Jewish, and Christian (Ac 19): and $4^{1\text{-}2}$ (cf. Tit 1^{10}, 2 Ti 3^{1}) perhaps implies a separate development in the future; yet the probability is in favour of one main tendency. The teachers were prominent in the Church (1^{6}): they may have held office [cf. the stress on the discipline over presbyters ($5^{20\text{-}25}$), and the need of more careful choice of ministers ($3^{1\text{-}13}$)]: two of them had already been 'handed over to Satan' (1^{20}): and they may have attempted to attack St. Paul's own apostleship (1^{1} 2^{7} 1^{20} *μὴ βλασφημεῖν*). They are untrue to the central Christian temper (1^{6}), they do not listen to the dictates of their own conscience (1^{19} 4^{2}), are ignorant (1^{7}), influenced by the desire of making gain out of their religion ($6^{5\text{-}10}$), living in a state of feverish excitement (6^{4} *νοσῶν*), suggesting curious disputations and investigations which are 'other' than the deposit (1^{3} 6^{20}), and producing an atmosphere of strife, jealousy, and suspicion (6^{4}). In the substance of their teaching a few details emerge.

(1) They claimed to be 'teachers of *law*' (1^{7}): misinterpreting the OT in some way for purposes other than those for which it was intended (cf. 2 Ti $3^{16.\ 17}$): possibly depreciating law in an antinomian spirit, so that the writer has to insist on its real value ($1^{8\text{-}10}$): or, more probably, exaggerating its value, so that he has to point out its limitations, as intended only for *ἄδικοι* (*ib.*).

(2) They laid stress on *μῦθοι καὶ γενεαλογίαι* (1^{4} 4^{7}). The reference of this is also ambiguous. The words would be applicable to the speculative theories of Gnosticism, with its legends about the creation of the world and the relationships of the various æons which separated God from matter: and the Christian writers of the 2nd cent. constantly made this application (Irenæus, *adv. Hær.* Præf.; Tertullian, *c. Valent.* 3, *de Anima*, 18, *de Præscriptione*, 33, *adv. Marcionem*, i. 9; Epiphanius, *Hær.* 33. 8).

But the context connects them with teaching about the Law (1^{7}): Titus speaks of *Ἰουδαϊκοὶ μῦθοι* (1^{14}), and connects *γενεαλογίαι* with *μάχαι νομικαί* (3^{9}); and Ignatius (*ad Magn.* 8) uses exactly similar language of the Judaizers of his day. They are therefore Jewish in origin, and were probably speculations based upon the legendary history of the patriarchs and their descendants, akin to the Jewish Haggadoth, and illustrated by the Book of Enoch, the Book of Jubilees, and the treatise on Biblical Antiquities attributed to Philo [cf. Hort, *Judaistic Christianity*, pp. 130–146]. The

reference to Jannes and Jambres (2 Ti $3^{8.9}$) will then be a half-ironical *ad hominem* illustration from one of their own favourite myths.

(3) They laid a special claim to *knowledge* (6^{20}). This again would have a peculiar applicability to any form of Gnosticism, and it is so applied by Hegesippus *ap.* Euseb. iii. 32; but it is equally applicable to the Rabbinic claim to special knowledge (Lk 11^{52}, Jn 7^{49}, Ro 2^{20}). The word ἀντιθέσεις in 6^{20} offers an easy suggestion to the ἀντιθέσεις, 'Contradictions between OT and NT,' of Marcion; but such an allusion is inconsistent with the stress on Jewish law (cf. 2), and impossible in date, unless the verse be a subsequent interpolation. It may either refer to 'Rival theses,' *i.e.* conflicting decisions of the Jewish Rabbis on the application of the Law, the Jewish Halakha, the 'tradition of the elders' (so Hort, *l.c.*); or it may be translated 'oppositions' (cf. 2 Ti 2^{25}), and if so, gives no clue to the nature of the opposition.

(4) They taught a false *asceticism*, prohibiting marriage, requiring abstinence from certain foods (4^{1-4}), and perhaps from wine (5^{23}), and that on the ground that matter was evil ($4^{4.5}$, cf. $4^{7.8}$ 6^{17}). This particular teaching is ascribed to δαιμόνια, and so probably came from a heathen source; and it is quoted as a prophecy of the future, and so is perhaps separable from the rest. But the writer is probably quoting a *past* prophecy as being fulfilled in the present, and it is placed in close connexion with the 'myths' (4^{7}). This teaching, again, is exactly parallel to the teaching of later Gnostics (cf. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* iii. 3; Tert. *adv. Marcionem*, i. 14; Irenæus, *Hær.* i. 28); but it may equally have arisen from an exaggeration of the Jewish law, with a mixture of Oriental speculation, coming perhaps through Essenism (cf. 1 Co 7 and 8, Ro 14, Col 2, He 13).

It is perhaps legitimate to read allusions to the false teachers in the regulations of chs. 2. 3, which follow so directly upon the warning against them. If so, their teaching was characterized by an exclusiveness, limiting God's universal salvation, whether from a Gnostic or a Jewish standpoint, and perhaps denying the salvation of women; perhaps also by a low standard of morals.

The main tendency, then, is that of a Rabbinic speculative Judaism, playing with historical legends and casuistry, and coloured by an asceticism borrowed from some heathen source, perhaps through Essenism (cf. Lightfoot, *Col.* 'On the Colossian Heresy,' *Biblical Essays*, xi., *Ignatius*, i. pp. 359–374).

(*b*) *Organization of the Church.*—The Church forms one organized community, described as God's family ($3^{5.15}$), an 'ecclesia' of a God of life (*ib.*): its members are οἱ ἀδελφοί (4^{6}), οἱ πιστοί (4^{12} 5^{16} 6^{2}), ἅγιοι (5^{10}). They meet for common worship, and apparently up to the time of this letter men and women alike had been wont to teach and to lead the prayers, but the writer limits this right to the men (2^{8-12}). At the worship there are reading, exhortation, and teaching (4^{13}), prayers, intercessions, thanksgivings (2^{1} 5^{5}). Over this body the apostle is supreme: he hands over offenders to Satan (παρέδωκα, 1^{20}; but this would not necessarily exclude the co-operation of the Church, as in 1 Co 5^{4}); his exhortations (2^{1}) and wishes (2^{8}) are authoritative; the true teaching is the gospel, which has been entrusted to him (1^{11} 2^{7}). Timothy is his delegate, 'the instrument of an absent rather than a wielder of inherent authority' (Moberly), commissioned to ordain ministers (though the whole community would have a voice in the choice of them, cf. $3^{2 \text{ and } 10}$), to exercise discipline over them, to regulate worship, to control teaching, and hand on the traditions of the apostle. His exact status is not clear: he may have been a temporary delegate for a special work, as he had been before to Corinth (1 Co 4^{14-17}) and Philippi (Ph 2^{19}), and as Titus had been twice or thrice to Corinth (2 Co 7 and 8); or he may have been permanently set apart as St. Paul's delegate for the higher functions of ministerial work, unlimited by any local sphere, but sent from time to time to various places; or, again, he may have received a permanent commission to represent the apostle and a permanent localization at Ephesus, or possibly throughout Asia Minor. Either view is tenable, but the first springs most naturally out of the language of 1^{3} 4^{14}.

It is also uncertain whether he had received special ordination for this task. He had received a special gift, given by laying on of the hands of the presbyters, and prophecies had led Paul to choose him (1^{18} 4^{14}); but the reference may be either to consecration for *this* piece of work, or to formal ordination when he first became Paul's helper (Ac 16^{1-4}). His position seems to be that of a vicar apostolic rather than of a localized bishop, though it is the germ out of which the later localized and monarchical episcopate developed.

The more permanent ministry under Timothy is assumed to be already in existence. There are no directions to establish any new office, unless it be that of the church-widows, but only to regulate and spiritualize those that exist. These are—

(1) The ἐπίσκοπος. He occupies a prominent position in the eyes of the Church and the heathen world; he must have high moral qualifications: from these it may be inferred that his duties will be to entertain travelling brethren (φιλόξενος), to teach (διδακτικός), perhaps to control the finances (ἀφιλάργυρος), to preside and care for the Church (προστῆναι, ἐπιμελεῖσθαι).

(2) πρεσβύτεροι, who are formally ordained (?) for the position (5^{22}), who also preside (προεστῶτες), who also preach and teach (ἐν λόγῳ καὶ διδασκαλίᾳ), who receive maintenance in return for their work, and who are under Timothy's discipline. (There is not, as often assumed, a contrast in 5^{17} between teaching and non-teaching presbyters, but only between those who take pains with their teaching and those who do not).

Are these two different orders of ministers, or only two names for one order? This question, too, cannot be positively answered. The fact that πρεσβύτεροι are not mentioned in ch. 3; that the ἐπίσκοπος is not mentioned in ch. 5; that the same functions of presiding and teaching are attributed to both; the *prima facie* meaning of Tit 1^{5-7}, cf. Ac 20^{17-28},—these favour the identification of the two. On the other hand, the constant use of the singular ἐπίσκοπος and of the plural πρεσβύτεροι, and the usage of the 2nd cent., favour the separation, and leave it a tenable view that out of the many presbyters one bishop was already chosen at Ephesus in order to preside over the whole and to represent them to the outer world.

(3) διάκονοι. Subordinate officers, whose character has to be tested before the whole community before they enter on office. Their duties are not defined; but they perhaps have to administer the finances under the ἐπίσκοπος (μὴ αἰσχροκερδεῖς), and to teach, as a successful diaconate gives them boldness of speech. After their diaconate they may perhaps hope to rise to a higher position (βαθμός) in the Church ($3^{8-10.12.13}$).

(4) γυναῖκες are also mentioned in the official ministry, between two sections dealing with διάκονοι: *i.e.* probably 'women who are deacons,' deaconesses; but possibly only 'wives of deacons.' A high character is required of them, but their duties are not defined.

(5) χῆραι. The regulations for widows are described at fuller length, and give the impression that the writer is introducing a fresh organization in this case. There is probably a distinction to be drawn between lonely widows who are the

objects of charity, and who devote their time to prayer (5^{4-8}), and active widows who are church workers, whose names are entered on a church list, after careful examination of their antecedents ($5^{9.\ 10}$). The distinction is not, however, clearly marked. See also art. WIDOW.

[Cf. Gore, *The Church and the Ministry*, ch. v.; Moberly, *Ministerial Priesthood*, ch. v.; Hort, *Christian Ecclesia*, chs. xi. xii.; J. H. Bernard in *Camb. Gr. Test.* pp. lvi–lxxiv; Weiss, § 4; Zahn, *Einl.* i. 459–466].

v. AUTHORSHIP.—The Epistle claims to be by St. Paul, and is directly attributed to him by Irenæus (Præf. II. xiv. 7, IV. xvi. 3), Tertullian (*de Præscr.* c. 25), Clement Alex. (*Strom.* ii. p. 457, iii. p. 534), and the Muratorian Canon; it was included in the Latin and Syriac versions, and this implies an acceptance of its Pauline claim. It was known to Marcion (*c.* 140); there are many parallels to its regulations in the earliest documents that underlie the *Apostolic Constitutions* (cf. Harnack, *TU* II. v. pp. 50–52, or *Chron.* i. p. 483): these may be due to independent treatment of some earlier list of regulations, but the more prob. view is that the *Apost. Const.* give a later and fuller adaptation of 1 Timothy; and there are parallelisms to its language in the Epistle of Vienne and Lyons (Eus. v. 1), Hegesippus (Eus. iii. 22), Justin Martyr (*Dial.* vii. 17, xxxv. 3 (?)), and above all in Polycarp (cc. 4. 5. 8. 9. 12), Ignatius (*ad Trall.*, *Inscr. ad Magn.* 8, *ad Polyc.* 3), and Clement of Rome (7. 21. 54. 61), which make it probable that it was known to all these writers, and well known in Asia Minor before A.D. 115, and perhaps at Rome before A.D. 95. For an instructive comparison of the Pastoral Epistles with Ignatius, cf. von der Goltz in *TU* XII. iii. pp. 107–118, 186–194.

On the other hand, it was rejected with 2 Tim. by Tatian (Jerome, *Prol. ad Titum*), by 'certain heretics' (Clem. Alex. *Strom.* ii. 11), and with both 2 Tim. and Titus by Marcion (Tertull. *adv. Marcionem*, v. 21) and Basilides (Jerome, *l.c.*). Tertullian implies that the reason of the rejection was that they were private letters; but it may have been due to a dislike of their teaching, or, if they were not Pauline, to a real knowledge of their origin. The external evidence is as strong in church writers as for any Epistle; but it is met by a persistent rejection on the part of some heretics.

The internal evidence permits two alternatives. Either the author is Paul, or he is some later writer anxious to support Christian morality and orthodox teaching against growing heretical tendencies, and for this purpose composing the letter, possibly with the help of some genuine Pauline fragments, and certainly with a deliberate use of the Pauline letters. In deciding between these two alternatives it is not possible to appeal to points of similarity with Pauline language or with St. Paul's character, as they are assumed on both sides; on the other hand, differences from the known facts of St. Paul's life are as much an argument against the second alternative as against the first.

(1) The historical situation cannot be fitted into the account of St. Paul's life in the Acts. This is true in spite of recent attempts to place it at the time of Ac 20^{38} (Bartlet, *Apostolic Age*, pp. 179–182, 511–515; Bowen, *The Dates of the Pastoral Epistles*, London, 1900); yet the Acts is incomplete even over the ground which it traverses, *e.g.* it makes no mention of the intricate circumstances connected with the mission of Titus to Corinth, *i.e.* it helps us to understand 2 Cor. as little as this Epistle. Further, it confessedly ends before the death of St. Paul. There are other grounds for believing in a release of St. Paul after Ac 28 (cf. art. PAUL), and the situation implied here may easily fall in the interval between that release and his death, about the same time as Titus but before 2 Tim., as this Epistle gives no trace of the danger of persecution.

(2) The style is unlike St. Paul's more argumentative passages, but it resembles that of the more practical sections of the earlier Epistles, *e.g.* 1 Th 5, Ro 12–16, 1 Co 16, 2 Co 8. 9. The general structure, the quick passage from practice to doctrinal basis, the personal interludes (1^{12} 2^{7}), the frequent repetition of a word and its cognate forms (*πίστις*, 1^{12-17}; *πᾶς*, 2^{1-7}; *πλοῦτος*, $6^{17.\ 18}$), the fondness for sharp antithesis (5^{6} 5^{13} 6^{7} 6^{19}), the use of the language of the OT and of Greek proverbs, are subtle points that might escape an imitator. But two points of difficulty remain. (*a*) The vocabulary is largely different. The average of *ἅπαξ λεγόμενα* is one for every verse and a half: a large group of words (34 in the three Pastoral Letters) is not found elsewhere in St. Paul, but is found in St. Luke's writings; and many characteristically Pauline words are absent (cf. Holtzmann, *Einl.* pp. 318, 319, *Past. Briefe*, p. 100; W. H. Simcox in *Expositor*, 1888, p. 180).

But the argument from the mere use of words is always precarious (cf. an illustration from Shakespeare in the *Expos. Times*, June 1896, p. 418, and from Dante in Butler's 'Paradise,' p. xi); St. Paul's language elsewhere shows great variation, even within the compass of one letter (cf. 2 Co 8. 9 with 10–13); the proportion of *ἅπαξ λεγόμενα* is—

1 for 1·55 verses in the Past. Epp.;
1 ,, 3·66 ,, ,, 2 Cor.;
1 ,, 5·53 ,, ,, 1 Cor.;

hence the difference between 2 Cor. and 1 Cor. is as great as that between the Past. Epp. and 2 Cor. (Kölling *ap.* Weiss, p. 51). Within the Pastorals 72 words are found in 1 Tim. only, 44 in 2 Tim. only, 26 in Titus; 10 are peculiar to 1 Tim. and Titus; 8 to 1 and 2 Tim.; 3 to 2 Tim. and Titus. *ὠφέλιμος*, *εὐσέβεια*, *διάβολος* as adjective, are common to the three, and they all have some word cognate to *σώφρων*, and the phrases *πιστὸς ὁ λόγος*, *ἐπίγνωσις ἀληθείας*, *ἡ ὑγιαίνουσα διδασκαλία*, *ὁ νῦν αἰών*. There is no word which is of clearly later date: many of the differences arise from difference of subject, esp. in 2^{8-10} 5^{3-16} where they are most frequent; some occur in phrases which seem to be quotations (see above). Many are words common in the Greek of the Apocrypha (cf. the instances from 2 Mac. in *Camb. Gr. Test.* p. xxxix). Some few are Latinisms (*χάριν ἔχω*, *πρόκριμα*), due perhaps to residence in Rome; others are medical metaphors (*ὑγιαίνειν*, *νοσεῖν*), due perhaps to intimacy with St. Luke; while it is difficult to estimate how far the mere wording of a letter was due to the amanuensis employed. [The question of the vocabulary is carefully treated in Findlay's Appendix to Sabatier, *The Apostle Paul*].

(*b*) But many of the phrases seem technical and stereotyped: *Ἰησοῦς ἡ ἐλπὶς ἡμῶν* (1^{1}; notice the advance on Col 1^{27}), *ἡ παραγγελία* (1^{5}), *ἡ ὑγιαίνουσα διδασκαλία* (1^{10}), *πιστὸς ὁ λόγος* (1^{15} etc.), *τὴν καλὴν στρατείαν*, *τὴν πίστιν* (1^{19}), *ὁ σωτὴρ ἡμῶν θεός* (2^{3}), *τὸ μαρτύριον καιροῖς ἰδίοις* (2^{6}), *ἡ τεκνογονία* (?) (2^{15}), *τὸ μυστήριον τῆς πίστεως* (3^{9}), *τὸ τῆς εὐσεβείας μυστήριον* (3^{16}), *ἡ καλὴ διδασκαλία* (4^{6}), *ἡ διδασκαλία* (6^{1}), *ἡ εὐεργεσία* (?) (6^{2}), *ἡ ἐντολή* (6^{14}), *ἡ παραθήκη* (6^{20}); there is an articulated fixity about them which seems to mark a late date, and to be unlike the freshness of the earlier style. This, again, is true; but the date on any hypothesis is later, the diction is that of 'the old man' *less* 'eloquent,' and he is writing to an intimate companion, so that his language may naturally have somewhat of an esoteric stamp.

(3) The tone of the religious life implied shows a similar development. It is in all essentials Pauline; for it consists of life eternal, won by Christ's death, which has brought salvation to all mankind; and this life must show itself by a high Christian morality, and be ready to face the appearance of Jesus Christ. But there is more stress on the value of law; on the need of good works, or attractive works, καλὰ ἔργα (4 times in 1 Tim., 3 in Tit., elsewhere not in St. Paul); religion is described as εὐσέβεια (8 times in 1 Tim., once in 2 Tim. and Tit., not elsewhere) or θεοσέβεια (1 Ti 2^{10} only); the favourite qualities are those of a sober, orderly loyalty. Yet each point could be illustrated from St. Paul (1 Co 6^2, Ro 3^{31} 7^{12}, Gal 1^8 $5^{6.\,22.\,23}$, Eph 2^{10}), and there is a uniform tendency in the earlier Epistles to pass onward from the strain of the first conversion to the quiet ordered after-life, and to bring every sphere of human relationship under the control of Christian discipline (cf. W. Lock, *St. Paul, the Master Builder*, ch. 4).

(4) So, too, with regard to Church organization. There are more details of it, and more stress upon it; yet the details can be paralleled elsewhere: cf. Ac 14^{23} 21^{17}, Ja 5^{14} (πρεσβύτεροι), Ac 20^{28}, Ph 1^1 (ἐπίσκοποι), Ph 1^1 (διάκονοι), Ro 16^1 (deaconess), Ac 6^1 9^{39}, 1 Co 7 (χῆραι). St. Paul organized some ministry from the first (1 Th 5^{12}, 1 Co 12^{28}); his influence from the first had been used to check the irregular utterances of the spirit and to lay greater stress on the ordered ministry (1 Co 12–14); and the further stress upon it is natural with the lapse of time bringing new developments of false teaching and the prospect of his own death.

The prominence of prophecy, the uncertainty about the exact status of Timothy, about the presence of a monarchical episcopate, about the distinction between ἐπίσκοπος and πρεσβύτερος, the need of regulation of public speaking by women, all favour a date considerably earlier than the Ignatian letters.

Certainly the letter gives the impression of a Church well established; the functions of the various ministers are implied as already fixed, the ἐπισκοπή is an object of desire (3^1), Timothy can choose between novices and older members of the Church (3^6), the Church widow must be of 60 years of age (5^9), there has been sad experience of the falling away of Christian widows ($5^{12.\,15}$); but none of these points carry us beyond the possible conditions of a flourishing community in a large city which may have been established at least ten years, at a time of quick development such as is stamped on every page of the NT.

The advice of 5^{14} is inconsistent with that of 1 Co 7^{40}, but there the advice is confessedly a counsel of perfection (cf. v.^{39}), and given in face of a special necessity.

A comparison with other documents connected with Ephesus, *e.g.* Ac $20^{18\text{-}35}$, esp. ^{30}, the Prologue of St. John (with the stress on God's creation of all things (cf. 4^4), of the manifestation of Christ in flesh (cf. 3^{16}), of the contrast between the Law and grace and truth and glory (cf. $1^{8\text{-}12}$)), and with the Ep. to Eph. (with its stress on the Ascended Lord as the source of spiritual strength, on the importance of the ministry, of the Church, of family life, its witness to the growth of Christian psalms and hymns), shows that the writer knows the conditions of Ephesus in the 1st century.

(5) The teaching of the false teachers has been shown to be compatible with the Pauline authorship, and it may be added that the very vagueness of it suits an earlier rather than a later date, while the absence of any certain or probable allusion to Docetism, which was the prevalent danger in Ephesus and its neighbourhood at the time of 1 John and of the Ignatian letters, is in favour of placing this Epistle before those.

(6) Some critics feel an artificiality in the situation implied. Paul is about to return shortly, yet troubles to write on points like those of 2^1–3^{13}, which could afford to wait; yet the circumstances of the writing of 1 Cor. and 1 Thess. (1 Co 4^{19}, 1 Th 3^{11}) are exactly analogous. Again, Timothy is placed in a position of very great importance, yet is distrusted as young, liable to be weak, and to be misled; but this corresponds to the little we know of Timothy's character elsewhere, and it is probable that he had failed to deal with a crisis at Corinth (cf. TIMOTHY): and both these are objections to *any* unity of authorship; indeed, if anything, it is more probable that St. Paul should have spoken thus in a private letter to Timothy, than that a later writer, who was *ex hypothesi* using Timothy as a type of an important official, treated as being the recipient of important instructions, should have thus weakened his character.

The conclusion is difficult. The Epistle marks at all points an advance on the earlier Epp. of St. Paul. In style, in organization, in stereotyped fixity of teaching, in the character of the teachers opposed, there are marked differences. On the other hand, in all these points it also offers marked differences from any writings of the 2nd cent. It falls within a period in which we have little to guide us. 'The secularization of Christianity is in full swing' (Jülicher), but there were the beginnings of this in 1 Cor. and Ephesians. 'The writer is a type of a time when the ethical voice of a noble Hellenism and the Roman instinct for organization are uniting themselves with the Christianity which had sprung as religion out of Judaism, in order to build up the old-catholic Church' (von Soden); but such incorporation of Greek and Roman thought had taken place in Paul's time, and was mainly due to his genius. It is Pauline in claim; admittedly Pauline in central doctrine; 'their author was an adherent of the apostle's who reproduced his master's ideas' (Moffatt, *l.c.* p. 561). He has an intimate acquaintance with the Pauline letters: the letter was accepted as Pauline by those who most represented Paul's teaching. Whether we can take the further step and assert that it is Paul's own work, depends upon the question whether the stress on organization, authority, teaching, loyalty, can fall within his lifetime; and whether he was one who could forget the controversies of the past and devote himself in the face of a new danger to lay stress on the foundation already laid, and to try to secure a high moral and spiritual tone within the Churches under his control by enforcing more strictness in worship and in the qualifications for the ministry. The points of comparison with the earlier Epistles can scarcely be urged in favour of the authorship; indeed in one or two places, 1^{11} 2^7 (esp. the parenthesis, ἀλήθειαν λέγω, οὐ ψεύδομαι), the language seems scarcely explained by the circumstances of the time, but to be due to a mere extract from earlier letters, and if so, would be an argument *against* genuineness; but these phrases may be reminiscences in St. Paul's own mind of a past controversy (cf. Eph 2^9) rather than extracts from his letters; while the differences, *e.g.* in the salutation (1^1), in the deeper description of his own sinfulness ($1^{12\text{-}15}$), side by side with the stronger assurance of the truth of his message, the boldness of the criticism on Timothy, the personal reference to his illnesses and his water-drinking, the affectionateness of the last appeal (6^{20}),—all these are subtle points, which are more natural at first than at second hand, and which seem to bring us face to face with Paul himself.

vi. INTEGRITY. — There is no MS ground for

doubting the integrity of the Epistle; nor is there any intrinsic inconsistency or lack of arrangement—given the ordinary discursiveness of a letter—which would suggest interpolation. For the awkward anacoluthon 1^3, cf. Eph 3^1; 3^{11} comes in awkwardly between ^{10} and ^{12}, and may need transposition, but 3^{12} may be an after-thought (cf. 1 Co 1^{16}); for $6^{17\text{-}19}$ cf. Ro $16^{17\text{-}20}$.

But the doubt has arisen in connexion with the authorship. On the theory of the Pauline authorship, it has been suggested that the sections which imply a late date may be later additions to a genuine letter. Thus $3^{1\text{-}13}$ is of a quite general character: it has no personal expression: it could be dropped without destroying the sequence of thought. $2^{1\text{-}7.\ 8\text{-}15}$ $5^{1\text{-}16.\ 17\text{-}22}$ are almost as general; and the personal expressions παρακαλῶ 2^1, βούλομαι 2^8 5^{14}, ἐπιτρέπω 2^{12}, διαμαρτύρομαι 5^{21}, might be those of Timothy himself or of some later authority, laying down detailed instructions in accordance with the general principles enunciated by St. Paul. This would meet the difficulty of the large number of non-Pauline words in these sections; but that may be met by the fact that Paul is treating of new subjects, and is perhaps borrowing from half-stereotyped lists of virtues required of candidates for office, perhaps based on Jewish requirements, perhaps on Gentile analogies (for the correspondence between the requirements of $3^{1\text{-}8}$ and the characteristics of the Stoic wise man, cf. *Camb. Gr. Test.* p. 57): besides, it makes it necessary to treat 2^7 as a deliberate insertion, with a view to claim Pauline authorship for the section [cf. Harnack (*Chron.* pp. 482–484), who treats $3^{1\text{-}13}$ $5^{17.\ 20}$ as fragments later than 138 A.D.]. Again, on the theory of the non-Pauline authorship, it is necessary to explain the personal allusions. Some of these ($1^{4.\ 12\text{-}16}$ 2^7) may be borrowed from or based upon previous letters, but 5^{23} cannot be; it cannot have been invented by a forger; it must be genuine, and the very awkwardness of its insertion at this point is against the theory of a second-hand compiler, who might more naturally have inserted it in $4^{6\text{-}16}$. The command and the insertion of the command here depend upon some intimate acquaintance between the writer and Timothy, and intimate knowledge of the conditions at Ephesus.

The most elaborate attempt to resolve the letter into its constituent factors is that of Knoke (*Commentar zu den Pastoralbriefe*, 1889), who assumes a combination of three letters—two of them from Paul to Timothy, the third the final redaction in the 2nd cent., in the interests of Church organization. An attempt to read these letters consecutively as arranged by him,

(*a*) $1^{3.\ 4.\ 18}$–2^{10} 3^{14}–4^{12} $5^{1\text{-}3.\ 5.\ 6.\ 11\text{-}15.\ 19\text{-}24}$,
(*b*) $1^{12\text{-}17}$ 3^{14}–$4^{11.\ 13\text{-}16}$ $2^{12\text{-}15}$ $5^{7\text{-}9}$ $6^{17\text{-}19}$,
(*c*) $3^{1\text{-}9.\ 12.\ 10.\ 13}$ 2^{11} $5^{9.\ 10.\ 16.\ 4.\ 17}$ $6^{1.\ 2}$,

will show the arbitrariness of the division, and the possibility on such a test of subdividing the three still further. For exact details of suggested theories cf. Moffatt, *l.c.* p. 702; Clemen, *Die Einheitlichkeit der paul. Briefe*, pp. 143–175; McGiffert, pp. 405–412; Harnack, *Chron.* i. pp. 480–484.

vii. VALUE.—The intrinsic value is partly independent of its authorship, for the Pastoral Epistles, even if not written as proofs of love and affection by Paul to Timothy and Titus, 'in honore tamen ecclesiæ catholicæ in ordinatione ecclesiasticæ disciplinæ sanctificatæ sunt' (Murator. Canon). But its witness is not so much to details of ecclesiastical order (for these are ambiguous), as to principles.

(*a*) It witnesses, more fully than even Titus and 2 Tim., to the principle of the delegation of apostolic authority. The highest duty of ordaining, and exercising discipline over all the officers, is not inherent in a Church already possessing presbyters and deacons, but is delegated from above to a representative of the apostle. On the Pauline authorship the fact that this was Paul's view, on the non-Pauline authorship the belief in the fact is testified. St. Paul acts as St. John acted in the presence of the growing needs of the Church (Clem. Alex. *Quis Dives*, c. 42).

(*b*) It witnesses that a highly ethical and spiritual conception of religion is consistent with and is safeguarded by careful regulations about worship, ritual and organized ministry. There is no opposition between the outward and the inward, between the spirit and the organized body.

(*c*) It breathes a healthy manly impatience of intellectual quibbles and sophistries, which are divorced from a moral life. It is akin to St. Paul's protest against σοφία and γνῶσις in 1 Co 1 and 7, but it carries it into a different region.

(*d*) In details it has had a direct influence upon the position and dress of Christian women in worship—though here it does not add anything to 1 Cor.—upon the subjects of prayer in all Christian liturgies, making them universal and loyal, and so contributing to a missionary feeling and to a conciliatory attitude of the Church to its rulers. It is again the first handbook of Church discipline, and its direct influence may be seen in the *Apostolic Constitutions* and subsequent legislation, mainly in requiring high moral qualifications in all Christian officials, and in insisting on a high standard of justice and impartiality in dealing with them. Even more is it the germ of treatises on the qualifications of the ministerial office, such as St. Chrysostom's περὶ ἱερωσύνης; St. Ambrose, *de Officiis Ministrorum*; St. Gregory, *de Pastorali Cura*.

LITERATURE.—A very full account of previous literature will be found in Holtzmann's or in Mangold's *Einleitung*. It will be sufficient here to mention as the best modern statements of the problems connected with the Epistle: (1) against the Pauline authorship, Holtzmann, *Die Pastoralbriefe* (1886); von Soden in the *Hand-Commentar*; Harnack, *Chronologie*, i. pp. 480–485 (1897); Jülicher, *Einleitung*^{4}, pp. 136–156 (1901); McGiffert, *History of Christianity in the Apostolic Age*, pp. 398 ff. (Edin. 1897); Moffatt, *Historical NT*, pp. 556–563 (Edin. 1901).

(2) For the Pauline authorship, Weiss in Meyer's *Commentar zum NT*; Riggenbach in the *Kurzgef. Comm.* (semi-Pauline); Zahn, *Einleitung*, i. pp. 398–489 (1897); Salmon, *Introd. to NT*, c. xx.; Findlay's Appendix attached to the translation of Sabatier's *The Apostle Paul* (1891); Lightfoot, *Biblical Essays*, chs. xi. xii., and Hort's *Judaistic Christianity* and *The Christian Ecclesia*.

For exegesis: Theodore of Mopsuestia with Swete's notes (Cambridge, 1882) is indispensable as representing the Patristic views. Theodoret and Ambrosiaster are terse and sensible, and St. Chrysostom's homilies are illuminating and edifying. Of modern commentators von Soden for keen penetration, Weiss and Riggenbach for well-balanced judgment, are pre-eminent, and H. P. Liddon for careful analysis and Patristic illustrations (1897). Ellicott, Alford, Wace (in the *Speaker's Commentary*) are careful and learned; Plummer in the *Expositor's Bible* interesting and suggestive; J. H. Bernard in *Camb. Gr. Test.* (1899) and A. E. Humphreys in *Camb. Bible for Schools* (1897) are excellent school manuals; R. F. Horton in the *Century Bible* (1901) is interesting, but sometimes inconsistent. Useful notes on special verses will be found in Westcott-Hort, ii. App. p. 133, and Field's *Otium Norvicense*, iii.^{2} pp. 203–214.

W. LOCK.

TIMOTHY, SECOND EPISTLE TO.—

i. Historical Situation of the writer.
ii. Analysis.
iii. Literary Dependence.
iv. Situation at Ephesus.
  (*a*) False Teaching.
  (*b*) Church Organization.
v. Authorship.
vi. Integrity.
vii. Value.

i. HISTORICAL SITUATION.—St. Paul is in prison at Rome, bound with a chain, and had been a prisoner for some length of time ($1^{8.\ 16.\ 17}$ 2^9). He had incurred imprisonment in the cause of Christ (1^8) as an apostle and teacher of the gospel (1^{12} 2^{10}): perhaps some definite charge of misdemean-

our had been made against him (*ὡς κακοῦργος*, 2^9; cf. *κακοποιός*, 1 P 2^{12} 4^{15}, but this may be no more than a simile). But the place and circumstances of his arrest are not clear. He had been travelling through Asia Minor and Greece with a band of fellow-travellers (cf. Tit 3^{15} *οἱ μετ' ἐμοῦ πάντες*), including Demas, Crescens, Titus, Tychicus, Erastus, and Trophimus; apparently he had been opposed at Troas by Alexander, and obliged to leave hastily ($4^{13.\ 14}$): in Asia he was deserted by those to whom he looked for support (1^{15}): at Miletus he left Trophimus ill: at Corinth Erastus stayed behind: the rest probably moved forward to Nicopolis (Tit 3^{12}): and there, or perhaps at Rome itself, he may have been arrested: Demas deserted him: Crescens was despatched to Galatia (?Gaul): Titus to Dalmatia: Tychicus to Ephesus: and when he writes Luke is with him single-handed. An Asiatic Christian, Onesiphorus, had found him out, though with difficulty, had cheered his loneliness, and perhaps was enabled to better his condition (1^{16}); the Roman Christians are in touch with him, and he is able to send a word of greeting from all of them (4^{21}). Perhaps his trial had already begun and been adjourned ($4^{16.\ 17}$, but cf. Zahn, *Einl.* i. p. 402, and Spitta, *Zur Gesch. des Urchristentums*, i. pp. 35–50, who make out a good case for referring this to his trial in the previous imprisonment): at any rate he regards his death as certain and as not far off ($4^{8.\ 9}$). So in his loneliness he wants help, and his mind turns to his 'beloved son' Timothy, and to Mark, to whom he had been reconciled. Timothy was at the time somewhere in Asia Minor, —probably at Ephesus, as he is in a position of authority, where he has to teach and hand on his teaching, cf. 1^{18} $2^{2.\ 14}$ 3^{1} $4^{2.\ 19}$,—and Paul writes to beg him to come, and to come quickly before the winter, to pick up Mark by the way, and to stop at Troas for the cloak and books and parchments left there. But Timothy was of a timid nature, and the journey was one which would imply peril, and possibly he may arrive too late to see St. Paul, or may have to face death himself; so he exhorts him to have courage and to provide others who will be able to teach the truth, and warns him against the special dangers which are likely to beset his teaching. The interest of the Epistle oscillates between St. Paul's desire for sympathy and his wish to strengthen Timothy's hands and to guard the deposit of the truth.

ii. ANALYSIS.

$1^{1.\ 2}$. Greeting.
$^{3-5}$. Thanksgiving for Timothy's past affection and faith, and desire to see him again.
A. 1^{6}–2^{13}. Exhortations based mainly on St. Paul's position.
B. 2^{14}–4^{8}. Exhortations based mainly on the position of Timothy.
A. Exhortation (1) to stir up his ministerial gift (^{6}): remembering the nature of the Spirit given by the laying on of the apostle's hands (^{7}).
(2) to be bold to face suffering (^{8}): remembering (*a*) the power and grace of God, which has conquered death and brought life and immortality to light ($^{9.\ 10}$).
(*b*) the example of Paul himself, who has faced suffering with perfect trust in God ($^{11.\ 12}$).
(3) to hold fast the truth entrusted to him (^{13}), in the strength of the indwelling Spirit (^{14}).
These exhortations are enforced by an appeal to the example of others:
(*a*) as a warning—the disloyalty of the Asiatic Christians (^{15}).
(*b*) as an encouragement—the boldness and affection and kindly help of Onesiphorus ($^{16-18}$).
(4) to be strong in the power of grace (2^{1}).
(5) to commit the true teaching to others and secure its tradition (2^{2}).
(6) to be ready to face suffering,—like a noble soldier (^{3}), which implies whole-hearted service (^{4}); like an athlete, who must keep the rules of the game (^{5}); like a husbandman, who is only rewarded if he toil well ($^{6.\ 7}$): remembering (*a*) the gospel of the Risen Christ, which has enabled Paul himself to face suffering for the elect's sake ($^{8-10}$).
(*b*) the faithful saying—with its encouragement to all who suffer with Christ, and its warning to all who deny Him ($^{11-13}$).
B. Exhortations, mainly dealing with the nature of the teaching to be given by Timothy—
(1) to urge Christians to avoid idle and useless discussions (^{14}).
(2) to be himself a true worker, rightly teaching the truth and avoiding profane babblings ($^{15.\ 16}$): remembering that (*a*) such discussions lead to impiety and spread quickly to the ruin of faith ($^{17.\ 18}$).
(*b*) whereas God's foundation rests upon His knowledge of His own, and their abstention from iniquity (^{19}).
(*c*) in every house there are good and bad vessels, and a man must cleanse himself from evil to be a good vessel ($^{20.\ 21}$).
(3) to avoid youthful passions, and to aim at the true spiritual qualities (^{22}).
(4) to avoid foolish investigations (^{23}): for they cause strife, and hinder the true character and patient hopeful work of the servant of the Lord ($^{24-26}$).
(5) to avoid false teachers: for,
(*a*) there lies in the future a great growth of empty profession of Christianity combined with selfishness and a low standard of morality (3^{1-5}).
(*b*) this will be ministered to by false and vain teachers, deluding their votaries and opposing the truth, like Jannes and Jambres, who will, however, be soon exposed ($^{6-9}$).
(6) to abide loyally by his past teaching: remembering (*a*) their past common experience of suffering, and of God's protection from it ($^{10.\ 11}$).
(*b*) that suffering is a universal law for Christians (^{12}).
(*c*) that deceivers will grow worse (^{13}).
(*d*) the teachers from whom he has learnt even from childhood the real spiritual value and purpose of all Scripture ($^{14-17}$).
(7) to fulfil his whole duty, as an evangelist, with patience, sobriety, and courage (4^{1-5}): remembering (*a*) that people will grow impatient of sound teaching ($^{3.\ 4}$).
(*b*) that Paul himself is passing: his work is done: he can only look forward to the crown of righteousness ($^{6.\ 7}$).
(*c*) that that crown will be given to all who love the Lord's appearing (^{8}).
4^{9-21}. Personal messages.
Appeal to Timothy to come quickly, because of Paul's loneliness ($^{9.\ 10}$): to bring Mark also (^{11}), and to stop at Troas for his cloak and books (^{12}): to avoid Alexander ($^{14.\ 15}$).
Reminder of the way in which the Lord had protected him in the past in spite of men's desertion, and trust in Him for the future ($^{16-18}$).
Special greetings to and from individuals ($^{19-21}$), with further account of his fellow-travellers (^{20}), and a renewed appeal to come soon.
^{22}. Final Salutation to Timothy and to those with him.

With the exception of the last word the Epistle is a personal letter throughout, and was probably never intended to be read aloud to the Church under Timothy's care. The note in 2^{7} emphasizes this esoteric character.

iii. LITERARY DEPENDENCE.—The Epistle is so personal and so little argumentative that there is little direct quotation in it, even from the OT, the importance of which is so strongly insisted upon (3^{15-17}). The allusions to it are subconscious and secondary. This may be partly accounted for by the fact that the writer was without his books and parchments (4^{13}); yet his mind is thoroughly steeped in it. Nu 16^{5}, Is 26^{13} lie behind 2^{19}, but mediated through Christ's saying in Mt $7^{23.\ 24}$, Lk 13^{25-27}: Wis 15^{7} lies behind 2^{20}, perhaps mediated through Ro 9^{21}: Ps 62^{12} is adapted in 4^{14}: Ps 22^{22-29} colours the whole language and thought of $4^{17.\ 18}$; and perhaps Is 42^{1-3} affects the description of the servant of the Lord in 2^{24-26}.

Jewish tradition—whether written or unwritten is uncertain (cf. Thackeray, *Relation of St. Paul to Contemporary Jewish Thought*, pp. 215–222)—is quoted in $3^{8.\ 9}$.

One 'faithful saying' is quoted in 2^{11-13}, possibly a fragment of a Christian hymn based on Ro 6^8 8^{17}, Mt 10^{33}, Lk 12^9 (cf. *CGT*, *ad loc.*): the 'seals' in 2^{19}, while based on the OT, were probably already stereotyped as Christian watchwords: 2^8 reads like a reminiscence of some early form of creed (cf. Burn, *Introduction to the Creeds*, pp. 27–30): 4^{1-5} is perhaps a quotation from some Christian prophet (cf. Jude [17]): 4^8 from some ἄγραφον of the Lord (cf. Resch, *Agrapha*, p. 253): 4^{18} recalls the end of the Lord's Prayer.

There are many parallelisms with the earlier Pauline Epistles.

$1^{3ff.}$	cf. Ro $1^{8ff.}$.	2^{11-13}	cf. Ro 6^8 8^7.
1^7	,, Ro 8^{15}.	2^{16}	,, Tit 3^9.
1^8	,, Ro 1^{16}, Eph 4^1.	2^{22}	,, 1 Ti 6^{11}.
1^9	,, Ro 16^{25}, Eph 1^4 2^8.	3^5	,, Tit 1^{16}.
1^{11}	,, 1 Ti 2^7.	3^7	,, Tit 1^{16} 3^1.
1^{14}	,, Ro 8^{11}.	4^6	,, Ph 1^{23} 2^{17}.
2^{4-6}	,, 1 Co $9^{7ff.}$		

Of all these passages Ph 1^{23} 2^{17}, 1 Ti 2^7 6^{11} alone suggest a conscious literary imitation; and they are equally consistent, if not more consistent, with the hypothesis that they are the entirely independent utterances of the same writer. The correspondences with the Acts are mainly with the speeches of St. Paul there (1^3, cf. Ac 23^1 24^{14}; 4^7, cf. Ac 20^{24}), but they are not close enough to be extracts; and if they need any explanation, it is very possible that St. Luke was preparing the Acts at this time.

iv. SITUATION IMPLIED AT EPHESUS (?). — (*a*) *False Teachers.*—The warning against false teachers is less prominent than in 1 Tim. or Titus: they are in the background, and their features are seen with less distinctness; yet, so far as they can be descried, they may be identified as the same as there. Their chief characteristic is to 'strive about words' (2^{14}), to indulge in 'profane babblings' (2^{16}), in 'foolish and ignorant questionings' (2^{23}), in 'fables' (4^4): they are 'corrupted in mind' (3^8), unspiritual (2^{16}), tending to a low standard of morality (2^{19}): attracting silly women by professions of knowledge, yet unable to satisfy their desire for it ($3^{6.7}$). These tendencies will increase hereafter (3^1 ἐν ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις, perhaps an application of some previous prophecy; perhaps little more than 'hereafter,' cf. Pr 31^{25}), but within Timothy's own lifetime (3^5 ἀποτρέπου, 4^{3-5}). In all these points they resemble the teachers of 1 Tim. and Titus. There are, however, two distinctive traits. (1) They are γόητες (3^{13}), *i.e.* either, loosely, 'seducers' (AV), 'impostors' (RV): or, more exactly, 'magicians,' 'jugglers,' carrying on, even in their professed Christianity, the old Jewish sorcery or the magical formulæ of the 'Ephesian letters,' akin to Simon Magus, Elymas, the sons of Sceva, or those who practised 'curious arts' at Ephesus. The analogy of Jannes and Jambres (3^8) makes it probable that the more exact sense is right.

(2) Two of them, Hymenæus and Philetus, taught definitely that 'the resurrection is already past.' Such an assertion must have sprung from a low view of matter, shrinking from belief in a literal resurrection of the body, and *either* (*a*) asserting that the only resurrection is the resurrection of the spirit to newness of life in baptism—a view which springs from the same source as the difficulties about the resurrection in 1 Co 15, and may have been based on a misrepresentation of St. Paul's own teaching (Ro 6^4), and which was a common tenet in Gnostic teaching (cf. Iren. i. 23, ii. 31; Tert. *de Resurr.* 19, *de Præscript.* 3; Justin, *Dial.* 80; Polyc. c. 7; 2 Clem. Rom. 9), but would also find sympathy in Jewish thought; *or* (*b*) asserting that a man only rose and lived again in his posterity, an explanation which is found in *Acta Theclæ* 14, ἡμεῖς σε διδάξομεν ἣν λέγει οὗτος ἀνάστασιν γίγνεσθαι ὅτι ἤδη γέγονεν, ἐφ' οἷς ἔχομεν τέκνοις—a view which would be akin to earlier Jewish thought, but is a less natural perversion of any Christian theory (see Zahn, *Einl.* i. p. 486).

There is, then, nothing to dissociate the teachers of this Epistle from those of 1 Tim. and Tit.; and the importance laid on the true spiritual purposes of the OT, as well as the *ad hominem* appeal to the Jewish Haggada ($3^{8.9}$), make it probable that they were perverting the spiritual value of the OT by the introduction of worthless Rabbinic legends and speculations.

(*b*) *Church Organization.*—On this there is little stress and few details of it. Timothy represents St. Paul; he is to uphold the deposit, the teaching received from Paul, Paul's gospel ($1^{12.13}$ $2^{2.8}$ $3^{10.14}$); he is to guide the teaching of others ($2^{14ff.}$), to exercise discipline (4^2). He has received a spiritual qualification for his task conferred by the imposition of St. Paul's hands (1^6, but see 1 TIMOTHY): his task is described as a διακονία, he himself as an εὐαγγελιστής: he is being summoned away for a special visit to St. Paul, but it seems to be assumed that he will return (3^{1-6} 4^{3-5}). Meanwhile he is to secure a sure succession for St. Paul's teaching by entrusting it to others, who will be able to hand it on in their turn to others (2^2). The suggestion of this Epistle, in contrast to that of 1 Tim., is distinctly against the idea that Timothy was a temporary delegate, and favours the theory that he held a permanent office and a permanent localisation of the office.

v. AUTHORSHIP.—The external evidence for the Pauline authorship is much the same as that for 1 Timothy, save that the allusions to its language in writers of the first quarter of the 2nd cent. are less unequivocal. It was possibly known by Ignatius, more probably by Polycarp (c. 5 = 2^{12}, c. 9 = 4^{10}), but the conscious borrowing from the Epistle is not certain in either writer. This difference may be due to the fact that it is a more private letter than 1 Timothy.

On the other hand, the intrinsic evidence of genuineness is much stronger than in 1 Tim. or in Titus. Positively, there are personal touches throughout; negatively, there is less to be urged against the genuineness. The picture of Timothy as young, timid, affectionate, is of a piece with what is known of him elsewhere: the allusions in 1^{15-18} 2^{18} $4^{10-16.19-21}$ bear the stamp of truth, giving a picture of desertion and cowardice in some Christians which could scarcely have been invented, and they are independent of the Acts and of all other known sources. So with regard to the writer; in character—the affection for his fellow-workers, the gratitude for kindness, the sensitiveness to desertion (cf. 2 Cor.), the prayer for those who have deserted him, the sense of the importance of his own mission, the appeal to his own teaching and his own sufferings, the self-sacrifice for the elect's sake, the assurance of the Lord's protection and of the reward which he shall receive at the last day; in method of teaching—the loyalty to Judaism (1^3 = Ph 3^5), the value attached to the OT ($3^{16.17}$, cf. Ro 15^4), the use of Jewish traditions (4^8), the masculine contempt for trivialities of argument (2^{16}); in the substance of the doctrines taught—the stress on God's purpose and grace, on the conquest of death, on the risen Christ as the inspirer of confidence, on the need of suffering and of courage, on the moral tests of faith,—all these point clearly to St. Paul. There is no objection, on the side of Church organization or of the doctrines assailed, to be raised against his authorship. The slight distrust of Timothy's courage and conduct (1^6 2^{22}) may surprise us, but they would be more surprising in a forger: the repetition to him of the names of his mother and grandmother (1^5) are indeed unnecessary, but very natural in an old man recalling

his old converts; the assertion of his apostleship (1^{11}) is natural to one who is enforcing the duty of loyal adherence to his teaching: the vague generalities about the false teaching and the absence of controversial argument in refutation of them are natural in writing to one who knew all the circumstances. The reference to the persecutions in Antioch, Iconium, and Lystra *only* (3^{11}), is explicable, as they were the first which Timothy had witnessed, and is very like that in 2 Co $11^{32.33}$. The only ground of suspicion lies in the style—partly in the large number of ἅπαξ λεγόμενα (44 in this Epistle alone: ἀθλεῖν, ἀκαίρως, ἀκρατής, ἀναζωπυρεῖν, ἀνάλυσις, ἀνανήφειν, ἀναψύχειν, ἀνεξίκακος, ἀνεπαίσχυντος, ἀνήμερος, ἀντιδιατίθεσθαι, ἀπαίδευτος, ἀποτρέπεσθαι, ἄρτιος, ἀφιλάγαθος, βέλτιον, γάγγραινα, γόης, γυναικάριον, δειλία, ἔκδηλος, ἐλεγμός, ἐνδύνειν, ἐπανόρθωσις, ἐπισωρεύειν, θεόπνευστος, καταφθείρειν, κνήθειν, λογομαχεῖν, μάμμη, μέμβρανα, νεωτερικός, ὀρθοτομεῖν, πιστοῦσθαι, πραγματία, στρατολογεῖν, συνκακοπαθεῖν, σωφρονισμός, φελόνης, φίλαυτος, φιλήδονος, φιλόθεος, χαλκεύς, χρήσιμος, no one of which, however, suggests a later date), and more definitely, in the many words or phrases—either Latinisms (χάριν ἔχω, δι' ἣν αἰτίαν) or half-stereotyped formulæ (καθαρὰ συνείδησις, καθαρὰ καρδία, ἐπίγνωσις ἀληθείας, παραθήκη, ὑγιαίνοντες λόγοι, ἡ ὑγιαίνουσα διδασκαλία, πιστὸς ὁ λόγος, βεβήλοι κενοφωνίαι, ἡ τοῦ διαβόλου παγίς, ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ ἄνθρωπος, ὁ νῦν αἰών)—which suggest a different writer at a rather later stage of Christianity. With regard to these the suggestions urged on 1 Tim. will hold good, and it will perhaps be felt that, if they stood alone, they would not be so striking as when placed side by side with 1 Tim. and Titus. They would be scarcely a serious objection to this Epistle, on the hypothesis that those were later imitations of this.

The difficulty of inserting the historical situation in the time covered by the Acts, or of placing the date of the Epistle in the first Roman imprisonment, seems insuperable, and, if it is genuine, it presupposes a later imprisonment (cf. 1 TIMOTHY).

vi. INTEGRITY. — The MSS supply no hint of interpolation or of 'contamination' in the Epistle, neither does any internal necessity require such an hypothesis. But there are certain facts which have not unnaturally raised doubts about the integrity. Thus (1) the Epistle varies between two main purposes, and there is a possibility of contradiction between them. The greater part is an instruction to Timothy about his teaching at Ephesus, and it seems to be assumed that he will remain there; the latter part summons him to leave and join the writer. These two purposes are obviously capable of being combined, and the appeals in chs. 1 and 2 may naturally be interpreted 'show courage by coming to join me in my prison,' 'entrust your teaching to others in your own absence or in the prospect of your own death'; but this is not said, as might have been expected in the face of 4^{9}.

(2) Again, sections of the Epistle are personal and distinctly Pauline throughout; while others (2^{14}–3^{9}) consist of vague generalities, consistent with Pauline authorship, but not demanding it.

(3) There are some apparent contradictions, *e.g.* 3^{6} as contrasted with 2^{17} (but they are not necessarily spoken of the same persons, and, while 3^{6} refers to external success, 2^{17} refers mainly to internal degeneracy): again, 4^{11} as contrasted with 4^{21} (but Luke may have been St. Paul's only attendant in prison, Eubulus and the others Roman Christians who had access to him from outside).

(4) The construction of the opening sentence is difficult, and has suggested that it has been carelessly reconstructed from some earlier form; but its difficulty does not go beyond that of many Pauline paragraphs. Again, $1^{15\text{-}18}$ is easily separable from the surrounding context, and its connexion with it is not at first sight obvious: yet there is a real connexion (see the analysis), and the difficulty of its position will remain on any theory of construction.

These facts have given rise to attempts of two kinds to resolve the Epistle into separate parts.

(1) It consists of two, or possibly more, letters by St. Paul himself, which have been accidentally combined. In this case 1^{1}–4^{8} with, perhaps, $4^{19\text{-}21}$ and ^{22b} might form one letter, written from the Roman imprisonment, and $4^{9\text{-}18}$ with 4^{22a} will be a second letter, perhaps written earlier, at the time of the imprisonment in Cæsarea (Clemen), or even later in the Roman imprisonment. This theory meets many difficulties, would imply very little dislocation of MSS, and very possibly has an analogy in the end of the Epistle to the Romans.

(2) It consists of genuine fragments of Pauline letters, worked up into one whole by some later writer, say of the time of Domitian (Clemen), with the object of strengthening Christians in the face of persecution, and securing the tradition of apostolic doctrine against innovating tendencies. We might then have (*a*) $4^{9\text{-}15.\ 19\text{-}21.\ 22a}$ a short letter, calling Timothy to rejoin him, written at some time in the third missionary journey (McGiffert, Bartlet); (*b*) 1^{1}–2^{13} 3^{10}–4^{8} and $4^{16\text{-}18}$ a letter of encouragement to Timothy, written at the end of the Roman imprisonment; (*c*) 2^{14}–3^{9} the addition of the ultimate redactor. Further and more detailed suggestions of the possibility of reconstruction will be found in Clemen (*Die Einheitlichkeit der Paul. Briefe*, pp. 142–156); McGiffert (*The Apostolic Age*, pp. 404–414); Moffatt (*The Historical New Testament*, pp. 700–704). But there is no sufficient reason for treating any part of the Epistle as un-Pauline: the theories of interweaving of document with document are too intricate to be probable, and no one theory has commanded anything like a common assent. Jülicher (*Einleitung*^{3}, pp. 155, 156) entirely rejects the theory, because of the unity of each of the Pastoral Epistles, and regards them throughout as purely inventions attributed to the apostle.

vii. VALUE.—The importance of the Epistle is not great on doctrinal or ecclesiastical grounds: doctrinally, indeed, it adds the fullest statement of the inspiration of the OT and of its primary value to a Christian teacher that is to be found in the NT: it probably bears witness to the practice of prayer to God for mercy to the dead (1^{18}), and it shows the power of the Christian doctrine of a Risen Christ to support a Christian in the face of death: ecclesiastically, it shows the value attached to the imposition of the apostle's hands, and to a succession of ministers as a means of securing the tradition of sound teaching; but none of these points are peculiar to this Epistle. Its real value is historical and personal. Assuming the Pauline authorship, it is the chief source of evidence for Paul's life after the close of the Acts, supporting the theory of a second imprisonment, giving details of the last trial, implying further missionary work to the east, and possibly to the west (4^{10}) of Rome, testifying to his reconciliation with John Mark, and giving glimpses of some of his friends, who are not known to us from other sources. On the non-Pauline authorship, its witness to these historic facts may be trusted, and it would also be a witness to the tone of ecclesiastical thought in Pauline Churches at the end of the 1st or beginning of the 2nd cent. But its main interest is one of character, and two portraits emerge from it. (1) The portrait of the ideal Christian minister. He is, like Christ Himself, to reproduce the features of Isaiah's ideal of 'The

Servant of the Lord,' patient, gentle, hopeful, interceding (2^{24}): he is to be God's man, His loyal liegeman (3^{17}); like a soldier, unentangled with civil duties (2^{14}); like an athlete, obeying loyally the rules of the contest (2^{5}); like a husbandman, toiling hard, and, if so, earning his reward (2^{6}); like a tradesman, honestly cutting out his goods (2^{15} ?); like a fisherman, trying to catch back those who have been caught by the devil (2^{26} ?): he needs courage, gentleness in face of opposition, willingness to face suffering, hopefulness for those who have gone wrong: he is to be serviceable (εὔχρηστος, 4^{11}), thoroughly equipped for every good work (3^{17}), to keep himself free from moral evil (2^{22}), to rekindle the grace given by ordination, remembering that it was the gift of a spirit of love and power and discipline (1^{7}). In teaching, he is to avoid idle speculations and restless innovations, to be loyal to the truth, to be long-suffering and yet bold in rebuke; the remembrance of the Risen Christ is to be ever before him; and he is to take for his standard of life and teaching (*a*) the facts of the apostle's life (3^{10}), (*b*) the outline of the apostle's teaching, (*c*) the OT Scriptures, which are not only able to make him wise unto salvation, but also to guide him in his discipline of others.

(2) The portrait of the Christian minister, with his work done, facing death (cf. 1 John and 2 Peter). He acquiesces gladly in the present, but his eyes are turned mainly to the past or to the future. He recalls the way in which he from his youth, and his ancestors before him, have worshipped God (1^{3}): he dwells on God's power ($1^{7.\ 8.\ 12}$ 2^{1} 4^{17}) as having protected him in all past dangers (3^{11}), as communicated to himself (4^{17}), and yet independent of himself—God may imprison His preachers, but His word is never fettered (2^{9}): he reviews his whole course, he has no doubt of his reward; and so he looks into the future, he anticipates the false teaching that will arise (3^{1}), he warns against it, he provides for a succession of teachers to whom the truth can be entrusted (2^{2}): he strengthens his favourite son for his task: he is sure that God will protect him from every evil work that may meet him in this life, and he looks beyond the grave: he sees God's sure foundation firmly standing (2^{19}): he sees God protecting the teaching which he has handed back to His care (1^{12}): he sees God rewarding evil-doers according to their work (4^{14}): he sees the heavenly kingdom, eternal glory, life and immortality; he sees the coming in brightness (ἐπιφανεια) of the Righteous Judge, and the crown of righteousness given to him and to all who have loved that coming (4^{8}).

The Epistle is the letter of a good shepherd who is laying down his life for his sheep to one whom he is training to be also a good shepherd and to lay down his life for his sheep, and is inspired by the remembrance of 'the Good Shepherd' who had laid down His life and risen from the grave.

LITERATURE.—For the literature cf. 1 Timothy and Titus.

W. LOCK.

TIN (בְּדִיל *bĕdhîl*) was known as an alloy with copper at least as early as 1600 B.C. in Egypt, and probably before 2000 B.C. in Europe. It was also prepared pure in Egypt at least by 1400 B.C. The source of it is much debated. Banca, Spain, and Britain have all been proposed. That it appears as an alloy earlier in Europe than in Egypt shows that it was European; and the nearest source of it to the early bronze lands of Europe is in the tin mines of Bohemia and Saxony. Tin (Gr. κασσίτερος) in the literal sense is mentioned in Nu 31^{22} (P) along with brass, iron, and lead, and along with the same metals is used fig. of Israel in Ezk 22^{18} (cf. v.^{20}); and it appears in Ezk 27^{12} along with silver, iron, and lead, as an article of commerce brought to Tyre from Tarshish. In Is 1^{25} 'alloy' would be a better rendering than 'tin.' In Zec 4^{10} הָאֶבֶן הַבְּדִיל = *plummet*. See further under MINES, MINING.

W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE.

TIPHSAH (תִּפְסַח = 'the ford').—The name of two places.

1. (Θαψά; *Thaphsa*) The northern limit of Solomon's dominions west of the Euphrates—the southern limit being Gaza (1 K 4^{24}). It is identified by nearly all commentators with Thapsacus, on the right bank of the Euphrates, above the confluence of the *Belik*. Tiphsah was the lowest ford across the Euphrates, and the point at which Cyrus the younger forded the river, the water being breast-high (Xen. *Anab.* I. iv. 11). At the same place Darius crossed before and after Issus, and Alexander crossed in pursuit, on two bridges (Arrian, iii. 7). Tiphsah was the most important crossing-place in the middle course of the Euphrates, and on one of the great commercial routes between the East and the West. In the time of Xenophon it was great and prosperous, and it is mentioned later as the point at which river-borne goods from the lower Euphrates were landed and shipped. Under the Seleucids it was called *Amphipolis*. The town was at or near *Kala't Dibse*, about eight miles below *Meskine* (Peters, *Nippur*).

2. (B Θερσά, A Θαιρά [*i.e.* תִּרְצָה Tirzah]; *Thapsa*) A town, apparently near Tirzah, which was taken by Menahem after he had dispossessed Shallum and seized the throne (2 K 15^{16}). Josephus (*Ant.* IX. xi. 1) writes the name Θαψά as if it were Thapsacus. Thenius suggests that the name was originally written *Tappuah* (cf. Luc. Ταφωέ). The site is unknown.

C. W. WILSON.

TIRAS (תִּירָס; Θειράς, Luc. Θιράς). — A son of Japheth, Gn 10^{2} [P], 1 Ch 1^{5}. Ethnologically, the name should probably be identified with the *Turusha*, a seafaring people mentioned in the Egyptian inscriptions of the 13th cent., the Τυρσηνοί of the Greeks (so Ed. Meyer [*Gesch. d. Alterthums*, i. 260], followed by Dillm., Holzinger, Gunkel, *et al.*). Jensen (*Theol. Ltztg.* 1899, 3, col. 70) makes it = Tarsus; W. Max Müller (*Orient. Ltztg.* Aug. 1900, col. 290) takes it as a doublet of Tarshish of v.^{4}, which he identifies with Turs, *i.e.* the land of the Tyrrhenians or Italy. There are the strongest objections to the view of Josephus (*Ant.* I. vi. 1), Jerome (on Gn 10^{2}), and the Targg., that *Tîraṣ* = the Thracians.

J. A. SELBIE.

TIRATHITES (תִּרְעָתִים; BA'Αργαθιείμ, Luc. Θαραθεί). —A family of scribes that dwelt at Jabez, 1 Ch 2^{55}. The passage is very obscure. See SHIMEATHITES, and cf. GENEALOGY, vol. ii. p. 128^{a}, and Wellh. *de Gentibus*, 30 ff.

TIRE.—The Eng. word 'tire,' which occurs as a subst. = headdress in Is 3^{18}, Ezk $24^{17.\ 23}$, Jth 10^{3} 16^{8}, is simply an aphetic form of 'attire'; it has nothing to do with 'tier' or 'tiara,' though its special application to the dress for the *head* is perhaps due to such a fanciful connexion. Cf. Adams, *II Peter*, 70, 'They metamorphose their heads, as if they were ashamed of the head of God's making, proud of the tire-woman's. Sometimes one tire is half the husband's rent-day'; also Spenser, *FQ* II. ix. 19—

> 'Her yellow golden heare
> Was trimly woven, and in tresses wrought,
> No other tire she on her head did weare,
> But crowned with a garland of sweete rosiere.'

The verb 'to tire' is used more generally = dress, adorn, as 1 P 3^{5} Tind., 'For after this maner in the olde tyme dyd the holy wemen which trusted in God, tyer them selves, and were obedient to their

husbandes'; though its only occurrence in AV has the sense of attiring the head, 2 K 9[30] 'And she painted her face, and tired her head, and looked out at a window.' The Heb. verb in this last passage is הֵיטִיב, lit. *to make a thing good, right, beautiful* (LXX ἀγαθύνειν); cf. its use in Ex 30[7] (of trimming a lamp) and Hos 10[1] (of erecting goodly *mazzēbahs*). The nouns rendered 'tire' are—**1.** פְּאֵר Ezk 24[17. 23]. This word prob. denotes a *tiara* or *turban* of an ornate character. Its other occurrences are Ex 39[28], Ezk 44[18] (both of the headdress of the priests), Is 3[20] (worn by fashionable ladies) 61[3. 10] (in the last the bridegroom 'makes his headdress priestly,' in allusion to the splendour of, or the special way of folding, the priestly turban [unless, with Marti, *et al.*, we read יְכִין for יְכַהֵן]). **2.** שְׁבָרִים Is 3[18]. See CRESCENTS. **3.** *μίτρα*, Jth 10[3] 16[8].

J. HASTINGS.

TIRHAKAH (תִּרְהָקָה), king of Cush (Θαρά [so B in 2 Kings; A Θαρακά, which is read also by B in Isaiah; Luc. Θαρθάκ] *βασιλεὺς Αἰθιόπων*), marched out from Egypt against Sennacherib during the expedition of the latter against Judæa, in the reign of Ḥezekiah (2 K 19[9], Is 37[9]), immediately before the destruction of Sennacherib's army in the night by the angel of the Lord at Libnah. Herodotus (ii. 141) relates that Sethos or Sethon, king of Egypt and priest of Hephæstus, obtained the destruction of the army of Sennacherib from his god, who at night-time sent a host of field mice into the invaders' camp at Pelusium. The mice devoured the bow-strings and harness, and left the foe helpless. 'Sethon' seems to be simply the title of the priest of 'Hephæstus,' *i.e.* Ptah of Memphis (see Griffith, *Stories of the High Priests of Memphis*, p. 8), and this title is hardly compatible with that of king. If Sennacherib's expedition be that of B.C. 701,—the only expedition to these parts recorded in his annals (see art. SENNACHERIB),—it must have taken place before the reign of Tirhaḳah, which began in 691. This evidence combined points to the following hypothetical reconstruction of the episode: Tirhaḳah, before his elevation to the Ethiopian-Egyptian throne, was governor of Lower Egypt; and at its capital, Memphis, he was high priest of Ptah when Sennacherib threatened invasion (Griffith, *l.c.* p. 10). After some signal and unexpected disaster on the frontier of Palestine or Egypt, Sennacherib was compelled to retreat hastily.

To return to facts: Sennacherib died in B.C. 682. Tirhaḳah (Egyp. THRQ), who was the last king but one of the 25th (Ethiopian) Dynasty,—founded by Shabaka,—began to reign in 691. His monuments are found at Gebel Barkal in Nubia, as well as throughout Egypt. In Egyptian documents Tirhaḳah is entitled 'Pharaoh'; but, though probably long resident in Egypt before ascending the throne (Schaefer, *Aegyp. Ztschr.* 1900, 51), he was essentially an Ethiopian, and was for some time excluded from Egypt by the Assyrians. Outside Egypt, doubtless, he was known as 'king of Cush.' After sustaining several attacks, Taharqa (Assyr. Tarḳū) was driven out of Egypt in 670 by Esarhaddon, who plundered Memphis and Thebes, and divided the government among 20 rulers—chiefly native—tributary to Assyria. This arrangement was of short duration. Tirhakah seems to have returned to Egypt after Esarhaddon had withdrawn, and Esarhaddon was on his way to punish the Egyptian revolt when he died in Nov. 669 (Johns in *Enc. Bibl. s.v.* 'Esarhaddon'). The first expedition of his successor, Assurbanipal, was against Egypt. It was on a great scale, and overwhelmed both Lower and Upper Egypt. Tirhaḳah fled from Memphis to Thebes, and from Thebes to Ethiopia, whence he at once commenced intriguing with the princes of the Delta. The plot was frustrated, and soon afterwards Tirhaḳah died. He was succeeded by Tanut-Amon (Assyr. Tandamane), who recovered Egypt, but was driven out by Assurbanipal in the last Assyrian expedition ever made against that country.

F. LL. GRIFFITH.

TIRHANAH (תִּרְחָנָה; B Θαράμ, A Θαρχνά, Luc. Θαραανά). — A son of Caleb by his concubine, Maacah, 1 Ch 2[48].

TIRIA (תִּירְיָא, but Baer תִּרְיָא; B om., A Θηριά, Luc. Ἐθριά).—A son of Jehallelel, 1 Ch 4[16].

TIRSHATHA (הַתִּרְשָׁתָא).—The word occurs in five places; the LXX omits it altogether in Neh 8[9] 10[1]; reads on the doubtful authority of a late corrector Ἀθαρσαθά in Neh 7[70]; and in Ezr 2[63], Neh 7[65] fluctuates between A Ἀθερσαθά, B Ἀθερσαά, and Ἀσερσαθά. The term occurs also under the disguised form of Attharias in 1 Es 5[40] and of Attharates in 1 Es 9[49] (cf. vol. i. p. 203). That the word is the name of an office, is indicated by the constant presence of the article; but Ewald's (*HI*, Eng. tr. v. 87) conjecture of the high-shrievalty is not happy. The word is genuine Persian, a modified form of a hypothetical Old Pers. *tarsāta* (cf. J. Scheftelowitz, *Arisches im AT*, p. 93), of which 'his reverence' in its literal sense and not in its ecclesiastical usage may be taken as a close modern equivalent. In Neh 12[26] and elsewhere, for the Persian term is substituted the Semitic הַפֶּחָה (see GOVERNOR), which is the title of the prefect or viceroy, with both civil and military functions, of a province or smaller district under either Assyrian or Persian rule. The appointment was made directly by the king; and when for any reason such an official was sent on special service, his relation to the chief of the province was not always clearly defined, and friction and jealousy followed (Ezr 5[3] to 6[14]). The title is derived from the Assyrian *paḫû*, through the Babylonian *paḫat* (see Delitzsch, *Heb. Lang. in Light of Assyr. Research*, pp. 12, 13; Schrader, *COT* i. 175, 176), and is neither post-exilic nor Persian in its origin. Its use dates from the time of Jeremiah, and continued into the Talmudic period, when the term was used as equivalent to ἀρχιερεῖς (*Bikkurim*, iii. 3). On the whole the Tirshatha appears to have been a royal commissioner or plenipotentiary, invested with the full powers of a satrap or viceroy, and employed on a special mission with the accomplishment of which his appointment ceased.

R. W. MOSS.

TIRZAH (תִּרְצָה, Θερσά).—**1.** Mentioned Jos 12[24] as one of the 31 places whose kings Joshua smote. Tirzah afterwards became the capital of Jeroboam I., presumably of his son Nadab, and certainly of the three adventurers, Baasha, Elah, and Zimri (1 K 14[17] 15[21. 33] 16[6. 8. 9. 15]). In 1 K 14[17] the reading of the LXX (A) is Σαριρά, *i.e. Zereda*, Jeroboam's birthplace. Baasha was buried at Tirzah (1 K 16[9]), probably Elah also, as it was there he was slain while drinking in the house of one of his officers (v.[9f.]). The Omrides transferred the seat of government to Samaria (vv.[24. 29]), but Tirzah retained its importance probably as a fortress, as it was there [if MT be correct, but cf. LXX and Buhl, p. 247] that Menaḥem gathered a force to attack Shallum (2 K 15[14]). After this Tirzah drops out of history.

In Ca 6[4] the Shulammite is declared to be beautiful as Tirzah, comely as Jerusalem. The Heb. custom of personifying cities as women robs this comparison of the strangeness it would else have for us. It may be the glory and prestige of the capital that led to the simile, quite as much as the circumstance that Tirzah had a reputation for beauty, or that it occupied a site renowned for its loveliness.*

* Neither LXX nor Vulgate take Tirzah here as a proper name. A derivation from רָצָה, *to delight*, is implied in their renderings (εὐδοκία, *suavis*).

The site of Tirzah has not yet been recovered beyond doubt. *Teiasir*, a fortress on the high road from Shechem to Bethshan at its junction with the Abel-meholah road (see G. A. Smith, *HGHL* 355), seems too far north to suit 2 K 15[14], and generally farther north than Jeroboam would be likely to fix his home. Robinson (*BRP*[2] iii. 302 f.) suggests the identification of Tirzah with *Tulluzah*, a town on a hill not far north of Mt. Ebal, which agrees with the position assigned to *Thersa* by Brocardus (*Descriptio*, vii.), 3 leagues east of Samaria. A. Socin in Baedeker's *Pal. and Syr.* accepts this identification; but Buhl (*GAP* 203) is inclined to identify Tirzah with the modern *eṭ-Ṭîre*, the Tirathana of Jos. (*Ant.* XVIII. iv. 1) in the neighbourhood of Gerizim.

2. One of the five daughters of Zelophehad whose case decided woman's rights in property among the Jews. The order of their names (Nu 26[33] 27[1] 36[11], Jos 17[3], all P) differs in 36[11] from that of the other lists, and Heb. and LXX do not agree.

A. S. AGLEN.

TISHBITE.—See ELIJAH, vol. i. p. 687; and cf. Ed. König in *Expos. Times*, xii. (1901) 383.

TISHRI (Month).—See TIME.

TITANS.—A Greek word (T(ε)ιτᾶνες), mythological in its history and meaning, used in the LXX in translating the term 'valley of Rephaim' in 2 S 5[18. 22]. It is also used in Judith (16[7]), in the encomium upon the heroine—

> 'For their mighty one fell not by young men,
> Neither did sons of Titans smite him,
> Nor tall giants set upon him;
> But Judith,' etc.

These passages are principally interesting as showing how the Hellenistic Jews who translated the OT, and who wrote Judith, connected in thought the *rĕphā'îm* of their scriptures with the dim and mighty figures of the Greek mythological legends. See REPHAIM, GIANT.

W. J. BEECHER.

TITHE (מַעֲשֵׂר, δεκάτη).—The payment of tithe is a practice both ancient and widespread, being found among many peoples, Semitic and non-Semitic. The choice of a tenth as the portion due to God was dictated by obvious considerations. The history of the tithe in Israel is in many respects obscure. In the strange, and probably late, document, Gn 14, we read that Abraham paid tithes of the spoil to Melchizedek; and Jacob at Bethel makes a conditional vow to pay God a tenth of all that He gives to him (Gn 28[22] E). But these narratives cannot be taken as evidence for patriarchal times. The latter is one of several which carry back the practice of the narrator's own time to an origin in the patriarchal age, and is illustrated by Am 4[4], which shows that tithes were paid at some of the N. Isr. sanctuaries in the reign of Jeroboam II. (see Driver, *ad loc.*). It is accordingly remarkable that no reference is make to tithes in the Bk of the Covenant. This is usually explained on the theory that the tithes were originally identical with the first-fruits, and that the need of more strictly defining the amount that should be paid, led, in the later legislation, to the use of the term which had already been employed in the N. Isr. sanctuaries. W. R. Smith, on the contrary, thinks that the tithe was a fixed tribute, comparatively modern in its origin. At an earlier period the tribute took the form of first-fruits, which were a private offering. When this was no longer adequate to meet the expenses of a more elaborate cultus, the tithe was charged as a fixed burden on land. We know from 1 S 8[15] that a tithe was paid to the king, and, if he devoted this to the support of the royal sanctuaries, the transition to a tithe paid by the farmers directly to the sanctuaries is readily accounted for. Unlike the first-fruits, the tithe was used to provide the public banquets at sacred festivals (see W. R. Smith, *RS*[2] 245–254). The later legislation and practice were as follows:—

(*a*) *In Deuteronomy.*—In 14[22-27] it is enacted that each year the produce of the soil should be tithed, and the tithe taken to the central sanctuary and there eaten; or, if this be inconvenient by reason of distance, it may be turned into money, which must be spent on a sacrificial banquet at the central sanctuary. To this the Levite, since he has no portion, is to be invited. It must be noticed that the tithe is not used for public feasting, but is to be consumed by the farmer and his household. This regulation may be a reform due to the fact that in earlier times the ruling classes, while not furnishing the provisions for the feast, secured the best for themselves. Further, the tithe is not used for the support of the priesthood or the temple services. The Levite has a moral claim to a share in the banquet, but it rests with the farmer himself whether this is recognized. In the following verses (14[28. 29]) and in 26[12-15] it is enacted that every third year, called the year of tithing, all the tithe shall be laid up in the towns and distributed to the Levite, the stranger, the fatherless, and the widow. It is generally agreed that Deuteronomy does not contemplate two tithes,—one to be consumed each year, including the third, at the central sanctuary, and the other to be levied for charity every third year,—but rather a different destination for the same tithe, so that in the third year it shall be kept at home and devoted exclusively to charity. The origin of this regulation is perhaps to be found in the abolition of the old public banquets, and consequent necessity that some other provision should be made for the poor. Since there would be no tithe in the Sabbatical year, when the land lay fallow, the year of tithing would probably coincide with the third and sixth years in each cycle of seven years. The question remains whether the tithe in Deuteronomy is to be identified with the first-fruits. In favour of this view it may be urged that it is not probable that a double tribute should be exacted from the crops, and that the close connexion of the law of first-fruits with that of tithes in Dt 26[1-15] shows that the two are really identical. The basket of first-fruits presented to the priest must be assumed in that case to be a portion of the first-fruits taken from the tithe. The command to 'rejoice in all the good which J" thy God hath given unto thee,' implies that a feast followed the presentation of the basket of first-fruits, and this would correspond to the banquet on the tithe enjoined 14[22-27]. The introduction of the term 'tithe' will then have been due to the necessity of fixing with precision the amount of the first-fruits. On the other hand, 18[4] ordains that the first-fruits shall be given to the priest, but this was certainly not the case with the tithe. And the feast referred to in 26[11] may not have been a feast on the first-fruits. It is difficult to decide between the two views, but it seems safer on account of 18[4] (which would otherwise have to be regarded as probably later) to distinguish between the tithe and the first-fruits. The objection based on the improbability that a double tribute would be exacted, falls to the ground if the first-fruits consisted merely of the basket of fruit, etc., presented at the central sanctuary.

(*b*) *In the Priestly Code* (P).—In the legislation of Ezekiel, which forms the transition to P, there is no law as to tithes. P exhibits a great advance on the earlier regulations. According to Nu 18[21] 'all the tithe in Israel' is given to the tribe of Levi 'for an inheritance.' The Levites are in their turn to give a tenth of this ('a tithe of the tithe')

to the priests ('a heave-offering to Aaron the priest,' Nu 18^{26-28}). The origin of this is probably to be sought in an extension of the charity tithe enjoined in Deuteronomy, which is now devoted to the Levites exclusively, and used for this purpose, not once in three years, but every year. Lv $27^{30.\ 31}$ ordains that, if the tithe is redeemed, one-fifth of the value shall be added. It is generally agreed that a tithe of cattle is not contemplated, but only of agricultural produce. It is true that in Lv $27^{32.\ 33}$ cattle are included, and rules are given as to the selection, and to prevent any exchange. But this law stands by itself, it is not referred to in Neh $10^{37.\ 38}$ 12^{44} $13^{5.\ 12}$, and is first mentioned 2 Ch $31^{5.\ 6}$. It is probably a later addition inserted between the time of Nehemiah and that of the Chronicler. Attempts have been made to reconcile the regulations of the Priestly Code with those of Deuteronomy. It has been supposed that Deuteronomy refers to a second tithe distinct from that in P and to be levied on the nine-tenths remaining after the tithe to the Levites had been deducted. Against this the following considerations are decisive. No hint is given in Deuteronomy that such a second tithe is spoken of, nor can such an interpretation be fairly put on the passage, for a reference to the assumed first tithe would have been necessary. Nor is it probable that a tax of nearly one-fifth of the whole produce should be imposed on the farmers. Nor is it credible that the Levites should participate in the second tithe because, like the poor and defenceless, they were dependent on charity, if they were in possession of a tithe already made over to them. And, lastly, the language of Nu 18^{21} 'unto the children of Levi, behold, I have given all the tithe in Israel for an inheritance,' utterly excludes any tithe which was devoted, as the Deuteronomic tithe, to other purposes. Here, as elsewhere, the explanation is that the regulations belong to different stages of legislation.

(*c*) *In later Judaism.*—Two tithes were levied—one for the Levites in accordance with the law of P, the other to be consumed by the offerer in accordance with that of D. The tithe was the most valuable part of the income of the Levites. The Mishna laid down this rule: 'Everything which may be used as food, and is cultivated and grows out of the earth, is liable to tithe' (*Maaseroth* i. 1). The Pharisees evinced their scrupulous adherence to the Law by offering tithes of 'mint, anise, and cummin' (Mt 23^{23}). The second tithe was of course consumed by the offerer, and with it the tithe of cattle was usually reckoned, though Philo apparently includes it in the perquisites of the priests. If the second tithe was converted into money, one-fifth of the value had to be added; and the money could be spent only on food, drink, and ointment necessary for the sacrificial feast. The charity tithe (or 'third tithe') was levied for the poor every third year.

LITERATURE.—Nowack, *Heb. Archäol.* ii. 257–259; Wellhausen, *Prolegom.* pp. 156–158; Driver, *Deut.* pp. 166–173; W. R. Smith, *RS*^{2} pp. 245–253; Schürer, *HJP* II. i. 231.

A. S. PEAKE.

TITLE ON CROSS.—It was customary in the Roman empire, when a criminal was going to execution, for a board (called *σανίς*), on which the ground of condemnation (*αἰτία, causa*) was written, to be carried before him or hung round his neck—the inscription being known as *titulus* (Gr. *τίτλος*). Instances of this custom will be found in Suet. *Calig.* 32—'*præcedente titulo qui causam pœnæ indicaret*,' *Domit.* 10; Eusebius, *HE* v. 1 (see Swete, *St. Mark*, p. 359). All four evangelists mention that the custom was observed at the crucifixion of Jesus Christ, though they describe the title as affixed to the cross, without referring to its being carried on the way to Golgotha. They have various styles of indicating it. As usual, St. Mark's description is the fullest. He calls it 'the superscription of his accusation' (*ἡ ἐπιγραφὴ τῆς αἰτίας αὐτοῦ*, Mk 15^{26}); in the First Gospel it is 'his accusation' (*αἰτίαν αὐτοῦ*, Mt 27^{37}); and in the Third it is simply 'a superscription' (*ἐπιγραφή*, Lk 23^{38}). The Fourth Gospel calls it by the technical name (*τίτλος*), and states that it was written in three languages—Hebrew (*i.e.* Aramaic, the language of the Jews of Palestine), Latin (the official language), and Greek (the language current throughout the East), Jn $19^{19.\ 20}$. The four Gospels also vary in their statements of the words of the title, viz.:—

Mk='The king of the Jews' (*ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων*).

Mt='This is Jesus the king of the Jews' (*οὗτός ἐστιν Ἰησοῦς ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων*).

Lk='This is the king of the Jews' (*ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων οὗτος*).

Jn='Jesus of Nazareth the king of the Jews' (*Ἰησοῦς ὁ Ναζωραῖος ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων*).

It is not easy to determine which of these was the original form of words. The instance from the *Letter of the Churches of Vienne and Lyons*, where the martyr's name is given (*οὗτός ἐστιν Ἄτταλος ὁ Χριστιανός*, Eusebius, *HE* v. 1), would suggest (1) that Mt and Lk are right in giving the word '*this*' (*οὗτος*), and (2) that Mt and Jn are right in giving the name—'*Jesus*.' Since Mt is the only Gospel that has both the forms found in the passage cited from Eusebius, the preference seems to lie with the phrase as given in that Gospel. But then we cannot be sure that the same form of words was used in all cases, or that the *Letter of the Churches of Vienne and Lyons* gives it with verbal accuracy. Moreover, it may have been variously phrased in the three languages. The following arrangement has been suggested :—

ישוע הנצרי מלך היהודים

ΟΥΤΟϹ ЄϹΤΙΝ ΙΗϹΟΥϹ Ο ΒΑϹΙΛЄΥϹ ΤΩΝ ΙΟΥΔΑΙΩΝ.

REX JUDAEORUM.

(See Geikie, *Life and Words of Christ*, ch. lxiii. note e).

The variations are quite immaterial. In all four accounts the essential words are the same. The title describes Jesus as 'King of the Jews.' It makes no mention of sedition or usurpation; the phrase is absolute. Plainly, it was a sarcastic expression; but it was perceived at once that the point of the sarcasm was against the Jews rather than against their Victim. This is shown by St. John, who narrates how the chief priests requested Pilate to change the title to 'He said, I am king of the Jews,' and how Pilate haughtily refused to alter what he had written (Jn $19^{21.\ 22}$).

W. F. ADENEY.

TITTLE.—The Eng. word 'tittle' is simply a various spelling of 'title.' One of the uses of 'title' (after Lat. *titulus* in late use, and Fr. *title*) was to denote the stroke above an abridged word. It was thence used for any trifling stroke or mark which distinguished one letter from another, and was chosen by Wyclif and Tindale to translate the Gr. *κεραία* (WH *κερέα*, see vol. ii. App. p. 151) in its only occurrences Mt 5^{18}, Lk 16^{17}. All the Eng. VSS up to and including AV (1611), except the Rhemish, spell the word with one *t*. So Tindale in his address to the Reader, *Pentateuch* (Mombert's Reprint, p. 3), 'For they which in tymes paste were wont to loke on no more scrip-

ture then they founde in their duns or soch like develysh doctryne, have yet now so narowlye loked on my translatyon, that there is not so moch as one I therin if it lacke a tytle over his hed, but they have noted it, and nombre it unto the ignorant people for an heresye.' But, in quoting Mt 5^{18} three pages later, he spells the word 'tittle.'

The Gr. κερέα (lit. 'little horn') was used by grammarians to denote the Gr. accents and any small stroke distinguishing one Heb. letter from another, as ב from כ. On the importance attached to these marks by the Rabbins see Lightfoot on Mt 5^{18} (vol. xi. p. 99 ff.). J. HASTINGS.

TITUS (Τίτος).—A companion of St. Paul, who is always mentioned by him with great affection and confidence, yet whose name appears but on rare occasions in the Epistles and never in the Acts. On account of this silence of the Acts it has been conjectured that Titus is the second name of some one of St. Paul's companions who are mentioned there, and attempts have been made to identify him with Timothy, with Silas, and with Titus (or Titius) Justus (Ac 18^{7}); but none of these conjectures has met with acceptance (cf. Zahn, *Einleitung*, i. pp. 149, 190; Holtzmann, *Pastoralbriefe*, p. 81). The name is Latin, but, as with *Paul*, this proves little: his birthplace is unknown; later legends place it in Crete; St. Chrysostom in Corinth; and the Acts of Thecla (c. 2) speak of him as living with Onesiphorus at Iconium at the time of St. Paul's first visit there. All that can be said for certain is that he was a Gentile (Gal 2^{3}), probably converted by St. Paul himself (γνησίῳ τέκνῳ, Tit 1^{4}), and living at Antioch fourteen years after St. Paul's conversion, when the dispute arose about the circumcision of the Gentiles. At this time Paul took him with him to Jerusalem: there an attempt was made to compel him to be circumcised; St. Paul resisted the compulsion, and probably Titus was never circumcised, though the ambiguity of St. Paul's words leaves it just possible that he was circumcised as a voluntary concession on St. Paul's part (cf. Lightfoot on Gal 2^{1-4}; Hort, *Judaistic Christianity*, pp. 76–83).

Titus remained St. Paul's companion, being perhaps with him when he wrote Galatians [may ὁ σὺν ἐμοί (2^{3}) mean 'who is with me still'? cf. οἱ σὺν ἐμοί of 1^{2}], but not mentioned again until the time of the incidents which caused the writing of 1 and 2 Corinthians. At this time he paid two, if not three, visits to Corinth.—(*a*) In the year before the writing of 2 Cor. (ἀπὸ πέρυσι, 8^{10}) he went at Paul's request (2 Co 12^{18}) with one other brother to Corinth, perhaps carrying 1 Cor. with him, perhaps also authorized to explain the method of the collection for the saints alluded to in 1 Co $16^{1.\ 2}$: at any rate he did organize it, and that on a religious basis (προενήρξατο, 2 Co 8^{6}), and returned to St. Paul with news of the zeal shown in the matter at Corinth.—(*b*) Probably after he had left Corinth there arose some serious opposition to St. Paul there; perhaps Timothy was insulted and set at nought [cf. 2 CORINTHIANS and PAUL], and Titus, who was already known there, was despatched from Ephesus to deal with the crisis, carrying the letter referred to in 2 Co 2 and 7. St. Paul had often boasted to Titus of the loyalty of his Corinthian converts (2 Co 7^{14}); but he was afraid now lest his boast would be proved empty: he waited, restless and anxious for the return of Titus; he expected to meet him at Troas, but Titus did not appear; apparently, the crisis required a longer time than Paul had expected: he moved on to Macedonia; and there Titus arrived, and with good news. The majority of the Corinthian Church had formally punished the offender: they had received Titus with fear and trembling: they had shown regret for their previous conduct, indignation against the offender, enthusiasm for St. Paul: Paul's boast had been justified: Titus had been overjoyed: St. Paul was comforted (2^{14} 7^{11-15}).—(*c*) On the receipt of this news Paul wrote 2 Cor. and requested Titus, who gladly accepted the request, to go, accompanied by two other brethren, on a fresh visit to Corinth and to complete the collection for the saints. Titus was to represent the apostle; the two brethren represented Churches, probably those of Macedonia (8^{23}).

The next reference to Titus is in the letter to him. This implies that St. Paul, after the release from his first Roman imprisonment, had travelled with Titus in the East, that they had landed at Crete and had evangelized several towns (κατὰ πόλιν, 1^{5}), but that St. Paul had been unable to remain longer, and had therefore left Titus behind to appoint presbyters and to complete the organization of the Church. Titus found considerable opposition, especially from the Jews (1^{10}), and much tendency to insubordination, and possibly had written to St. Paul to report this and to ask for his advice (so Zahn, *Einleitung*, i. p. 430). Whether this were so or not, St. Paul wrote a short letter pressing him to complete the organization, to ordain presbyters, to teach sound doctrine and avoid empty disputations, and to exercise his authority firmly. The letter was probably sent by Zenas and Apollos (3^{13}), and Titus was requested to be ready to leave Crete and join St. Paul at Nicopolis as soon as he should receive a further message through Artemas or Tychicus (3^{12}). Probably it was thence that St. Paul despatched him on a mission to Dalmatia (2 Ti 4^{10}).

A comparison of 1 Ti 3^{12} with Tit 2^{15} perhaps suggests that Titus was older than Timothy, and the relations of the two with the difficulties at Corinth imply that he was the stronger man (cf. 1 Co 16^{10} with 2 Co 7^{15}). He volunteers readily for a delicate task (2 Co 8^{17}), is full of affection and enthusiasm for the Corinthians (*ib.* 7^{15}); he is effective, free from all sordid motives, sharing St. Paul's spirit, walking in his steps (12^{18}), his genuine son (Tit 1^{4}), his brother (2 Co 2^{13}), his partner and fellow-helper (8^{23}).

The omission of his name in the Acts is scarcely remarkable when the references in the Epistles are considered: if the incident of Gal 2 is to be identified with that of Ac 15, he is alluded to, without name, in τινας ἄλλους ἐξ αὐτῶν (v.^{2}): the incidents of 1 and 2 Cor. are wholly omitted in the Acts: and those of the Epistle to Titus and of 2 Tim. fall without its scope.

It is interesting to note that Titus, the Gentile, is chiefly employed in missions to the mainly Gentile Church of Corinth: that his principal work there was organizing the collection for the saints, carrying out the injunction to 'remember the poor,' laid upon St. Paul in his presence at Jerusalem (Gal 2^{10}); and that at Crete he finds his chief opponents among those of the circumcision, (Tit 1^{10}).

Subsequent Church historians treated Titus as bishop of Crete and living a celibate life to an old age in the island (Eusebius, *HE* III. iv. 6; *Const. Apost.* vii. 46; pseudo-Ign. *ad Philad.* c. 3; and for fuller details, Lipsius, *Die Apokryph. Apostelgeschichte*, ii. 2, pp. 401–406). An interesting panegyric on him is found in the works of Andrew of Crete (Migne, *Patr. Gr.* vol. 97). His name is given still to churches in Crete: it was appealed to as a battle-cry in the struggles of the Cretans with the Venetians; his body was said to have been retained at Gortyna for many centuries; the head was carried away by the Venetians, and is still preserved at St. Mark's. His death is com-

memorated on Jan. 4 in the Latin Church, on Aug. 25 in the Greek, Syriac, and Maronite Churches (*Acta Sanctorum*, i. pp. 163, 164; Nilles, *Kalendarium Manuale*). W. Lock.

TITUS, EPISTLE TO.—

i. Historical Situation of the Letter.
ii. Analysis.
iii. Literary Dependence.
iv. Situation at Crete: (*a*) false teaching; (*b*) organization.
v. Authorship.
vi. Integrity.
vii. Value.
Literature.

i. Historical Situation.—Paul and Titus had been together in Crete. It is probable that they found the island already evangelized before their arrival (cf. Ac 2^{11}); for by the time this letter is written whole families ($1^{6.\ 11}$), and people of all classes and ages ($2^{1\text{-}10}$), consisting both of Jews and Gentiles (1^{10}), belong to the Church. But the communities were unorganized, and there were false teachers. St. Paul himself began to complete the organization; probably meeting with opposition from the false teachers ($3^{10.\ 11}$), and calling out hearty affection from others ($3^{14.\ 15}$). But for some reason he could not stay to finish his work, and left Titus with definite instructions to complete it (1^{5}). Time elapsed after he left, but apparently only a short time, before this letter was written. St. Paul was moving about with some of his disciples (3^{15}),—perhaps in Macedonia (if we may argue from the likeness to 1 Tim.),—intending to winter at Nicopolis. Possibly he received some communication from Titus, reporting progress at Crete (so Zahn, *Einl.* i. p. 430; but unconvincingly). More likely, he took the opportunity of the fact that Zenas and Apollos were starting on a journey which would take them past Crete to send a letter to Titus in order to prepare him to join him in Nicopolis, and to strengthen him to enforce a high moral standard in Crete, in spite of the dangerous tendencies of the false teachers.

The dates both of the visit to Crete and of the composition of the letter are uncertain. The organization of the Church is so little advanced that it might easily fall within the period covered by the Acts; and it is possible that the visit may be that of Ac 27^{9} (*ἱκανοῦ χρόνου*), and that this letter was written early in the Roman imprisonment (so Bartlet, *Apostolic Age*, p. 182): but Titus is not mentioned as being present at the time of Ac 27, and the surest indication for the date of the letter is its likeness to 1 Tim.; so that probably both the visit and the letter fall after the release from the Roman imprisonment [see 1 Tim.].

ii. Analysis.—

$1^{1\text{-}4}$. Salutation (with special emphasis on the writer's own apostleship and on the common faith).
$1^{5\text{-}3.11}$. Advice to Titus.
A. $1^{5\text{-}16}$. *Need of appointing proper ministers.*
Reminder of Paul's past instructions to appoint presbyters (^{5}).
Importance of high moral character in an overseer ($^{6\text{-}8}$), that he may (*a*) strengthen the sound teaching, (*b*) refute the opponents of it (^{9}).
Description of these opponents, as insubordinate, quibbling, money-making, caring for fables and commandments of men, forgetting the great Christian truth—'All things pure to the pure,'—inconsistent and worthless ($^{10\text{-}16}$).
B. 2^{1}–3^{11}. *Sketch of the true features of the Christian character which Titus is to enforce.*
(*a*) *For Christians among themselves* ($2^{1\text{-}15}$); for the elder men and women, for the younger women and men, for Titus himself, and for slaves,—all are to live a life true to the sound teaching: (1) in order to avoid giving offence to the heathen world around ($^{5.\ 8.\ 10}$); (2) because the saving grace of God and Christ's atonement have trained us to rise above sin, and live an attractive life ($^{11\text{-}14}$).
(*b*) *For Christians in relation to the outer world* ($3^{1\text{-}8}$): (*α*) subordination to authority (^{1}); (*β*) gentleness to all men (^{2}).
Reason—God's loving-kindness to us has raised us from the old heathen life of hatred to a new life of righteousness; so that believers in God are bound to set an example of noble and useful lives ($^{3\text{-}8}$).
(*c*) *For Titus himself.*—He is to avoid foolish questionings (^{9}), and to reject from the Church a 'heretic' who refuses to listen to his admonition ($^{10.\ 11}$).
Personal message about his own movements ($^{12.\ 13}$).
Final word of advice to those who obey him at Crete (^{14}).
Salutation (^{15}).

Like 1 Tim., it is essentially a private letter of instructions, probably never intended to be read aloud in the churches at Crete, though a word of greeting to the whole Church (or possibly only to Titus and his helpers) is added (3^{15}). The main stress is throughout on character, on a useful fruitful life, as the outcome of a wholesome teaching; and (as in 1 Tim.) each section culminates in an important doctrinal statement—1^{15} $2^{11\text{-}14}$ $3^{4\text{-}7}$, the last saying being called 'faithful' (*πιστὸς ὁ λόγος*).

iii. Literary Dependence.—One Christian saying is quoted (*πιστὸς ὁ λόγος*, 3^{8}), and one line of Epimenides (1^{13}). The OT is never appealed to in direct quotation, but its language is consciously used in 1^{14} = Is 29^{13} (cf. Mt 15^{9}, Mk 7^{7}, Col 2^{22}), 2^{5} = Is 52^{5} (cf. Ro 2^{24}, 1 Ti 6^{1}), 2^{14} = Ps 130^{8}, Dt 14^{2}, cf. Ezk 37^{23} (cf. 1 P 2^{9}), 3^{6} = Jl 3^{1} (cf. Ac $2^{17.\ 18}$); all of them passages which belong to the common stock of early Christian writers, and half of which are used in the Pauline Epistles.

Reminiscences of our Lord's teaching may be found in 1^{15} (= Mk 7^{19}, Lk 11^{41}), 3^{5} (= Jn 3^{5}), 3^{10} (= Mt $18^{15\text{-}17}$), but are not such as to imply literary dependence on the written Gospels. The same is true of points of similarity with 1 Peter, which are very slight: $1^{5\text{-}9}$ = 1 P $5^{1\text{-}4}$, 3^{1} = 1 P 2^{13}, $3^{4\text{-}7}$ = 1 P $1^{3\text{-}5}$. (But see Bigg, *International Critical Commentary on 1 and 2 Peter*, p. 21, who would regard 1 Peter as older than and as having influenced this Epistle). There are more verbal points of contact with the earlier Pauline Epistles; cf.

$1^{1\text{-}4}$	with Ro	1^{1}	$16^{25\text{-}27}$.
1^{15}	,,	,,	14^{20}.
2^{14}	,,	Gal	1^{4} (?).
3^{1}	,,	Ro	13^{1}.
3^{3}	,,	Eph	2^{3}, 1 Co $6^{9\text{-}11}$.
3^{5}	,,	,,	2^{8} 5^{26}.

But they all suggest the same mind dealing with the same subject at a different time, rather than a different writer borrowing from literature.

The relation to 1 Tim. and, in a less degree, to 2 Tim. is more complex. As compared with 1 Tim. the purpose is the same, and the structure is the same; the warning against false teachers forming a framework in which the rules about organization and character are inserted; in the same way each section culminates in a doctrinal climax. There is also verbal similarity of a marked type.

Cf. Tit $1^{1\text{-}4}$ with 1 Ti $1^{1.\ 2}$.

,,	$1^{5\text{-}9}$	,,	,, $3^{1\text{-}7}$.
,,	1^{11}	,,	,, 3^{9}, 2 Ti 3^{6}.
,,	$2^{1\text{-}6}$	,,	,, $5^{1.\ 2}$.
,,	2^{7}	,,	,, 4^{12}.
,,	$2^{9.\ 10}$	,,	,, 6^{1}.
,,	2^{14}	,,	,, 2^{6}.
,,	2^{15}	,,	,, 4^{12} 5^{20} 6^{2}.
,,	3^{1}	,,	2 Ti 2^{21} 3^{17}.
,,	3^{5}	,,	,, 1^{9}.
,,	3^{9}	,,	1 Ti 4^{7} 6^{11}, 2 Ti $2^{16.\ 23}$.

In nearly every case there is a freshness of treatment which is against the theory of deliberate borrowing; even in $1^{5\text{-}8}$, the most continuous instance of similarity, there are changes (*e.g.* the omission of *μὴ νεόφυτον*, 1 Ti 3^{6}) which are suitable to the circumstances of a comparatively new Church, and this list of requirements may easily have been drawn up in a written form by St. Paul for frequent use, and be partly indebted to Jewish or Gentile lists of official requirements (cf. 1 Tim.).

The more complex organization and the fuller

details about worship in 1 Tim. apparently favour the priority of Titus; but all the differences may be due to the different circumstances of the two delegates and the two Churches. There is nothing in the letters to make it improbable that they were written on the same day and sent by the same messenger.

The analogy of the relation of Ephesians to Colossians is the nearest in the NT.

iv. SITUATION IMPLIED IN CRETE.—(*a*) *The false teachers* are partly Jews, partly Gentiles; the Jews being the more prominent. They are influential, upsetting whole families (1^{11}), opposing sound teaching (1^{9}), tending to reject the authority of Titus (1^{10} 2^{15} 3^{10}), quibbling, misleading, money-seeking ($1^{10\text{-}12}$), inconsistent in their lives with their professed knowledge of God (1^{16}, but these words do not necessarily apply to the teachers). The substance of their teaching consists of foolish and profitless investigations, genealogies, questions connected with the Law ($3^{9.\ 10}$), Jewish legends, and commands of men (1^{14}), apparently laying stress on the requirements of a Levitical purity (1^{15}). In contrast with 1 Tim., there is in this Epistle no trace of anything akin to 2nd cent. Gnosticism. Each phrase is not only capable of a Jewish explanation, but calls for it as its natural meaning. The question of purity (1^{15}) is on a par with our Lord's treatment of Pharisaism (Mk 7); the confession of a knowledge of God is more naturally attributable to Jews, 1^{16} (cf. Ro 2^{17}), than to Gentiles; and the genealogies and legends will probably be those connected with the patriarchal history (cf. 1 TIMOTHY).

(*b*) *Organization.*—As with Timothy at Ephesus, the exact position held by Titus himself at Crete is not clear. He represents the apostle and his teaching; he has authority (*ἐπιταγή*, 2^{15}), which is not confined to one place, but extends over the whole island (1^{5}): it extends to ordaining presbyters, to correcting and exercising discipline over 'heretics' (2^{15} 3^{11}), to enforcing the lines of teaching and the features of Christian character (2 *passim*); but whether the position was permanent or temporary is not clear: the most probable inference from 1^{5} and 3^{12} is that the delegation of power was for a temporary purpose only. Nothing is said about any ordination for the work.

For permanent organization, he is to appoint presbyters (whether one or more is not stated) in each city; and apparently the presbyter in each city is the same as the *ἐπίσκοπος* ($1^{5\text{-}7}$, but see 1 TIMOTHY). Their moral qualifications for office are stated; and it may be inferred that their duties were to teach (1^{9}), perhaps to control the finances of the community (1^{7} *μὴ αἰσχροκερδῆ*, but 1^{11} shows that this is not a necessary inference), and to be hospitable, ready to welcome Christians from other Churches (cf. Ramsay, *The Church in the Roman Empire*, p. 368).

There is no mention of deacons, deaconesses, or widows. The Christians are called *ἐκλεκτοὶ θεοῦ* (1^{1}), *λαὸς περιούσιος* (2^{14}) (both OT titles for Israel), *οἱ πεπιστευκότες θεῷ* (3^{8}), and perhaps — by a title which suggests the new family of God—*οἱ ἡμέτεροι* (3^{14}). There is no reference to common worship, except as implied in the references to teaching and exhortation. Baptism is referred to as the instrument of salvation (3^{5}); perhaps 1^{16} (*ὁμολογοῦσιν*) points to some public confession of faith.

v. AUTHORSHIP.—The external evidence is much the same as in 1 Timothy. The evidence of its rejection is less, but the parallels to its language are also fewer. It is quoted as Pauline in Irenæus (i. 16. 3, iii. 3. 4), Clem. Alex. (*Strom.* i. p. 350), Tertull. (*de Præscript.* 6, *adv. M.* 5. 21), and the Muratorian Canon. It was accepted by Tatian in spite of his rejection of 1 and 2 Tim., but rejected by Marcion and Basilides (Tert. *adv. Marcionem*, v. 21). It was embodied in the Syriac and Old Latin Versions, and parallels to its language are found in Justin Martyr (*Dial. c. Tryph.* 47) and Theophilus (*ad Autolyc.* iii. p. 126, where the command of 3^{1} is quoted as a *θεῖος λόγος*); and perhaps in Ign. (*ad Magnes.* c. 8 = 3^{9}) and Clem. Rom. (i. 2 = 3^{1}).

It claims to be by St. Paul in $1^{1\text{-}4}$; and implicitly in $3^{12\text{-}14}$, passages which are indeed separable from the rest. But in the body of the letter there is nothing in tone, teaching, or circumstance inconsistent with his authorship. The character of Titus corresponds to the little known of him elsewhere (cf. TITUS): the character of the writer, his insistence on his own teaching and wishes (cf. 1 Cor.), the sharpness of tone against false teachers (cf. Gal., 2 Cor.), the quick passage from moral inference to doctrinal premiss, the quotation from Greek poetry, the adaptation of OT language, the sense of his own sinfulness (3^{3}), are quite Pauline. So, too, the bases of doctrine,—the purity of all created things to the pure (cf. Ro 14): the eternal promise of life, the manifestation of it in due time, the saving grace, its universal efficacy (2^{11}), the redeeming death of Christ, the gift of the Spirit in baptism, the power to live a new life of love, the looking forward to the Coming of Christ, are quite true to the earlier letters, though the expressions are never borrowed. The false teaching implied at Crete and the organization of the Church, each simpler than in 1 Tim., can clearly fall within his lifetime.

The only ground of suspicion lies in the vocabulary and its relation to that of 1 and 2 Timothy. (*a*) There are 26 *ἅπαξ λεγόμενα* in 46 verses, *αἱρετικός, ἀκατάγνωστος, αὐτοκατάκριτος, ἀφθορία, ἀψευδής, βδελυκτός, ἐγκρατής, ἐκστρέφομαι, ἐπιδιορθόω, ἐπιστομίζω, ἱεροπρεπής, Ἰουδαϊκός, καλοδιδάσκαλος, ματαιολόγος, οἰκουργός, ὀργίλος, πρεσβῦτις, στυγητός, σωτήριος, σωφρονίζω, σωφρόνως, φιλάγαθος, φίλανδρος, φιλότεκνος, φρεναπάτης* (Gal 6^{3} *φρεναπατάω*), *φροντίζω*. Yet none of these betrays a late date. *αἱρετικός*, the only one that suggests a later ecclesiastical meaning, is earlier in existence than St. Paul, and the new meaning given to it here is akin to his own use of *αἵρεσις*, and apparently means 'factious' rather than 'heretical'; and it is still an adjective.

(*b*) There is, as in 1 Tim., a fixity of phrase which suggests lateness, *e.g.* *ἐπίγνωσις ἀληθείας, ἀλήθεια ἡ κατ' εὐσέβειαν, καιροῖς ἰδίοις* (1 Tim. only, but *καιρῷ ἰδίῳ*, Gal 6^{9}), *ὁ σωτὴρ θεός* (applied both to God the Father and to Christ here: in 1 Tim. only to the Father, in 2 Tim. only to Christ), *μιᾶς γυναικὸς ἀνήρ* (1 Tim. only), *ἡ διδασκαλία ἡ ὑγιαίνουσα* (1 and 2 Tim.), *καλὰ ἔργα* (1 Tim.), *ὁ νῦν αἰών* (1 Tim., 2 Tim.), *ὁ μέγας θεός, λουτρὸν παλιγγενεσίας, πιστὸς ὁ λόγος* (1 Tim., 2 Tim.).

We are in the presence of a large vocabulary, fresh, fixed, and shared to a great extent by the writer of 1 and 2 Timothy. The alternatives of authorship are *either* that it is by Paul himself, writing late in his life, and writing to an intimate companion,—and there can be little doubt that if the Epistle stood alone, this would be the natural explanation; *or* by some later writer, essentially Pauline in spirit, perhaps using genuine Pauline fragments (see below), and wishing to obtain Pauline authority for securing a sober useful standard of Christian life and high standard of clerical morality, as against a revival of a Rabbinical Judaism. On this latter supposition the priority of Titus to 1 Tim. would seem almost certain, as there would be so little reason for the same writer composing it if 1 Tim. were in existence, and intended as a general treatise.

vi. INTEGRITY.—The MSS suggest no insertion or dislocation in the text; nor does the sequence of

thought require such a theory. 1^{7-9} is indeed easily separable from the rest, but no conclusive reason requires its separation; and 3^{14} comes in awkwardly after 3^{13}, but there is a possible connexion of thought between them, and such postscripts are found elsewhere, Ro 16^{17-20}, 1 Ti 6^{17-19}.

The question of the integrity has arisen only on the theory of a non-Pauline authorship: for critics are almost entirely agreed in regarding $3^{12.13}$ or 3^{12-15} as Pauline, and the question arises whether there are other Pauline fragments, and whether they are separable.

The chief attempts to distinguish are these—

1^{1-6}. Pauline (McGiffert, Harnack, Clemen); but expanded from some simpler form by a late hand (von Soden).

1^{7-9}. Non-Pauline (*ib.*), added to strengthen the episcopate in the 2nd cent. (Harnack); but the distinction between the ἐπίσκοπος and πρεσβύτεροι would have been clearer.

1^{7-11}. Non-Pauline (Hesse, Clemen).

$1^{12.13.16}$. Pauline. $1^{14.15}$ non-Pauline (*ib.*) (as not suiting the other descriptions of the false teachers; but there is no real inconsistency).

2. Non-Pauline (Hesse).

3^{1-7}. Pauline (McGiffert). Non-Pauline (Clemen): partly because 3^{4-7} is a repetition of 2^{11-14}, but there is a difference in the motive appealed to, which suits the exhortation of $3^{1.2}$.

3^{8-11}. Non-Pauline. $3^{12.13}$ Pauline (Harnack, McGiffert, Clemen).

The Pauline fragment so obtained is supposed to be a letter from Paul written to Titus at Corinth after 2 Cor.; this was developed into a letter to Crete at the end of the 1st cent. because of the outbreak of Judaism there (Clemen). There is, however, no substantial ground for distinguishing between Pauline and non-Pauline, except in 1^{1-4} and $3^{12.13}$: the grounds for separation elsewhere are hypercritical and the divisions arbitrary.

For fuller details cf. McGiffert, *Apostolic Age*, p. 406; Harnack, *Chronologie*, i. p. 480; Clemen, *Die Einheitlichkeit der Paul. Briefe*, pp. 157–163; Moffatt, *Historical NT* p. 700.

vii. VALUE.—As with 1 Tim. (which see), the value is a good deal independent of its authorship, and due to the fact of its canonization. On the point of the organization of the Church it adds nothing to that in detail or principle; but it has a historical value as showing the method of organizing communities in a very early stage of development, as showing the persistence of Judaism as a danger to the early Church; and the atmosphere of a suspicious and critical heathenism in which it lived. In such an atmosphere, and dealing with communities of rough islanders on a low social level and disposed to anarchy, the writer, while laying stress on faith and the salvation wrought by the appearance of Christ, organizes a ministry, insists on moral qualifications for it, and tries to develop an orderly, disciplined, useful, fruitful life in all ages and classes, and inspires even slaves with the hope that they may adorn the true teaching: it is an attempt to convert heathenism by the attractive beauty of an ordered family life and a loyal citizenship. Doctrinally, the Epistle offers no new point of interest unless it be the identification of Christ with 'the Great God,' 2^{13} (but see Ezra Abbot, *Critical Essays*, xviii.), or the reference to baptism as λουτρὸν παλιγγενεσίας, 3^{4}.

LITERATURE.—The same introductions and commentaries as are referred to under 1 TIMOTHY are useful for this Epistle, with the exception of H. P. Liddon; to the Patristic commentaries should be added a short commentary by Jerome, and a long extract on $3^{10.11}$ from Origen's lost commentary preserved in a Latin translation by Pamphilus. W. LOCK.

TITUS JUSTUS.—See JUSTUS, No. 2. **TITUS MANIUS.**—See MANIUS.

TIZITE (הַתִּיצִי; B ὁ Ἰεασεί, A ὁ Θωσαεί, Luc. Ἀθωσί).—A designation, whose origin is unknown, applied to JOHA, one of David's heroes, 1 Ch 11^{45}.

TOAH.—See NAHATH.

TOB, THE LAND OF (אֶרֶץ טוֹב 'land of good'; γῆ Τώβ; *terra Tob*).—The place to which Jephthah fled for refuge from his brethren, and in which he was living when the elders of Gilead went to fetch him on the occasion of the Ammonite invasion of Gilead (Jg $11^{3.5}$). At a later date, 12,000 'men of Tob' (AV Ish-tob) formed part of the force raised by the Ammonites in their war with David (2 S $10^{6.8}$ B Ἐλστώβ). They are here associated with the Syrians of Beth-rehob and Zobah, and the king of Maacah—all small Aramæan states. The 'land of **Tubias**' (AV 'places of Tobie'), in which all the Jews were put to death by the Gentiles (1 Mac 5^{13}), was apparently the same place. In 2 Mac 12^{17} Charax, a place 750 stadia from the strong town of Gephyrum, or Caspin, is said to have been occupied by Jews called **Tubieni**, *i.e.* 'men of Tob.'

Possibly Θαῦβα, which, according to Ptolemy (v. 19), was S.W. of Zobah, is identical with Tob. The Jerusalem Talmud explains 'land of Tob' by *Susitha*—the 'province of Hippene' (Neubauer, *Géog. du Talm.* 239). In this case Tob would be Hippos, or Susitha, now *Sûsiyeh*, on the E. side of the Sea of Galilee, and not far from Gamala, *Kal'at el-Husn*. Conder (*Hbk. to Bible*, 295) and G. A. Smith (*HGHL* 587) identify Tob with *et-Taiyibeh*, about 10 miles south of Gadara (*Umm Keis*). De Saulcy identifies it with *Thaban*, about 9 miles east of the bridge over the Jordan called *Jisr Benât Yakûb*. C. W. WILSON.

TOB-ADONIJAH (טוֹב אֲדֹנִיָּה 'good is the Lord Jah' [Gray, *HPN* 140, n. 3]; B Τωβαδωβειά, A and Luc. Τωβαδωνιά).—One of the Levites sent by king Jehoshaphat to teach in the cities of Judah, 2 Ch 17^{8}.

TOBIAH (טוֹבִיָּה and טוֹבִיָּהוּ 'Jah is [my?] good').—**1.** The eponym of a family which returned from exile, but could not trace their genealogy, Ezr 2^{60} (B Τωβειά, A Τωβίας, Luc. Τουβίας) = Neh 7^{62} (BA Τωβιά, Luc. Τουβίας). **2.** The Ammonite who, in conjunction with SANBALLAT and others, persistently opposed the work of Nehemiah, Neh $2^{10.19}$ $4^{3.7}$ 6^{17} $13^{4.8}$ (Τωβιά, Τωβίας). For details see art. NEHEMIAH.

TOBIAS (Τωβ(ε)ίας, Τωβείς).—**1.** The son of Tobit, To 1^{9} and often; see art. TOBIT (Book of). **2.** The father of HYRCANUS, 2 Mac 3^{11}.

TOBIEL (Τωβιήλ, *i.e.* טוֹבִיאֵל 'El is [my?] good'; cf. the name TABEEL).—The father of Tobit, To 1^{1}.

TOBIJAH (טוֹבִיָּה).—**1.** One of the Levites sent by Jehoshaphat to teach in the cities of Judah, 2 Ch 17^{8} (LXX om.). **2.** One of a deputation that came from Babylon to Jerusalem with contributions of gold and silver, from which a crown was ordered to be made either for Zerubbabel *and* Joshua (Ew. Hitz.) or for Zerub. and *not* Joshua (Wellh. Now., cf. G. A. Smith, ii. 308 f.), and laid up in the temple as a memorial of the donors, Zec $6^{10.14}$ (LXX in both passages tr. טוביה by χρήσιμοι, *i.e.* מוֹבָיָה).

TOBIT, BOOK OF (A βίβλος λόγων Τωβίτ, B Τωβείτ, א Τωβείθ; Lat. *liber Tobiæ, liber Tobit et Tobiæ, liber utriusque Tobiæ*; = Heb. טוֹבִיָּה = 'Jehovah is my good,' and טוֹבִי, dropping the theophoric affix יָה).—One of the deutero-canonical books of the OT, containing, according to Jewish conceptions, an idyllic picture of pious home life in the Captivity.

i. TEXTS AND VERSIONS.—The popularity of the story of Tobit is attested by the number of variations in which it exists in several languages. We shall, in the course of this article, endeavour to prove that the book was originally composed in Aramaic; though all trace of the original is lost, and the Aramaic MS, now extant, is somewhat late, and was not taken directly from it.

(1) *Greek Version.*—Of this we have three texts: (*a*) that of AB. The differences between these two

MSS are few and unimportant. (*b*) That of ℵ, which while giving little additional matter, adopts a more verbose style than AB. Whether AB or ℵ presents the earlier text is much disputed. Fritzsche, Nöldeke, Grimm support AB; Ewald, Reusch, Schürer, Nestle, Harris, ℵ. (*c*) A recension of 6^{9}–13^{8}, found only in three cursives: the Zittau Cod. 44 and the Ferrara Codd. 106, 107, and given at length by Fritzsche (*Handbuch z. d. Apokr.*). These present a composite Greek text. From 6^{9} to 7^{17} it presents many features of originality, but contains many of ℵ's additions to the text of B, *e.g.* $6^{14f.}$ 7^{11-13}. From 8^{1} to 12^{6} it agrees closely with the Syriac, which, as we shall see, during this section transfers its allegiance from B to ℵ. From 12^{6} to 13^{8} it presents some readings of B, as 12^{8} 13^{5-8}, but agrees in the main with Syr., even when Syr. differs from both B and ℵ, as in 12^{12-19}. Before 6^{9} and after 13^{8} our cursives present the text of B.

(2) *Latin Versions.*—(*a*) Vetus Itala or Old Latin, which Ilgen, in 1800, correctly surmised was based on a then unknown Gr. text, which has proved to be that of ℵ. Though all codices of this Version agree substantially with ℵ, there are clearly three recensions. (*a*) It. I., the text edited by Sabatier (*Bibliorum sacrorum Latinæ versiones antiquæ*, Paris, 1751) and by Neubauer (in his excellent little work, *The Book of Tobit*). It is based on a Parisian Codex, Regius 3654, and on Cod. 4 in the library of S. Germain. (*β*) It. II., a text found in Cod. Vat. 7 which contains only 1–6^{12}, and once belonged to queen Christina of Sweden. It was collated by Sabatier in the above work, and was edited by Bianchini, Rome, 1740. (*γ*) Fragments of a third recension (It. III.) are given in the *Speculum* of Augustine, edited by Mai (*Spicilegium*, ix.).—(*b*) The Vulgate. Jerome affirms that he translated Tobit in one day from the Syro-Chaldee. As he was not familiar with this language, a Jew, who knew both languages, translated it for him into Hebrew, from which he made his Latin translation. There are many readings in Vulg. that were not found in any other text, until Gaster, 1896, discovered a Heb. MS, which in the narrative, as distinct from the exhortations and prayers, agrees in the main with Vulg. (see below, HL).

(3) *Syriac Version.*—This has been edited by Walton in his Polyglot; and by Lagarde in *Libri apokr. Syriace*. As far as 7^{11} it is a close translation of B. After that, it agrees with ℵ or the Gr. cursives. It lacks 13^{9-18}.

(4) *Chaldee* or *Aramaic Version* (Aram.).—This was first edited by Neubauer from a collection of Midrashim, copied in the 15th cent. in Greek-rabbinical characters. The Book of Tobit is an extract from the *Midrash rabbah-de-rabbah* on Genesis, and forms a haggāda on Jacob's promise to give a tenth of his proceeds to God (Gn 28^{22}). Neubauer thinks that the Chaldee text of Jerome was Aram. in a fuller form; but in the view of the present writer there are facts which seem to imply that the Aram. is a translation from the Greek. The facts that the dat. Ῥάγοις (4^{1} 5^{6}) is found in Aram. as רגיש, and Ἐκβατάνοις (3^{7} 6^{5}) as אגבתנים, and the acc. Τίγριν (6^{1}) as תיגרין; and that the Gr. words ἄριστον (2^{1}) and σημεῖον (5^{2}) are transliterated in Aram., afford strong proof that Aram. is based on a Greek text: not on ℵ (as Schürer), for Aram. agrees more often with B than with ℵ; but on a briefer text than either, and more free from Christian influences.

(5) *Hebrew Versions.*—(*a*) Heb. Munsteri (HM), so called because it was published, with a Lat. tr., by Seb. Münster, at Basle, in 1542. The *first* edition, however, was printed at Constantinople in 1516. It is included in Walton's Polyglot, and also in Neubauer's *Tobit*. Neubauer gives, in the footnotes, various readings from No. 1251 of the Heb. MSS in the National Library at Paris: from a Persian tr. from the Heb. which is No. 130 in the same Library; and No. 194 of de Rossi's catalogue, at Parma. It is noteworthy that HM usually agrees with Aram. when the latter dissents from the Greek. In chs. 12. 13, where Aram. is lacking, HM presents an eclectic text, agreeing in the main with Syr., but for 13^{3-18} it has an original and very brief doxology, and omits ch. 14 altogether. Ginsburg assigns it to the 5th century.—(*b*) Heb. Fagii (HF). This is a free, independent translation, made perhaps in the 12th century. The translator was a learned Jewish scholar, fond of precise, technical terms; very familiar with the Heb. Bible, and fond of introducing suitable Bible texts, and of reducing the text of Tobit to biblical phraseology. This is also given in Walton's Polyglot.—(*c*) Heb. Londinii (HL) is a text found by Gaster in the British Museum, Add. 11,639. A description and translation of the MS, which belongs to the 13th cent., is given by Gaster in *PSBA*, vol. xviii. 208 ff., 259 ff., and vol. xx. 27 ff. So far as the exhortations, prayers, and doxologies are concerned, they are certainly late. They develop, in a remarkable degree, the tendency observable in HF to reduce the text to biblical phraseology. In the exhortations, etc., HL gives us a cento of Scripture texts, skilfully selected as being most cognate to the Gr. text. As to the *narrative*, it is intensely interesting to note how closely HL agrees with Vulg., and Gaster claims for the MS as a whole a close relationship to the 'Syro-Chaldee' used by Jerome. As to the narrative portions, the author of HL certainly *may* have used an Aramaic or Heb. text closely related to Jerome's 'Syro-Chaldee,' though, if the doxologies, etc., are of late composition, one cannot escape the unpleasant surmise that HL may be drawn from the Vulg. itself.—(*d*) Heb. Gasteri (HG). This was copied some years ago by Gaster from a Midrash on the Pentateuch, which he fears has now perished. It is a condensation in Heb. of the narrative portions of Aram., with the exhortations, prayers, and doxologies rigorously excluded, and all approach to verbosity in the narrative sternly checked. It is possible that the author of HL may have possessed a similar History, exhibiting those peculiarities of the Vulg. which, until the publication by Gaster of the translation of HL, were considered unique in the Vulgate. The tr. of HG is given in *PSBA* vol. xix. 33 f. Its agreements with Aram. are very significant.

ii. THE NARRATIVE.—Tobit, a pious Jew of the tribe of Naphtali, very scrupulous as to feasts and tithes, was, with his wife Anna and his son Tobias, taken into captivity by Enemessar (Shalmaneser) to Nineveh. Even there he remained loyal to Mosaism, abstaining from eating the food of the Gentiles; and yet became in time the king's purveyor. Once when travelling in Media, he deposited 10 talents of silver with a brother Jew named Gabael, at Rhagæ (RAGES). When Sennacherib (who is called in 1^{15} Enemessar's son) returned from Judah, Tobit fell into disfavour, chiefly from his habit of burying Jews who were assassinated in the king's fury. Tobit fled, but, on the entreaty of his nephew Achiacharus (Aḥiḳar), was reinstated by king Sarchedonus (Esarhaddon) (ch. 1). At a feast of Pentecost he sent out his son to bring in some poor Jew to dine with him. Tobias returned, saying there was a Jew lying in the street strangled. Tobit rose at once, hid him, and at night buried him. Being thus rendered unclean, he slept in the courtyard; and sparrows 'muted warm dung into his eyes' and blinded him (2^{1-10}). Reduced to poverty again, Anna wove and spun for hire, and one day, under provocation, she reproached her husband for his blind-

ness; whereupon he prayed to die (3^{1-6}). The same day, in Ecbatana of Media, Sarah, the daughter of Raguel and Edna, who had been married seven times, but whose husbands had all died on the bridal night, was reproached by a maid for having slain them; whereas it was Asmodæus, the arch-demon, who slew them. She also prayed to die (3^{7-15}). The prayers of both were heard, and Raphael was sent to deliver both of them. Tobit, in view of his death, wished to send Tobias to Rhagæ, to fetch the silver, and gave him a long exhortation (ch. 4). When Tobias sought a guide, Raphael offered his services, pretending to be Azarias, a kinsman. The guide's wages being fixed, the two set out with a favourite dog for Media (ch. 5). On the way, while Tobias was bathing in the Tigris, a great fish threatened him, but he caught it; and on Raphael's advice cut out its heart, liver, and gall for medicinal use later on (ch. 6). Passing through Ecbatana, they stayed with Raguel; and Tobias asked for Sarah in marriage. He had been previously instructed by Raphael how to exorcise the demon from Sarah, and before night the marriage was celebrated (ch. 7). Raguel naturally is apprehensive, and digs a grave at midnight; but the odour of the heart and liver of the fish, when burnt on ashes, caused Asmodæus to flee to Egypt, whither Raphael follows him and binds him; and Tobias and Sarah, after uniting in prayer, pass the night in peace (8^{1-10}). Edna satisfies herself on this during the night, and Raguel, after previously thanking God, fills in the grave and prepares the nuptial festivities, which he swears must last 14 days (8^{11-21}). Raphael goes forward to Rhagæ, secures the silver, still sealed in bags, from Gabael, and brings him back to the wedding, where he pours his blessings on the bridal pair (ch. 9). The festivities over, Raguel sends forth Tobias and his wife in peace to Nineveh, and gives them half his wealth (10^{7-12}). Anna has for days been very miserable, and has stood all day on the highway watching, at intervals reproaching poor blind Tobit for allowing their son to go (10^{1-5}). When at length she sees Tobias and Azarias who had come on in front, she runs to tell Tobit. Tobias skilfully applies the gall of the mysterious fish to his father's eyes; a white film peels off and his sight is restored. Then Tobit and Anna welcome Sarah with pious wishes (ch. 11). All that remains is to reward the faithful Azarias. Father and son agree to give him half of all they have. Whereupon he discloses his identity and returns to heaven (ch. 12). In ch. 13 we have a Song of Thanksgiving from Tobit; and in ch. 14 Tobit, being now very old, gives to his son and grandsons his dying valedictions, and urges them to leave Nineveh for Media. After his death they go to Media, and arrive in time to witness the death of Raguel and Edna. Tobias lives to a ripe old age, and is allowed to hear the glad news of the destruction of Nineveh.

VARIATIONS OF THE NARRATIVE IN THE SEVERAL VERSIONS.—If we compare the Jewish VSS with the Gr. and Lat. we find three interesting variations: (*α*) Aram. and Heb. VSS all omit reference to the dog, which the other VSS mention. (*b*) In 87 the Jewish VSS (as also Syr.) narrate that after Tobias' prayer in the bridal chamber, '*Sarah* said Amen'; the rest, that 'they *both* together said Amen.' (*c*) In 5^3 9^5 Aram., HM, HF say that Gabael gave Tobit his *bag* as a token, not his *bond*.

Aram., HL, HG, and Vulg. differ from the rest in that throughout they speak of Tobit in the third person, whereas all other texts make Tobit speak in the first person as far as 3^{15}. The third is used afterwards.

[*N.B.*—Except when quoting from the Vulg., the verses are those of the RV].

Peculiarities of text.—(*α*) B stands alone (except HG) in omitting the blessing of Gabael, 9^6; and in its condensation of Edna's prayer, 10^{12}; though HL and Vulg. omit this entirely. Unique readings are: glory of the great Raphael, 3^{16}; Jonah, 14^8; Nasbas, 11^{18}; Aman, 14^{10}; 158 years old, 14^{11}.—(*β*) ℵ. There are scores of *στίχοι* added by ℵ to the text of B. A few may be noted: 1^2 Thisbe is 'west of Phogor'; 1^5 Israel sacrificed to the calves 'on all the Mts. of Galilee'; 2^{11} 'on the 7th of the month Dystrus she cut the web'; 5^3 Raguel and Tobit divided the bond into two, and each took half; 5^5 the mendacious angel says, 'I have come here to work'; 6^8 'blow on the films'; cf. also 10^{10} 12^8 13^{16}. ℵ omits 4^{7-19} (owing probably to a leaf being lost) and 13^{6b-10}. In 13^{18} it gives the correct spelling Ἀχιάχαρ, and gives a fuller account of him than B.—(*γ*) *Greek cursives.* A remarkable Gnostic reading occurs in 8^{15} 'Let all *the Æons* praise thee, and let thy angels bless thee.' This is the only Gr. text which says 'the dog ran *before* them' (11^4).—(*δ*) *Syriac*, which is really two recensions connected at 7^{11}, shows the fact in change of spelling: Achior, 2^{10}; Aḥiḳar, 14^{10}; Raga, $4^{1.\ 20}$; 'Arag, 9^2; 'Edna, 7^2; 'Edna, 7^4. Alterations:—102 years, 14^2; 107 years, 14^{14}; 10 days, 8^{20}. Additions:—Edna dressed Sarah, 7^{16}; Anna put on a veil before going to meet her son, 11^9. Omissions:—13^{9-18}, where Tobit exults in the glories of the future Jerusalem; 14^3 'Jonah' and also 'Nahum'; 14^5 the words, 'but not like to the former house'; 14^{6-9} that all nations shall forsake idolatry; 7^{13} the marriage contract.—(*ε*) *Aramaic* is embedded in a Midrash, and is inserted there to show the merit of giving tithes. The moral at the end also is: 'Behold we learn how great is the power of alms and tithes,' and Gn 14^{20} 26^{12} 28^{22} are cited in confirmation. Its chief peculiarity is that the MS virtually closes with ch. 11. A few lines, in place of Greek ch. 12, state that Raphael did not go into the house, but went his way; and when Tobias went out to seek him he could not find him, nor had any one seen him; and thus Tobit knew he was an angel. In place of ch. 14, Aram. states that, when Tobit fell sick, he called for his son and impressed on him the importance of almsgiving from the example of the three patriarchs. Aram. omits Tobit's genealogy, 1^1; Aḥiḳar's offices, 1^{22}; Elymais, 2^{10}; and the dog, 5^{17} 6^2ℵ 11^4. On the other hand, it expands Sennacherib's return, 1^{18}; Anna's welcome to Sarah, 11^9; and Tobit's thanksgiving, 11^{14}. In 10^7 Aram. and HM say, 'Anna ate nothing but tears.' Aram. abridges the destination of the three tithes, 1^{6-8}; calls Asmodæus 'king of Shedim,' $3^{8.\ 17}$+; and renders 5^{18} 'without money, God has fed us.' It contains 4^{7-19} lacking in ℵ; and agrees with B against ℵ about as often as with ℵ against B.—(*ζ*) *Heb. Munsteri* is remarkable for its omissions from the Gr., sometimes pruning its redundancies as in $4^{6.\ 11\text{-}16}$ $6^{11.\ 14}$+. With Aram. it omits 1^{21}; Elymais, 2^{10}. It omits Sarah's intention to hang herself, 3^{10}; and her going to meet Tobias, 7^1. It omits 'Noah' from 4^{12}; the citation of Gn 2^{18} in 8^6; Tobit's conversation with Anna, $10^{2\text{-}5}$; and Aḥiḳar's visit, 11^{18}. It abridges Tobit's prayer for death, 3^6; and the prayers in 8^5 $8^{15f.}$ $12^{6ff.}$ But HM has also several original enlargements: notably after 1^{20}, where we have a Midrash on the mischief caused by Sennacherib. After 3^4 it cites Is 1^9, and Ps 17^{15} after 4^{10}. It abridges and modifies the Song in ch. 13 (omitting ch. 14), and its last words are, 'O Lord of the world! show us in our days salvation and redemption by the coming of our Redeemer and the building of Ariel'; then citing Jer 23^6, Ps 147^2. Theological features are the thrice repeated prayer for 'children devoted to the Law,' 8^7 9^6 10^{11}; the designation of Raphael as 'prince,' 3^{17} 12^{15}; Jerusalem as 'Ariel,' 13^{16}; and Jehovah as 'the Holy One, blessed be he,' 4^{19} 12^{12}+. A play on words occurs in 3^7 'It is not meet to call thee Sarah, but Zarah (distress).' Instances in which HM agrees with Aram. against the Gr. are: 1^{10} (dwell), 1^{13} (until his death), 2^{10} (every morning), 5^3 $9^{2.\ 5}$ (bag), 3^{16} 12^{11} (throne), 6^{17} (under her clothes), 6^{18} ('foreseen' for 'foreordained'), 10^7 (nothing but tears).—(*η*) *Heb. Fagii* differs from B very considerably. It is fond of inserting OT texts: 3^5 Ps 40^{13}, 3^6 Ps 63^3, 4^{13} Pr 16^{18}, 4^{19} Pr 3^3, 13^6 Ps 86^{15} 96^6 72^{10}, Jer 31^{17}. It aims at precision: in speaking of 'peace-offerings,' 1^4; 'a beka' for 'a drachma,' 5^{14}; 'the right of redemption,' 3^{17} 7^{10}; 'the eternal home,' 3^8; 'the Torah and the Halakhah,' 7^{12}; the seven blessings, 7^{13}; the cemetery, 8^9; and especially in 1^8, where it assigns the third tithe 'for the repair of the breaches of the house,' cf. 2 K 22^5. Interesting theological allusions occur: 3^{16} prayer was heard before our Father in heaven, 4^{11} the judgment of Gehinnom, 8^6 the first Adam, 6^{17} the union of Tobias and Sarah was foreseen from the 6th day of creation, 8^{15} the Æons of the Gr. cursives are described as 'those who are exalted above all blessing and praise,' 14^5 'the house shall stand until the completion of one æon.' But the learned Rabbi was no geographer. He gives Alemania = Germany for Elymais in 2^{10}; Midian for Media, 1^{14}; and Laodicea (?), 6^2. The latter part of ch. 14 is meagre. Aḥiḳar is omitted 11^{18} 14^{10}.—(*θ*) *Heb. Lond.* is, as we have said, remarkable for presenting many readings heretofore found only in Vulgate. Such, *e.g.*, are 1^{14} 'power to go where he wished'+, 1^{23} Tobit fled naked with wife and son, $2^{12ff.}$ the parallel between Tobit and Job, 3^{10} Sarah spent 3 days in prayer, $6^{18ff.}$ Raphael advises 3 nights of continence. HL also agrees with Vulg. in omitting Aḥiḳar in B 2^{10} and the doctors in ℵ 2^{10}, as well as in many other omissions; but HL gives the absurd amount of 1000 talents in 1^{14}; it narrates Sarah's intended suicide, which Vulg. omits, 3^{15}; it states that Anna went to the outskirts of the town, 5^{16}; and that a large party went with the bridal pair a day's journey homewards; and every one gave a ring of gold and a *ḳĕsîṭah* and a piece of silver, 11^1; it also introduces two long original prayers, by Tobias and Sarah, in the bridal chamber, ch. 8. Vulg. only gives Sarah's prayer thus: 'Be merciful to us, O Lord, be merciful, and let us both grow old healthily together,' 8^{10}.—(*ι*) HG has a few unique readings: *e.g.* 'dust' for 'dung,' 2^{10}; 'ring' for 'bond,' 5^3; and that Tobias put the heart of the fish on a *censer* and burnt it under Sarah's clothes. It is very brief, but agrees closely with Aram.: *e.g.* HG and Aram. only say that

the fish 'sought to eat the *bread* of the youth,' 6^2.—(א) *Itala* is a close translation of א. We have collated only the text given by Neubauer. Its chief eccentricity is the spelling of proper names. Bihel for Thisbe, 1^2; Raphain for Phogor, 1^2; Bathania for Ecbatana, 5^6; Anna (so Vulg.) for Edna, wife of Raguel. It states that Raphael *read* the prayers before God, 12^{12}; and gives 'didrachma' for 'drachma,' 5^{14}.—(λ) *Vulgate.* Jerome omits (with HL) all mention of Aḥikar, except in 11^{20}, which is probably an interpolation. He also omits the patriarchs in 4^{12}; the fate of Nadab, 14^{10}; and the fate of Nineveh, 14^{15}. But he has several additions. Some we have mentioned under HL. Others are Sarah's prayer, 3^{13}; and her self-vindication, $3^{16ff.}$. These are found in HL, but in more biblical language; but Vulg. alone states that Tobias, father and son, remained three hours on their faces before Raphael, 12^{22}; that the dog wagged its tail, 11^9; that the coating of an egg peeled off Tobit's eyes, 11^{14}; that Tobias held his father half an hour, 11^{14}; and closed the eyes of Raguel in death, 14^{15}. Scholars have often pointed out the indications in Vulg. of the fact that Jerome was a Christian and an ascetic. Even if provisionally we concede that he had an Aram. MS before him, which in the narrative resembled HL, Jerome's personal influence can still be traced. The three nights' continence we should have to surrender ($6^{18ff.}$), as this is in HL; but HL does not contain 2^{18}, where in Vulg. Tobit says, 'We are sons of God, and wait for that *life* which God is about to give'; so 12^9 12^{13} 9^{11}.

iii. ORIGINAL LANGUAGE.—We wish now to adduce evidence, which we trust will be regarded as conclusive, that the original language was *Aramaic.* (1) The Aram. form אָתוּר (Heb. אַשּׁוּר) is found in א 14^{15} Ἀθουρεία, and 14^4 Ἀθήρ. (2) If we accept alphabet 69 in Euting's *Tabula Scripturæ Aramaicæ* as an approximation to the Aram. alphabet used (*ex hypothesi*) in the original copy of Tobit, we find that it explains the diverse form of many proper names, as in each case the letters confounded are very similar: *e.g.* שמליה in א 5^{13} for שמעיה in B; ענמסר for שלמנסר; סנחרים in א 1^{15} + for סנחריב; עביאל HF 9^5 for גבאל; פגר in א 1^2 for פער; רנואל for רעואל; קסרי in א 10^{13} for בסרי in Syr. (3) The variants in the VSS are often possible renderings of the same Aramaic word. 'The *mountain* of Ararat,' 1^{21} (Bא, Syr., It.), and 'the *land* of Ararat' (Aram. HM, HF), are possible renderings of טור (Schwally, *Idioticon*, 37). 'Thou judgest *for ever*,' 3^2, [Bא, It.] 'Thou judgest *the world*,' [Aram., HM], give לעלם; 5^7 'Wait *young man*' [א Syr.], 'Wait *a little*' [Aram. HM], give ועיר; 2^4 'I left the *meal*' [א Vulg.], 'I left the *table*' [Aram. HM, It.], give שרותא. In Pal. Syr. at Ac 16^{34} this word is used for τράπεζαν. In 4^{17} Jerome has *constitue* for ἔκχεον, thus giving to סַךְּ, imperative of Aram. נסך 'to pour out,' the meaning of Heb. נסך or סכך. (4) In other instances the variants yield *similar* Aramaic words—

1^4	א, Heb., Itala	was *built* in it	אתבני
	Syriac	was *prophesied* in it	אתנבי
1^{13}	אB	God gave me *μορφήν*	רמותא
	HM, HF	God gave me *favour*	רחמותא
1^{18}	אB, Aramaic	I *stole* the bodies	גנבת
	Itala	I *wrapped* . . .	ענבת
1^{21}	אB	all the *finance* of the kingdom	חשבנא
	Itala	all the *care* . . .	חששא
2^6	B	your *pleasures*	שִׁבּוּחיכון
	א	your *ways*	שבּיליכון
	Itala	your *songs*	שׁבחיכון
2^{10}	אB	Achiacharus *nourished* me	פַּרְנַם
	HF, It. II.	Ach. *persuaded* me	פַּיֵּם
4^3	א	bury me *honourably*	בהדרא
	HF	bury me *immediately*	בהדרא
6^{17}	א, HF	*Take* her	שׁא לה
	Itala	*Ask* for her	שׁאל לה
8^3	א	*bound* him forthwith	חבר
	Itala	*returned* forthwith	חזר
10^{12}	B	*Honour* thy father	חַדַּר
	א	*Return* to thy father	חֲדַר
11^{11}	B	*daubed* it on his eyes	פח
	א	*blew* into his eyes	אפית
12^{13}	אB	thou didst *cover* the dead	שׁקעת
	Syriac	thou didst *carry away*, etc.	שׁקלת
12^{14}	אB	sent me *to heal* thee	מיסא
	Itala	,, ,, *to test* thee	מַסייא
14^4	א	our brethren *shall be counted*	יתפרעון
	B	,, , *shall be scattered*	יתפרשון
14^5	א	the time of *the seasons*	עלמיא
	HF	,, ,, *one æon*	עלם א'
	Itala	,, ,, *cursings*	עלבניא

iv. HISTORICAL CHARACTER.—This was never called in question until Luther did so. The minuteness of its details has often been adduced as evidence of its historicity, and it must be admitted that there is nothing in it so marvellous and superstitious as to be incredible to educated men of antiquity. The angelophany is only a slight amplification of Gn 18; possession by unclean spirits was a recognized belief, and exorcism by fumigation was recognized in medical science. W. R. Smith quotes from Ḳaswini, i. 132, that 'the smell of the smoke of crocodiles' liver cures epilepsy, and its dung and gall cure Leucoma' (*Encyc. Brit.*[9] art. 'Tobit'). Without calling in question that the book probably rests on a real history, the following considerations forbid our regarding it as being what it claims to be, viz. a narrative written in the 7th cent. B.C.:—(1) It contains *historical* errors. (α) It was Tiglath-pileser who took Naphtali and Zebulun into captivity (B.C. 734), not Shalmaneser, 2 K 15^{29}. (β) Sennacherib was not Shalmaneser's son (1^{15}), but the son of Sargon a usurper. (γ) It is implied in 1^4 that Tobit was a boy at the time of Jeroboam's revolt from the house of David. (δ) The occurrence of Ahasuerus (14^{15}) and Aman (A 14^{10}) ought not to be pushed. Ἀσύηρος in B is a scribe's blunder for Ἀθουρίας in א, and Ἀμάν in A is due to the same cause, taking Ἀχιάχαρος for Mordecai.—(2) It is a *geographical* error to put the Tigris between Nineveh and Ecbatana; and also to state (so א Aram. HM, It.) that Rhagæ is two days from Ecbatana. B omits the 'two days'; but in 6^9 says that Ecbatana was '*nigh* unto Rhagæ.' It took the army of Alexander 10 days to march from one to the other (Arrian, iii. 20).—(3) The *spirit* and *theological tone* belong to a later date.

v. DATE OF COMPOSITION.—Most Roman Catholic authorities, relying on 12^{20} 13^1, ascribe the book to the 7th cent. B.C. Ilgen maintains that 1–3^7 13^{1-8} was written by Tobit in B.C. 689, and the rest in Palestine about B.C. 280. Ewald fixes it B.C. 350. Graetz assigns it to the time of Hadrian (A.D. 130), and Kohut to A.D. 226. The chief reason alleged for the last two dates is that it is considered that the one principal object of the book is to insist on the duty of burying the dead. Twice in Jewish history was this prohibited: after the fall of Bether, so valiantly defended by Bar Cochba, and in Persia under Ardeshir I. Both these dates are probably nonsuited by the fact that Tobit is cited by Polycarp († 155). The following considerations suggest the 2nd cent. B.C. as the probable date:—(1) Unless it could be shown that 14^5 is prophetic, it implies that the writer was living at the time of a temple which was inferior in grandeur to Solomon's, *i.e.* before the time of Herod. (2) The law of marriage with relatives, so strongly insisted on also in the Book of Jubilees, fell into desuetude before the 2nd cent. A.D. (Rosenmann, *Studien z. B. Tobit*). (3) The prominence given to the duty of interring the dead may well have been caused by the action of Antiochus Epiphanes, who, we are told (2 Mac 5^{10}), 'cast out a multitude unburied.' (4) Marriages with Gentiles still needed discouragement, 4^{12} 6^{15}. (5) It contains no bright eschatology, and no

Messianic hope, from which it seems to have been written before the persecution of Antiochus. (6) Its soteriological and ethical tone closely resembles that of other works known to have been written about a century B.C. This we will now try to prove.

vi. TOBIT AND CONTEMPORARY JEWISH LITERATURE.—**1.** *Sirach.* There is, as Fuller has shown (*Speaker's Apocr.* i. 160), a great resemblance between the thought of Tobit and Sirach.

(1) As to the saving value of good works. Both emphasize the value of almsgiving: it is a good gift in God's sight, To 4^{11}, fills the doer with life, cleanses away all sin and delivers from death, 12^{9}; cf. Sir 3^{30} 29^{12} 40^{24}. Sinners are enemies of their own life, 12^{10}; cf. Sir 18^{21} 38^{15}. (2) The eschatology of Sir. and of Tobit are on the same plane. Both regard Sheol as the abode of joyless shades: it is *ὁ αἰώνιος τόπος*, 36, where even the righteous go, 3^{10} 13^{2}; cf. Sir 46^{19} 14^{16} 17^{28}. (3) Both insist on reverent interment of the dead. Very pathetically does Tobit ask to be buried, 4^{3}, and for Sarah to be buried beside him, 4^{4}; he risks his life to inter his brethren, 1^{17} $2^{3.7}$, and urges his son to place cakes (and wine, Aram., HF, It., Vulg.) on the graves of the righteous [cf. Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, i. 485 ff., ii. 30 ff.]; cf. Sir 7^{33} 30^{18} 38^{16}. (4) Both set value on the same ethical duties: purity of marriage, $4^{12f.}$ 86, Sir 7^{26} 36^{24}; honesty to servants, 4^{14}, Sir $7^{20f.}$; the true estimate of wealth, 5^{18}, Sir 5^{1}; benevolence, $4^{7.14.17}$, Sir $4^{1\text{-}5}$ 12^{4} 35^{10}. (5) Both base all virtue on the fear of God, $4^{5.6.19}$, Sir 6^{37} 35^{10} 37^{15}.

2. *The Story of Aḥiḳar.*—In this work, recently published by Camb. Univ. Press, Aḥiḳar is a pious vizier of Sennacherib, who, being childless, adopted a boy, Nadan, and took much pains with his instruction; but when Nadan grew up he incriminated his adoptive father by false letters, and caused him to be sentenced to death. The executioner spared his life, and imprisoned him in a cellar under his (Aḥiḳar's) house. At length he was released, and vengeance was executed on Nadan. This is the story which is alluded to in 14^{10}, more fully in ℵ than B.

Aḥiḳar, in 'the Story,' bemoans himself thus: 'I have no son to *bury* me, nor a daughter, and my possessions no one inherits.' Read with this To 1^{18} 27 3^{15} 4^{3}. There are many features of resemblance between Aḥiḳar's moral teaching to Nadan, and Tobit's to Tobias. In the Syriac Version of Aḥiḳar (*op. cit.* 61) we read: 'My son, eat thy portion, and despise not the righteous' (cf. To 4^{13}); 'Do not eat bread with a shameless man' (cf. To 4^{17} Vulg.); 'Associate with a wise man and thou wilt become like him' (cf. To 4^{18}); 'My benevolence has saved me' (cf. To 4^{10}); 'My son, flee from whoredom' (*op. cit.* 5); cf. 4^{12}; and notably, 'Pour out thy wine on the graves of the righteous, rather than drink it with evil men'; cf. 4^{17} 'Pour . . . give (it) not to sinners.' Harris discusses the two texts of ℵ and B in the *Story of Aḥiḳar*, ch. v., and also in the *Amer. Journ. of Theology*, iii. 541.

3. *The Book of Jubilees* contains passages probably known to the author of Tobit.

To 4^{12} states that Noah took a wife from his relatives. Of course there is no Scripture warrant for this; but Jubilees (ch. 4) furnishes us with the names of the wives of all the patriarchs from Adam to Noah, and each one married a very near relative. Again, when Jacob left home for Haran, Isaac (Jub 27^{10}) uses words to Rebekah which resemble To $5^{20f.}$ 10^{6} 'My sister, weep not: he has gone in peace, and in peace will he return (so ℵ 5^{21}). The Most High will preserve him from all evil. For I know his way will be prospered . . . and he will return in peace to us (To 5^{20}), for he is on the straight path (4^{19}). He is faithful (ℵ 10^{6}), and will not perish.' In Jub 22^{16} we read, 'Separate thyself from the nations, and eat not with them, and become not their associate (To 1^{10}): they offer their sacrifices to the dead, and eat over their graves' (To 4^{17}).

4. The *Testament of Job* has the foll. parallels:—

Job's wife begged bread for him (ch. 22); Job sang a hymn (ch. 33); in ch. 45 Job, when dying, says, 'Behold, I die; only forget not the Lord (To 4^{5}); do good to the poor (4^{16}); despise not the helpless (4^{13}); take not to yourselves wives from strangers (4^{12}), and, lo, I distribute to you all as much as belongs to me' (4^{16}).

5. *Judith* (8^{2}) attaches importance to the fact that she and her husband were 'of the same tribe and family.'

vii. TOBIT IN THE CHURCH.—The *Didaché* (1^{2}) gives this advice, 'Whatever thou wishest not to happen to thee, do not thou to another'; To 4^{15} gives this form, 'What thou hatest, do not to another' (so also Hillel [Taylor, *Pirḳe Aboth*, 37]). *Did* $4^{6\text{-}8}$ is also an adaptation of To $4^{10f.}$. Polycarp (*ad Phil.* ch. 10) says, 'When ye can do good, defer it not, for almsgiving delivers from death'; cf. To 12^{9}. Pseudo-Clem. (*ad Cor.* 16) seems to quote 12^{8} thus: 'Almsgiving is as good as repentance for sin; fasting is better than prayer, but almsgiving (is better) than both. Love covereth a multitude of sins. Prayer from a good conscience saveth from death.' Harris (*Amer. Journ. Theol.* iii. 546 ff.) suggests to read 'prayer' for the first 'almsgiving'; and thinks we have the original reading of To 12^{9} in the Gr. cursives. 'Good is prayer with fasting, and almsgiving with righteousness better than both.' Clem. Alex. quotes 4^{16} as *ἡ γραφή* (*Strom.* ii. 23, § 139). Origen (*Ep. ad Afric.* xiii.) and Athanasius (*Apol. c. Arian.* xi.) use Tobit as canonical, though theoretically they did not include it in the Canon, because it was not in the Heb. Bible. Cyprian treats it as authoritative in his work on the Lord's Prayer (c. 32). Hilary cites it to prove the intercession of angels (*in Ps.* 129^{7}). Ambrose (*de Tobiâ*, 1. 1) treated the book as prophetic, and Augustine included it among the Apocr. of the LXX which 'the Christian Church received' (*de Doctr. Christ.* ii. 8). Jerome (*Præf. ad libb. Salomonis*) allowed its perusal, but forbade its canonicity; whereas the Council of Carthage (A.D. 397) and the Councils of Florence (1439) and of Trent (1546) declared it canonical. Luther (cf. Fritzsche, p. 19) deemed it 'a truly beautiful, wholesome, and profitable fiction.' The Homilies of the Church of England use 4^{10} 12^{9} as 'a lesson which the Holy Ghost doth teach in sundry places of the Scripture' (Second Book, *On Almsdeeds*, part 1). The Offertory contains sentences drawn from To $4^{7\text{-}9}$, and the preface to the Marriage Service, that marriage 'ought not to be taken in hand lightly or wantonly to satisfy carnal lusts,' is clearly an adaptation of Vulg. 6^{17}; in fact, the first Prayer Book of Edward VI. contained these words: 'As Thou didst send the angel Raphael to Thobie and Sara, the daughter of Raguel, to their great comfort, so vouchsafe to send Thy blessing upon these Thy servants.' The names of Abraham and Sarah are now substituted.

LITERATURE.—*COMMENTARIES:* Ilgen, *Die Geschichte Tobi's, nach drey verschiedenen Originalen*, Jena, 1800; Reusch, *Das Buch Tobias*, Freiburg, 1857; Fritzsche, *Exeg. Handbk.* 1853; Fuller, *Speaker's Apocr.*, vol. i., London, 1888; Sengelmann, *Das Buch Tobit*, Hamburg, 1857; Gutberlet, *Das Buch Tobias*, Münster, 1877; Bissell in Lange's *Apocr.*, Edinburgh, 1880; Scholz, *Comm. z. B. Tobias*, Wurzburg, 1859; Zöckler, *Apokr. des AT*, München, 1891; Löhr in Kautzsch's *Apokr. u. Pseudepigr. des AT*, Tübingen, 1900.—*TEXTS:* Swete, *OT in Greek*, vol. ii., gives the text of B and ℵ in full, with readings from A as footnotes; Fritzsche gives the text of the Cursives 44. 106 in his *Com.* pp. 89–104; Neubauer on *Tobit* gives Aram., HM, It. I.; the Syriac is found conveniently in Lagarde's *Libri VT Apocr. Syriace*, London, 1861; for HF we have only Walton's *Polyglot*; the most accurate edition of Vulg. is that of Vercellone, Romæ, 1861.—*HELPS TO STUDY:* Schürer, *HJP* II. iii. 37–44; *The Story of Aḥiḳar*, from the Syr., Arab., Arm., Eth., Gr., and Slav. Versions, by Conybeare, Harris, and Mrs. Lewis, Camb. Univ. Press, 1898; 'Testament of Job' (*TS* v. 1; also in *Sem. Stud. in Memory of A. Kohut*, Berlin, 1897, pp. 264–338); Book of Jubilees, tr. by Conybeare in *JQR* vi. vii.; Nestle, *Septuagintastudien*, iii. 1899, p. 22 ff.; W. R. Smith's art. 'Tobit' in *Encycl. Brit.*[9]; Nöldeke, *Monatsber. der kön. Akad. der Wissensch. zu Berlin*, 1879, p. 45 ff. [orig. lang. Greek]; Grätz, *Monatsschr.* 1879, pp. 145 ff., 385 ff., 433 ff., 509 ff. [orig. lang. New Heb.].

J. T. MARSHALL.

TOCHEN (תֹּכֶן 'task,' 'measure'; B Θόκκα, A Θόχχαν; *Thochen*).—A town of Simeon mentioned with Ain, Rimmon, and Ashan (1 Ch 4^{32}), and consequently in the Negeb. There is no name like Tochen in the corresponding list of Jos 19^{7}, where, however, the LXX Θόκκα shows that the name has fallen out. The site is unknown.

C. W. WILSON.

TOGARMAH (תּוֹגַרְמָה, Θοργαμά, *Thogorma*).—Son of Gomer and brother of Ashkenaz and Riphath (Gn 10^{3}). If Ashkenaz is the Asguza of the Assyr.

inscriptions which is associated with the Minni by Esarhaddon, we shall have to look for Togarmah to the east of Assyria. In 1881 Fr. Delitzsch suggested that it might be Til-garimmu, a fortress of Kummukh or Comagênê; but it must have been a country, since horses and mules were exported from it (Ezk 27^{14}), and not a mere fortress. Most modern authorities decide for Western Armenia. A. H. SAYCE.

TOHU.—See NAHATH.

TOI.—See TOU.

TOKHATH.—See TIKVAH.

TOLA (תּוֹלָע 'crimson worm' 'cochineal'; Θωλά, Jg $10^{1.2}$).—A minor judge, following Abimelech. His name is that of one of the chief clans of Issachar; see Gn 46^{13}, Nu 26^{23} (תּוֹלָעִי, ὁ Τωλαεί), 1 Ch $7^{1f.}$, and art. PUAH. His home and burial-place were at Shamir, the seat of the clan, probably in the N. of the highlands of Ephraim: the site is unknown.
G. A. COOKE.

TOLAD (תּוֹלָד 'birth,' 'generation'; B Θουλαέμ, A Θωλάδ; *Tholad*).—A town of Simeon mentioned with Ezem, Bethuel, Hormah, and Ziklag (1 Ch 4^{29}). It is the same place as El-tolad in the Negeb (Jos 15^{30} 19^{4}). The site has not been recovered.
C. W. WILSON.

TOLBANES (Τολβάνης), 1 Es 9^{25} = Telem, Ezr 10^{24}. —One of the porters in the time of Ezra.

TOLL, PLACE OF (τελώνιον, Mt 9^{9}, Mk 2^{14}, Lk 5^{27}, in AV 'receipt of custom').—The place where the tax collector sat to receive his dues. In Wyclif's translation it is rendered *tolbothe*. In the case of Matthew or Levi, the toll collected was the custom exacted by and paid into the treasury of Herod Antipas, the Idumæan prince who then ruled over Galilee. The τελώνιον at Capernaum was of importance, as a large traffic passed on the highway between Damascus and Ptolemais. See PUBLICAN. J. MACPHERSON.

TOMB.—See BURIAL and SEPULCHRE.

TONGUES, CONFUSION OF.—The narrative of Gn 11^{1-9} is too familiarly known to need detailed repetition here; and it will be sufficient to recall briefly its leading features. Mankind, at the time to which it refers, all had one speech, and lived together. They journeyed, it seems to be implied, nomadically from spot to spot; and on one of their journeys they found a plain in the land of Shin'ar (Babylonia), where they settled, and where also they determined to build a city, and a lofty tower, which should both gain them lasting renown, and also serve as a centre, or rallying-point, to prevent their being dispersed over the surface of the earth. J", however, 'came down' to view the building, and [supplying here, with Stade, *ZAW*, 1895, p. 158, and others, words which v.[7] seems to show have been omitted] having returned to His lofty abode, signified to His heavenly counsellors or associates there (cf. 3^{22}) His disapproval of it: if this, He said, is the beginning of their ambition, what will be the end of it? nothing will soon be too hard for them. So He 'came down' a second time, and 'confounded' (Heb. *bālal*) their language; and from this occurrence the narrator (J) explains the diversity of existing languages, the dispersion of mankind, and the name of the city of Babylon (in Heb. *Babel*).

1. From a critical point of view, the narrative presents considerable difficulties; for, though it belongs to J, it is difficult to harmonize with other representations of the same source. The distribution of mankind into different nations has been already described by J in (parts of) ch. 10, and represented there, not as a punishment for misdirected ambition, but as the result of natural processes and movements; and Babylon, the building of which is here interrupted, is in 10^{10} represented as already built. The narrative connects also very imperfectly with the close of J's narrative of the Flood; for, though the incident which it describes is placed shortly after the Flood, the terms of v.[1] ('the whole earth'), and the general tenor of the following account, imply a considerably larger population than the 'eight souls' of Noah's family. In all probability (Dillm.) the story originally grew up without reference to the Flood, or the usual derivation of mankind from the three sons of Noah, and it has been imperfectly accommodated to the narratives in chs. 9 and 10; perhaps, indeed, Wellh. and others (cf. the *Oxf. Hex. ad loc.*) are right in conjecturing that originally it belonged to the same cycle of tradition of which fragments are preserved in 4^{17-24}, and formed part of the sequel to 4^{24}.

It is difficult to avoid the conclusion (Wellh., Dillm., and others; cf. the *Oxf. Hex.* ii. 5 f.) that 4^{17-24} (describing the beginnings of *existing* civilization) belongs to a cycle of tradition, in which the continuity of human history was not interrupted by a Flood; and if the conjecture, just mentioned, respecting 11^{1-9} be correct, the same assumption must of course be made with regard to that.

2. That the narrative can contain no scientific or historically true account of the origin of language, is evident from many indications. In the first place, *if* it is in its right place, it can be demonstrated to rest upon unhistorical assumptions: for the biblical date of the Flood (Ussher's artificial treatment of Gn 11^{27} and Ex 12^{40} being disregarded) is B.C. 2501 (or, acc. to the LXX of Gen. and Ex., 3066); and, so far from the whole earth being at either B.C. 2501 or B.C. 3066 'of one language and one speech,' we possess inscriptions dating from periods much earlier than either of these dates written in *three* distinct languages — Sumerian, Babylonian, and Egyptian. But, even if Wellh.'s supposition, that the narrative belongs really to an earlier stage in the history of mankind, be accepted, it would still be impossible to regard it as historical. For (1) it could not, even then, be placed in a different category from the other narratives in Gn 1–11, which (for reasons which cannot be stated fully here; cf. FALL, FLOOD, etc.) must relate to the prehistoric period. And (2) the narrative, while explaining ostensibly the diversity of *languages*, offers no explanation of the diversity of *races*. And yet diversity of language—meaning here by the expression not the relatively subordinate differences which are always characteristic of languages developed from a common parent-tongue, but those more radical differences relating alike to structure, grammar, and roots, which show that the languages exhibiting them cannot be referred to a common origin — is *dependent upon diversity of race*. Of course, cases occur in which a people living near a people of another race, or sub-race, have adopted their language (as, *e.g.*, the Celts in Cornwall have adopted English); but, speaking generally, radically different languages are characteristic of different races, or (if the word be used in its widest sense) of subdivisions of races, or sub-races, which, in virtue of the *faculty* of creating language distinctive of man, have created them for purposes of intercommunication and to satisfy their social instincts. Differences of *race*, in other words, are more primary in man than differences of *language*,* and have first to be accounted for. It is, now, a disputed ethnological

* Cf. Sayce, *Races of the OT*, p. 37 f., 'Diversity of race is older than diversity of language.'

problem whether man appeared originally upon the globe at one centre or at many centres.

The former of these alternatives is preferred by modern scientific authorities. Mr. Darwin in his *Descent of Man*, vol. i. ch. 7, after reviewing the arguments on both sides, sums up (pp. 231-233, ed. 1871) in its favour (upon the ground, stated briefly, that the resemblances, physical and mental, between different races are such that it is extremely improbable that they should have been acquired independently by aboriginally distinct species or races): see also to the same effect Lyell, *Principles of Geology* [12] (1875), ii. ch. 43; Huxley, *Critiques and Addresses* (1883), p. 163 ff. (=*Collected Essays*, vii. p. 249 ff.); and Dr. Tylor, art. 'Anthropology' in the *Encycl. Brit.*[9] and in his volume *Anthropology* (1881), p. 6. But of course these authorities postulate for man a far higher antiquity than is allowed by the biblical narrative (so also Sayce, *Races of the OT*, 23, 37).

But, whichever of these alternatives be adopted, it is easy to see that differences of race are not accounted for in the biblical narratives: the case of primitive man appearing independently at different centres (with, it may be supposed, racial distinctions, at least to some degree, already implanted in him at these centres) is not contemplated in them at all; if, on the other hand, racial differences were gradually developed by the play of natural selection upon the descendants of a single pair, migrating into new climatic and other physical conditions, then the growth of these differences is neither explained by the biblical narratives, nor, in fact, reconcilable with them. For, taking account only of the simplest and most obvious division of mankind into the white, black, and yellow races,* even Gn 10 (Sayce, *HCM* 120) notices only (except Cush?) tribes and nations belonging to the *white* race; while, from the known fixity of racial types, in cases where we are able to observe them, it is certain that, if the white, black, and yellow races, with the many sub-races included in each, have been developed from a single original pair, the process must have occupied a vastly longer period of time than is allowed by the biblical narrative (which places the creation of man at B.C. 4157, or [LXX] B.C. 5328), however early after Adam the dispersion of Gn 11[9] may be supposed to have actually occurred.

3. It does not fall within the province of a Dictionary of the Bible to give an account of the languages of the world; but a few particulars may be stated here for the purpose of indicating the general conclusions to which the study of the subject has led modern philologists. Prof. Sayce writes (*Introd. to the Science of Language*, 1880, ii. 31 f.): 'The genealogical classification of languages, that which divides them into families and sub-families, each mounting up, as it were, to a single parent-speech, is based on the evidence of grammar and roots. Unless the grammar agrees, no amount of similarity between the roots of two languages could warrant us in comparing them together, and referring them to the same stock. . . . The test of linguistic kinship is agreement in structure [*i.e.* the formation of sentences], grammar, and roots. Judged by this test, the languages at present spoken in the world probably fall, as Prof. Friedrich Müller observes, into "about 100 different families," between which science can discover no connexion or relationship. When we consider how many languages have' probably 'perished since man first appeared upon the globe, we may gain some idea of the numberless essays and types of speech which have gone to form the language-world of the present day.' Basque is an example of an isolated survival of an otherwise extinct family of speech; and in Tasmania four dialects spoken when our colonists first landed on the island have recently disappeared. On pp. 33–64 of the same volume Prof. Sayce gives a list of 75 families of languages, all unrelated to each other, and each comprising mostly a variety of individual languages or groups of languages.

Of these families the two best known are the Semitic and the Aryan (or Indo-European). The principal languages included in the *Semitic* family are Assyro-Babylonian, Hebrew, Phœnician and Punic, the different Aramaic dialects, Arabic, the S. Arabian dialects (Himyaritic or Sabæan, and Minæan), Ethiopic and allied dialects: all these, though in subordinate details they often differ widely, yet display such obvious resemblances in 'structure, grammatical form, and roots,' that they are manifestly merely varieties of a common parent-tongue. The principal groups included in the *Aryan* family are the Indian group (Sanskrit, with allied languages and many modern vernaculars), the Iranian group (Zend, Persian, etc.), the Celtic group (Welsh, Cornish, Irish, etc.), the Italian group (Umbrian, Oscan, Latin, with the dependent Romance languages), the Thrako-Illyrian group, the Hellenic group, the Letto-Slavonic group (Slavonic, Russian, Polish, Lithuanian, etc.), and the Teutonic group (Gothic, Low German, Anglo-Saxon, English, Dutch, High German, Old Norse, Icelandic, Swedish, Danish, Norwegian): all these languages, though in details they differ even more widely than the Semitic languages, nevertheless exhibit so many common features as to make it evident that they are but varieties, which have arisen by gradual differentiation, under the influence of separation and different local conditions, out of a single original parent-tongue.

Languages, however, differ not only in grammar and roots, but also in a manner which it is more difficult for those, like ourselves, familiar with only one type of language, to realize, viz. 'morphologically,' or in the manner in which ideas are built up into a sentence. Different races do not *think* in the same way; and consequently the forms taken by the sentence in different languages are not the same. The only type of language with which we are practically acquainted is the 'inflectional' type, which prevails in Western Asia and Europe, and to which both the Semitic and Aryan families belong; but there are besides the 'agglutinative' type (of which Turkish is an example), spoken chiefly in Central Asia, the Islands of the Pacific, and many parts of Africa, the 'incorporating,' of which Basque (in S.W. France) is the chief representative, the 'polysynthetic,' which prevails throughout America,* and the 'isolating' (of which Chinese is the best-known example), characteristic of Eastern Asia (Tibet, Burmah, etc.): all these types of language differing in the manner in which ideas are grouped by the mind, and combined into sentences (for further particulars reference must be made to Sayce, *op. cit.* i. 118–132, 374 ff., ii. 188 ff.; *Races of the OT*, 35 f.; or Whitney's art. 'Philology' in the *Encycl. Britannica*, ed. 9). It is remarkable, as even this cursory description will have indicated, that the morphological character of a language is correlated, in some hidden way, with the geographical and climatic conditions of the country in which it originated: thus the different families of languages spoken in America, though utterly unrelated to each other, are nevertheless all 'polysynthetic.'

It is an obvious corollary from the radical differences which the various families of language display, as compared with one another, that, whatever may have been the case with the races of mankind, the families of language spoken by mankind must have arisen independently at different centres of human life. 'The languages of the present world are but the selected residuum of the infinite variety of tongues that have grown up and decayed among the races of mankind. . . . The idioms of mankind have had many independent starting-points, and, like the Golden Age, which science has shifted from the past to the future, the dream of a universal language must be realized, if at all, not in the Paradise of Genesis, but in the unifying tendencies of civilization and trade' (Sayce, *Science of Lang.* ii. 322, 323).

* See, further, on the classification of the races of mankind, Dr. Tylor's article and work (ch. 3) referred to above.

* In polysynthetic languages the sentence is the unit of thought; and in many of them separate *words* hardly exist.

As need hardly be remarked, what the primitive language of mankind was, is unknown. Formerly, indeed, it was the general belief that it was Hebrew, and all other languages were supposed to be derived from this (1); see Max Müller, *Lectures on the Sc. of Lang.* 1st series, ed. 1864, p. 132 ff. Leibnitz appears to have been the first to point out the absurdity of this view, remarking justly (*ib.* p. 135 f.) that 'to call Hebrew the primitive language was like calling branches of a tree primitive branches'; and the science of comparative philology, which has arisen since Leibnitz's day, has but confirmed the soundness of his judgment. Even among the Semitic languages, Arabic, in many respects, exhibits older and more original features than Hebrew; besides, unless all analogy is deceptive, the language of primitive man must have been of a far more simple, undeveloped type than any of the existing Semitic languages.

4. Differences of language and differences of race thus point independently to the great antiquity of man upon the earth. And their evidence is more than confirmed by testimony from other quarters. Even during the last ten years the discoveries of Petrie and de Morgan in Egypt, and of Hilprecht and others in Babylonia, have shown that civilization existed in these two countries at a period considerably earlier than had previously been supposed; while the existence of inscriptions, sculptures, paintings, and various objects of art, belonging certainly to a date not later than B.C. 4000, makes it evident that the beginnings of civilization and art in both these countries must have preceded that date by many centuries, not to say by millennia. And the numerous relics of human workmanship, especially stone implements of different kinds, and bone or other material, engraven with figures, which have been found during recent years in different parts of Europe and America, bear testimony, in the opinion of geologists, to a greater antiquity still, and show that man, in a rude and primitive stage of development, ranged through the forests and river-valleys of these continents, in company with mammals now extinct, during periods of the so-called 'glacial age,' when the glaciers (which then extended over large parts both of the British Isles and of the Continent of Europe) retreated sufficiently to enable him to do so (Dawkins, *Early Man*, 112–122, 137, 152 ff., 161–164, 169, etc.). The date at which these relics of human workmanship were embedded in the deposits in which they are now found, cannot be estimated, precisely, in years B.C.; but the late Prof. Prestwich, a geologist not addicted to extravagant opinions, assigned to palæolithic man, as 'a rough approximate limit, on data very insufficient and subject to correction,' a period of from 20,000 to 30,000 years from the present time.

See Prestwich's *Geology* (1888), ii. 534; in his *Controverted Questions of Geology* (1895), p. 46, he gives similar but somewhat higher figures. It was in 1859 that 'the barriers which restricted the age of man to a limited traditional chronology were overthrown by the discoveries in the Valley of the Somme and Brixham Cave' (*ib.* p. 19). 'Palæolithic' implements are those found in association with extinct mammalia; 'neolithic' implements, which show a higher type of workmanship, are those found with existing species. In the palæolithic period, the 'river-drift man' hunted the elephant and the lion, the hippopotamus and the rhinoceros, in the valley of the Lower Thames.—See further on this subject Evans, *The Ancient Stone Implements, Weapons, and Ornaments of Great Britain*[2], 1897 (on their antiquity, pp. 703–9); Boyd Dawkins, *Early Man in Britain*, 1880 (where, at the end of the several chapters, the characteristics of the civilization of the successive ages—the river-drift hunter, the cave man, the neolithic farmer and herdsman [contemporary with the beginnings of organized empires in the East], the bronze age, and the iron age—are well indicated); Lyell, *Antiquity of Man*[4], 1873; Lord Avebury (Sir J. Lubbock), *Prehistoric Times*[6] (1900), esp. ch. 11; G. F. Wright, *Man and the Glacial Age* (in the *Intern. Scient. Series*), 1892, p. 242 ff.; Morris, *Man and his Ancestor* (a small popularly written work), 1900, p. 21 ff.; Tylor, *Anthropology*, p. 28 ff. That man was coeval in Western Europe with the glacial period is accepted by Sayce, *Races of the OT*, p. 23.

The general conclusion, resulting from all that has been said, may be summed up in Dr. Tylor's words: 'Man's first appearance on earth goes back to an age compared with which the ancients, as we call them, are but moderns. The four thousand years of recorded history only take us back to a prehistoric period of untold length, during which took place the primary distribution of mankind over the earth and the development of the great races, the formation of speech and the settlement of the great families of language, and the growth of culture up to the levels of the old-world nations of the East, the forerunners and founders of modern civilized life' (*Anthropology*, p. 24).

5. It is thus apparent that there are two great facts, the *antiquity of man*, and the *wide distribution of man over the surface of the earth*, of which the biblical narrative, whether in 11^{1-9} or elsewhere, takes no account. It is true, of course, that $11^{8.9}$ accounts *ostensibly* for the distribution of man 'over the face of the whole earth'; but it has been shown above why it does not do so really: the dispersion is placed *too late* to account for the known facts respecting both the distribution of man and the diversity of races: how, for example, can the 'river-drift man' of the glacial, or even of the post-glacial, period be brought within the scope of the biblical narrative? To say that the biblical writers spoke only of the nations of whom they knew is perfectly true; but the admission deprives their statements of all historical or scientific value: 'palæolithic' and 'neolithic' man, and the black and yellow historic races, all existed; and any explanation, purporting to account for the populations of the earth, and the diversity of languages spoken by them, must take cognizance of them: an explanation which does not take cognizance of them can be no historically true account either of the diffusion of mankind, or of the diversity of speech. The first 11 chapters of Genesis, it may be safely assumed, report faithfully *what was currently believed among the Hebrews* respecting the early history of mankind: they contain no account of the *real* beginnings of man, or of human civilization, upon the earth.

6. The true explanation of the story in Gn 11^{1-9}, it cannot be doubted, is that which is given by Prof. (now Bishop) Ryle in his *Early Narratives of Genesis*, p. 127 ff. As in 2^{4b}–4 the origin of various existing customs and institutions is explained in accordance with the beliefs of Hebrew antiquity, so in 11^{1-9} the explanation is given of the diversity of languages spoken by different peoples inhabiting different parts of the earth. As soon as men began to reflect, they must have wondered what was the cause of differences of language, which not only impressed the Hebrews (Is 33^{19}, Dt 28^{49}, Jer 5^{15}, Ps 114^{1}), but also were an impediment to free intercourse, and accentuated national interests and antagonisms. 'The story of the Tower of Babel supplied to such primitive questionings an answer suited to the comprehension of a primitive time. Just as Greek fable told of the giants who strove to scale Olympus, so Semitic legend told of the impious act by which the sons of men sought to raise themselves to the dwelling-place of God, and erect an enduring symbol of human unity to be seen from every side'; and how Jehovah interposed to frustrate their purposes, and brought upon them the very dispersal which they had sought to avoid. The narrative thus contains simply the answer which Hebrew folk-lore gave to the question which differences of language and nationality directly suggested. At the same time, it is so worded as to convey (like the other early narratives of Genesis) spiritual lessons. Though the conception of Deity is naïve, and even, it may be (v.[7]), imperfectly disengaged from polytheism, the narrative nevertheless emphasizes Jehovah's supremacy over the world; it teaches how the self-exaltation of man is checked by God; and it shows how the distribution of mankind into

nations, and diversity of language, is an element in His providential plan for the development and progress of humanity.

7. No Bab. parallel to Gn 11[1-9] has as yet been discovered.

The reference in the fragmentary Brit. Mus. Inscription (K. 3657), tr. by G. Smith, *Chald.-Gen.* 160, and mentioned in *HCM* 153, is very uncertain; for though the inscr. does seem to speak of the erection of some building in Babylon by the order of the king, which offended the gods, so that they 'made an end by night' of the work done by day, the crucial words, rendered 'strong place' and 'speech,' are (as is admitted for the latter [*tullu*] by Smith himself, p. 163) both extremely doubtful: see Delitzsch's note in the Germ. tr. of Smith's book, p. 310; and for *tâzimtu*, 'strong place,' Del. *HWB* 37, where it is tr. *Wehklage*! Cf. the transcr. and tr. by Boscawen in *TSBA* v. (1877) p. 303 ff. (where, however, p. 308, 'speech' for *melik*, 'counsel' (*HWB* 413), is quite gratuitous).

In the Jewish Haggada of a later age, the tower was said to have been destroyed by mighty winds: see the *Orac. Sibyll.* iii. 97 ff. (whence Jos. *Ant.* I. iv. 3 [the quotation] = Alex. Polyhistor *ap.* Syncell. *Chron.*, ed. Dindorf, i. 81 C), and *Jubilees* 10[19-26] (tr. Charles, *JQR* vi. 208 f.): cf. (from Abydenus) Eus. *Præp. Ev.* ix. 14 = Eus. *Chron.*, Schoene, i. 33 = Syncell. i. 81 D, and (from Eupolemus *ap.* Alex. Polyhistor) ix. 17. 1. From the fact that in Jos. and Abyd. (τοὺς ἀνέμους θεῖσι βωθίσαντας ἀνατρέψαι τὸ μηχάνημα) the plural 'gods' is used, Stade (*l.c.* p. 161 f.) conjectured that these authorities have preserved reminiscences of an older polytheistic version of the tradition.

In fact, though the narrative plainly presupposes a knowledge of Babylonia, it does not seem itself to be of Babylonian origin: if any Bab. legend lies at the basis of it, it must have been strongly Hebraized. As Gunkel has remarked, the narrator speaks as a foreigner rather than as a native: the unfavourable light in which the foundation of Babylon is represented; the idea that the erection of what (*ex hyp.*) can hardly have been anything but a Bab. *zikkurat* (or pyramidal temple-tower *) was interrupted by (*ex hyp.*) a Bab. deity; the mention, as of something unusual, of brick and bitumen, as building materials, and the false etymology of the name 'Babel,' are all features not likely to have originated in Babylonia. It does, however, seem a probable conjecture (Ewald, *Jahrb.* ix. [1858] 12 f., Schrader, Dillm.) that some gigantic tower-like building in Babylon, which had either been left unfinished or fallen into disrepair, gave rise to the legend. The tower in question has often been supposed to be Iuriminanki, the *zikkurat* of Ê-zida, the great temple of Nebo, in Borsippa (a city almost contiguous to Babylon on the S.W.), the ruined remains of which form the huge pyramidal mound now called *Birs Nimroud*. This *zikkurat*, remarkably enough, Nebuchadnezzar states had been built partially by a former king, but not completed: its 'head,' or top, had not been set up; it had also fallen into disrepair; and Neb. restored it.† Others regard it as an objection to this identification that Ê-zida was not actually *in* Babylon; and prefer to think of Itiminanki, the *zikkurat* of Ê-sagil, the famous and ancient temple of Marduk in Babylon itself, the site of which is generally‡ considered to be hidden under the massive oblong mound called *Babil*, about 20 miles N. of Birs Nimroud.§ Schrader does not decide between Ê-zida and Ê-sagil: Dillm. thinks Ê-sagil the more likely, but leaves it open whether, after all, the Heb. legend may not have referred to some half-ruined ancient building in Babylon, not otherwise known to us. The high antiquity of Babylon, and the fact that it was the chief centre of a region in which the Hebrews placed the cradle of the human race, would fit it to be regarded as the point from which mankind dispersed over the earth.

* Jastrow, *Rel. of Bab. and Ass.* p. 615 ff.

† The inscr. is tr. in *KAT*[2] 124 f., *KIB* iii. 2, pp. 53, 55.

‡ See, however, Hommel in vol. i. p. 213[a]; and BABYLON, § 8, in the *Encycl. Bibl.*

§ See the plan of Babylon and its environs in Smith's *DB*, *s.v.*; or in the *Encycl. Bibl. s.v.* Views of the two mounds referred to may be seen in Smith, *s.v.* 'Babel,' and 'Babel (Tower of)'; Riehm, *HWB*, *s.v.*; or Ball's *Light from the East*, pp. 220, 221.

See, further (besides the Comm.), Cheyne, art. 'Babel (Tower of)' in the *Encycl. Bibl.*; and Dr. Worcester in *Genesis in the Light of Modern Knowledge* (New York, 1901), 491 ff.

S. R. DRIVER.

TONGUES, GIFT OF.—i. THE BIBLICAL EVIDENCE.—(*a*) *Acts of the Apostles.* On the first day of Pentecost after the Resurrection and Ascension (Ac 2[1ff.]), the disciples, about 120 in number (1[15]), were assembled together. 'Suddenly there came from heaven a sound as of the rushing of a mighty wind, and it filled all the house where they were sitting. And there appeared unto them tongues parting asunder, like as of fire; and it [*sc.* γλῶσσα] sat upon each one of them. And they were all filled with the Holy Spirit, and began to speak with other tongues as the Spirit gave them utterance.' Two wonders are here described—the vision of the fiery tongues, apparent to all in the house, but, as it seems, to them only; and the speaking 'with other tongues,' which was, as the sequel shows, apparent to others also. The latter (v.[11]) consisted in 'speaking the mighty works of God.' It was not, at first at any rate, addressed to those outside. But 'when this sound was heard, the multitude came together,' and Jews, then present at Jerusalem from every nation under heaven, heard to their astonishment the brethren speaking in their own respective languages (vv.[5-12]). Some, however, 'mocking, said, They are filled with new wine.' In reply to these latter, St. Peter interprets the phenomenon by recalling the prophecy of Joel, which speaks of an outpouring of the Spirit in the latter days, which shall cause the servants and handmaidens of the Lord to see visions and to prophesy (vv.[17, 18]), and deduces it from the Messianic office of Jesus, in whose exaltation this promise of the Holy Spirit is fulfilled (v.[33]). The phenomenon of the fiery tongues reappears no more in the sacred narrative; but that of speaking with tongues is repeated (Ac 10[44, 46]) upon the conversion of the Gentile household of Cornelius, who with a sudden inspiration of the Holy Spirit 'speak with tongues and glorify God.' This is clearly the same phenomenon as is described in Ac 2[11], and *the identity is expressly asserted by St. Peter* (11[15]) ὥσπερ καὶ ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἐν ἀρχῇ. The 'speaking with other tongues' is therefore a recurrent phenomenon in the Apostolic Church; and accordingly we read of the twelve disciples at Ephesus (19[6]), that 'when Paul had laid his hands upon them, the Holy Ghost came on them; and they spake with tongues and prophesied.' In this passage the phenomenon is for the first time expressly associated with the exercise of the prophetic gift. (On Spitta's analysis of the sources of Ac 2[1ff.] see Knowling, p. 100).

(*b*) *Gospel of St. Mark.*—In the doubtful appendix to this Gospel (16[17]), among the wonders which are to follow those who believe, it is said 'they shall speak with [new] tongues.' The word 'new' is of very questionable genuineness; if it be rejected, the passage is a bare reference to 'speaking with tongues,' and throws little light upon the nature of the utterances.

(*c*) *First Epistle to the Corinthians.* — In chs. 12–14, especially the last-named chapter, we have the most circumstantial reference to the phenomenon. In 12[4-11] St. Paul enumerates different gifts, which in their diversity proceed from the self-same Spirit. First come gifts of ordinary teaching (λόγος σοφίας, λ. γνώσεως), then faith, healings, and other miracles, then at the end prophecy and the discerning of spirits, followed, in the last place of all, by 'kinds of tongues' (γένη), a new qualification, and 'interpretation of tongues,' which also appears in these chapters alone. The enumeration of offices and gifts in

vv.[28-30] corresponds to that of gifts in vv.[4-11]. The teaching offices come first (apostles, prophets, teachers), then miracles and healings, then 'helps' and 'guidances,' then, again last of all, 'kinds of tongues.' Prophecy and 'discernings of spirits' are evidently omitted here because of the insertion of 'prophets' after 'apostles.' Then, in the interrogative clauses that follow, the 'tongues,' this time with the added mention of 'interpretation,' but without the mention of γένη, again bring up the rear: 'Do all speak with tongues? do all interpret?' In ch. 13 the tongues, which St. Paul has put last in the order of precedence, come first in the order of depreciation. 'Tongues of men and of angels' may be taken as a climax, for this purpose, upon the less rhetorical γένη γλωσσῶν (see below, § iii. (*b*)). Apart from charity, not only tongues (however wonderful), but even prophecy, even *works* of charity, are worthless. Compared with it, prophecy, tongues, knowledge itself, all belong to our childhood, to our ignorance, to the sphere of things temporal. Then in ch. 14, after a closing reminder of the subordinate place which πνευματικά are to occupy in our desires as compared with charity, the apostle enters in detail upon a comparison between the two most conspicuous πνευματικά, viz. prophecy and tongues. Prophecy is the more desirable of the two, *because it is addressed to men, and benefits them*, whereas 'tongues' *are addressed to God, and benefit the speaker only* (vv.[1-5]). The only exception to this is when the speaker (or some other person, v.[27f.]) can interpret his utterances. This would enable the rest of those present to join in with their 'Amen' (v.[16]), and so derive some benefit from the prayer. Without going into details of exegesis, which in this chapter are full of difficulty, it is sufficient to emphasize certain points upon which the apostle speaks without any obscurity. *Firstly*, as already remarked, the speaker with tongues speaks to God only; his utterance is *not a sermon but a prayer* or *psalm* (vv.[2. 13. 14. 15]), or a *thanksgiving* (v.[16]). *Secondly*, the utterance is *unintelligible to the hearers, and even to the speaker.* The spirit is in prayer, but the *mind* takes no part, it is *unfruitful* (vv.[14. 15]); the speaker 'edifies himself' apparently by his attitude of ecstatic devotion, not by conscious expression or reception of ideas. *Thirdly*, while 'interpretation' is thought of as possible, its absence seems to have been the rule, its presence the exception (vv.[5. 13]). Accordingly (*fourthly*), the impression which 'tongues' produce upon a visitor, especially on a non-believer (v.[23]), is that of an assembly of madmen (cf. Ac 2[13]); whereas, in the case of prophecy, the non-believer, or at any rate the visitor, will be profoundly stirred, probably to conversion (vv.[24. 25]).

The closing section of the chapter (v.[26ff.]) shows the ἀκαταστασία, which had resulted at Corinth from the childish (12[15. 29] 13[11] 14[12. 20]) desire of too many of the members of the Church to excel in the exercise of abnormal gifts, and from their dangerous tendency to value spiritual gifts in proportion to their abnormal features. The apostle exactly inverts this principle.

ii. Classification of the Data.—There is no possible doubt that the phenomena of the Church of Corinth are homogeneous with those which meet us at Cæsarea (Ac 10[46]) and at Ephesus (Ac 19[6]). These two passages are linked together by the reference to baptism, and the close relation of the tongues to prophecy connects the latter passage with the phenomena of Corinth. We may therefore conclude that one feature of the life of the Apostolic Churches was the correlation between the perceptible presence of the Holy Spirit, which began at baptism, but was continued in the assemblies and corporate acts of the Churches (see vol. ii. pp. 407[b], 409[a]), and certain utterances on the part of members of the Churches, sometimes intelligible and less ecstatic (prophecy), sometimes more ecstatic and not intelligible (tongues). On the border-line between the two classes of utterance would come the interpretation of tongues, a gift apparently known to St. Paul, but assumed by him to be exceptional, and passed over in the more occasional notices of the Acts of the Apostles. With these data we can without difficulty class the reference in St. Mark 16 (above, i. (*b*)). It has been not infrequently laid down, that while these passages refer to one homogeneous group of phenomena, that group is separated from the phenomena of Ac 2 by a difference in kind. This assumption, however, is in too direct conflict with the words of St. Peter (Ac 11[15]) to be admitted. The homogeneity of the later phenomenon with that of Pentecost, here asserted, can be denied only by undermining the credit of the Acts as a source. But, while we are thus obliged to class the phenomena of Ac 2 with those of the other passages of the NT, it must be recognized that with the features common to all passages certain peculiarities are combined in the narrative of Pentecost. First, there is the sound of the rushing wind; second, the vision of the fiery tongues; thirdly, the intelligibility of the utterances *without the 'interpretation,'* which to St. Paul is necessary if the 'tongues' are to be understood. But in Ac 2, as in 1 Co 14, the 'tongues' are utterances of worship, not of a didactic character, not addressed to the Jews (whose attention is attracted by the utterances only after they have begun); the association with prophecy, implied in the quotation from Joel, is, to St. Peter apparently, as to St. Paul, due simply to identity of *origin*; and in both passages (Ac 2[13], 1 Co 14[23]) the impression produced upon less sympathetic hearers is similar. In the attempt, therefore, to interpret correctly the data of the NT relating to the subject of 'tongues,' the only sound method to adopt will be to begin from the most circumstantial account we have,—that of St. Paul,—but, in applying the results to other passages, to bear in mind any peculiar features which distinguish their account of what is certainly in substance the same phenomenon.

iii. Interpretation of the Evidence.—(*a*) St. Paul, in common with all to whom the Christian religion is a revelation from God, assumes that the gift of tongues is an energy of the Holy Spirit. No doubt he places it lower in value than any other spiritual gift enumerated by him. No doubt, also, like other gifts of the Spirit, it was capable of being simulated by phenomena not due to genuine inspiration. There was room here for διάκρισις (1 Co 12[10]). But the main criterion to be applied by the discerner of spirits was *the substance of what was said* (1 Co 2[4], cf. 1 Jn 4[1], the apostle has no sympathy with the heathenish idea that an utterance, apart from its intrinsic value, could be accredited by its abnormal circumstances). Now, in the case of an unintelligible utterance, like that of ἐν γλώσσῃ, no such criterion was applicable. The apostle therefore assumes, in the case of tongues, that he has to do in each instance with the spiritual reality, not with a merely natural phenomenon (14[4. 16]). We must be content with the same assumption, however mindful that where there is the need of self-control (14[28]) there is the possibility of self-will. The Spirit is doubtless really at work, even upon a psychical background of obscure, easily perversible, mental exaltation.

(*b*) If the phenomena of the NT are essentially homogeneous, we may safely reject some explanations which are applicable at most to a limited

number of the passages under review. First among these may be set aside that based upon the strictly literal and physical sense of γλῶσσα, understood of 'the tongue' or organ of speech (Eichhorn, Meyer, etc.). This might at first sight be thought applicable to Ac 2. The disciples, as the fiery tongues appear to settle upon each of them, begin to speak ἑτέραις γλώσσαις (compare the probably spurious καιναῖς of Mk 16[17]), *i.e.* with (literal) tongues other than their own, identified with, or symbolized by, the tongues of flame. But it cannot be seriously argued that the 'tongues' of this passage are different from the 'dialects' of vv.[6-8]; this identification is quite clear in v.[11] ταῖς ἡμετέραις γλώσσαις. And this carries with it (by Ac 11[15]) the interpretation of Ac 10[46] 19[6], where λαλεῖν γλώσσαις is equivalent to λ. ἑτέραις γ. in Ac 2. The literal sense claimed for γλ. in these latter passages has no support in Ps 38[4] LXX ἐλάλησα ἐν γλώσσῃ μου, where the use of the possessive indicates the literal sense. But it is argued that the literal sense is applicable in 1 Co 12. 14 (but 13[1?]), where (14[14f.]) προσεύχεσθαι γλώσσῃ is contrasted with πρ. τῷ νοΐ, the tongue (so it is urged) being conceived as the passive instrument of the πνεῦμα, and the plural γλῶσσαι (surely a *reductio ad absurdum*) referring 'to the various motions of the tongue' (so Thayer-Grimm, *s.v.*; see also Meyer-Heinrici on 12[10]). Γλῶσσα must mean an utterance, not merely the moving tongue; this latter sense breaks down in the pl. γλῶσσαι, and still more conspicuously in the phrase γένη γλωσσῶν, which clearly points to various kinds of utterance, whether foreign languages or not.

(*c*) Another sense of γλῶσσα which fails of general applicability is that (exemplified in Aristotle, *Poet.* 21 f.) of 'unusual word,' *e.g.* expressions borrowed from the Aramaic, like 'Amen,' 'Maran Atha,' or 'Abba' (Ernesti, Bleek, etc.). The use of such expressions would not be improbable in a state of high spiritual tension, and in fact the last-named word was regarded by St. Paul as specially characteristic of the Spirit (Ro 8[15], Gal 4[6]); but there is nothing in his language to connect it specifically with 'tongues,' which possibly may be referred to, though even this is uncertain, in the στεναγμοὶ ἀλάλητοι of Ro 8[26]. Moreover, this sense of γλῶσσα fits ill with the data of Ac 2, and still worse with those of 1 Co 14; for these occasional borrowed words had a well-recognized meaning, and in their use the νοῦς was not ἄκαρπος.

(*d*) The same principle, to say nothing of other considerations, absolutely excludes the idea, which has some traditional support in Christian opinion from Origen (*in Rom.* 1[18]) downwards, that the apostles, at any rate, if not all those present, received at Pentecost the more or less permanent power of *preaching in foreign languages*. To begin with (above, § ii.), the speaking with tongues is an utterance of worship, not of instruction. It has been argued that we never read of the apostles needing the services of an interpreter. But neither do we read of their 'speaking with tongues' on any occasion subsequent to Pentecost. St. Paul, it is true, claims to possess the gift, but in a context (1 Co 14[18]) which excludes any reference to preaching. With one exception, indeed, we do not read of any apostolic preaching in lands where Greek or Aramaic would not be a sufficient medium. The partial exception is in the bilingual district of Lystra (Ac 14), and here the apostles clearly do not follow what is said Λυκαονιστί. Ocular evidence at last enables them to realize that they are regarded as gods. But though the sacred text says nothing of *preaching*, permanently or even temporarily, in foreign tongues, it certainly suggests at first sight that a great number of foreign languages were supernaturally *spoken*, if only in adoration, on the occasion of the first Pentecost.

(*e*) This interpretation is not so wholly excluded as might appear at first sight by the language of 1 Co 14. For although the γλῶσσαι are, without one to interpret them, unintelligible even to the speaker, the possibility of interpretation, clearly contemplated by St. Paul, suggests that he regarded the utterances as having a meaning, though as a rule not ascertainable (τὴν δύναμιν τῆς φωνῆς, v.[11]). If so, the only difference in Ac 2 would be that the interpreter was on that occasion unnecessary.

What, then, is really described in Ac 2? The view has been held by both ancient (Greg. Naz. *Or.* 41. xv, Bede, etc.) and modern writers, that while the disciples spoke in some one language, each group of hearers understood the words as spoken in his own; just as St. Vincent Ferrer, preaching in Spanish, was said to have been understood by English, Flemish, French, and Italian hearers, etc. But this is not what the narrative describes: we have a miracle of *speech*, not of *hearing* only, they began (before the hearers had come) to speak ἑτέραις γλώσσαις. But the more difficult question is in what precisely does the miracle described consist? The hearers are not Gentiles, but Jews (2[5]). Proselytes are included among the Roman visitors (2[10], it is conceivable that Ἰουδ. τε κ. προσ. applies to *all* the countries enumerated, but the mention of Ἰουδαίαν (v.[9]) is rather adverse to this); but clearly we have to do with the assembly of Jewish pilgrims, including perhaps some more permanent visitors (κατοικοῦντες, v.[5]), whom a great festival would find gathered in the Holy City. Now the list (vv.[9-11]) is one *of countries, not of languages*. Of the fifteen nationalities or regions enumerated, Judæa (even if here used by Luke as in Lk 4[44] for Palestine generally) and probably Arabia (see ARETAS) belong to the domain of Palestinian Judaism whose language was West Aramaic. The Jews of the Euphrates region, Parthians, Medes, Elamites (*i.e.* of Persia, Elam had ceased to exist as a kingdom since the days of Assurbanipal), and Mesopotamians represent the Babylonian group of Jews, who used an East-Aramaic dialect.

This leaves us with nine countries, of which five fall within Asia Minor, where the Jews, as their inscriptions show, spoke Greek (Schürer, *HJP* §§ 2, 31; this was the case as far north as the Crimea). Of the remaining four, Egypt is the mother of Hellenistic Judaism, Cyrene was Greek, Greek was the language of the Jews in Crete, and, as their inscriptions show, of the Jews of Rome. Accordingly, the narrative does not appear to carry us beyond the area of Greek and Aramaic-speaking Judaism. That the Jews of the different countries enumerated spoke these languages with dialectical differences, is of course more than probable. It might therefore suggest itself that the obstacle overcome by the inspiration of Pentecost was diversity not of language but of dialect only. But we cannot appeal, for confirmation of this, to the use of the word διάλεκτος (in vv.[6-8]), for the word means *language* (*e.g.* Aramaic as contrasted with Greek, Ac 1[19] 21[40] 26[14]). A stronger point is that the surprise of the hearers turned on the fact that the speakers were Galilæans (Ac 2[7], cf. Mt 26[73]), *i.e.* not merely men of Palestinian language (Ἑβραῖοι), but men of a marked provincial dialect. But, quite apart from the result of the above analysis of the list, there is no evidence that Jews outside Palestine used any language but Greek or Aramaic. The conclusion, then, as to the exact implications of the narrative is very obscure. We must probably be content with a *non liquet*; possibly the language of St.

Peter ($2^{17.\ 18.\ 33}$, note ἐκχεῶ, ἐξέχεεν) may permit the conjecture that the narrative combines the two elements, afterwards treated as distinct, of tongues and prophecy. Common to all the NT descriptions of the tongues is the feature of utterances not in the common language of the speakers; but whereas in 1 Cor. the hearers are, as a rule (*i.e.* without an interpreter), in the dark as to the meaning, in Ac 2 the meaning is clear to both Greek-speaking and Aramaic-speaking Jews without any such aid: they hear the praises of God each in the tongue wherein he was born.

(*f*) It has been necessary, in order to test the possibility of a definite interpretation of the data, to reduce the narrative of the first Christian Pentecost to its framework of definite prose statement, so far as the nature of the γλῶσσαι, our special subject of inquiry, is concerned. If our conclusion on this point is necessarily indefinite, we must remind ourselves that the γλῶσσαι are but one element in an event of momentous significance, the baptism (Ac 1^5) of the Christian Society for its mission to mankind. The baptism of Pentecost takes its place, in intimate context with the Resurrection and Exaltation of Christ, as the experience which lies behind, and is needed to render conceivable, the abrupt psychological transition which transformed the cowed, perplexed, scattered disciples of a few weeks before into the band that in the succeeding narrative sets out upon its march with joyous swing, conquering and to conquer. That the Spirit was then really given is impossible for believers in the Resurrection of Christ to doubt. That His coming was overwhelming in its suddenness and intensity, and was attended by physical signs not repeated in their fulness on any later occasion, is not less credible than the reality of the 'promise of the Father' and of its fulfilment. That these signs should be not only unaccountable by ordinary causes, but in some details incapable of precise definition, is a small thing, and antecedently probable. Beyond this it is hardly possible to go.

iv. Later History.—There is no clear evidence of tongues as a religious phenomenon anterior to NT times, nor of their survival in the early Church after the apostolic age. Ecstatic utterances appear to have occurred in some forms of OT prophecy (2 S 19^{20} etc.), but no mention is made of 'tongues' as a feature of them. Even in heathen religions, as St. Paul hints (1 Co $12^{1ff.}$), there were analogous phenomena which it was necessary to remember in the attempt to 'discern' the true work of the Holy Spirit. This suggests that profound religious excitement, to whatever cause it may be due, tends to find expression in abnormal utterance. In the NT this tendency gradually gives way to more normal forms; in Eph $5^{18.\ 19}$ we catch, as it were, the last echoes of glossolalic speech; in the later Epistles we hear no more of it. Irenæus (*Hær.* v. vi.) can still tell us, speaking apparently from hearsay, of brethren who prophesied, and spoke through the Spirit in all kinds (παντοδαπαῖς) of tongues; but Chrysostom (on 1 Co 14) frankly declares that the gifts described by St. Paul were unknown in the Church of his day. That the gift of tongues really survived even down to the time of Irenæus is, in the absence of corroborating evidence, difficult to believe. His rather vague statement may rest on some report as to the Montanists of Asia Minor, but in their case again the definite evidence we possess points to 'prophecy' rather than 'tongues' as the distinctive form of their ecstatic speech.

Of more modern examples of such utterances among the Franciscans of the 13th cent., the early Quakers, Jansenists, Methodists, the French Prophets of the Cevennes, and particularly the Irvingites whose 'tongues' (1832–3) have been described by several competent observers, we will only observe that it would be harsh and unjust to ascribe all such phenomena to the studied attempt to reproduce those of the apostolic Church. In whatever way we may explain these utterances, and however good reason there may be to suspect occasional simulation, the spontaneity of the phenomena in general must be freely admitted. But, for reasons suggested above, great caution is necessary in applying them to the interpretation of the NT data.

Literature. — On the last-named class of phenomena, Plumptre's excellent article in Smith's *DB* gives useful references; see also Miller, *Irvingism*. On the NT data the literature is considerable. The Commentaries, *e.g.* those of Meyer-Wendt and Knowling on Ac 2, of Meyer-Heinrici, Godet, Edwards on 1 Co 12. 14, sum up and discuss the various explanations. Among many separate essays we may mention those of Schneckenburger (*Beitr.* 1832); Wieseler (in *SK*, 1838); Hilgenfeld, *Glossolalie*, Leipzig, 1850; Zeller, *Acts of the Ap.*, Eng. tr. vol. i. p. 171 (the ablest anti-miraculous discussion; denies any historical foundation for Ac 2); Rossteuscher, *Gabe d. Sprachen im Apost. Ztltr.* (Marb. 1855, Irvingite); P. Schaff, *Church History*, vol. i. § 24; Weizsäcker, *Apost. Ztltr.* p. 589 ff.; A. Wright, *Some NT Problems*, 277 ff. In these works references will be found to many other discussions, an enumeration of which is beyond the limits of this article.

A. Robertson.

TOOLS.— In Syria, since its conquest by the Arabs in the 7th cent., little or no progress has been made in the mechanical arts: workmen still use much the same kinds of tools and methods of working as their ancestors did ten centuries ago. It is only within the last 40 or 50 years that European implements have come into use. It would occupy too much space to give an account of the tools used in the different handicrafts of Syria; it may be sufficient to mention a few employed in masonry, carpentry, and smith work.

Masonry.—In Syria, in very early times, stones were hewn from the rock by a pointed hammer called the *bîk* (see Hammer), and the larger the stone the less, of course, was the labour of cutting. This seems to have been the reason for the great size of the stones in the oldest part of the temple of Baalbek. When the wedge came into use for splitting rocks, smaller stones were quarried, and consequently buildings were more quickly constructed. The masons of Lebanon, who are still acknowledged to be the most skilful builders in Syria, use no means, such as cranes, for lifting a stone to its position on the wall they are building. If a stone is too large to be carried, an inclined plane is made of trunks of trees, or of stones and earth, and the stone is rolled to its place. Chisels are used only for giving a fine edge to a stone, or for carving. For other tools see Hammer.

Carpentry.—The tools of the Lebanon carpenters are the very same as those used by the ancient Egyptian workmen; only, instead of being of flint or bronze, they are of steel. Of all his tools, the *ḳadûm* or adze is the most useful to the Syrian carpenter; it is hammer, chisel, and plane in one. In the early part of this century planes were not used by the carpenters in the higher villages of Lebanon; planks of wood were smoothed by the adze. The ancient Egyptian adze appears to have been, at first, a sharp flint fastened by thongs to a handle, and replaced by a blade of bronze when metals came into use. The axe passed through similar changes. The bow and drill are still in use for boring holes in wood; the awl is a shoemaker's tool. These tools with the saw are the ordinary implements of a Syrian carpenter, and are carried about by him when seeking work. European tools are, however, becoming common.

Smith.—The hammers and tongs are very much the same in form as those used in Europe, but very roughly made. Anvils are simply cubical masses of iron having the upper surface faced with

steel. The original bellows was a tube through which the workman blew into the fire; then goat-skin bags were employed; and the form of bellows used by the coppersmiths of Syria at the present time is almost the same as that depicted on the tombs of ancient Egypt. The modern worker in iron requires a more powerful instrument, and two large circular bellows are placed so that he may take advantage of the weight of his body in working them. See, further, the separate articles on various tools. W. CARSLAW.

TOPARCHY (τοπαρχία).—A word used only in 1 Mac 11[28], and there to denote three 'provinces' (RV; AV 'governments') to which the name νομός, or 'nome' (AV and RV 'governments'), is given in 1 Mac 10[30. 38] 11[34]. The three toparchies—Aphærema, that is, Ephraim-Ophrah, Lydda, and Ramathaim—were detached from Samaria and added to Judæa some time before the war between Alexander Balas and Demetrius Soter, and their possession was confirmed to Jonathan Maccabæus by Demetrius II. Nikator.

The toparchy was a small administrative division, corresponding to the Turkish *Nahieh*, which was administered by a toparch as the *Nahieh* is by a mudir. According to Pliny (v. 14), Judæa was divided into ten, or, according to Josephus (*BJ* III. iii. 5), into eleven toparchies. See Schürer, *HJP* II. i. 151 ff. C. W. WILSON.

TOPAZ.—In four passages of the OT (Ex 28[17] 39[10], Ezk 28[13], Job 28[19]) the Heb. word פִּטְדָה [ד *raphatum*] is rendered 'topaz' by AV and RV, in accordance with LXX τοπάζιον and Vulg. *topazius*. The other ancient VSS vary their rendering, Pesh. using ܦܛܕܐ, ܨܦܝܪܐ, and ܟܢܥܢܐ, whilst Targ. has יַרְקָן and כְּרַפְּלָא יְרָקָא. The LXX and Vulg. also employ τοπάζιον, *topazion*, as representing פָּז at Ps 119[127]; but the Pesh. there contents itself with the vague term 'precious stones,' and the Targ., still more correctly, אוּבְרִיזָא (Gr. ὄβρυζον). In the NT the topaz is mentioned but once (Rev 21[20]), as the ninth of the foundation stones of the New Jerusalem. The two passages in Ex. name it as the second stone in the first row on the high priest's breastplate, and it is usually believed to have borne the name of Simeon. The comparison used in Job implies its costliness, and indicates the quarter from which it was chiefly derived: 'The topaz of Ethiopia shall not equal it [wisdom].' In Ezek. the wearing of it is a mark of regal splendour: 'Every precious stone was thy [the king's] covering, the sardius, topaz,' etc. There is a fair amount of probability in the derivation of the Heb. name פִּטְדָה from the Sansk. *pîta*, 'yellow,' and in the suggestion that the Gr. form and those derived from it are merely a transposition of the Heb., *ṭ p d* for *p ṭ d*. Codex Amiatinus in Rev 21[20] spells the word with a *d*, *topadius*.

The question whether the topaz of the Bible is identical with our gem of that name has been rendered somewhat difficult by the well-known description of the stone in Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxxvii. 8—

'Egregia etiam nunc sua topazio gloria est, e virenti genere, et cum primum reperta est, prælatæ omnibus. Accidit in Arabiæ insula, quæ Cytis vocabatur, in quam devenerant Troglodytæ prædones fame et tempestate fessi, ut, cum herbas radicesque foderent, eruerunt topazion. Hæc *Archelai* sententia est. *Juba* Topazum insulam in Rubro mari a continenti stadiis ccc abesse dicit; nebulosam et ideo quæsitam sæpius navigantibus nomen ex ea causa accepisse, topazim enim Troglodytarum lingua significationem habere quærendi. . . . Eadem sola nobilium limam sentit.'

We need not discuss the etymology: the two important points are the greenness of the gem and its softness. The first of these is not fatal to the identification, seeing that we know of green topazes; the second is. Pliny may have included the chrysolite and the peridot under this name. Yet it does not follow that all the ancient mineralogists agreed with him. It would not be easy to find a more apt description of our topaz than in the first few words of Strabo's interesting account, Γεωγραφικά, xvi.—

Λίθος δὲ ἐστι διαφανής, χρυσοειδὲς ἀπολάμπων φέγγος, ὅσον μεθ' ἡμέραν μὲν οὐ ῥᾴδιον ἰδεῖν ἐστι, περιαυγέσται γὰρ νύκτωρ δ' ὁρῶσιν οἱ συλλέγοντες· περικαθάψαντες δὲ ἀγγεῖον σημείου χάριν μεθ' ἡμέραν ἀνορρύττουσι. καὶ ἦν σύστημα ἀνθρώπων ἀποδεδειγμένων εἰς τὴν φυλακὴν τῆς λιθίας ταυτῆς, καὶ τὴν συναγωγήν, σιταρκουμένων ὑπὸ τῶν τῆς Αἰγύπτου βασιλέων.

The statements which have appeared as to the chemical composition of the topaz differ strangely. Streeter (*Precious Stones*, p. 221), referring to the distinction between Oriental and Occidental topazes, says that the former consist of pure alumina, the latter being more than half alumina and for the rest composed of silica and fluorine. On the other hand, it has been spoken of as a silicate of aluminium associated with the fluorides of aluminium and silicon. In shape it is an orthorhombic prism with a cleavage transverse to the long axis. It has the power of double refraction, and becomes electric when heated or rubbed. It is almost as hard as the diamond, but there are a few engraved specimens—an antique one, for instance, at St. Petersburg, with the constellation Sirius. Australia produces green and yellow stones. Exquisite transparent ones, clear and bright as the most sparkling water, come from Tasmania—*gouttes d'eau*, the French call them. In Saxony pale violet are found; in Bohemia sea-green; in Brazil red, from pale to deep carmine.

Pliny's influence is very apparent in *The Lapidarium* of Marbodus—

'From seas remote the yellow *Topaz* came,
Found in the island of the self-same name;
Great is the value, for full rare the stone,
And but two kinds to eager merchants known.
One vies with purest gold, of orange bright;
The other glimmers with a fainter light:
Its yielding nature to the file gives way,
Yet bids the bubbling caldron cease to play.
The land of gems, culled from its copious store,
Arabia sends this to the Latian shore:
One only virtue Nature grants the stone,
Those to relieve who under hemorrhoids groan.'

Ruskin, in his lecture on the symbolic use of precious stones in heraldry, states that the topaz is 'symbolic of the Sun, like a strong man running his race rejoicing, standing between light and darkness, and representing all good work.' It is curious to compare this with Marbodus, in his Prose on the Twelve Foundation Stones: 'Contemplativæ solidum vitæ præstat officium.'

J. TAYLOR.

TOPHEL (תֹּפֶל, Τόφολ).—A place named in defining the situation of Dt 1[1]. It has been frequently identified (since Robinson, *BRP*[2] ii. 167, 187, following a suggestion of Hengstenberg) with *et-Ṭafîle* in Gebal, about 15 miles S.S.E. of the Dead Sea, but phonetic, apart from other, reasons make this identification very uncertain (see Driver or Dillm. *ad loc.*).

TOPHET, TOPHETH.—A word of doubtful origin, disputed etymology, rare occurrence, and somewhat uncertain meaning. Milton refers to it, and gives his idea of it in the lines—

'The pleasant valley of Hinnom, Tophet thence
And black Gehenna call'd, the type of hell.'
PL i. 404, 405.

It appears only in the OT, and is never reproduced in the NT. It is not found in the apocryphal books, and its earliest occurrences in Christian literature seem to be in Eusebius (*Onom.*) and

Jerome (on Jer 7^{31}). Even in the OT its range is very limited. It is peculiarly a term of Jeremiah's. It is found once in the historical books (2 K 23^{10}), once in the poetical books (Job 17^{6}), once in Isaiah in a modified form (Is 30^{33}), and elsewhere only in Jeremiah ($7^{31.\ 32}$ $19^{6.\ 12.\ 13.\ 14}$). Ewald is of opinion that the use of the term *Topheth* in the special sense which it has in 2 Kings was not customary so early as Isaiah's time (*Hist. of Israel*, iv. 209, Longmans' tr.). The Hebrew form in all the occurrences but one is תֹּפֶת. In the Isaianic passage, however, it is תָּפְתָּה. This latter form is probably constructed by extension from תֹּפֶת, as we have אֵשָׁה from אֵשׁ, פְּשָׁקָה from פֶּשַׁע (so Dillm. *Jes. ad loc.*); although some (*e.g.* Stade, *Gesch.* i. 610) have had recourse, in endeavouring to explain it, to such expedients as changing the vocalization so as to get תָּפְתָּהּ (='his Topheth'), or detaching the final ה and connecting it (as the interrogation הַ) with the word that follows (see the Dictionaries, and Klost., Bredenk., Cheyne [*SBOT*], Marti, *et al.*). The pronunciation of the word is uncertain. In the Massoretic text the vocalization of *bōsheth*, 'shame,' has probably been given it as a thing of evil name, and the LXX makes it *Tapheth*. In the ancient Versions, indeed, it takes different forms, *e.g.* *Thopheth* (Vulg.), Τάφεθ (LXX, Aq., Symm.), Θαφέθ (LXX in some copies, Aq., Theod.), Θόφθ (Aq.). In Is 30^{33} the rendering of the LXX is ἀπαιτηθήσῃ or ἀπατηθήσῃ; in Jer 19^{6} διάπτωσις; in Jer 19^{13} ὁ διαπίπτων (in some copies); and in Jer 19^{14} again διαπτώσεως (in some copies). The AV makes it *Tophet* in all cases except 2 K 23^{10}, where it is *Topheth*. RV has *Topheth* throughout.

The passage in Job may be at once discounted. There the word is an ordinary descriptive noun, formed probably from a root meaning to 'spit,' and so expressing something *abhorred* or *abominated*. Job describes himself as become 'an open abhorring' (RV text), 'one in whose face they spit' (RV margin); wrongly rendered by the AV 'I was as a tabret,' on the supposition that תֹּפֶת 'spitting' is akin to תֹּף 'timbrel.' In the other passages the word is a local name, and means properly '*the* Topheth,' the article being attached to it except where it has the prepositions בְּ, כְּ connected with it. The extended form תָּפְתָּה, however, is anarthrous, and is probably to be rendered '*a* Topheth is prepared of old,' as in RV.

In its various occurrences the term is associated, directly or indirectly, with the valley of shameful name, known in the OT variously as 'the valley of Hinnom' (only in Jos 15^{8b} 18^{16b}, Neh 11^{30}), 'the valley of the son of Hinnom' (*e.g.* Jos 15^{8a} 18^{16a}, 2 Ch 28^{3} 33^{6}, Jer 7^{32} $19^{2.\ 6}$), 'the valley of the children of Hinnom' (2 K 23^{10} *Kĕthībh*), or simply 'the valley' (Jer 2^{23} 31^{40}), in which the idolatrous Jews, especially in the times of Ahab and Manasseh (cf. 2 Ch 28^{3} 33^{6}), practised the cruel rites of the worship of Molech, and offered human sacrifices. It is with reference to the reforms of Josiah and the steps which he took to defile the impious and horrid place, and prevent any man thereafter from making 'his son or his daughter to pass through the fire to Molech,' that mention is made of Topheth in the *narrative* of the OT. The passage in 2 Kings is the passage of primary interest in the study of the term. But the passages in the Prophets have also their contribution to make.

In the paragraph in Isaiah which gives the oracle concerning the destruction of Assyria, Jehovah is represented as Himself coming from afar to execute vengeance on the oppressors of Israel. His people look on and sing their song of gladness, while judgment is done upon their enemies certainly and completely. The declaration of the certainty and completeness of the overthrow of the Assyrian takes the form of an announcement that for the king, or for his god, 'a Topheth,' a place of burning and abhorrence like that in the unclean valley of Hinnom, 'is prepared of old' and 'made ready,' a place of fire which Jehovah Himself hath made 'deep and large,' the pile whereof is 'fire and much wood'; 'the breath of the Lord, like a stream of brimstone, doth kindle it' (RV). It is a destruction utter and abhorrent, prepared and ordained in the Divine counsels. In Jeremiah the associations and applications of the word are different. It is used in connexion with Judah's sin and the doom of Jerusalem. There is a retributive judgment of God, the prophet declares, that is to overtake the stubborn, idolatrous, impenitent people, against which the sanctity of Shiloh and Jerusalem and the Temple will be no protection. The place which witnessed their wickedness shall witness their punishment. *Topheth* and *the valley of Hinnom* shall no more be known as such, but shall be called 'the valley of slaughter.' Where the Jews had built their high places and had made their children pass through the fire to Molech, there they shall see the awful defilement and overwhelming destruction of war (ch. 7^{29-34}). This is repeated in ch. 19^{1-15} in connexion with the figure of the broken vessel. The city is to be polluted by appalling carnage; the hardened people are to be punished with a destruction so terrible that Topheth shall be filled with their dead bodies 'till there be no place.' The new announcement, too, of retribution that is made by Jeremiah in response to Pashhur's vengeance is introduced by the statement (ch. 19^{14}) that he 'came from Topheth whither the Lord sent him to prophesy.'

These being the occurrences of the word, what can be gathered with respect to the position and the exact sense of *Topheth*? Some have taken *Topheth* to be simply a synonym for *Gehinnom*. But it is clear that the two terms do not designate precisely one and the same thing. Several of the passages in view speak of Topheth as *in* the valley of Hinnom—a locality, or, it might be, an object in it. This does not settle, however, the question of the situation of Topheth. It is still uncertain where the Hinnom Valley lay, and with what it is to be identified in the topography of the Holy City. Authorities are still divided on the question whether it is the valley to the east of Jerusalem, the Kidron Valley (Sir C. Warren); the central valley, the Tyropœon (Sayce, Robertson Smith, Schwarz, etc.); or the *Wady er-Rabābi* or *Rubâbeh*, the deep ravine to the west and south, between the slopes of the 'Hill of Evil Counsel' and the steep sides of Zion (see article HINNOM, VALLEY OF). This leaves the precise position of Topheth in suspense. It is true that in the narrative of Josiah's reforms in 2 K 23 much is said of Kidron, but it does not follow that Topheth was on the east of Jerusalem. Far less can that position be argued out from the statement in Jer 19^{2} that the valley of Hinnom is 'by the entry of the east gate,' as it is erroneously rendered by the AV. For the gate *Harsith* or *Harsuth* mentioned there is not the 'Sun-gate' or the 'east gate,' but probably the 'Sherd-gate,' 'the gate of potsherds' (RV), so called perhaps from the fragments of potter's work scattered about there. Neither does the allusion to 'the graves of the children of the people' (2 K 23^{6}) carry us far, although Sir Charles Warren thinks we may infer from it that Topheth was near the common burial-place. Nor, again, is much to be made of tradition. Jerome describes the place as a green and fertile spot in the Hinnom Valley 'watered by the springs of Siloam'—*Illum locum significat, qui Siloæ fontibus irrigatur et est amœnus atque nemorosus hodieque hortorum præbet*

delicias (on Jer 7[31]). This might point to its being at the mouth of the Tyropœon or on the south of the Kidron. Tradition, again, places the site of Aceldama among the rock-hewn tombs of the 'Hill of Evil Counsel,' and Eusebius speaks of 'the place called *Thapheth*' as if it had been regarded on to his own day as situate 'in the suburbs of Ælia,' near 'the Fuller's Pool and the Potter's Field or the place Aceldama' (*Onom. sub voc.* Θάφεθ). But there must have been some inconstancy in the traditional account, or either Jerome or Eusebius must have made a mistake. For Jerome speaks of Aceldama as on the south (*ad australem plagam montis Sion*), while Eusebius says it was *ἐν βορείοις*. If, however, the 'Potter's Field' is 'the Field of Blood,' and the gate *Harsith* (Jer 7[2]) is the 'Sherd-gate,' Topheth might be located somewhere on the south and west of Jerusalem and on the eastern side of the Hinnom Valley. Sir Charles Warren (cf. Smith's *DB*, *sub voc.* 'Hinnom') points out that where the *Wady er-Rubâbeh* joins the Kidron there is 'an open plot of ground' which might be the spot that Jerome identified with Topheth. These references, however, are meagre, and leave us uncertain as to the strength or the antiquity of the tradition behind them.

On the origin and etymology of the word much has been written that is doubtful, not to say purely fanciful. Some have attempted to connect it with the Greek *θάπτειν* in the phrase *πυρὶ θάπτειν* (Ges.), or with the Greek *τύφειν* and the Hebrew אָפָה = *cook*, תַּפְּעִים = *cooked pieces* for offerings (cf. Lv 6[14]). Jerome, deriving it probably from פָּתַח, interpreted it as = *latitudo*. Some of the great Rabbis (*e.g.* Rashi and D. Kimchi) understood it to come from תָּפַף = *strike, beat*, with reference to the supposed beating of drums and other instruments to drown the cries of the sacrificial victims in the cruel rites of the Molech worship — a practice the alleged existence of which is not borne out by any sufficient evidence in ancient writers. Others have had recourse to peculiar foreign forms, to Assyro-Persian roots, to the Egyptian Θωύθ or Θώθ, etc. (Andr. Müller). Some, again, have taken the original idea to have been that of *beauty*, with reference to Jerome's description of the place. With this in view, Rosenmüller, *e.g.*, was bold enough to connect it with יָפָה = *to be fair*, as if the primitive form had been תּוֹפֶת. With a somewhat similar idea, others, pointing to the mention in succession of *tabrets* (תֻּפִּים) and *Topheth* in Is 30[32. 33], look again to the verb תָּפַף = *strike* (a timbrel or the like), and attach to the word *Topheth* the sense of 'Music-grove,' as if it had been originally part of the royal garden, defiled at a later period by idol-worship and abominable, idolatrous sacrifice (H. Bonar in Smith's *DB*).

Dismissing these fanciful conjectures, we have to choose between two explanations which alone have much reason in them. One of these seeks the origin of the term in a root תוף, Arabic تَفَّ = to *spit out*, and so to *regard with contempt* or *loathing*. In this case the idea will be that of 'place of abhorrence,' 'place of abomination' (Böttcher, Riehm, Pressel, etc.). This is favoured by the fact that there does exist a descriptive noun תֹּפֶת, which appears to have this meaning, in Job 17[6]. The other explanation looks to a root expressing the notion of *burning*, which is supposed by some to show itself in a Persian *toften* (Ges.), in the Greek *τέφρα*, the Latin *tepidus* (Streane). In this case the idea would be that of 'place of burning.' This, again, is understood by some to refer to the disposal of the dead, by others to the offering of sacrifices, in particular to the burning of human sacrifices, as in the worship of Molech. The difficulty in the way of the first of these suppositions is that, except in special cases (*e.g.* that of Saul, 1 S 31[12]; that of the victims of plague, Am 6[16] etc.), the Hebrew dead were not burned, but buried. With regard to the second supposition, the question is whether, as it is ordinarily put, it will suit the various passages. In the case of Is 30[33], *e.g.*, Dillmann is of opinion that it is a vast human holocaust that is in view; while Robertson Smith thinks that the imagery of the passage would be rendered discordant if the notion of the sacrifices in the valley of Hinnom were introduced. The latter scholar, therefore, gives the question another application. He seeks an Aramaic origin for the word, and he connects its use with such sacrifices as the Harranian. He points to the fact that at the time when the term 'first appears in Hebrew, the chief foreign influence in Judæan religion was that of Damascus' (2 K 16). This, he thinks, makes the theory of an Aramaic origin not improbable. He notices, further, that the Arabic word *othfīyā* and the Syriac *tfāyā* are names for 'the stones on which a pot is set, and then for any stand or tripod set upon a fire.' He supposes that a variant form *tfath* might have existed which would be quite according to analogy, and takes תפת to be an Aramaic term for 'a fireplace, or for the framework set on the fire to support the victim.' He points out further, that among the Semites human sacrifices were disposed of ordinarily by burning, and that the victims generally were not burned on the altar or within the sanctuary, but outside the city. His view, therefore, is that the passage in Isaiah refers to 'a rite, well known to Semitic religion, which was practised at Tarsus down to the time of Dio Chrysostom, and the memory of which survives in the Greek legend of Heracles-Melkarth, in the story of Sardanapalus, and in the myth of queen Dido'—the annual rite commemorating the death of the local god in fire. Thus '*the Topheth*' is taken to be the 'fireplace,' or pyre, the deep pit dug in the valley of Hinnom for the purpose of the most distinctive act in the performance of these horrid rites — the burning of the victims. It may be added that Ewald, who places the deep valley of Ben-Hinnom on the south of the 'long, broad ridge' to which 'the ancient name of Zion originally belonged,' takes Topheth to be a glowing furnace in the valley, and regards everything as pointing to the conclusion that it was Manasseh who first built it.

LITERATURE.—Commentaries on the OT passages (Dillmann-Kittel, Marti, and Skinner on *Isaiah*, Duhm on *Jeremiah*), the Lexicons, the Bible Dictionaries (Herzog's *PRE*, Riehm's *HWB*, Smith's *DB*, *sub voc.* 'Hinnom,' 'Gehinnom,' 'Gehenna'); the books on the geography of the Holy Land (Robinson, etc.); Ewald's *Hist. of Isr.* iii. pp. 123, 124, iv. p. 208, etc., Longmans' tr.; Böttcher's *De Inferis*, p. 85; W. R. Smith's *Rel. of the Sem.*[2] pp. 372–378.

S. D. F. SALMOND.

TORAH.—See LAW.

TORCH.—See LAMP and LANTERN.

TORMAH (תִּרְמָה 'fraud, deceit'; B *ἐν κρυφῇ*, A *μετὰ δώρων*).—In the margin of Jg 9[31] 'in Tormah' is given as an alternative rendering of the Hebrew word translated 'craftily' (AV 'privily'). Some commentators have suggested that Tormah is a corruption of Arumah (v.[41]); but there is no evidence one way or the other. The text certainly appears to be corrupt. See Moore, *ad loc.*

C. W. WILSON.

TORTOISE.—The AV tr. of צָב *ṣāb* (Lv 11[29]); RV has 'great lizard'; prob. the *land monitor* is meant. See CHAMELEON, LIZARD.

TOU (תֹּעוּ).—King of HAMATH on the Orontes, who sent an embassy to congratulate David on

his defeat of HADADEZER, with whom Tou himself had waged frequent wars, 1 Ch 18[9f.]. In the parallel passage, 2 S 8[9f.], the name appears as **Toi**, which, however, is less probable philologically (see Driver, *Text of Sam.* 217). In 2 Sam. the LXX has, B Θουού, A and Luc. Θαεί; in 1 Chron., B Θῶα, A Θοού, Luc. Θολά. J. A. SELBIE.

TOWER.—(A) In OT for **1.** מִגְדָּל *migdāl*. The *migdāl* served sometimes to defend a city wall, and in particular an angle in the wall or a gate (2 Ch 14[7 (6)] 26[9]). Engines for casting arrows and stones were sometimes placed in the towers (26[15]). A single tower sometimes served as a citadel (Gn 11[4], Jg 9[51]). In the country, towers were erected for the protection of the flocks and herds, and to safeguard the roads (2 K 17[9], 2 Ch 26[10] 27[4]). The pilgrim route from Damascus to Mecca is dotted with towers which protect the wayside wells (Doughty, *Arabia Deserta*, i. 9, 13). A vineyard was sometimes watched from a *migdāl* (Is 5[2], cf. Mt 21[33]), sometimes from a mere 'booth' (סֻכָּה *sukkah*). The towers of Jerusalem are mentioned generally in Ps 48[12], Is 33[18]; see also Neh 3[1] (towers of HAMMEAH and of HANANEL; cf. also Ryle's note *in loco*); v.[11] (tower of the furnaces; cf. Ryle, and see JERUSALEM, vol. ii. p. 593, for this tower and the next mentioned); vv.[25-27] (the [great] tower that lieth out); Ca 4[4] (tower of David); 7[4 (5)] (the tower of Lebanon which looketh toward Damascus). 'The tower of Babel' (it should be noted here) is not a biblical phrase; the presumption of men was shown not in the height of the tower, which is hyperbolically expressed, but in the whole scheme embodied in the building of 'the city and the tower.' That 'the name of the LORD is a strong tower' (Pr 18[10]) may mean either of two things: (1) that God Himself is a protection, or (2) that the mention of His name in an adjuration often stops an intended act of violence. The second sense may be illustrated from the tradition that the prophet Mohammed once spared a female captive who exclaimed, 'I take refuge in God (*a'ūdhu billāhi*) from thee.' Mic 4[8], in which Zion is addressed, 'O tower of the flock,' is taken by Nowack (*in loco*) and others as a later addition. Jerusalem is here represented, it is said, as already desolate, as a lonely tower from which grazing flocks are watched. A more natural interpretation of the phrase is suggested by Is 14[32]. Zion is the tower in which the flock of God takes refuge from the enemy.

2. 'Tower' stands also for *migdōl* (Ezk 29[10] 30[6]) in EV, where RVm more correctly gives a proper name 'from Migdol' (LXX ἀπὸ Μαγδώλου). **3.** בָּחָן *baḥan*, בָּחוֹן *bāḥōn* (pl. בְּחוֹנִים *baḥūnīm*), a tower used by besiegers for observing and (sometimes) for attacking a city; Is 23[13]. The prophet Jeremiah is compared (Jer 6[27]) with one of these towers, because he was the herald and (in a sense) the instrument of God's judgments on Jerusalem; cf. Ezk 4[3], where the prophet is directed to besiege the city in dumb show. The rendering of Jer 6[27] in RVm 'trier' is supported by LXX and Pesh. (Lee), and yields a play on the following verb 'try,' but the AV is probably right. **4.** 'High tower' is the rendering of מִשְׂגָּב *misgāb*, in Ps 18[2 (3)] EV, and 59[9 (10), 17 (18)] RV. God is called the Psalmist's *misgāb*. **5.** עֹפֶל *'ōphel* (2 K 5[24] AV). RV gives 'hill' (correctly). **6.** מָצוֹר *māẓōr* (Hab 2[1]), a word meaning 'entrenchment,' 'rampart.' **7.** פִּנָּה *pinnah* (Zeph 3[6]), 'towers' AV, 'battlements' RV, 'corner towers' RVm (rightly, towers being often set at an angle of a city wall). **8.** The word צְרִיחַ *ẓĕrîaḥ* (Jg 9[46] 'hold' AV, 1 S 13[6] 'high places' AV) has been taken by Jewish expositors to mean a 'tower,' but Driver (on 1 S 13[6]) shows good reason for rendering 'vault' or 'underground chamber'; the Lyons Heptateuch (ed. U. Robert) has *promuntuarium* (for *promptuarium*), 'store-room, magazine,' in Jg 9[46].

(B) In the Apocrypha 'the tower' is the regular rendering in AV in 1 and 2 Maccabees of ἡ ἄκρα, 'the citadel' (RV), *i.e.* the fortress commanding the temple (see JERUSALEM, vol. ii. p. 594), which is also called ἡ ἀκρόπολις, 'the tower' (2 Mac 4[12]), 'the castle' (v.[27 (28)]), so AV; 'the citadel' (RV). 'Tower' is also the translation of πύργος, a wooden building carried by an elephant, and holding thirty-two men (1 Mac 6[37]), also a place of execution in which criminals were smothered in ashes (2 Mac 13[5]). In Sir 37[14 (18)] σκοπή is 'high tower' AV, 'watch-tower' RV, but the Hebrew varies between שֵׁן *shēn*, 'a steep rock' (cf. 1 S 14[4]), and מִצְפֶּה *miẓpeh*, 'watch-tower' with עֵץ *'ēẓ*, 'tree,' in margin. Sir 26[22] ('a married [woman] is a tower against death to [her] husband,' AV) occurs in a passage of nine verses which is omitted from RV as an interpolation. It is absent from the uncials (אAB), but it is found in Clem. Alex. [p. 229], in cursive 248 (HP), and in the Syriac and Arabic, and so most probably existed at an early date in Hebrew. The correct translation of v.[22b] is 'A married woman is a tower of death to those who have company (τοῖς χρωμένοις) with her.' The 'tower of death' is, no doubt, the tower of punishment described in 2 Mac 13[5] (see above).

(C) In NT 'tower' represents πύργος in Mt 21[33] (=Mk 12[1], see Swete's note) a tower in a vineyard; Lk 13[4] the tower in Siloam; cf. 14[28]. Silwān, the modern Siloam, is built on a steep escarpment of rock, on which a building with good foundations would stand for ever; ill-laid foundations would drop their superstructure to the very bottom of the valley.

W. EMERY BARNES.

TOWN CLERK (γραμματεύς).—An official whose powers and functions varied at different periods and in different countries of the Greek world. Here we speak only of the *grammateus* in the Græco-Asiatic cities under the early Roman empire. The titles 'clerk of the city' (γρ. τῆς πόλεως), 'clerk of the senate' (γρ. τῆς βουλῆς), 'clerk of the people' (γρ. τοῦ δήμου), 'clerk of senate and people, or of senate and *ekklesia*' (γρ. βουλῆς καὶ ἐκκλησίας), and even 'clerk of senate and people and *gerousia*,' are all found in inscriptions of those cities. Sometimes there seems to be a difference between some of these titles; but in other cases it seems probable or certain that the 'clerk of the city,' the 'clerk of the senate and the people,' and the 'clerk of the people,' were various designations of one very important official.

The *grammateus* was responsible for the form of the decrees, which were submitted to the popular assembly, *i.e.* the *Demos* assembled in *ekklesia*. These decrees under the empire were first approved by the senate, and afterwards sent to be approved by the people in the *ekklesia*. The powers of the people were limited to accepting or rejecting the decrees sent down from the senate. They could not amend, and gradually their approval became a mere form, which followed as a matter of course, inasmuch as the Roman imperial system discouraged and limited the powers of the popular assembly. After the decrees were passed, the *grammateus* sealed them with the public seal (δημοσία σφραγίς) in the presence of witnesses (δογματογράφοι). In many places he even proposed the decrees in the popular assembly, and acted as chairman.

In Ephesus (Ac 19[35]), at an excited and uproarious gathering of the people in the theatre (a common place for regularly summoned meetings of the popular assembly), the clerk speaks as one both possessing authority and under personal responsi-

bility for the popular action. The Roman administration regarded irregular and unruly popular assemblies as a serious and even capital offence, because they tended to strengthen among the people the consciousness of their power and the desire to exercise it; and the clerk was evidently afraid lest he should be personally held to account for the irregular meeting.

This picture, as indicated in Acts, is entirely in keeping with the position of the *grammateus* as indicated in the inscriptions. In Ephesus that official is occasionally styled '*grammateus* of the Ephesians'; and often an event is dated by the clerk of the year. Money bequeathed to the people was under his charge. He often was responsible for the execution of works ordered by the people. The inscriptions of neighbouring cities whose constitution is most likely to have closely resembled the Ephesian, enable us to add many other details. The position of clerk is spoken of as the climax of a career of public service to the State of Tralles (*μετὰ πολλὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ λειτουργίας γραμματεύσαντα τῆς πόλεως ἐπιφανῶς*, *CIG* 2931). He along with the *strategoi* (to whom the real conduct of business came to be trusted more and more in the Greek cities of Asia) drafted the decrees; and this implies that he had a seat as assessor on the board of *strategoi*, and perhaps even presided there (*γνώμη στρατηγῶν καὶ τοῦ γρ. τοῦ δήμου*).

The clerk contrasts the confused assembly in the theatre with the *ἔννομος ἐκκλησία*, *i.e.* the people legally and properly assembled in the exercise of its powers. Such meetings were either ordinary on fixed days (*νόμιμοι* in an Ephesian inscription), or extraordinary, specially summoned at an unusual time (called *σύγκλητοι* at Athens); but the latter class of meetings required special authorization from the Roman governor of the province, and certainly were rarely permitted by the jealousy of Roman policy. The term *ἔννομος ἐκκλησία* has not hitherto been found at Ephesus, but occurs at Termessos (see Lanckoronski, *Städte Pamphyl.* ii. p. 33).

LITERATURE.—Hicks, *Greek Inscr. of the Brit. Museum*, iii. p. 82; Liebenam, *Städteverwaltung im röm. Kaiserreiche*, p. 288 f.; Lévy in *Revue des Études Grecques*, 1895, p. 216 ff.; Ramsay in *Expositor*, Feb. 1896, p. 137 ff., and in *Cities and Bish. of Phrygia*, i. 66; Svoboda, *Griech. Volksbeschlüsse*, p. 206 f.

W. M. RAMSAY.

TRACHONITIS.—In the Bible only in Lk 3^1, in defining Philip's tetrarchy: *τῆς Ἰτουραίας καὶ Τραχωνίτιδος χώρας*. Trachonitis was properly the country of, or round, the Trachon or Trachons (*ὁ Τράχων*, *οἱ Τράχωνες*), the name given by the Greeks (*τράχων* = 'rough, rocky ground') to those areas of split and shattered deposits of lava which form so characteristic a feature of the volcanic country S.E. of Damascus, and are known to the Arabs of to-day by the name of *wa'ar* (= 'stony waste'). *Wa'ar* is the equivalent of the Hebrew יער. The latter is wrongly rendered 'forest' in AV and RV; at the most it can mean only 'wood,' and generally seems to be no more than 'jungle.' Wetzstein (*Reisebericht über Hauran u. die Trachonen*, 15, n. 3) gives good grounds for the opinion that יער originally meant the same as the Arab. *wa'ar* (cf. especially Is $21^{13ff.}$), and that its association with wood, for which he supplies a modern Arabic analogy, is only secondary. Strabo (xvi. 2. 20) speaks of 'the two so-called Trachones behind Damascus.' These are, without doubt, the two largest lava areas in the region, the Ṣafā and the Lejā. Their edges are well defined, and visible from far on the surrounding plain—split banks of black rock with a sheen on it: about 30 ft. high. Within such borders the surfaces are amongst the most waste and broken upon earth. The lava in cooling has assumed the wildest shapes. Its surface has been likened to 'a petrified ocean' (cf. Merrill, *E. of Jordan*, p. 11) and to an 'ebony glacier with irregular crevasses' (*HGHL*^{4} 616). Wetzstein gives a vivid description (with sketches) of the tossed and broken formation, with the volcanic vents from which it burst. 'The Ṣafā is still, as on the day of its origin, a gush of lava, black and of a dull sheen, full of countless streams, bridged over by thin vaults, of petrified black, often also bright red, waves, which roll down the slopes from the craters over the high plateau' (*op. cit.* p. 7). The Ṣafā, 'the empty or naked,' has no water or vegetation: 'no human being can exist upon it': it lies, too, far east in the desert. The Lejā, 'the refuge,' on the other hand, lies on the fertile plain of Ḥauran, and appears always to have been inhabited. It is 370 square miles in extent, almost bridging the plain between Jebel Druz (from now extinct volcanoes at the N. end of which, the Gharārat el-Ḳibliyeh and Tell Shiḥan, it issued) and the ranges to the E. of Hermon and S. of Damascus. It contains few springs, but with winter rains these form occasional small lakes. Soil has gathered in many of the hollows, and there are cultivated fields. Flocks can be pastured: there are enclosures of dry stone walls, which prove the ancient herding of cattle; and remains of vineyards, and cisterns. The ruins of villages, and well-preserved ancient towns,—Musmieh, Nejrân, Dama, Kubab, Jurēn, and others,—the remains of defences against the easier entrances, and numerous traces of cuttings for roads, point to a considerable population in ancient times. The region is still partly inhabited and cultivated. While, therefore, Strabo, as a geographer, spoke of two Trachons, the Ṣafā and the Lejā, the former, uninhabited and lying far from the ways of men, was ignored by history, and the latter was to history *the* Trachon *κατ' ἐξοχήν*. So an inscription in Musmieh (le Bas-Waddington, No. 2524), and another in Bereke (*id.* 2396), and so Josephus (*Ant.* xv. x. 1).

How far back the human history of the Lejā extends is quite unknown to us. On the one hand, it is hard to think that so safe and habitable a 'refuge,' whether from Arab raids or the armies of the ancient powers, was unused by man, so long as the surrounding country was inhabited; and equally hard to suppose that a phenomenon of nature, so singular and conspicuous, was not frequently upon the lips of the surrounding peoples. On the other hand, in the OT there is no certain reference to the Lejā. ARGOB in Bashan was identified with it by the Targums, and the identification has been repeated in our days (by Porter, Henderson, and the maps of the Pal. Expl. Fund), on the grounds that the Lejā can hardly have been omitted from the Biblical Geography, and that the phrase by which Argob is described, חֶבֶל אַרְגֹב, literally the 'rope' or 'limit' of Argob, exactly suits the well-defined edge of the Lejā, called by the Arabs of to-day the Loḥf. But חֶבֶל as a geographical term is properly 'district,' and applicable to any well-defined region; and the only natural derivation of ארגב is from רגב, 'a clod of earth,' which no one could take as characteristic of the Lejā; while, also, Israel's conquests very probably did not extend so far to the N.E. Argob is now generally identified with the district of Suwet, E. of Gilead and W. of the Zumle range: to the S. of Bashan, but geologically connected with the latter. Again, in the חרדים of Jer 17^6, 'waste tracts,' it is possible to see a reference to the two Trachons, but more probably the word has the much wider reference to all those stony areas of the Arabian desert to which its Arabic equivalent *ḥarra* applies (Doughty, *Arabia Deserta*, *passim* and Index). Porter (*Giant Cities of Bashan*, 1882, p. 12 ff., etc.) and others have taken the ancient buildings in the towns of the Lejā and other parts of Ḥauran and Bashan to be the actual remains of the giant races who, according to the OT, preceded the Amorites in the occupation of these lands, and of the Amorites themselves, *i.e.* the cities of Og king of Bashan. For the reasons stated above, we may well believe

that the sites of these cities were occupied at a very early historical period; and the visitor to those in Bashan itself (as the present writer recently verified) may still note rude fortifications (under or near the obviously later city walls) which resemble the Amorite remains recognized in other parts of Palestine. But, on the other hand, the peculiar architecture in the Lejā and surrounding country (whether above or under ground), in which Porter claimed to have discovered the 'Giant Cities of Bashan,' bears no proofs of an origin earlier than the eve of the Christian era; that is, after the Greeks settled east of the Jordan.

Practically, therefore, the history of the Lejā opens with the appearance of its Greek name, *Trachon*. The Greeks, who began to settle on the E. of Jordan soon after Alexander the Great's Syrian campaign, seem to have made no impression on the Lejā, which was occupied by Nabatæan Arabs down to the arrival of Pompey's legions at Damascus, in B.C. 65 and 64. The Romans, coming to the aid of the Greek cities, crushed all the Semitic powers in Ḥauran, whether Jewish or Arab, but do not appear to have occupied Ḥauran itself. In B.C. 25 one Zenodorus is said to have ruled over part of the Ituræan territory on the slopes of Hermon, Auranitis (=Ḥauran, Jos. *Ant.* XV. x. 2), and Trachonitis, *i.e.* the Trachon along with some territory round it (Jos. *Ant.* XV. x. 1 Τράχων || *BJ* XVII. ii. 1, etc. Τραχωνῖτις). Josephus and Ptolemy enable us to define approximately the then limits of this territory. According to *Ant.* XV. x. 3 it touched in the N.W. the districts of Ulatha and Paneas, about the sources of Jordan at the S. foot of Hermon; according to *Ant.* XVII. ii. 1, 2 it marched with Batanæa; and according to Ptolemy, v. 15. 4, it extended towards Mons Alsadamus, the present Jebel Druz. Ptolemy speaks of the Τραχωνῖται Ἄραβες 'under' that mountain. About B.C. 25 these Arabs raided the Greeks of Ḥauran, and the Greeks complained to Varro, governor of Syria. Varro appears to have himself inflicted some chastisement upon them (Jos. *BJ* I. xx. 4). But subsequently orders came from Augustus that Varro should replace Zenodorus by Herod, who had already (from his towns Gadara and Hippos eastward: *Ant.* XV. vii. 3; *BJ* I. xx. 3) some experience of fighting with the Trachonite Arabs (*Ant.* XV. v. 1; *BJ* I. xix. 2). Herod subdued them for a time (*Ant.* XV. x. 1; *BJ* I. xx. 4); but they, apparently unable to live upon the meagre crops of the Lejā itself, again, during Herod's absence in Rome, raided the fertile lands to the W. of them (*Ant.* XVI. ix. 1). Herod's soldiers defeated them and drove them into Nabatæa (to the S. of Ḥauran), with the exception of a few, who remained in the Lejā, and the most of whom Herod himself, when he returned, slew. The remainder, in alliance with the Nabatæans, kept up a series of attacks on Herod's borders. He put a force of 3000 Idumæans into Trachonitis, and placed the command in the hands of Zamaris, a Jew from Babylonia, for whom he built forts in Batanæa and at Bathyra, perhaps the present Busr (el-Hariri), on the S. border of the Lejā (*Ant.* XVII. ii. 1–3). Zamaris—it is not mentioned that he conquered the Lejā itself—quieted the surrounding country, and Herod built a temple near Kanatha, in the ruins of which an inscription still records the erection of a statue to him (le Bas-Waddington, 2364). By Herod's testament, his son Philip in B.C. 4 received 'Trachonitis,' along with the rest of the country between the Yarmuk and Hermon, as his tetrarchy (*Ant.* XVII. viii. 1, xi. 4, XVIII. iv. 6; *BJ* II. vi. 3). Strabo (xvi. 2. 20) describes, about A.D. 25, the general security of the country under Philip. Philo (*Legat. ad Gaium*, 41) gives the name Trachonitis to the whole of Philip's tetrarchy. When the latter died, in 34, Trachonitis and the rest of his tetrarchy was comprised in the province of Syria until 37, when Caligula gave it to Agrippa, who held the country as far as the eastern slopes of the Jebel Druz (cf. his inscription, still extant at el-Mushennef [Wadd. 2211]). It was from Agrippa's reign onward that the architecture of the district increased, according to the numerous inscriptions; though the Roman road through the Lejā itself may be as early as the time of Varro (see above). From A.D. 44, when Agrippa died, the whole of Palestine was directly governed by Roman officials till 50, when Chalcis, and 53, when the tetrarchies of Philip and Lysanias, were given to Agrippa II., whose inscriptions are numerous throughout Trachonitis. In A.D. 100, on Agrippa's death, the direct Roman administration seems to have been resumed; and in 106, by the creation of the further province of Arabia, Trachonitis became part of the inner province of Syria. The bulk of the remains of its ancient civilization date from the subsequent period. The road just mentioned and others through the province may be wholly or mainly the work of the Antonines. In 295 Trachonitis was joined to the province of Arabia.

The question, whether in the time at which Lk 3^1 was written the Ituræan district and Trachonitis were two distinct portions of Philip's tetrarchy, or two equivalent or overlapping names for it, has already been fully discussed under ITURÆA.

LITERATURE.—Besides Wetzstein's *Reisebericht* quoted above, see Ritter, *Erdkunde*, XV.; Porter, *Five Years in Damascus*, ii., and *The Giant Cities of Bashan*; Selah Merrill, *East of Jordan*; Schürer, *HJP* I. ii. App. 1, etc.; de Vogüé, *Syrie Centrale: Architecture Civile et Religieuse*; Guthe, Fischer, and Stubel, in the *ZDPV*, 1890, 225 ff.; the present writer's *HGHL*, 543, 615 ff.; Major-General Heber-Percy, *A Visit to Bashan and Argob*, 1895, with good photographs; Rindfleisch in *ZDPV*, 1898, p. 1 ff.; v. Oppenheim, *Vom Mittelmeer zum Pers. Golf*, i. chs. iii. and vi. (with photographs of es-Ṣafā), 1899; *Encyc. Bibl.* artt. 'Argob,' 'Bashan,' and 'Bosor.'

G. A. SMITH.

TRADE and COMMERCE.—i. TERMS.—'Trade' in AV of Gn $46^{32.34}$ means 'occupation,' and has no equivalent in the Hebrew. In Ezk 27^{12-17} it represents the Heb. נתן 'gave'; in Gn $34^{10.21}$ it is the rendering of סחר *ṣḥr*. The participle of this last verb is used for 'merchant'; and cognate nouns, סָחַר, סְחוֹרָה, סַחַר, סְחֹר, for 'place of traffic,' 'merchandise,' 'profit,' traffic,' and, by the use of abstract for concrete, 'traffickers' (Gr. ἐμπορεύεσθαι, ἔμπορος, ἐμπορία; Lat. *negotiari, negotiator, institor, negotiatio, mercatus*). The root *ṣḥr*= 'travel,' and describes the merchant as a travelling trader. Similarly from רכל *rkl*, originally 'to travel,' connected with *regel*, 'foot,' we have *rōkhēl*, 'merchant' (ἔμπορος, *institor, negotiator, venditor*, etc.), רְכֻלָּה 'traffic' (ἐμπορία, *negotiatio*), מַרְכֹּלֶת 'place of traffic' (RV 'merchandise,' ἐμπορία, *negotiatio*). The Heb. words of this group chiefly occur in Neh 3. 13, Ezk 26–28.

Similarly in 1 K 10^{15}, 2 Ch 9^{14} MT couples *'anshê hat-tārîm* (EV 'chapmen') with *sōḥĕrîm*, 'merchants'; and *tārîm*, which should mean 'spies,' is explained as 'those who go to and fro,' 'traffickers'; but the text is corrupt. Kittel ('Chronicles' in *SBOT*) proposes to read *'ăsher mē'ārîm*, 'that which came from the cities.'

The proper names *Kĕna'an* (Is 23^8), *Kĕna'ănî* (Pr 31^{24} etc.), are also used to mean 'merchant.' In Neh 10^{31} מַקָּחוֹת, from לקח 'to take,' is used in the sense of 'goods for sale' (EV 'ware'); and in Ezk 27 עֲרֻבֹתָיִךְ is used for 'thy wares,' so RV (not, as AV, 'thy fairs').

The roots of the following seem to have had originally the meaning 'exchange' or 'barter':

ערב 'traffic,' and its derivative מַעֲרָב 'merchandise' or 'traffic,' only in Ezk 27, cf. DEBT, PLEDGE; with the allied group מור 'to exchange *or* barter,' and תְּמוּרָה 'exchange,' 'barter,' 'price'; כֹּפֶר 'price paid for a wife,' and its denom. מהר 'to buy a wife'; מכר 'to sell,' and מֶכֶר 'wares *or* price'; מְחִיר 'price.'

The common word for 'buy,' קנה, is a general term meaning 'possess' and 'acquire'; so קִנְיָנָה, מִקְנָה, 'possession,' sometimes mean 'purchase' or 'price.' Another term for 'buy' is כרה; and לקח 'take' is sometimes tr. 'buy.' שׁבר usually means 'to buy corn.'

Other words for 'price' are יֶקֶר, lit. 'value,' and עֶרֶךְ 'an equivalent.' For 'caravan' we have אֹרְחָה (Gn 37^{25}, Is 21^{13}, Job $6^{18.19}$), הֲלִיכָה (so only Job 6^{19} poet.), and מַסָּעוֹת (1 K 10^{28}=2 Ch 1^{16}), and שַׁיָּרָה (Ezk 27^{25}), lit. 'company' *or* 'band.' A special class of merchant ships were styled 'ships of Tarshish.' See TARSHISH. The tr. 'make merchandise' in Dt 21^{14} 24^{7} is a mistake. The meaning of the word (התעמר, only in these two passages) is probably 'play the master' (LXX in 24^{7} *καταδυναστεύσας*); see Driver's note.

In the NT we have for 'merchandise,' *ἐμπορία*; 'to trade,' *ἐργάζομαι*, *ἐμπορεύομαι*; 'to buy,' *ἀγοράζω*, *ὠνέομαι*; 'to sell,' *ἀποδίδωμι*, *πιπράσκω*, *πωλέω*; 'merchant,' *ἔμπορος*; 'banker' *or* 'money-changer,' *τραπεζίτης*; 'seller of purple,' *πορφυρόπωλις*; 'bank' *or* 'counter,' *τράπεζα* (lit. 'table'); 'mart,' *ἐμπόριον*; 'price,' *τιμή*; 'valuable,' 'expensive,' *πολυτελής*, *πολύτιμος*; 'lading of a ship,' *γόμος*.

ii. DATA.—1. *General.*—The natural features of a country indicate the character and extent of its commerce. Given harbours or practicable land routes, etc., it will export what it produces easily, and import what it produces with difficulty or cannot produce at all. See articles on the various countries of the Bible. Again, references to the possession of articles of foreign production imply commerce with the place of production. See articles on GOLD, SILVER, DRESS, etc.

2. *Trade in OT.*—There are numerous scattered references, but the leading cases are the accounts of Solomon's commerce (1 K 5. 9^{26-28} 10^{11-29}), and of the unsuccessful attempt of Jehoshaphat to imitate him (1 K 22^{48}); and of the Sabbath trading at Jerusalem (Neh 13^{15-22}). The commerce of Tyre is described in Is 23, Ezk 26. 27. A caravan trade in spices, etc., with Egypt is mentioned in Gn 37^{25} (J), and implied in 43^{11} (J).

3. *Trade in the Apocrypha, NT, Josephus, Talmud,* etc.—In 1 Mac 14^{5} Simon makes Joppa a port, and in To 4^{1} 9^{5} we read of a deposit of money repaid on the production of a receipt. In the NT commerce furnishes our Lord with many illustrations; St. Paul sails in trading vessels, and meets with Lydia, 'the dealer in purple' (Ac 16^{14}), and the manufacturers of silver shrines for Diana (Ac 19^{24}). The commerce of Rome, under the name of Babylon, is described in a passage, Rev 18, adapted from Ezk 27. There are scattered references in Josephus. The Talmud often refers to the articles and conditions of commerce in its discussions on tithes, and on the ritual questions, uncleanness, etc., arising out of relations between Jews and Gentiles. These notices can be applied only with caution to periods earlier than the compilation of the Talmuds (A.D. 400–600).

4. *Other Authorities.*—The immense collection of Egyptian, Assyrian, and Babylonian documents and inscriptions afford much information as to commerce in general, and some, direct and indirect, as to that of Palestine. The classical authorities, especially Strabo and Pliny, furnish us with information as to commerce in general in the Greek and Roman periods.

iii. COMMERCE OF THE ANCIENT EAST.—The Tel el-Amarna tablets show that in B.C. 1400 there was an extensive commerce between Babylonia and other States of the farther East, and Syria and Egypt. The letters passing between the Eastern kings and the kings of Egypt are full of references to the journeys, to and fro, of caravans, and to the interchange of numerous commodities. Three lists of articles sent by a king of Egypt to the king of Babylon, and of the wedding presents or dowry of an Eastern princess who married a king of Egypt, occupy 14 large octavo pages in small type (Winckler, p. 399 ff.). Evidence is furnished by inscriptions, etc., of such commerce from an even earlier period, onwards throughout the Bible history. The series of commercial documents, contract tablets, etc., in Babylonia from about B.C. 2400, and in Assyria from about B.C. 900, bear direct evidence to the existence of considerable internal trade, and imply foreign commerce. At a later time such documents enable us to trace the history of the great Babylonian banking firm of Egibi from the reign of Nebuchadnezzar to that of Darius. In the *Times* of 10th Oct. 1899 Conder quoted a letter, which he dated about B.C. 2000, from an Assyrian merchant to a correspondent in Cappadocia, asking, 'Can I settle and trade in Cappadocia on payment of a tax, and by living as a son of the land?' Assyria and Babylonia received merchandise from the farther East, and transmitted it westward. The Phœnicians from Tyre and Sidon and other cities were the intermediaries of a great sea traffic between Western Asia and the shores of the Mediterranean and the Eastern Atlantic, and also, for the most part, of the sea traffic between Egypt, Syria, and other Mediterranean countries (Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, Eng. tr. 15). Later on, this traffic was more and more shared by the Greeks. Egypt received the produce—ivory, ebony, skins, slaves, etc.—of Nubia and other countries to the south, and occasionally sent trading vessels to the 'incense countries,' Punt, etc., *i.e.* Southern Arabia, Somaliland, and perhaps farther east. The celebrated queen Hatshepsut (*c.* B.C. 1500) sent such an expedition (Petrie, *Hist. of Egypt*, ii. 79). There was also trade by land between Arabia and Syria, and, by way of the Isthmus of Suez, with Egypt.

In later times four main causes tended to promote and systematize the commerce of Western Asia, and its trade relations with Egypt and the other Mediterranean countries: (1) the establishment of the Persian dominion over Western Asia and Egypt, including the Greek cities of Asia Minor and many of the Greek islands; (2) the conquests of Alexander, the establishment of Greek States with political relations with Macedonia and Greece, and the founding of numerous Greek colonies throughout Syria; (3) the dispersion of the Jews; (4) the establishment of the authority of Rome over the Mediterranean countries and Western Asia.

iv. EXTENT AND DEVELOPMENT OF ISRAELITE COMMERCE.—We know hardly anything of Israelite trade during the *nomad period.* Probably the clans sometimes carried merchandise between Syria and Egypt (Gn 37^{25} 43^{11}), or escorted trading caravans; and at other times levied tolls or blackmail upon caravans passing through districts which they occupied. With the *settlement in Canaan,* the Israelites would gradually become involved in the system of internal trade, and of trade with Arabia, Egypt, Phœnicia, and the East which had been established for centuries. For some time this trade would remain in the hands of the original inhabitants, from whom the Israelites would obtain foreign commodities, partly by purchase, partly by plunder, *e.g.* Achan's Babylonish mantle (Jos 7^{21}).

In time the extension of the Israelite territory, the growth of cities, and the increase of the power and splendour of the royal court brought about an increase of wealth, and involved the Israelites more largely in the commerce of Syria. The unification of the tribes into a single organized State promoted the interchange of the produce of different districts, the cattle of the pastures, the wheat of the corn-lands, the wine and oil of other districts. The towns must have supplied their wants from the country, and in turn furnished the farmers with some manufactured articles. At first, no doubt, an Israelite farm was largely sufficient unto itself, but the growth of civilization would tend to a primitive division of labour and consequent trade. The establishment of the monarchy promoted external commerce by securing for its subjects the right to travel and trade in foreign countries. Ahab, for instance, obtains from Benhadad the right to have 'streets' (חֻצוֹת) in Damascus, *i.e.* an Israelite trading quarter or bazaar (1 K 20^{34}). A powerful king obtained large quantities of foreign commodities as presents or tribute, *e.g.* the gifts of the queen of Sheba and other princes, etc., to Solomon (1 K 4^{21} $10^{10.\ 25}$). The king made similar presents in return (1 K 10^{13}). Moreover, a wealthy sovereign would need foreign articles of luxury for his court, materials for his buildings, and equipment for his army and navy. Thus Solomon obtained timber and carpenters for his buildings, and sailors for his ships, from Hiram king of Tyre (1 K 5^{1-12} 9^{27}); spices, etc. (10^{10}), from the queen of Sheba; horses and chariots for his army from Egypt ($10^{28.\ 29}$). These imports implied exports; Hiram was paid for his timber in wheat and oil ($5^{11.\ 12}$), and there were the 'presents' to friendly princes. David's conquest of Edom (2 S 8^{14}) had given Israel a port, EZION-GEBER, on the Red Sea, from which Solomon sent a trading fleet, partly manned with Phœnician sailors, to Ophir (see OPHIR) for gold, precious stones, etc. (1 K 9^{26-28}). In 10^{22} this traffic with Ophir is said to have been conducted by Solomon and Hiram conjointly, by means of a navy which sailed every three years, and brought 'gold, silver, ivory, apes, and peacocks.'* Further, Solomon not only imported horses and chariots from Egypt, but also sold them to the Hittite and Syrian kings (1 K $10^{28.\ 29}$). The wide extent of Solomon's dominions gave him an opportunity, of which he doubtless availed himself, to provide for the safety and comfort of the caravans from the East to Palestine.† Naturally, the commerce was not entirely in Solomon's hands, and 1 K 10^{15} refers to the traffic of the merchants.

The only other reference to the trade from Ezion-geber to Ophir is the statement that Jehoshaphat made an unsuccessful attempt to renew it (1 K 22^{48}). Probably in the troubles at the close of Solomon's reign, Judah lost its free access to the Red Sea, and the traffic ceased once for all. Otherwise what we read of the commerce of Solomon's reign will hold good, in varying degrees, for the period of the monarchy. The references of the prophets of the eighth century to the prosperity and luxury of the two kingdoms under Uzziah, Jotham, and Ahaz of Judah, and Jeroboam II. of Israel, imply a demand for foreign manufactures and an active commerce (Is $2^{6.\ 7.\ 16}$ 3^{18-24},* Hos 2^{8} 10^{1} $12^{1.\ 7.\ 8}$ 13^{15}, Am 6^{3-6} 8^{5}). On the other hand, the calamities that befell Israel and Judah between B.C. 740 and 586 must have seriously affected its commerce.

It is doubtful whether the Israelites had trading vessels *on the Mediterranean* before the Exile. Herzfeld (*l.c.* p. 17) contends for a considerable maritime traffic mainly in the hands of Zebulun. In the Song of Deborah we read in RV of Jg 5^{17}—

> 'And Dan, why did he remain in ships?
> Asher sat still at the haven (m. shore) of the sea,
> And abode by his creeks.'

This passage seems to imply seafaring habits on the part of the tribes on the Mediterranean coast. It has, however, been proposed to read נאתיו 'meadows' for אניות 'ships'; or to render the first line, 'Why does he live neighbour to the ships?' (Moore), or 'Why does he fear the ships?' *Dan*, too, must be the northern Dan.—In the Blessing of Jacob (B.C. 1000–850) RV renders Gn 49^{13}—

> 'Zebulun shall dwell at the haven (m. beach) of the sea,
> And he shall be for an haven (m. beach) of ships;
> And his border shall be upon Zidon.'

This passage, again, seems to imply maritime trade. Ball, however (in *SBOT*), reads for the second line, 'And he shall sojourn (יגור) in ships,' cf. Jg 5^{17}; Dillmann renders, 'He settles towards the strand of the ships'; while Holzinger denies that the verse in any way refers to trade or seafaring.—In the Blessing of Moses (B.C. 930–750) RV translates Dt $33^{18.\ 19}$—

> 'Rejoice, Zebulun, in thy going out;
> And, Issachar, in thy tents.
> They shall call the peoples unto the mountain;
> There shall they offer sacrifices of righteousness:
> For they shall suck the abundance of the seas,
> And the hidden treasures of the sand.'

'The abundance of the seas' will be fisheries and sea-borne merchandise; 'the hidden treasures of the sand,' the glass made from the sand about Accho, and the purple dye made from the shell-fish. 'Going out' is explained of mercantile expeditions. It is also, however, suggested that 'the peoples' were called 'to the mountain' to a gathering which was at once fair and festival, and that Zebulun and Issachar obtained their 'abundance' and 'treasures' by purchase from the Phœnicians, and not by any seafaring of their own. Ball (on Gn 49^{13}) points out that the fact that one of the clans of Issachar is called *Tola*, the name of the worm from which the dye was taken, suggests a connexion between Issachar and that industry.—The only other item of direct evidence in favour of Israelite traffic on the Mediterranean in this period is the mention of 'ships of Tarshish' (cf. TARSHISH) in Is 2^{16}; but it does not follow that these were Israelite ships. On the other hand, the ports north of Carmel were in the hands of the Phœnicians, and the only port south of Carmel, Joppa, a very bad harbour or roadstead, is never mentioned by pre-exilic writers, and it is doubtful if it was ever occupied by the Israelites. Moreover, the historian who dwells with such marked interest on the commerce of Solomon would surely have mentioned Mediterranean traffic if it had existed. On the whole, therefore, the extant evidence fails to prove that the Israelites had trading vessels on the Mediterranean. Doubtless, however, the tribes bordering on Phœnicia—Zebulun, Asher, and Issachar—profited by the wealth and commercial activity of their neighbours; and members of these tribes settled amongst the Phœnicians and shared their trade.

* 1 K 9^{26-28} and 10^{22} clearly refer to the same traffic. The 'navy of Tarshish' does not mean a navy going to Tarshish, but a navy consisting of a large class of vessels similar to those which went to Tarshish. The statement of 2 Ch 9^{21}, that 'the king had ships that went to Tarshish,' is a natural misinterpretation of the statement in Kings. Cf. 1 K 22^{48} 'Jehoshaphat made ships of Tarshish to go to Ophir' (Herzfeld, *Handelsgesch. der Juden*, p. 28; Benzinger on 1 K 10^{22}; Oettli on 2 Ch 9^{21}).

† Herzfeld (*l.c.* p. 26) lays great stress on the statement in 2 Ch 8^{4} that Solomon conquered Hamath, and built Tadmor; the latter point being confirmed by the *Kĕre* of 1 K 9^{18}. TADMOR (Palmyra) would be an important station on the caravan route to the East. But, according to Benzinger on 1 Kings and Barnes on 2 Chron., the reference to Tadmor in the latter is due to a misunderstanding of the former.

* 3^{18-23} is perhaps an interpolation.

Another question is as to how far, in the time of the monarchy, the commerce of Israel was *in Israelite hands*. The fact that in Job 41[6] and Pr 31[24] 'Canaanite,' and in Hos 12[7] 'Canaan,' is used to mean 'merchant'; and apparently in Is 23[11], Zeph 1[11] 'Canaan' is used for 'the merchant people,' suggests that in early times the trade of Israel was largely carried on by the Phœnicians. The various codes and the prophets make scant reference to trade. In view of the keen interest in the commerce of Tyre shown by Is 23, Ezk 26. 27, we should have expected more detailed notice of Israelite trade if it had been largely in native hands. Hos 12[7], indeed, 'He [Ephraim] is a trafficker [*lit.* 'Canaan'],'* implies the development of native commercial activity in the Northern Kingdom in the last period of its independence. But this seems to have been a new development, speedily cut short by the fall of Samaria. Again, Ezk 26[2] represents Tyre as exulting over the fall of Jerusalem, 'the gate of the peoples,' and expecting to profit—perhaps commercially—by her ruin: 'I shall be replenished, now that she is laid waste.' No doubt, Jerusalem was to some extent a commercial city. On the other hand, it is to a Canaanite merchant that the Israelite housewife sells her cloth (Pr 31[24]); the merchant is not mentioned amongst the notables in such lists as Is 3[2. 3]; and, except Solomon and his agents, no Israelite merchants are mentioned before the Exile. Probably much of the internal traffic, and most of the import and export trade, were in the hands of Phœnicians and other foreigners.

The *restored Jewish community* in Palestine during the Persian period was small and poor (Hag 1[1-11] 2[16. 17], Zec 7[7] 8[4. 5. 10], Mal 3[14], Neh 1[3] 2[17] 4[2] 5), and its commerce must have been very limited. Still the Jewish settlement was a city,—Jerusalem and its territory,—and a city implies local and other trade (so Neh 3[31. 32] 13[15-20], where we find the trade partly in the hands of the 'men of Tyre'). There is evidence that during this period Dor, Joppa, and Ashkelon were held by the Phœnicians (G. A. Smith, *HGHL* 129). Probably most of the external and some of the internal trade of the Jewish community in Palestine was in the hands of the Phœnicians. When Jonah set sail from Joppa for Tarshish, it was in a Gentile ship (Jon 1[5]).

By the time the *Greek period* was reached, the restoration of the temple, the reforms of Nehemiah, and the natural growth of the community must have led to some development of trade, which would be further stimulated by the Greek colonization of Western Asia. Some token of a growing interest in commerce may be seen in the Bk. of Sirach, which refers to the subject more frequently and precisely than does Proverbs. Many of the references, indeed, are quite general, to the dangers of suretiship (Sir 8[13] 29[14-20], as in Pr 11[15] 17[18] 20[16]); or to the obligation to deal fairly (Sir 5[8] 29[4-7] 41[18], as in Pr 16[11] 20[10. 23]); or to other general topics (Sir 37[11], as in Pr 11[26]). But Sir 42[1-8] implies a more intimate acquaintance with commerce, *e.g.* v.[7]—

> 'Whatsoever thou handest over, let it be by number and weight;
> And in giving and receiving let all be in writing.'

In other passages we discern the protest of traditional sentiment against a growing predilection for business life. Thus—

> 'Hate not laborious work;
> Neither husbandry, which the Most High hath ordained' (Sir 7[15]).
> 'A merchant shall hardly keep himself from wrong-doing' (Sir 26[29]).

* RVm renders, 'As for Canaan . . .'; but even so the following verse implies that Ephraim had imitated Canaan.

On the other hand, the silence of Ecclesiastes as to trade still illustrates the comparative indifference of the Palestinian Jew to commerce. Ec 3 does not state that 'there is a time to buy and a time to sell.' This silence is the more significant in a book written in the name of Solomon, the merchant-king.

The *restoration of Jewish autonomy*, and the extension of their territory by the *Maccabees*, must have further promoted trade, more especially the acquisition of Joppa by Simon as a Jewish port (1 Mac 14[5]). Throughout the Persian and Greek periods the growing commerce of the Jewish Dispersion (see below) must have done something to foster trade in Palestine; which would be further encouraged by the frequent resort of the Jews of the Dispersion to Jerusalem, especially for the Passover.

During the *Roman* or *Herodian period* the same causes were at work, aided by the security and facility of communication due to the imperial government. Herzfeld (pp. 66–130) shows that the Mishna and Jerusalem Talmud make frequent references to the trade of Palestine, and enumerates, mainly from these sources, 135 foreign articles imported into Palestine. On the other hand, Josephus (*c. Apion.* i. 12) denies that the Jews occupied any territory on the coast, or cared to engage in commerce: Ἡμεῖς τοίνυν οὔτε χώραν οἰκοῦμεν παράλιον, οὐτ' ἐμπορίαις χαίρομεν, οὐδὲ ταῖς πρὸς ἄλλους διὰ τούτων ἐπιμιξίαις. He makes this statement to explain why the ancient Greeks never heard of the Jews, and doubtless handles his facts with the rhetorical licence of an advocate, *more suo*. Yet his words probably represent the attitude of old-fashioned Palestinian Jews.

The *Dispersion* of the Jews which began with the fall of Samaria had, before the beginning of the Christian era, scattered Jewish communities over all the Mediterranean lands, together with Arabia and the ancient Assyria and Babylonia. These communities are found in all the great commercial cities—Rome, Antioch, Thessalonica, Corinth, Alexandria, etc. Their circumstances militated against their holding land, even when it was not legally forbidden to them; on the other hand, their relations with fellow-countrymen all over the known world gave them then, as now, exceptional facilities for commerce; so that we may conclude that the Jews of the Dispersion were largely occupied with commerce. This conclusion is supported by references to Jewish merchants and trade in various countries. Jos. (*Ant.* xx. ii. 3, 4) mentions a Jewish merchant at the court of Adiabene; Philo (*in Flaccum*, 8) mentions Jewish shipmasters and merchants at Alexandria; and Herzfeld (p. 219) quotes Talmudic references to Jewish traders in Mesopotamia.

v. Trade Routes, Markets, Harbours, etc. —1. *Transport of Commodities.* In times of peace, in the more settled countries, merchants (cf. above, 'Terms'), travelling singly or in small companies, carried their wares to their customers, or to markets (Neh 13[16]), and visited the scattered farmsteads to purchase farm produce, or clothing made by the housewife or her maids (Pr 31[24]). The more important international traffic was carried on by caravans of camels (Gn 37[25]), asses (Gn 42[27] 43[18] 45[23], Ezr 2[67]), mules (2 K 5[17], 1 Ch 12[40]), oxen (1 Ch 12[40]), and slaves (2 K 5[23]). Horses were not used as beasts of burden or for draught, only for riding and chariots. In Gn 45[19. 21. 27] 46[5] waggons (*'ăgālôth*) are sent to fetch the aged Jacob and the women and children (cf. the Egyp. *'agolt*, a baggage-waggon drawn by oxen, Erman, *Egypt*, Eng. tr. p. 491). In Nu 7[3], 1 S 6[7] waggons drawn by oxen are used to carry the tabernacle furniture and the ark. In the pictures of convoys of

prisoners taken by the Assyrians, the baggage and the sick are sometimes carried in waggons (Maspero, *Anc. Egypt and Assyria*, Eng. tr. p. 336). But there is no mention of waggons in the description of the great caravan in Ezr $2^{66.67}$; and they cannot have been largely used. The caravans were usually accompanied by an armed escort (Ezr 8^{22}).—2. *Trade Routes.* Caravan routes led from S.W. Arabia along the Red Sea from Elath; and also from the Persian Gulf across Arabia to Petra. From Petra there were routes to Egypt, to Gaza, and along the east of the Dead Sea, and the Jordan to Damascus. The great route from the East led from Babylon, across the Euphrates and the desert, by the oasis of Palmyra, to the Plain of Jezreel and the Mediterranean. Another route, partly coinciding with this, started from Gilead, passed over the Plain of Jezreel, and went on by Gaza to Egypt (Gn 37^{25}). Another route went from Damascus by Scythopolis and the Plain of Jezreel to Accho. From Scythopolis routes led to Samaria, Shechem, and Jerusalem. Also from Jerusalem a route by Jericho (Lk 10^{30}) crossed the Jordan, and joined the route east of the river; other routes led to Joppa (Ezr 3^{7}), and, in NT times at any rate, to Gaza (Ac 8^{26}) and, by Antipatris, to Cæsarea (Ac $23^{31.32}$). The combination of these routes connected Babylonia, etc., Damascus, Samaria, Phœnicia, Philistia, Gilead, Jerusalem, Arabia, and Egypt. The Roman roads in Palestine are mostly later than the Bible period. There were numerous minor routes (Herzfeld, pp. 22, 46, 141; G. A. Smith, *HGHL* 149–154, 388 ff., 425–430, 597 ff., 626). An important Egyptian caravan route led from Coptos on the Nile to Sauu (*Wâdy Gasus*) on the Red Sea (Erman, p. 505). In NT times a great system of Roman roads connected the East with Rome; the most important route was Rome to Brundusium (*Via Appia*), and from Dyrrachium by Thessalonica to Byzantium (*Via Egnatia*).

By sea there was traffic from Babylonia with the East by the Persian Gulf; from Edom and Egypt with the East from ports on the Red Sea; from the Phœnician cities with all the Mediterranean lands and the farther West. A similar trade existed, chiefly in the hands of the Phœnicians and the Greeks, from the coast of the Delta. This developed immensely after the foundation of Alexandria. The rivers Euphrates, Tigris, and the Nile were great trade routes.

The chief seaports of Syria are TYRE and ZIDON, and the other Phœnician cities, and JOPPA (cf. above).

As to markets, the MAKTESH of Zeph 1^{11} seems to have been a trading quarter of the Phœnicians in Jerusalem; and Dt $33^{18.19}$ has been supposed to refer to a fair connected with a religious festival held on the borders of Zebulun and Phœnicia. Markets must have existed in the cities, and elsewhere, probably especially in the neighbourhood of 'high places,' but ancient Israel had no 'commercial cities.' In the NT the market-place (*agora*) is often referred to (Mt 11^{16} etc.); and we read of a market held in the temple precincts (Mk 11^{15}, Jn 2^{14}). Herzfeld (pp. 130, 324) gives Talmudical references to shops and markets, especially some that seem to imply weekly markets on Monday and Thursday.

In some cases Israel enjoyed the privilege of a trading quarter, 'streets' or bazaars, in foreign cities; and granted similar privileges to foreigners (1 K 20^{34}, Zeph 1^{11}).

vi. ARTICLES OF COMMERCE.—The chief exports from Palestine were corn, oil, wine, balsam, spices, cattle, wool, fish, and slaves. Honey, balsam, wheat, and oil were exported to Phœnicia (1 K 5^{11}, Ezr 3^{7}, Ezk 27^{17}, Ac 12^{20}), also oaks from Bashan (Ezk 27^{6}). To Egypt were exported spices, balm, myrrh, honey, pistachio nuts, almonds, oil (Gn 37^{25} 43^{11}, Hos 12^{1}). For the slave-trade see SERVANT. Other exports may be inferred from the existence of fertile vineyards and pasture lands, and of the fisheries on the Sea of Galilee. Every article grown or manufactured in Palestine would be exported at some time or another; at any rate, in small quantities. Conversely, most of the products of countries with which the Jews had commercial relations would be imported at some time or another (cf. above, § iii.). But the chief imports were timber and artisans from Phœnicia (1 K 5^{11}, Ezr 3^{7}); corn, horses, and chariots from Egypt (Gn 41^{57}, 1 K $10^{28.29}$, Dt 17^{16}); gold and silver, spices, timber, precious stones, ivory, apes and peacocks, gold and silver plate and ornaments, armour, and mules from Arabia, Ophir, and other countries (1 K 10^{10-25}); wool and sheep from Moab (2 K 3^{4}, Is 16^{1}).

The special products of each district would be articles of internal commerce with other districts; farm produce was sold in the cities; the products of the industry of the cities were bought for the country; and foreign imports were distributed from the cities through the country. Salt (see SALT) was supplied from the districts by the Dead Sea; cattle, wool, etc., from the pastures to the east and south; corn, etc., from the fertile arable land in Esdraelon and elsewhere.

A long list of the articles of Tyrian commerce is given in Ezk 27.

vii. THE GOVERNMENT AND COMMERCE.—Both in Israel and elsewhere, commerce was often carried on by the kings themselves, *e.g.* Solomon, Hiram (1 K 10^{22}), and Jehoshaphat (1 K 22^{48}). The presents interchanged between friendly princes were really barter on a large scale; in the Tel el-Amarna tablets the kings of Egypt haggle over the exact value of the 'presents' they give and receive, in true Oriental fashion (Winckler, p. 61 f.). The tribute from dependent States, the 'presents' or prices paid for princesses given in marriage, were a one-sided commerce carried on for the benefit of the kings.

The governments of ancient States intervened, as we have seen, to obtain special trading privileges for their subjects in foreign countries (1 K 20^{34}); also to secure for them protection and redress for injuries (Winckler, *Amarna Tablets*, p. 25).

From the analogy of other States we should suppose that the Israelite kings levied taxes on imports and exports, and tolls on merchandise passing through the country. In one of the Amarna tablets (Winckler, p. 93) a foreign king stipulates that his property shall not be dealt with by the customs of Egypt. In NT the customs officers of the Herods and the Romans are referred to (Mk 2^{14} etc.); see PUBLICAN.

viii. COMMERCE OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE. — In NT times the empire possessed a highly developed and elaborate commercial system, largely administered by great trading corporations, and involving credit and other features of modern banking. The most important branch of Roman commerce was the corn trade between Egypt and Rome (Ac $27^{6.38}$ 28^{11}).

ix. ETHICS OF COMMERCE. — The Bible deals directly with only two or three elementary points, such as the duty of fair dealing, and the danger of greed of gain (see SERVANT).

On the general subject cf. the articles MONEY, SOLOMON, WEALTH; also the articles on countries, dress, ornaments, etc.

LITERATURE. — Nowack, *Lehrb. der Heb. Arch.* i. pp. 247–251; Benzinger, *Heb. Arch*, pp. 218–223; Erman, *Life in Anc. Egypt*, pp. 479–519; Herzfeld, *Handelsgeschichte der Juden des Alterthums*; Buhl, *Die socialen Verhältnisse der Israeliten*, pp. 76–83; Schürer, *HJP* ('Trade,' in Index).

W. H. BENNETT.

TRADES.—It was an ancient custom and law among the Jews that every boy must learn a trade, not necessarily as a means of livelihood, but as a precautionary measure against destitution, if fortune failed, and the temptations of an idle life. One of the Rabbinic sayings is, 'He that teaches not his son a trade, is as if he taught him to be a thief'; and another, 'He that hath a trade in his hands is as a vineyard that is fenced,' *i.e.* he will be secure from the dangers of temptation and want. Many of their great Rabbis are known by their surname of trade, *e.g.* 'Rabbi Johanan the shoemaker, Rabbi Isaac the blacksmith,' etc. The two illustrious doctors who founded the schools known by their names—Hillel and Shammai—not long before the Christian era, had been taught trades; and the latter, who was a mason, continued to take a practical interest in his handicraft, even when he was vice-president of the Sanhedrin and had a large following of students. So also St. Paul, who was destined for the Rabbinic office, was taught tent-making, probably before he left Tarsus, his native city, to sit at the feet of Gamaliel in Jerus. and learn from him the intricacies of Jewish law. This was of great use to him after his conversion, when he was often compelled to maintain himself by his labour (Ac 18^3); so that he was able to say, 'Neither did we eat bread for naught at any man's hand, but in labour and travail, working night and day, that we might not burden any of you' (2 Th 3^8).—In many handicrafts the ancients attained a very high degree of excellence, and the Hebrews must have learned much from the Egyptians and Phœnicians. The pyramids, temples, and tombs of Egypt, the temples of Greece and Jerus. and Baalbek, and the images of gods and men, show a knowledge of masonry and sculpture which modern skill can hardly equal, while in the work of the goldsmith and jeweller the ornaments belonging to a queen of the 11th dynasty (about B.C. 2000), which were lately found in Dahshur, are said by good judges to be unsurpassed for beauty and finish in the present-day markets of Paris or London. The Tyrian purple dyes, the rich colouring on Egyp. tombs, the elegant vases of pottery and gold, the linen fabrics of the loom, and other products of manual work so copiously depicted on Egyp. walls, all tell the same story of the high civilization in art of those times. — The principal trades mentioned in the Bible are those of smiths and armourers (1 S 13^{19}), coppersmiths (2 Ti 4^{14}), goldsmiths (Is 46^6), jewellers (Hos 2^{13}), masons (2 K 12^{12}), carpenters (Mt 13^{55}), tentmakers (Ac 18^3), potters (La 4^2), tanners (Ac 9^{43}), fishers (Is 19^8), bakers (Jer 37^{21}), barbers (Ezk 5^1). Spinning, weaving, and sewing were chiefly the work of women (1 S 2^{19}, Pr 31^{19}). See separate articles on the above subjects. J. WORTABET.

TRANCE (ἔκστασις). — While in class. Greek ἔκστασις has the meaning of frenzy, in Bib. Greek it is not found in this strong sense, but means either distraction of mind due to fear or astonishment (Ps 16^{11} LXX, Ac 3^{10}), or religious rapture (Ac 10^{10} 11^5). In the strict sense, religious ecstasy denotes a state in which the mind is so dominated by emotional excitement that sensibility to external impressions, the free activity of the intellect, and the initiative and control of the will, are for the moment in abeyance. Its significance as a medium of revelations was found precisely in this suppression of the ordinary mental functions, the mind being regarded as under the control of the Deity, and therefore as His instrument. Ecstasy has been, and is, a more or less familiar phenomenon in almost all religions, more especially in times of religious excitement. While occurring spontaneously, recourse has often been had to artificial means, such as the concentration of the mind on an abstract idea or significant word, fasting, fixing of the look, seclusion, whirling and bodily contortion—above all, music and dancing. In the early days of Heb. prophecy such stimulants were not unknown (1 S 10^5, 2 K 3^{15}). When, however, we come to the canonical prophets, there can no longer be any question of ecstasy in the sense of a morbid state. What is indicated by such expressions as 'the hand of the LORD was upon me' is rather a religious exaltation of spirit, in which the free activity of the mind is not suppressed but heightened. Such a state lies behind vision as its psychological condition. See VISION. The prophets never appeal to the abnormal character of their experience as authenticating their message. In the Apostolic Church we find a revival of ecstasy in the stricter sense, as an accompaniment of the fresh and often violent religious awakening (1 Co $14^{23ff.}$, Ac 2^{13}). It found expression in rapt utterances. While yielding a certain recognition to this gift of tongues St. Paul indicates that it was apt to breed confusion (1 Co $14^{23.33}$), and he places it under strict rule. He himself had also the gift of tongues, but he does not set great store by it (1 Co 14^{19}); and while he relates a marvellous ecstatic experience of his own (2 Co $12^{2ff.}$), he nowhere traces his doctrines to such a source. His allusion to this experience is too vague to admit of its character being precisely defined. See, further, the articles on PROPHET.

W. MORGAN.

TRANSFIGURATION, THE. — The word comes from *transfiguratus est*, the Vulg. tr. of μετεμορφώθη in the narratives of Matt. and Mark. Elsewhere this verb is rendered either *reformari* (Ro 12^2) or *transformari* (2 Co 3^{18}). The event which it designates is recorded thrice (Mt 17^{1-8}, Mk 9^{2-8}, Lk 9^{28-36}) and alluded to once (2 P 1^{16-18}) in NT. The narratives of Matt. and Mark agree closely in wording. But Matt. alone records that when the disciples heard the voice they fell on their faces; and that Jesus came and touched them and said, 'Arise, and be not afraid.' Mark alone has the words, 'so as no fuller on earth can whiten them.' Luke is more independent. Excepting as regards Peter's exclamation and the voice from heaven, his wording is mainly his own; and even in Peter's words he renders 'Rabbi' by his favourite Ἐπιστάτα, where Matt. has Κύριε. Luke alone tells us that Jesus went up the mount to *pray*, and that He was praying when He was transfigured. In expressing the Transfiguration he avoids μετεμορφώθη (which might have suggested to Gentile readers the metamorphoses of heathen deities), and substitutes the characteristic ἐγένετο ἕτερον. And he alone tells us that Moses and Elijah were talking of Christ's ἔξοδος at Jerusalem, and that the disciples were heavy with sleep.

The main questions respecting this unique incident in the life of Christ are those as to the place, the nature, and the significance of it.

(1) As to the 'high mountain' (Matt., Mark), which when 2 Pet. was written had become 'the holy mountain,' there are two traditions, which can be traced to the 4th century. (*a*) That it was the *Mt. of Olives*. This is incredible. Both before and after the Transfiguration Christ is in Galilee. And the Mt. of Olives would not have been called ὑψηλόν. (*β*) That it was *Mt. Tabor*. This is near enough to Cæsarea Philippi to be possible; and, although it is only about 1700 ft. above the sea, it appears to be much higher, and commands a very extensive view. But it is not probable. Just a week ('six days,' Matt., Mark; 'about eight days,' Luke) before this event Christ was at Cæsarea Philippi. After it He went through Galilee to Capernaum (Mk

$9^{30.\ 33}$, Mt $17^{22.\ 24}$) on His way to Jerusalem. Would He have gone from Cæsarea Philippi past Capernaum to Tabor, and then back to Capernaum? A much more serious objection is that at this time there was a village or town on Tabor, which Josephus fortified against Vespasian (*BJ* IV. i. 8, II. xx. 6; cf. *Ant.* XIV. vi. 3); so that the necessary solitude (κατ' ἰδίαν, Matt., Mark) could hardly be found there. Yet Cyril of Jerusalem (*Catech.* xii. 16) regards it as certain; and through the great influence of Jerome this tradition became widely accepted. In the Greek Church the Feast of the Transfiguration (Aug. 6) is called τὸ Θαβώριον. But (γ) the best modern writers prefer *Mt. Hermon* (Keim, Lichtenstein, Porter, Schaff, Stanley, Ritter, Robinson, Trench, Tristram). It is over 9000 ft. high, and could easily be reached in much less than a week from Cæsarea Philippi.

(2) Christ calls the event a 'vision,' ὅραμα (Mt 17^{9}), which does not mean that it was unreal. It was not one person's optical delusion, but a vision granted to three persons at once. It was a Divine revelation, the manner of which is unknown to us. We can neither affirm nor deny that Moses and Elijah, who had both been taken from the earth in a supernatural way, were there in the body, or only in the spirit, or not at all, except by representation. That the event is historical is shown by the three harmonious accounts, by the intelligible connexion with what precedes and follows, and by the improbability that an inventor would have invented the prohibition to speak of it. Matt. gives Christ's prohibition; Luke states that the disciples kept silence; Mark records both the prohibition and their obedience. There is no suspicious similarity between this event and the Transfiguration of Moses, although Strauss and Keim maintain that there is. And the silence of John is no difficulty, for he would readily omit what had been so often told before. The allusion in 2 Pet. is evidence of what was commonly believed when that letter was written. That a fact corresponding to all this evidence took place is the most reasonable explanation of the evidence.

(3) The meaning of the event is more within our comprehension than the manner of it. Whether it is correct to call it 'the culminating point in Christ's public ministry' or 'the great dividing line in the life' is not certain. That in consequence of it a 'sense of urgency and of the immediateness of a great crisis weighs upon the Lord' is more than we know. It was a foretaste of Christ's glory both in earth and in heaven. As such it served to strengthen the disciples, who had been greatly disturbed by the prediction of Christ's sufferings and death; and to this end they were allowed to listen to Moses and Elijah talking with Him about His death, and to hear the heavenly voice, which had proclaimed His Divine Sonship previous to His ministry, proclaim the same previous to His Passion. It showed them the supernatural character of His kingdom. It helped them to see that the OT being fulfilled by Christ is done away in Christ. Moses and Elijah vanish, and 'Jesus alone' (Matt., Mark, Luke) remains. To Christ Himself it may have had significance also. Whether or not it conveyed to Him any larger knowledge of His Father's will, this foretaste of His glory may have helped Him to bear the prospect of His approaching sufferings. He accepted the strengthening of an angel in Gethsemane, and may have accepted some analogous strengthening on the mount.

LITERATURE.—See Comm. and Lives of Christ; also the Dict. and Encyc. articles on 'Transfiguration' and 'Verklärung.' See also 'The Significance of the Transfiguration,' by W. J. Moulton, in *Bibl. and Sem. Studies* (Yale Univ.), 1901, pp. 157–210.

A. PLUMMER.

TRAVAIL.—In modern editions of AV a distinction has gradually arisen between 'travail' and 'travel,' the former being used when the meaning is to labour (or as subst. for 'labour,' 'trouble'), especially in childbirth, the latter when it is simply to journey. But in the editions of 1611 there was no such distinction. Thus in 1611 Mt 25^{14} reads, 'For the kingdome of heaven is as a man travailing into a farre countrey'; but Is 21^{13} 'In the forest in Arabia shall yee lodge, O yee travelling companies of Dedanim.' So in Ec 4^{4} we find 'Againe I considered all travaile'; but in 4^{6} 'Better is an handfull with quietnesse, then both the hands full with travell and vexation of spirit.' Nor have the editors or printers carried out their distinction completely. In La 3^{5} 'He hath . . . compassed me with gall and travel,' the spelling of AV is retained in mod. editions (Cov. 'travayle,' RV 'travail'). In Nu 20^{14} the sense has evidently been missed, the wider meaning of toil and trouble in the wilderness being taken as if it were merely the marching through it: AV 1611, 'Thou knowest all the travaile that hath befallen us' (mod. edd. 'travel,' RV 'travail').

The Eng. word is simply the Fr. *travail*, toil, trouble, the origin of which is unknown. In Cotgrave's French Dictionary *travail* is described as 'travell, toyle, teene, labour, business, paines-taking, trouble, molestation, care.' Travelling, which is now undertaken for pleasure, was so conspicuous a form of toil and trouble that it appropriated the name. The change of spelling was assisted by the fact that 'traveil' was another variety of spelling in early use. Thus in Ec 2^{23} AV 1611, 'For all his dayes are sorrowes, and his traveile, griefe.' The meaning was sometimes 'be weary,' as Is 40^{31} Wyc. 'Who forsothe hopen in the Lord, shul chaunge strengthe, take to federes as of an egle; rennen, and not travailen; gon, and not faylen.' For the spelling 'travel' for labour cf. Gosson, *Schoole of Abuse*, 41, 'I burnt one candle to seek another, and lost both my time and my travell when I had doone'; and in the sense of labour in childbirth, Hall, *Works*, ii. 11, 'If the house of David had not lost all mercy and good nature, a Daughter and [of] David could not so neere the time of her travell have bin destitute of lodging in the city of David.' J. HASTINGS.

TREASON.—This word occurs in EV only in 1 K 16^{20} (of Zimri) and 2 K 11^{14}=2 Ch 23^{13} (the exclamation of Athaliah). In these instances it had better have been rendered 'conspiracy,' the tr. of the same Heb. term (קֶשֶׁר) in RV of Is 8^{12} (AV 'confederacy'; for justification of the reading קֶשֶׁר against Secker, Lowth, Lagarde, Stade, *et al.*, who emend קֹדֶשׁ, see Cheyne, *Introd. to Is.* 40; LXX has σκληρόν=קָשֶׁה), and in AV and RV of 2 S 15^{12}, 2 K 17^{4}, Jer 11^{9}, Ezk 22^{25}. Cf. the use of the verb קשׁר in 1 S $22^{8.\ 13}$, 2 S 15^{31}, 1 K 15^{27} $16^{9.\ 16}$, 2 K 9^{14} 10^{9} 12^{20} (=2 Ch $24^{25f.}$) 14^{19} (=2 Ch 25^{27}) $15^{10.\ 15.\ 25.\ 30}$ $21^{23.\ 24}$ (=2 Ch $33^{24.\ 25}$), 2 Ch 24^{21}, Neh 4^{8}, Am 7^{10}, in all of which both AV and RV render by 'conspire,' 'make conspiracy,' or 'be a conspirator.'

J. A. SELBIE.

TREASURE, TREASURER, TREASURY.—The word 'treasure' is used in EV in two distinct senses, which are approximately represented in English by 'store' and 'storehouse' respectively. The same ambiguity of meaning (which might be avoided in English by uniformly employing 'treasure' for the one sense and 'treasury' for the other, or by abolishing the latter term altogether and replacing it by 'storehouse' or the like) attaches to some of the words which in the original of the OT are the source of these renderings.

(1) 'Treasure' in the sense of *store* usually stands for Heb. אוֹצָר (generally plur. אוֹצָרוֹת): of gold, silver, costly utensils, etc., Jos $6^{19.\ 24}$ (the vessels found in Jericho [AV and RV have here 'treasury,' which is not so suitable a tr. as 'treasure' or 'store']), Is 2^{7} 30^{6} 45^{3} ('treasures of darkness,' *i.e.* concealed, hoarded treasures), Hos 13^{15}, Jer 15^{13} 17^{3} 20^{5} 48^{7} 49^{4} 51^{13}, 1 K 14^{26} *bis*, 2 K 24^{13} *bis*, perhaps also Is $39^{2.\ 4}$, although this should perhaps come under (2); wealth in general, Pr 15^{16} $21^{6.\ 20}$, 1 Ch 29^{8} (the contributions for the building of the temple [here both AV and RV have rightly 'treasure,' but, strangely enough, RV gives 'treasury'

in the similar passage, Ezr 2^{69}=Neh 7^{71}], called in 1 Ch 29^{16} הָמוֹן, lit. 'crowd,' 'abundance,' AV and RV 'store,' cf. 2 Ch 31^{10}); of stores of food, drink, etc., 1 Ch $27^{27.\ 28}$ (AV and RV 'increase'), 2 Ch 11^{11} (AV and RV 'store'); fig. 'treasures of wickedness' (Mic 6^{10}, Pr 10^{2}), 'the fear of the LORD is his treasure' (Is 33^{6}).

'Treasure' stands in OT also for **1.** חֹסֶן, lit. 'strength': Pr 15^{6}, Ezk 22^{25} (AV and RV in both 'treasure'). The Heb. term occurs also in Is 33^{6} (AV 'strength,' RV 'abundance'), Jer 20^{5} (AV 'strength', RV 'riches'), Pr 27^{24} (AV and RV 'riches'). **2.** מַטְמוֹן 'hidden (treasure),' ✓ טמן 'conceal': Gn 43^{23} (of money hid in the sacks of Joseph's brothers), Is 45^{3} (treasures at present hidden are to become the spoil of Cyrus), Jer 41^{8} (AV 'treasures,' RV 'stores,' of wheat, barley, oil, and honey hidden in a field), Job 3^{21} (some long for death as for hid treasures), Pr 2^{4} (wisdom is to be sought for like hid treasures). **3.** The same is the meaning of מַטְמֹנִים in Dn 11^{43}, where, indeed, it is possible that we ought to read מַטְמֹנוֹת, from ✓ טמן 'to be of use,' 'to benefit' (see below for the examples of its use). **5.** עָתִיר (*Kĕrē*) or עָתִיד (*Kĕth.*), in plur. עֲתִידֹתֵיהֶם, Is 10^{13}, lit. 'the things prepared or provided for them,' AV and RV 'their treasures.' **6.** The combination שְׁפְנֵי טְמוּנֵי חוֹל (RV 'the hidden treasures of the sand'), Dt 33^{19}, may allude to the wealth derived from the manufacture of glass (see Driver, *ad loc.*). **7.** בֶּצַע, prop. 'precious ore,' Job $22^{24.\ 25}$ (AV in first 'gold,' in second 'defence,' RV in both 'treasure,' m. 'ore'). **8.** For Mal 3^{17} ('a peculiar treasure') see art. JEWEL. **9.** כְּסָפִים, Ob 6 (AV 'hidden things,' RV 'hidden treasures').

'Treasure' in NT is always *θησαυρός* except in Ac 8^{27}, where the word *γάζα* from the Persian is used of the treasure of queen Candace. *θησαυρός* occurs in Mt 2^{11} (of the treasures carried by the magi), $6^{19.\ 20.\ 21}$ ‖ Lk $12^{33.\ 34}$ (of the treasures of earth contrasted with those of heaven; cf. the treasure in heaven spoken of in Mt 19^{21} ‖ Mk 10^{21} and Lk 18^{22}), Mt 13^{44} (the kingdom of heaven is like treasure hid in a field; cf. the above OT passages Jer 41^{8}, Job 3^{21}, Pr 2^{4}), He 11^{26} ('the treasures of Egypt'); fig. in 2 Co 4^{7} ('we have this treasure in earthen vessels'; see art. POTTER, p. 25ᵇ), Col 2^{3} ('in Christ are all the treasures of wisdom hid').

(2) 'Treasure' or 'treasury' in the sense of *storehouse* is almost always the tr. in OT of בֵּית אוֹצָר: Neh 10^{38} (cf. 12^{44} and Dn 1^{2}), Mal 3^{10} (AV and RV 'storehouse'); or, more frequently, without the בֵּית: 1 K 7^{51} 15^{18} *bis*, 2 K 12^{18} 14^{14} 16^{8} 18^{15}, Jer 38^{11} 50^{25} (fig. of Jahweh's armoury) v.^{37} (?), Dt 32^{34} (the guilt of the heathen is sealed up in God's treasury till the day of retribution come; see Driver, *ad loc.*), 1 Ch 9^{26} 26^{20} *bis*. $^{22.\ 24.\ 26}$ 28^{12} *bis*, 2 Ch 5^{1} 16^{2} (?) 32^{27} (cf. Ezk 28^{4}), Jl 1^{17} (AV and RV 'garners'), Pr 8^{21}, Neh $13^{12.\ 13}$. Cf. the use of מִשְׁכְּנוֹת in 2 Ch 32^{28}. אוֹצָר is used fig. of God's storehouses for rain, snow, hail, wind, sea, in Dt 28^{12}, Job 38^{22} *bis*, Jer 10^{13} 51^{16}, Ps 33^{7} 135^{7}; cf. the use of צְפוּנִים in Job 20^{26}.

In the king's 'treasure house' of Ezr 5^{17} (בֵּית גִּנְזַיָּא, cf. 6^{1} and 7^{20}) the archives of the kingdom were kept. In Est 3^{9} 4^{7} the treasury of the Persian king appears under the name גִּנְזֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ; cf. the likewise Persian name גִּנְזָךְ in 1 Ch 28^{11}.

We read of 'treasure (RV 'store') cities' (עָרֵי מִסְכְּנוֹת) in Ex 1^{11} [J], 1 K 9^{19} (=2 Ch 8^{6}), 2 Ch 8^{4} 17^{12}. For the custom of storing up provisions in particular cities cf. Gn $41^{48.\ 56}$, and see an account of the granaries and 'store houses' of ancient Egypt in Maspero, *Dawn of Civilization*, 284.

For the chambers (לִשְׁכוֹת) or cells used for storage purposes in the temple see next article.

In the NT 'treasure'='treasury' is (*a*) *θησαυρός*: Mt 12^{35} ‖ Lk 6^{45} (the good or evil treasury of the heart) 13^{52} ('which bringeth out of his treasury things new and old'); (*b*) once, Mt 27^{6}, it is *Κορβανᾶς* (from Heb. קָרְבָּן; see CORBAN), 'place of [sacred] gifts'; (*c*) *γαζοφυλάκιον*; see next article; (*d*) in Lk 12^{24} ('which have neither storehouse nor barn') the word for 'storehouse' is *ταμεῖον* [in Dt 28^{8} and Pr 3^{10} for the Heb. אֲסָמִים; AV in former 'storehouses,' RV 'barns,' which is adopted by both versions in the latter].

Treasurer occurs as follows. **1.** Neh 12^{13} 'I made treasurers (Hiph. of אצר) over the storehouses' (עַל־הָאוֹצָרוֹת, AV and RV 'treasuries'). **2.** Ezr 1^{8} 'MITHREDATH the treasurer'; 7^{21} 'I, Artaxerxes, make a decree to all the treasurers.' The term (found also in Aram., New Heb., and Syr.) here used is גִּזְבָּר, plur. גִּזְבְּרַיָּא, a loan-word from the Persian *ganjvar*, Pehlevi *ganzavar*. **3.** Dn $3^{2.\ 3}$ Aram. גְּדָבְרַיָּא (plur. emphat.). This may be a by-form of the above גִּזְבְּרַיָּא (so Prince), or a textual error for הַדְּבְרַיָּא (AV and RV 'counsellers') found in vv.$^{24.\ 27}$ 4^{36} 6^{7} (so Graetz, Bevan, *et al.*). But it seems more likely that it is a dittography from the following הַדְּבְרַיָּא. This conclusion (which is that of Lagarde, Nöldeke, *et al.*; Driver and Marti leave the question open) is supported by the circumstance that the LXX and Theod. have only seven officials in place of the eight of MT. **4.** Is 22^{15}, of Shebna. The Heb. term סֹכֵן (fully discussed under art. SHEBNA) would be better rendered 'servitor' or 'steward.' **5.** Ro 16^{23}, where RV substitutes 'treasurer' for AV 'chamberlain' as tr. of *οἰκονόμος* (see STEWARD).

J. A. SELBIE.

TREASURY (OF TEMPLE).—The word *γαζοφυλάκιον*, tr. 'treasury' in the NT, is used in the LXX for the Heb. words* meaning cells or apartments of the temple court, in which sacred offerings and utensils were kept, and in which also the priests dwelt.† The word is used in the Books of Maccabees of the sacred treasury in which not only public treasures were stored, but also public records,‡ as well as property belonging to widows and orphans.§ In the inner court of Herod's temple there were rooms which Josephus‖ represents by *γαζοφυλάκια*, showing that the term had a wider sense than 'treasury' would suggest. In the NT the word is used in three places, viz. Mk $12^{41.\ 43}$ ‖ Lk 21^{1}, Jn 8^{20}.

Josephus has it in the singular,¶ apparently for the special room in the women's court in which gold and silver bullion were preserved. In Jn 8^{20} this sense would stand, but not so in the parallel passages of Mark and Luke, where the word is apparently the equivalent of the Rabbinical שׁוֹפָרוֹת, 'trumpets,' so called because they had the shape of the ram's-horn trumpet. There were thirteen such boxes, and they may be assumed to have been in the women's court, or the widow could not have got at them with her mite. Six out of the thirteen were to receive free gifts, the remaining seven being for distinct purposes, figured probably on the boxes. They were most likely placed on each side of the large gate which led from the women's to the men's court. See TEMPLE (Herod's), and cf. also art. TREASURE.

T. W. DAVIES.

TREE (עֵץ, *ʿēṣ*, *δένδρον*, *ξύλον*).—The Holy Land is not now a land of trees. Even the mountain tops are for the most part bare, and none of the primeval forests have been preserved. This very fact emphasizes the importance and value of trees, wherever they are planted or grow spontaneously. A large part of the trees that exist are cultivated for their fruits, as the palm, fig, apple, pear, apricot, peach, plum, banana, orange, lemon, citron, walnut, pistachio; or their leaves, as the mulberry; or their wood, as the pine. Solitary trees or small groves are planted by tombs (1 S 31^{13}) or on high places. From ancient times men loved

* לִשְׁכָּה and (Neh 3^{10} 12^{44} 13^{7}†) נִשְׁכָּה. † Neh 13^{7} 10^{37}ff.

‡ 1 Mac 14^{49}; cf. Grimm, *ad loc.*

§ 2 Mac 3^{10}; cf. Grimm, *ad loc.*; 1 Mac 14^{49}, 2 Mac $3^{6.\ 28.\ 40}$ 4^{42} 5^{18}.

‖ *BJ* v. v. 2, vi. v. 2. ¶ *Ant.* xix. vi. 1.

to rest under such trees (Gn 18[4. 8], 1 S 22[6]). When the hail broke 'every tree' in Egypt (Ex 9[25]), it was a national disaster. A fruit tree near a besieged city was not to be cut down (Dt 20[19]), but to be kept for the use of the besieged. Other trees might be cut (v.[20]). 'A tree planted by watercourses' (Ps 1[3]) was an emblem of vigour (cf. the vision in Dn 4). The expression 'tree of life' (Gn 3[22. 24]) was afterwards applied figuratively (Pr 3[18] 11[30] 13[12] 15[4]). A tree is known by its fruit (Mt 12[33]). Allusion is made to the great variety of trees which flourish in Palestine (Lv 19[23], Ec 2[5]). Under 'the tree of the knowledge of good and evil' (Gn 2[17] 3[6]) our first parents fell. Under the trees of Gethsemane our Saviour accepted His Father's will (Mt 26[36-46]). The 'tree of life' in heaven has food and healing for the nations (Rev 22[2. 14]).

The trees of Palestine and Syria are *tamarisk*, orange, lemon, citron, zaḳḳûm, Pride of India, jujube, maple, *pistachio*, *terebinth*, sumach, moringa, mastich, *carob*, redbud, *acacia*, *almond*, cherry, plum, *apple*, pear, service tree, medlar, hawthorn, *olive*, *ash*, cordia, castor-oil, *elm*, hackberry, *mulberry*, *fig*, *sycomore*, *plane*, *walnut*, alder, hornbeam, ironwood, *hazel*, *oak*, beech, *willow*, *poplar*, *cypress*, *juniper*, yew, *pine*, *cedar*, spruce, *palm*. Those which are in italics are mentioned in EV sometimes wrongly (see artt. on individual trees). The *chestnut* (AV; RV *plane tree*) is not found in Palestine.

G. E. Post.

TRESPASS-OFFERING.—See Sacrifice.

TRIAL.—See Judge and Sanhedrin.

TRIBE.—

i. *Terms.*—In EV 'tribe' is tr. in OT of Heb. מַטֶּה *maṭṭeh* (φυλή, *tribus*), שֵׁבֶט *shēbheṭ*, or שִׁבְטָ *shebheṭ* (φυλή, *tribus*), Aram. שִׁבְטָ *shēbhaṭ* (φυλή, *tribus*); in NT of Gr. φυλή. Δωδεκάφυλον is used Ac 26[7] for 'the set of twelve tribes.' In Is 19[13] *shēbheṭ* is used of the 'tribes' (Cheyne 'castes,' Duhm 'nomes') of Egypt, and in Mt 24[30] φυλή of 'tribes' generally; otherwise all these words are used exclusively of the tribes of Israel, except that *shēbheṭ* is occasionally used of the subdivisions of these tribes, Jg 20[12], 1 S 9[21], according to MT 'tribes of Benjamin'; but probably the sing. should be read, 'tribe of B.' [Moore, H. P. Smith]; and Nu 4[18] MT, 'cut not off the tribe of the families,' where, however, we should perhaps read 'cut not off from the tribe,' etc. [the text is doubtful, see LXX, Vulg.]. The use of *maṭṭeh* and *shēbheṭ* for 'tribe' is figurative, the words meaning originally 'rod,' 'staff,' 'sceptre,' 'branch,' etc., in which senses they are used in OT. *Oxf. Heb. Lex.* explains under מַטֶּה: '*tribe*, orig. company led by chief with staff.'

Maṭṭeh as 'tribe' is found in P in the Hexateuch, in Chron.; and in 1 K 7[14] 8[1], where Benzinger regards the clauses in which *maṭṭeh* stands as late additions, in 8[1] the *maṭṭeh*-clause is absent from LXXB. *Shēbheṭ* is common in D, is found in JE, and very occasionally in P (possibly only in redactional passages), and occurs throughout the OT from JE to Chronicles. Giesebrecht (*ZATW*, 1881, p. 242) maintained that the name and thing expressed by *shēbheṭ* died out before the Exile, and *maṭṭeh* was used for it after the Exile. This position is controverted by Driver, *Journ. Philol.* xi. 1882, p. 213f. The decision depends partly on the view taken as to the text, etc., of individual passages; current views on these points seem to admit the opinion that (1) *shēbheṭ* occurs in post-exilic literature only in passages borrowed from pre-exilic works, or as a literary archaism, its use having been revived through a study of the earlier literature; and that (2) there is no certain instance of the use of *maṭṭeh* for 'tribe' before the Exile.—The use of Aram. words corresponding to *shēbheṭ* in the sense of 'tribe' may be due to the influence of the OT.—On the terms for the subdivisions of the tribe, viz. *mishpāḥā* and *bêth 'ābh*, see Family and below.

ii. *Origin, Nature, and History of the Tribe as a Social Organization.*—The articles on individual tribes show that there are two chief theories of their origin. First, the biblical statements as to the patriarchs are understood as personal history, and the tribe is regarded as having arisen chiefly by the natural increase of the descendants of a son or grandson of Jacob. The descendants of each son kept together as a social group, in which, however, foreign slaves, wives, etc., were sometimes included. The second theory, now more generally held, regards much that is said of the patriarchs and their children as tribal history told in a personal form; cf. Benjamin, i. 272[b]; Judah, ii. 792[b]. According to this view the tribes did not all arise as subdivisions of Israel, but Israel was formed, in a measure, by the aggregation of some of the earlier tribes. The process by which the complete set of tribes was formed began before the Conquest, and was continued afterwards. Israel as it invaded Palestine was a loose confederation of kindred tribes. These tribes had themselves been formed by the aggregation of smaller bodies or *mishpāḥās*, which were groups of families. We have few data as to the tribal system in the nomadic period; but it would be similar to that of the nomadic Arabs. The unifying forces in the tribe, clan, etc., were the blood-bond, and the tribal or family cult. The blood-bond was partly real, partly theoretical; it could be established by mutual agreement and religious ceremonies. The chief duties of members of a tribe were to act together in war, and to protect one another by blood-revenge. The tribes and their subdivisions were fluid organizations liable to combination, subdivision, loss by secessions, and gain by accessions. Cf. W. R. Smith, *Kinship*, etc. 1–58, 171; *RS* 38 ff.

In the Conquest, Israel fought by tribes and subdivisions of tribes; sometimes the tribes combined (Jg 1[3] 4. 5), sometimes they acted separately (Jg 1[22ff.]). In the settlement the natural tendency would be for each family, clan, and tribe to settle together in the same district (Jos 14[1. 2] 18[10]).

It is, however, quite uncertain how far the tribes which we find in Canaan under the monarchy correspond to tribes which existed before the Conquest. Even where there was a real connexion, the name may have been changed. Thus, as the sons of concubines, Gad and Asher (Zilpah), Dan and Naphtali (Bilhah), are regarded as additions to Israel after the Conquest. The stories of the late birth of Benjamin and of the recognition of Ephraim and Manasseh (Gn 48[8-22] JE) have been understood to mean that these three tribes were formed by the subdivision of Joseph after the Conquest. These views are partly confirmed by the fact that some of these tribal names are apparently names of places in Palestine: Asher (*Aseru*) appears as the name of a district or people in Galilee in inscriptions of Seti I. and Ramses II.; Benjamin is 'son of the right hand' or 'south,' *i.e.* the southern district of Joseph; and Ephraim, from its form (cf. *Mizraim*, etc.), should be a place-name meaning 'a fruitful land.' The discovery of *Joseph-el* (?) and *Jacob-el* (see Jacob, ii. p. 526[b]) in a list of places in Palestine conquered by Thothmes III., B.C. 1481–1449, has led to the suggestion that the tribe of Joseph assumed that name after its settlement in Canaan. On the other hand, the comparative lack of territory, and the insignificance of Reuben, Simeon, and Levi in historic times, point to the antiquity of these tribal names (but cf. Levi).

Possibly in early times the tribes of Israel were known as Rachel and Leah, and at some time, before or after the Conquest, these broke up into divisions, which eventually became the twelve tribes.

After the Conquest the tribes became essentially territorial, though no doubt the theory of the blood-bond survived. Similarly the *mishpāḥā* came to mean the town, or quarter of a town, or village, or district. Hence the tribal name denoted a district, and the tribe included not only the Israelite invaders, but also in time the natives whom they absorbed, or by whom they were absorbed. These tribal districts had no fixed or continuous political organization, and they varied in number or extent. The real political units

ORDER OF TRIBES.

	Genesis.			Exodus.	Numbers.						Deut.		Josh.	Judges.	Ezek.	First Chronicles.				Rev.	
	29–35.	46.	49.	1.	1[1-15].	1[20ff.].	2. 7. 10.	13.	26.	34.	27.	33.	13 ff.	5.	48.	2[1f.].	2[3–8].	12.	27.	7.	
1	Reu.	Reu.	Reu.	Reu.	Reu.	Reu.	Jud.	Reu.	Reu.		Sim.	Reu.	Reu.	*Eph.*	*Dan*	Reu.	Jud.	Jud.	Reu.	Jud.	1
2	Sim.	Sim.	Sim.	Sim.	Sim.	Sim.	Iss.	Sim.	Sim.	Jud.	Levi	Jud.	Gad	*Ben.*	Ash.	Sim.	Sim.	Sim.	Sim.	Reu.	2
3	Levi	Levi	Levi	Levi	Jud.	Gad	Zeb.	Jud.	Gad		Jud.	Levi	*E. Man.*	*Machir*	*Naph.*	Levi	Reu.	Levi	Levi	Gad	3
4	Jud.	Jud.	Jud.	Jud.	Iss.	Jud.	Reu.	Iss.	Jud.	Sim.	Iss.	*Ben.*	Jud.		*Man.*	Jud.	Gad	*Ben.*	Aaron	Ash.	4
5	*Dan*	Iss.	Zeb.	Iss.	Zeb.	Iss.	Sim.	*Eph.*	Iss.	*Ben.*	*Jos.*	*Jos.*	*Eph.*	Zeb.	*Eph.*	Iss.	*E. Man.*	*Eph.*	Jud.	*Naph.*	5
6	*Naph.*	Zeb.	Iss.	Zeb.	*Eph.*	Zeb.	Gad	*Ben.*	Zeb.	*Dan*	*Ben.*	Zeb.	*W. Man.*	Iss.	Reu.	Zeb.	Levi	*E. Man.*	Iss.	*Man.*	6
7	Gad	Gad	*Dan*	*Ben.*	*Man.*	*Eph.*	*Eph.*	Zeb.	*Man.*	*Man.*	Reu.	Iss.	*Ben.*	Reu.	Jud.	*Dan*	Iss.	Iss.	Zeb.	Sim.	7
8	Ash.	Ash.	Gad	*Dan*	*Ben.*	*Man.*	*Man.*	*Man.*	*Eph.*	*Eph.*	Gad	Gad	Sim.		Levi	*Jos.*	*Ben.*	Zeb.	*Naph.*	Levi	8
9	Iss.	*Jos.*	Ash.	*Naph.*	*Dan*	*Ben.*	*Ben.*	*Dan*	*Ben.*	Zeb.	Ash.	*Dan*	Zeb.	Gilead	*Ben.*	*Ben.*	*Naph.*	*Naph.*	*Eph.*	Iss.	9
10	Zeb.	*Ben.*	*Naph.*	Gad	Ash.	*Dan*	*Dan*	Ash.	*Dan*	Iss.	Zeb.	*Naph.*	Iss.	*Dan*	Sim.	*Naph.*	*W. Man.*	*Dan*	*W. Man.*	Zeb.	10
11	*Jos.*	*Dan*	*Jos.*	Ash.	Gad	Ash.	Ash.	*Naph.*	Ash.	Ash.	*Dan*	Ash.	Ash.	Ash.	Iss.	Gad	*Eph.*	Ash.	*E. Man.*	*Jos.*	11
12	*Ben.*	*Naph.*	*Ben.*		*Naph.*	*Naph.*	*Naph.*	Gad	*Naph.*	*Naph.*	*Naph.*		*Naph.*	Zeb.	Zeb.	Ash.	Ash.	Reu.	*Ben.*	*Ben.*	12
13													*Dan*	*Naph.*	Gad			Gad	*Dan*		13
14																		*W. Man.*			14
Omissions.				Joseph omitted as in Egypt.	Levi.	Levi.	Levi, mentioned in 2 after Gad.	Levi.	Levi.	Eastern tribes.		Simeon.		Judah and Simeon.			Zebulun and Dan (unless *Dan* is read in 7[12]).		Gad and Asher.	Dan.	
Remarks.									Cf. Nu 1[20f.].					Machir = Man. Gilead = Gad. Zeb. is repeated.							

were the smaller communities, towns, and districts whose inhabitants were bound together by neighbourhood and common interests. War would unite a whole tribe or a number of tribes, and induce them to recognize a single leader, like Gideon or Jephthah, and to accord him a certain authority after he had brought the war to a successful close. The term *shōphēṭ* used for such leaders in Judges suggests that their authority was utilized to decide disputes too serious to be settled by local chiefs. The Song of Deborah implies that, apart from such 'judges,' a tribe had no single head; at any rate it does not mention any one in that position, except Deborah and Barak, but speaks of the 'governors' (*mĕḥōḳĕḳîm*) of Machir, 'they that handle the marshal's staff' (*mōshĕkhîm bĕshēbheṭ ṣōpher*) of Zebulun, and the 'princes' (*sārîm*) of Issachar. Similarly in the times of the Judges and the Monarchy we read of 'elders' of Gilead, Jg 11^{5}; of Israel, 1 S 4^{3} etc.; of Jabesh, 1 S 11^{3}; of Judah, 2 S 19^{11}; of the 'princes' (*sārîm*) of Gilead, Jg 10^{18}. Normally, the highest authorities in the tribe were those 'elders,' probably the heads of the *mishpāḥās* (B. Luther). 1 Ch 27^{16-24}, which assigns a 'ruler' (*nāghîdh*) or 'captain' (*sar*) to each tribe, is probably from a late post-exilic source (Gray, *HPN* pp. 185–188). Abimelech's kingship (Jg 9) was quite exceptional, and was not tribal; he is spoken of as king of Shechem only.

It is possible that the tribes brought with them into Palestine a tribal cult, and established tribal sanctuaries which would serve as rallying points. The sanctuary of Dan, at the Northern Dan (Jg 17. 18), however, is hardly an example; the priest, etc., were acquired in Palestine, and Dan itself may not have been one of the original tribes; still, in forming a tribal sanctuary, it may have been imitating them. Dt $33^{18.\ 19}$ seem to refer to a sanctuary of Zebulun and Issachar. Even if a tribe had no official sanctuary, the various high places promoted union and intercourse in a district.

After the establishment of the Monarchy, as the power of the kings increased, the tribal names gradually became mere geographical expressions, and the districts they denoted ceased to be political divisions. Solomon (1 K 4^{7-19}) divided the land of Israel, with the exception of part of Judah, into twelve districts, which do not coincide with the tribal districts. In a measure, however, the tribal system prevailed: by the division into two kingdoms and the disappearance or absorption of the weaker tribes, Judah became the Southern kingdom, Ephraim the Northern kingdom, and Gad stood for S.E. and Eastern Manasseh for N.E. Israel; although the political existence of the other divisions of the Northern kingdom is sometimes recognized (Is 9^{21}). The oracles on the tribes, the Blessing of Jacob (Gn 49), and the Blessing of Moses (Dt 33), come to us in their present form from the period of the Monarchy; but they are constructed on the model of more ancient oracles, so that the fact that they contain sayings on nearly all the tribes (cf. below) does not show that the tribe continued a political unit throughout the Monarchy; on the other hand, the space devoted to Judah and Joseph in Gn 49, and to Joseph and Gad in Dt 33, supports the view taken above. The section on Levi (Dt 33^{8-11}) may have received its present form from one of the Deuteronomic writers. The disappearance of the tribe as a political unit is further indicated by the silence of 2 K, etc., and especially by the fact that, with two exceptions, none of the numerous lists of Jewish families in *Ezra* and *Neh.* refer them to their tribes. The exceptions are Neh 11^{3-24} 11^{25-36} (in their present form very late, Guthe, *SBOT*, etc.), where, too, 'Benjamin' and 'Judah' may be mere names of districts.

On the other hand, the Blessings of Jacob and of Moses, with Ezk 48 and such references as Ps 68^{27} 80^{2}, show that a strong archaic religious interest was taken in the ancient tribes. One result of this interest was the set of tribal genealogies, Gn 46^{8-72} = Nu 26^{5-51} (late strata of P), 1 Ch 2–9, which partly expressed the recollections of ancient politics and geography, and partly served to connect existing families with the primitive tribes. Meyer (*Entstehung*, 160) deduces from the statement in Ezr 2^{59-61} that certain families could not prove Israelite descent, the conclusion that the rest traced their descent from Judah or Benjamin. The silence as to tribal descent, mentioned above, seems to show that this is an erroneous theory; and the habit of tracing descent to the ancient tribes and their primitive clans became general only long after the Exile; families which derived their ancestry from distinguished men, David, Saul, etc., could of course name their tribe. In other cases, a family would determine its tribe from its home before or even after the Exile, and from similar circumstances. Hence the description of various persons in the Apocrypha and NT as belonging to certain tribes (To 1^{1}, Jth 8^{1}, 2 Mac 3^{4}, Lk 2^{36}, Ro 11^{1}) can be accepted only in this limited sense.

iii. *Order and Grouping.*—The accompanying Table will show that the tribes are arranged in twenty different orders, only one of which, that of Nu 2. 7. and 10, recurs. The principles of arrangement are—

(1) The relationship to Jacob, and his wives and concubines. Thus: Sons of—

Leah: Reu., Sim., Levi, Jud., Iss., Zebulun.
Zilpah: Gad, Asher.
Rachel: Joseph, Benjamin.
Bilhah: Dan, Naphtali.

This principle, modified in some cases by others, determines the order in Gn 29–35, in the Blessing of Jacob (Gn 49), and in the lists based on the Blessing (Gn 46, Ex 1, Nu 1 (two). 2. 7. 10. 13. 26, 1 Ch $2^{1ff.}$ 27).

As the grouping according to wives and concubines does not correspond to any known historical situation after the Conquest, it must be based on a tradition of the circumstances of Israel before, or shortly after, that event.

(2) Geographical position. This position influences most of the lists mentioned above, and governs in large measure those in Nu 34, Dt 33, Jos 13 ff., Jg 5, 1 Ch 2^{3}–8 (partly), 12; Rev 7 (partly).

(3) In Dt 27 tradition and geography have some influence,—witness the position of Simeon and Issachar; but the chief principle seems to be that the tribes regarded for various reasons as more important are chosen to bless, and the less important to curse. The cursing tribes belong to the E. and N. districts, which were carried away captive first.

(4) The list in Ezk 48 is based on the geography of the monarchy modified by the transference of the Eastern tribes to the West of Jordan, and by the ideal necessity for placing the temple about the middle of the country.

In the Table on the preceding page the sons of the various wives, etc., are printed thus:—

Sons of Leah, small caps., *e.g.* REU.; of Zilpah, ordinary type, *e.g.* Gad; of Rachel, small caps. italic, *e.g.* *JOS.*; Bilhah, italic, *e.g.* *Dan.*

iv. *Subdivisions of the Tribe.*—The tribe was a confederation of *mishpāḥās* (cf. above), RV 'families'; and the *mishpāḥā* was a group of households, *bayith* or *bêth 'ābh* ('father's house').* A common worship of the *mishpāḥā* is implied in 1 S 20^{6}. The names of some of the *mishpāḥās*

* Also used of a tribe (Nu 17^{17}), or chief division of a tribe (Nu 3^{20} (?)).

(Hebronites, Nu 3[27]; Hezronites, Nu 26[6]; Shechemites, Nu 26[31]) show that in many cases the *mishpāḥā* came to mean the inhabitants of a town or district. Jg 9[1], however, implies that in the time of Abimelech ben Gideon there were more than one *mishpāḥā* in Shechem. According to the oldest form of the Gideon narrative (J, Jg 6[34] 8[4], see analysis in *PB*), Gideon's force consisted of the fighting men of the *mishpāḥā* Abiezer, who amounted in number to three hundred. In Ex 12[3. 4] the *bayith* or *bêth 'abh* is spoken of as normally capable of consuming a paschal lamb at one meal.

Cf. FAMILY, GOVERNMENT, ISRAEL, JACOB, and articles on the separate tribes, etc.

LITERATURE.—See on FAMILY; also B. Luther, 'Die israelitischen Stämme,' *ZATW*, 1901, Heft 1, pp. 1–76; Cornill, *Hist. of the People of Israel*, pp. 36–62; Steuernagel, *Die Einwanderung der isr. Stämme in Kanaan*, 1901; Ed. König, *Neueste Prinzipien der alttest. Kritik geprüft*, 1902, p. 35 ff.

W. H. BENNETT.

TRIBUTE (IN OT). —**1.** מַס. The rendering 'tribute' for this word is very misleading. Its meaning is collective=*forced labourers, labour-gang*. One of the most notable of such companies was the body of task-workers for the public service, consisting of 30,000 men, which Solomon (see above, p. 565[b]) raised by levy upon the people (1 K 5[13 (27)] 9[15. 21]; contrast the statement in 2 Ch 8[8f.], according to which this levy was imposed only upon the remnant of the aboriginal inhabitants of Canaan). Something of the same kind appears to have been introduced already by David (2 S 20[24] 'Adoram was over the labour-gang,' cf. 1 K 4[6] 5[13] 12[18]=2 Ch 10[18]). Another familiar instance is the slave-gangs of Israelites in Egypt, with their overseers (שָׂרִים Ex 1[11]). Conquered populations were frequently subjected to forced labour: Dt 20[11], Jos 16[10] 17[13], Jg 1[28. 30. 33. 35], Is 31[8], La 1[1]. 'Issachar became a slaving labour-band' (לְמַס-עֹבֵד Gn 49[15] [J]). In Pr 12[24] it is said that 'slothfulness [a slothful man] shall be put under taskwork.' In late Hebrew the word מַס (by use of the concrete for the abstract) came to mean *forced service, serfdom*. In Est 10[1] it possibly means *tribute* in sense of *forced payment*.

2. In Dt 16[10] EV 'with a tribute of a freewill offering' would be clearer if RVm were adopted: 'after the measure of the,' etc. The Heb. [here only] is מַסַּת, common in Aram.='sufficiency,' and as adv. acc.=*pro ratione*. The meaning is that the offerer is to give according to the full measure in which Jahweh has blessed him in the year's harvest (see Driver, *ad loc.*, and *Oxf. Heb. Lex. s.v.*).

3. מַנְדָּה (loan-word from Assyr. *mandattu*, 'tribute'), Ezr 4[13], Neh 5[4]. **4.** בָּלוֹ (prob. the Assyr. *biltu*, 'impost'; see Schrader, *COT* ii. 65 f.). **5.** מֶכֶס, prop. 'computation,' used only of the duty for Jahweh levied on the spoil, Nu 31[28. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41] [all P]. **6.** מַשָּׂא, lit. 'burden,' 2 Ch 17[11] (cf. 2 Ch 24[27], Hos 8[10]). **7.** עֹנֶשׁ 'fine,' 'indemnity,' 2 K 23[33] (of the sum exacted by Pharaoh-necho after he had deposed Jehoahaz), cf. Pr 19[19] (AV 'punishment,' RV 'penalty').

J. A. SELBIE.

TRIBUTE (IN NT).—Κῆνσος, Lat. *census* (Mt 22[17], Mk 12[14]), *φόρος* (Lk 20[22] 23[2], Ro 13[6. 7]), in Mt 17[25] *τέλη ἢ κῆνσος* ('toll or tribute'), an annual tax levied on persons, houses, or lands. In all the passages quoted the reference is to the imperial taxes, to taxes paid to a prince or civil governor on behalf of the Roman treasury. Both *κῆνσος* and *φόρος* are, properly, direct taxes. The *φόροι*, strictly speaking, were taxes paid by agriculturists, the payment being generally made in kind, and were contrasted with the *τέλη* or customs collected by the publicans. The word *κῆνσος*, again, was originally used of the property register upon which taxation was calculated, and thence came to mean the capitation or poll tax (cf. D in Mk 12[14] *ἐπικεφάλαιον*). In Mt 17[24] the word tr. 'tribute' in AV and 'half-shekel' in RV is the didrachmon. This sum every adult male Israelite had to pay to cover the cost of the public sacrifices at the temple. The 'stater' of v.[27] was a tetradrachmon, equal to a whole shekel, and therefore payment for two. After the destruction of Jerusalem, Vespasian caused the Jews to pay this didrachmon tax for the support of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus in Rome. Nerva, though not abolishing the tax, made it less offensive to the Jews by dissociating it from this heathenish use. See MONEY.

LITERATURE.—Schürer, *HJP* (1890), I. ii. 110, 254; Marquart, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, ii. 185 ff. Also, generally, R. Cagnat, *Étude Historique sur les Impôts Indirects*, Paris, 1882; and Otto Hirschfeld, *Untersuchungen auf dem Gebiete der Röm. Verwaltungsgeschichte*, i. (down to Diocletian), Berlin, 1877.

J. MACPHERSON.

TRIBUTE MONEY, *τὸ νόμισμα τοῦ κήνσου* (Mt 22[19]), the coin used in payment of the imperial taxes. The phrase literally means 'the lawful money of the tax.' The tribute had to be paid in the current coin of the realm. See MONEY.

TRIPOLIS (*ἡ Τρίπολις*).—A city of Syria, at which Demetrius Soter landed with an army when he wrested the kingdom from his cousin Antiochus V. (2 Mac 14[1]; *Ant.* XII. x. 1). It was to Tripolis that Antiochus Cyzicenus retired after being defeated by Hyrcanus (*Ant.* XIII. x. 2).

Tripolis was a maritime town of Phœnicia, and a member of the Phœnician league. Its Phœnician name, and the date of its foundation, are unknown; but it must have been founded some time after Aradus. Each of the principal Phœnician cities, Tyre, Zidon, and Aradus, had its separate quarter at Tripolis, and hence the name—'the three cities.' Little is known of its early history, but, from its position near the western end of the 'entrance of Hamath,' it must have been a place of commercial importance. It was adorned with stately buildings by the Seleucids and the Romans, and a gymnasium was built there by Herod the Great (Jos. *BJ* I. xxi. 11). When Tripolis was besieged by the Arabs, most of the inhabitants escaped by sea, and after its capture it was colonized with Persians and Jews. Even in A.D. 1047, Nâsir-i-Khusrau writes that all the Moslems belonged to the Shi'ah sect. Tripolis was taken by the Crusaders (A.D. 1109), when a valuable library was burned. Under the Franks there was a large silk industry, which was destroyed when the place was captured by the Egyptians (A.D. 1289). At this time Tripolis occupied its original position on the seashore; but the constant attacks of the Franks created such a feeling of insecurity that in 1366 a new town, the present *Tarâbulûs*, was founded about 2 miles inland, on higher ground on the banks of the *Nahr Kadisha*. The old town had the sea on three sides, and on the fourth it was protected by a wide, deep ditch. Hardly a trace of its great buildings remains; war and a succession of severe earthquakes have destroyed everything. The site is now occupied by *el-Mîna*, the seaport of *Tarâbulûs*, which has a large and increasing trade. The plain between old and new Tripolis is still remarkable for the exuberant fertility which attracted the attention of all mediæval pilgrims and travellers.

C. W. WILSON.

TROAS (*Τρῳάς*, or more correctly *Ἀλεξάνδρεια ἡ Τρῳάς*) was a city on the Ægean coast of Asia Minor, opposite the small island of Tenedos. The district in which it was situated was sometimes called as a whole Troas, and is in modern times generally called the Troad; it was the north-western part of the land of Mysia. A city was

founded on the site by Antigonus, and called Antigonia Troas: the people of Skepsis, Cebren, Hamaxitus, and other towns were settled there. In 300 Lysimachus refounded and renamed the city Alexandria Troas. It was for a time under the dominion of the Seleucid kings of Syria; and there are coins of Antiochus II. Theos (B.C. 261–246) struck at Troas. As Seleucid power waned, it gained its freedom and began to strike its own coinage. Many tetradrachms ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΩΝ with the head and name of Apollo Smintheus were coined there from about B.C. 164 to 65; they are all dated from an era whose first year was probably about B.C. 300, when Alexandria was founded.* The Pergamenian rule, under which it must have passed, was not, like the Seleucid, destructive to freedom; and the same was true of the Roman dominion, under which the city passed in B.C. 133.

The Romans cherished a peculiarly warm feeling towards Troas, on account of their Trojan origin, a legend in which they had come to believe thoroughly; their favour for Ilium on the same ground is well known. Alexandria was made a Roman Colonia by Augustus, under the name Colonia Augusta Alexandria Troas (to which under Caracalla the titles Aurelia Antoniniana were added). It possessed the *jus Italicum*, *i.e.* the Italian privileges in the tenure and ownership of land, along with immunity from poll-tax and land-tax (*immunitas*), and freedom from the command of the governor of the province (*libertas*). It had the ordinary colonial constitution, chief magistrates called *duoviri*, and a senate of *decuriones*; and it was divided into 10 *vici*. Its citizens belonged to the Roman tribe Aniensis (not Sergia, as commonly stated), see Kubitschek, *Imp. Rom. tribut. descript.* p. 247. It became one of the greatest and largest cities of the north-west of Asia. In the coasting voyage system of ancient navigation, it was the harbour to and from which the communication between Asia and Macedonia was directed (cf. Ac 16[8] 20[5], 2 Co 2[12]). Owing to the greatness of Troas and its legendary connexion with the foundation of Rome, the idea was actually entertained by Julius Cæsar of transferring thither the centre of government from Rome (Suet. *Jul.* 79); and some similar scheme was still not wholly forgotten when Horace protested against it in *Od.* iii. 3. Hadrian probably visited Troas,† and it was perhaps his interest in it that led the wealthy and politic Herodes Atticus‡ to build there an aqueduct (the ruins of which were imposing in very recent times) and baths.

Finally, that dream of the early empire may have had some influence on Constantine, who (as Gibbon says), 'before he gave a just preference to the situation of Byzantium, had conceived the design of erecting the seat of empire on this celebrated spot, from which the Romans derived their fabulous origin.' In view of these fanciful but really cherished schemes, it is interesting to observe that the modern name is Eski-Stamboul, 'Old Stambul,' while Constantinople is Stamboul simply.

The great sanctuary of the Alexandrian State was the temple of Apollo Smintheus, near the coast, about twelve miles south of the city; it was originally in the territory of Hamaxitus, and Alexandria inherited the temple along with the people of that town. The symbol of this god was the mouse (or rat), which often appears on the coins of Troas.

The route followed by St. Paul, with Silas and Timothy, from the Bithynian frontier near Dorylaion or Kotiaion, brought the party to the coast at Troas (Ac 16[6-8]). There can be little doubt that this road led down the Rhyndacus valley past the hot springs Artemaia, sacred to Artemis, on the river Aisepos.§ In the *Acta Philetæri* (*Acta Sanctorum*, 19 May, p. 312 ff.) the tradition (which is clearly older than the *Acta*) is recorded that the church at a village Poketos, between the Rhyndacus and Cyzicus, was dedicated by Paul and Silas when they visited Troas. This tradition probably relates to this journey (though it might seem not impossible that it relates to the visit of Paul [Silas is not mentioned] to Troas in 2 Co 2[12]), and embodies a belief that Paul preached in Mysia on this journey, conformably to which belief the Western reading in Ac 16[6] has διελθόντες τὴν Μυσίαν, where ℵAB, etc., have παρελθόντες, 'neglecting,' *i.e.* passing through without preaching in Mysia (on account of the prohibition to evangelize the province Asia, of which Mysia was part, Ac 16[6]). Here the Western reading and the local tradition seem to form a later and secondary interpretation, which tended to obscure and expel the true Lukan reading. The 'open door' at Troas (2 Co 2[12]) implies either that great facility for mission work was found in the city, or that the city was the entrance of a good avenue to reach the country around and behind (compare the similar door at PHILADELPHIA).

LITERATURE.—On Troas see the travels of Chandler, Fellows, etc., also an article in *Mittheilungen d. d. Instituts zu Athen*, ix. 36; Choiseul Gouffier, *Voyage Pittoresque*, ii. 434; le Bas-Waddington, iii. 1035–1037, 1730–1740; Wroth in *Catalogue British Museum, Coins of Troad, Aeolis, etc.*; *CIG* 3577–3594; *CIL* iii. 384–392.

W. M. RAMSAY.

TROGYLLIUM (Τρωγύλλιον).—According to the AV of Ac 20[15], which follows cod. D, the ship in which St. Paul sailed, when on his way to Cæsarea and Jerusalem at the close of his third missionary journey, 'tarried at Trogyllium' after touching at Samos, and before sailing on the following day to Miletus. The principal MSS (ℵ, A, B, C) omit the words 'tarried at Trogyllium.' The addition in D was possibly founded on a tradition that survived in the churches of Asia, and gives a detail which in itself is highly probable (cf. Ramsay, *St. Paul the Trav.* p. 294).

The promontory of Trogyllium projects from the mainland of Asia Minor, and overlaps the eastern extremity of Samos so as to form a strait less than a mile wide between the two promontories. Through this strait St. Paul sailed, and it is natural to suppose that the ship may have anchored for the night under the lee of Trogyllium, either because the wind had dropped, or because there was no moon. A little to the E. of the end of the promontory, not more than a mile from Samos, there is an anchorage still called 'St. Paul's Port' (Conybeare and Howson, *Life and Epp. of St. Paul*, xx. n.). Ramsay has pointed out (*Ch. in Rom. Empire*, 155 n.) that the voyage of St. Willibald is an apt illustration of that of St. Paul, and that his 'Strobolis on a high mountain' is Trogyllium.

C. W. WILSON.

TROPHIMUS (Τρόφιμος).—One of St. Paul's companions (Ac 20[4]), called with Tychicus 'Ασιανοί. These two disciples, with others, travelled with the apostle from Macedonia to Asia, and preceded St. Paul to Troas in his third missionary journey. From thence Trophimus must have accompanied St. Paul to Jerusalem. He was an Ephesian (Ac 21[29]), and the riot raised against St. Paul in Jerusalem was made chiefly on the ground that he had introduced Trophimus, a Gentile, into the temple. The only other passage in the NT where his name occurs is 2 Ti 4[20], where St. Paul says, 'Trophimus I left at Miletus sick.' It is to be noted that St. Paul had also sent Tychicus to Ephesus (2 Ti 4[12]). This must have happened after St. Paul's first imprisonment. Trophimus has been identified with one of the companions of Titus who with Titus carried the 2nd Epistle to the Corinthians from Ephesus to Corinth (2 Co 8[16-24]). The Greek *Menology* celebrates Trophimus on April 14 with Aristarchus and Pudens, and asserts that they were of the Seventy, and suffered martyrdom at Rome under Nero.

(For the identification of Trophimus with the disciple in 2 Co 8[18] see Stanley on *2 Cor.* 2nd ed. p. 492).

H. A. REDPATH.

* Another suggestion is that the Seleucid State era, beginning B.C. 312, was used at Troas; but all the dated coins were struck after Troas had been included in the Pergamenian realm, and the use of the Seleucid era then, though possible, seems improbable.

† The inscription, *CIL* iii. 466, quoted in proof by Durr (*Reisen des K. Hadrians*, p. 55), affords no evidence. But Hadrian certainly visited Ilium and probably Lesbos (*per Asiam et insulas*, Spart.); and Troas lay between them.

‡ Probably A.D. 132–135, when he was *legatus* to improve the condition of the free cities of Asia (Philostr. *Vit. Soph.* I. xxv. 13).

§ Ramsay, *St. Paul the Trav.* p. 197. A different theory of route was stated by Mr. Munro in the *Geographical Journal*, Feb. 1897, p. 169 f., but afterwards abandoned by him (*Journal of Hell. Studies*, 1901, p. 235).

TROW.—The Eng. verb to 'trow' is the same in origin as 'true' and 'trust.' Its earliest meaning is to believe or trust, as Archbp. Hamilton's *Catechism*, xxv, 'He that trowis and fermely beleiffis in the sone of God, hais evirlastand lyfe, in this warld in hoip, and in the warld to cum in deid'; also p. xxx, 'Thai suld trow the artikillis of thair Crede'; and Mandeville, *Travels*, 13, '*Jesu Christus nascetur de Virgine Maria, et ego credo in eum*, that is to say, Jesu Christ shall be born of the Virgin Mary, and I trow in him.' But through degeneration the word came to signify no more than *think* or *suppose*, as Lk 8^{25} Rhem. 'Who is this (trow ye) that he commaundeth both the windes and the sea, and they obey him?'; Ac 8^{30} Rhem. 'Trowest thou that thou understandest the things which thou readest?' This is the meaning in Lk 17^{9}, the only occurrence of the word in AV, 'Doth he thank that servant because he did the things that were commanded him? I trow not' (*οὐ δοκῶ*; edd. and RV omit). J. HASTINGS.

TRUMPET (including Feast of Trumpets and New Year).—Among the wind instruments of the Hebrews (see MUSIC, § 2, *e* and *f*) were two, *shōphār* and *ḥăzōzĕrah*, which are variously rendered in AV by 'trumpet,' 'trump,' and 'cornet.' The more ancient of these, especially used for *secular* purposes, except in P, was the horn or *shōphār* (LXX *κερατίνη* or *σάλπιγξ*). The latter word is used by Philo, who describes the feast of the 1st of Tishri as the feast of the *σάλπιγγες* (Wendland, *Neuentdeckte Fragmente Philo's*, p. 11; Schürer, *GJV*[3] ii. p. 450).

The Heb. name שׁוֹפָר is probably derived from a root meaning *to be bright*, in reference to the clear, sharp, piercing tone of the instrument. That it was made of horn is attested not only by the tradition of the synagogue, but also by the interchange between שׁוֹפָר and קֶרֶן ('horn'); see Jos $6^{4.5}$. As, moreover, the word יוֹבֵל ('ram,' whence 'Jubilee,' see SABBATICAL YEAR) is often associated with *shōphār*, the original instrument was probably made of a ram's horn (cf. Nowack, *Heb. Arch.* i. 277). Some authorities suggest that possibly in later times an instrument of similar shape was made of *metal* (Benzinger, *Heb. Arch.* 277; Kirkpatrick on Ps 98^{6} etc.). The modern synagogue, which still uses the *shōphār* in the months of Elul and Tishri, preferentially employs the ram's horn, but the Mishna (*Rosh Hashana* iii. 2) permits the use of the horn of any (clean) animal *except the cow*. Driver (*Joel and Amos*, p. 144) defines the biblical *shōphār*, however, as 'the curved horn of a cow or ram.' The Mishna (*ib.* § 3) specially mentions the straight horn of the ibex as used in the temple. The common crook form is pictured in vol. ii. p. 462, but Asiatic Jews prefer spiral forms similar to the trumpets of the Hindu priests. Among the exhibits at the Anglo-Jewish Exhibition (1887, *Catalogue*, p. 97, beautifully illustrated by Frank Haes, Edition de Luxe) was one from Aden, made from the splendid horn of the koodoo (cf. F. L. Cohen, *Jewish Chronicle*, Sept. 1, 1899, p. 25). Thus the *shōphār*, though preferentially made in Western lands of the ram's horn, may be constructed of the horn of any sheep, goat, or antelope, growing separately from its core, and it 'varies in shape from absolute straightness through a gradual curve to the spiral.' The crook is preferred, not, as modern Jewish homilists hold, for symbolical reasons, but 'because of the same acoustic effects consequent on such a curve, as decided the form of the ancient Roman cavalry trumpet, or the modern saxophone. The trumpet of the Roman cavalry was, indeed, only a large *shōphār*, elegantly fashioned in bronze' (Cohen, *ib.*).

The ancient preferential use of the ram's horn was strengthened by the association of the Day *cf* the Trumpet (1st of Tishri) in later Jewish ritual with the narrative of the offering of Isaac (Gn 22^{13}. The whole chapter is read in the synagogues on the 2nd of Tishri, and references to the incident abound in the ritual of the festival). The horns now used are sometimes carved, and adorned with golden crowns and Hebrew inscriptions, but no metallic attachment is permitted at the mouthpiece (*Shulchan Aruch, Orach Chayim*, § 585 ff. For an excellent account of the construction of the *shōphār*, with illustrations, see C. Adler, *Proceedings of the U.S. Museum*, xvi. 287-301; Reports, 1892, 437-450; 1899, p. 548).

As in the modern synagogue, so in the Bible, the *shōphār* is associated (together with certain special offerings, Nu 29^{2-6}) with the feast held on the new moon (see NEW MOON) of the seventh month. This feast is an addition to the Calendar of the Feasts in P (Lv 23^{23-25}, Nu 29^{1-6}). 'In the seventh month, on the first day of the month, shall be a solemn rest unto you (זִכְרוֹן תְּרוּעָה), a memorial of blowing of trumpets' (Lv 23^{24}). 'It is יוֹם תְּרוּעָה, a day of blowing of trumpets unto you.' Thus the precise instrument is not named in the Hebrew (LXX has *σαλπίγγων* in Lev., whence the plural 'trumpets' in AV. The synagogue uses only one instrument. In Num. the LXX has simply *ἡμέρα σημασίας*—'a day of signalling'), but the *shōphār* is obviously intended, for the term *tĕrûah*, though also used of the *ḥăzōzĕrah* (Nu 10^{5}) and the cymbal (Ps 150^{5}), is connected with the *shōphār* in several passages (see esp. Lv 25^{9}, a passage on which the Mishna rightly relies). The exact musical notes intended are unknown; indeed the rude horn has no precise note, and various examples not only differ in this respect from one another, but from one and the same *shōphār* very different effects are produceable. Greater attention was probably paid to rhythm and length than to the actual musical sounds, and this is still the case. 'Any sound is satisfactory,' runs the Rabbinical prescript, but tradition confesses itself unable to be more precise. In the Bible various terms are used: תָּקַע (whence the term תְּקִיעָה Ezk 7^{14} for 'trumpet,' and the New Heb. *tĕḳîah* for a *note* on the same instrument) *to smite*, hence *to produce a sharp, clear note*; מָשַׁךְ *to draw out* or *prolong* (whence perhaps the *tĕḳîah gĕdōlah*, or great *tĕḳîah* of the modern synagogue; cf., however, Is 27^{13}); and הָרִיעַ (whence the biblical *tĕrûah*) *to produce a trembling, vibratory note, or a series of quick blasts.*

The Rabbinical ritual, unable to identify the biblical notes, prescribed three sounds: the simple *tĕḳîah*, the *tĕrûah* produced by vibrating the lips and not the *shōphār*, and the *shĕbārîm* or three short *broken* notes. The *ba'al tōḳēah*, who blows the *shōphār*, utters the benediction, 'Blessed art thou O Lord our God, King of the Universe, who hast sanctified us by thy commandments and commanded us to hear the sound of the *shōphār*.' The number of distinct notes varies in different rites (from 30 to 100). A whole section of the *mûsaph* or additional service of the Day of the Trumpet is known as the *shōphārôth* (Mishna, *Rosh Hashana*, iv. 5); it consists of a collection of scriptural passages in which the *shōphār* is mentioned (see Singer, *Authorized Daily Prayer-Book*, p. 252; and on the New Year Liturgy, Friedmann in *JQR* i. 62). These passages refer chiefly to the giving of the Law at Sinai and to the future redemption, and the association of the *shōphār* with the latter event often occurs in the NT ('Last trump,' 1 Co 15^{52}; cf. 1 Th 4^{16}, Mt 24^{31}, 2 Es 6^{23}, and Is 27^{13}, Zec 9^{14}). Thus the *shōphār* plays its part not only in the biblical feast, but also in the general scheme of the later New Year celebrations.

The festival has, from early Rabbinical times, been known as רֹאשׁ הַשָּׁנָה (New Year; see TIME), יוֹם הַזִּכָּרוֹן ('Day of Memorial'; cf. Lv 23^{24}), and יוֹם הַדִּין ('Day of Judgment'). The festival has been spiritualized into a solemn day of self-introspection, and the *shōphār* is regarded as a signal, calling to inner and outward repentance.

In anticipation of the feast itself, the *shōphār* is with this object sounded in many synagogues throughout the previous month Elul, morning and evening, with the exception of the Sabbaths. (If the 1st of Tishri happen to fall on a Saturday, the *shōphār* is not sounded, except in certain Reformed Jewish congregations. In the temple the *shōphār* was of course sounded on the Sabbath). So, too, after the festival, the *shōphār* is sounded (among the Sephardic Jews) on the 7th day of Tabernacles (*Hoshaʻana Rabba*) during the seven circuits of the palms. This last act completes the penitentiary cycle, which includes the Day of Atonement. The whole period is

the most solemn in the modern Jewish Calendar, and it is noteworthy that Rabbinical Judaism has in this case, as in several others, developed the biblical prescriptions in a purely spiritual direction. One of the finest sections in Maimonides' Code (*Mishneh Torah*) is the section on Penitence (תְּשׁוּבָה 'return'), in which the ideas of a sense of sin, regret, and practical amendment are, on the basis of Rabbinical conceptions, combined into a remarkable and beautiful whole. It should be added that the עֲקֵידָה or binding of Isaac on the altar plays in the liturgy of the synagogue for the New Year a rôle in some, though not in the most characteristic, aspects not unlike that of the Crucifixion in the theology and liturgy of the Christian Church.

The other uses of the *shōphār* are not easily discriminated from those of the *ḥăzōzĕrah*, and the two instruments must be considered in conjunction. The *ḥăzōzĕrah* differed from the *shōphār* in shape (see vol. iii. p. 462 f.), being nearly a yard long, a straight slender tube with a slight expansion at the mouth and a bell-shaped end (Jos. *Ant.* III. xii. 6; so Arch of Titus and Coins). It also differed in material, as it was made of metal ('beaten silver,' Nu 10^2). The *ḥăzōzĕrah* was the sacred clarion, and was closely connected (mostly in P and Chron.) with the later temple service as described in Chronicles. It was a more musical instrument than the *shōphār*, and was used almost exclusively by the priests. As a secular instrument, the *ḥăzōzĕrah* is mentioned in Hos 5^8, together with the *shōphār*, as used to signal the approach of an invading army. 'Previously to the Exile,' says Cheyne (*ad loc.*), 'the cornet (*shōphār*) and the trumpet (*ḥăzōzĕrah*) were probably different names for the same instrument, as the Law (Nu $10^{1\text{-}10}$ 31^6) prescribes the use of the silver trumpet in cases when, according to the prophetic and historical books, the cornet or *shōphār* was used. In writings of post-captivity origin (Ps 98^6, 1 Ch 15^{28}, 2 Ch 15^{14}) they appear to represent different instruments, or rather slightly different varieties of the same instrument.' Perhaps in 2 K 11^{14} the *ḥăzōzĕrah* is a secular instrument (so *Oxford Hebrew Lex.* p. 348). Mostly it was the *shōphār* that was used in war as a signal either for assembly (Jg 3^{27}, 2 S 20^1), attack, or retreat (2 S 2^{28}). We cannot tell whether it was the *shōphār* or *ḥăzōzĕrah* that is referred to often in the Books of the Maccabees (*e.g.* 1 Mac 3^{54} σάλπιγξ, 4^{40} 'trumpeted with trumpets of signals,' 5^{31} etc.). The watchman blew the *shōphār* to raise an alarm or to indicate impending danger (Am 3^6, Jer 6^1, Ezk 33^6), and Moore (on Jg 6^{34}) renders *shōphār* by 'war-horn.' In the narrative of Gideon (Jg 7^{16}) there seems a large supply of horns in the camp, but in v.^{8} it is expressly said that the troops that were sent home left their horns with Gideon, thus enabling him to furnish each of his 300 men with a *shōphār* (see Moore, *Judges*, p. 203 ff.). In the Jubilee year the *shōphār* was sounded on the 10th of Tishri as a signal (Lv 25^9 P), and this may be the origin of the synagogue usage to sound the *shōphār* on the conclusion of the Day of Atonement. Possibly, however, this is connected with the custom of sounding a trumpet (*ḥăzōzĕrah*) in the temple at the beginning and end of the Sabbath (T. Jerus. *Shabbath* xvii. 16*a*; Bab. *Shabbath* 35*b*; Jos. *Ant.* IV. ix. 12: 'the top of the Pastophoria, where one of the priests usually stood and gave a signal beforehand in the evening with a trumpet at the beginning of every seventh day [Friday evening], as also in the evening when the sabbath day was finished, giving notice to the people when they were to leave off work, and when they were to go to work again').

Reverting to Bible times, a blast of trumpets announced an important event such as a royal accession (1 K $1^{34.\ 39}$ the *shōphār* is named, but the *ḥăzōzĕrah* in 2 K 11^{14}), and the popular joy was aided in the same manner on other occasions (2 S 6^{15}, cf. Ps 47^5). Liturgically, the *ḥăzōzĕrāh* was the priestly instrument *par excellence* (the Levites had several other instruments). The silver trumpets were blown at the beginning of each month (Nu 10^{10}), but the *shōphār* on the New Moon of Tishri (see Kirkpatrick's notes on Ps 81).

The Talmud (Mishna, *loc. cit.*; Talm. Bab. *Rosh Hashana* 26*b*) explains that the silver trumpets were not omitted on the 1st of Tishri, but that *besides* these[a] *shōphār* (of straight ibex horn with a golden mouthpiece—an addition unlawful except in the temple) was sounded, its notes being made to predominate over the trumpets.

The silver trumpets were sounded at the daily burnt-offering (2 Ch $29^{26\text{-}28}$, Nu $10^{1.\ 2.\ 10}$), and at the three pauses in the singing of the daily psalms (a later introduction) three blasts (nine in all) were sounded from the silver trumpets, and the people fell down and worshipped (2 Ch 29^{28} etc.). There seem to have been 7 trumpets in the Levitical orchestra (so Büchler, *ZATW*, 1899, p. 329, on basis of 1 Ch 15^{24}, Neh 12^{41}). On the prostration as signalled by the trumpets see also Sir $50^{16.\ 17}$; Mishna, *Tamid* vii. 3. Trumpets were also used on semi-religious occasions of joy, and particularly at the Ceremony of the Water-Drawing at the Feast of Tabernacles (Mishna, *Succah* v. 4), a ceremony which is very ancient, and may even underlie Is 12^3.

I. ABRAHAMS.

TRUST.—See FAITH.

TRUTH.—The usage of Holy Scripture in respect to words expressive of the idea of 'truth,' in its broadest signification, is a point of considerable interest and importance. The study of it illustrates the influence of Hebrew training upon the writers of NT, and brings into relief characteristics of the ethical and religious thought both of OT and NT which are full of profound instruction.

i. THE OLD TESTAMENT.—The verb אָמַן—from which אֱמֶת and אֱמוּנָה, the words with which we are principally concerned, are derived—signifies to *support, sustain.*

In the Qal it is used of a nurse carrying a child (Nu 11^{12}, 2 S 4^4, Ru 4^{16}), and more generally of those who have the charge of rearing children (2 K $10^{1.\ 5}$, Is 49^{23}, Est 2[7]); in the Niphal, of those who are carried (Is 60^4). Again of that which is firmly founded, as 'a *sure* house' (1 S 2^{35} 25^{28}, 1 K 11^{38}, and cf. 2 S 7^{16}), of a firmly fixed nail (Is $22^{23.\ 25}$), of national stability and prosperity (2 Ch 20^{20}, Is 7[9]); of that which continues long (Dt 28^{59}); of waters that are unfailing (Is 33^{16}, Jer 15^{18}); of Samuel *established* as a prophet (1 S 3^{20}); of words being established—*i.e.* verified—, God's words through His prophets (1 Ch $17^{23.\ 24}$, 2 Ch 1^9 6^{17}, Hos 5[9]), and of the word of men (Gn 42^{20}), and, in a remarkable passage, of those who have a character for uttering sentiments that are true, showing knowledge of human life and its laws, etc. (Job 12^{20}); lastly, in a distinctly ethical sense, of one trustworthy in ordinary human relations (Pr 11^{13} 25^{13} 27^6, Neh 13^{13}, Is 8^2), or unswerving in his loyalty to Jehovah (Ps $78^{8.\ 37}$), faithful in the fulfilment of a trust divinely committed (Nu 12[7], 1 S 3^{35} 22^{14}); also of God's faithfulness (Is 49^7 55^3, Jer 42^5, Dt 7[9], Ps 19^7 89^{28} 93^5 111^7).

The Hiphil has the sense *to put confidence in, to believe*, either specific declarations of God or of man (Gn 15^6 45^{26}, Is 53^1, Jon 3^5 etc.), or persons, again either God (Dt 1^{32}, 2 Ch 20^{20} etc.) or man (Jg 11^{20}, 2 Ch 32^{15} etc.). Comp. also Job 39^{12} of putting confidence in the wild ox, and Job 4^{18} 15^{15} of God, 'He putteth no trust in his holy ones,' and Job 15^{31} 'to trust in vanity.' It is also used absol. Is 7^9 28^{16} etc. There are more special applications at Dt 28^{66}, Job 24^{22} 39^{24}.

The noun אֹמֶנֶת *a pillar* (2 K 18^{16}) illustrates clearly the signification of the root. For the ethical idea connected with it we have analogies in נָכוֹן *made firm, fixed*, hence morally *directed aright, stedfast*; and יָצִיב (Aram.) *stable, true*; cf. יְצַב (Aram.) *to make firm*, and Heb. הִתְיַצֵּב *to station oneself.*

The senses in which אֱמוּנָה is used correspond on the whole very closely with those of the verb, and so, to a considerable extent, do those of אֱמֶת. The former word, however, sometimes has a purely physical meaning: this the latter never has, while (unlike the former) it is also used to describe a quality of speech or thought in a manner not distinguishable from that in which the term 'truth'

commonly is among ourselves. In the following analysis the two words will be taken together; this is most convenient, because their meanings overlap. But references to the former are printed in thick type.

1. *Steadiness*, **Ex 17**^{12} (on the construction see Ges.-K. § 141d).
2. A *set*, or *fixed*, *office*, or perhaps a *trust* (as RVm in some places), **1 Ch** 9$^{22. 26. 31}$, **2 Ch** 31$^{15. 18}$.
3. *Loyalty to obligations and engagements*, *uprightness*, *honest dealing*, as between man and man, Jg 9$^{15. 16. 19}$, **Ps** 37^{3}, **Jer** 5$^{1. 3}$; perhaps also Gn 42^{16}. אֱמֶת in this sense is frequently joined with חֶסֶד, kindness or mercy—so in Gn 24^{49} 47^{29}, Jos 2$^{12. 14}$, Pr 3^{3} 16^{6} (cf. also Pr 20^{28}, included under headings 5 and 9, for their conjunction as Divine attributes. For the general purport of the combination see the latter place).
4. *Honesty* and *fidelity* in respect to a charge committed to one, **2 K** 12^{15} 22^{7}, **2 Ch** 31^{12} 34^{12}, Neh 7^{2}.
5. *Justice* in a specific sense, that which is in accordance with rights, Hos 4^{1}, Dn 8^{12}. So also **Pr** 12^{17} ('he that uttereth truth = declareth what is just'). Similarly **Jer** 7^{28}, **Is** 59^{4}. As a quality of judges and kings, **2 Ch** 19^{9}, Ex 18^{21}, Ezk 18^{8}, Pr 20^{28} 29^{14}. This characteristic is emphatically applied to the government of the Messianic king, **Is** 11^{5}, Ps 45^{4}, Is 16^{5} 42^{3}.
6. Of a state of true national well-being, which would be specially realized in the promised times, frequently coupled with 'peace.' As the Heb. for 'peace' implies *health*, *soundness*, so that for 'truth' implies *stability*. But the word 'truth' may also, from its associations, suggest a condition in which justice prevails in all social relations (**Is** 33^{6}, Ps 85$^{10. 11}$, Jer 33^{6}), also 'peace of truth,' *i.e.* '*assured* peace,' Jer 14^{13}, and more generally 2 K 20^{19}, Is 39^{8}, Est 9^{30}, Zec 8$^{16. 19}$.
7. *Faithfulness* to God, as shown by zeal for His worship, the avoidance of the worship of false gods, and diligence in keeping all His commandments. Justice between man and man is included, because He ordains it. Sometimes it is difficult to say whether most stress is laid on one or another part of this complex idea. The reference, however, seems, considering all the associations of the word, to be most often to the faithfulness shown in outward conduct, even in the phrase 'in truth'; other expressions in the same contexts refer to inward sincerity, Jos 24^{14}, Jer 22^{1} (cf. 'children that will not deal falsely,' Is 63^{8}) 42^{2}, **Ps** 119^{30} (cf. v.^{29}), 2 Ch 31^{20} 32^{1}, 1 S 12^{24}, 1 K 2^{4} 3^{6}, 2 K 20^{3}, Is 10^{20}. Yet at Ps 145^{18}, Is 48^{1} 'in truth' = *sincerely*, in contrast with hypocrisy. Cf. also Ps 51^{6}. The expression 'I have walked' or 'I will walk in thy truth' (Ps 26^{3} 86^{11}) may on the whole most probably belong to this heading; that is to say, 'Thy truth' may mean the faithfulness (towards Thee) which Thou hast appointed. But 'walking in God's truth' might also possibly mean 'walking in reliance on God's faithfulness.'
8. *Confidence*, *trust*, **Hab** 2^{4}; probably, however, the meaning here also is 'faithfulness' (RVm), in which case this passage should be placed under 3.
9. As a Divine attribute; (*a*) God's *constancy* to His people, the *faithfulness* with which He had fulfilled or would fulfil His covenant with Abraham and his descendants or with David (Gn 24^{27}, **Hos** 2$^{19. 20}$, Mic 7^{20}, **Ps** 89$^{1. 2. 5. 8. 15. 24. 33. 49}$ 98^{3} 100^{5} 115^{1} 117^{2} 119$^{42. 121. 130}$); also in regard to all who serve Him (Gn 32^{10}, Ps 25^{10} 30^{9} 40$^{10. 11}$ 54^{5} 57$^{3. 10}$ 71^{22} 86^{15} 88^{11} 92^{2} 108^{4} 138^{2} 143$^{1. 2}$, Pr 14^{22}, Is 38$^{18. 19}$). It is also recognized that alike in the case of the nation (**La** 3$^{22. 23}$, Neh 9^{33}), and of the individual (**Ps** 119^{75}), calamities do not prove that God has failed in faithfulness. We meet, also, with the prayer or wish that God may show His truth (2 S 2^{6} 15^{20}, Ps 61^{7}). In the great majority of the passages, so far given under this head, חֶסֶד 'mercy' is coupled with 'truth.' These two words are doubtless to a certain extent complementary, the one as expressive of a free compassion and favour which is ever fresh, the other of a fidelity to promises. But there is a danger of pressing this contrast too far, as Wendt seems to do, *SK*, 1883, p. 520. When society was less organized and rights could be less easily enforced and were even less determinate, the spirit of mercy was often required to dictate the doing of truth (or justice). Moreover, love is at all times the true motive for the doing of justice, and no other is likely to suffice if it be a question of justice in those many relations of life with which law cannot interfere; while at the same time the action of true love must ever be controlled by the law of justice. This applies where the two words are conjoined in speaking of human action (see above, No. 3). But so, also, the thought that God's truth proceeded from His mere goodness is frequently suggested in OT, and, on the other hand, that His mercy is an exhibition of His truth. God's own love is closely associated with His righteousness (comp. the usage of the word צֶדֶק in OT; see also Ps 62^{12}). Some other combinations should be compared, esp. 'the light of God's countenance,' *i.e.* His favour and 'his truth' (Ps 25^{5} 43^{3}), 'his righteousness' and 'his truth' (Ps 40^{10}, Zec 8^{8}; cf. also **Dt** 32^{4}).

(*b*) Truth seems also to be contemplated more generally as one of the great elements in God's character, Ex 34^{6}, **Ps** 36^{5} 119^{90}. He is the true God, as contrasted with the false gods who are but lying vanities (Ps 31$^{5. 6}$, 2 Ch 15^{3}, and Jer 10^{10}, where 'the living God' is a parallel expression). Hence His works are wrought in faithfulness, Ps 33$^{4. 5}$ 111^{7} 19^{9} 69^{13}, **Is** 25^{1}. His commandments also are true in that they are firmly established, that they are not subject to change, that those who observe them will certainly be rewarded, and those who transgress them punished, Ps 119^{86}, 119$^{142. 151. 160}$, Neh 9^{13}, Pr 11^{18}, Is 61^{8}.

10. Of the utterances of prophets (1 K 17^{24} 22^{16}, 2 Ch 18^{15}, Is 43^{9}, Jer 26^{15} 28^{9}); of a vision that does not mislead, Dn 8^{26} 10^{1}. 'The writing of truth' is the book of destiny, Dn 10^{21}; cf. 11^{2}.
11. Truth, in the sense in which we commonly employ the term, for the agreement between language and facts whatever these may be; 1 K 10^{6}, 2 Ch 9^{5}, Dt 13^{14} 17^{4} 22^{20}, Jer 9^{5}, Ps 15^{2} ('in his heart' here should be 'with his heart,' *i.e.* cordially, gladly), Pr 12^{19} 14^{25} 22^{21}.
12. Divine revelation (Mal 2^{6}, Dn 9^{13}); or that true philosophy, that knowledge of the order of the world and of life, to which the wise have in fuller or less measure attained (Pr 8^{7} 23^{23}, Ec 12^{10}); with this last sense cf. the use of the verb at Job 12^{20}.

[The noun אֱמֻן occurs in sing. at Dt 32^{20}, and in pl. at Pr 13^{17} 14^{5} 20^{6}, Is 26^{2} in sense 'faithfulness,' to which Ps 12^{1} 31^{23} should perhaps be added (so RVm); but in these two passages it may be pass. partic. of Qal, and mean 'the faithful' (so RV). אָמֵן in Is 25^{1} is taken in same sense, but the phrase of which it forms part is thus rendered difficult, and the pointing may be wrong. On אָמֵן see AMEN].

In the case of both words it is easy in the vast majority of instances to trace the connexion with the signification of the root, which, ethically regarded, conveys the notion of constancy, steadfastness, faithfulness. But there are secondary meanings, and the precise train of ideas by which these were reached cannot be considered certain. Thus truth in the sense of civil justice—to which, in some passages at least, it approximates—may be derived from the general notion of faithfulness, and with this—when it is a question of a social state in which justice prevails—the notion of stability, which brings us still nearer to the original meaning of the root, may be united. Since not merely אֱמֶת but אֱמוּנָה is used in this way, some such explanation seems on the whole the most likely. Yet it may also be supposed that justice in giving or procuring judgment is called truth, simply as being in agreement with the facts. The same view of truth may also, with even more probability, be suggested, when it is predicated of speech or of thought. Nevertheless, the origin even of this application may have lain in the circumstance that truth-speaking is part of the character of a faithful man; or again, the intention may have been to describe words that are well founded, based upon facts, and therefore firm. This idea of an underlying reality may probably be traced in the use of the term to describe God's revealed will, or the knowledge of the wise. It may not be unnecessary to add a caution that we must not so insist on giving effect to the force of the root as to exclude other ideas which may have entered in the course of the history of the word, and thus to limit the range of its meaning.

Moreover, the various senses of a word, even after they have once been differentiated by custom, may act and react upon one another in their further use. And thus there can be little doubt that the conception formed of religious and intellectual truth must have been more or less affected by the various associations of the term which had come to be employed to designate it. In particular, the contemplation of truth as an attribute of the Divine nature and operations must in devout and reflective minds have promoted a comprehensive and profound view of the quality. It will be important to bear this in mind when we pass on to consider the meaning of 'truth' in the NT. First, however, we must briefly notice the usage of the LXX, whereby the Greek language itself, which the NT writers were to use, was in a measure re-minted.

The verb אָמַן—to pass over the ptcp. of Qal, meaning 'a nurse,' or having kindred significations to this—is represented by πιστοῦν (Niph.), πιστεύειν (Niph. and Hiph.), πίστιν ἔχειν (Niph.), πιστὸς εἶναι, or ptcp. πιστός (Niph.). אֱמוּנָה 20 times by πίστις and once adjectivally by πιστός, 22 times by ἀλήθεια (20 of these being in the Psalms, 8 in Ps 88 (89) alone; the other two are 2 Ch 19^{9}, Is 11^{5}), twice by ἀληθινός (Is 25^{1} 29^{4}). אֱמֶת in nearly four-

fifths of the passages in which it occurs is rendered by ἀλήθεια, 12 times by ἀληθινός, a few times by ἀληθής and ἀληθῶς, 12 times by δικαιοσύνη or δίκαιος, and once by ἐλεημοσύνη.

The difference in the treatment of אֱמוּנָה and אֱמֶת shows a sense, which is up to a certain point correct, of the difference between them in meaning. One of the most instructive points, however, in connexion with our present subject is the practice of the LXX in regard to the rendering of the former word. Broadly speaking, πίστις or πιστός is used where it is a question of human character or conduct, ἀλήθεια and its derivatives with reference to Divine.

Πίστις is, however, attributed to God once, acc. to Q^{mg}, at La 3^{23}; the adverbial phrase ἐν πίστει is also used a few times of God, Ps 32 (33)^{4}, Hos 2^{20}, Jer 35 (28)^{9} 39 (32)^{41}, and the epithet πιστός is applied to God, Dt 7^{9} 32^{4}, and to the Divine testimony, covenant, etc., Ps 18 (19)^{7} 88 (89)^{28} 110 (111)^{7}, Is 55^{3}. ἐν ἀληθείᾳ is used in a charge to judges, 2 Ch 19^{9}, ἀληθής of human character, Neh 7^{2}; a few other similar instances might be given; ἀλήθεια is used for אֱמוּנָה at Is 11^{5} to describe an attribute of the Messianic king. It may be further noted here that πίστις is only once used to render אֱמֶת with reference to God, and there only in the phrase ἐν πίστει (Jer 31 (32)^{41}). πίστις at Pr 14^{22} refers, according to LXX, to men.

The idea of 'faithfulness' is, as a matter of fact, very prominent in OT in connexion with the Divine character, and is undoubtedly conveyed by the word אֱמוּנָה, used of God, and from this point of view would have been best represented by πίστις or πιστός. But the LXX translators seem to have felt that the ordinary associations with these words were too purely human. ἀλήθεια was a word of larger meaning, and, though the same ideas were not connected with it by reason of its derivation and history, it conveyed, even according to classical usage,—though especially, of course, that of the philosophical writers,—the notion, not simply of agreement between speech and fact, but of *reality*. This helped to make the word serviceable as a rendering alike of אֱמוּנָה and of אֱמֶת. At the same time, the new contexts into which it was brought could not fail to have an effect upon its signification. Its former use could scarcely make intelligible such expressions, for instance, as ἐξαποστέλλειν ἀλήθειαν (Ps 42 (43)^{3} 55 (57)^{3}), or ποιεῖν ἀλήθειαν (said of God Gn 47^{29} etc., and of men Jos 2^{14} etc.). It is not, however, to be supposed that the translators either intended, or would have been able, to transfer to ἀλήθεια all the associations of the original words. But it acquired a connotation which was partly the result of its classical usage—for on this side, also, the biblical use received enrichment—partly of the Hebrew words for which it now stood. Lastly, the occurrence of ἡ ἀλήθεια repeatedly in books of the Apocrypha, in remarkable sayings, in the sense in which we have met with אֱמֶת two or three times in the Sapiential books of the Canon, for the sum of true knowledge, or Divine revelation, deserves to be noticed. *E.g.* see 1 Es 3^{12} 4$^{35.\ 41}$, Sir 4$^{25.\ 28}$.

The use of ἀληθής and ἀληθῶς in LXX need not detain us; there is nothing in the case of either that calls for special remark, with the exception that once the former is applied as an epithet of a man. But the use of ἀληθινός must be examined. The effect of the termination -ινος is to draw attention, as it were, to the presence of the quality denoted by the root, in that to which the epithet is applied. Sometimes ἀληθινός does not practically imply more than ἀληθής with a certain amount of emphasis on it, *e.g.* 3 (1) K 10^{6}. But in other places ἀληθινός signifies in a more specific manner that the thing is what it professes to be, or that it really corresponds to the idea of the name given to it. This seems to be the force of the word at 2 Ch 15^{3}—'for a long while there was in Israel no God who was truly such.' But this sense is not common in LXX. Again, it expresses the notion of trustworthiness as an attribute of persons, or of their habitual words and deeds. Evidently, this imports something deeper than simply the truth of a particular saying or report can. This appears to be the commonest meaning in the LXX, and we can trace in this the influence of the Hebrew (*e.g.* Ps 18 (19)^{9} 85 (86)^{15}, Is 59^{4}, Jer 2^{21}). In Zec 8^{3}—κληθήσεται ἡ Ἰερουσαλὴμ πόλις ἡ ἀληθινή—there is not specially the idea of trustworthiness, but it is asserted that the character of Jerusalem should be that of a city full of truth.

ii. THE NEW TESTAMENT.—In NT the conception of 'truth,' while it retains traces of its previous biblical history, is greatly enlarged and deepened, especially in the writings of St. Paul and St. John. It will be most convenient and instructive to examine the idea separately, in the first instance, in different writers or groups of writings. The Synoptics and Acts will form one such group, which will not detain us long. Next, we will take the Epp. of St. Paul. Epistles other than those of St. Paul and St. John may most suitably be considered immediately after those of St. Paul, as their usage resembles his, on the whole, most nearly. Lastly, we will take the Johannine writings; the idea of truth in these, or, to speak more accurately, in the Gospel and the Epp., has important elements in common with that in St. Paul, but there are also significant traits characteristic of each writer.

1. *Synoptics and Acts.*—The few instances of the occurrence of ἀλήθεια and its congeners have little that is distinctive about them. It will suffice to notice (*a*) the use of ἀληθής to describe character, not simply speech or doctrine, Mt 22^{16}=Mk 12^{14}; (*b*) ἐπ' ἀληθείας and ἀληθῶς in the mouth of Christ (Lk 4^{25} 9^{27} 12^{44}), where it may be compared with His use of Ἀμήν, and is probably a Greek equivalent for that word, and doubtless is intended to convey the same earnestness of asseveration; (*c*) τὸ ἀληθινόν, of the true riches (Lk 16^{11}), where we cannot but be reminded of the use of ἀληθινός in regard to the true bread, light, etc., in the Fourth Gospel, which must be considered presently.

We do not find in this group of writings any examples of πιστός used of God or Christ, or of πίστις as a Divine attribute.

2. *Epp. of St. Paul.*—i. There are two passages (Ro 3^{7} 15^{8}) in which ἀλήθεια signifies the Divine characteristic of *fidelity*, just as אֱמֶת and אֱמוּנָה so frequently do in OT. In the context of the former place, vv.$^{3\text{-}7}$, πίστις as an attribute of God, and the contrast between it and human ἀπιστία should be observed, also that between ἀληθής and ψευστής, ἀλήθεια and ψεῦσμα, and that which is implied between ἀλήθεια and ἀδικία. At the same time there is ground for Cremer's remark, that the substitution of ἀλήθεια for πίστις as the argument proceeds, shows that ἀλήθ. is the word of larger meaning.

πιστός is strikingly used by St. Paul as an epithet of God in connexion with the thought of the new pledges which God has given in Christ and through the mouth of His servants and the work of the Spirit. See esp. 1 Co 1^{9}, 1 Th 5^{24}, also (where the reference may be more general), 1 Co 10^{13}, 2 Th 3^{3}, 2 Ti 2^{13}. The same quality of fidelity and trustworthiness is attributed, it would seem, to Christ at 2 Co 11^{10}, where the apostle claims that this ἀληθ. Χριστοῦ is reflected in himself, Christ's servant. Cf. also Ro 9^{1}, and consider as illustrating the thought 2 Co 1$^{18\text{-}20}$. At Eph 4^{21} καθώς ἐστιν ἀλήθεια ἐν τῷ Ἰησοῦ has a somewhat different force (see below).

ii. But far more commonly ἀλήθεια, generally with the def. art. prefixed, denotes not a quality of a person, Divine or human, but a body of doctrine, though it is always the ascertained will of God which is so designated. In Ro 1$^{18.\ 25}$ 2$^{8.\ 20}$ it refers to Divine truth, imparted to man through reason and conscience and the laws of nature, as well as in a more specific manner to the Jews. But far more often St. Paul describes thereby the Divine revelation in Christ, the substance of the apostolic message, the gospel. See esp. Eph 1^{13}, where 'the word of the truth' is placed in apposition with 'the gospel of your salvation.' See also 1 Ti 3^{15} 6^{5}, 2 Ti 2$^{15.\ 18}$ 3^{8} 4^{4}, Tit 1^{14}, in all which places 'the truth' is plainly contemplated as in some sense formulated. It is to be believed (2 Th 2$^{12.\ 13}$), known (1 Ti 2^{4} 4^{3}, 2 Ti 2^{25}, Tit 1^{1}), loved (2 Th 2^{10}). On comparing these passages it must be evident that ἡ ἀλήθ. τ. εὐαγγ. (Gal 2$^{5.\ 14}$, Col 1^{5}) likewise means not the truthfulness of the gospel, but 'that truth which is set forth in the gospel.' At 2 Co 4^{2} 13^{8} also 'the truth' seems to have the same meaning.

In several passages where the def. art. is omitted, this same object appears to be intended, and the purpose of the omission is only to lay special stress upon its character as truth (2 Co 6^{7}, Gal 5^{7}, 2 Th 2^{13}, 1 Ti 2^{4}, 2 Ti 2^{25} 3^{7}). At 1 Ti 2^{7} also—διδάσκαλος ἐθνῶν ἐν πίστει καὶ ἀληθείᾳ—the πίστις and the ἀλήθεια seem each to be the subject-matter of St. Paul's teaching presented under two different aspects. So, again, at Eph 4^{21} there is plainly a reference to knowledge that has been imparted in the words,

'Ye did not so learn Christ if so be that ye heard him, and were taught in him, even as truth is in Jesus.' But the moral characteristics and contents and effects of the doctrine appear clearly from the context. St. Paul declares that the true reception of it must render it impossible for them to practise sins that were common among the Gentiles. And he goes on to speak of the old man as, on the other hand, 'waxing corrupt after the lusts of deceit,' while truth is one of the determining principles of the whole nature of the new man: 'After God' he 'hath been created in righteousness and holiness of truth.'

The ethical qualities of 'the truth' may be not less forcibly illustrated from some of the passages enumerated above in which the def. art. is used. 'The truth' commends itself not merely to the intellect but to the conscience of man, by what it is (2 Co 4^{2}). The principle that is most directly adverse to it is *ἀδικία* (Ro 2^{8}, 2 Th 2$^{10.\ 12}$), the very same that is contrasted with *δικαιοσύνη* as an attribute of God (Ro 3^{5}). The strength of the apostle and his fellow-workers lies solely in the power which is inherent in that which they teach by virtue of its nature (2 Co 13^{8}), and the sense of this lays them under the obligation to practise the utmost sincerity in word and deed (2 Co 4^{2} 6^{7} 13^{8}).

iii. As might be expected from what we have already seen, St. Paul shows a high sense of the value of truth as an ordinary human virtue (1 Co 5^{8}, 2 Co 7^{14} 12^{6}, Eph 4^{25} 5^{9} 6^{14}, 1 Ti 2^{7}).

iv. *ἀληθινός* occurs but once in the Epp. of St. Paul, at 1 Th 1^{9}, as an epithet of God. It marks out the God who is really God in contrast with false gods. (Cf. in LXX 2 Ch 15^{3} and Is 65^{16}).

3. *Epistles other than those of St. Paul and St. John.*—'Αλήθεια occurs 7 times in this group (He 10^{26}, Ja 1^{18} 3^{14} 5^{19}, 1 P 1^{22}, 2 P 1^{12} 2^{2}), and appears in every instance to mean, as in 2 ii. above, the doctrine delivered by the apostles of Christ. Several of the same characteristics of this 'truth' might be illustrated from them. The Divine attribute of 'faithfulness' is asserted in 1 P 4^{19}, not only, as in OT or as by St. Paul, in regard to those who have been brought into a new relation to God 'in Christ,' but still more largely in the unique and remarkable phrase *πιστὸς κτίστης*.

Before we pass on we must note the use in Ep. to Heb. of *ἀληθινός* in regard to the heavenly archetypes of the tabernacle and sanctuary of the old covenant (8^{2} 9^{24}). At 10^{22}, where it is applied to *καρδία*, its force may be expressed by 'thoroughly true' (cf. Is 38^{3}, and see below 4 iii.).

4. *The Johannine writings.*—i. 'Αλήθεια is used a few times for a simple quality inherent in a person (Jn 4$^{23.\ 24}$ 8^{44}; there does not seem to be any other clear instance).

ii. Most commonly that is signified by it, the knowledge of which is of all knowledge the most necessary for man, and which was made known in and through Christ in a way that it never had been before. The connexion between 'the word' that is taught and 'the truth' appears 8$^{31.\ 32}$ and 17^{17}, and the evangelist declares that 'the truth came through Jesus Christ' (1^{17}).

A portion of it only could be communicated by Christ to His disciples during His time on earth, because they were unprepared to receive it. And it can never be fully comprised in any formulas. Nothing could show this more clearly than its identification with a person—with Christ Himself (Jn 14^{6}). Moreover, it evidently has intimate relations with the ideas of 'the light' and 'the life' by which He is also described. The manifestation of the truth gives light; the inward appropriation of it brings life. After the withdrawal of the visible presence of Christ it was to be the office of the other Paraclete, who was promised, to teach the truth (Jn 16^{13}). He is called 'the Spirit of the Truth' (Jn 14^{17} 15^{26} 16^{13}, 1 Jn 4^{6}), chiefly, perhaps, because of this function which He is to discharge, but partly also, it may be, on account of its very nature; for the spiritual is pre-eminently the true, the real (cf. Jn 4$^{23.\ 24}$). It is even said of the Spirit, as well as of the Christ, that He is 'the Truth' (1 Jn 5^{6}). Yet His relation to the Truth as revealed in Christ is carefully defined (Jn 16$^{13\text{-}16}$).

The truth has been and is commended through testimony,—that of the Baptist (Jn 5^{33}), that of Christ Himself (8^{40} 18^{37}); and the testimony is believed by those in whom there is a right moral disposition (*ib.* cf. also 3^{21}). The function of the Spirit, too, is described as 'bearing witness' (1 Jn 5^{7}). His witness must be primarily inward, to the human spirit; yet it is to be remembered that He acts upon each individual not only directly, but through others, and through the whole Body of Christ.

If a certain moral aptitude is a condition for receiving the truth, so also, when received, it has profound moral effects. It makes free (Jn 8^{32}). The recognition of the truth and conformity to it brings man's being into the state meant for it; the discords and contradictions involved in a state of sin are removed. This freedom is described from another point of view as holiness (17^{19}).

In 1 John the truth in action and thought and character is contrasted with viciousness in conduct and hollow self-complacency (1 Jn 1$^{6.\ 8}$ 2^{4} 3^{19}). But even in such passages the truth is not to be thought of merely as a quality, the presence or absence of which in human characters may be noted. Rather it is the same truth which is elsewhere regarded as an object of knowledge, considered here in its practical consequences. The unity of thought, the prevalence of the same dominant ideas, throughout the Johannine Gospel and Epp., are decisive for this view. And indeed we can sometimes mark the more absolute and the more concrete meanings of truth passing, as it were, the one into the other, as in 1 Jn 2^{4}, where it is implied that the commandments of Christ furnish the norm for truth of life. Again, where we observe similarity with OT language,—as in Jn 1$^{14.\ 17}$ (cf. חֶסֶד joined with אֱמֶת and אֱמוּנָה Ps 40^{11} 85^{10} etc., in LXX *ἔλεος καὶ ἀλήθ.*), and *ποιεῖν τὴν ἀλήθειαν*, 1 Jn 1^{6} (cf. Neh 9^{33} etc.),—though the form of expression has doubtless been derived thence, other considerations must also be borne in mind in determining the meaning. Indeed in the former of these examples the substitution of *χάρις* for *ἔλεος* employed by LXX should warn us to do this, as Cremer points out.

iii. 'Αληθινός, which occurs but 5 times in the remainder of NT, is common in the Johannine writings, and adds materially to the prominence of the idea of truth in them. It is unquestionably used sometimes in the Gospel and First Ep. to signify that a thing truly corresponds to the idea of the name given to it (Jn 1^{9} 4^{23} 6^{32} 15^{1}, 1 Jn 2^{8}). Some writers try to bring all the applications of it under this head. Thus Jn 7^{28}—*ἐστιν ἀληθινὸς ὁ πέμψας με*—is explained by Bp. Westcott as meaning 'one who completely satisfies the conception of a sender . . . God is described as true, not merely in so far as He gave a true message, but as one who really sent a messenger; a real Father, as it were, sending a real Son.' [He 10^{22} *ἀληθινῆς καρδίας*—he renders 'a heart which fulfils the ideal office of the heart']. But such a thought seems in many cases too far-fetched. In particular, when applied to persons, it is more natural to take *ἀληθινός* to mean 'full of the quality of *ἀλήθεια*.' Where it is an epithet of *κρίσις* (Jn 8^{16}) or of *μαρτυρία* (19^{35}), it is a little more difficult to decide between the two views of its force, chiefly because they so nearly approximate. Judgment or testimony, which fulfils the idea expressed by the term, must be judgment or testimony which has the quality of, and corresponds with, truth. Yet the latter explanation is to be preferred as the simpler. This seems to be the force of the word in all the 10 places in which it occurs in the Apocalypse (3$^{7.\ 14}$ 6^{10} 15^{3} 16^{7} 19$^{2.\ 9.\ 11}$ 21^{5} 22^{6}), in which it is generally combined with other adjectives—*ἅγιος, δίκαιος, πιστός*—and used to describe God or Christ, or the Divine ways, words, judgments. 'Αληθινός in this use of the word differs from *πιστός* only in having a somewhat larger meaning. On the other hand, at 1 Jn 5^{20}, in the concluding words of the verse, *οὗτος ἐστιν ὁ ἀληθινὸς Θεός*, 'the true God,' has the same meaning as at 1 Th 1^{9} (see above, 2 iv.), viz. as distinguished from false gods; and this may therefore be the meaning of *ἀληθινός* in the two preceding cases in the same verse, though the other shade of meaning would seem natural, especially in the second of them.

Whereas, then, in OT 'truth' is mainly thought of as a quality inherent in God or in men, especially the quality of steadfastness or fidelity, it is used commonly in NT in a more detached and larger sense for the real, that which indeed is, and which it is the proper function of the mind of man to occupy itself with and to apprehend. At the same time, this 'truth' does not appeal solely to the intellect. That it may be received, the moral dispositions of men must correspond with it; and its reception will further take effect upon character. In conforming himself to it in his life lies man's only security for well-being. The associations which the word had acquired through OT usage helped to secure for the conception those elements to which this deep moral and religious significance is due.

It appears, further, that the knowledge of the truth in its fulness has been rendered possible only through Divine revelation. The idea of revelation was no new one; but it is a point of great importance, not only that the contents of revelation should have been greatly extended, but that what before was known simply as the Will of God, or as Torah (Instruction), should now be called by the name which denoted agreement between statement and fact in common matters, or between a mental image and an external object, the opposite of illusion, fancy, or mere opinion. We have seen the beginnings of such a use of the term in a few instances in the later books of OT and in the Apocrypha, and Greek modes of thought may in a measure have facilitated it. The significance of the usage in NT lies in the actual application of it to the Christian revelation and in its frequency. Finally, after the idea has been abstracted and made comprehensive, it is once again connected with persons. The source of it, in this fuller meaning of the term, is found in the Divine nature, in the Father, in Christ, in the Holy Spirit.

Unless we impugn the historical trustworthiness of the Fourth Gospel, that presentation of the idea of truth which is characteristic of NT begins with the teaching of Christ Himself. St. Paul, however, would seem to have acquired his

view of it rather from the effect on his mind of faith in Christ than directly from any of His sayings. And in the case of St. John, too, it was doubtless the impression left upon him by the Person of the Lord which led him to perceive the meaning and power of the words on this subject which he has recorded. They and their fellow-believers felt that in the doctrine of Christ, and in the character and counsel of God, manifested in the Person and the life, death, and resurrection of Christ, they had been permitted to grasp that which is substantial and abiding, and to which the name 'the true' belongs of right, in a way that it does to nothing else. But a standard of reality had thus also been furnished them, of which the effect may be seen in that transparent sincerity of temper and high estimate of the value of ordinary truthfulness which they show, and which is the more noteworthy by reason of the contrast which it offers with the usual tendencies both of Oriental and of Greek character.

The term 'the truth,' as applied to Divine revelation, has in later generations been sometimes vulgarized, and often employed with too little sense of its ethical associations. On the other hand, the study of Nature and the study of History have in our own day, in consequence of the thoroughness and the improved methods with which they have been pursued, supplied a high ideal of intellectual truth. In the NT attention is undoubtedly fixed primarily on moral and spiritual truth, which in large degree rests upon evidence that is specially appropriate to it. Yet the spirit of the NT is favourable to the vigorous and fearless application to religious knowledge of the same tests, so far as it is amenable to them, as to other branches of knowledge; while a large conception of truth is suggested to the mind, which must embrace facts of every order, alike those which are known through sensible experience and that deeper reality in which even these must have their ground.

It cannot but be interesting to those whose mother-tongue is English that the word 'truth' has much the same range of meaning as the biblical terms which we have been considering; whereas in German *die Treue* has been kept to the meaning of constancy, and *die Wahrheit* denotes agreement between statement, or thought, and fact, and in the Romance languages the distinction between *fides* and *veritas* is maintained in the words derived from them.

LITERATURE.—H. G. Hoelemann, *Bibelstudien*, i. 1861; H. H. Wendt, 'Der Gebrauch d. Wörter ἀλήθεια, ἀληθής, und ἀληθινός im Neuen Testamente,' *SK*, 1883, also *Inhalt d. Lehre Jesu*, 1890, p. 199 ff.; Cremer, *Wörterbuch d. Neutest. Gräcität*, *s.v.* 1893 [Wendt appears to the present writer to force OT associations too much on passages of NT, forgetting the powerful new influences that were at work. On the other hand, Cremer makes a little too much, perhaps, of the analogies of classical usage]; Westcott, *Gospel of St. John*, Introduction, p. xliv ff.; Hort, *The Way, the Truth, and the Life*.

V. H. STANTON.

TRYPHÆNA (Τρύφαινα).—In Ro 16[12] St. Paul salutes two women, Tryphæna and Tryphosa, 'who labour in the Lord.' The names occur in Inscriptions of the Household, *CIL* vi. 4866, D. M. | VARIA · TRYPHOSA | PATRONA · ET | M. EPPIVS · CLEMENS | : 5035 D. M. | TRYPHAENA | VALERIA · TRYPHAENA | MATRI · B·M·F· ET | VALERIVS · FVTIANVS : 5343 TELESPHORVS · ET · TRYPHAENA and others.

The name Tryphæna has a further interest in Christian tradition which may be shortly referred to. In the *Acts of Paul and Thecla* a considerable part at Pisidian Antioch is played by a wealthy lady who is called 'the queen Tryphæna.' For the existence of this person there is historical authority. A coin of Pontus is known having on the obverse ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΠΟΛΕΜΩΝΟΣ, on the reverse ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΗΣ ΤΡΥΦΑΙΝΗΣ. This Tryphæna was daughter of Polemon, king of part of Lycaonia and Cilicia, wife of Cotys king of Thrace, and mother again of Polemon king of Pontus. She was great-granddaughter of Marcus Antonius, and consequently first cousin once removed of the emperor Claudius. She belonged to a family of great wealth and high repute in the eastern part of the empire which provided tributary kings for many of the small principalities there existing. We know that her son Polemon became a Jew, and it is very probable that Tryphæna may have belonged to that class of devout and honourable women mentioned in Ac 13[50] (see also Hogarth, *Authority and Archæology*, p. 391).

LITERATURE. — Lightfoot, *Philippians*, p. 175 ff.; Sanday-Headlam, *Romans*, p. 426; A. von Gutschmid, *Kleine Schriften*, ii. 355; Mommsen, *Epp. Epig.* i. 270 ff., ii. 259 ff.; Ramsay, *Church and the Roman Empire*, p. 382.

A. C. HEADLAM.

TRYPHON (Τρύφων).—An officer of Alexander Balas, who, after the death of the latter, took advantage of the unpopularity of Demetrius to put forward Antiochus, the son of Balas, as a claimant to the throne (1 Mac 11[39]). His real aim, however, was to gain the crown for himself, and this he accomplished after he had murdered in succession Jonathan the Maccabee (12[39-50]) and Antiochus (13[31f.]). His rapacity led Simon to appeal to Demetrius (13[34]). The latter was organizing an expedition against Tryphon when he was himself made prisoner by ARSACES (14[1-3]). In the end Antiochus Sidetes, the brother of Demetrius, attacked Tryphon, besieged him in Dor, and pursued him when he escaped thence to Orthesia (15[10-14. 37-39]). Tryphon was finally shut up in Apamea, where he committed suicide (Strabo, p. 668; Jos. *Ant.* XIII. vii. 2; App. *Syr.* 68). See, further, art. MACCABEES; and cf. Schürer, *HJP* I. i. 176, 246 ff.

TRYPHOSA.—See TRYPHÆNA.

TUBAL (תּוּבַל and תֻּבַל; LXX Θόβελ, A in Ezk 39[1] Θόβερ).—A people in Asia Minor, always (except in Is 66[19] [MT], Ps 120[5]) named along with MESHECH. Lagarde (*Ges. Abhandl.* 254) identified the latter with the *Moschi*, and Tubal with the *Tibareni*, and this has been generally accepted. The Tibareni are mentioned by Herodotus (iii. 94, vii. 78), and are known to have dwelt east of the Thermodon in the mountainous district to the S.E. of the Black Sea. They are the *Tabal* of the Assyr. inscriptions (cf. Schrader, *Keilinschr. u. Geschichtsforsch.* 155 ff., *KAT*[2] 82 ff. [*COT* i. 64 ff.]; Del. *Paradies*, 250 f.; Halévy, 193 ff.; Ed. Meyer, i. 245). In Gn 10[2] [P]=1 Ch 1[5] Tubal is a son of Japheth; in Is 66[19] [LXX] Meshech and Tubal are associated with Javan as distant peoples; in Ezk 32[26] they appear as peoples who have suffered severe reverses; in Ezk 27[13] as trading with Tyre in slaves and vessels of copper; in Ezk 38[2f.] 39[1] as among the chief allies of GOG. In Ps 120[5] ('Woe is me that I sojourn with Meshech [LXX οἴμοι ὅτι ἡ παροικία μου ἐμακρύνθη, 'woe is me that my sojourn is prolonged,' *translating* משך], that I dwell beside the tents of Kedar'), Meshech and Kedar stand as types of savage peoples; as we say, 'it could not be worse among Turks and heathen' (Duhm, *ad loc.*).

See, further, next article. J. A. SELBIE.

TUBAL-CAIN (תּוּבַל קַיִן). — One of the sons of LAMECH, and brother of JABAL and JUBAL, Gn 4[22] [J]. The MT (לֹטֵשׁ כָּל־חֹרֵשׁ נְחשֶׁת וּבַרְזֶל), which is certainly corrupt, might possibly (although חֹרֵשׁ in the sense of 'cutting instrument' is a difficulty)

mean 'the forger of every cutting instrument of copper and iron.' It is likely, however, that לַטָּשׁ was originally a marginal gloss to חָרָשׁ (Olshausen, Ball) or to קַיִן (Holzinger, Gunkel), and that the words הוּא אֲבִי (cf. vv.[20. 21]) have dropped out before כָּל־. The rendering would then be 'he was the father of all such as forge copper and iron.' The LXX (Θόβελ· καὶ ἦν σφυροκόπος, χαλκεὺς χαλκοῦ καὶ σιδήρου) supports the view of Wellh. (*Comp.*[2] 305), which has found general acceptance, that the name תּוּבַל alone stood in the original text, this Tubal being the *heros eponymus* of the Tibarenian metal-workers (cf. Ezk 28[13] and the preceding art.), and that קַיִן, the generic name for 'smith,' was afterwards added. The double name Tubal-cain would thus have its analogues in such combinations as Jahweh-Elohim. Against Budde's reconstruction (*Urgeschichte*, 137 f.) of the text, which makes Lamech instead of Tubal-cain the subject of חָרַשׁ וגו׳, see Dillm. and Holzinger, *ad loc.* Cheyne (*Encyclopedia Biblica*, i. col. 626 f.) suggests that Tubal is 'a pale form of the god of the solar fire, Gibil or Nusku,' and that in the earliest form of the Heb. legend he was the instructor of men in the art of getting fire.

J. A. SELBIE.

TUBIAS, TUBIENI.—See TOB.

TURPENTINE TREE.—Only Sir 24[16] AV (B τερέμινθος, ℵA τερέβινθος) 'As the turpentine tree [RV 'terebinth'] I [*sc.* Wisdom] stretched out my branches.' The Syr. has רודרפנא *rhododaphne, i.e.* the oleander, which appears to be an unfortunate guess of the translator, who did not understand the Heb. אֵלָה (?); so Ryssel in Kautzsch's *Apokr. ad loc.* See, further, art. TEREBINTH.

TURTLE, TURTLE DOVE (תּוֹר *tôr*, τρυγών, *turtur*).—The Latin name of this bird is a reduplication of the Heb., and both refer to its well-known note. There are three species in Palestine and Syria, *Turtur auritus*, L., the true turtle dove, *T. risorius*, L., the collared turtle dove, and *T. Senegalensis*, L., the Egyptian turtle dove. The collared species is the largest, reaching 13 in. in length, and is found principally about the Dead Sea and in the Jordan Valley. It is an Indian species. It derives its name from a narrow black collar at the back of the neck. The palm or Egyptian turtle dove is smaller, being about 10 in. long. It is more widely distributed than the last species, but not as much so as the following. It also has a black collar. It nests by preference in palm trees, whence one of its names. The common turtle dove is not only general in distribution, but very abundant. It is about 12 in. long, and has 3 oblique coloured bands at the side of the neck. The Scripture references in the older books are to the bird as a substitute for the pigeon in sacrifice (Gn 15[9], Lv 5[7] etc., Nu 6[10]; cf. Lk 2[24]). The plaintive note and unresisting habits of the turtle dove are probably the characteristics alluded to by a psalmist, when he pleads that the gentle turtle dove shall not be delivered to the cruelties of the wicked (Ps 74[19]). Its voice is the harbinger of spring (Ca 2[12]). Its migrations are also alluded to (Jer 8[7]). The above references would apply equally to any or all of the species. The palm turtle could have been used for sacrifice in the wilderness; the collared turtle would have served in the plains of Moab; while the common turtle would be found in all parts of the land. The common Arab. name for the turtle dove is *terghull*. It is also called *ṣulṣul*, *dubsî*, and *fâkhit*. There is the usual uncertainty as to the specific value of these names.

G. E. POST.

TUTOR.—Gal 4[2] only, 'The heir . . . is under tutors and guardians,' *i.e.* as RV, 'under guardians and stewards,' Gr. ὑπὸ ἐπιτρόπους καὶ οἰκονόμους (cf. Lightfoot, *ad loc*). In its oldest use 'tutor' (Old Fr. *tuteur*; Lat. *tutor* a protector, from *tueor* to protect) means protector or guardian. Thus Fletcher, *Double Marriage*, v. 1—

> 'I'll have mine own power here,
> Mine own authority; I need no tutor.'

The word still has this sense in Scots law: Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, v. 252, 'The guardian—the tutor in Scottish phrase—of the orphans and their land.' Cf. Knox, *Hist.* 423, 'Now when we are at our full maturitie, shall we be brought back to the state of Pupils, and bee put under Tutory?'

J. HASTINGS.

TWELVE.—See NUMBER, vol. iii. p. 563[a].

TWIN BROTHERS.—See DIOSCURI.

TYCHICUS (Τυχικός), classed with Trophimus as Ἀσιανοί, *i.e.* natives of Asia (Ac 20[4]). They were, with other disciples, St. Paul's companions in travel from Macedonia as far as to Asia, and preceded him to Troas. Tychicus is mentioned four times in the Epistles of St. Paul. In Eph 6[21. 22] St. Paul says, 'That ye also may know my affairs and how I do, Tychicus, the beloved brother and faithful minister in the Lord, shall make known to you all things: whom I have sent unto you for this very purpose, that ye may know our state, and that he may comfort your hearts.' He was therefore the bearer of the letter to its destination, whatever that may have been. Tychicus had the same charge entrusted to him by St. Paul, a prisoner at Rome, in carrying the Epistle to the Colossians (4[7. 8]), where he is called, in addition to the titles given above, St. Paul's 'fellow-servant in the Lord.' From 2 Ti 4[12] it appears that Tychicus was sent on a second occasion to Ephesus, most probably after St. Paul's first imprisonment at Rome. At this time his old companion Trophimus was close by 'at Miletus sick' (2 Ti 4[20]). St. Paul also speaks of sending Tychicus or Artemas to Titus (Tit 3[12]) to Crete, and says that when he does, Titus is to 'give diligence to come unto him to Nicopolis.'* He may have been the other disciple (2 Co 8[22]) with Trophimus (see TROPHIMUS) who carried the 2nd Epistle to the Corinthians from Ephesus to Corinth. One tradition makes Tychicus bishop of Chalcedon in Bithynia. In the Greek *Menology* (Dec. 9) he is said to have been bishop of Colophon after Sosthenes, and to have suffered martyrdom for the Christian faith.

H. A. REDPATH.

TYRANNUS (Τύραννος) is mentioned only in Ac 19[9]. When St. Paul, after spending three months in addressing himself to the Jews of Ephesus, using the synagogue for his place of preaching, found them determinedly hostile, he withdrew his adherents from the synagogue and began 'reasoning daily in the school of Tyrannus' (καθ' ἡμέραν διαλεγόμενος ἐν τῇ σχολῇ Τυράννου). The passage is enigmatical in its extreme brevity; but it may have been addressed to readers who were more familiar with the situation than we are.

The word σχολή, rendered 'school' in AV and RV, means leisure, and is frequently applied to the learned leisure of the contemplative or philosophic life as contrasted with the life of politics or business; hence it is frequently used to denote the written treatises produced in the philosopher's cultured leisure, or the lessons or lectures which he gives to pupils; and, finally, it is often applied, as here, to the place or building or room in which such lessons were given. Some such locality, already used for lecturing or teaching, was pro-

* This was previous to the writing of the 2nd Epistle to Timothy.

cured for the use of St. Paul when the synagogue ceased to be suitable. When we attempt to go beyond this, we find that the difficulties are many. The very reading is uncertain; and the difference is of the utmost importance for the sense.

(1) The reading which we have quoted follows the text of the great MSS ℵAB (supported by many secondary authorities). It might be possible that the writer should designate in this bare way a school which belonged to a private individual, Tyrannus, otherwise unmentioned in the work, and necessarily obscure to all except his own contemporaries in Ephesus. A case which presents a remarkable analogy occurs in Juvenal, vii. 40, where a rich patron puts at the disposal of his humble poet-friend 'the house of Maculo' (*Maculonis ædes*),* a disused house in a remote part of Rome, which for some reason was familiar to the Roman public whom Juvenal addressed. But the illustration proves that this meaning cannot be accepted in Ac 19[9]. There is not the remotest probability that the writer of Acts was addressing an Ephesian audience, to whom 'the school of Tyrannus,' an obscure place belonging to a private person, was familiar. The only other possible interpretation of this text is that 'the school of Tyrannus' was a public building in Ephesus, which could thus be described by its stereotyped name.† It would then be necessary to understand that St. Paul, as a teacher of a new philosophy, lectured publicly in this building. It is well known that philosophical teachers commonly gave lectures or held discussions in this public fashion in buildings or localities freely open to the whole population, as Socrates and St. Paul held disputations in the Athenian agora, as the Stoics lectured in the Stoa Pœkile and the Academics in the Academy. The custom is in keeping with the extreme openness and publicity of life in Greece or Italy, which was such that a schoolmaster is represented in a Pompeian wall-painting as holding classes in the open forum. Habitual use of a public building could hardly be made except with permission granted by the city or the magistrate charged with surveillance of the building (probably the *agoranomos*, corresponding to the Latin *ædilis*). Now, although St. Paul was evidently regarded not unkindly by magistrates and leading men in Ephesus (cf. Ac 19[31. 37]), yet it would be surprising that he should be accorded such formal public recognition; and it seems quite out of harmony with the general character of Pauline teaching that he should have accepted such a position, for recognition by a public official or body implies some submission to conditions and sacrifice of freedom. St. Paul's address to the Ephesian elders is far from suggesting any such legalized method of address during the period of his Ephesian ministry (Ac 20[18-35]). Hence the almost unanimous opinion of scholars has rightly rejected the view that Tyrannus' school was a public building. Yet it seems necessary in that case also to reject the reading of ℵAB, etc. (adopted in RV), and return to the text of 'Western' type which appears in AV.

(2) This text in its various forms differs only by adding a word or words after the reading of ℵAB, etc.‡ The common reading adds *τινός* after *Τυράννου*: an exclusively and characteristically Western reading adds also *ἀπὸ ὥρας πέμπτης ἕως δεκάτης*. 'The school of a certain Tyrannus' must be a private, not a public, building or place; Tyrannus was either a teacher who ordinarily used it, or the private owner who granted the use of it whether for hire or free. In the latter case the situation would be similar to that in the passage just quoted from Juvenal, according to the reading of the scholiast and many editors: the patron grants to his literary friend the use of a poor old house belonging to himself. A certain individual named Tyrannus might on this interpretation have permitted St. Paul to use or to hire a *schola* which belonged to him: *τινός* explains and apologizes for the mention of an unknown person. There can be no doubt that goodwill to St. Paul must have been entertained by the person who allowed him the use of this school. Even if he hired it, we may be sure that no actively hostile owner would have let it to him.

But the Bezan addition 'from the fifth to the tenth hour' strongly favours the interpretation that Tyrannus was a teacher or philosopher, who also used the *schola*. It was then obviously necessary to make some arrangement as to hours: Tyrannus continued to use the *schola* during the early hours of the day, while St. Paul used it from one hour before noon till two hours before sunset. This partition of the day is an interesting point, and true to ancient life. The customary time for teaching in Græco-Roman life began very early, probably soon after sunrise. Juvenal in his usual exaggerating way describes the teacher as already in school at work before sunrise by artificial light (vii. 222);* and it is established by many passages that the fifth hour was the usual time for stopping all work and business (Martial, iv. 8. 3, *prandium* being eaten between the fifth hour and noon). Thus the school would be vacated by Tyrannus at the fifth hour, and was then at the disposal of St. Paul till the tenth.

The full Western text establishes the meaning of an otherwise very obscure passage, and gives a natural and satisfactory sense. The shortest text implies a sense that is either un-Lukan or improbable. There seems no reason why the Western addition should be made, while there was considerable temptation to allow the words of the Western text to drop out, as they seemed quite unimportant to 3rd cent. students. These considerations make it probable that the full Western reading is the true Lukan text, and that part of the true text was lost from many authorities. We cannot think that both the long and the short readings are original Lukan (as Blass and others hold).

The possibility that Tyrannus may have been a Jew has been favourably regarded by some scholars. But this seems distinctly improbable. If Tyrannus was an unconverted Jew, he would have almost certainly been unfavourable, if not actively hostile, to Paul; and he would have been most unlikely to facilitate the apostle's work, especially as by doing so he would have incurred the strong dislike of his own people. The sequence of thought in the verse, 'he separated the disciples (*i.e.* from the Jews), speaking daily in the school of Tyrannus,' seems hardly reconcilable with the view that Tyrannus was a Jew. Moreover, the way in which 'a certain Tyrannus' is mentioned would hardly suggest that he was a convert. But it is an error on the part of some writers to urge the Greek name as any argument against the theory that Tyrannus was a Jew. The Jews of the great cities of Asia Minor had become very strongly Grecized, and Greek names were in ordinary use among them.

Further, Knowling points out that the daily meetings in the *schola* imply that St. Paul made his adherents separate even from the synagogue services of the Sabbath. It seems impossible that a Jew could have aided in such a purpose.

The name is given in D as *Τυραννίου τινός*: this is certainly a mere corruption. The name Tyrannus is common in inscriptions, and several persons of

* So also Martial, ix. 68.

* This is the MSS reading. Many editors follow the scholiast, who evidently had *maculosas*.

† The origin of the name would of course be obscure to us, on this view: it would be in keeping with Greek city life if Tyrannus was the donor, who built the *schola* and presented it to the city.

‡ Blass in his edition of the Western (Roman) Text, Leipzig 1896, prefers the reading *τὸ καθ' ἡμέραν*, following D: his reason is perhaps that this is characteristically Attic. He also strangely denies that the Western reading contained *τινός* (though he accepted this in his earlier edition), in spite of the strong *consensus* of Western authorities for it.

the name are mentioned in literary authorities; but Tyrannius is unknown. The form Τυράννιον is a woman's name (neuter diminutive), like Τυραννίς (falsely accented, *CIG* 3730). W. M. RAMSAY.

TYRE (צוֹר [11 times צֹר] *Ṣôr*, *i.e.* 'rock'; Τύρος; Tel el-Amarna tablets *Zuru*, *Zurri*; referred to by Jerome as Σώρ, Πέτρα, ἡ Τυρίων πόλις; Arab. *Ṣûr*). —i. SITUATION.—The modern small town of Tyre, built on the ruins of the once celebrated city, lies on a narrow strip of the Phœnician plain, about equidistant from Ṣidon and Acre. On the north the sandy coast-line runs up to the headland of Sarafend (Sarepta), and on the south the view is blocked by the high three-headed promontory, of which the middle point is the precipitous Ladder of Tyre (*Scala Tyriorum*). The ancient island, with its half mile of channel between it and the coast, is now a blunt headland, and there is nothing to remind the present inhabitants of the existence of the famous mole, and of the difficulties encountered in its construction. The pathway of 60 yards in width, along which the soldiers of Alexander rushed to the attack, is now half a mile broad, owing to the drifting up of the sea sand on the S.W. side.

It was from the island that the town received its name. The Rock, lying off, about a mile in length and three-quarters of a mile in width, was the special feature that caught the eye, both on land and at sea. And it was owing to the accommodation which the island provided for shipping, and the protection thus afforded to its inhabitants, that Tyre became the most celebrated maritime city of the ancient world. At these entrances of the sea Tyre sat like a pedlar spreading out his wares at a city gate, and became 'the merchant of the peoples unto many isles' (Ezk 27^3). The island had two harbours, one on the north side and the other on the south, formed by the indentation of the outline, and extended by breakwaters. These harbours were called the Ṣidonian and Egyptian, much in the same way as the west gate of Jerusalem is called the Jaffa gate, and its northern the Damascus gate. The part of the town that was built on the mainland was strongly fortified, and in times of peace the inhabitants cultivated the neighbouring gardens, and received their supply of water by aqueduct from the great fountain now called *Ras-el-'ain*, lying several miles to the south. As the wealth of Tyre increased, and the danger of military invasion became chronic, its inhabitants would come to regard the island as being not merely the storehouse of their merchandise, and a place of retreat in time of invasion, but as the actual city of Tyre. Thus the city on the shore, with its often-battered walls and scattering of peasant houses among the gardens by the aqueduct, was called ἡ πάλαι Τύρος, Παλαίτυρος, *Palætyrus*, *vetus Tyrus*.

According to a letter, quoted by Josephus (*Ant.* VIII. ii. 7) as having been written by king Hiram to Solomon, the request for payment in grain is based on the fact that Hiram's people inhabited an island. The five years' siege by Shalmaneser IV., and that of thirteen years by Nebuchadnezzar, also seem to indicate that Tyre could not be attacked in the ordinary way.

Nothing now remains of the strength and splendour of the island fortress, except that on a calm day one may look from a boat, and see in the water along the rocky shore great blocks of the ancient breakwater and tumbled pillars of rose-coloured granite.

ii. ANTIQUITY.—In the time of Joshua, Tyre is mentioned as being a fortified city, and its character as a stronghold is also noted in $2\ S\ 24^7$, Is 23^{14}, Zec 9^3. It is included in the list of Phœnician towns visited by the Egyptian *mohar* in the time of Ramses II. Herodotus (ii. 44) states, on the authority of the Tyrian priests of Melḳarth, that the town was built about B.C. 2750. Josephus, on the other hand, informs us (*Ant.* VIII. iii. 1) that Tyre was founded 240 years before the building of the temple, *i.e.* about B.C. 1217. Isaiah seems to be referring to a well-known claim when he speaks of the city 'whose antiquity is of ancient days' (23^7). Strabo (XVI. ii. 22) calls it ἀρχαιοτάτη πόλις Τύρος.

iii. RELATIONSHIP OF TYRE AND ṢIDON.—Isaiah speaks of Tyre as the 'daughter of Ṣidon' (23^{12}). With this agree the references in Greek and Latin poetry, where Ṣidon represents in a general way everything Phœnician. Ṣidon seems to have been the first to pass from being a fishing village, as its name implies, to the undertaking of commercial transactions on the coast of Syria. From this small beginning, her ships began to traffic with Cyprus and northwards among the Greek islands. The transference of maritime power from Ṣidon to Tyre was owing, according to one account (Justin, 18. 3), to an attack by the Philistines of Ascalon upon Ṣidon by way of punishing that city for having seized Dor. Possibly, a number of the Ṣidonian merchants transferred their connexion to Tyre as being more convenient for the trade with the south-east of the Mediterranean. Isaiah refers to Tyre as having been replenished by the merchants of Ṣidon (23^2). While Ṣidon had made its name familiar over the eastern half of the Mediterranean, Tyre put a bolder spirit into its mercantile enterprises, and steadily advanced in wealth and power until it became 'the mart of nations' (Is 23^3). See, further, under ZIDON.

iv. EXTENT AND INFLUENCE OF TYRIAN TRADE. —While Tyre produced certain manufactured articles, such as glass work and the crimson and bluish-purple dyes obtained from the shell-fish * of the coast, the chief cause of its wealth and fame was its trade-carrying pre-eminence. Tyre was the great sea-pedlar of the ancient world. By their charts of the ocean and study of the stars, along with carefully guarded records as to depths and distances, winds and currents, the Tyrian sailors were able to outstrip all competitors by sailing during the night, and keeping their course when out of sight of land. Also by land they had their trading stations along the eastern caravan routes that passed to the N.E. by Aleppo and Palmyra, and to the S.E. into Arabia. From Armenia to the Persian Gulf all the paths of merchandise converged towards Tyre. Their ships, for a time in partnership with those of Solomon, traded in the Red Sea. A recent conjecture is that Sofala (with the prefix *s* dropped and the *l* restored to *r*) was the celebrated OPHIR, with its traces of Semitic workmanship in the neighbouring gold mines. The Tyrians rounded the continent of Africa in their vessels, not larger than a modern herring-boat. They traded on the Nile, selling their wares and laying in wheat and linen at their station at Memphis. They had their ports along the north coast of Africa, notably at Utica and Carthage, the latter of which was said to have been founded by the Dido of romance. In the great Roman epic Virgil must give his hero a Tyrian steersman, Palinurus (possibly *Ba'alonûhro*, 'Baal is light'). All the islands of the Mediterranean were familiar with their richly freighted

* In 'the book of the Rolls,' pp. 47, 48 (*Studia Sinaitica*, No. viii.), there is an account, which the writer of the book dismisses with contempt, of the way in which the purple dye of the Tyrian murex was discovered. It was a Jewish tradition to the effect that a shepherd lad one day noticed his dog eating something on the shore near Tyre, and observed that the dog's mouth was stained with bright crimson fluid. With the Oriental instinct for decoration he dipped some wool in the bright dye, and put it on his head as a crown. The incident having been reported to Hiram, king of Tyre, the dye instantly became an important article of commerce.

vessels. Beyond the Straits of Gibraltar they established Gades and other stations on the west coast of Spain. They crossed also to Cornwall, and passed down the west coast of Africa as far as Cape Nun and the Canary Islands. Traces of their presence survive, especially in the islands of Cyprus, Sicily, and Sardinia, in the names of harbours, in excavated relics, and in graves with Phœnician inscriptions, telling where some Tyrian sailor had rested from his wanderings.

Ezekiel (ch. 27), in describing the height of glory from which Tyre was cast down because of the unrighteousness of her traffic, gives a glowing account of the various lands that gave her of their best, ministering to her vast merchandise, and so to her wealth and power and pride and destruction. In Ezk $27^{25.\ 26}$ there is a picture of the ships of Tarshish, homeward bound and heavily laden, being buffeted by the common Levanter or east wind of the Mediterranean.

Tyre was a great civilizer, bringing East and West together, and teaching the world the peaceful lesson of mutual dependence. From the 12th cent. B.C. it strove with wonderful talent and persistency to carry out its great aim, which was to gain from the whole world rather than to gain the world itself. Its world was gain. Its destiny, unlike that of Rome, was not to beat down the proud and mighty, but to supply the wants of the rich and great, bringing idols for their shrines, beautiful vases for their palaces, shields and swords of cunning work for warriors, cloth of gold, embroidery, and royal purple for kings, and silk work in stripes and tartan for princesses. By exporting various products to lands where they were unknown or of inferior quality, productive activity was stimulated on all sides, and the standard of industrial art was raised. Like a goodly merchantman, Tyre was willing to pay for her treasures. Thus tribute was willingly given to kings in return for freedom of trade; and with regard to unseen dangers and difficulties, of which they were deeply conscious, their commercial prudence was ready with costly gifts or cruel sacrifices in order to touch the vanity or avert the wrath of the gods. It was an expenditure in order to secure a larger gain.

v. TYRE AND ASSYRIA.—Under Assur-nazir-pal, Shalmaneser II., and Tiglath-pileser, Assyria gradually established its authority over Phœnicia, until Shalmaneser IV. in 726 overran the country. Tyre refused to surrender, and Shalmaneser succeeded in detaching her jealous rival Zidon, so that he was able to attack Tyre by sea with an armada of 60 ships. The Tyrians moved out to meet them, and with 12 war-vessels defeated their enemy, taking 500 prisoners. The siege was maintained on land for five years, until it was raised on account of the death of the Assyrian king (*Ant.* IX. xiv. 2). Later on, Tyre was attacked with uncertain success by Sennacherib with a vast army. In 673 Esar-haddon found his vassal Tyre in league with Egypt, and in 664 Assur-bani-pal took it by storm.

vi. TYRE AND ISRAEL.—In the partition of the kingdom of Israel under Joshua, the stronghold of Tyre is mentioned in connexion with the portion of Asher (Jos 19^{29}). The most intimate connexion between Tyre and Israel was in the time of Hiram and Solomon, when a covenant of friendship was entered into in connexion with the building of the temple (2 S 5^{11}, 1 K 5^{1} $7^{13.\ 14}$ $9^{11.\ 12}$, 1 Ch 14^{1} 22^{4}, 2 Ch $2^{3.\ 11.\ 13.\ 14}$). Amos ($1^{9.\ 10}$) complains that this covenant * was shamefully violated by the Tyrians when they sold Israelite captives as common slaves. In the prophecies of Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel, the pride, luxury, and greed of Tyre are denounced (Is $23^{1\text{-}17}$, Jer 25^{22} 27^{3} 47^{4}, Ezk 26. 27. 28. 29). In the Psalms, the daughter of Tyre with her costly gift stands in the retinue around the throne (45^{12}), its inhabitants are mentioned among the sworn enemies of Israel (83^{7}), and again Tyre is numbered among those who are brought to know the Lord (87^{4}). The beautiful scenery of Ephraim is likened to that of Tyre (Hos 9^{13}), and in Zec 9^{2} the astuteness of the Tyrians is alluded to.

In the NT its people are among those who flock to Galilee to see and hear Christ (Mk 3^{8}, Lk 6^{17}). Christ visited its coasts (Mt 15^{21}, Mk 7^{24} [where see Swete's note]), and declared that its people, if favoured like the cities of Galilee, would have been moved to repentance (Mt $11^{21.\ 22}$, Lk $10^{13.\ 14}$). The incident of reconciliation with Herod, recorded in Ac 12^{20}, reveals in its motive and management the artfulness of the Phœnician trader. Finally, in Ac $21^{3.\ 7}$ the ship in which St. Paul sailed to Syria comes to Tyre to discharge its cargo.

vii. TYRE AND BABYLON.—In the early years of the Bab. empire, Tyre was left at peace, and its connexion with Egypt was more closely established. When it became evident that Babylon was to tread in the path of Assyria, the Phœnician cities Gebal, Zidon, and others with them, laid aside their local jealousies and sought to strengthen Tyre to defy the invader (Ezk 27^{8}). After the famous battle of Carchemish, in which Nebuchadnezzar defeated Pharaoh-neco in 605, Tyre was besieged for 13 years (cf. Jos. *Ant.* X. xi. 1). The issue of this siege is somewhat uncertain (see *Expos. Times*, x. 378, 430, 475, 520). The prophet Ezekiel seems to imply at least that the island was not given up to plunder, but the Divine purpose was fulfilled in punishing the unrighteous princes and the proud king of Tyre (Ezk 28^{12} $29^{17\text{-}20}$). A time of anarchy and unrest followed, in which the city discarded for a time its monarchical form of government. Gradually order was restored, prosperity returned, and the allegiance to Babylon remained unbroken to the end of that dynasty in 538.

viii. TYRE AND PERSIA.—The condition of Tyre under the Persians was better than it had been under the Assyrians and Babylonians. Persia required the help of the Phœnician fleet in attacking Egypt and repressing the rising Macedonian empire. When after B.C. 400 the power of Persia showed signs of decay, the Phœnician cities rebelled; but when Zidon was reduced to ashes by Ochus in 351, Tyre surrendered without a siege. During the Persian dynasty it is related, to the credit of Tyre, that its fleet refused to convey the army of Cambyses against Carthage on account of blood-kinship, and thus an expedition was averted that might have influenced the destinies of Rome.

ix. TYRE AND THE MACEDONIANS.—The greatest event in the history of Tyre was its capture by Alexander in B.C. 332 after a siege of seven months. Much ingenuity and courage were displayed on both sides. Help was expected from Carthage, Persia, Cyprus, Zidon, but in vain. It was Tyre's darkest day when Alexander was seen bearing down from the north with a large fleet chiefly collected from Phœnician ports and old rivals. It was the fire from the midst of her that had come to devour a city that claimed admiration and obedience, but did not ask to be loved. The mole was completed with ease, when the harbour was thus blockaded; and in the taking of the city 6000 are said to have perished by the sword, 2000 were crucified, and 30,000 women, children, and slaves were sold. Yet within the brief space of 18 years Tyre was repeopled and refortified, and was able to offer a strong but ineffectual resistance to Antigonus. About 287 it again became an Egyptian possession, till in 198 it fell to the Seleucidæ, and, with the exception of a brief interval (83–69)

* For a different interpretation of the 'covenant of brothers' see Driver, *Joel and Amos*, p. 137.

of Armenian rule, it remained under its Syrian governors till in 65 it passed quietly into the Roman empire, receiving the status of a free city. In the 4th cent. A.D. Jerome refers to Tyre as a beautiful city and 'an emporium for the commerce of the whole world.' It was made the seat of a bishopric, and had two such talented but widely-different citizens as Origen and Porphyry. Later on, it was taken by the Saracens in the 7th cent., recovered by the Crusaders in 1124, to fall again into the hands of the Saracens in 1291. After relapsing for a time into the possession of Egypt, with minor intervals of Druze and Venetian control, it ceased to exist as maritime Tyre and became an Arab village.

Few sites in the historical East present such an affecting and instructive record of persistent struggle, splendid achievement, and irretrievable doom. By her destined pathway of commerce Tyre exerted upon the world an influence that ranks with that of Jerusalem in religion, Athens in philosophy, and Rome in government. But to-day the steamers on the Syrian coast that call at the Bay of Acre and Ṣidon consider Tyre too insignificant to deserve a visit. After having been the mother of colonies and mistress of the seas, bearing her merchandise into otherwise unvisited lands and adjusting the supply and demand of the world, Tyre is now content at the close of her career to be a stagnant village in stagnant Turkey.

LITERATURE.—Thomson, *Land and the Book*; Robinson, *BRP* (Index); Rawlinson, *Hist. of Phœnicia*, and *Phœnicia* in 'Story of the Nations'; Kenrick, *Phönicia*; Movers, *Die Phönizier*; art. PHŒNICIA in present work. G. M. MACKIE.

TZADE (צ).—The eighteenth letter of the Heb. alphabet, and as such employed in the 119th Psalm to designate the 18th part, each verse of which begins with this letter. It is transliterated in this Dictionary by *ṣ*.

U

UCAL (אֻכָל).—Mentioned only in Pr 30[1]. In AV and RV the word is treated as a proper name. It is, however, of an unusual form, and there are other objections to the rendering. A slightly different reading (see RVm) would give the meaning, 'I have wearied myself *and am consumed*' (LXX *καὶ παύομαι*). See ITHIEL, and cf. Lag. *ad loc.*

UEL (אוּאֵל; BA Οὐήλ, Luc. Ἰωήλ).—One of the sons of Bani who had married a foreign wife, Ezr 10[34]; called in 1 Es 9[34] JUEL.

UKNAZ.—For וּקְנַז in 1 Ch 4[15] AVm gives 'Uknaz' instead of 'even Kenaz' (AV) or 'and Kenaz' (RV). In all probability something has dropped out of the text, which had read originally 'the sons of Elah: . . . and Kenaz.' This is favoured by the plural sons. An alternative is to drop the ו, with LXX (*καὶ υἱοὶ* Ἀδά· Κενέζ) and Vulg. (*Filii quoque Ela: Cenez*), and read simply KENAZ (קְנַז).

ULAI (אוּלַי, Theod. Οὐβάλ, LXX Οὐλαί).—The classical Eulæus, now the *Karûn*. It flowed past Susa or Shushan, and Assurbanipal states that in the battle fought outside that city between the Assyrians and the Elamites, the Ulâ (or Ulai) was choked with the bodies of the slain. In Dn 8[2. 16] it is similarly described as flowing past Shushan. The Eulæus is also called Pasitigris by the classical geographers, and Pliny (*HN* vi. 27) says that it surrounded the citadel of Susa. But the rivers of Susiana have so changed their channels since the classical epoch as to make their identification with the present rivers of the country somewhat difficult. It would seem, however, that what are now the Upper Kerkhah and the Lower Karûn were formerly a single stream (see SHUSHAN). A cuneiform tablet (*WAI* ii. 51. 32) describes the Ulâ as 'the water which carries its treasures into the deep' (but see Driver on Dn 8[2], and Dieulafoi, as cited p. 126 *n.*). A. H. SAYCE.

ULAM (אוּלָם).—**1.** The eponym of a Manassite family, 1 Ch 7[16. 17] (BA Οὐλάμ [B om. in v.[17]], Luc. Ηλάμ). **2.** A Benjamite family, specially noted as archers, 1 Ch 8[39. 40] (B Αἰλάμ, Αἰλείμ; A both times Οὐλάμ). Benjamite archers appear also in 2 Ch 14[7 (8)].

ULFILAS' VERSION.—See VERSIONS (Gothic).

ULLA (עוּלָא; BA Ὦλά, Luc. om.).—The eponym of an Asherite family, 1 Ch 7[39].

UMMAH.—An Asherite city, Jos 19[30]. There can be little doubt, however, that the MT עָמָה here is a slip for עַכּוֹ ACCO (cf. Jg 1[31]); so, following certain MSS of the LXX (Ἀκκώ, Ἀκκώρ), Dillmann, Bennett, Kautzsch, *Oxf. Heb. Lex.* etc.

UNCLEAN, UNCLEANNESS.*—

i. Origin of the distinction between Clean and Unclean.
ii. Four main types of Uncleanness; connected with (*a*) the functions of reproduction; (*b*) food; (*c*) leprosy; (*d*) death.
iii. Uncleanness and Ritual.
iv. Uncleanness in NT.
Literature.

i. ORIGIN OF THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN CLEAN AND UNCLEAN.—The distinction between clean and unclean is to be found as far back as we are able to trace the history of the religion of Israel. The validity of Rachel's excuse to her father when seeking the teraphim (Gn 31[35] E) rested on the uncleanness of her condition; and Saul, in spite of his insane suspicion of David, yet recognizes that he may be detained from the feast of the new moon by ceremonial defilement (1 S 20[26]). The division of Israelites into 'those shut up and left at large,' indicates how frequent uncleanness was if those

* This article deals only with the ceremonial idea of uncleanness, not with the ethical or religious. The Heb. verb טָמֵא, with the noun טֻמְאָה or טָמְאָה and adj. טָמֵא, is commonly used to express this idea. The notion of profanation or pollution is conveyed by the verb חָלַל, which also means 'to make common'; the corresponding noun is חֹל. The late verb גָּאַל is rare in this sense. Cleanness is expressed by the verb טָהַר, its noun טָהֳרָה, and adj. טָהוֹר. These words may further express the idea of purification, for which the Piel and Hithpael of חָטָא are also used. The Greek word for uncleanness, *ἀκαθαρσία*, is used in the NT, except in Mt 23[27], in an ethical sense only, and the adj. *ἀκάθαρτος* is used in the Gospels exclusively of unclean spirits, and in the Epp. in an ethical sense. It is used of ceremonially unclean birds in Rev 18[2], and, coupled with *κοινός*, 'common,' is used of ceremonially unclean food in Ac 10[14. 28] 11[8]. Ceremonial defilement is expressed by the verb *κοινόω*, 'to make common,' and its adj. *κοινός* (Mt 15, Mk 7, Ac 10. 11. 21[28], Ro 14[14], Rev 21[27]), and once (Jn 18[28]) by *μιαίνω*. For the idea of purification the verb *καθαρίζω*, with the noun *καθαρισμός* and adj. *καθαρός*, and the verb *ἁγνίζω*, with its noun *ἁγνισμός*, are used.

shut up are those ritually unclean. Several allusions to uncleanness are found in the Prophets (Am 7^{17}, Hos 9^{3}, Ezk 4^{14}, Hag 2^{13}, Is $52^{1.\ 11}$ 35^{8}), while in Deuteronomy, and much more elaborately in the Priestly Code, it is made the subject of detailed legislation. The laws of defilement and purification were developed by the misdirected ingenuity of the scribes into a system of casuistry, even more than ordinarily fine-spun and minute, which constituted, in fact, the most important part of the regulations by which the pious Jew had to order his life. But the laws of uncleanness are far older than the Hebrew people. It is only necessary to read them, to be convinced that they are not the creation of the higher religion of Israel. Anthropology, however, has proved, what might naturally have been suspected, that they belong essentially to the prehistoric past. Their congenial atmosphere is not that which breathes in the Hebrew prophets, but that which animates the crudest forms of savage religion.

Some of the laws might, indeed, be explained on rational grounds, as due to sanitary precaution, to love of cleanliness, to natural aversion from disgusting objects. But it is certain that these do not explain many of the prohibitions, and cannot account for the precise selection or omission which characterizes the list of things unclean. We may grant that these considerations may have played some part in late development, but this should probably be reduced to a minimum. It is more likely, in fact, that the laws of uncleanness created sanitary laws and aversion for certain things than that they were created by them. Where a tribe happened to regard things as unclean which also are insanitary, it would, so far as it did so, increase its chances in the struggle for existence, while natural selection would tend to eliminate tribes whose ritual in no way coincided with sanitary requirements. Thus with the survival of the former set of tribes sanitary regulations might come by degrees to be established, with no intention of doing more than securing ritual cleanness. Again, what we call natural aversion is probably natural only in the sense that habit is second nature. The natural disgust which we feel at certain kinds of food is due altogether to custom, and sentiment formed by custom. The dog or horse is naturally no more repulsive than the ox, yet many have an invincible repugnance to dog-flesh or horse-flesh. A Jew's instinctive loathing for the swine, which is eaten freely by Gentiles, often survives the surrender of all religious scruples. And it is decisive that these laws originated at a time when the rudiments of sanitation were still undreamed of, and are found among peoples who own no restraint of cleanliness or natural disgust. It is also well known that even in higher religions ritual cleanness may be obtained by bathing in very dirty water. Still less happy are the attempts to find a rational basis for these laws in the spiritual principles of the higher religion of Israel. For not only does it need strained arguments to remove their essentially irrational character and make them at home in a spiritual religion, but the numerous parallels in much lower religions are so close that it is unreasonable to shut the eyes to their essential affinity. It is futile to fumble at the lock with such rusty keys, when anthropology has given us one which fits every ward.

The ideas and usages among other peoples, which are similar to the Hebrew laws of uncleanness, are conveniently classed under that widespread system known as 'taboo.' The general notion of taboo is that certain things are regarded as unsafe for contact or use in common life, by reason of the supernatural penalties which would thereby be incurred. A common thing may become taboo through the action of a god, chief, or priest, and the sanction for the restriction he imposes is his own power of avenging its violation. But some things or conditions are intrinsically taboo, and infringement of their character brings its own penalty by a mechanical necessity without external aid. There is an inherent energy in them, which is discharged on all who rashly break the taboo. One of the most striking features of taboo is its infectious character. It is transmitted by contact, and the person or thing thus tabooed may become a new source of infection, though the supernatural virus loses intensity at each new stage of transmission. The infection might in some cases be removed by ritual means, chief among which must be placed washing. In other cases it was too deeply engrained to be removed. From this single root of taboo sprang not uncleanness only, but holiness. Originally, paradoxical as it may seem, there was little difference between them. Both holiness and uncleanness are infectious, and require identical or similar ritual purification (see HOLINESS). It is especially instructive to compare the law of the sin-offering (Lv 6^{25-30}) with such passages as Lv $11^{24-28.\ 31-35}$ $15^{4-12.\ 20-24.\ 26.\ 27}$. It is to be observed that both are treated as of purely materialistic quality, so much so, in fact, that holiness or uncleanness may be scoured off a vessel, unless it is of unglazed earthenware and the holiness or uncleanness has soaked into it, in which case it must be broken. It is further confirmation of the original identity of the two, that while a holy thing is usually said to communicate holiness and an unclean thing uncleanness, in one case a holy thing produces uncleanness. The canonicity of a book was expressed in the phrase, it 'defiles the hands.' If it was a common, that is, a non-canonical book, it was not holy; if canonical, it was holy, and produced ceremonial defilement. The practical consequence of both holiness and uncleanness was to withdraw the object they infected from participation in common life. The holy thing was dedicated to God, and to treat it as common was to violate its sanctity and incur His anger. Hence the avoidance of holiness as a plague, and the precautions taken to avoid catching it. Moses must keep his distance and remove his shoes from his feet on ground made holy by God's presence in the bush (Ex 3^{5}); bounds (corresponding to a taboo line) must be set about the mountain at Sinai, lest the people draw too near and J" break forth upon them. Whatever touched the mountain became so sacred that it was too dangerous to be touched, the death penalty must be executed on it from a safe distance (Ex 19^{12-24}). The men of Beth-shemesh, and Uzzah, were smitten for contact with the ark (1 S 6^{19}, 2 S 6^{7}). The priests are bidden put off the garments wherein they minister, when they go out to the people, lest they sanctify the people with their garments (Ezk 44^{19}); and those who take part in the heathen mysteries described in Is 65^{3-5} warn the bystanders not to come near lest they catch the contagion of their holiness (Is 65^{5} reading, with a change in the pointing, 'lest I make thee holy').

The process by which the notions of holiness and uncleanness, which were undifferentiated in taboo, came to be distinguished was probably something of this kind. It has already been pointed out that two classes of taboo may be distinguished. A common thing may become taboo if a god or sacred person lays a taboo upon it. Or a thing or state may be intrinsically taboo. Roughly speaking, this corresponds to the distinction between holy and unclean. The holy is that which is naturally common, but has become holy through contact with the Divine. But there is an uncleanness of a primary order, of an intrinsic and not accidental kind, uncommunicated as no earthly holiness can be said to be. It is true that there is a communicated uncleanness, but uncommunicated uncleanness has no uncommunicated holiness to match it in the human realm. All holiness is derivative save the holiness of God. It is by this principle that the unclean thing may be taboo in its own right, while the holy thing cannot be, that we must explain the priestly torah given in Hag $2^{12.\ 13}$. Holy flesh infects with holiness a garment in which it is carried, but this garment does not transmit the holiness to what it touches. A man who is unclean by contact with a dead body infects with

* 'In general, we may say that the prohibition to use the vessels, garments, and so on, of certain persons, and the effects supposed to follow an infraction of the rule, are exactly the same whether the persons to whom the things belong are sacred or what we might call unclean and polluted' (Frazer, *The Golden Bough*^{2}, i. 325; cf. also ii. 304–309).

uncleanness what he touches. In other words, a dead body is endowed with higher virulence of contagion than holy flesh. And the reason is that a corpse is a fountainhead of uncleanness, while holy flesh is holy, not intrinsically, but only because it has been devoted to God, the sole fountainhead of holiness. Probably, then, the distinction between holiness and uncleanness was simply the explicit affirmation of a distinction already implicit in the idea of taboo. And it was a great step in advance when the essential difference of things indiscriminately classed together as taboo emerged into clear consciousness. A large irrational element, it is true, survived in the idea of holiness as well as in that of uncleanness. But by linking the idea of holiness with that of God, the former was started on a career of intellectual, moral, and spiritual development, which made it at last the fit expression of the highest religious ideal. On the other hand, uncleanness remained to the last a virtually savage idea, one of the heathen survivals in Judaism which Christianity had simply to eliminate. And where life is lived under the shadow of innumerable taboos, these form an insuperable barrier to progress, for man is tied to the fixed routine, not venturing on unknown paths for terror of the perils that lurk everywhere in his way. But when taboos are recognized as expressing the will of the gods, instead of the paralyzing dread of unknown and incalculable forces, we have the restraint imposed by a kind and trusted deity, which leaves room for progress, because it introduces a rational element, and claims for religion what had been inextricably bound up with superstition.*

The opposite of 'holy' is 'common,' the opposite of 'unclean' is 'clean.' While 'holy' and 'unclean' are strong positive terms, 'common' and 'clean' are simply their pale negatives. Clean is not the same as holy; it implies no dedication to the Divine service, and has no infectious quality. The clean person is one who may freely approach his God in worship. For this he need not be holy, though there are certain cases where cleanness, *i.e.* the mere absence of uncleanness, is insufficient. At Sinai the Hebrews had to sanctify themselves by washing and abstinence from women (Ex 19). But so exceptional an occasion cannot be taken as typical. Nor are the common and the unclean identical; the common is rather, ordinarily at any rate, also the clean. Yet, just as the clean and the holy tended to be identified, since whatever is holy must also be clean, so their opposites, the unclean and the common. But, in spite of such obliteration of distinctions, it only creates confusion if they are not emphasized.

It should further be noticed that the laws of uncleanness, while largely a survival from prehistoric savagery, or the semi-civilization of primitive Semites, partly originated in a protest of the higher religion of Israel against heathenism. Certain things which were connected with heathen cults, and constituted a danger to spiritual religion, were placed under taboo. Whether by survival or protest a thing was regarded as unclean, it was alike an abomination to J", cutting off the offender from intercourse with Him and fellowship with the community. It is probable that the extent to which the laws are due to protest against heathenism has been overrated in recent discussions. Similarly, in the face of savage parallels, it is probable that some laws in the Priestly Code, which are often regarded as very late developments and impracticable refinements, are in substance of the highest antiquity. That, as at present codified, they are late is clear, and such a passage as Lv 11^{24-38} is not unfairly regarded as exhibiting the rudiments of the casuistry of the scribes. But the central prohibition of the passage is probably quite early. It is remarkable that some taboos which survived into the Levitical legislation, disappeared among the more conservative Arabs.

* See W. R. Smith, *RS*[2] pp. 152–155.

ii. Four main types of Uncleanness may be distinguished: uncleanness connected with (*a*) the functions of reproduction, (*b*) food, (*c*) leprosy, (*d*) death. These must now be considered in detail.

(*a*) *Uncleanness connected with the functions of reproduction.*—These functions early excited the superstitious awe of mankind, which invested the organs and their activities with mysterious powers. Sexual intercourse was widely regarded as producing uncleanness, which might be removed by bathing, but in some cases fumigation was also required. Among the Arabs it was specially necessary to take precautions against the demons on the consummation of marriage (Wellh. *Reste Arab. Heid.*[2] 155). The Book of Tobit yields an interesting parallel to this. Before Tobias married Sarah she had been given to seven husbands, who had been slain on the bridal night by Asmodæus her demon lover (To 3^{7-9} $6^{13.14}$ 7^{11}). Tobias drove away the demon by fumigation, burning on the ashes of incense some of the heart and liver of a fish (8^{1-3}). It is probable that among the Hebrews intercourse was always considered to produce defilement. This is expressly laid down in P (Lv 15^{18}). Naturally the defilement was slight, involving bathing and uncleanness till the evening. Certain conditions of holiness, however, required complete abstinence. This was so when J" was to appear on Sinai (Ex 19^{15}). So David's men may eat holy bread only on condition that they 'have kept themselves from women' (1 S 21^{4}). David's reply is obscure (see Driver and H. P. Smith on the passage, also W. R. Smith, *l.c.* pp. 455, 456). But it seems clear that on a warlike expedition David asserts that women were taboo. The prohibition of women to those engaged in war is widespread. War was regarded as sacred; the warriors were holy as long as the campaign lasted. Among many savage peoples continence must be observed not only by the warriors, but, on grounds of sympathetic magic, by those left at home, and after their return this taboo with many others is enforced with even greater strictness (Frazer, *l.c.* i. 328; W. R. Smith, *l.c.* 455). No such strictness obtained among the Hebrews in historical times, but Uriah's refusal to visit his wife while the campaign was in progress was probably due to a religious scruple of this kind (2 S 11^{8-13}). Perhaps it is on this ground that we may explain why a man is excused from military service during the first year after marriage, Dt 24^{5}.

Puberty is regarded by many people as a period when evil can be averted only by the observance of very rigorous taboos. The boys then pass through elaborate ceremonies of initiation, circumcision often playing an important part. So far as boys are concerned, the original meaning of circumcision was lost among the Hebrews by the custom of performing it on the eighth day. But uncircumcision came to be regarded as uncleanness, depriving the offender of approach to God or membership in the community. In the case of girls an analogous rite was often performed, though not, so far as we know, by the Hebrews.

But the greatest terror was aroused by **menstruation.** At its first appearance the girl was often strictly isolated, and in some cases this was continued for years. All through life, precautions, though not so stringent, had to be taken. The blood was regarded as highly dangerous for men to touch or even see (Frazer, *l.c.* i. 325, 326, iii. 204–233; W. R. Smith, *l.c.* 447, 448; Spencer and

Gillen, *The Native Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 460, 461; Kalisch and Dillmann-Ryssel on Lv 15^{19-24}).* Among the Arabs 'menstruous women might not take part in feasts and sacrifices, only for them are the old expressions for clean and unclean customary in pre-Islamic Arabic' (Wellh. *l.c.* 170). This was true also in Israel. As in so many other cases, the strictness of the taboos on this state is much modified. But it naturally fell among the graver types of uncleanness. For it was a condition doubly unclean, combining the uncleanness of the reproductive functions with that of blood. It was regarded as unclean in old Israel (Gn 31^{35}, 2 S 11^{4}). In the Priestly Code (Lv 15^{19-24}) the period of 'separation' is defined as seven days. The uncleanness was communicated to the bed or seat; contact with either of these produced uncleanness till evening, and required the washing of body and clothes. So infectious was the impurity that any one touching an article on the bed or seat incurred the milder penalty of uncleanness till the evening. This is the penalty prescribed according to the present text of Lv 15^{19} for contact with the patient herself. But it is incredible that a secondary stage of uncleanness should require a more complete purification than the primary. Probably the words 'shall wash his clothes, and bathe himself in water, and' have fallen out. The meaning of the injunction in Lv 15^{24} is uncertain. Probably it does not refer to conjugal relations, which in these conditions were not only said in Lv 20^{18} (H) to incur the punishment of death, but were viewed with utter repugnance in antiquity. It is possible that the reference may be, as some think, to defilement caused by the commencement of the discharge during intercourse.

Closely connected with this form of uncleanness was that caused by abnormal issues in both sexes. The pathological conditions indicated need not be discussed in detail (see the commentaries). An 'issue of blood' (Lv 15^{25-30}, Mt 9^{20} and paralls.) made a woman unclean as in the normal discharge. The impurity lasted seven days after the discharge had stopped. Then she offered two turtle doves or young pigeons—one for a sin- and the other for a burnt-offering. It is curious that neither in the case of the normal nor abnormal issue is any reference made to washing of body or clothes in the case of the woman, though both are required for the man (Lv $15^{13.16}$). Jewish custom at a later period certainly insisted on a bath of purification after the normal discharge. In the case of men, seminal emission involved washing of the body and uncleanness till the evening, while every garment or skin on which there had been any discharge must be washed and be unclean till evening. According to Dt $23^{10.11}$, a nocturnal accident while on a military expedition excluded a man from the camp for the next day. As evening came on he had to bathe, and he returned to camp when the sun was down. Corresponding to the abnormal discharge of women is that of men described in Lv $15^{2.3}$. The various forms of uncleanness produced by it are elaborately referred to (vv.$^{4-12}$). The rites of purification are the same as for a woman's abnormal issue.

That *childbirth* made the mother unclean is only what was to be expected. It is surprising that Nowack should regard this as obviously a development in later time of the old view that pollution was incurred by intercourse as by menstruation (*Heb. Archäol.* ii. 284). The uncleanness of childbirth is an almost universal belief among primitive peoples.* It was also an Arab custom in certain places to build a hut outside the camp, where the woman had to stay for a time (Wellh. *l.c.* p. 170). The fact clearly is, that, so far from being a late development among the Israelites, it was a survival from prehistoric times. And a modified survival, for it is striking that whereas the newborn infant is almost universally regarded as in a high degree taboo, this has not survived among the Hebrews (though Ezk 16^{4} may allude to it).† The rule in Lv 12 (P) enjoins that after the birth of a boy the mother shall be unclean, as in menstruation, for a week, and shall continue 'in the blood of *her* purifying' thirty-three days. During the first week her uncleanness would of course be infectious, but possibly this was not so during the rest of her forty days. All that is required is that 'she shall touch no hallowed thing, nor come into the sanctuary.' When a girl was born, the two periods were doubled. It was commonly believed that the symptoms persisted much longer after the birth of a girl than after that of a boy. The numbers thirty-three and sixty-six are chosen to make up with seven and fourteen the favourite number of forty and its multiple eighty. When the requisite period was over, she offered a lamb of the first year for a burnt-offering, and a young pigeon or a turtle dove for a sin-offering. If too poor to offer a lamb (as was the mother of Jesus, Lk 2^{24}), a second young pigeon or a second turtle dove might be substituted.‡

The '*prohibited degrees*' belong to the same order of ideas: on this subject the article MARRIAGE may be consulted. On forbidden degrees in Arabia see W. R. Smith, *Kinship*, ch. vi.; and, on the whole subject, especially Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage*[2], chs. xiv. xv., and the summary pp. 544–546.§ The 'bastard,' who is excluded from the assembly of J″, is probably the offspring of such a marriage (Dt 23^{2}).‖ Probably Moabites and Ammonites are excluded on the ground of the incestuous origin of the two peoples (Gn 19^{31-38}). The exclusion of eunuchs (Dt 23^{1}) is apparently meant to refer, in the first place at any rate, to those who had mutilated themselves for religious reasons. This is an example of a taboo originating in a protest against heathenism.

Some see analogous ideas in the prohibition of 'unlawful mixtures.' Sowing a field with two kinds of seed made the whole crop holy, that is, taboo. Linen and wool might not be used in the same garment; the clothing proper to one sex might not be worn by the other;¶ an ox and an ass might not be yoked together to the plough; nor must cattle gender with a diverse kind (Dt $22^{5.9-11}$, Lv 19^{19}). Parallels cannot here be quoted

* 'The object of secluding women at menstruation is to neutralize the dangerous influences which are supposed to emanate from them at such times. That the danger is believed to be especially great at the first menstruation appears from the unusual precautions taken to isolate girls at this crisis. . . . In short, the girl is viewed as charged with a powerful force which, if not kept within bounds, may prove destructive both to the girl herself and to all with whom she comes in contact. . . . The uncleanness, as it is called, of girls at puberty and the sanctity of holy men do not, to the primitive mind, differ from each other. They are only different manifestations of the same mysterious energy which, like energy in general, is in itself neither good nor bad, but becomes beneficent or maleficent according to its application' (Frazer, *l.c.* iii. 232, 233). For the Arabic custom see W. R. Smith, *l.c.* 448. The Basutos purified girls at womanhood by sprinkling (Tylor, *Primitive Culture*[3], ii. 432).

* 'Women after childbirth and their offspring are more or less tabooed all the world over' (Frazer, *l.c.* iii. 463). See also Jevons, *Introd. to the Hist. of Rel.* 74, 75.

† See Jevons, *l.c.* 75, 76; Tylor, *l.c.* ii. 431.

‡ For savage purifications see Tylor, *l.c.* 432, 433.

§ The Australian black-fellows of the interior, quite uncivilized as they are, have developed a most elaborate system of forbidden degrees (see Spencer and Gillen, *l.c.* ch. ii.).

‖ Bertholet thinks they were the offspring of the mixed marriages in the time of Ezra and Nehemiah. It is questionable if the chapter is so late as that, and the reference in the same context to Moab and Ammon confirms the other view.

¶ 'This is not a mere rule of conventional propriety, but is directed against those simulated changes of sex which occur in Canaanite and Syrian heathenism' (W. R. Smith, *OTJC*[2] 365).

so easily. The Kamschatkans at the beginning of the 18th cent. had a taboo on cooking fish and flesh in the same pot.* Frazer gives several examples of taboo on mixing different kinds of food in the stomach (*l.c.* ii. 336, 337). Baentsch says that mingling of stuffs from the animal and vegetable kingdoms played a rôle in magic.

Possibly we should regard as an extension of the law of issues, the uncleanness of the *human excreta*. Ezekiel protests against using human excrement for fuel with which to bake bread, on the ground of the uncleanness that would then be communicated to the food, and is permitted to substitute animal excrement, which apparently was not defiling, or defiling in a much slighter degree, and is often used now in Syria for fuel (Ezk $4^{14.15}$). The law in Dt 23^{12-14}, directed to secure cleanness in the camp, is regarded by some as a mere impracticable refinement of a theorist. But numerous savage parallels may be quoted for this as for all the Hebrew war taboos. Frazer says that the rules of ceremonial purity prescribed for Hebrew warriors are 'identical with rules observed by Maoris and Australian black-fellows on the warpath.' The precise rule in question is found among Australians, Melanesians, South Africans, and Fijians. Frazer suggests that the original motive in the case of the Hebrews was identical with the avowed motive of savages, 'a fear lest the enemy should obtain the refuse of their persons, and thus be enabled to work their destruction by magic' (*l.c.* i. 328).† It is not necessary to appeal to savages; the same custom is found among the Arabs (Wellh. *l.c.* p. 173). We should perhaps bring under the same law the prohibition of woollen garments to the priests, because they caused sweat (Ezk $44^{17.18}$). The clause 'they shall not gird themselves *with anything that causeth* sweat' is regarded by Cornill and Toy as a gloss, and the translation is a little uncertain; but it correctly represents what must have been the object of the prohibition, as is shown by the Syrian and Egyptian parallels. A law of decency underlies the requirement in Ezekiel and P that the priests should wear linen drawers. This was a survival of the feeling that the deity dwelt in the altar, and that the person must not be exposed to it (Ezk 44^{18}, Ex $28^{42.43}$, Lv 6^{10} 16^{4}). In the Book of the Covenant the same result was secured by the prohibition of steps up to the altar (Ex 20^{26}, see W. R. Smith, *OTJC*^{2} p. 358).

(*b*) *Uncleanness connected with food.* — The article FOOD deals very fully with much of this subject, and it is unnecessary to repeat in detail what is said there. Naturally, however, questions arise in this article that do not arise in an article on Food. The taboos on food among savage peoples are very numerous. These cannot be explained as due to sanitary considerations or as the expression of natural disgust. The reason is religious. It is very probable that many cases are to be explained as originating in totemism.‡ But it is not only among savages that such restrictions on food are found. They survive among many civilized peoples of antiquity — Indians, Egyptians, Syrians, Greeks, and others. According to Wellhausen, the distinction between clean and unclean food was not known to the ancient Arabs; they recognized only usual and unusual (*l.c.* 168, 169). At the same time, taboos in some sense seem from Wellhausen's own statements to have been recognized. Still in this, as in some other respects, the Hebrews preserve the more primitive type.* In the Flood story (J^2) the distinction between clean animals and animals not clean is presupposed as known, though the technical word for unclean (טָמֵא) is not used (Gn 7^{2} 8^{20}). P, on the contrary, represents man as hitherto vegetarian; and when animal food is first permitted, no restriction is made, except that the blood should not be eaten, since it was the vehicle of the life (Gn 1^{29} $9^{3.4}$). We have lists of clean and unclean animals in Dt 14^{4-20} and Lv 11.†

The criterion for clean beasts, that they must part the hoof and chew the cud, should probably be regarded as a late attempt to define a class by a single formula, the members of which had already been selected on other grounds. The camel, hare, and coney (*Hyrax Syriacus*) are pronounced unclean, because while they chew the cud they do not part the hoof, and the swine for the opposite reason. The *camel* was eaten by the Arabs and used in sacrifices: it may conceivably have been excluded on this latter account. There are traces of a belief in Arabia 'that camels, or, at all events, certain breeds of camels, were of demoniac origin' (W. R. Smith, *RS*^{2} 283, n. 2).‡ The *hare* was probably a sacred animal, for 'hares' heads were worn as amulets by Arab women' (W. R. Smith, *l.c.* 382), and the foot was used as a charm against demons (*Kinship*, 211). While the Arabs eat it, the other inhabitants of Syria, the Turks and the Armenians, abstain from it, and the Parsees regard it as the uncleanest of animals; the ancient Britons regarded it as taboo, 'gustare fas non putant' (Cæs. *de B. G.* v. 12. See Dillm. and Kalisch, *Leviticus*, ii. 55).§ It was supposed to menstruate, and was thus assimilated to mankind. It was regarded as very lascivious (cf. Barn. 10). The *coney* (*Hyrax Syriacus*) is still avoided for food by Christians and Mohammedans in Abyssinia. In the Sinai peninsula it, with the panther, is believed to have been originally human, and he who eats its flesh, it is said, will never see his parents again (W. R. Smith, *RS*^{2} 88, 444). There is much evidence to show that the *swine* was a holy animal. While forbidden food to the Semites, the taboo was variously explained as due to its holiness or uncleanness. It was eaten only in such mystic sacrifices as are described in Is 65^{3-5} $66^{3.17}$. The Egyptians regarded it as highly taboo, not only as food,

* Brinton, *Religions of Primitive Peoples*, p. 109.

† Hair and nail parings are often buried with great precaution, for a similar reason. The 'hill of foreskins' (Jos 5^{3}), according to one interpretation of its meaning, would be a Hebrew parallel (cf. 24^{30} LXX).

‡ See W. R. Smith, *Kinship*, ch. viii. and pp. 304–311, *OTJC*^{2} 366, 367, *RS*^{2} *passim*; Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, 167–169, 202–211, 467, 468; Jevons, *Introd. to the History of Rel.* 102, 116–127.

* In spite of this, there is one important respect in which the primitive type seems not to be preserved. Frequently certain foods are taboo to people in various stages of life or certain physical conditions, or again to particular orders of people. Elaborate rules may be found in Spencer and Gillen, *l.c.* 256, 467–473; Frazer, *l.c.* i. 391. Only slight survivals are to be found among the Hebrews, *e.g.* taboo on wine and whatever comes from the grape, imposed on the Nazirite, and his mother before his birth, and the prohibition of wine to the priests before offering. With such slight exceptions, the food taboos are binding on all Israelites. In this connexion Saul's taboo on eating food till evening, unwittingly violated by Jonathan (1 S 14^{24-31}), may be referred to. We naturally sympathize with Jonathan's commonsense criticism; but this was somewhat rationalistic for that age, and the writer represents J$^{\text{II}}$ as too much offended by its transgression to answer when consulted. Saul wished by this strong taboo to assure supernatural aid, such as would be cheaply purchased by the impaired efficiency of his men.

† The relation between these laws is disputed. Some regard the law in Deut. as a secondary addition. It seems at least probable that the two sections are mutually independent; and it is not unlikely that they draw on oral or written torah of the priests. Driver and White assign Lv $11^{2-23.41-47}$ to H. Baentsch ('Handkom.' *Ex.–Lev.*) objects that the passages exhibit too little of H's phraseology. For a very elaborate analysis see *Oxf. Hex. ad loc.*, and art. LEVITICUS.

‡ 'I take it, however, that the eating of camel's flesh continued to be regarded by the Arabs as in some sense a religious act, even when it was no longer associated with a formal act of sacrifice; for abstinence from the flesh of camels and wild asses was prescribed by Symeon Stylites to his Saracen converts; and traces of an idolatrous significance in feasts of camel's flesh appear in Mohammedan tradition' (W. R. Smith, *l.c.* 283).

§ On the Yorkshire superstition of the close connexion between hares and witches see Frazer, *l.c.* iii. 408.

but to touch; yet once a year sacrificed it to the moon and Osiris, and ate the flesh. Its identification with the demon Set or Typhon, the enemy of Osiris, is probably a degradation from its original identification with Osiris himself. Among the Syrians it seems to have been regarded as an incarnation of Tammuz. Its flesh was also taboo to worshippers of Attis. It was further supposed to possess magical powers.*

The criterion that clean animals must be ruminants with cloven hoof excluded the ass, horse, and dog, and all beasts of prey. The *ass* seems from Jg 6[4] to have been commonly used for food: the Midianites 'left no sustenance in Israel, neither sheep, nor ox, nor ass' (cf. 2 K 6[25]). The Arabs seem to have regarded it as a sacred animal, and it was forbidden to his converts by Symeon Stylites, just as our abstinence from horse-flesh is due to the prohibition to Christian converts from the worship of Odin, to whom it was sacrificed. The story that the Jews worshipped the ass may point to the worship of it in Syria. The flesh and hoofs were used for magical purposes by the Arabs (see W. R. Smith, *Kinship*, 308; *RS*[2] 468).† The *horse* was little used by the Hebrews, even in war; probably the uncleanness of the ass would be felt to extend to it. Josiah 'took away the horses that the kings of Judah had given to the sun' (2 K 23[11]); this connexion with idolatry may account for its uncleanness. Four horses were cast into the sea at Rhodes at the annual feast of the sun (W. R. Smith, *RS*[2] 293). The *dog* seems to be sacred from the reference to its use in the mysteries (Is 66[3]). Among the Harranians dogs were said in the mysteries to be the brothers of men. They seem also to have been sacred among the Carthaginians and Phœnicians. 'In Moslem countries dogs are still regarded with a curious mixture of respect and contempt' (W. R. Smith, *l.c.* 291, 292).‡ *Beasts of prey* were naturally regarded as unclean, because they fed on the blood as well as the flesh of their victims. Most of the unclean birds were birds of prey or fed on carrion. Others lived in ruins, and were regarded as companions of the demons who haunted them. (For the ostrich as a demon cf. W. R. Smith, *l.c.* 129, n. 2). It is curious to observe how unclean birds mentioned in these lists are catalogued with the uncanny monsters which are to dwell in the ruins of Babylon (Is 13[21. 22], Jer 50[39]) or Edom (Is 34[11-16]). No list of clean birds is given. See article FOOD for those that were eaten. It need only be mentioned that the *dove* was permitted, though to the Syrians taboo in a high degree.§

Fish also were taboo to the Syrians, who regarded ulcers as the penalty for eating them (W. R. Smith, *l.c.* 292, 449). The Hebrews did not sacrifice, but were permitted to eat them. The only restriction was that fish without fins and scales might not be eaten. The reason was, no doubt, their snake-like appearance, the serpent being unclean (see FOOD).

Further, in the Law of Holiness (H) '*swarming things*' (see art. CREEPING THINGS, where the two terms so translated are distinguished) are forbidden (Lv 11[41-44]). What was included under this term may be seen in the article mentioned (vol. i. 518[b]). The prohibition of reptiles is explained by the superstitions universally attached to serpents. The Arabs frequently regarded them as demoniacal, and identified them with the *jinn* (W. R. Smith, *l.c.* 120, 121, 129, 130, 442, *Kinship*, 197; and especially Wellh. *l.c.* 152–155).* The serpent of Gn 3 illustrates the demoniacal nature of these reptiles. It is curious that the list in Deuteronomy speaks only of 'winged swarming things,' by which apparently winged insects are meant. These are regarded as unclean also in P (Lv 11[20], unless this belongs to H), for the phrase 'winged swarming creatures that go on all fours' seems to mean the same as 'winged swarming creatures.' Four kinds of *locusts* are permitted for food (see FOOD, LOCUST). Whether this is a variation from Dt 14 is uncertain. On the one hand, the rule in the latter passage seems to admit of no exception. On the other, the term translated 'fowls' in Dt 14[20] may be used in this restricted sense of 'winged swarming things,' in which case the meaning will be that certain winged insects are clean and lawful food. Inserted in Lv 11 we have a list of things the carcases of which produce uncleanness through contact (vv.[24-38]). This list includes the unclean quadrupeds, and of swarming things—the weasel, the mouse, certain lizards, and the chameleon.

It is curious that the list is not more extensive, especially as the author enters on a casuistical discussion of details. The swarming things mentioned were regarded as demoniacal, the mouse is coupled with the swine in Is 66[17] as eaten in the mysteries there denounced (see W. R. Smith, *Kinship*, 302, 303, *RS*[2] 293; A. Lang, *Custom and Myth* (1893), 103–120). This section is probably a later addition, not at all on the ground that pollution by contact is a late refinement of pollution by eating, for taboo on contact is very ancient, but because of its casuistry and its interruption of the context. Touching involves uncleanness till the evening, bearing the carcass of the quadrupeds induces uncleanness in a deeper degree; for not only is the person unclean till the evening, but he must wash his clothes. The carcases of swarming things infect with uncleanness all clothing or vessels, and the food in them. The vessels are unclean till the evening, and must be steeped in water. If made of earthenware they must be broken, as the uncleanness would sink into the pores. A fountain or cistern, however, remained clean, though whatever touched the unclean thing (*i.e.* to remove it) became unclean. Seed was not polluted by contact, unless water, by which it would soak in, had been put upon it.

Contact with a clean beast that died a natural death produced uncleanness till the evening. Eating of it or carrying it involved the washing of clothes in addition. In Lv 17[15] bathing of the body is also required.

This law is made to apply to the stranger as well as the home-born. In Dt 14[21] the prohibition is made absolute for the Hebrews, and based on their holiness to J". But the flesh of such animals may be given to the stranger who is sojourning in Israel, or sold to the foreigner.† It must be remembered that the law is not sanitary, but ritual; there was therefore no reason why a taboo, binding on the holy people, should be imposed on those who are not members of it. For the priestly legislators the land is holy, because J" dwells in it, and therefore those who are in it, Israelites or not, must observe precautions against uncleanness. The priests are forbidden to eat such food absolutely (Lv 22[8]). The reason was that the flesh had still the blood within it. Blood was always prohibited (1 S 14[33], Dt 12[23-25], Gn 9[4], Lv 17[10-14] 3[17] etc.), but the prohibition seems not always to have been observed (1 S 14[33], Ezk 33[25]). It, with the fat, was regarded by primitive peoples as in a special sense the seat of life, and in ordi-

* See Movers, *Die Phönizier*, i. 218-220 (where several further exx. are collected); W. R. Smith, *l.c.* 153, 218, 290, 291, 411, 475; Frazer, *l.c.* ii. 299–311; Jevons, *l.c.* 118, n. 3; the very elaborate discussion in Kalisch, *Leviticus*, pt. ii. 79–93; also art. FOOD.

† According to Ex 34[20] (JE) the firstling of an ass had to be redeemed with a lamb, but if not redeemed its neck must be broken. The later law (Lv 27[27]) prescribed that an unclean firstling should be redeemed at the priest's valuation, plus one-fifth, but if not redeemed it must be sold.

‡ Frazer mentions that the dog is regarded by the Ojibways 'as unclean, and yet in some respects as holy' (*Enc. Brit.*[9] art. 'Taboo').

§ W. R. Smith, *Kinship*, 196; *RS*[2] 219. The author points out that though a 'clean' bird in legal times, we never read of it in OT as an article of diet. It was not used for sacrifices accompanied by a meal, but in burnt-offerings and sin-offerings, which had a connexion with mystical sacrifices (p. 294).

* For India see Frazer, *The Golden Bough*[2], i. 456, 457.

† In Ex 22[31] (JE) 'flesh that is torn of beasts in the field' is not to be eaten, because the Hebrews are holy to J"; it must be cast to the dogs.

nary sacrifice was made over to the deity. It is probable, however, that in the earliest type of sacrifice it was devoured by the worshippers, and in the mystic sacrifices that are referred to in Is 65. 66 this feature reappeared. The breaking of the dog's neck was a killing of it without shedding the blood (see, further, under FOOD, SACRIFICE).*

The 'sinew of the thigh' is said in Gn 32^{32} not to be eaten by the Israelites, though no reference is made to this in the Law. It became taboo through the touch of Jacob's Divine antagonist. Probably, as W. R. Smith suggests, 'the thigh is a seat of life and procreative power' (*RS*^{2} 380).†

The thrice repeated (Ex 23^{19} 34^{26}, Dt 14^{21}) taboo on *seething a kid in its mother's milk* is discussed in the articles FOOD, GOAT. Here it is necessary to add only what is required by the nature of this article.

We may safely set aside the view that the rule rests on sentimental considerations. It is directed against some religious or magical practice in connexion with the dish. The common explanation that goat's milk was used to produce fruitful crops, while true in itself, does not account for this special prohibition. W. R. Smith suggests that milk was a substitute for blood, so that this dish would violate the taboo on blood (*l.c.* 221). But neither does this explain why it is *a kid* so prepared that is forbidden. If goat's milk possessed magical qualities, these might be supposed to be present also in a sucking kid. The combination of the two doubles the magical intensity, and we may suppose that the rite condemned was originally pastoral rather than agricultural. The subsequent use of goat's milk in agriculture is a natural application of a pastoral charm for fruitfulness. The question may further be raised whether it has not been too hastily assumed that 'mother's milk' means simply goat's milk, *i.e.* the milk of any goat. The physical blood relation between the kid and its dam would make the magic more efficacious, doubling it in upon itself.

As examples of the care with which the Jews practised these laws, Dn 1^8, To $1^{10\text{-}12}$, Jth $12^{1.\ 2}$, Ad. Est 14^{17}, 1 Mac $1^{62.\ 63}$, 2 Mac 6^{18} 7^1 may be quoted.

The ultimate origin of the uncleanness of certain animals probably lies in the fact that they were *totems of primitive Semites*. It is true that some of the greatest Semitic scholars doubt if the Semites passed through the totem stage. Egyptologists also seem to be unanimous in denying that totemism ever prevailed in Egypt. But it is a question on which the anthropologist also, with the comparative method, must be consulted; and Robertson Smith, the chief defender of the theory in question, spoke with the authority not only of a most eminent Semitist, but that of an expert anthropologist. The theory gains much of its plausibility from the light and order it brings to a number of otherwise obscure and incoherent facts. That the unclean foods are so numerous is perhaps due to the very heterogeneous origin of the Hebrew people, the totems of many stocks being regarded as forbidden food by the united nation. At the same time it must be remembered that among savage races totem stocks exist side by side in the same community, without necessarily tabooing each other's totems, though they may avoid the ostentation with which they feast on the totem of an enemy. Further, even in totem clans there are taboos on food at certain stages of life or in certain conditions, which are otherwise lawful food. We need not, of course, look for actual totemism in the historical period of the Hebrew people. But if the Semites passed through totemism, numerous survivals must be expected, and part at least of the prohibitions probably are to be accounted for in this way. Two principles, however, even in this case, may have been at work. The lists in Deuteronomy and Leviticus may include food traditionally taboo. In this case the Law simply endorses, as in so many instances, ancient practices. But they may also forbid food, not on the ground of immemorial custom, but because its use in heathen rites constituted a religious danger to Israel. It ought to be added that the proof of the demoniacal or magical qualities attaching to certain unlawful foods in no way conflicts with their totem character. On the contrary, as is well illustrated by the connexion between the *jinn* and the wild beasts among the Arabs, these qualities are probably attributed to them in virtue of their original totem significance.

(*c*) *Uncleanness connected with leprosy.* — This disease and the purifications after cure are so thoroughly dealt with in the article LEPROSY that it is unnecessary to add more here than a few supplementary remarks. For the view there mentioned, that the leper was regarded as the victim, in a peculiar degree, of a stroke of God, like the man hanged on a tree, 'accursed of God,' we may compare the euphemistic name for it among the Arabs, 'the blessed disease,' *mubâraka* (Wellh. *l.c.* 199). The man 'smitten by God' necessarily becomes unclean. We find examples of a belief among savages that leprosy may be caused by eating the totem animal, though it must be added that other diseases might be so incurred, skin diseases, however, predominating. With this we should compare the fact that the Egyptians, to whom the swine was taboo in a high degree, thought that drinking pig's milk caused leprosy (Frazer, *l.c.* ii. 306, 307). The rules laid down for lepers corresponded to those prescribed for mourners; perhaps the feeling entered in that leprosy was a living death. The ritual of releasing the live bird into the open field, rests on a similar idea to that expressed in the 'goat for Azazel.' A similar custom was practised by widows in Arabia on release from the uncleanness of widowhood, at the end of a year.* The bird is said to have died. An Assyrian parallel is, 'May the bird to heaven cause it (my groaning) to ascend' (*RP* ix. 51). It seems strange that a guilt-offering should be required. Nowack (*Heb. Arch.* ii. 289) thinks the author regarded a sin-offering as inadmissible in this very peculiar rite, and further took the rite over from an earlier time, and did not freely create it (see, further, LEPROSY).

(*d*) *Uncleanness connected with death.*—This also is familiar among primitive peoples. That the numerous rites which have grown up around the dead express partly a horror of the spirit and dread of its return, is true.† But there are many examples of rites designed to continue with the dead the communion held with them while living.‡ Frequently the taboos on the dead are attributed to ancestor-worship; but this view seems improbable, for we find the taboo more widely prevalent than it is likely ancestor-worship ever was,—and the proofs for this among the Hebrews are certainly not stringent. The taboos rest on the belief that the soul survives the body, and lingers near its

* See W. R. Smith, *Kinship*, 309, 310, *RS*^{2} 234, 235, 338–352; Frazer, *l.c.* i. 353–362; Jevons, *l.c.* 73, 74.

† For the same taboo among the N. American Indians, accounted for by a mythical story, see Frazer, *l.c.* ii. 419–421. Kaffir men also will not eat it, it is 'sent to the principal boy at the kraal, who with his companions consider it as their right.'

* Wellh. *l.c.* 171; W. R. Smith, *l.c.* 422. The reference to Frazer, *l.c.*, in the article LEPROSY, corresponds to iii. 15 in the second edition.

† Frazer, *l.c.* i. 325, etc.; Tylor, *l.c.* ii. 25–27; W. R. Smith, *l.c.* 336, n. 2, 369, 370.

‡ W. R. Smith, *l.c.* 322, 323, 370. 'While the rudest nations seek to keep up their connection with the beloved dead, they also believe that very dangerous influences hover round deathbeds, corpses, and graves, and many funeral ceremonies are observed as safeguards against these' (336, n. 2). 'There is a tendency at present, in one school of anthropologists, to explain all death customs as due to fear of ghosts. But among the Semites, at any rate, almost all death customs, from the kissing of the corpse (Gn 50^1) onwards, are dictated by an affection that endures beyond the grave' (323). See, also, Tylor, *l.c.* 32–34 (especially the pathetic dirge there quoted); Jevons, *l.c.* 46–58.

earthly house or its grave. How serious the danger was taken to be, is clear from the highly infectious character attributed to it.* This prevails, probably, among all savage peoples. The Hebrews are in this respect more primitive than the Arabs. Among the latter, mourning does not usually make unclean; and in Islam contact with the corpse does not defile, though it is doubtful if this rule prevailed among the ancient Arabs (Wellh. *l.c.* 171, 172). Such cases, among the Hebrews, as those of contact with the carcases of animals have already been dealt with. The human corpse was regarded by them as most defiling. Although we have no very early evidence, it is unquestionable, in view of the savage parallels, that they always had this belief, and, in more primitive times, probably in a much intenser form. The late codification of the laws in no way disproves, in itself, the antiquity of the observances.

The fullest legislation on the subject is to be found in Nu 19 (P). It is there enjoined that every one who touches 'the dead body of a man shall be unclean seven days.' If a man die in his tent, every one who is in the tent, or who enters it, is unclean for seven days; and any vessel standing open in the tent is unclean. In the open field actual contact is necessary to produce defilement. But such contact was not merely with a body dead by the sword or natural death, but even with a bone or the grave. Hence it became customary to whiten graves, that they might be readily avoided and involuntary uncleanness not be contracted (Mt 23^{27}, Lk 11^{44}). The striking illustration of the infectious uncleanness of the corpse given in Hag 2^{11-13} has been already referred to. The law in Nu 19^{22} is that whatever the person thus unclean touches shall be unclean, and the person who touches this object shall be unclean till even. In Nu 5^{2} those unclean by the touch of a corpse are put out of the camp along with lepers and those who have issues. Josiah defiled the altars at the high places with dead men's bones (2 K 23^{16-20}). Similarly, the dead bodies of Gog's host defiled the land, which was cleansed only by their burial (Ezk 39^{12-16}). In old Israel the kings were buried close to the temple, a practice warmly denounced by Ezekiel as defiling it (43^{7-9}). Bloodshed defiles the land, and the uncleanness can be removed only by the blood of him that shed it (Nu 35^{33}).† Hence warriors, while holy persons, as already shown, were rendered unclean by the slaughter of men in war. Thus, after the slaughter of the Midianites, those who had killed any one or touched the slain had to remain outside the camp seven days, purifying themselves on the third and seventh day. Every thing that could endure fire was passed through it, but was also purified with the water of separation. All that could not endure the fire was passed through water. Clothes had to be washed on the seventh day (Nu 31^{19-24}). Some of the taboos on warriors have been already discussed. The present rule is relegated by some to the class of legal refinements which had never any existence in the national life. Here, again, the comparative method warns us against too hasty a conclusion. Even more stringent rules are found among savages.* Their origin seems to be due to dread of vengeance from the ghosts of the slain. Among the taboos to which the Nazirite was subject was that on contact with the dead. This and the purification prescribed for its violation are fully discussed in the art. NAZIRITE.

The priest, according to Ezekiel, must come at no dead person to defile himself, except parent, child, brother, or unmarried sister.† In the case of the death of such a relative, even after he is cleansed he must wait seven days, and then, on entering the sanctuary, he must offer a sin-offering (Ezk 44^{25-27}). A curious relaxation of the law of uncleanness is that those who are unclean by contact with a dead body may yet eat the passover (Nu 9^{6-12}). Certain mourning customs also produced uncleanness. Hence the Israelite, when offering his charity tithe, was required to affirm that he had not eaten of it while mourning, nor removed it from his house while unclean, nor given of it for the dead (Dt 26^{14}). If he had eaten of it in his mourning, it would have contracted his uncleanness.‡ The reference to giving it for the dead is of uncertain meaning. The sense may be that he has not sent it to the friends of the deceased for a funeral feast (which would make the whole tithe unclean), or that he has not (in accordance with a very widespread custom) placed some of it in the tomb to serve the spirit for food on its road to Shĕôl, or that he has not used it in sacrifices to the dead (cf. Jer 16^{7}, itself an obscure passage). The bread of mourners is referred to in Hos 9^{4} as causing uncleanness. Other mourning customs, such as cuttings in the flesh, or making baldness between the eyes for the dead, are forbidden in Dt 14^{1}, Lv 19^{28}, as incompatible with the holiness of the people of J". Both are well-known savage customs,§ and were regarded as legitimate signs of mourning (Jer 16^{6}, Ezk 7^{18}, Is 22^{12}) apparently down to the time of Ezekiel (see CUTTINGS IN THE FLESH, MOURNING). The mourning custom for the captive whom the Israelite (Dt 21^{10-13}) takes to wife is interesting. The shaving of head and paring of nails remove the uncleanness of mourning (cf. the shaving of hair in the cleansing of the leper, Lv 14^{9}). A similar rite was performed by widows in Arabia after the twelve months they spent in a hut outside the camp, neither dressing the hair nor cutting the nails.‖

Purification from the uncleanness caused by a dead body was effected by the 'water of separation,' made by pouring water on the ashes of a red heifer (Nu 19). The heifer was completely burnt, along with cedar wood, hyssop, and scarlet. The burning of the blood in this rite is unique; it was clearly intended to communicate an intenser sanctity to the ashes. The ashes were kept in a clean place outside the camp, and 'living water' was poured on them. Then the unclean was

* 'Among the Maoris any one who had handled a corpse, helped to convey it to the grave, or touched a dead man's bones, was cut off from all intercourse, and almost all communication, with mankind. He could not enter any house, or come into contact with any person or thing, without utterly bedevilling them. . . . And when, the dismal term of his seclusion being over, the mourner was about to mix with his fellows once more, all the dishes he had used in his seclusion were diligently smashed, and all the garments he had worn were carefully thrown away, lest they should spread the contagion of his defilement among others' (Frazer, *l.c.* i. 323, 324; Jevons, *l.c.* 57, 58, 76–78).

† When the offender was unknown, guilt was purged from the land by the ritual of the heifer, whose neck was broken in an uncultivated valley with running water (Dt 21^{1-9}). See HEIFER; Driver, *ad loc.*; and W. R. Smith, *l.c.* 370, 371.

* Frazer, *l.c.* 331–339. The account of the Pima Indians is especially noteworthy as showing that taboos far more 'impracticable' than those enjoined in Nu 31 are actually observed. The uncleanness and purification prescribed in this passage for warriors after the return from battle are similar to those recognized over a very wide area.

† Unmarried sister, because marriage was regarded as transferring her to the husband's family. The same feeling underlies the law that the priest's daughter on marriage to a stranger loses the right to eat of the heave-offerings of the holy things (Lv 22^{12}). Women could not eat of the sin-offering (Lv 6^{29}), guilt-offering (7^{6}), or meal-offering (6^{18}), on account of their high sanctity.

‡ For taboos on mourners and mourning customs see Frazer, *l.c.* i. 388, 389; W. R. Smith, *l.c.* 322–326, 336; Wellh. *l.c.* 170, 171, 177 ff.; Spencer and Gillen, *l.c.* 499, 500–507, 509.

§ See, for example, Spencer and Gillen, *l.c.* 509, 510.

‖ W. R. Smith, *l.c.* 428, 447; Wellh. *l.c.* 171. The meaning of the custom is clearly brought out by Frazer, *l.c.* i. 388, 389. He quotes parallels from mourning customs in ancient India, Borneo, and the West Coast of Africa. It is very instructive, as throwing light on the underlying idea, that moral uncleanness is purged away in some cases by the shaving off of all the hair and bathing in the sacred stream.

sprinkled by a clean person on the third and the seventh days, and on the latter he washed his clothes and bathed his body, and was clean at even. The priest who superintended the slaughter and burning of the heifer, and the man who burned her, had to wash their clothes, bathe, and be unclean till even. He who gathered the ashes had to wash his clothes, and be unclean till even; he who sprinkled the water had to wash his clothes, and he who touched it was unclean till even (see, further, art. RED HEIFER). The purifications prescribed after the slaughter of the Midianites (Nu 31^{1-24}), including fire for metal, have been already referred to.

iii. UNCLEANNESS AND RITUAL. — Throughout the history of Israel uncleanness disqualified a man for the worship of God. David's absence from the sacred festival was fully accounted for by the supposition of his uncleanness (1 S 20^{26}); Jeremiah was 'restrained,' probably by uncleanness, and could not go into the temple (Jer 36^{5}). The idea has undergone an ethical transformation when the song of the seraphim and the smoke of the Divine resentment (?) make the heart of Isaiah quail at the consciousness that in his moral impurity he has dared to cross the temple threshold (Is 6^{3-5}). In spite of Ezekiel's complaints that the priests had not caused the people to discern between the clean and the unclean (22^{26}), it is clear that some rules were all along observed. Yet these permitted practices which, from the standpoint of Judaism, were highly irregular. Uncircumcised foreigners were allowed to enter the sanctuary (Ezk 44^{7}). Ezekiel insists that this shall be absolutely forbidden in the future (44^{9}). Uncircumcision in the male worshipper was regarded as uncleanness, as a state which precluded him from communion with God. So we read that into the restored Jerusalem, the holy city, there shall come no more the uncircumcised and the unclean (Is 52^{1}). The rule is strongly enforced in the Law. Similarly, the unclean may not pass along the holy way by which pilgrims come up to the temple (Is 35^{8}). The sacred feasts may be observed by any clean Israelite. The meat of the peace-offerings may be eaten by any clean person, but any one eating with his uncleanness upon him will be cut off by the stroke of Divine judgment (Lv 7^{19-21}).* On the other hand, both clean and unclean were permitted to eat the flesh of sacrificial animals if they were not brought in sacrifice (Dt 12^{15} 15^{22}), but the blood had to be poured out on the earth as water. Naturally, uncleanness disqualified the priests for eating holy things (Lv 22^{3-7}, cf. Is 52^{11}). If, further, the sacred food touched anything unclean, it might not be eaten (Lv 7^{19}).

A very interesting law is that forbidding an iron tool to be used on the stones of which the altar is constructed (Ex 20^{25}, Dt $27^{5.6}$, Jos 8^{31}). Exodus, it is true, does not mention iron; it simply forbids the altar to be polluted by the use of a tool to hew the stones. But the point of the prohibition lies in the reference to iron. It can scarcely be that the requirement that the stones shall be unhewn is a protest against the intrusion of culture into religion. Nor can there be any question of offending the deity that dwelt in the stone, for it is not a monolith, but a structure built out of several stones, that the author has in view. Nor is the use of iron in war and its consequent connexion with death regarded as unfitting it for the service of God (in this case 1 Ch 22^{3} might be compared). The taboo on iron in ritual is very widely observed. It is wholly due to 'the conservatism of the religious instinct.' Long after iron came into common use in daily life, the dread of innovation in religion forbade it to be employed in ritual. Hence bronze knives continued to be used in religious ceremonies after iron knives were in common use. But it is even more striking that survivals from the Stone Age should persist into the Iron Age than that we should have survivals from the Bronze Age. Yet of this there are several examples. The true parallel to the prohibition of the iron tool on the altar is Zipporah's circumcision of her son with a flint (Ex 4^{25}), and Joshua's circumcision of the Israelites with flint knives (Jos $5^{2.3}$).*

Lastly, the references to foreign lands as unclean have a ritual significance. Palestine was the only land in which J" could be worshipped with sacrifice and offering, unless soil were actually taken from the clean into the unclean land, as was done by Naaman (2 K 5^{17}), whose point of view, we need not doubt, was shared by ordinary Israelites. Exile was therefore regarded with dread, for it severed the connexion of the worshipper with his God. And since neither tithe nor first-fruit could be offered, the crops remained unclean, and those in an unclean land were compelled to eat unclean food (Hos $9^{3.4}$).

iv. UNCLEANNESS IN NT.—Since nothing in the Law touched the daily life of the Jew at so many points as the laws of uncleanness and purification, and that not only in the Dispersion (where the sacrificial system could not legally be practised) but in Palestine itself, it was natural that the scribes should develop the rules concerning it with the most painful minuteness. Casuistry, in fact, ran riot in this inviting field. The NT has many references to the laws of purification, and the largest of the six books of the Mishna (סדר טהרות) is devoted to this subject. Thirty chapters in it are devoted to the single subject of vessels. The rules went far beyond anything laid down in even the most casuistical Pentateuch laws. This is shown most of all in the regulations about the Washing of Hands. It was granted that these were not found in the Law, but were only traditions of the elders; yet they were very strictly enforced. The chief point to observe is that the hands were washed before food although they might be ceremonially clean. At first adopted by the Pharisees, it became a practice almost universal among Jews. Probably its origin was to prevent any contact with food when the person might have unconsciously contracted defilement. If the hands were known to be unclean, two washings before food were required. It also became customary to wash the hands after food; and some Pharisees, ingenious in discovering new ways of self-righteousness, washed between the courses. The washing of the hands was performed by pouring, the hands being held with the fingers up, so that the uncleanness might be washed down away from the fingers. The water had to run down to the wrist, else the ceremony was ineffectual (Edersheim thinks that in Mk 7^{3} we should translate πυγμῇ, 'to the wrist'; but see Swete's note). We have a further reference to the Jewish custom in the story of the marriage at Cana, where there were six stone waterpots for the water of purification (Jn 2^{6}; cf. also the discussion between John the Baptist's disciples and a Jew about purification, Jn 3^{25}, and the Jews purifying themselves or avoiding defilement before the passover, 11^{55} 18^{28}).

* The apparent exception to this principle already mentioned, that the unclean by touch of a dead body might eat the passover, is partially accounted for by the fact that in P the passover is not considered a sacrifice (cf. 2 Ch 30^{17-20}, Ezr 6^{20}).

* See Frazer, *l.c.* i. 344–348. Among the natives of Central Australia circumcision and subincision are still performed with stone knives, though iron knives are known. But, according to tradition, circumcision was originally performed with the fire-stick, and the stone knives were adopted because so many died in consequence of the operation (Spencer and Gillen, *l.c.* 223, 224, 394–402).

More importance attaches to the attitude of Jesus and the apostles to these customs. He excited the surprise of a Pharisee because He did not wash His hands before breakfast (Lk 11^{38-41}); and His disciples, by the same neglect, led the scribes and Pharisees to challenge Jesus to account for their behaviour (Mk 7^{1-5}, Mt $15^{1.2}$). This gave Him occasion to denounce the making void of the word of God through tradition, and to enunciate the great liberating principle that not that which goeth into a man defiles him, but that which cometh out of him, from the heart. At one stroke He repealed all the Levitical rules as to unclean meats (Mk 7^{6-23}, Mt 15^{3-20}). There can be no such thing as ceremonial, there is only moral defilement. It was long, however, before this decisive pronouncement was really appreciated by the disciples. Just before he was sent to Cornelius, St. Peter could say that he had never eaten anything common or unclean (Ac 10^{14}). The principle was adopted, with concessions to Jewish prejudices against meats offered to idols, things strangled, and blood, in the letter of the Church of Jerusalem (Ac 15^{29}). St. Paul expressed the principle in the clearest form—that all things are clean, and nothing of itself is unclean (Ro $14^{14.20}$, cf. Tit 1^{15}). 'All things are lawful; meats for the belly, and the belly for meats: but God will destroy both it and them' (1 Co 6^{13}). Nay, food perishes in the very act of use. What we can destroy must not be suffered to rule us (Col 2^{20-22}). So Christians must not permit themselves to be judged in meat or drink (Col 2^{16}). But, in actual practice, both Jesus and St. Paul made gracious concessions to Jewish feeling. Jesus bade the leper offer for his cleansing the things which Moses commanded (Mk 1^{44}). And St. Paul himself, becoming a Jew to the Jews, submitted to a rite of purification (Ac 21^{26}). This apostle laid down the great principle that Christians must be governed by the law of love; and, while we cannot make the conscience of another the measure of our own, we must exhibit always the tenderest consideration for the scruples of others, lest we place a stumbling-block in their way; and, further, that where these scruples exist, he who entertains them must not defile his conscience by violating them. But it is clear that in the Christian atmosphere the essentially heathen idea of ceremonial uncleanness could not survive.

LITERATURE.—The most important has been freely quoted in the article. Most is to be learned from W. R. Smith and Frazer (cf. also his art. 'Taboo' in the *Enc. Brit.*[9]). For Arab usage Wellhausen's *Reste Arab. Heid.*[2] is valuable. For non-Semitic parallels Jevons' *Introd. to the Hist. of Rel.*, and Spencer and Gillen's very important work, *The Native Tribes of Central Australia*, are most useful. The Hebrew customs are treated by Benzinger, and much more fully by Nowack, in their works on *Hebrew Archæology*. Their conclusions on several points might have been modified by a more thorough study of savage parallels, through which alone we can hope to understand the Israelitish ideas and usages. The discussion in the *OT Theologies* of Schultz, Dillmann, Smend, and Marti may also be consulted, together with Stade's in his *GVI*[2] i. 481-487. The commentators on *Leviticus* deal with the subject; the soundest treatment is probably that of Baentsch in Nowack's *Handkommentar*. Bertholet's commentary in Marti's *Kurzer Hand-Commentar* appeared too late to be used in this article. An article by J. C. Matthes, 'De begrippen rein en onrein in het OT,' in the *ThT* xxxiii. (1899) 293 ff., has not been read by the present writer.

A. S. PEAKE.

UNDERGIRD.—See art. SHIPS AND BOATS, p. 506[b].

UNDERLING.—Sir 4^{27} 'Make not thyself an underling to a foolish man' (*μὴ ὑποστρώσῃς σεαυτὸν ἀνθρώπῳ μωρῷ*, RV 'Lay not thyself down for a fool to tread upon': for *ὑποστρώννυμι* used literally see Lk 19^{36} 'they spread their clothes in the way'). Underling is found in the Bishops' Bible La 5^{3} 'Wee are underlings without fathers'; and in Bunyan, *Holy War*, p. 15, 'Can you be kept by any Prince in more slavery and in greater bondage than you are under this day? You are made underlings, and are wrapt up in inconveniences.'

J. HASTINGS.

UNDERSETTER (פֶּתַח 'shoulder,' esp. as support for burdens).—The Heb. word (in the plu.) is translated 'undersetters' only in 1 K $7^{30\ bis.\ 34bis}$, and the meaning there is pedestals for the bases of the lavers in the temple. The Eng. word means props or supports, but that it is not altogether an inappropriate translation the foll. quotation shows: Gn 49^{15} Wyclif (1388), 'Isachar . . . undirsettide his schuldre to bere.' Elyot (*Governour*, i. 28) says that 'a wyse and counnynge gardener, purposynge to have in his gardeine a fine and precious herbe,' will, 'as it spryngeth in stalke, under sette it with some thyng that it breake nat, and alway kepe it cleane from weedes.' Tindale uses the verb metaph., *Expos.* p. 208, 'If our souls be truly underset with sure hope and trust.' Wyclif (1388) has the form 'undersettings' in Ezk 41^{26} (same Heb.), the 1382 ed. having 'shoulders.'

J. HASTINGS.

UNDERTAKE.—Is 38^{14} 'O Lord, I am oppressed; undertake for me' (עָרְבֵנִי, RV 'be thou my surety': in Job 17^{3} the very same form of the verb is rendered in AV 'put me in a surety,' RV 'be surety for me'). The Eng. word has the usual sense of the intrans. verb, 'to assume responsibility for,' 'become surety for.' Cf. Fuller, *Holy War*, p. 137, 'The barren warres in Syria starved the undertakers.'

J. HASTINGS.

UNDERWRITE.—2 Mac 9^{18} 'He wrote unto the Jews the letter underwritten' (*τὴν ὑπογεγραμμένην ἐπιστολήν*). The word is used literally, as RV 'the letter written below,' the words of the letter being then quoted. Cf. Shaks. *Macbeth*, v. viii. 26—

> 'We'll have thee, as our rarer monsters are,
> Painted upon a pole, and underwrit
> "Here may you see the tyrant."'

J. HASTINGS.

UNEASY is now restless, but in its only occurrence in AV it means literally 'not easy,' 'difficult': 2 Mac 12^{21} 'The town was hard to besiege, and uneasy to come unto' (*δυσπρόσιτος*, RV 'difficult of access'). So Shaks. *Tempest*, I. ii. 451—

> 'This swift business
> I must uneasy make, lest too light winning
> Make the prize light.'

The modern sense is quite as old, thus *II Henry IV.* III. i. 10—

> 'Why rather, sleep, liest thou in smoky cribs,
> Upon uneasy pallets stretching thee?'

J. HASTINGS.

UNGRACIOUS.—This Eng. word occurs in 2 Mac 4^{19} 'this ungracious Jason' ('Ιάσων ὁ *μιαρός*, RV 'vile'), 8^{34} 'that most ungracious Nicanor' (ὁ *τρισαλιτήριος* Νικάνωρ, RV 'thrice-accursed'), 15^{3} 'the most ungracious wretch' (ὁ *τρισαλιτήριος*, RV 'the thrice-accursed wretch'), always in the sense now conveyed by *graceless*. So Mt 18^{32} in Cranmer's Bible, 'O thou ungracious servaunt' (Gr. *Δοῦλε πονηρέ*). Cf. Erasmus, *Crede* 45, 'Rejoysynge in synne and ungratiousnes'; Hos 7^{1} Cov. 'When I undertake to make Israel whole, then the ungraciousnesse of Ephraim and the wickednes of Samaria commeth to light.'

J. HASTINGS.

UNICORN (רְאֵם and רְאֵמִים *rĕ'êm*, רִים *rêm*; cf. Assyr. *rîmu* [see Schrader, *KAT*[2] 456]).—The various forms of the Heb. word refer to an animal, characterized by its great strength (Nu 23^{22} 24^{8}), untameableness (Job $39^{9.10}$), fleetness and activity (Ps 29^{6}), noted for its horn (Ps 92^{10}), of which it had more than one (Dt 33^{17} קַרְנֵי רְאֵם 'horns of a *rĕ'êm*,' not pl. as in AV 'unicorns'; cf. Ps 22^{21} קַרְנֵי רִמִּים 'horns of *rêms*'), associated with bullocks

and bulls (Is 34[7]). All of these references seem to point to a well-known animal, probably of the ox tribe. Certainly they do not refer to the fabulous unicorn, a rendering which has been adopted from the LXX *μονοκέρως*, which is the word in all the above passages except the last, where the rendering is *ἀδροί* = 'strong ones.' The Arab. *ri'm* is undoubtedly a white antelope, probably the *leucoryx*. Some of the above references would suit this animal. But most of them seem to imply a creature of the ox sort, and one of the strongest and fiercest of its group. RV tr. it 'wild ox,' m. 'ox-antelope.' Two species of wild oxen once abounded in Palestine. One, *Bos primigenius*, the *Auerochs* of the Old Germans, is now quite extinct everywhere. The other, *Bison bonasus* or *Bos urus*, which the Germans erroneously call the *Auerochs*, still exists in the forests of Lithuania and in the Caucasus. The latter cannot be the *rĕ'êm*, on account of the shortness of its horns. The former was noted for its size, and the prodigious length and strength of its horns. It existed in Germany down to the time of Cæsar (*Bell. Gall.* vi. 28), and is depicted on the monuments of Assyria as one of the animals hunted by the kings of that country. (See art. ASSYRIA, vol. i. p. 182[b]). Relics of it are found in the bone brecchia caves of Lebanon, and in the lake-dwellings of Switzerland. It is probable that it was not extinct until the Middle Ages. It is every way likely that this is the animal intended by the *rĕ'êm*. Cf. Tristram, *Nat. Hist. of Bible*, 146 ff., and Driver, *Deut.* 407.

G. E. POST.

UNKNOWN GOD (*ἄγνωστος θεός*).—In his speech at Athens, St. Paul begins by referring to the universal interest in religious matters shown by the Athenians. In passing through the city he had seen an altar dedicated TO THE UNKNOWN GOD (*ἀγνώστῳ θεῷ*). He makes this the text of his speech, saying that that Divine power which they ignorantly worshipped he would declare to them (Ac 17[23]). An exact parallel to this inscription is not known. An inscription is quoted from Euthalius (ed. Zacagn. p. 514): *Θεοῖς Ἀσίας καὶ Εὐρώπης καὶ Λιβύης, θεῷ ἀγνώστῳ καὶ ξένῳ.* According to Jerome (on Tit 1[12]), the Athenian inscription was *Deis ignotis et peregrinis.* Other quotations are Paus. I. i. 4: *Θεῶν ἀγνώστων καὶ ἡρώων*; Philaster, *Vit. Apoll.* vi. 3: *Ἀθήνησιν, οὗ καὶ ἀγνώστων δαιμόνων βωμοὶ ἵδρυνται.* None of these give the parallel required, but all suggest that such an inscription would be possible. The whole point of the inscription lay in its being in the singular; and it is quite uncalled for to suggest, as Blass does, that St. Paul wrote originally in the plural because the neuter (ὃ . . . *τοῦτο*) in the next verse is changed by later MSS into the masculine (see Blass, *ad loc.*).

A. C. HEADLAM.

UNLEAVENED BREAD. — See LEAVEN and PASSOVER.

UNNI (עֻנִּי).—**1.** The name of a Levitical family of musicians, 1 Ch 15[18] (B *Ἐλιωήλ*, ℵ *Ἰωήλ*, A *Ἀνί*, Luc. *Ἀνανίας*) [20] (B ℵ *Ὠνεί*, A *Ἀνανί*, Luc. *Ἀνανίας*). **2.** See UNNO.

UNNO (עֻנּוֹ *Kĕthîbh*, followed by RV; but *Kĕrê* עֻנִּי **Unni** (so AV, cf. 1 Ch 15[18. 20])).—The name of a family of Levites that returned with Zerubbabel, Neh 12[8 (9)] (BA om., ℵ[c. a mg] *Ἰανά*, Luc. *Ἰαναί*). Guthe would read עֲנִים, which he finds represented by the *ἀνεκρούοντο* of Lucian, taking the *Ἰαναί* of the latter to be a doublet of this word, and dropping BAKBUKIAH as an explanatory gloss derived from 11[17].

UNRIGHT.—Wis 12[13] 'To whom thou mightest shew that thy judgment is not unright' (*ὅτι οὐκ ἀδίκως ἔκρινας*, RV 'that thou didst not judge unrighteously'). We find 'unright' for *unrighteous* also in Tindale, as *Pent.* (Mombert's ed.), p. cxxviii, '*Avims*, a kynde of Giauntes, and the worde signifieth crooked, unright, or weaked.' More common, however, is the subst. 'unright' for *unrighteousness, wrong*; thus Tindale's *Pent.* Gn 16[5] (ed. 1530), 'Thou dost me unrighte' (changed in 1535 ed. into, 'The wrong I suffre be on thy head'); Dt 25[16] 'All that doo unright are abominacion unto the Lord.' J. HASTINGS.

UNTOWARD.—The meaning of this word is seen in the foll. quotation from the *Judgement of the Synode at Dort*, p. 32, 'All men therefore are conceived in sin, and borne the children of wrath, untoward to all good tending to salvation, forward to evil.' It occurs in Ac 2[40] 'Save yourselves from this untoward generation' (*ἀπὸ τῆς γενεᾶς τῆς σκολιᾶς ταύτης*, RV 'from this crooked generation'). The subst. 'untowardness' is also found in AV in the headings to Is 28, Hos 6.

J. HASTINGS.

UPHARSIN.—See MENE, MENE, TEKEL, UPHARSIN.

UPHAZ (אוּפָז; in Jer 10[9] *Μωφάζ*, Q[mg] *Σουφείρ*, Vulg. *Ophaz*; in Dn 10[5] Theod. *Ὼφάζ*; Vulg. [*aurum*] *obrizum*).—There is considerable uncertainty as to this word, which is much increased by the diverse opinions of the ancient authorities. Thus LXX has in Dn 10[5] *καὶ τὴν ὀσφὺν περιεζωσμένος βυσσίνῳ, καὶ ἐκ μέσου αὐτοῦ φῶς* instead of Theodotion's *καὶ ἡ ὀσφὺς αὐτοῦ περιεζωσμένη ἐν χρυσίῳ Ὼφάζ*, implying considerable divergence as to the reading. The Vulg. *aurum obrizum* is evidently based upon a comparison of the Heb. form of Uphaz with פָּז *pāz*, 'pure gold,' whilst the Gr. *Μωφάζ* implies some such variant reading as מוּפָז *mûphāz*, 'pure,' said of gold, though the Gr. translator of Jer 10 regarded this, like its variant Ophaz, as the name of a place. On the other hand, the mention of gold in both passages where the word occurs, naturally caused other translators to think of אוֹפִיר Ophir, from which the Heb. form of Uphaz (without the vowel-points) differs only in having ז for י.* It is apparently this which has given rise to the Gr. var. *Σουφείρ* (see art. OPHIR) in Q[mg] (so also the Targ. and Pesh.). Among the conjectures as to the position of Uphaz may be mentioned that of Hitzig, that it may be the Sanskr. *vipâça* ('the free'), designating an Indian colony from the neighbourhood of the Hyphasis (= Hyphas = Uphaz) or Indus (Sanskr. *vipâça*), which had settled in Yemen—an identification which has been described as 'more acute than probable.'

LITERATURE.—*Calwer Bibellexikon*, and Riehm, *Handwörterbuch, s.v.* T. G. PINCHES.

UR (אוּר 'flame'). — Father of one of David's heroes, 1 Ch 11[35] (B *Σθύρ*, A *Ὠρά*, Luc. *Οὔρ*). See AHASBAI.

UR OF THE CHALDEES (אוּר כַּשְׂדִּים; *ἡ χώρα* [*τῶν*] *Χαλδαίων*; *Ur Chaldæorum*). — The name of this city or district occurs four times in the OT, namely, Gn 11[28. 31] 15[7], and Neh 9[7]; and as there is no indication as to its position, except that it was 'of the Chaldæans,' much uncertainty exists as to its identification, which is increased by the fact that the LXX do not transcribe the name Ur, but substitute for it *χώρα*, 'country.' Apparently on account of its comparative nearness to Canaan, whither Terah and his family were bound (Gn 11[31]),

* The reading אוּפָר instead of אוּפָז is adopted by Ewald, Klostermann, Prince, Driver, Marti ['probably'], *et al.*

and because of the passage in Ac 7^{2-4}, where the proto-martyr, St. Stephen, places it in Mesopotamia, many have supposed it to be identical with Urfa or Orfa, which the Greeks named Edessa. The origin of this city is attributed by Isidore to Nembroth or Nimrod, which opinion is confirmed by Ephraem, who states that Nimrod ruled at Arach and Edessa (*Comm. in Genesim*). From Isidore's reference to Μάννου Ὄρρα, which Vaux explains as 'evidently the Orrha of Mannus, who was one of the kings of Edessa,' the ancient name of the place has been described as Orrha, the likeness of which to Ur is evident. As, however, this name would seem not to be provable before B.C. 150, it is doubtful whether it can be quoted in support of the identification of Edessa with so old a site as Ur of the Chaldees. Indeed, according to Appian, the town itself was comparatively modern, having been built by Seleucus. Testimony to the firm belief of the Mohammedans that Urfa is the ancient Ur of the Chaldees is to be found in the fact that the chief mosque there bears the name of the 'Mosque of Abraham,' whilst the pond in which the sacred fish are kept is called 'the lake of Abraham the Beloved.'

Another tradition, which is at the same time also the received opinion of scholars at the present time, is, that Ur of the Chaldees is the modern Mugheir, or, more correctly, *Muḳayyar*, 'the pitchy,' so called from the bitumen used in the construction of the principal building on the site. The original name of this place was Uru, and as it lies in S. Babylonia, anciently called (though not by the native inhabitants) Chaldæa, such an identification would leave but little to be desired. It is contained in a tradition quoted by Eusebius from Eupolemus, who lived about B.C. 150, to the effect that, tenth in generation and thirteenth in descent, there lived in the city of Babylonia called Camarine (Καμαρίνη), which is called by some the city Urie (Οὐρίη), a man named Abraham, of noble race, and superior to all others in wisdom. As Eupolemus occupied himself especially with Jewish history, there is hardly any doubt that what he says was the common opinion of the Jews at the time. That the place he refers to is that now represented by Mugheir is proved by the fact that its later name, Camarine (perhaps Aramaic), is evidently connected with the Arabic name for the moon, *ḳamar*, and that the city anciently occupying the site is now known to have been the great centre of Babylonian moon-worship. The statement that it was in his time called *by some* Urie is significant, as it suggests that the ancient name was going out of use.

The position of this city is close to the point where the Shatt al-Hai enters the Euphrates, about 125 miles N.W. of the Persian Gulf. Babylonian lists of wooden objects refer to a class of ship called *Urite*, suggesting that it was anciently not so far from the sea, its present inland position being to all appearance caused by the alluvial deposits at the head of the Gulf. The ruins cover an oval space, 1000 yards long by 800 wide, and consist of a number of low mounds within an enclosure. The principal ruin is near the northern end, and is evidently the remains of a tower in stages, such as many of the cities of Babylonia and Assyria anciently possessed, and similar to the Birs-Nimroud (generally regarded as the tower of Babel) and the temple of Belus at Babylon (which Nebuchadnezzar calls 'the tower of Babylon'). From the bricks of this building we obtain indications of its history, among the kings who restored it being Ur-Engur, Dungi his son (about B.C. 2700), Kudur-mabug and his son Arad-Sin (or Eri-Aku = ARIOCH), and Nûr-Addi; whilst other names found in connexion with this or other ruins on the site are, En-anna-duma, Bûr-Sin, Išmê-Dagan and his son Gungunu, Rim-Sin (probably the same as Arad-Sin or Eri-Aku), Sin-idinnam of Larsa, and Kuri-galzu son of Burnaburiaš. The principal ruin, which was, as has been already said, the great temple-tower of the place, was apparently 'the supreme great temple' (*ê gala maḫa*), called, to all appearance, Ê-šu-ganadudu. Nabonidus, in the inscription on the four beautiful cylinders found at the four corners of this edifice, tells us that he restored it, and, in doing so, seemingly came across the records of Ur-Engur, and Dungi his son, whom he apparently regards as its founders. From this inscription we gather that the tower bore also the names of Ê-lugal-gaga-sisa and Ê-giš-šir-gala. South of the temple-tower of Nannara was the temple of the goddess Ningala, and south-east Ê-gipara, 'the temple of the lady of the gods.' Like other renowned cities in Babylonia, it was one of the sacred places to which the dead were taken for burial, and is completely surrounded by graves. In the time of Ur-Engur and his successors, it was the capital of the district, and an exceedingly important place, many of the smaller States around being subject to it. The possession of important shrines naturally added to its influence, and Peters states that from the amount of slag found there it must have been also one of the principal manufacturing centres of the district in which it lies. Many scholars are of opinion that proof of the identity of Ur of the Chaldees with this site lies in the fact that Ḥaran, to which city Teraḥ and his family migrated, was also a centre of moon-god worship, whilst the sacred mountain of the Jews, Sinai, being so named after Sin, the moon-god, is a further confirmation. This, however, is a point which may well be left undecided, as it is by no means certain that Teraḥ and his family were worshippers of the moon; and, even supposing that such was the case, Ḥaran may have been selected for other reasons than that the moon-god was worshipped there, shrines to that deity being not uncommon in the ancient East.

Notwithstanding the inherent probability of the identity of the ancient Babylonian Uru (Mugheir) with the biblical Ur of the Chaldees, the name is not so near as might be wished. The Heb. form has a long vowel, represented by א, at the beginning, and no vowel at all after the consonant (ר). In the Bab. *Uru*, however, though there is no indication that the end-vowel was long, there is but little doubt that it was originally so, as the non-Semitic (Akkadian) form *Urima*, or, better, *Uriwa*, shows. Frd. Delitzsch (*Paradies*, p. 226) expresses the opinion that the old form of the name in Akkadian was Urum (Uruma); but that this is not quite correct, is proved by the 4-column syllabary 82-8-16, 1,* where the non-Semitic pronunciation is given as Uri, the terminal *-ma* or *-wa*, found in the archaic brick-inscriptions from the site, being (as is usual in the Assyr.-Bab. syllabaries) omitted. There would, then, seem to be but little doubt that these last two syllables, *-ima* or *-iwa*, are in part preserved in the form *Urie* (Οὐρίη), used by Eupolemus as quoted by Eusebius. It is true that it implies that the *i* of *iwa* only was heard, but the Heb. form, which is undoubtedly older, does not contain it.

This circumstance leads to the probability that the Ur-Kasdim of the OT may, in reality, stand for more than the name of a mere city; and if this be the case, it is not impossible that by these words the whole land of Akkad was intended—the Uri or Ura of the non-Semitic (Akkadian) inscriptions. The patriarch and his family in such a case would have had the whole extent of the province of Akkad

* Published by T. G. Pinches in S. A. Smith's *Miscellaneous Assyrian Texts*, 1887 (pl. 26).

(northern Babylonia) in which to roam and find pasturage for their flocks and herds, instead of being confined to the neighbourhood of the city of Uru (Mugheir). Ur-Kasdim, 'Ur of the Chaldæans' (the '*land* of the Chaldæans' of the LXX), is probably so called in order to distinguish it from some other Ur where the Chaldæans were not; and, in this case, either the province of Ura (Akkad) or the city of Uriwa would suit best, to the exclusion of Urfa and the castle of Ur between Hatra and Nisibis.

From exceedingly early times the kings of Babylonia called themselves kings of Kengi-Ura, *i.e.* Sumer and Akkad, and from this equivalence it is clear that Uri or Ura is the same as the district (not the city) called Akkad, and so named apparently from one of the chief cities, known as Agadé, Semiticized into Akad or Akkad. On this account the Semitic population called the whole tract Akkadu, 'the Akkadian (land),' to the exclusion of Uru, which name was already used, to all appearance, as the Semitic form of Uriwa. That they did not call this Akkadian district Uru may be regarded as an argument against its possible identification with Ur of the Chaldees, though it would seem, on the other hand, to be to a certain extent justified by the translation of the LXX, whose rendering, 'country of the Chaldæans,' notwithstanding that it does not seem to represent any Semitic or non-Semitic Babylonian expression,* may nevertheless be due to some tradition which they possessed. In connexion with this it is worthy of note that Ur, in the Heb. text, is not called the 'city,' but the 'land' of the nativity of Ḥaran, who died there 'in the presence of his father Teraḥ.'

The tradition that Ur of the Chaldees is represented by the ruins known as Warka may be dismissed, as this is now known to be the Erech of Gn 10^{10}, called by the Babylonians *Uruk*.† Its identification with the castle of Ur (Ammianus Marcellinus, XXV. viii. 7) in the Mesopotamian desert between Hatra and Nisibis, is also worthless, this place having been founded by the Persians.

Concerning the name itself, it is needful to state that *Kaldu* is to all appearance a late word, not provable in the cuneiform inscriptions before the 9th cent. B.C., when Adad-nirari III. uses it, and seems to mean, by the expression *mât Kaldi*, the whole of Babylonia. The Heb. *Kasdim* preserves the original *s*, changed, in the native form, into *l* before the dental.‡

LITERATURE.—Loftus, *Travels*, 1857; Delitzsch, *Paradies*, p. 226; Dillmann, *Genesis*, 199 ff.; G. Rawlinson, *Monarchies*, vol. i.; Schrader, *COT* i. p. 114 ff.; Peters, *Nippur*, vol. ii.; Vaux in Smith's *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Geography*; also the articles ACCAD, BABEL, CHALDÆA, and SHINAR, in this Dictionary.

T. G. PINCHES.

* *Uru*, the non-Semitic (dialectic) word for 'city,' the original form of which was *guru*, also *kur*, 'country,' and *ḫur*, 'mountain,' furnish material for comparison, but the combination of these with Kasdim, 'Chaldæans,' a *Semitic* word, is in the highest degree unlikely.

† Sir Henry Rawlinson (*JRAS* xii. 141, note) refers to a tradition that Abraham was born not at Ur, but at Erech. This would bring the district of Ur somewhat far south, but Erech *may* have been included within its boundaries. The statement probably has, however, little or no value.

‡ According to Prof. Sayce, the Kasdim and the Chaldæi each had a different origin, the former being those West Semitic tribes who invaded Babylonia towards the end of the 3rd millennium B.C., and established there that dynasty of kings of which Ḫammurabi (Amraphel) is the most renowned. It was at this time that Kasdim and Babylonian became synonymous, like Chaldæan and Babylonian in later days. Ur (Muḳayyar), being situated on the western bank of the Euphrates, would naturally be in the district which, as pointed out by Hommel, was outside the limits of Babylonia proper, and therefore within the domain of those early conquerors. (On these matters, and the question of Arphaxad, see Sayce, *Expos. Times*, Nov. 1901, pp. 64–66, and Hommel, *ib.*, March 1902, p. 285).

URBANUS (Οὐρβανός, AV Urbane).—The name (masculine) of a Christian greeted by St. Paul in Ro 16^{9}, described as 'our helper in Christ.' The name is common among slaves, and is found in inscriptions of the Imperial household (*CIL* vi. 4237). He is commemorated Oct. 31 with Stachys and Amplias (which see). For later legends see *Acta Sanctorum*, Oct., vol. xiii. p. 687.

A. C. HEADLAM.

URI (אוּרִי 'fiery'; or perhaps contracted from אוּרִיָּה).—**1.** The father of BEZALEL, Ex 31^{2} 35^{30} 38^{22}, 1 Ch 2^{20}, 2 Ch 1^{5} (B Οὐρείας in all except 1 Ch 2^{20} Οὐρεί; A Οὐρί in all except 2 Ch 1^{5} Οὐρίας). **2.** Father of one of Solomon's commissariat officers, 1 K 4^{19} (BA Ἀδαί, Luc. Ἀδδαί). **3.** A porter, Ezr 10^{24} (BN Ὠδούθ, A Ὠδουέ, Luc. Οὐρίας).

URIAH, in 2 K 16^{10-16} **URIJAH** (אוּרִיָּה, אוּרִיָּהוּ Jer $26^{20.\ 21.\ 23}$, 'flame of J"' or 'my light is J"'; B Οὐρείας, A Οὐρίας; *Urias*). —**1.** One of David's 'thirty' mighty men (2 S 23^{39}, 1 Ch 11^{41}). Like Ahimelech, another of David's followers, Uriah belonged by race to the ancient Hittite population; but, as his name seems to indicate, he had adopted his master's God as his own. The few personal traits of Uriah's character, which are incidentally revealed in the narrative of 2 S 11, not only illustrate the quiet heroism so often existent in the lives of commonplace people, but also enable us to gauge the depths to which David had fallen.

When summoned by royal command from the scene of war, Uriah's behaviour was guided by a resolve to live as far as was possible under the same conditions as his comrades in the field; accordingly after his interview with David, instead of seeking repose and relaxation in his own house, he immediately went on duty as one of the royal bodyguard; and this chivalrous determination was so firmly fixed in his mind that he retained it even when intoxicated. Josephus (*Ant.* VII. vii. 1) in his usual way embellishes the story of Uriah's death. In particular he states that David wrote to Joab 'commanding him to punish Uriah, and signified that he had offended,' and supplies graphic details of the engagement in which Uriah fell. Besides 2 S 11, Uriah's name occurs in 2 S $12^{9.\ 10.\ 15}$, 1 K 15^{5}, Mt 1^{6}.

2. High priest in the reign of Ahaz. The two notices of him that are found in the Bible leave us in some doubt as to his real character. On the one hand, he is selected (Is 8^{2}) as one of two 'faithful witnesses' who were to attest the utterance of the prophecy concerning Maher-shalal-ḥash-baz; while, on the other hand, the narrative of 2 K 16^{10-16} presents us with the picture of a weak compliant man who not only tolerated but even actively abetted the religious innovations of king Ahaz. It is possible that this unworthy complaisance is the cause of the omission of his name in what seems intended to be a list of high priests in 1 Ch 6^{4-15}. He is, however, included in a list given by Josephus (*Ant.* X. viii. 6), which is evidently based on that in Chronicles. There are so many suspicious features about the Chronicler's list that one is tempted to suppose an extensive corruption of the text. It is of course conceivable that Urijah was the *second* priest, whose special duty it was to regulate the temple services (cf. Jer 29^{26}).

The changes introduced by Ahaz with the connivance of Urijah were of a startling character. The priest had apparently so placed the Assyrian altar that the ancient brazen altar stood between it and the front of the Holy Place. Ahaz, however, was determined that his new altar should be the 'great' or principal one, and so he removed the ancient altar to the north side of the new one. The new altar now occupied the correct legal position before the Holy Place, and was used for all ordinary sacrificial purposes. The old altar was not, however, entirely discarded. From time immemorial kings and leaders of Israel had inquired of J" at this same brazen altar. A favourable answer might not so easily be obtained at a new

one, however elegant and modern. The old altar therefore was retained for purposes of divination. It must, however, be noted that this explanation of v.[15] is not free from doubt. Michaelis, followed by Gesenius, Kittel, *et al.*, renders וּמִזְבַּח הַנְּחֹשֶׁת יִהְיֶה־לִּי לְבַקֵּר: 'as for the brazen altar it will be for me to inquire,' *i.e.* 'to consider what I shall do with it'; so Vulg. *erit paratum ad voluntatem meam.* The LXX εἰς τὸ πρωί [=לַבֹּקֶר] does not convey a meaning consistent with the context. It seems to be implied in the subsequent narrative that Urijah assented to the other structural alterations in the temple carried out by Ahaz.

3. A prophet, son of Shemaiah of Kiriath-jearim, the story of whose death is incidentally narrated in Jer 26[20-23]. From this we learn that he was a contemporary and perhaps a disciple of Jeremiah, whose denunciations against Jerusalem and Judah he is stated to have echoed. Unlike the greater prophet, however, he did not succeed in evading the vengeance of Jehoiakim. Uriah having taken refuge in Egypt, the king demanded his extradition through Elnathan, his father-in-law (2 K 24[8]), who was leader of an embassy, the real object of which was, in all probability, to solicit the aid of Egypt against Nebuchadnezzar. It is unlikely that Jehoiakim would have gone to the trouble and expense of sending a special mission merely to capture a single prophet. Having executed Uriah, the king added the further outrage of casting his dead body into the common graveyard. It is commonly thought that this story is introduced here by Jeremiah in order to prove that his own personal risk, as recorded in this chapter, was a very real one. On the other hand, Rashi maintains that these verses constitute the rejoinder of Jeremiah's enemies to the precedent of Hezekiah and Micah alleged by his friends. **4.** A priest, son or representative of HAKKOZ (Neh 3[4. 21]), by whom is probably meant the seventh of the twenty-four courses of priests (1 Ch 24[10]). He is mentioned only as father or ancestor of Meremoth or Meraioth, an eminent priest who was chief of the four officials to whom Ezra entrusted the sacred vessels and treasure brought from Babylon (Ezr 8[33], 1 Es 8[62] [URIAS]), who repaired two sections of the wall of Jerusalem (Neh 3[4. 21]), and whose name is substituted in the lists of priestly families, Neh 10[5] 12[3. 15], for that of Hakkoz. **5.** One of those who stood on Ezra's right hand when he publicly read the Law (Neh 8[4], 1 Es 9[43] [URIAS]). He was probably a priest.

N. J. D. WHITE.

URIAS.—**1.** (B Οὐρείας, Bᵇ Οὐρίας, A Οὐρί, AV Iri) 1 Es 8[62] (LXX [61]). In Ezr 8[33] Uriah. Perhaps identical with—**2.** (B Οὐρείας, Bᵇ A Οὐρίας) 1 Es 9[43]. In Neh 8[4] Uriah.

URIEL (אוּרִיאֵל, 'flame of El,' or 'my light is El'; cf. Phœn. אורלך, Assyr. *Urumilki*). — **1.** A Kohathite chief, 1 Ch 6[24 (9)] (B Ὀριήλ, sup ras Aᵃ? and Luc. Οὐριήλ), 15[5. 11] (B Οὐριήλ, Ἀριήλ, A both times Οὐριήλ). **2.** The maternal grandfather of Abijah, 2 Ch 13[2] (BA Οὐριήλ). See MAACAH, No. 3, and cf., further, Benzinger, *Chron. ad loc.* **3.** See next article.

URIEL (Οὐριήλ).—One of the four chief archangels. In Enoch 20[2] he is called 'the angel who is over the world (? angel-host) and Tartarus.' In keeping with this title, Uriel is the one who accompanies Enoch in his visits to Tartarus, and who explains to him the tortures of the lost (19[1] 21[5-10] 27[2] 33[3]). In 2 Esdras, Uriel is sent to ask Esdras if he can 'weigh the flame of fire, or measure the wind, or recall the past.' If not, why does he presume to challenge the dealings of God (4[5])? Similar errands are narrated in 2 Es 5[20ff.] 10[28]. In the *Prayer of Joseph*, Uriel is the angel with whom Jacob wrestles. In wrestling with him, Jacob claims to be 'the firstborn of every creature animated by God,' and affirms that Uriel is eighth in rank after him [see JOSEPH, PRAYER OF, vol. ii. p. 778ᵇ]. In the *Sibylline Oracles*, ii. 228, Uriel is named as the one who will bring the sorrow-stricken forms of the Titans and giants to judgment; and in the *Life of Adam and Eve*, § 48, Michael and Uriel are commanded to bury Adam and Abel in Paradise.

J. T. MARSHALL.

URIM AND THUMMIM.—From an interesting passage of an early historical work we learn that the ancient Hebrews recognized three principal media through which the Divine will might be revealed to men. When Saul in his later years 'inquired' of J", 'J" answered him not, neither by dreams, nor by Urim—which we may provisionally render, by the sacred lot—nor by prophets' (1 S 28[6]). The same three channels of Divine communication were also recognized in ancient Greece, although there divination by lot 'was entirely overshadowed by the prophetic frenzy and inspiration through dreams' (art. 'Sortes' in Smith's *Dict. of Antiq.*[3]). In this article we have to investigate the mode of ascertaining the Divine will by means of the sacred lots, known as 'the Urim and the Thummim [more correctly *Tummim*].'

Considering the evident importance of this, apparently the only legitimate, mode of divination in early times, the number of express references to the Urim and Thummim is surprisingly limited. In Ex 28[30], Lv 8[8] (both P) we have הָאוּרִים (*hā-'ûrîm*) and הַתֻּמִּים (*hat-tummîm*); in Ezr 2[63], Neh 7[65], without the article (here only in OT) *'ûrîm* and *tummîm*. Dt 33[8] gives them in the reverse order (see below). In Nu 27[21], 1 S 28[6] *'ûrîm* stands alone. 1 S 14[41f.], from which, in our MT, Urim and Thummim has disappeared, will be fully discussed below,* where also will be found the few references in the apocryphal writings.

The present vocalization leaves no doubt as to the etymology and signification of אוּרִים and תֻּמִּים intended by the Massoretic scholars. The former is evidently connected with אוֹר 'light,' the latter is the plural of תֹּם, 'completeness,' in a moral sense 'perfection,' 'innocence'; the idea being, perhaps, that Urim was the lot which *brought to light the guilt* of the subject of the ordeal, while Thummim established his *innocence*. The words are to be understood as intensive plurals, and rendered, on this hypothesis, 'Light and Perfection (or Innocence),' rather than as RVm (Ex 28[30]), 'the Lights and the Perfections.' It will, however, appear in the sequel that the sacred lot was frequently used where there is no question of guilt or innocence, and it is an open question whether the Massoretic pronunciation reaches back to the time when the lot was in use. Various alternative etymologies have been proposed of late. Thus Wellhausen in his *Prolegomena* (Eng. ed. p. 394) proposed to connect Urim with the verb אָרַר, 'to curse,' and expressed approval of Freytag's connexion of Thummim with the Arabic *tamîma*, a species of amulet (see Freytag, *Lex Arab.-Lat.* i. 199ᵇ; *JBL* xix. (1900) 58); cf. Haupt-Schwally, *ZATW* xi. 172, who suggests 'cursing and blessing' as probable renderings; and Ball, in the list of proper names at end of his *Light from the East*, 'biddings and forbiddings (?).' In his later works, however, Wellh. has given up this etymology. In view of the ancient and long-continued influence of Babylonian ideas on the religious thought of the West, there is greater probability in the etymology recently proposed by some Assyriologists of repute, who suggest as the root of אוּרִים the Piel infin. form *u'uru* (stem אאר or איר), 'to send forth (an edict),' whence *urtu* and *tertu*, the technical Babylonian terms for an oracle. (See Zimmern, *Beiträge zur Kentnis d. bab. Religion*, 88 f. 91, note 2; Muss-Arnolt, *AJSL* xvi. (1900) 218). One is further tempted to connect Thummim with the verb *tamû*, Piel *tummû*, frequent in the divination vocabulary of the Babylonians, in the sense of 'to put under a spell' (see Zimmern's vocabulary, *op. cit.* 78). 'If these derivations are correct, אוּרִים and תֻּמִּים would correspond to the Babyl. *urtu* ("command," "decision," mostly of the gods), and *tamîtu*, a synonym of *pirishtu* = "oracle," "oracular decision of the gods"' (Muss-Arnolt, *op. cit.* 219).

The renderings of the ancient VSS give no help either towards the etymology and significance of the original terms, or towards the real nature of the objects themselves.

* In Ps 43[3] Lagarde (*Prophetæ chald.* p. xlvii) would read 'send forth thy Urim and thy Thummim' (cf. Dt 33[8]). See also Duhm in *Kurzer Handcom. in loc.*

The Targums and Syr. VSS merely transliterate the Heb. terms. The Gr. VSS vary in a remarkable way, showing that their authors had no tradition to guide them. For אוּרִים we find the following renderings: (*a*) δήλωσις, 'manifestation' (perhaps rather 'direction,' 'instruction,' since the corresponding δηλόω is used by LXX to render the Hiphil of יָרָה in Dt 33[10] and other synonymous Heb. verbs), Ex 28[30] [LXX [26]], Lv 8[8], 1 Es 5[40]; (*b*) δῆλοι* [*scil.* λίθοι], 'clear,' 'transparent' [jewels, see below], Nu 27[21], Dt 33[8], 1 S 14[41] [not in MT] 2S[6], Sir 45[10], also 36[3] [EV 33[3]], according to the better reading of ℵA; cf. AVm 'as the asking of Urim'; (*c*) the verb φωτίζω, 'to give light,' Ezr 2[63], Neh 7[65]; (*d*) the later translators prefer the more literal rendering φωτισμοί, 'lights,' so Aq., Symm., and Theod. Ex 28[30]; but in Dt 33[8] Symm. has (*e*) διδαχή, the source of Jerome's *doctrina*, unless the Latin Father so understood δήλωσις as above suggested.

For תֻּמִּים we have (*a*) ἀλήθεια, 'truth'—perhaps suggested by the fact that the presiding judge in Egypt wore, suspended from his neck, an image of Tme, the Egyptian goddess of truth (see end of this article)—Ex., Lv., Deut., 1 Es., as above, Sir 45[10]; (*b*) ὁσιότης, 1 S 14[41],† here 'innocence'; (*c*) τέλεια, 'perfect things,' Ezr 2[63]; (*d*) in the later translators (Aq. etc.) also literally τελειότητες, 'perfections.' The renderings of the Old Latin and Jerome hesitate in the same way between *doctrina, demonstratio, ostensio*, also *doctus*, for Urim, and *veritas, perfectio, sanctitas, perfectus, eruditus*, for Thummim.

In proceeding to investigate the nature and use of the Urim and Thummim, it seems advisable to begin with the data of the youngest products of Heb. literature, and to proceed backwards to those of the earliest. Setting aside for the present the speculations of Philo and Josephus, to whom we shall return, we find no help in our investigation from the references in the deutero-canonical writings recorded above, viz. 1 Es 5[40], in which the high priest is described as 'wearing Urim and Thummim' (so RV; AV, following Vulg., 'clothed in doctrine and truth'), Sir 36[3] 45[10]. The first item of interest is furnished by the fact recorded in Ezr 2[63] = Neh 7[65], that certain families were excluded from the enjoyment of priestly rights until the purity of their descent should be established by 'a priest with Urim and with Thummim.' From this it is manifest that the use of these mysterious objects, and possibly also their precise nature, were unknown to the Jewish authorities of the post-exilic age.

This brings us to the Priests' Code. Without pausing to inquire, at this stage, into the full significance attributed by the compilers of this document to the Urim and Thummim, we may learn at least two facts which will clear the way for further investigation, and prove the impossibility of a widely current view as to the identity of these objects. After giving minute directions for the making of the 'breastplate of judgment' (for which see vol. i. p. 319 f.), attached to the high priest's ephod, P proceeds thus: 'And thou [Moses] shalt put *into the* (breastplate or) *pouch of judgment* the Urim and the Thummim' (Ex 28[30]). No explanation is given of these, nor any instructions for making them. The latter omission so impressed the Samaritans that the requisite order is supplied here, and executed 39[21], in their recension of the Pentateuch. The rendering above given of the ambiguous phrase of the original וְנָתַתָּ אֶל־חֹשֶׁן הַמִּשְׁפָּט is that imperatively demanded by the context (see the commentaries) in preference to the possible alternative adopted by the LXX, καὶ ἐπιθήσεις ἐπὶ τὸ λόγιον τῆς κρίσεως τὴν δήλωσιν καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν, 'thou shalt *put upon*‡ the oracle of judgment the Urim and the Thummim.' This mistaken rendering is mainly responsible for the view entertained by many writers, from Josephus to Kalisch (*Hist. and Crit. Comm. in loc.*), that the Urim and Thummim are to be identified with the jewels of the breastplate, enumerated in the verses preceding. P's contribution to the discussion, therefore, consists in showing (1) that the Urim and Thummim were understood in priestly circles, about the close of the Exile, as something distinct both from the ephod and from the gems with which the pouch of the ephod was ornamented; and (2) that they were conceived as *material objects of comparatively small dimensions*, capable of being inserted in the pouch, which indeed was constructed solely with a view to contain them. The other references of the Priestly Code (Lv 8[8], Nu 27[21]) give no further clue to the nature of Urim and Thummim. The second passage, however, shows the importance attached to them in the ideal theocratic community of P as the authorized medium of Divine revelation.

When we pass from these ideal representations to the actual history of the pre-exilic period, while we meet with an equal readiness to presuppose familiarity with the objects under discussion, we are able for the first time to learn something as to the *modus operandi* in the use of the sacred lot. The most explicit of the earlier passages in which this *modus operandi* is exhibited is the graphic narrative in 1 S 14. Here we find the Hebrew host, led by Saul and Jonathan, proceeding to ascertain the cause of the Divine displeasure (v.[37]) in the face of their hereditary enemies, the Philistines. Unfortunately, the Heb. text has here suffered serious mutilation, and, as even the most conservative scholars admit, must be restored by the help of the Greek version. The latter, in Lucian's recension (Lagarde's ed.), runs thus, v.[41f.]: 'And Saul said, O Lord, the God of Israel, why hast thou not answered thy servant this day? if the iniquity be in me or in Jonathan my son, give Urim (δὸς δήλους [see above]); and if thou sayest thus: The iniquity is in the people, give Thummim (δὸς ὁσιότητα; MT תָּמִים הָבָה, which cannot possibly mean, as RV, 'show the right').* And the lot fell upon Saul and Jonathan, and the people escaped. And Saul said: Cast the lot between me and Jonathan my son, and on whomsoever the Lord shall cause the lot to fall, let him die.' The true text was apparently still accessible to Jerome, who renders: 'si in me aut in Jonatha filio meo, est iniquitas hæc, da ostensionem [Urim]; aut si hæc iniquitas est in populo meo da sanctitatem [Thummim].'

From the text of this important passage in its original form, then, we learn (1) that the Urim and Thummim were the recognized medium for discovering the guilt or innocence of suspected parties, a species of Divine ordeal; (2) that as the lots were only two in number, only one question could be put at a time, and that in a way admitting only of two alternative answers; (3) that where these answers, from the nature of the case, could not be given by a mere 'yes' or 'no' (see below), it was necessary to agree beforehand on the way in which the issuing lot was to be interpreted; (4) a fourth inference, that the manipulation of the lots was the prerogative of the priests, may be drawn from the context (see below), but is more explicitly stated in the only other reference to Urim and Thummim in pre-exilic literature. In the so-called 'Blessing of Moses' (Dt 33)—perhaps as early as the time of Jeroboam I. (so Dillmann and Driver), certainly not later than Jeroboam II. (so most critics)—the benediction of Levi opens thus: 'Give to Levi thy Thummim, and thy Urim to the man of thy favour' (v.[8], following LXX with Ball, *PSBA*, 1896, 118 ff., and Bertholet, *Kurzer Handcom. in loc.*).

Another step forward is suggested by the comparison of the function here assigned to the

* Hos 3[4] LXX for 'teraphim.'

† The MT has here the corrupt reading תָּמִּים, see below.

‡ The Samaritan-Hebrew actually read ונתתה על here and in Lv 8[8].

* See Driver's *Notes on the Heb. Text of the Books of Samuel* for the restoration of the original Hebrew of the essential portions of the above.

Levitical priesthood with another recital of the priestly prerogatives, where the tribe of Levi alone is represented as chosen by J" 'to offer upon mine altar, to burn incense, and *to bear* * (לָשֵׂאת) *an ephod before me*' (1 S 2^{28}, cf. 22^{18} LXX). For although our present Heb. text nowhere *expressly* associates the Urim and the Thummim with the mysterious ephod-image of the early writers (see EPHOD, No. 2, vol. i.), an examination of the whole narrative of 1 S 14 in the Greek text, and of other passages in the Books of Samuel, where this ephod figures as indispensable to the manipulation of the lot, leads to the conclusion that the ephod-image and Urim and Thummim had some intimate but as yet undiscovered connexion the one with the other. Thus, in 1 S 14, the priest of v.[36] who presides over the ordeal of Urim and Thummim can be no other than Ahijah the descendant of Eli, who accompanied Saul, 'bearing an ephod' (נֹשֵׂא אֵפוֹד v.[3]). In v.[18], according to the true text, he is summoned to 'bring forward the ephod' (*προσάγαγε τὸ ἐφούδ*—not as in MT 'the ark'; see ARK, vol. i. p. 150[a], note §; EPHOD, vol. i. p. 776, note ‡), evidently for the purpose of consulting the lot, but immediately ordered to 'withdraw' his hand when on the point of proceeding to its manipulation (v.[19]). Again, in the story of David's adventures at Keilah, we read of his being joined by the priest Abiathar, bringing 'an ephod in his hand' (1 S 23^{6}). He is requested by David, in terms identical with those used by Saul, to 'bring forward the ephod' (v.[9]); whereupon the former proceeds to ask a series of questions, each capable of being answered by a simple 'yes' or 'no' (vv.[10-12]). It is impossible to escape the inference that these two narratives of a solemn inquiring of J" on the part of Saul and David offer complete parallels, that in both the answer is obtained by means of Urim and Thummim, and that in either case these objects are carried in and cast from, or in some other way intimately connected with, the ephod-image. What has now been said of the incidents of 1 S $23^{6ff.}$ applies equally to the similar procedure in $30^{7ff.}$, where David again 'inquired of J"' by means of the ephod.

Indeed most scholars would go further, and maintain that in a number of other places, where the same phrase 'to inquire of J" (שָׁאַל בַּיי)' is employed, and where the use of the sacred lot 'before J"' is stated, recourse to Urim and Thummim is implied in every case. The most important of such passages are Jos 7^{14-18} Achan's trespass, Jg $1^{1f.}$ $20^{27f.}$, 1 S 10^{19-22} the election of Saul, 2 S 2^{1} $5^{19.\ 23}$.

To say that the Urim and Thummim of the earlier historians must have been intimately connected with the portable images to which they gave the name of ephod in the casting of the sacred lot, does not help us to discover the real nature of the objects in question. The etymology, as we have seen, is equally of no avail. The Greek translators in rendering Urim by *δῆλοι* [*λίθοι*] apparently identified it with the jewels of the breastplate. We are therefore left to *conjecture* that, on the analogy of the *sortes* of classical antiquity, they may have been two stones, either in the shape of dice or in tablet form, perhaps also of different colours. Some support is given to this view, which is that of most modern writers (see Literature at end of article), by the fact that the Heb. word for 'lot,' *gôrāl*, as is inferred from its Arabic congeners, originally signified a stone (cf. Gr. *ψῆφος*, 'a pebble used in voting,' and the Bab. *puru*, 'a stone,' whence, according to Jensen, quoted by Wildeboer in *Kurzer Handcom.*, פּוּרִים Est 3^{7}, synonymous with גּוֹרָל, is derived).

With the growth of more spiritual conceptions of the Divine character and of His relation to mundane affairs, recourse to the lot as a means of ascertaining the mind of J" gradually fell into abeyance. It cannot be a mere coincidence that the use of Urim and Thummim is never mentioned in the historical narratives after the time of David. The rise of the prophetic order in Israel provided the nation with a worthier channel for the revelation of the Divine will, and with more trustworthy counsellors in the crises of the individual and national life. The further we descend the stream of history the more conspicuous is this displacement of the priestly lot by the prophetic voice (contrast Ezr 2^{63}=Neh 7^{65} with 1 Mac 4^{46} 14^{41}). That the Urim and Thummim should reappear in the scheme of the Priestly Code is not surprising. It is part of its ideal reconstruction of the theocracy that the high priest should be at all points fully equipped for his office as the Divine vicegerent in the theocracy. For this end he is provided with the already mysterious Urim and Thummim, the manipulation of which was one of the most prized of the ancient prerogatives of the priestly caste. Their early association with the now long tabooed ephod-image, and the fact that the bosom-folds of the upper garment was a common receptacle for the 'lot' as used in everyday affairs (see Pr 16^{33} 'the lot is shaken in the bosom-fold, but the whole disposing thereof is of J",'), * may have suggested to the authors of the Priestly Code the placing of the Urim and Thummim in the jewelled pouch of the high priest's ephod. In any case it is clear from the principal passage, Ex 28^{30}, that it is rather a symbolical than a practical significance that is attached to the mysterious contents of the 'pouch of judgment (or decision).' Israel, in the person of Aaron its representative, is here presented as the continual recipient of J"'s 'decisions' and guidance, and the position of the symbols 'upon his heart' betokens the readiness of Israel at all times to yield obedience to these Divine commands.

After the exhaustive presentation of the earlier biblical data as to the use and associations of the Urim and Thummim, little need be said of the views of older scholars, whose method of research was vitiated by their taking the representations of the Priests' Code as decisive for the nature and use of these objects in the historical period. Thus, probably, few will be found to maintain the once widely accepted theory that found the prototype of the Urim and Thummim in the jewelled image of Tme, the goddess of truth and patron of justice, which the Chief Justice (*ὁ ἀρχιδικαστής*, Ælian, *Var. Hist.* xiv. 34; cf. Diod. Sic. i. 48) of Egypt wore on his breast; still less to defend an Egyptian etymology for Urim and Thummim (Wilkinson, *Anc. Egyptians* [1878], vol. iii. p. 183, with figure of judge's breastplate).† The same comparative ignoring of the evidence of our oldest sources as to the nature of the ancient lot is fatal to the acceptance of the thesis recently brought forward by an American scholar (Muss-Arnolt, see below), that the Urim and Thummim are a reflexion of the 'Tablets of Destiny' of the Babylonian mythology.‡

Nor need we dwell on the many absurd speculations as to the nature of Urim and Thummim, and as to the mode in which their guidance was supplied, which are to be found in the works of Jewish and Christian writers from Philo and Josephus

* Not as EV 'to wear,' a sense which נָשָׂא nowhere has in Hebrew.

* Cf. Book of Jubilees 8^{11}, where the lots for the apportioning of the earth among the sons of Noah are drawn from the patriarch's bosom.

† See, however, Hommel, *AHT* 282 f., who finds the original of the Jewish high priest's ephod in the pectoral of the High Priest of Memphis, as figured by Erman, *Egypt*, 298.

‡ The most that can be said for this view is that the presence of these tablets on the breasts of Marduk and Nebo was known to P, and may possibly have influenced his placing of them on the breast of the high priest (but see above).

downwards, and for which the curious reader is referred to the bibliography at the end of this article.* Philo, it may be said, did not, as is often erroneously stated, regard the Urim and Thummim as two images carried in the breastplate (see Mangey's note, *Opp.* ii. 152), but as symbols of 'the two virtues, Illumination and Truth (δήλωσίν τε καὶ ἀλήθειαν).' Josephus (*Ant.* III. viii. 9) does not expressly name the Urim and Thummim, but appears to identify them with the jewels of the breastplate and on the shoulders of the high priest, which, by a miraculous effulgence, gave supernatural guidance, particularly on the eve of battle.†

A favourite explanation of Jewish writers, reaching back to the Jerusalem Targum (pseudo-Jonathan on Ex 28^{30}), was to the effect that Urim and Thummim contained the sacred tetragrammaton (יהוה), which spelled out answers to inquirers by illuminating the letters of the tribal names on the transparent gems! Scarcely less curious is the view, probably still widely entertained, that the high priest threw himself into a hypnotic trance by gazing intently on the dazzling jewels,—again wrongly identified with Urim and Thummim,—and while in this state was the recipient of the Divine message (see Kalisch, *Exodus*, pp. 540–545, and cf. Plumptre in art. cited above).

LITERATURE.—For the views of older scholars see Buxtorf, 'Historia Urim et Thummim' in Ugolini, *Thesaurus*, vol. xii., and Spencer, *De legg. Hebræorum ritualibus* (1685), dissert. 7. Of modern works and articles reference may be made, besides the ordinary commentaries, to the artt. in Winer's *RWB* (with reff. to many older works); Riehm, *HWB*, art. 'Licht und Recht' (Luther's rendering of Urim and Thummin); Smith's *DB*, and esp. to the excellent study of Kautzsch in *PRE*² vol. xvi.; the standard treatises on Biblical Archæology; Kalisch's excursus in the body of his commentary on *Exodus*, pp. 540–545; Haupt, 'Babylonian Elements in the Levitical Ritual' in *JBL* xix. (1900) pp. 58 f., 72 f.; and for a complete conspectus of the views of modern scholars, W. Muss-Arnolt, *The Urim and Thummim, a Suggestion as to their original Nature and Significance*, a reprint from *AJSL*, July 1900.

A. R. S. KENNEDY.

USURY.—See DEBT, vol. i. p. 579 f. We may add here that the Babylonian contract tablets show that the payment of interest was an established custom from the time of Khammurabi (*c.* 2200 B.C.) onwards. Doubtless it had already existed for centuries in the time of that king. He interferes to enforce the payment of a loan with interest. The usual rate of interest seems to have been 20 per cent., though the payment is also mentioned of $11\frac{2}{3}$ and $13\frac{1}{3}$. In another case a loan is to be repaid within two months, after which 10 per cent. interest will be charged. In addition to silver or money there are lent corn, dates, sesame seed, and onions. Some of the loans are secured on houses, slaves, etc.; and in one case the services of the slave specified as security are given in place of interest. These contract tablets, etc., extend from *c.* 2200 B.C. to *c.* 100 B.C. (*Guide to Bab. and Assyr. Ant.*, Brit. Mus., 1900, pp. 122–191).

At Athens, in the classical period, interest varied from 12 to 20 per cent., at Rome from $8\frac{1}{3}$ to 12 per cent.; but towards the beginning of the Christian era the rate of interest at Rome was lowered through the accumulation of capital, but high rates still prevailed in the provinces. In Greece and Rome money was often lent and interest paid by the month. See art. 'Interest' in *Dict. Class. Ant.*, O. Seyffert, etc. W. H. BENNETT.

UTA (Οὐτά), 1 Es 5^{30}.—His sons returned among the temple servants under Zerubbabel. There is no corresponding name in Ezra and Nehemiah.

UTHAI (עוּתַי).—**1.** The name of an individual or a family of Judah, settled at Jerusalem after the Captivity, 1 Ch 9^4 (B Γωθεί, A Γωθί, Luc. Οὐθί); called in Neh 11^4 ATHAIAH. **2.** One of the sons of Bigvai who returned with Ezra, Ezr 8^{14} (B Οὐθί, A Οὐθαί, Luc. Ὠθαί).

UTHI (B Οὔτού, A Οὐθί), 1 Es 8^{40}=Uthai, Ezr 8^{14}.

UZ (עוּץ; LXX Ὼς [Gn 22^{21} Ὼξ, Lag. Ὼζ; Job 1^1 32^2 $42^{17b.}$ ὁ ἡ γῆ [χώρα] ἡ Αὐσ(ε)ῖτις]; Vulg. *Hus* [Gn 10^{23} *Us*, Jer 25^{20} *Ausitis*]).—**1.** The eldest son of Aram, and grandson of Shem (Gn 10^{23}). As the name of Aram is omitted in the parallel passage in 1 Ch 1^{17}, Shem would there seem to have been his father. This, however, must be due to some oversight, the wanting passage being duly inserted in the LXX.—**2.** A son of Naḥor by Milcah, the eldest brother of Buz and Ḳemuel 'the father of Aram' (Gn 22^{21}). In the AV the name is transcribed Huz (Josephus has Οὖξος).—**3.** One of the two sons of Dishan, son of Seir the Ḥorite (Gn 36^{28}).—**4.** The name of the native place of Job. Considerable difference of opinion exists as to how far the above names are connected. There would seem to be but little doubt that the genealogical statements in Gn 10 are ethnological and geographical rather than personal, and all that can be deduced from them therefore is, that the people of Uẓ were Semites of the Aramæan stock. That Uẓ the son of Naḥor should be uncle of Aram and Chesed, is probably due to the existence of two distinct traditions concerning these Semitic races, the earlier one making him a son of Aram, and the later one attributing to him an earlier period than that of Aram. Nevertheless, it is not by any means impossible that a recurrence of names at a later date may have taken place, such a thing being by no means unusual, as the genealogical lists show.* Kautzsch, on the other hand, goes further, and maintains not only the connexion of Uẓ the grandson of Shem with Uẓ the son of Naḥor, but also with Uẓ the son of Dishan as well.† This he regards as indicating that the district belonging to the tribe represented by Aram's firstborn originally included a considerable part of that of the Aramæan tribes. From this Uẓ in the wider sense is to be separated Uẓ in the narrower sense, which originated in the mingling of the Aramæan Uẓites with another Semitic race—the 'Naḥorites' of Gn $22^{21ff.}$. Uẓ the grandson of Seir is to be explained in a similar manner as a mingling of (pre-Edomite) Ḥorites and Aramæan Uẓites in a part of Idumæa. The 'land of Uẓ' would therefore be a rather extensive geographical idea. All this seems to be confirmed by other coincidences of names accompanying that of Uẓ—the name of Aram, already referred to; Maacah, another son of Naḥor (Gn 22^{24}, which forms part of a geographical name in 1 Ch 19^6); Buz (Gn 22^{21}) and Buzite (Job 32^2); Chesed (Gn 22^{22}) and Kasdim (Job 1^{17} AV and RV 'Chaldeans'); Shuaḥ, a nephew of Naḥor (Gn 25^2), and Shuḥite (Job 2^{11}); also Ḳedem, the country whither Abraham sent Shuaḥ, together with his other children by Ḳeturah (Gn 25^6), and the race to which Job belonged—the 'sons of the East' or Bĕnê-Ḳedem (Job 1^3).

The question of the position of the land of Uẓ would appear to be determinable within very narrow limits. In Job $1^{15.\ 17}$ it would seem that

* A convenient and accessible summary of the more important of these older views will be found in Plumptre's article in Smith's *DB*.

† Josephus' statement, 'the breastplate and sardonyx (prob. intended by him to represent Urim and Thummim) left off shining two hundred years' before his time, is too absurd to require refutation.

* The Assyro-Babylonian royal lists likewise indicate that the repetition of renowned or venerated names was far from being an uncommon thing among the Semites in ancient times.

† It is to be noted that Frd. Delitzsch regards Uẓ, the grandson of Seir (Gn 36^{28}), as another person of the same name,—or a chance-likeness,—a theory supported by La 4^{21}, where Edom appears in temporary possession of Uẓ, either wholly or in part.

Job's estate lay open to the depredations of the Sabæans and the Chaldæans, and was therefore on the edge of the great desert, agreeing with v.[19], where the destruction wrought by the wind from that direction is referred to. The native countries of Job's friends likewise favour this view—that is, so far as those districts can be identified. Thus Eliphaz came from Teman (Job 2[11]), which was to all appearance an Edomite locality, Teman being referred to in Gn 36[11] as a descendant of Esau and son of Eliphaz, which last was evidently, therefore, a genuine Edomite name. His second friend, Bildad 'the Shuhite,' came from Shuah, the district and name of one of the sons of Abraham and Keturah. The name of Job's third friend, Zophar the Naamathite, does not help, that district being unknown (see NAAMAH); but Elihu the Buzite must have come from a neighbouring country, as is implied by Gn 22[21]. The inscriptions of the kings of Assyria also throw some light upon the question. Thus Esarhaddon, in one of his expeditions to the west, passed through *Bâzu*, reaching, at a distance of 180 *kas-gid*, the country of Ḫazû, and these two districts are, with one consent, regarded as the Buz and Hazo of Gn 22[21. 22]. Shuah is in like manner identified with the *Suḫu* of Tiglath-pileser I., according to whom it lay one day's journey from Carchemish in the land of Ḫatti. In the same neighbourhood lay the land of *Yasbukâa* ('the Yasbukians'), identified by Frd. Delitzsch with the Ishbak of Gn 25[2]. This place, which is referred to by Shalmaneser II., was in the neighbourhood of Shuah, with which it is mentioned in the passage of Genesis here referred to. Shalmaneser received tribute from the land of Shuah; but whether it was at this time (B.C. 859) or 28 years later, when he sent an army to the same district, is not certain. On the second occasion he received tribute from a certain Sâsi, *mâr mât Uzzâ*, 'a son of the land of Uzzâ,' who submitted to him, and whom he placed on the throne of Patinu. It may even be that the rulers of this latter place were counted among 'the kings of the land of Uz.' Uzzâ (or Ûzâ, as analogy teaches may have been the more correct form) certainly lay, according to Frd. Delitzsch, W. and N.W. of Aleppo, at no great distance from Patinu, and must have been an important place; hence the raising of its king to the dominion of Patinu.*

Though the Assyrian inscriptions do not indicate clearly the land of Uz, and its identification with the land of Uzzâ is not so satisfactory as could be wished,† they at least confirm the indications given in the Book of Job. Tradition places the home of the patriarch in the Ḥaurân, where a monastery bearing his name exists (it is situated in the *Wâdy el-Lebweh*). He is said to have been a native of *Jólân*, and early Arabian authors state that he was born in the neighbourhood of *Nawâ*. Not far from the monastery is shown the *Maḳâm Eyyûb*, or 'Station of Job,' his well, and the trough in which he is said to have washed after his trials were over. His tomb is shared by a Mohammedan saint, and on a hill close by is a stone upon which he is said to have leaned when first afflicted. The currency of the tradition among both Christians and Mohammedans living in the district implies that it is of considerable antiquity. In view of the testimony of the Assyrian inscriptions as to the position of the land of Uz, however, Frd. Delitzsch would prefer to regard it as being situated rather in the neighbourhood of Tadmor (Palmyra). According to Josephus (*Ant.* I. vi. 4, 5) it embraced Trachonitis and Damascus, and the LXX represents the patriarch as having lived in Ausitis, on the borders of Edom and Arabia (there is no doubt that it was closely connected with the former country), so that the neighbourhood of Palmyra would seem to be much too far N.E. It is difficult, however, to fix, at this distance of time, the boundaries of a district which is known to have been fairly extensive, and which probably varied in extent, in consequence of political changes, from time to time.

LITERATURE.—Kautzsch in Riehm's *Handwörterbuch*, *s.v.*; Frd. Delitzsch in *ZKF* ii. 87 ff. (cf. his *Paradies*, 259); Baedeker's *Palestine and Syria*, 407. T. G. PINCHES.

UZAI (עוּזַי). — Father of Palal who helped to rebuild the wall, Neh 3[25] (B Εὐεί, A Εὐζαί, Luc. Οὐζαί).

UZAL (אוּזָל, Sam. אזל).—Name of a son of Joktan, Gn 10[27] (A Αἰζήλ), 1 Ch 1[21] (A Αἰξήν, B om., Luc. Οὐζάλ), but figuring as a local name in Ezk 27[19], according to one interpretation [reading מאוזל ('from Uzal,' so RVm), with Hitzig, Smend, Cornill, *et al.*; B ἐξ Ἀσήλ, A ἐξ Ἀσαήλ]. With this word Gesenius compared *Euzelis of Hindu*, mentioned as a market town in a passage of John of Ephesus (6th cent. A.D.) preserved by Dionysius of Tell-Mahre (*ap.* Assemani, *Bibl. Or.* i. 361), who supposed it to be situated in the interior of the Indian (*i.e.* Arab) country, beyond the territory of the Himyar. This may well be identical with Uzal (Al-Bekri, p. 206), Izal or Azal (Yakut after Hamdani), which the Arab geographers declare was the former name of Ṣan'a, now capital of Yemen. The name was, they think, changed to Ṣan'a either in honour of a queen of that name, or of Ṣan'a son of Azal; or it may have been given the place by the Abyssinians, in whose language it means 'fortress.' The name Ṣan'āu is found in an inscription which Glaser (*die Abessinier*, etc. p. 117) assigns to the 2nd cent. A.D. An earlier name (according to him) was Tafidh (*Skizze*, ii. 427); none of these names appear to be known to the classical geographers of Arabia (Pliny, Ptolemy, etc.), who go rather fully into the names of places and tribes in Arabia Felix. The Arab tradition, however, regarded it as the most ancient city in the world, and the seat of the 'kings of Yemen'; the former theory being apparently due to the derivation of the name Azāl from the Arabic *azal*, 'eternity,' or to the alternate form Uwal (Harris, *loc. citand.*, p. 319), which might be rendered 'first.' If, however, there be any truth in its great antiquity, and its having been a metropolis in ancient times, it must be identical with one of the capitals mentioned by Pliny and Ptolemy; but with which cannot at present be decided. The name of the city must therefore have changed repeatedly; and in the use of the name Azāl or Izāl in the century before Mohammed we are justified in seeing with Glaser (*Skizze*, ii. 427) the influence of the Jews. Their influence in these regions appears from the statements of the Syriac chronicler to have been considerable; and early Arabic writers occasionally preserve traditions dating from the time of their ascendency. A place was shown at Ṣan'a where sixteen prophets had been slaughtered at once (Ibn Rustah); and Wahb Ibn Munabbih (died *c.* 735 A.D.) professed to have found in a sacred book the text, 'Azal, Azal, though all be against thee, yet will I be gracious unto thee,' which seems to come from Is 29[1-3] with Azal substituted for Ariel (*Taj al-'arus*). Whether, then, the place was called Azal by conjectural identifica-

* Whether Patinu be connected etymologically with Batanea or not is uncertain, but is worthy of consideration.

† There is doubt as to the sibilant, whether it be really *ẓ* (צ) or *z* (ז). In addition to this, a long terminal vowel would not be expected. Delitzsch evidently regards the word as a gentilic adjective; but if this be the case, there is a mistake in the text, *Uẓ-ẓa-a* having been written for *Uẓ-ẓa-a-a* (= *Uzzâa*).

tion of it with the son of Joḳtan, or Azal was an old name revived by the Jews, is not clear; the latter supposition is rather the more probable, because an Arabian locality, Azalla, is mentioned in the campaign of Assurbanipal (*KIB* ii. 221), and Azal rather than Uzal is the form that is best attested. The objection to the identification raised by Glaser (*l.c.* 436) on the ground that of the objects mentioned by Ezekiel as exported from Uzal only iron is really found in the neighbourhood, whereas spices are not to be found in the whole of Yemen, seems wanting in weight, since Ṣan'a may have been a depôt for them; rather more force attaches to his objection that the port of Ṣan'a would probably have been Aden (mentioned by Ezekiel in this context) rather than Waddan (VEDAN) and Javan. But, indeed, the difficulties of both text and interpretation in the passage of Ezekiel are so great as to render it unsuitable for the deduction of inferences.

Of the beauty and wealth of Ṣan'a glowing descriptions are given by Arabic writers, and modern travellers (*e.g.* W. B. Harris, *A Journey through the Yemen*, 1893, pp. 299–322) confirm them. It is at an elevation of 7250 feet above the sea-level, with a mountain (Jebel Nujum) rising abruptly on the east. In the rainy season a torrent of water runs through the river-bed, which occupies the middle of the town; Ibn Rustah (*Bibl. Geogr. Arab.* vii. 110) says it is not much narrower than the Tigris, and was in his time used for irrigation. The climate varies little during the whole year; and of most produce there are two crops. The fortress and temple of Ghumdan, destroyed by the Caliph Othman, was the most magnificent building in Arabia. In the 7th cent. of Islam the Zaidite Imams made it their capital. Of the forms of the name, *Izal* appears to be the best attested; the LXX translators clearly connected the second syllable with *Il* (god), and the first perhaps with the god *As* (who appears in some Punic proper names) or some other deity. Other etymologists seem scarcely more successful.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

UZZA (עֻזָּא). — **1.** The eponym of a Benjamite family, 1 Ch 8[7] (B Ναανά, A 'Αζά, Luc. 'Αζάν). **2.** The head of a family of Nethinim that returned, Ezr 2[49] (B Οὐσά, A 'Αζά, Luc. om.)=Neh 7[51] (B 'Οζεί, A 'Οζί, Luc. 'Αζά). **3.** The driver of the cart on which the ark was removed from Kiriath-jearim, 2 S 6[3. 6. 7. 8]=1 Ch 13[7. 9. 10. 11]. Uzza's sudden death at a place called, in commemoration of this untoward incident, **Perez-uzzah** ('breach of Uzzah'; cf. artt. CHIDON and NACON), led to the temporary abandonment of David's project of transporting the ark to Jerusalem. Uzza's death was attributed by the popular mind to anger on the part of Jahweh at his having presumed to handle the sacred emblem too familiarly. There are, however, points of obscurity in the narrative, and the text is in several instances quite uncertain. See Driver, Wellh., Budde, Löhr, H. P. Smith, *ad loc.*

The name appears as עֻזָּא, Uzza, in 2 S 6[3], 1 Ch 13[7. 9. 10. 11], as עֻזָּה, Uzzah, in 2 S 6[6. 7. 8]. B has everywhere 'Οζά, which is read also by A in the Chron. passages; A has in 2 Sam. 'Αζζά, once [6[3]] 'Αζά.

4. Manasseh and his son Amon were buried in the 'garden of Uzza' (גַּן־עֻזָּא), 2 K 21[18. 26] (LXX κῆπος 'Οζά), which was attached to the palace of Manasseh. The conjecture of Stade (*GVI* i. 569, ii. 679), that עֻזָּא here=עֻזִּיָּה (Uzziah), has found wide acceptance (but see footnote to next col.).

J. A. SELBIE.

UZZAH (עֻזָּה).—**1.** The name of a Merarite family, 1 Ch 6[29 (14)] (B 'Οζά, A 'Αζά, Luc. 'Οζιά). **2.** See UZZA, No. 3.

UZZEN-SHEERAH.—See SHEERAH.

UZZI (עֻזִּי; 'Οζ(ε)ί).—**1.** A descendant of Aaron, 1 Ch 6[5. 6. 51] [Heb. 5[31. 32] 6[36]], Ezr 7[4]. **2.** The eponym of a family of Issachar, 1 Ch 7[2. 3]. **3.** The name of a Benjamite family, 1 Ch 7[7] 9[8]. **4.** A Levite, son of Bani, overseer of the Levites dwelling in Jerusalem, Neh 11[22]. **5.** The head of a priestly family, Neh 12[19. 42].

UZZIA (עֻזִּיָּא, prob. same as עֻזִּיָּה, *Uzziah*; B 'Οζειά, A 'Οζιά, Luc. 'Οζίας).—One of David's heroes, 1 Ch 11[44].

UZZIAH (עֻזִּיָּה and עֻזִּיָּהוּ [on the name see next art.]). — **1.** A king of Judah. See next article. **2.** A Kohathite Levite, 1 Ch 6[24 (Heb. 9)] (B 'Οζειά, A[a]? sup ras 'Οζίας). **3.** The father of an officer of David, 1 Ch 27[25] (B 'Οζειού, A 'Οζιού). **4.** A priest who had married a foreign wife, Ezr 10[21] (B 'Οζειά, A 'Οζιά, Luc. 'Οζίας). **5.** Name of a Judahite family after the Exile, Neh 11[4] (B 'Αζέδ, ℵ 'Αζεδνά, A 'Οζιά, Luc. 'Οζίας). The LXX reads 'Οζ(ε)ιά also in Neh 11[5] for חֲזָיָה HAZAIAH of MT.

UZZIAH (AZARIAH).—The Heb. names vary in form. We have עֻזִּיָּהוּ (2 K 15[32. 34], Is 1[1] 6[1] 7[1], 2 Ch 26[1ff.] 27[2]) and עֻזִּיָּה (2 K 15[13. 30], Hos 1[1], Am 1[1], Zec 14[5]). The meaning is 'J" is my strength.' We have a Heb. parallel in עֻזִּיאֵל and in the Phœn. עובעל and עוכלך. The alternative Heb. name עֲזַרְיָהוּ occurs in 2 K 15[6. 8], while עֲזַרְיָה is found in 2 K 14[21] 15[1. 7] etc., and also 1 Ch 3[12]. The meaning of the alternative name is similar to that of עֻזִּיָּהוּ, viz. 'J" hath helped (me).'

In Assyr. the names *Ašur-nirâri* ('Ashur is my help') and *Rammân-nirâri* ('Rammân is my help') are parallel in thought and expression to both the alternative proper names of the Heb. monarch, while the Phœn. furnishes a close analogy to the latter in עוזרבעל 'Baal is (my) help,' represented in Latin by *Hasdrubal*; or, with the elements of the name reversed, in בעלעזר (cf. also עזרתבעל, prob. 'my help is Baal'; and see Bloch, *Phön. Glossar.* p. 49). The Gr. forms are 'Οζίας ('Οζίας) and 'Αζαρίας. In a number of instances, as in 2 K 15[13. 32] (and in v.[34] in A), LXX substitutes 'Αζαρίας for Uzziah, whereas in 2 K 15[30] 'Αχάς is substituted for 'Αζαρίου, which is the reading of A. In Is 6[1] 7[1] 'Οζίας is the form preserved in $B^{b}AQ$. It is quite possible that the king had really only one name, עזריה, and that the name עויה (Uzziah) may have arisen through a corruption of the text, the early form of י (*yôd*), viz. ך, being confounded with an imperfectly written ר (*resh*), viz. ף.*

Uzziah was the son of Amaziah king of Judah, and, according to the redactor of the Books of Kings (see Kittel's *Com.*), ascended the throne of Judah at the age of sixteen, and in the 27th year of Jeroboam king of Israel (2 K 15[1f.]). It is well known, however, that such synchronisms are of no chronological value, and lead to endless confusion. We can only assert that both these kings were contemporaries. Whether Uzziah's reign extended to 52 years is uncertain.

The record of his reign in 2 K 14 and 15 is singularly brief. Though the worship of the high places—the normal cult of Israel and Judah—still continued, the verdict of the Deuteronomic redactor is favourable to him, as it was to the memory of his father, Amaziah; he 'did what was right in the eyes of the Lord' (2 K 15[3]).

The record in the Book of Kings gives us no information respecting the events of this long reign, except that Uzziah fell a victim to leprosy towards its close (2 K 15[5]). But in 14[22] we probably have a fragment from the Annals which refers to his reign, though its somewhat strange position after the section by the redactor (vv.[15-21]) renders

* This seems to us more probable than the view of Stade (*GVI* i. p. 569 footn.[1]) that the name 'Azariah was abbreviated to עֻזָּא (2 K 21[18] 'garden of 'Uzza,' cf. 2 S 6[3]), and that the name 'Uzziah grew out of the latter. For 'Uzzâ is not improbably the name of a deity, as 2 K 21[18] and 2 S 6[8] seem to indicate. On the Arabian Al-'Uzza see Baethgen, *Beiträge zur Sem. Religionsgesch.* p. 114; Ḳorân, 53. 19; Wellhausen, *Reste*[2], p. 34 ff.

its interpretation uncertain. We there read that Elath, the chief port of Edom, which was of great commercial value to Judah as an outlet as well as inlet for commerce, was again recovered to Judah by the successful military enterprise of Azariah after his father's disastrous overthrow by Jehoash king of Israel had entailed its temporary loss. Owing to the leprosy which attacked Uzziah towards the end of his long reign, he was compelled to go into retirement,* while his son Jotham discharged the royal functions (שִׁפְּטוּ) in his place.

Such is all that can be learned about this monarch in 2 Kings. The Book of Chronicles (2 Ch 26^{5-20}) adds to the above narrative a number of details. (1) We have an account of the military preparations and exploits of the king, and also of his agricultural pursuits. (2) We have a *Haggadic* narrative attached to the fact of the king's leprosy which ascribes the latter to Divine judgment on him for attempting to fulfil the priestly function of offering incense on the altar of incense. Kittel in his *History of the Hebrews* attempts to defend the historicity of this conflict between the royal and priestly authority;† but it is quite clear that the form of the narrative is based on the tradition of the P passages in Ex $30^{1.6.7}$, Nu 17^{5} 18^{7}. Furthermore, the name of the chief priest *Azariah* probably originated from the older alternative name of Uzziah himself, who, like Solomon and all royal personages (cf. the Assyr. kings who assumed the office of *patesi*), exercised priestly functions.

But the *military* exploits and preparations of Uzziah recorded in 2 Ch 26^{6-15} cannot be dismissed as unhistorical, since they serve to explain facts in subsequent history which would otherwise remain obscure. We read that Uzziah equipped an armed host of 307,500 men, and fortified Jerusalem, and provided it with engines of war. He also conducted a successful campaign against the Philistines, and stormed the cities of Gaza, Jabneh, and Ashdod, and also conquered the Arabians and Ammonites. Subsequently recorded events render many if not all of these details exceedingly probable, though here, as so often in Chronicles, the numerical statements are exaggerated. (*a*) That Jerusalem was fortified and provided with means of defence during the reign of Uzziah, is rendered exceedingly probable by the account of its defence in the days of Ḥezeḳiah, which has come to us not only in the record of 2 K $18^{13ff.}$, but in the Taylor cylinder of Sennacherib (col. ii. 69–col. iii. 41), which, in describing the invasion of Palestine by Sennacherib, expressly mentions (1) the forty-six fortified towns (col. iii. 13) captured by the Assyrians; (2) that the Philistine town Eḳron (*ir Amḳarruna*) was under the control of Ḥezeḳiah, and that the king Padi, a puppet of Assyria, was delivered up to the king of Judah (col. ii. 70 ff.). Now, it is reasonable to conclude that the control of Philistia by Ḥezeḳiah was probably due to the strong military policy of Uzziah described by the Chronicler, who must have derived his information from annals of his reign from which the redactor of the Books of Kings did not draw. Certainly, the reign of Aḥaz, distracted by the troubles of the Syro-Ephraimite invasion and weakened by subservience to Assyria, was not the time when strong defensive measures would be adopted. Indeed we know that Philistia was instigated to revolt by the confederacy of the two Northern kings. (*b*) The mention of Arabians (col. iii. 31) among the troops which defended Jerusalem against Sennacherib sustains the statement of the Chronicler that Uzziah subjugated the Arabs, and this is probably to be connected with the recovery of Edom and the port of Elath to which 2 K 14^{22} refers. (*c*) Kittel lays stress on the prosperity of Judah in the days of Aḥaz, of which Is 2 and 3 furnish abundant evidence. This is best explained as due to the consolidation of the resources and power of the Southern Kingdom during the long and prosperous reign of Uzziah described in 2 Ch 26. This view is ably sustained by McCurdy in the *Expositor*, Nov. 1891, p. 388 ff.

It was formerly held by Assyriologists, including especially Schrader, that the records of Tiglath-pileser prove that Uzziah (Azariah) was the head of a powerful confederacy of Northern Hamathite States against Assyria. Unfortunately, the passages in which reference is made to Azariah (*Az(Iz)ri-ya-u*), whom Schrader identified with Uzziah (*KGF* 399–421), are much mutilated. The following is a translation of the passages so far as they can be deciphered and interpreted on the basis of Rost's edition of Tiglath-pileser's Annals, lines 101–111—

101–2 . . . my officer as ruler of the province I placed over them [gifts and tribute like the Assyrian imposed on them]
103 in the further course of my campaign the tribute of the ki[ngs
104 I received Azar]iah king of Ja-u-di like . . .
105 . . . zariah of Ja-u-di . . .
[106 and 107 seem to refer to the towns in which Azariah sought refuge]
108 by the attack of the light-armed (?) of the bodyguard . . . [of the approach of
109 the Assyrian troops] the numerous, they heard [their heart] feared
110 [the town] I destroyed, laid waste, burnt down
111 . . . placed themselves on the side of [Azar]iah strengthened (?) him . . .

Lines 125–132 refer to the 19 districts of Hamath which 'placed themselves on the side of Azariah,' the series being enumerated from South to North, the most southerly being Arḳâ, Zimarra, Usnu, Sianna, and Ṣimirra, and the most northerly Ellitarbi and Bumami.

Now, even twenty years ago, the identification of the *Azri-ia-u* of Tiglath-pileser's Annals with Azariah of Judah was disputed, for example, by Gutschmid (*Neue Beiträge zur Kunde des alten Orients*, p. 55 ff.) and by Wellhausen (*Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie*, xx. 632). But at that time there were certainly many reasons why the identification made by Schrader should have been considered sound. No other land *Ja-u-di* was then known except Judah. Judah was called by that name in the Nabî-Junus inscription preserved in Constantinople, in which Sennacherib refers to his subjugation of Ḥezeḳiah (of which the following is a transcription, line 15: *rap-šu na-gu-u* (*mâtu*) *Ja-u-di Ḥa-za-ki-a-u šarri-šu i-mid ap-ša-a-ni*), while the references to the same king in connexion with (*mâtu*) *Ja-u-da-ai* in the Prism inscription of Sennacherib (col. ii. 72, iii. 12, 13) need not be cited here. Indeed Tiglath-pileser himself (2 Rawl. 67, line 61) refers to *Ja-u-ḥa-zi* (*mâtu*) *Ja-u-da-ai* in close juxtaposition to the rulers of Ashkelon and Edom, so that it is absolutely certain that *Ja-u-ḥa-zi* (=Joaḥaz) is the Assyrian name of king Aḥaz. Moreover, the fact here mentioned, that Aḥaz paid tribute to the Assyrian monarch, is certified by 2 K 16^{8}. Certainly, the evidence for Schrader's identification seemed cogent.

Nevertheless, there are serious difficulties in the way of its acceptance. In the *first* place, the geographical conditions militate strongly against it. The nineteen districts of Hamath can hardly have depended for support on the ruler of so distant a realm as Judah. *Secondly*, the chronological argument tells decisively against it. For

* The text here is uncertain. The Heb. text has בְּבֵית חָפְשִׁית, LXX *ἐν οἴκῳ ἀφεσιῶδ* (cf. 2 Ch 26^{21}). Judging from the well-known meaning of חָפְשִׁי, this can mean only 'in a free house,' *i.e.* free from the intrusion of others. The expression, however, is very strange, and Kittel is warranted in accepting the ingenious emendation of Klostermann, בְּבֵיתֹה חָפְשִׁית 'in his house unmolested,' חָפְשִׁית being an adverb with the ending ית־—, as in אַחֲרַנִּית (Gn 9^{23}).

† *Gesch. der Heb.* ii. p. 281.

if Uzziah was the mainstay of a conspiracy of nineteen Hamathite States in 738 B.C., which is the year which Assyrian data would lead us to assign to its overthrow, we can allow only three years for the leprosy of Uzziah, the interregnum of Jotham, Jotham's sole reign, and the Syro-Ephraimite war against Judah. *Thirdly*, the discovery of the Zinjerli inscription (on the stele erected by בר רכב the son of Panammu, king of Sam'al, to his father) has thrown a fresh light on the problem. There we find mention of a land יאדי (and also on the stele of Hadad, erected by Panammu its king). We might with Winckler regard the א here as *hamza* and pronounced as *u*, and thus read the word (as the Assyrians did) *Ja'udi*. This country lay north of the Orontes and bordered on the land Unki, and it is possible that Sargon refers to it in his Nimr. insc. line 8: (*mâtu*) *Ja-u-du ša ašaršu rûku*, 'J. whose situation is remote.' The mention of Hamath in the same line lends colour to this view. The objection that the name *Azrijâhu*, with its Heb. name of deity, clearly indicates a Hebrew personality, loses force when we remember that Hamath, as we learn from the same inscription of Sargon, had a prince called *Jau-bi'di*, elsewhere called *Ilu-bi'di*. This shows that a deity *Jâhu* was also worshipped in those regions. *Lastly*, the close similarity which subsisted between the language of the Zinjerli inscr. and Hebrew renders it in no way improbable that the land Ja'di should have a ruler named Azariah. The capital of the land was Kullani, the Calno of Is 10^9.

This is the evidence based on the arguments used by Winckler (*Alttest. Forsch.* i. (1893) pp. 1–23; cf. *KAT*^{3} i. 54 ff., 262) for disconnecting the inscr. of Tiglath-pileser from any reference to Uzziah (Azariah) of Judah.* McCurdy, however, upholds Schrader's position (*HPM* i. 413 ff.), but the arguments of Winckler have been adopted by Hommel (art. ASSYRIA in this Dict. vol. i. p. 185, footn.†), Guthe (*GVI* p. 188), Maspero (*Passing*, etc., 150). The chronological difficulties which beset the biblical student of the latter half of the 8th cent. become in this way somewhat lessened. The death-year of Uzziah may be placed, as Winckler suggests, in 739 B.C., but it may easily be earlier (*KAT*^{3} i. 320)—in fact as early as 750 (Winckler, *Gesch. Israel's*, Theil i. p. 179). Cf. Cheyne, *Introduction to Isaiah*, pp. 4, 16 ff. OWEN C. WHITEHOUSE.

UZZIEL (עֻזִּיאֵל 'my strength is El,' cf. the name עֻזִּיָּה *Uzziah*; LXX Ὀζ(ε)ιήλ).—**1.** A son of Kohath, Ex $6^{18.\ 22}$, Lv 10^4, Nu $3^{19.\ 30}$, 1 Ch $6^{2.\ 18}$ 15^{10} $23^{12.\ 20}$ 24^{24}; with gentilic name the **Uzzielites** (הָעֻזִּיאֵלִי), Nu 3^{27}, 1 Ch 26^{23}. **2.** A Simeonite; one of those who took part in the expedition to Mt. Seïr, 1 Ch 4^{42}. **3.** Eponym of a Benjamite family, 1 Ch 7^7. **4.** A musician, of the sons of Heman, 1 Ch 25^4 (called in v.^{18} AZAREL). **5.** A Levite, of the sons of Jeduthun, 2 Ch 29^{14}. **6.** One of the guild of the goldsmiths, who took part in the repairing of the wall, Neh 3^8. **7.** See JAAZIEL.

* If the view advocated in this art. be correct, the statement in art. CHRONOLOGY OF OT (vol. i. p. 401^b *ad fin.*) will have to be modified accordingly.

V

VAGABOND.—This English word is used in AV in the sense of *wanderer* (Lat. *vagabundus*, from *vagari* to wander). It is applied to Cain, Gn 4^{12} 'A fugitive and a vagabond shalt thou be in the earth' (נָע וָנָד, LXX στένων καὶ τρέμων, Symm. ἀνάστατος καὶ ἀκατάστατος, Vulg. *vagus et profugus*, Tind. 'A vagabunde and a rennagate,' RV 'A fugitive and a wanderer'), 4^{14}; Ps 109^{10} 'Let his children be continually vagabonds, and beg' (וְנוֹעַ יְנוּעוּ בָנָיו; Cov. 'Let his children be vagabundes and begg their bred'). So in Jg 11^3 Cov. 'There resorted unto him [Jephthah] vagabundes, and wente out with him'; Fuller, *Holy War*, 206, 'Being to shape their course into Palestine, they went into France; showing they had a *vertigo* in their heads, mistaking the West for the East; or else, that like vagabonds they were never out of their way'; Goldsmith, *Citizen*, vii. 'He who goes from country to country, guided by the blind impulse of curiosity, is only a vagabond.'

The adj. occurs in Ac 19^{13} 'Certain of the vagabond Jews, exorcists' (τῶν περιερχομένων Ἰουδαίων, RV 'strolling'). So Melvill, *Diary*, 361, 'To take order with the pure [=poor] that there be not vagabund beggars'; Shaks. *Ant. and Cleop.* I. iv. 45—

'Like to a vagabond flag upon the stream.'

J. HASTINGS.

VAHEB (וָהֵב).—An unidentified locality, mentioned only in the obscure quotation from the book of the WARS OF THE LORD in Nu 21^{14} (BA Ζωόβ, F and Luc. Ζοόβ). See SUPHAH.

VAIL.—See VEIL.

VAIZATHA (וַיְזָתָא; B Ζαβουθαῖος, A Ζαβουγαθά, א Ζαβουδεθάν, Luc. Ἰζουθάθ).—One of the ten sons of Haman, Est 9^9. The name may be=Pers. *Vahyazdâta*, 'given of the Best one' (cf. Benfey, *Pers. Keilinschr.* [1847] 18, 93; F. Spiegel, *Altpers. Keilinschr.* 240).

VALE, VALLEY.—*Vale* stands in AV for two Hebrew words עֵמֶק and שְׁפֵלָה; and *valley* for five Hebrew words, שְׁפֵלָה, עֵמֶק, נַחַל, גַּיְא, בִּקְעָה, and one Greek word, φάραγξ (Lk 3^5†). Of these words, the meaning and use of בִּקְעָה, a *broad plain between hills*, שְׁפֵלָה *lowland* (so always in RV), and נַחַל *wâdy*, have been dealt with under PLAIN, **3.** **7**, and RIVER, **3**, respectively; so that גַּיְא, עֵמֶק, and φάραγξ alone remain to be considered here.

1. גַּיְא (*gai'*), always 'valley' in both AV and RV, is a *narrow* valley, and would be more exactly represented by *glen* or *ravine*. The *gai's* mentioned in the OT are—the v. of Hinnom (Jos 15^8 and frequently; 'the valley,' Jer 2^{23}), which gave its name to the '*valley*-gate' of Jerus. (2 Ch 26^9, Neh $2^{13.\ 15}$ 3^{13}); of Iphtah-'ēl, Jos $19^{14.\ 27}$, on the border between Zebulun and Asher; of Ẓebo'im (the hyænas), 1 S 13^{18}, S.E. of Gibeah; of Salt, apparently somewhere near Edom (2 S 8^{13}=1 Ch 18^{12}, cf. Ps 60^{title}; 2 K 14^7, 2 Ch 25^{11}); the v. of craftsmen, or smiths (1 S 13^{19}; cf. *HGHL* 160 f., 211), 1 Ch 4^{14} (RV here *Ge-ḥarashim*), Neh 11^{35}, near Lod (Lydda); and of Ẓephathah, 2 Ch 14^{10}, near Marēsha (though prob. 'in the v. *north of* M.' should be read with LXX; cf. Buhl, 89), no doubt the *Wâdy el-Afranj*, *HGHL* 231, 233. Valleys not expressly named are—the v. in front of Beth-pe'or, a station of the Isr., in which Moses

was buried (Nu 21^{20}, Dt 3^{29} 4^{46} 34^{6}); one on the N. of AI (Jos 8^{11}); one near Gedor (1 Ch 4^{39}; but see GEDOR, 2); one in the 'vale' of Elah (1 S 17^{3}), perhaps the 'deep trench which the combined streams' of the W. es-Sur and the W. el-Jindy 'have cut through the level land' below the point where they meet (*HGHL* 228); the 'valley of vision,' in or close to Jerus. (Is $22^{1.5}$); one close under Samaria (Is $28^{1.4}$, Mic 1^{6}); one mentioned as the ideal burial-place of the hosts of Gog (Ezk $39^{11.11.15}$); and the ravine which Zech. ($14^{4.5.5}$) pictures as being split through the Mt. of Olives, when J" descends upon it to deliver His people.

The word occurs also, without reference to specific localities, in Ps 23^{4} ('a ravine of deathly gloom,' fig. of a situation of loneliness and peril); Is 40^{4} (LXX *φάραγξ*, whence Lk 3^{5}); and in the plur. generally (usu. opp. to *mountains*), 2 K 2^{16}, Ezk 6^{3} 7^{16} 31^{12} 32^{5} 35^{8} $36^{4.6}$. In 1 S 17^{52a} (RV 'to *Gai*') 'to *Gath*' is evidently to be read with LXX and most moderns; see v.^{52b}. In the Apocrypha 'valley' stands for *φάραγξ*, Jth 2^{8} 7^{4} 11^{17} 12^{7} 13^{10}; and for *αὐλών*, Jth 4^{4} $7^{3.17}$ $10^{10.11}$.

2. עֵמֶק *'ēmeḳ* (EV mostly *valley*; AV *vale* in Gn $14^{3.8.10}$ 37^{14}, to which RV adds Gn 14^{17}, Jos 8^{13} 15^{8} 18^{16}, 1 S $17^{2.19}$ 21^{9}). *'Ēmeḳ* (lit. *depth, deepening*) is 'a highlander's word for a valley as he looks *down* into it, and is applied to wide avenues running up into a mountainous country, like the Vale of Elah, the Vale of Hebron, and the Vale of Aijalon' (*HGHL* 384). It thus denotes something broader than a *gai'*, but less extensive or plain-like than a *biḳ'āh* (PLAIN, 3); * and it is a pity that, for distinction, especially from *gai'* ('valley'), it has not in AV been uniformly represented by 'vale.'

The importance of distinguishing specific geogr. terms in the OT was long ago pointed out, and well illustrated, by Stanley, *S. and P.*, Appendix, pp. 475–534; cf. *HGHL* 653 ff. The student will find it a good plan, in the case both of these and of other synonyms (cf. CREEPING THINGS; OFFER, OFFERING) which are confused in EV, to mark on the margin of his RV either the Heb. word used or its proper English equivalent.

The following are the *'ēmeḳs* mentioned in the OT:—the 'vale' of Siddim, Gn $14^{3.8.10}$; of Shaveh, Gn 14^{17}, said there to be the same as the 'King's Vale,' which is mentioned also in 2 S 18^{18} † (according to Jos. *Ant.* VII. x. 3, 2 stadia from Jerus.); of Hebron, Gn 37^{14}; of Achor, Jos $7^{24.26}$ 15^{7}, Hos 2^{15}, Is 65^{10}; of Aijalon, Jos 10^{12}, a 'broad fertile plain gently sloping up' between the hills 'to the foot of the Central Range' (*HGHL* 210); of Rephaim, S.W. of Jerus., on the border between Judah and Benj., Jos 15^{8} 18^{16}, 2 S $5^{18.22}$ 23^{13} (=1 Ch $14^{9.13}$ 11^{15}), Is 17^{5}; ‡ of Jezreel, Jos 17^{16}, Jg 6^{33}, Hos 1^{5}, not the 'great plain' of Esdraelon (Jth 1^{8}), *W.* of Jezreel, stretching towards Carmel, but 'the broad, deep vale *E.* of Jezreel which descends to the Jordan' (*HGHL* 384 f.); of Ḳĕẓiẓ, Jos 18^{21} (RV 'Emek-keziz,' as the name occurs in an enumeration of *cities*), somewhere in E. Benjamin; of Elah, 1 S $17^{2.19}$ 21^{9}, now prob. the *W. es-Sunt*, 18 m. W.S.W. of Jerus. (*HGHL* 226 f.); of Beracah ('Blessing'), 2 Ch $20^{26.26}$, in or near the wilderness of Tekoa (v.^{20}); of Succoth, Ps 60^{6}=108^{7}, the broad part of the Jordan valley about Succoth, near the ford Dāmiyeh, S. of the Jabbok (cf. Jos 13^{27} 'in the *vale*,' of the same locality); of Baca ('weeping'), Ps 84^{6}; of Gibeon, Is 28^{21} (prob. some part of one of the gorges which lead down from Gibeon to Aijalon, Jos 10^{10-13}; cf. *HGHL* 210); of Jehoshaphat, Jl $3^{2.12}$ (perhaps the fairly broad and open part of the *naḥal* of the Kidron, between Jerus. and the Mt. of Olives), called in v.^{14} by the emblematic name 'vale of decision' (*i.e.* of judgment).

'Vales' without specified names are alluded to in Jos 8^{13} ('the vale' near Ai, rightly distinguished in RV from the 'valley' (*gai'*) of v.^{11}); 13^{19} (in Reuben); 19^{27} (a place Beth-hā'ēmeḳ, in Asher); Jg 5^{15} (the Plain of Esdraelon); $7^{1.8.12}$ (apparently the vale of Jezreel, 6^{33}); 18^{28} ('the vale that belongeth to Beth-Rĕḥob'); 1 S 6^{13} (near Beth-shemesh; the broad valley, the upper part of the *Wādy eṣ-Ṣarār* (the ancient *naḥal* of Soreḳ), opening out westwards and leading down in the direction of Ekron; (cf. *HGHL* 218 f.); 1 S 31^{7}=1 Ch 10^{7} (prob. the vale of Jezreel); Jer 21^{13} (very uncertain; the Tyropœon valley? or as Jl 3^{2}, above? or not of Jerusalem at all?); 32^{40} (the *gai'* of Hinnom); 47^{5} (of the Phil. plain, though hardly suitable, in spite of *HGHL* 655; read prob. 'the remnant of *the 'Ănāḳim*' [עֲנָקִם for עַמְקָם; see Jos 11^{22}], with LXX, Ges., Hitz., Graf, Giesebr. etc.); $49^{4.4}$ (in Ammon). The word is also used generally of 'vales' in different parts of the country, mentioned often either with reference to their fertility (cf. 1 S 6^{13}, Is 17^{5}), or as suitable for war-chariots to deploy in; Nu 14^{25}, Jos 17^{16}, Jg $1^{19.34}$, 1 K 20^{28}, 1 Ch 12^{15} 27^{29}, Job $39^{10.21}$ ('he paweth in the *valley*,' of the war-horse), Ps 65^{13}, Ca 2^{1} ('the lily of the *valleys*'), Is 22^{7} (about Jerus.), Jer 48^{8} (in Moab), Mic 1^{4}.

S. R. DRIVER.

YANIAH (יַנִּיָה [but text dub.]; B Οὐιεχωά, A Οὐουνιά, ℵ Οὐιερεχώ, Luc. Οὐανιά).—One of the sons of Bani, who had married a foreign wife, Ezr 10^{36}.

VANITY.—**1.** הֶבֶל (1) lit. a breath of air, as a gentle breeze, Is 57^{13}; a breath of the mouth, Ps 144^{4}; hence (2) fig. evanescence, emptiness, La 4^{17}, Job 9^{29}; (3) idols and idolatry, Dt 32^{21}, Jer 10^{8}, 2 K 17^{15}, Ps 31^{6}; (4) exhalation, mist, Ec 6^{4} 11^{8} (cf. ABEL [wh. see], Gn 4^{2}). **2.** אָוֶן (1) labour, sorrow, Hos 9^{4}, Hab 3^{7} (cf. Ben-oni for Benjamin, Gn 35^{18}); (2) nothingness, Is 41^{29}; worthlessness, sinfulness, Job 31^{3}, Pr 17^{4}; (3) idols and idolatry, Is 66^{3}, 1 S 15^{23} (cf. Beth-aven for Beth-el, Hos 4^{15} [see Cheyne, p. 69]; Aven for On in Egypt, Ezk 30^{17}; Aven for Heliopolis in Syria, Am 1^{5}). **3.** שָׁוְא (1) wickedness, Job 11^{11}; (2) calamity, Is 30^{28}; (3) falsehood, Ps 12^{2}; (4) emptiness, uselessness, Ps 60^{11}, Mal 3^{14}, Jer 2^{30}, Ps 127^{1}. **4.** רִיק (1) emptiness, Jer 51^{34}; hence (2) fig. a useless, worthless thing, Ps 2^{1} 4^{2} 73^{13}, Lv 26^{16}, Is 49^{4}, Hab 2^{13}. **5.** תֹּהוּ (1) waste, Gn 1^{2}, Dt 32^{10}, Is 24^{10}; hence (2) fig. emptiness, uselessness, Is 49^{4} 41^{29} 45^{19}. Greek *ματαιότης*, what is devoid of truth and fitness, 2 P 2^{18}; perverseness, Eph 4^{17}; frailty, Ro 8^{20}; also *ματαιολογία*, empty talk, 1 Ti 1^{6}; *ματαιολόγος*, idle talker, Tit 1^{10}; *μάταιος*, devoid of force, truth, success, result, Ja 1^{26}, 1 Co 15^{17} 3^{20}, Tit 3^{9}, 1 P 1^{18}; *τὰ μάταια*, idols and idolatry, Ac 14^{15}; *ματαιόω*, to become profitless, empty, Ro 1^{21}. Also *κενός*, literally empty, fig. void of truth, Eph 5^{6} Col 2^{8}; void of worth, Ja 2^{20}; void of result, 1 Co 15^{10}; *κενοδοξία*, groundless self-esteem, empty pride, Ph 2^{3}; *κενόδοξος*, conceited, Gal 5^{26}; *κενοφωνία*, empty discussion, 1 Ti 6^{20}, 2 Ti 2^{16}; *κενόω*, to empty, to make void, Ro 4^{14}, 2 Co 9^{3}: also some other words of less importance.

The varied senses, literal and figurative, of the words tr. 'vanity' indicate the wide range of its use in the Scriptures. The literal tr. 'breath' would probably be better than 'vanity' in several passages (Ps 78^{33} 94^{11} 144^{4}, Is 57^{13}) in which the word is used to indicate the evanescence of man's life (also Ec 6^{4} 11^{8}, cf. Ro 8^{20}), which itself is unsubstantial and unsatisfying (Job $7^{3.16}$, Ps $39^{5.6.11}$, Hab 2^{13}). Man himself cannot be trusted (Ps 60^{11} 62^{9}), and this his worthlessness is shown alike in falsehood (Job 31^{5}, Ps 12^{2} 41^{6}, Pr 30^{8}, Is 58^{9} 59^{4})

* Only once or twice does it seem to be used of what is elsewhere described by one of these words (Jer 21^{13}? 32^{44}; Jg 5^{15}).

† AV '*dale*' in these two passages; RV inconsistently 'King's Vale' in Gn 14^{17}, 'king's dale' in 2 S 18^{18}.

‡ RV, again inconsistently, 'vale' in Joshua, elsewhere 'valley.'

and in wickedness (Job 11[11] 31[3], Ps 10[7], Is 5[18], Eph 4[17], 2 P 2[18]), of which the disaster and disappointment of his lot are but the punishment (Job 15[31. 35], Is 30[28], Pr 22[8]), although man dares to question God's meaning in making him (Ps 89[47], cf. Is 45[18]).

As there is but one God, idols are unreal (Is 66[3], Jer 10[15] 51[18], cf. 1 Co 8[4]); their worship is unprofitable (Dt 32[21], 1 S 15[23], 2 K 17[15], Ps 4[2] 24[4] 31[6], Jer 2[5] 10[3. 8] 16[19] 18[15], cf. Ac 14[15]), and their worshippers worthless (1 S 12[21], 2 K 17[15], Is 41[29] 44[9]). Under the same judgment come false prophecy (Jer 23[16], La 2[14], Ezk 13[1-23], Zec 10[2]), reliance on any other help than God's (Is 30[7], Jer 3[23], La 4[17]), and ritual without righteousness (Is 1[13], cf. Ja 1[26] 2[20]). While to doubt or unbelief, God's service (Ps 73[13], Mal 3[14]), His dealing (Jer 2[30], Is 49[4]), and even His law (Jer 8[8]), may seem to come to naught, yet He does reward those who do His will (Dt 32[47], Is 65[23]), and fulfils His promises (Is 45[19]) as His threats (Ezk 6[10]). Without His blessing (Ps 127[1. 2]), or by His curse (Lv 26[16]), man's labour is profitless (cf. Pr 13[11] 21[6]), for man before God is nothing (Is 40[17. 23]), and his charms worthless (Pr 31[30]).

Jesus pronounced worthless alike Gentile ritual (Mt 6[7]) and Pharisaic piety (Mt 15[9], Mk 7[7], cf. 1 P 1[18]), and Paul so judged pagan philosophy and the speculative theology which, under its influence, was finding entrance into the Church (Ro 1[21], Eph 5[6], 1 Co 3[20], Col 2[8], and 1 Ti 1[6] 6[20], 2 Ti 2[16], Tit 1[10] 3[9]). Christian faith, life, and service have worth and use (1 Co 15[10. 58], 1 Th 2[1]), but may lose these through man's failure or faithlessness (1 Co 9[15], 2 Co 6[1] 9[3], Ph 2[16], 1 Th 3[5]). Denial of the resurrection of Christ makes Christian preaching false (1 Co 15[14]) and Christian faith profitless (1 Co 15[17]); and even belief in works empties faith of worth (Ro 4[14]) and Christ's death of meaning (Gal 2[21]).

Thus, in the Bible, 'vanity' is used in the objective sense of emptiness, worthlessness, unprofitableness, uselessness, deceit, and illusion; in the subjective sense of conceit or pride it is not used, but the idea is expressed by the compound words vainglory (Ph 2[3]) and vainglorious (Gal 5[26]). The fullest treatment of the vanity of man's life, work, joy, and hope is found in the Bk. of ECCLESIASTES (which see).

A. E. GARVIE.

VASHNI.—Samuel's firstborn son, according to MT of 1 Ch 6[13] (Eng. 28), which is followed by AV. RV, following the Syr. (see mg.), and on the strength of v.[18] (33) and the ‖ 1 S 8[2], supplies **Joel** as the name of Samuel's oldest son, and substitutes 'and the second Abiah' (וְהַשֵּׁנִי אֲבִיָּה) for 'Vashni and Abiah' (וְשֵׁנִי וַאֲבִיָּה). This is supported also by Luc. [although BA have Σαν(ε)ί] Ἰωὴλ καὶ ὁ δεύτερος Ἀβιά, and is adopted by Driver, Kittel, Benzinger, *et al.*

VASHTI (וַשְׁתִּי, perh. = Pers. *vahista*, 'best' [Jensen, *Ztschr. f. Kunde d. Morgenl.* 1892, pp. 63, 70, connects the name with that of the Elamite goddess *Mašti* or *Wašti*; see also Wildeboer, *Kurzer Hdcom.* 'Esther,' p. 173]; BA Ἀστίν, Luc. Οὐαστίν).—The name of the queen of Ahasuerus (Xerxes), Est 1[9. 11. 12. 15. 16. 17. 19] 2[1. 4. 17]. See art. ESTHER in vol. i. p. 775.

VAU OR **WAW** (ו).—The sixth letter of the Hebrew alphabet, and as such employed in the 119th Psalm to designate the 6th part, each verse of which begins with this letter. In this Dictionary it is transliterated, when consonantal, by *v* or *w*.

VEDAN (וְדָן [AV, taking ו as conjunction, tr. 'Dan also'], Ezk 27[19]).—Name of a city (Rashi). It is identical in form with the Arabic Waddan, a name clearly connected with the god Wadd, who was worshipped by Kalb and other tribes. The geographers mention three places of this name, of which the only one that can be plausibly identified with Vedan is midway between Mecca and Medinah, six miles from Abwa on the pilgrims' road (Istakhri, etc.). It was celebrated in Islam as the scene of Mohammed's first campaign, and also as the home of the poet Nusaib. Modern travellers in this perilous region do not appear to mention the name. Ezekiel says that Vedan exported goods from Uzal to Tyre, implying that the first was a port. Waddan may at one time have been one, and have ceased to be so owing to the recession of the sea. If Uzal is Ṣan'a, the goods had to come a long distance. According to Burckhardt (*Travels in Arabia*, French ed. ii. 216), the pilgrims take forty-three days from Ṣan'a to Medinah. See UZAL.

Brugsch (*Religion der alten Ægypter*, p. 152) suggests that Vedan is to be identified with 'Uethen, also written Ueten, Ueden, and Uedenu, a spice-bearing country, situated to the east of Egypt, whose inhabitants, the Uethentians, were first subdued by king Thotmosis III.' According to Mariette (*Karnak*, p. 47), the monument to which he refers is a work of imagination, not of history, and it would be a mistake to demand of it decisive arguments on questions of geography.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

VEIL and (AV) **VAIL.**—In the AV 'vail' and 'veil' are both used, and that alike for the article of dress so called, and for a part of the tabernacle and the temple. The spelling 'veil' in AV does not occur outside the NT, except in Ca 5[7]. On the other hand, 'vail' is not used in the NT, except in 2 Co 3[13ff.]. In RV 'veil' is the uniform spelling.

i. *The Veil of the Tabernacle and the Temple.*—Two Heb. words used in connexion with the tabernacle are tr. in AV 'veil.' **1.** מָסָךְ (*māsākh*), RV 'screen,' stands for the coloured linen covering which hung before the door of the *hêkāl* or Holy Place.* It is also used for a similar covering which hung in front of the gate entering the court.† **2.** פָּרֹכֶת (*pārôketh*), perh. from Assyr. 'what shuts off,' is the technical term for the veil of the same material which hung between the *hêkāl* and *dĕbîr* or Most Holy Place;‡ for this we find also a combination of the two words, thus פָּרֹכֶת הַמָּסָךְ.§ All the above occurrences are in P, and they relate to the tabernacle—a significant fact.

We read of no veil in Solomon's temple nor in Ezekiel's, except that 2 Ch 3[14], written under P's influence, says Solomon's temple had a *pārôketh* or inner veil. Besides the one passage adduced, there is no Biblical evidence for this fact. Thenius reconstructs 1 K 6[21] so as to bring the word *pārôketh* into the text; but he has absolutely no support from MSS, versions, or ancient citations. Lund‖ and the older authorities generally take for granted that the outer and inner veils of the tabernacle were found also in Solomon's temple. The only proof Lund gives is the above passage from Chronicles.

It is probable that Zerubbabel's temple had veils corresponding to the *māsākh* and *pārôketh* of the tabernacle, but there is no certainty of this. Since the tabernacle follows the second temple in so many matters in which the latter differs from Solomon's temple (*outer* and *inner* courts, etc.), it is *a priori* likely that they coincided in having an outer veil before the entrance of the *hêkāl* and an inner one before the entrance of the *dĕbîr*.¶

* Ex 26[36f.] 39[38] 40[5].

† Ex 35[17] 39[40].

‡ Ex 26[31. 33. 35], etc.

§ Ex 35[12] 39[34] 40[21], Nu 4[5]. In Lv 24[3] פָּרֹכֶת הָעֵדֻת 'veil of the testimony' (because hiding the ark), 4[6] פָּרֹכֶת הַמָּסָךְ.

‖ *Heiligthümer*, 307[b].

¶ τὸ καταπέτασμα, with the article, stands in LXX (Ex 26[33] etc.) and in Philo (*Vit. Moys.* III. iii. 5) for the inner veil, *the* veil pre-eminently.

The evidence that Herod's temple had the two veils referred to above is stronger, though not conclusive. It is but one veil—the inner—that is spoken of in the NT, and that only in two connexions, viz. the account of the Crucifixion in the Synoptics,* ('the veil of the temple was rent in twain') and also in Hebrews.† In the latter it is the tabernacle, not the temple, that is meant; but as this Epistle was written almost certainly before the destruction of the temple in A.D. 71, there would have been some hint of it if the sanctuary known to the writer lacked this feature.

Josephus clearly points out the existence of the two veils in the temple which he describes, and there can be little doubt that his account is based on what he saw. Of the outer one he says, 'it was a Babylonian curtain of fine linen interwoven with blue scarlet and purple, and of a contexture that roused admiration.'‡ The inner veil, it seems implied, was of the same kind.

Maimonides says there were thirteen veils about the temple, viz. seven for the seven gates of the court; one at the gate of the porch, one at the gate of the temple; two between the *hêkāl* and *dĕbîr*, and two in the space above the house. Lightfoot adopts this opinion.§ Another Jewish opinion which Lightfoot,‖ Lund,¶ and others approve of is, that in the post-exilic temples the cubit-thick wall separating *hêkāl* and *dĕbîr* of Solomon's and Ezekiel's temples was lacking. Instead of it there were two veils one cubit apart, occupying therefore exactly the same space as the wall. In favour of this, Lightfoot, followed by Lund, adduces Maimonides ** and the Talmud, both Mishna †† and Gemara,‡‡ though in the latter Rabbi Jose raises a discordant voice, which is silenced by the harmonizing Rabbis.

ii. *The Veil as an article of dress.*—Many of the words rendered 'veil' in EV designate articles which would not be so called in modern English books, as they do not cover the face alone, nor do they in all cases cover the face at all. Indeed, even the face-veils which may be seen in Egypt and Palestine very rarely cover more than the lower half of the face, leaving the eyes and forehead entirely exposed. The white muslin veils which cover the whole face are used in the harem, and are not intended to *cover*, but to *decorate* the face.§§

The veil plays a much more important part in women's life in the East than in the West. No respectable woman in an Eastern village or city goes out without it, and, if she does, she is in danger of being misjudged; indeed, English and American missionaries in Egypt told the present writer that their own wives and daughters when going about find it often best to wear the veil.

But it should be borne in mind that the ancient Egyptians were as much strangers to the face-veils as Europeans are, for on their paintings and sculptures such veils never appear.‖‖ Nor were such veils worn by the ancient Ethiopians,¶¶ Greeks,*** or the primitive inhabitants of Asia Minor.††† They are not worn at the present day in Egypt or Syria by slaves, by the very poor, by the Bedawin, nor in out-of-the-way places by any, as a rule. The present writer stayed two days with the chief of Tobas, between Nâblus and the Jordan: the wife, daughters, etc., wore no veils, and were quite free. The people who have been most influenced by Islâmic culture are most observant of the veil, which is in favour of the belief that its use in the modern East, and also the institution of the harem, are due to Islâm.

In early times the Israelites laid but little stress on the use of the veil by women. Neither Sarah nor Rebekah wore it on the occasions mentioned in Gn 12^{14} and $24^{65f.}$, though Rebekah put it on when she appeared before Isaac. When worn at all in Biblical times, it was mostly* as an ornament, as is the case now with Moslem women in the harem. Jewish women in Palestine—Jerusalem, etc.—are not in the habit of wearing veils.

Gn $24^{65f.}$ and $29^{22f.}$ show that it was customary among the early Israelites for betrothed maidens to veil themselves before their future husbands, and especially at the time of the wedding. This custom obtains in Egypt at the present day.† The use of the veil by betrothed maidens and brides may betoken subjection. St. Paul in 1 Co $2^{5ff.}$ so regards it.‡

Rashi says, 'The Israelitish women in Arabia go out veiled (רְעוּלוֹת), while those in India go out with a cloak fastened about the mouth' (פְּרוּפוֹת). It has been inferred from Gn 38^{14} that immoral women were to be known by the veil they wore;§ but probably Tamar wore the usual veil on the occasion referred to in order to escape recognition by her father-in-law, Judah. Nor does Ex 34^{33-35} show that men as well as women wore veils. Moses when he descended from the mountain wore a מַסְוֶה, *i.e.* a covering: a word not elsewhere used, though its cognate סוּת is found,‖ and has for parallel לְבֻשׁ 'clothing,' 'garment.' מַסֵּכָה ¶ occurs in Is 25^{7} (AV 'vail') and 28^{20}, and by RV it is rendered rightly 'covering.' מַסְוֶה, סוּת, and מַסֵּכָה are general terms, and should never be tr. 'veil.' כְּסוּת עֵינַיִם in Gn 20^{16} does not mean a veil, but a covering or blinding of the eyes by a gift; cf. Dillm. *ad loc.*, and vol. iii. p. 129^{a}.

The following Heb. words appear to denote veils in a stricter sense:—

1. רְעָלָה.** See art. MUFFLERS. **2.** The צָעִיף is what Rebekah wore before Isaac,†† and Tamar before her father-in-law.‡‡ The word means what is 'doubled' over.§§ We know that it covered the face.‖‖ **3.** צָמָה is tr. by AV in Is 47^{2}, Ca $4^{1.\ 3}$ 6^{7} 'locks' (of hair), but there can be little doubt that the word means some kind of veil. That like צָעִיף it covered the face, is all we know about it. **4.** רְדִיד appears to have been a light garment which covered the whole dress,¶¶ as Jerome*** and Schröder held.††† See Del. (on Is 3^{23}), and art. MANTLE, vol. iii. p. 240^{a}. **5.** סָדִין ‡‡‡ is held by Delitzsch to have been a kind of veil or light summer outer garment. The Arabic word (*sidn, sadeen*) is explained by Freytag and Lane as 'veil'; but a veil in the English sense is hardly meant by the Hebrew or the Arabic word. It was probably a summer outer dress of fine material (cambric or muslin), and so, according to Is 3^{23}, capable of much adornment. See Del. on Pr 31^{24}.

LITERATURE.—In addition to the works cited above, cf. Dozy, *Diction. détaillé d. noms des vêtements chez les Arabes*; Weiss, *Gesch. der Tracht und des Geräths der Völker des Alterthums*, Stuttg. 1881; and also the works on Biblical Archæology, especially that by Nowack. T. W. DAVIES.

VERMILION.—See COLOURS, vol. i. p. 458^{b}.

VERSIONS.—

Introductory.
- i. General History: (*a*) origin and early history; (*b*) revisions; (*c*) printed editions.
- ii. Method of use, and precautions to be observed: (*a*) those precautions common to all authorities; (*b*) those peculiar to the Versions.
- iii. Uses of the Versions: (*a*) critical; (*b*) exegetical; (*c*) general, in connexion with the history of the Bible, Canon, etc.; (*d*) literary and philological.

Introductory.—The object of this article is not to treat any Version in detail, but to draw atten-

* Mt 27^{51} ‖ Mk 13^{38} ‖ Lk 23^{45}. † 6^{19} 9^{3} 10^{20}.
‡ *Kele Mikdash*, cap. 7; quoted by Lightfoot (*Works*, Pitman's ed. ix. 280).
§ *Loc. cit.* ‖ *Hor. Heb.* Mt 27^{57}. ¶ *Heilig.* 308^{a}.
** *Beth Habbechirah*, cap. 4. †† *Midd.* iv. 7.
‡‡ Same passage. §§ See DRESS, vol. i. 628.
‖‖ Weiss, *Kostümkunde*, p. 13. ¶¶ *Ib.* p. 56.
*** *Ib.* 318; cf. Lübke, *Grundriss der Kunstgeschichte* (1879), i. 149 ff.
††† Weiss, 173 f.

* Ca $4^{1.\ 3}$ 6^{9}.
† Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, i. (Gardner, 1895, p. 182, ch. vi.).
‡ Commentary on *Shabbath* 65*a*; quoted by Delitzsch on Is 3^{23}.
§ Winer^{3} ('Schleier') and many others.
‖ Gn 49^{11}.
¶ Same root as סֻכָּה 'booth,' *i.e.* covered place.
** Is 3^{19}. †† Gn 24^{65}. ‡‡ $38^{1.\ 4.\ 19}$.
§§ Same root as ضعف II *to double*; Syr. ܐܟܦ (for ܨܥܦ = צעיף) *double*. See Lag. as quoted in *Oxf. Heb. Lex.*
‖‖ *Loc. cit.* ¶¶ Ca 57, Is 3^{23}. *** On Is 3^{23}.
††† *Vestit. Mulierum.* ‡‡‡ Is 3^{23}.

tion to some of the features common to them all, with only sufficient illustrations * to make the general statements intelligible.

It will be well to state at the outset the main objects which the student of the Versions may have in view. The most important is their use for critical purposes in conjunction with MSS of the original text of the OT or NT, and with Patristic Quotations. The second is their use for exegetical purposes. Thirdly, they have a value in connexion with the history of the Bible and the light they throw on a number of questions, such as the Canon, the order of books inside the Canon, etc. Lastly, many of the Versions are of the greatest interest from a literary and philological standpoint, because they are often the earliest monuments of the language in which they are written.

Their exact and scientific use, however, depends on a knowledge of their history, and on a consideration of certain precautions and limitations, which their history shows to be necessary if sound conclusions are to be reached. It will be desirable, therefore, firstly to consider some general points in their history, secondly to notice some of the necessary cautions, and lastly to discuss the uses just enumerated.

i. General History.—The first reference to translations of the Bible is found by some in the words of Neh 8^{8} 'They read in the book in the law of God distinctly [RVm 'with an interpretation'], and they gave the sense so that they understood the reading.' The Heb. word מְפֹרָשׁ used for 'distinctly' occurs again in Ezr 4^{18}, where RVm renders 'translated.' The text gives more correctly than the margin the meaning of the Hebrew, which does not imply more than clearness in the reading. Moreover, the supposed need of a translation requires us to believe that the Jews returned from the Exile ignorant of the Hebrew in which the Law was written—a view hardly tenable in face of the post-exilic writings contained in the Bible. In any case we should have to think of an explanation rather than a translation, and an oral and not a written Version. We cannot therefore fix precisely the date at which Versions of the Bible began to be made.

There is little doubt that the earliest Version committed to writing was the Septuagint, begun for the use of the Alexandrian Jews under Ptolemy II. (B.C. 285–247), and 'it is probable that before the Christian era Alexandria possessed the whole or nearly the whole of the Hebrew Scriptures in a Greek translation' (Swete, *Introd. to OT in Greek*, p. 25). The only other Version for which there is likely to have been any demand in pre-Christian times is the Syriac. There are various traditions as to the origin of this Version, *e.g.* those recorded by Gregory Barhebræus, which refer it to the date of Solomon (who is said to have had it made for Hiram), or to the incidents recorded in 2 K 17^{27}, or that recorded by Jacob of Edessa, which assigns it to the date of Abgar, king of Edessa. Like the Septuagint, it was not the work of one time or one hand; for 'from the differences of style and manner in its several parts we may suppose that it was made by many hands, and covered a long period of time' (W. Wright, *Encyc. Brit.* 'Syr. Lit.' p. 824). The earliest definite reference to the Version is in a commentary of Melito of Sardis, where ὁ Σύρος is cited at Gn 22^{13}. To this date, *i.e.* to the 2nd cent. A.D., the beginning of the Version may be assigned. To the same century the beginning of the Latin Version, and to that or the following century the origin of the Egyptian Versions, is generally ascribed. These represent the earliest Versions of the Bible, and they are succeeded by numberless others up to the present time.

If the beginnings of the history of the Versions take us back so far, and are veiled in obscurity, the last chapter cannot yet be written, for each year sees some fresh translation made for purposes of missionary work.* The chief critical interest of the latest is to be found only in the illustrations they afford of the difficulties which beset the translator of every age in his attempt to transfer the ideas and expressions of one language into those of another without suggesting new associations or dropping old ones.

The study of this long history is a fascinating subject. It presents problems of all kinds, and for their solution draws on the stores which have been accumulated by the students of language and literature, of art, of palæography, of liturgical usage, of history,† and many other branches of knowledge, while in return the MSS of the Versions contribute to all these studies material which is often of the greatest value, and can be found nowhere else. Hence the student of the Versions will find materials in books and periodicals dealing with almost every subject, and the literature is almost boundless.

1. *Origin and early History.*—The first point to try to make clear is at *what date and place*, and in *what circumstances*, the Versions in each language were made. We find general and somewhat rhetorical statements, like that of Chrysostom, in which he says, in his first Homily on St. John, that the Syrians, Indians, Persians, Ethiopians, and numberless other nations, have translations into their own languages. But it is only in regard to some of the later ones, that is, those made in and after the 4th cent., that we have definite historical statements on these points: as, for example, in the case of the Gothic, Armenian, and Slavonic; and even these apparently definite statements will not always stand cross-examination, and need explanation or qualification. In some cases they are so much later than the event to which they refer as to be untrustworthy in detail, while in other cases they lack perspective, and ascribe to one person or date work which probably passed through several hands and extended over a long period. Besides such historical statements, which have to be carefully examined before we use them, we have arguments of an inferential kind, based on the evidence afforded by the MSS of the Version itself.

The first question which we naturally ask is whether the Versions were *authoritative*, the work of translators chosen for their knowledge of the two languages involved, and from MSS carefully selected of a collection of books regarded as canonical, or whether they were made by private and irresponsible persons independently, in different districts, and from chance MSS of separate books as they became known or were required for use. Obviously, the answer to such questions is of great importance, but definite answers can rarely be given.

* Many of these illustrations are taken from those collected by the writer for his Ellerton Essay, printed in part in *Studia Biblica*, ii. 195 ff., on 'The Evidence of the Early Versions and Patristic Quotations on the Text of the Books of the New Testament.'

* For a list of these see (1) *In our Tongues*: a popular handbook to the translation work of the British and Foreign Bible Society, by G. A. King; 2nd issue, comprising the work of the last quarter of a century, 1875–1899; also (2) *Bible House Papers*, i.–v.

† The use of *language* may be illustrated from the discussion of the African origin of the Old Latin; of *art*, from the use made of different kinds of decoration found in MSS, such as the Celtic, to identify the place of origin; of *palæography*, from the evidence based on different national hands, Irish, Lombardic, etc.; of *liturgical usage*, from the use made of the notes in Codex Bezæ (*JThSt*, i. 454), or in connexion with the Lindisfarne Gospels (Berger, *Histoire de la Vulgate*, p. 39); of *history*, from the article on Codex Amiatinus in *Studia Biblica*, ii.

There can be little doubt that the earlier the Version the more likely the second alternative is to be true. Thus Ridley says: *plures a pluribus interpretibus in vulgus effusæ sunt explicatius quæ tandem collectæ et nonnunquam refictæ in unum Codicem vel editionem relatæ sunt*;* and elsewhere,† in the same treatise, that the Versions were at first a sort of Targum, derived from copies *circumforaneis et vulgatioribus*, from which the glosses were gradually removed. Similarly Augustine, in a well-known passage,‡ writes in regard to the Latin: *ut cuique primis fidei temporibus in manus venit Codex Græcus et aliquantulum facultatis sibi utriusque linguæ habere videbatur, ausus est interpretari.* This hypothesis, while it does not destroy the value of the Versions as evidence often older than our MSS of the Greek text of the NT, certainly lessens the authority we should, on the first hypothesis, have to give them as made from the best MSS of the time, and exhibiting *non unius alteriusve hominis sed totius ecclesiæ interpretationem et judicium.*§—In regard to some of the later Versions we are told, and may well believe, that they were made by carefully chosen persons from specially selected MSS. But even then the area of selection must have been limited by circumstances of place and time and opportunity. So that, in the last resort, our estimate of the critical value of a Version and its text must be formed entirely from that text as contained in the MSS of the Version, or rather as it can be restored to its original form by the removal of errors which have come in during the centuries. For it has to be remembered that in some cases a considerable interval has elapsed between the date at which the Version was first made and that of the earliest MS of it. It is true that in no case is the interval as great as the thousand years or more which separate the last Heb. book of the OT from the earliest MS in which it is preserved to us. Of the more important Versions the Bohairic may be taken as the most striking instance in which the MSS of the Version, with very few exceptions, belong to a date very much later than that of the Version itself.‖ We nearly always have to measure the interval by centuries, and in that time much often happened ¶ to alter the original characteristics of the Versions, both in regard to the text which underlay them and the language in which that text was expressed, and so to obscure or distort the light thrown by the MSS of a Version on its origin. But, even when we have made all necessary allowances, much evidence remains which may be used to date and localize the origin of a Version. First and foremost comes a comparison with the quotations found in Patristic writers using the same language. Thus the value of the writings of Tatian, Ephraem, and Aphraates has been generally recognized in regard to the Syriac Versions and their relation to each other, though there is divergence of opinion as to the actual conclusions to be drawn. Again, a comparison of the Old Latin with the Latin Fathers, especially Cyprian and Tertullian, gave Wiseman the first clue, which has, however, to be used with caution,** to the grouping of the MSS of that Version into families. The Patristic quotations often help us to date, as well as to localize, the text found in a Version. Thus Robert†† dates the Version contained in the Lyons Heptateuch by its agreement with the Quotations of Lucifer of Cagliari, and its differences from those of Ambrose and Augustine.—Another argument in regard to the date and origin of Versions is furnished by the order in which the books of the Bible are given, or the Canon of Scripture which is implied.* This argument has been used to refer the Peshitta to a date prior to that at which all the Catholic Epistles and the Apocalypse were included in the Canon.

Other arguments in regard to origin are derived from linguistic considerations, and from notes by scribes and others in the margin of the text or elsewhere in the MSS. At the same time, in regard to all these it has to be remembered that *data* which seem at first sight to be coeval with the Version, and to throw light on its origin, may have been either carried over from the text on which the Version was based, or introduced later by some scribe.† Instances of these possibilities are afforded by liturgical notes, text divisions, dialectical peculiarities of spelling, etc. etc.

2. *Revisions.*—The constant use of the Versions from the date at which they were made onwards required the multiplication of copies. This necessarily involved the introduction of numerous unintentional errors, and gave occasion for linguistic or grammatical changes, and led also to a comparison of the text contained in the Version with that of other authorities. The best-known instances are afforded by the work of Origen on the LXX, and Jerome on the Old Latin. As to such revisions we have the evidence of direct statements, and that of the MSS themselves. We have the well-known passage in Jerome's letter to Damasus, in which he refers to errors introduced not only by *vitiosi interpretes*, but also by *præsumtores imperiti* and *librarii dormitantes.* This led him to his work of revision, of which the Vulgate was the result. Later on in the history of the same Version, the recurrence of the same kind of corruptions, and growing uncertainty as to the right text, led to such revisions as those of Alcuin at the end of the 8th cent. and those of the *Biblia Correctoria* in the 13th. Such formal revisions as those mentioned in connexion with the Latin Version find parallels in many other languages.

They involved the removal of copyists' errors of various kinds, and also changes in the Version itself, such as the translation of words which had been in the first instance merely transliterated, the substitution of current and approved words for those which were obsolete or provincial, a greater consideration for grammar and usage, which had been perhaps sacrificed to secure greater fidelity, as it was thought, to the words and sense of the original.‡

Again, in the revisions, reference was sometimes made to the text contained in MSS on the authority of which the Version was based, and to other Versions. That this was so we know from definite statements such as that made by Thomas of Harkel, who tells us that in his revision of the Philoxenian Syriac, in A.D. 616, he used 'two or three accurate Greek MSS in the Enaton of Alexandria,' and the readings derived from that source make the marginal readings of the Version of great value. Similar statements as to the use of Greek MSS for revision are made in regard to several other Versions, and it would be an obvious thing for a critical reviser to do.

But the influence of other authorities besides the original text in these revisions has to be remembered. The influence of the Vulgate will

* *De verss. Syr. indole* (ed. Semler, 1760), p. 334.
† See pp. 284, 291.
‡ *De doctr. Christ.* ii. 11.
§ Walton's Polyglot, *Proleg.* § 5. 3.
‖ Hyvernat, *Étude sur les versions Coptes de la Bible*, p. 10 ff., gives a list of MSS here referred to, with dates.
¶ See below on 'Revisions.'
** Scrivener, *Introd.* ii. 44; and art. OLD LATIN VERSIONS in vol. iii.
†† *Hept. Partis poster. versio e cod. Lugd.* p. xxvii ff.

* See below, p. 854 f.
† Berger, *Histoire de la Vulgate*, p. 53.
‡ In some cases the later Versions were more literal than the earlier, *e.g.* that of Aquila and the Philoxenian Syriac.

be a case in point. And in dealing with *phenomena* which suggest such influence it must not be forgotten, as is sometimes done, that the true explanation of the resemblances of two Versions may often be, not that they are derived one from the other, but that both are independently traceable to MSS of the Greek, which have a similar type of text.

These revisions differed greatly both in extent and in character, and occasionally it is matter for argument which is the revised and which the unrevised text. Sometimes, as in the case of Origen's revision of the LXX, they have created a chasm in the history of the text which it is well-nigh impossible to bridge over. Sometimes—and in considering the temper in which these revisions would be conducted this is important—we meet with great reluctance to change what was old and familiar even though it was wrong.* The old was therefore retained in part. Thus, in the case of the Latin Version, the Old Latin renderings survived side by side with those of the Vulgate for some centuries. Berger† notices that the use of OL survived in Bohemia as late as the 15th cent. Gregory the Great in his Preface to Job says, *ut comprobationis causa exigit nunc novam nunc veterem per testimonia assumo.* Walafrid Strabo (*Pref. ad Gloss. Ord.*) speaks of it as something recent, that the Version of Jerome was in general use when he wrote in the 9th cent.—*Hieronymi translatione nunc ubique utitur tota Romana ecclesia licet non in omnibus libris.* It is clear from what has been said in regard to revisions which may have been made by private persons without any historical notice of the fact, that they constitute the main difficulty of the student in his attempt to recover the text of the Version in its original form. But it is obvious that the amount of success attained in surmounting this difficulty will be the measure of the certainty with which arguments may be built on the data afforded by the texts contained in the MSS of Versions. And it is to this end that these MSS have to be grouped as far as possible into families, which often indicate the nature and extent of the revision, and show that some MSS contain an unrevised, others a revised, form of the Version.‡

3. *Printed Editions.*—It is necessary to warn the student against the indiscriminate use of printed editions as evidence of the true text, and also against statements which rest only on such editions. In days gone by it was often accident rather than choice which determined what MS or MSS should be used; nor had the editor the ideas which prevail at present either as to the minute accuracy required for a critical edition, or as to the collection of material necessary for it. Thus Uscan, the first editor of the Armenian Version (1668), admits that he introduced several passages from the Latin without any MS authority. Again, in the Roman edition of the Ethiopic of 1548, the *lacunæ* in the Ethiopic MS used were translated from Greek MSS and the Vulgate. Similar unfavourable criticisms must be made of most of the older editions of the Versions as deficient in regard to the MSS used, or to the way in which they were used, or both. This makes it necessary to accept with caution the evidence of the Versions even as quoted by Tischendorf in the *apparatus criticus* of his *Novum Testamentum*, for he relied in many cases on such imperfect editions.* The more critical use, and the danger of quoting vaguely, may be seen from a reference to the second and third *appendices* to Lloyd's *Greek Testament*, edited by Dr. Sanday, and referred to in the note below. Much has been done, and is being done, in preparing adequate and accurate critical editions of the most important Versions such as the LXX, the Latin, the Syriac, the Egyptian, and others. When these are complete, the student will be able to handle the material with confidence. The editors will probably in no case formulate any text as that of the original Version, but will print the text of some one MS, and leave the student to draw his own conclusion from the *apparatus criticus*. They will, as a rule, not attempt to give the readings of all the known MSS, as Holmes and Parsons did in their monumental work on the Septuagint, but only the evidence of those MSS the texts of which are in any sense important for the reconstruction of the history of the Version.

ii. Method of Use, and Precautions to be observed.—From what has been said as to the general characteristics of the history of Versions, and the state in which their evidence is available for the student, it is clear that their accurate use depends on the observance of certain critical rules, some of which (1) are common to all the authorities used for recovering an ancient text, while (2) others are peculiar to the use of Versions as evidence.

1. (*a*) Each MS of the Version has to be carefully examined with reference to its date, the care with which it has been copied, the text on which it seems to be based, and its relation to other MSS of the Version. Tertullian's canon, *id verius quod prius*, may be accepted as a starting-point. But it is often difficult, as we have seen, to determine the date from the evidence of the MS itself, which is often all that is available. Nor is age an invariable guide as to the value of the text contained in a MS, for some late MSS may be copied from good early ones. Thus *each* MS has to be weighed in reference to the degree of accuracy with which it seems to present the text as it left the hand of the translator, and in reference to other MSS containing texts which have been definitely identified with particular dates or localities. (*b*) It has further to be remembered that the different parts of the Bible, and in many cases even the separate books, though they have come to be united in one MS, may have had a different origin and textual history in the case of the Versions, just as in the case of Greek MSS of the NT. The earliest Versions were made when the books of the Bible circulated either separately or in small collections, and at no time till the 7th or 8th cent. do we meet with a complete MS of any Version of the whole Bible, and the text, even of such complete MSS, we should expect to have been derived from MSS which contained only parts of the Bible, and therefore had not an identical history. It is possible, to take one instance, that the difficulties in reducing Tertullian's quotations to a system may be in part due to his having used separate MSS, say, of St. Paul's Epistles. Again, within a group of books, such as the Pentateuch,

* Augustine (*Ep.* 71, ed. Benedict, vol. ii. p. 161) writes to Jerome as to the uproar caused by Jerome's Version reading *hedera* instead of the familiar *cucurbita* in Jon 4^6. Another case is that of the congregation which persisted in chanting *floriet* for *florebit*. This false conservatism in perpetuating mistakes is not obsolete, as may be seen by the refusal to correct the obvious mistakes (*e.g.* Is 9^3) of the English Bible of 1611.

† *Histoire de la Vulgate*, p. 74.

‡ This division of the MSS of a Version against each other may be seen in any critical edition of a Version, *e.g.* that of the Vulgate; and in regard to some of the less accessible, in Dr. Sanday's *Appendices ad Novum Test.* iii.

* Thus Lightfoot (*Colossians*, p. 246 n.) writes as follows:—'The readings of the Memphitic [or Bohairic] version are very incorrectly given even by the principal editors such as Tregelles and Tischendorf, the translation of Wilkins being commonly adopted though full of errors, and no attention being paid to the various readings of Boetticher's text'; and again (*ib.* p. 247), 'the true readings of the Syriac version are just the reverse of those assigned to them even by the chief critical editors, Tregelles and Tischendorf.' In *JThSt*, i. 611, it is noticed that Tischendorf often omits altogether the renderings of Philoxenian Syriac. The time has almost come for a new edition of Tischendorf, but this will not be possible till critical editions of the separate Versions and Fathers are available.

where we might have expected uniformity, we find that the Old Latin fragments at Lyons, Würzburg, and Munich stand in quite different relations to each other in the Books of Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers—a fact which shows that the Old Latin text in those MSS had a separate history in these separate books.

2. (*a*) The two considerations just mentioned depend on the fortunes of the Version after it left the hand of the translator, and are not especially characteristic of Versions; but there are others which are peculiar to translations as such. Thus we have to ascertain whether a Version is *primary* or *secondary*, *i.e.* derived directly from the text which it is to be used to restore, or indirectly through the medium of another translation.

Perhaps the best-known illustration will be afforded by the Latin Psalter.* Of this book we have (i.) the text of the Old Latin Psalter as contained, for instance, in MS 11947 of the *Bibliothèque National*; (ii.) the *Roman* Psalter, the first revision of Jerome made in A.D. 383 with the help of the κοινή text of the LXX; (iii.) the *Gallican* Psalter, made in A.D. 385 according to the hexaplar text of the LXX, the present Vulgate Psalter; (iv.) the *Psalterium Hebraicum*, begun some years later, and based on a Heb. text. In the well-known *Codex Cavensis* of the Latin Bible we have the third and fourth, and on the margin extracts from the first. We also find quadruple Psalters.

One more illustration may be taken, and in this case not from a MS, but from an edition, of a Version, viz. Erpenius' edition of the Arabic of A.D. 1616. Here the Gospels preserve a translation from the Greek, and are therefore a primary Version; the Acts, Pauline Epistles, and three Catholic Epistles preserve a translation from the Peshiṭta; the other Catholic Epistles and the Apocalypse a Version from some other source. Sometimes one language preserves both primary and secondary Versions, as, for instance, the Armenian does. Sometimes it is a matter of argument whether a Version is primary or secondary.

It will be obvious that the chief value of secondary Versions is in regard to the primary from which they are taken; those derived from the LXX, for instance, are useful to determine the history of the Septuagint and only indirectly to restore a right Hebrew text, and the Armenian will help in restoring the original text of the Old Syriac from which it was in part translated.

(*b*) Another point which is of the first importance in drawing conclusions as to particular readings implied by a Version, is the capacity and intention of the translators in regard to literalness, accuracy of rendering, and doctrinal or other bias.

The Versions vary very much in their efforts to preserve the *letter* of the text they are translating.

As extreme instances of those which sacrifice language, and even clearness, to literalness, may be mentioned Aquila's version of the OT and the Harklean revision of the Philoxenian. These represent one extreme, and at the other we get paraphrastic renderings which are content with giving the general sense. As a rule, however, the mean is observed between undue literalness and undue laxity.

In regard to *accuracy of translation*, it may be said generally that the Versions were made by persons of competent knowledge in regard to both of the languages with which they were dealing.

Exception must be made in some parts or passages of a Version. Thus it is difficult to conceive that the Greek in some parts of the LXX can have conveyed any meaning to the translator, and the Ethiopic is a Version the value of which must be depreciated by such confusions as those between κατηχούμεθα and κατεχόμεθα (Ro 7[6]) or ἐξεστάτησε and ἐξηπάτησε (Ro 7[11]).† It should here be mentioned that accuracy of translation does not require that the same word should always have the same equivalent in the Version, and this possibility often causes uncertainty in the conclusions which may be drawn (see below). And it may be remembered that even mistaken renderings may be helpful: thus the rendering *neglexit* of *e* of the Old Latin at Mk 5[36], though wrong, supports παρακούσας as against ἀκούσας, and all attempts to translate διεπορεύετο at Lk 6[1], even if unsuccessful, witness to the existence of some epithet attached to σαββάτῳ.

Of any *doctrinal bias* the early Versions show little trace, though we often find in the Fathers complaints of falsification, which cannot, however, be maintained.

As possible instances of intentional alteration may be mentioned the Nestorian substitution of *leavened* for *unleavened* bread at 1 Co 5[8], a tendency towards Encratite views in the Syriac version of 1 Co 7[2. 6. 7], and more clearly in reference to the virginity of Mary. Berger* traces the adaptation of various Latin MSS at 2 Mac 12[46] in regard to a passage bearing on prayers for the dead. Ellicott finds 'a slightly Arian tinge' in the Gothic version of Ph 2[6-8]. But these are isolated instances, which must not, however, be ignored.

When we come to compare Versions made by Roman Catholics with other Versions, there is more evidence of a preference for words which will support special ecclesiastical positions or views. Thus, in the French version of de Sacy, *elders* become *prêtres*, in Gn 3[15] it is *la femme* who will bruise the serpent's head, St. Paul hopes to be delivered by *le mérite des prières*; and other instances might be given.†

(*c*) Again, it must be remembered that the power and intention of the best translator are limited by the material which he has to use, and that in two ways. In the first place, one language may be incapable of literally reproducing the *grammatical* idioms of another. Thus there are no distinctions of gender in Armenian, no neuter in Arabic, no passive voice in Bohairic, no article in Latin, and therefore these Versions afford no help where readings involving such points are being discussed. Again, words have to be supplied in a translation which were not required in the original.‡ Such cases may be indicated in later times by the use of italics, but they are a more or less modern device and not always accurately employed. Somewhat akin to the point now being discussed is the ambiguity, which arises as to their evidence, in languages like the Syriac and Arabic, owing to the system of vowel points. Secondly, the translator was hampered not only by grammatical but also by *lexical* difficulties, as is the case with the missionary of to-day.§ It is true that words could be coined, such as *seminiverbius*, to represent σπερμολόγος (Ac 17[18]), *camum mittes* to translate κημώσεις (1 Co 9[9]), or in more modern times (as in Sir John Cheke's version) *hundreder* for *centurion*. Transliteration offers another device, adopted frequently in the case of the oldest Versions, but the result is not an effective or an intelligible translation. Another and more important consideration, which affects, however, the exegetical rather than the critical use of Versions, is that the words used by the translator must often suggest either more or less than the expression translated. This is a difficulty which is felt, for example, in rendering the NT into Chinese.‖

(*d*) It must be remembered in connexion with the literary side of translations that a translator will not always use one word or expression, and one only, to render any particular word or expression of the original. As instances where the English Bible shows this freedom in translation we may refer to the equivalents given for παρακύπτω in Lk 24[12], Jn 20[5. 11], or the various renderings of πραιτώριον: similarly, the word 'ἄνομος is translated in five different ways' in the NT.¶ Other Versions will provide a number of instances of a like kind.** The point is important in connexion

* See Berger, *Histoire de la Vulgate*, pp. 130, 131, and Index, *s.v.* 'Psalter.'

† See Tregelles in Smith's *DB* iii. 1614.

* *Histoire de la Vulgate*, p. 23.

† *Revue de Théologie*, ii. 1, 311.

‡ See below, p. 853[b].

§ Cf. *Life of H. Calloway*, bishop of Caffraria, pp. 249-250, as to the Kaffir and Zulu languages; and for difficulties in connexion with Hindustani see *Church Missionary Gleaner*, Oct 1899.

‖ See correspondence in the *Guardian* for 1899 on the Chinese rendering for 'priest.'

¶ Plummer's *St. Luke*, p. 506.

** Thus Westcott, *Epistles of St. John*, p. xxvii, notices that τηρεῖν in three successive verses of the Epistle is translated by *observare*, *custodire*, *servare*.

with the use of Versions for critical purposes, because it reminds us that we cannot argue from a variation in the translation to a similar variation in the original. Versions, therefore, often fail to give assistance where there is a doubt between two words of almost the same meaning, or between two words which the translators may possibly not have differentiated.*

(*e*) It is perhaps hardly necessary, after what has been said as to necessary precautions, to give a reminder that the evidence of Versions can be used only at first hand, and not through the medium of a translation. Many of the scholars who first used the Oriental Versions for purposes of textual criticism had to rely on Latin translations of them, and many misstatements of the evidence have resulted, and may easily be perpetuated, even from the *apparatus criticus* of such an authority as Tischendorf's 8th ed. of his *Novum Testamentum*.†

iii. Uses of the Versions.—(*a*) It is only if we bear all these points in mind, as of possible importance in connexion with the evidence of a Version in a particular passage, that we are in a proper position to consider the most important of the uses which may be made, especially of the early translations, viz. their *use in textual criticism*. (1) We have three different classes of authorities for determining the text of the Bible, viz. MSS of the original Hebrew or Greek text, Versions, and Patristic Quotations. The importance of the last two is that they enable us to a great extent to date and localize particular readings found in the MSS, and thus provide us with the means by which to reconstruct the history of textual changes in a way which would be quite impossible from the MSS alone. An obvious instance of this may be found in the way in which Versions and Patristic Quotations enable us to trace back the readings of the so-called 'Western' text of the NT to the 2nd cent., a date nearly 200 years before that to which our oldest MSS of the Greek are assigned. Without their help we might well have said that readings of this kind belonged to a much later date, and might be dismissed as unimportant. From the Versions we also see not only the antiquity but the wide prevalence of this so-called 'Western' text, for its readings are found not only in properly called Western authorities, such as the MSS of the Old Latin Version, but also in the early Syriac Version. We see, therefore, how misleading this term 'Western' is. On the other hand, caution has to be observed in using Versions to localize a particular text, for the Sahidic and Bohairic, though both connected with Egypt, represent different Greek texts.

(2) In estimating the value of the evidence of Versions it may be assumed that they are based directly or indirectly on MSS of the original text, and therefore allowance has not to be made, as in the case of Patristic Quotations, for the possibility of quotations from memory. Further, if they preserve for us the readings of MSS of the original text, then those MSS in the case of the earliest and most important Versions are considerably older than any which have come down to us. Thus the MSS of the Hebrew on which the LXX was based must be about 1000 years older than any Hebrew MS which survives to the present day, and the MSS which were used by the earliest translators of the NT into Syriac, Latin, or Egyptian, if they are assigned to the 2nd cent., will be nearly 200 years older than ℵ or B. The primary Versions may therefore, with the limitations already noticed, be regarded as MSS of the original text, and used to correct the readings of those MSS of the original text which have come down to us.

(3) But, from what has been already said above, great caution has always to be used in estimating the value of their evidence and drawing conclusions, and in a large number of cases their evidence, without the corroboration of other authorities, has to be ignored or discounted, because the introduction of the readings they support can be sufficiently explained. Thus we may find in them additions to the original text, but these may be inserted for grammatical reasons,* or may be explanations necessary for the readers. On the other hand, we may find omissions; but these may be due to a desire for compression, or may have been left out because of their difficulty.† Again, in the case of synonyms, the evidence of Versions must be regarded and treated as ambiguous, unless an inductive examination has shown that the usage allows a positive conclusion.‡

The *history of the use of the Versions for critical purposes* goes back to the first great textual critic, Origen, who in his *Hexapla* compared the Heb. text with that of the LXX derived from it. Similarly, Jerome makes many references to the evidence to be drawn from Versions. One instance may suffice. He refuses to use a certain recension of text, *cum multarum gentium linguis Scriptura ante translata doceat falsa esse quæ addita sunt*.

After the invention of printing, the first Version to be used critically was the Latin Vulgate, from which the Complutensian edition derived the text 1 Jn $5^{7,8}$. Erasmus also used the same Version to make good the deficiencies of his Greek MS of the Apocalypse. A little later Beza (1519–1605) for his Geneva edition quoted Tremellius' edition of the Syriac of 1569, and for part of the NT (Acts, 1 2 Cor.) used also the readings of an Arabic Version. In the Polyglots of Antwerp (1569–72) and Paris (1630–33) we do not find more than the Versions already mentioned, the Antwerp edition having only the Latin and Syriac. Walton in the London Polyglot (1654-7) printed in the fifth volume, which contains the NT, the Ethiopic as well as the Syriac, Vulgate, and Arabic, and, for the Gospels, the Persian Version. A few years later Bishop Fell, in his edition of the NT of 1675, professes to give variants *ex plus centum MSS codicibus et antiquis versionibus*. Among the latter he quotes, and is the first to quote, the Bohairic and Gothic, but he uses them only here and there, and not systematically. The Versions were used more fully by Mill in his famous edition of 1707. He first 'accorded to the Vulgate and the Old Latin the importance they deserve,'§ and had a slight knowledge of Syriac, but for the other Versions had to be content to rely on Latin translations often inexact, and so his use of the Versions may well have been 'the weakest part' in his monumental contribution to biblical criticism. The name of Bentley (1662–1742) is important for our present purpose because of the attention he

* See Westcott and Hort, *Notes on Select Readings*, Ac 11^{20}. As between Ἕλληνας and Ἑλληνιστάς, 'versions are ambiguous: they express only "Greeks," but would naturally be at a loss to provide a distinctive rendering for so rare and so peculiar a word as Ἑλληνιστάς.' See also Ac 6^{1} 9^{29}.

† See Gregory, *Prolegomena*, p. 805; *Studia Biblica*, ii. 212 f.; and what has been said above on 'Editions.'

* Thus Jerome, quoted by Alford at Eph 5^{22}, says, *hoc quod in lat. exemplis additum est* subditæ sint *in græcis editionibus non habetur sed hoc magis in græco intelligitur quam in latino*.

† So Jerome (quoted by Burgon) at 1 Co 7^{35} says, *in Latinis codicibus ob difficultatem translationis hoc penitus non invenitur*.

‡ Of this the index at the end of the fifth *fasciculus* to the *Oxford Vulgate* would give illustrations. Thus from two successive words we find that ἀγωνίζεσθαι is rendered by several Latin words, and, on the other hand, 'αἰών semper redditur sæculum.'

§ Scrivener, ii. 201.

gave to a critical edition of the Latin Version.* The next critic who needs to be noticed in connexion with the use of the Versions is Wetstein (1693–1754), who in his *Prolegomena* (1730), besides giving us the ordinarily used notation for our MSS, 'bestowed great pains on the Versions.' Alter, in his edition of the Greek Testament of 1786–7, besides some readings from Wilkins' edition of the Bohairic, quotes also from four MSS of the Slavonic Version and *i* of the Old Latin. Before we leave the 18th cent., reference must be made to the laborious work of Holmes and Parsons on the LXX, for their edition of which they quoted the Old Latin, Syriac, Egyptian, Arabic, Georgian, Armenian, and Slavonic. In every case the help of experts in the several languages was procured, but the permanent value of the work bears no relation to the time and labour expended on it, because the time had not yet come when the material was adequately or scientifically collected, and the collators were not all equally trustworthy.

Griesbach, at the beginning of the 19th cent., is important in connexion with the use of Versions, not only because of his quotations of the Gothic, Armenian, and Philoxenian, but also, and more especially, because he was the first to assign them a place in the families of text which Bengel had introduced. Thus to the *Alexandrian* recension he assigned the Egyptian and some other Versions, to the *Western* the Old Latin and Vulgate, and to the *Byzantine* the vast majority of the Versions. Lachmann (1793–1851) 'restored the Latin Versions to their proper rank in the criticism of the NT,'† but did not use the Syrian and Egyptian Versions. In Westcott and Hort's summary of the history of the Greek text of the NT the Versions, of course, find a place. Thus the Bohairic and, with some exceptional readings, the Sahidic are included among authorities for the neutral text, the Old Latin and Old Syriac among those for the Western text, some readings of the Bohairic and Sahidic are Alexandrian, while the vast majority belong to the group of authorities which contain a 'Syrian' or revised text. But one of the important points which recent examination of the Egyptian Versions has tended to establish, is, that the Bohairic does not represent the primitive form of the Egyptian Version so well as the Sahidic. This would involve a weakening of their theory that the neutral text is invariably right.

At the present time it would be agreed by textual critics that *all* the Versions, just as even the latest cursive MSS, have to be examined at any rate to see whether they have any contribution to make to textual criticism; but the main energy of scholars is being devoted to the collection, and proper arrangement, of the materials available and necessary for a proper estimate of the history and text of each Version. When this has been satisfactorily done, and good critical editions are available, but not till then, it will be possible to give each Version its due weight in the scale of evidence, after making allowance for the changes it has undergone in the course of its history, and taking account of the disagreement between different MSS of the same Version.

The *notation adopted for the Versions*, as for the other authorities for the text of the NT, is that used by Tischendorf in the 8th ed. of his *Novum Testamentum*, and described fully by him, and by other authorities since. Some modifications have been made owing to further study, as, for example, in regard to the names now generally given to the Egyptian Versions, and some additions have to be made for reference to material which has become available since the publication of his edition, such as the Sinaitic MS of the Syriac. But the general outlines of the notation will probably remain the same. In the case of separate MSS of the Versions, that notation used by the editors of the standard editions which have already appeared or are in preparation—*e.g.* Wordsworth and White's *Vulgate*, Brooke and Maclean's *Septuagint*, Horner's *Bohairic*, Gwilliam's *Peshiṭta*, etc.—will, it is hoped, be adopted to prevent confusion and double nomenclature, such as is necessary in the cases of many cursive MSS of the Greek Testament owing to the different notation of Scrivener and Gregory.

(*b*) The most striking instance of the *exegetical* value of a Version is to be found in the LXX, and the light it throws on the NT. Bishop Pearson wrote as follows on this point:—

LXX viralis versio ad Novum Testamentum recte intelligendum et accurate explicandum perquam necessaria est. This judgment is quoted by Dr. Swete* as 'justified' by the facts.† In regard also to the meaning of the Hebrew, 'it is never safe to neglect their interpretations even if in the harder contexts it is seldom to be trusted. Indirectly, at least, much may be learned from them, and their wildest exegesis belongs to the history of hermeneutics and has influenced thought and language to a remarkable degree.' On the other hand, 'transliterations, doublets, confused and scarcely intelligible renderings reveal the fact that in difficult passages they were often reduced to mere conjecture.'

The Latin Version, again, has a very important place in the history of biblical exegesis in the West. The opinion of Dr. Routh, endorsed by Dean Burgon,‡ that the Vulgate offers the best commentary on the NT, can hardly be justified. There are, indeed, many passages where the Vulgate has erred, and has influenced the English Bible of 1611 through the medium of earlier renderings, *e.g.* Lk 21^{19}, Mt $16^{22.23}$, Ro 2^{18} etc. It is not, however, possible to exaggerate its *general* influence on the formation of theological language, and indirectly on the exegesis of the many Versions which were made from it during the Middle Ages. These two Versions stand, however, in an exceptional position. Of most of the others the exegetical value is not great.§ In the OT they were, for the most part, secondary, and derived from the LXX; while for the NT we are as well able as the translators to ascertain the meaning of the Greek. Nor do the Versions give much help in regard to difficult words or constructions, such as *ἐπιούσιος*, *νάρδος πιστική*, *πυγμῇ*, *ἐπιβαλὼν ἔκλαιε*, and the like; indeed they sometimes omit the difficulty altogether.‖ They are, however, even in these cases interesting, because they preserve for us an early traditional rendering.

(*c*) The use which may be made of the Versions in regard to *the history of the Bible, the Canon*, etc., may be illustrated both from the Old and the New Testament. The importance of their evidence, as in the case of their use for textual criticism, consists in our being able by this means to localize the phenomena with which we meet.

The most obvious instance is the evidence which is afforded by the Versions in regard to the inclusion or exclusion of the Apocalypse. Both the Syriac and the Bohairic Versions indicate that that book was not included in the Canon of the NT when they were made. Another instance—and this affects the arrangement of the books of the Bible—may be found in the so-called Western order of the Gospels found in the MSS of the Latin

* See Wordsworth and White's *Vulgate*, i. xv ff.
† Scrivener, ii. 235.

* *Introd. to the OT in Greek* (p. 457). Dr. Swete sums up the question as follows: 'On the one hand, the interpreter [*i.e.* of the NT] ought not to be led astray by visions of the solidarity of "Biblical Greek." . . . On the other hand, the student of the NT will make the LXX his starting-point in examining the sense of all words and phrases which . . . passed into Palestinian use through the Greek OT, and in their passage received the impress of Semitic thought and life.'
† Swete, *l.c.* p. 446.
‡ *Lives of Twelve Good Men*, pp. 76, 77.
§ Walton, however, in his *Prolegomena*, § 5. 3, says, *sensum clarius explicant ita ut pro pluribus commentariis versio unica inservire possit.*
‖ See Pesh. (Ac 19^{28}) and Jerome's words, quoted above, p. 853b, note †.

Version and elsewhere.* Again, the varying position of the Epistle to the Hebrews which is found in the Bohairic between 2 Thess. and 1 Tim., in the Sahidic between 2 Cor. and Gal., affords evidence as to early uncertainty about the Pauline authorship. From the OT, illustrations may be found in the variations between the Canon of the Hebrew, LXX, and Vulgate, and the light thrown on the history of the OT Canon.† While the order of books in 'the Law' was fixed at the time the LXX translation was made, that of the books contained in the groups of 'the Prophets' and 'the Writings' was not; and evidence of this is found in the variations in order between the LXX and Hebrew. Again, within certain books, such as Exodus and Jeremiah, we find a difference in the arrangement of material between the LXX and Hebrew, and in 1 Sam. a somewhat similar phenomenon meets us.

These facts take us back behind the formation of the Canon, on which the facts already mentioned afford evidence, and can be used for the light they throw on the composition of the separate books. Of course it is only in the very earliest Versions that such a use of the Versions as is here referred to can be made. And, conversely, these phenomena, as we have already noticed, are important in helping us to date those Versions in which they occur.

(*d*) It would be out of place in a Bible dictionary to go at any length into the *literary* and *philological* interest of the Versions, but this part of the subject cannot be wholly omitted. It will be obvious how great this interest must be when we call to mind that in nearly every language the earliest monuments preserved to us consist of translations of the Bible. In many cases (*e.g.* Gothic, Armenian, Slavonic, etc.) we are told that alphabets were devised for the express purpose of these translations. Translations of the Bible, then, take us to the cradle of nearly every written modern language, and they not only give us our earliest information as to written languages, but they have exercised an important influence on their subsequent history by fixing the dialect which was to prevail as the literary dialect. As instances of this, the influence of the translations of Wyclif and Luther on the literary development of English and German may be mentioned; and of a somewhat similar kind was the influence of Hus's Bible in fixing the orthography of Bohemian or Chekh.

Again, when we pass to the early history of printing in any language, the importance of the Versions as evidence is clearly seen from the fact that the earliest printed books were often translations of the Bible. Thus the earliest Russian printed book was the Psalter of 1564, and the first printed book in Hungarian was Komjathy's translation of St. Paul's Epistles of 1533.

In emphasizing the *philological* importance of Versions of the Bible, we may point to Gothic and Basque, in which almost the only monuments of the language consist of translations of the Bible. The first of these, scanty as its fragments are, is by some centuries the oldest monument of the Teutonic family. Again, the MSS of the Latin Bible illustrate many steps in the process by which Latin developed into the later Romance languages in their separate forms.

LITERATURE.—Besides the special literature mentioned in connexion with the separate Versions (which see), the following books dealing generally with the subject will be found indispensable:—*Urtext und Übersetzungen der Bibel* (Leipzig, 1897), a reprint of the art. 'Bibeltext' in *PRE*[3], is indispensable both for its outline of the whole subject and its references to literature. For editions of the Bible in different translations the parts of the British Museum Catalogue on Bibles will give the titles and some idea of the size of the subject.

(1) NT: Scrivener's *Introduction to the Criticism of the NT*, vol. ii. (London, 1894), gives the fullest account in English of the Versions of the NT; C. R. Gregory's *Prolegomena*, part iii. to Tischendorf's *Nov. Test.* (Leipzig, 1894), gives the fullest list of MSS of the Versions of NT; Eb. Nestle, *Einführung in das Gr NT*[2] (Göttingen, 1899, Eng. tr. 1901), is quite the best recent book.

(2) OT: The general subject of the Versions of the OT has not been so fully treated in English as that of the NT. Mention may be made of Wellhausen's edition of Bleek's *Einleit. in das AT*, and Buhl, *Text und Kanon des alten Testament* (Leipzig, 1891, Eng. tr. 1891), and Driver, *Notes on the Heb. Text of Sam.* 1890.

LL. J. M. BEBB.

VERSIONS, ENGLISH.—i. The history of the Versions of the English Bible may be said to begin with **John Wyclif.** Previous to his time there had been various attempts to render parts of the Scriptures into Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman, or Middle-English. But these had not only been very fragmentary, but were for the most part paraphrases rather than literal translations. With Wyclif, however, a new era in Bible-translation began, and nothing that concerns him can fail to be of interest.* He was born about the year 1320 in the vicinity of Richmond in Yorkshire, and when he first comes publicly forward is found filling various important posts in the University of Oxford. The bold attitude with regard to the Papal Tribute which he took up in a Tract, led to his being selected as one of the Royal Commissioners sent to Bruges in 1374 to treat with the Papal Nuncio regarding the reservation of benefices, and from this time may be dated his appearance as an ardent ecclesiastical reformer—'the Morning Star of the Reformation.' For this end he instituted an order of 'poor priests' whose duty it was 'faithfully to scatter the seed of God's word,' and it was to aid them in this work that he set about providing them with the Bible in their native tongue. The first book translated was the Apocalypse, which was followed by a translation of the Gospels with a commentary, and soon after by versions of the remaining books of the NT, the whole being completed by 1380. To this was added a translation of the OT principally by one of his friends, Nicolas de Hereford, though Wyclif himself seems to have supplied the last books and about one-third of the Apocrypha, so that about the middle of the year 1382 the whole Bible was in the hands of the people 'in their mother tongue.' All this had not been accomplished without difficulty and even danger. Hereford had to flee the country, and Wyclif's own teaching was publicly condemned at a Synod in London in 1382. The hostility, however, would seem to have been confined to a few persons, notably Archbishop Arundel, for the new translation was generally tolerated, and the reformer himself, contrary to his own expectations, was eventually allowed to retire to his rectory of Lutterworth, where he passed quietly away on the last day of the year 1384.

But the good work was not allowed to stop, and in 1388 one of Wyclif's pupils, now generally identified with **John Purvey,** issued a careful revision of his translation, introduced by a most interesting Prologue, and accompanied by a number of short comments or notes. This version quickly took the place of the older one, and was largely circulated amongst all classes of the people notwithstanding its great cost.† Both versions were indeed admirably adapted for popular use, being characterized by great homeliness and directness of diction. And though many of the words and expressions used are now of course obsolete or

* See Sanday in Smith's *DB*[2], p. 1240, art. 'Gospels.'

† This is worked out fully in the chapter in Swete's *Introduction to the OT in Greek* which deals with this part of the subject, and for the Vulgate in Berger's *Histoire de la Vulgate*, pp. 301 ff., 331 ff.

* See especially Lechler's *John Wycliffe and his English Precursors*, translated and edited by Lorimer; and cf. 'The Birth and Parentage of Wiclif' by L. Sergeant in the *Athenæum* for March 12th and 26th, 1892.

† Forshall and Madden, in the preparation of their great work on *The Wycliffite Versions*, 1850, were able to examine 'nearly 150 MSS containing the whole or parts of Purvey's Bible, the majority of which were written within the space of forty years from its being finished' (Preface, p. xxxii f.).

inappropriate, it is wonderful, when the spelling is modernized, how little they differ as a whole from our AV. One great blemish they of necessity possess. They are only translations of a translation, being made from the Latin Vulgate; and it was left to another with improved facilities to carry on the work so auspiciously begun, and more than 'any other man to give its characteristic shape to our English Bible' (Westcott, *General View of the History of the English Bible*[2], 1872, p. 24).

ii. That other was **William Tindale,** and, though there is still considerable uncertainty regarding many of the facts of his life, it is now generally agreed that he was born at Slymbridge in Gloucestershire about the year 1484,* and that after studying at Oxford he proceeded to Cambridge in 1515, where the fame of Erasmus' lectures still lingered. In 1521 he returned to his native county as chaplain and tutor in the family of Sir John Walsh of Little Sodbury, and while there is credited with the resolution to which his whole after-life was devoted, saying in controversy with a clerical opponent, 'If God spare my life, ere many years I will cause a boy that driveth the plough shall know more of the Scripture than thou doest.' In pursuance of this purpose he went up to London two years later, in the hope of executing his task under the patronage of Bishop Tunstall; but after a year of anxious waiting the conviction forced itself upon him, 'not only that there was no room in my lord of London's palace to translate the NT, but also that there was no place to do it in all England' (*Pref. to Pentateuch*).

Voluntarily, therefore, in May 1524, Tindale exiled himself, and after a short stay at Hamburg seems to have visited Luther at Wittenberg. In any case, there can be no doubt that in 1525 he was at Cologne, engaged in bringing out a complete edition of the NT. His plan was, however, discovered by a certain priest John Cochlæus, and he and his assistant Roye had barely time to secure the precious sheets already printed, and carry them off to Worms, where either in the same or the following year 3000 copies of the first printed English NT were issued from the press of P. Schoeffer the younger. The size of the book had been altered from *quarto* to *octavo*, probably to escape detection; but shortly afterwards the original *quarto* edition, whose printing had been interrupted in Cologne, was also completed. Copies of both editions were immediately despatched to England, where they were eagerly welcomed. But so vigorous were the steps taken against them that of the *octavo* edition only one complete copy (with the exception of the title-page) remains;† while the *quarto* is known to exist only in a single fragment (Mt 1^1–22^{12}).‡

After the issue of his Testaments, Tindale quietly continued his work abroad, publishing a translation of *The Five Books of Moses* at Marburg in 1530, and *The Book of Jonah* with an interesting Prologue in 1531.§ An edition of the *Book of Genesis* 'newly corrected and amended' appeared in 1534, and in the same year there was published at Antwerp, 'The Newe Testament dylygently corrected and compared with the Greek by Willyam Tindale,' in which were included certain 'Epistles,' or extracts, out of the OT, a Table of Epistles and Gospels for Sundays, and 'some things added' to fill up the blank pages at the end. The book was thus in some respects more like a modern Church Service Book than an ordinary Testament, while the improvements introduced into the text fully justified the translator's claim that he had 'weeded out of it many faults which lack of help at the beginning, and oversight, did sow therein.' This edition has well been described as Tindale's 'noblest monument'; but not even yet was his work of revision completed. In 1535 there appeared what is often known as 'the G. H. Testament' from the initials attached to the second title-page, and which were first interpreted by Mr. Bradshaw (1881) as denoting G. van der Haghen, the Antwerp publisher. In this edition the 1534 text was 'yet once agayne corrected by Willyam Tindale,' the corrections (there are said to be about four hundred of them) proving by their very minuteness the translator's fidelity and zeal. Another NT bearing the same date (1535) is remarkable for its peculiar orthography, sometimes thought to have been purposely adapted to the pronunciation of the peasantry (*e.g.* 'faether' for 'father,' 'hoeme' or 'hoome' for 'home'), but in all probability caused by the mistakes of some Flemish printer in setting up a foreign language. As further showing the rapid spread of Tindale's translations, it may be mentioned that in the following year (1536) seven, if not eight, editions of his NT appeared, one of which (in folio) is believed to have been the first portion of the Holy Scriptures *printed* in England.*

There was to be no return, however, for Tindale himself to what he pathetically calls 'mine natural country,' for, having been betrayed into the hands of his enemies and imprisoned for about a year at Vilvorde, near Brussels, he suffered martyrdom on Friday, 6th Oct. 1536. With his last words he prayed, 'Lord! open the king of England's eyes.'

It is impossible here to examine in detail Tindale's service to the cause of Bible translation, but one or two points may be indicated. (1) Foremost amongst these is the *independence* of his work. Attempts have been made to underestimate this, and more particularly to prove him on the one hand 'merely a full-grown Wycliffe,' and on the other to show how largely he borrowed from the German Testament of Luther. But while Purvey's revision undoubtedly influenced him indirectly by supplying many proverbial expressions and technical terms which through it had become current, and Luther's Testament, more especially in its Prefaces and marginal Notes, was freely consulted and used, Tindale was too good a scholar to be slavishly dependent on any one,† and can justly claim the honour of being the first in England at any rate (with the possible exception of Bede) to go straight to the Hebrew and Greek originals.‡ (2) If, however, in his own work he was largely independent of others, his influence on those who followed him was direct and unmistakable. Thus it is to him that we owe in great part our religious vocabulary,§ and, what is even more important, that freedom from dog-

* See *William Tyndale, a Biography*, by R. Demaus, new ed. by Lovett, 1886, p. 24.

† Now in the Library of the Baptist College at Bristol, and reproduced in facsimile in 1862 by Mr. F. Fry. It was previously reprinted with an introduction by G. Offor in 1836.

‡ Preserved in the Grenville Room of the British Museum, and photo-lithographed and published with a valuable introduction by E. Arber in 1871.

§ The former has been reprinted under the editorship of Dr. Mombert, and the latter in facsimile with an introduction by Mr. Fry.

* These and many other interesting details will be found in *A Bibliographical Description of the Editions of the NT, Tyndale's Version, in English*, by Francis Fry, 1878.

† According to an eminent German scholar, H. Buschius, who met him at Worms in 1526, Tindale was 'so skilled in seven languages, Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Italian, Spanish, English, French, that whichever he spoke you would suppose it his native tongue' (Schelhorn, *Amœnitates Literariæ*, iv. p. 431).

‡ The Greek Testament which he used was that published by Erasmus, edd. of 1519, 1522.

§ It has been calculated that in the whole of Tindale's NT the number of stranger words, or words that do not occur in the AV, is probably below 350, many of which are used once or twice only (Moulton, *The History of the English Bible*, pp. 70, 71). Of his work as a whole, our Bibles are said to retain at the present day about 80 % in the OT and 90 % in the NT.

matic bias and scrupulous fidelity to the exact letter of Scripture which have been in general such happy features of our English Versions.* (3) It would be idle indeed to pretend that Tindale fell into no mistakes. Many of his renderings are incorrect, others are uncouth, others are paraphrases rather than translations. Serious blemishes, too, are his constant disregard of connecting particles, and his habit of translating the same word in different ways even in the same sentence. But, take it all in all, his translation is a noble one, and its very faults, as Fuller says, are 'to be scored on the account rather of that age, than of the author himself.'

iii. Nor had Tindale left himself without worthy successors. Amongst those who are stated by Foxe to have assisted him in translating the Pentateuch was one **Miles Coverdale** (b. 1488, d. 1569), who, urged on by Cromwell, now devoted himself so steadily to the work of Bible-translation that on Oct. 4th, 1535, the first complete printed English Bible was issued, the sheets of which are believed to have been printed by J. van Meteren of Antwerp, and then sold to Nicolson the Southwark printer. The original title ran as follows:—'**Biblia,** The Bible: that is, the Holy Scripture of the Olde and New Testament, faithfully and truly translated out of Douche and Latyn into Englishe, MDXXXV.' The English printer in substituting a new title-page of his own omitted for some reason the reference to 'Douche [German] and Latyn,' and added several preliminary pages containing a Dedication to king Henry VIII. and a Prologue to the Christian Reader, both signed by Coverdale. In this Dedication, Coverdale disclaims the position of an independent translator, and speaks of having 'with a clear conscience purely and faithfully translated this out of five sundry interpreters' (now generally identified with Luther, the Zürich Bible, the Vulgate, the Latin version of Pagninus, and in all probability Tindale), and to the same effect in the Prologue he specially acknowledges his indebtedness to 'the Dutch interpreters, whom (because of their singular gifts and special diligence in the Bible) I have been the more glad to follow for the most part, according as I was required.'

Notwithstanding these admissions, it would be wrong, however, to regard Coverdale as a mere 'proof-reader or corrector,' for, while making diligent and discriminating use of the different authorities within his reach, he supplied many of those happy turns of expression which lend so much of its charm to our English Bible. This is perhaps specially noticeable in the Psalter, of which Coverdale's version in the revised form in which it appeared in the Great Bible still retains its place in the English Book of Common Prayer. Two new editions of Coverdale's Bible were issued by Nicolson in 1537, on the title-page of which there now appeared for the first time the significant words, 'Set forth with the Kynges most gracious licence.' The following year found Coverdale engaged in biblical work in Paris, and the fruit was seen in a Latin-English Testament, of which in one year three editions were called for. New editions of the Bible appeared in 1550 and 1553.†

iv. Other translations now followed in rapid succession, one of which is generally known as **Matthew's Bible.** Its real editor, however, was a certain John Rogers, who adopted the *alias* of Thomas Matthew—perhaps, as Foxe suggests, to hide his connexion with Tindale. As to the closeness of this connexion there can at least be no doubt. The whole of the NT and about half the OT in the new edition are Tindale's, while the remainder is Coverdale's. Signs are not wanting, however, of critical editorship. Thus in the Psalter various readings are introduced in the margin, and many technical terms are carefully explained. Numerous notes have also been added, many of which breathe a spirit of ardent Protestantism, and there is a large amount of prefatory matter principally from Olivetan's French Bible (1535). Like the second edition of Coverdale's Bible, the new version bears to be 'set forth with the kinges most gracyous lycēce,' and Cromwell, instigated by Cranmer, further obtained Henry's permission that 'the same may be sold and read of every person, without danger of any act, proclamation, or ordinance heretofore granted to the contrary.' Hence it came about that 'by Cranmer's petition, by Crumwell's influence, and by Henry's authority, without any formal ecclesiastical decision, the book was given to the English people, which is the foundation of the text of our present Bible. From Matthew's Bible—itself a combination of the labours of Tyndale and Coverdale—all later revisions have been successively formed' (Westcott, *History*[2], p. 73). Its author did not, however, escape in the troublous times that followed on Mary's accession. Through the agency of Bonner he was imprisoned at Newgate, and on Feb. 4th, 1555, was burned at the stake, setting a second seal to the fourfold seal of martyrdom by which the history of our English Bible has been hallowed.

v. Closely allied to Matthew's Bible is a version bearing the name of **Richard Taverner,** which was published in 1539, and bore to be 'newly recognized with great diligence after most faythful exemplars.' But the changes introduced are not as a rule of any great importance, though in the NT there are occasional forcible renderings. In Mt 21. 22, for example, Dr. Moulton finds in all about 40 variations from Tindale, of which one-third are retained in the AV (*History*, p. 135). So far as we know, Taverner's Bible was only once reprinted, in 1549 (Cotton's *Editions of the Bible*[2], p. 21).

vi. We have seen already what a steady friend of Bible-translation Cromwell had proved himself. He was to render it yet another notable service. Not wholly satisfied with any version that had appeared, he applied to Coverdale early in 1538 to undertake a wholly new revision, using Matthew's Bible as his basis;* and as it was determined that the printing should be done in Paris, Coverdale, accompanied by one Grafton, at once repaired thither. Before, however, the work was completed, the Inquisition stepped in, and it was with great difficulty that the sheets were saved, and the presses sent over to England. There the work was soon finished, and in April 1539 **the Great Bible,** as being the Bible 'in the largest volume,' was issued from the press. It possessed a title-page of elaborate design, in which Henry was represented as handing 'the Word of God' to Cranmer and other clergy on his right hand, and to Cromwell and various lay-peers on his left; while the contents are described as 'truly translated after the veryte of the Hebrue and Greke textes, by ye dylygent studye of dyuerse excellent learned men expert in the forsayde tonges.' There can be no doubt, however, that the work was principally Coverdale's, and that in his revision of Matthew's text he made large use of Münster's Hebrew-Latin version in the OT, and of the Vul-

* 'I call God to record against the day we shall appear before our Lord Jesus, to give a reckoning of our doings, that I never altered one syllable of God's word against my conscience, nor would this day, if all that is in the earth, whether it be pleasure, honour, or riches, might be given me.'—Tindale in *Letter to Fryth*, 1533 (Demaus' *Tyndale*, p. 336).

† A convenient reprint of Coverdale's Bible of 1535 has within recent years been issued by Bagster.

* 'I am always willing and ready,' Coverdale had written in the Dedication to his Bible, 'to do my best as well in one translation as in another.'

gate and Erasmus in the NT. From the Vulgate more especially he introduced a number of various readings, but 'certain godly annotations' which he promised in the Prologue to explain 'the dark places of the text' never appeared. In 1540 a new edition was called for, containing a long Preface by Archbishop Cranmer, which has led to its being known as **Cranmer's Bible.** Five other editions followed rapidly within the next eighteen months.* From their size and cost these were principally used as Church Bibles, and it must have been a pleasing sight to see in Old St. Paul's or in the aisle of some country church the little group round the Great Bible, from which some one more educated than the rest read aloud.

vii. The people, however, were soon to have a Bible of their own, and for this we must turn again to the Continent. The accession of Mary had given a new turn to the ever-varying fortunes of our Bible's history. Cranmer had followed Rogers to the stake, and the public, though apparently not the private, use of the Scriptures was strictly forbidden. Foreseeing what was coming, a number of the leading Reformers had taken refuge at Geneva, the city of Calvin and Beza, and there, as they themselves tell us, 'we thought we could bestow our labours and study in nothing which could be more acceptable to God, and comfortable to His Church, than in the translating of the Scriptures into our native tongue.' The immediate result was the publication in 1557 of a translation of the NT alone by one of their number, **William Whittingham,** who, in his Address to the Reader, describes his work as specially intended for 'simple lambs.' And it was doubtless the thought of the same class of readers that led to the numerous 'annotations of all hard places,' and to the adoption for the first time in an English translation of the convenient but often misleading division into verses.†

This Testament was, however, soon cast into the shade by the publication in 1560 of a translation of the whole Bible, due in the main to the combined labours of William Whittingham, Thomas Sampson, and Anthony Gilby. In size this **Geneva Bible** is a moderate quarto, and it is often familiarly known as the *Breeches Bible* from its rendering of Gn 3^7 ('They sewed fig-tree leaves together, and made themselves breeches'). The cost of its production was met by 'such as were of most ability' in the congregation at Geneva.

Regarded simply as a translation, the version deserves high praise, being based on a careful revision of the Great Bible in the OT, and, under the influence of Beza's Latin translation and Commentary, of Tindale's latest edition in the NT. The changes thus introduced were as a rule marked improvements, and many of them were subsequently adopted in the AV. The new version was also abundantly supplied with marginal notes principally of an explanatory character, and these, combined with the convenient size in which it appeared, did much to account for the popularity which for long it enjoyed,‡ passing as it did through 160 editions, 60 of them during the reign of Elizabeth alone,§ and continuing to be printed for some time even after the publication of the AV in 1611.‖

viii. It was not to be expected, however, that the successors of Cromwell and Cranmer could look with favour on a translation emanating from the school of Calvin, and containing so many 'prejudicial notes.' Accordingly, in 1563–64 Archbishop Parker set on foot a scheme for the revision of Coverdale's version by a number of learned men working separately; and in 1568 the **Bishops' Bible,** so called from the number of bishops engaged on it, was completed, and a copy presented to the queen. An effort was made at the same time to secure that it alone should be licensed 'to draw to one uniformity.' But, from whatever cause, this licence was never granted, and, although the version gained a considerable circulation, this was due rather to the support accorded to it by Convocation than to its own merits.*

The truth is that as a translation it was marked by the inequality inevitable to a work which had been sorted out into 'parcels' amongst a number of independent workers. In the OT the historical books as a rule followed the Great Bible very closely; but in the prophetical books greater variation was indulged in, many of the changes being distinctly traceable to the influence of the Genevan Bible. The Psalter was practically a new translation; and on this account failed to maintain its ground against the version in the Great Bible, already endeared by constant use. In the 2nd edition of 1587 the two versions were printed side by side, but in all later editions except one (1585) the old Psalter alone appeared. In the NT, on the other hand, more particularly in the 1572 edition, the bishops introduced many marked improvements, pointing to a careful study of the original text, though their renderings were occasionally marked by cumbrousness and a love of mouth-filling phrases. On the whole, however, the influence of the Bishops' Bible on succeeding versions cannot be said to have been very great, and, as has already been indicated, it failed to oust the Genevan Bible from its place as the favourite Bible for household use. The authority of the latter was now, however, to be subjected to a fresh challenge.

ix. This came from the Church of Rome, and it is again interesting to notice that the new version, like the Genevan and Tindale's, was produced in exile. At the beginning of queen Elizabeth's reign a number of English Romanists had taken refuge on the Continent, and in 1582 there was published a NT 'translated faithfvlly into English out of the authentical Latin, according to the best corrected copies of the same, diligently conferred with the Greeke and other editions in divers languages. . . . In the English College of Rhemes.' The translation of the OT had been previously completed, but 'for lack of good meanes' its publication was delayed until 1609–10, when it came out at Douai. The whole Bible thus issued is generally known as the **Rheims and Douai Bible,** and to three men, William Allen, Gregory Martin, and Richard Bristow, the credit of its production principally belongs. Prefixed to the Rhemish NT was an elaborate Preface, in which the translators warned readers against the then existing 'profane' translations, laid the odium on Protestants of casting 'the holy to dogges and pearles to hogges,' and claimed for themselves to have at least been 'very precise and religious' in following their copy, 'the old vulgar approved Latin.' The new version was thus, like the

* From the fact that several of these editions were printed by Whitchurch, the Great Bible is sometimes known as Whitchurch's.

† The scheme which Whittingham adopted was that prepared by R. Stephanus for the 4th ed. of his Greek NT, published in 1551. In the OT the division into verses was already in existence in the Hebrew Bible.

‡ In 1649 an edition of the AV itself was actually brought out with the Genevan notes, evidently for the purpose of commending it to public favour.

§ After 1587 a revised version of the NT made by Laurence Tomson in 1576 generally took the place of the earlier version.

‖ The Genevan was the first Bible printed in Scotland in an issue generally known as the *Bassandyne Bible*, from the printer's name Thomas Bassandyne (see *History of the Bassandyne Bible*, by W. T. Dobson, 1887); and so firm was the hold it obtained in the country, that so recently as towards the close of the 18th cent. a Bible of the Genevan translation was still in use in the church of Crail in Fifeshire.

* It passed through nineteen editions; the last bears the date 1606.

Wyclifite versions, only a secondary translation, and it was not to be wondered at that the extreme literalness at which the translators aimed 'word for word and point for point' led often to stilted and even unintelligible renderings, and also to the introduction of many Latinized terms, many of which were afterwards adopted in the AV. The charge of theological bias sometimes brought against the translators with regard to some of these terms is probably without foundation; but the same cannot be said of their notes, which are unmistakably and avowedly of a polemical character. It need only be further noted that in later editions the Douai version has been largely altered to bring it more into conformity with—

x. **The Authorized Version.**—To the history of this version we have now come, and, when we think of the influence it exerted and is still exerting, it is the more remarkable that its origin should have been of such an incidental, almost accidental, character. One of the first acts of king James on ascending the throne of England was to convene a Conference at Hampton Court Palace in January 1604, to hear and determine 'things pretended to be amiss in the Church,' and in the course of the second day's proceedings Dr. Reynolds, the Puritan leader, threw out the suggestion 'that there might be a new translation of the Bible, because those which were allowed in the reign of king Henry VIII. and Edward VI. were corrupt and not answerable to the truth of the original.' The suggestion commended itself to the king, who had at one time begun a translation of the Psalms himself, and he at once proposed that the new translation should be undertaken by 'the best learned in both the universities, after them to be reviewed by the bishops and chief learned of the Church; from them to be presented to the Privy Council; and lastly to be ratified by his royal authority; and so this whole Church to be bound unto it and none other.' He further ordered 'that no marginal notes should be added,' some of those in the Genevan Bible having recently attracted his attention as 'very partial, untrue, seditious, and savouring too much of dangerous and traitorous conceits.'

Notwithstanding, however, the royal favour bestowed upon it, the actual work of translation, or rather revision, was not commenced until 1607, when the forty-seven revisers (it had been originally intended that there should be fifty-four) were divided into six companies, of which two sat at Westminster, two at Oxford, and two at Cambridge. Each company was to busy itself in the first instance with the separate portion assigned to it, but provision was also made for the revision of each portion by the other five companies, and the whole version thus amended was then to be submitted to a select committee representative of all the companies for the harmonizing of details and final preparation for the press. How far these arrangements were rigidly adhered to we cannot now determine, for 'never,' says Dr. Scrivener, who is our principal authority on all that concerns this version, 'was a great enterprise like the production of our Authorized Version carried out with less knowledge handed down to posterity of the labourers, their method and order of working' (*The Authorized Edition of the English Bible*, p. 9). We know, however, that in two years and nine months the whole work of revision was carried through, and in 1611 the new version was published. Its full title ran as follows:—'The Holy Bible, conteyning the Old Testament and the New: Newly Translated out of the Originall tongues: with the former Translations diligently compared and reuised by his Maiesties Speciall Comandement. Appointed to be read in Churches. Imprinted at London by Robert Barker, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majestie. Anno Dom. 1611.'* After the title-page came the fulsome Dedication to king James, and a most interesting Preface, generally understood to be the work of Dr. Miles Smith, afterwards Bishop of Gloucester, in which the main principles that had guided the translators were set forth.†

We cannot now attempt to detail these, or to examine the leading internal characteristics of the new version; but it is important to keep in mind that, in accordance with the rules that had been laid down for their guidance, what the translators aimed at was a revision rather than a new translation. The basis of their work was the Bishops' Bible; but the versions of Tindale, Matthew, Coverdale, Whitchurch (that is, the Great Bible), and Geneva were used whenever they were found to be more in accordance with the original, so as to make, in the translators' own words, 'out of many good ones one principal good one, not justly to be excepted against.' No marginal notes were permitted, 'but only for the explanation of the Hebrew or Greek words which cannot, without some circumlocution, so briefly and fitly be expressed in the text,'—an exception which was somewhat liberally interpreted;‡ and 'such quotations of places' were 'set down as shall serve for the fit reference of one Scripture to another.'§ A new set of headings of chapters and columns was also substituted for those that had existed in the Genevan, and in the Great and Bishops' Bibles; but the dates (mostly from Ussher) with which we are familiar in most modern editions were first inserted in 1701.

The immediate reception of the new version can hardly be said to have been altogether encouraging to its promoters, for though there was little active opposition extended to it, and it speedily superseded the Bishops' Bible as the official version, it was not until the middle of the century that it ousted the Genevan Bible from the place of popular favour.‖ That it deserved the place which it then attained does not admit of a moment's dispute; and none have shown themselves more ready to admit its merits than those who in 1870 were appointed to revise it. 'We,' so they tell us, 'have had to study this great Version carefully and minutely, line by line; and the longer we have been engaged upon it the more we have learned to admire its simplicity, its dignity, its power, its happy turns of expression, its general accuracy, and, we must not fail to add, the music of its cadences, and the felicities of its rhythm' (*Pref. to RV of NT*, 1881).

At the same time, great as the excellences of the AV undoubtedly are, it would be absurd to contend that it is not capable of improvement, or that the work of constant revision out of which it has been evolved cannot be applied to it in its turn. And indeed, as a matter of fact, what we still know as king James's version has been subjected throughout the course of its long history to a larger amount of revision than many of its

* A useful reprint of this original edition was issued from the Oxford Press in 1833.

† It has been reprinted in separate form by the S.P.C.K.

‡ In the original edition of the AV, excluding the Apocrypha, over 7000 brief marginal notes were inserted, a number that has since been largely increased.

§ The original 9000 references have, in some modern editions, reached the enormous total of 60,000.

‖ From the words 'Appointed to be read in Churches' on the title-page, it has sometimes been thought that the use of the new version was at once formally enjoined by the king, and that from this it derived its name of *Authorized*. But 'no evidence has yet been produced to show that the version was ever publicly sanctioned by Convocation or by Parliament, or by the Privy Council, or by the king' (Westcott, *History*^{2}, p. 123). It became the '*authorized*' version simply because it was the best.

readers are aware of. For not merely have the typographical and other imperfections inevitable in so large an undertaking been corrected, but a large number of deliberate changes have from time to time been made in the text, 'introduced silently and without authority by men whose very names are often unknown.'* And, in addition to this unofficial and irresponsible work of revision, we have abundant evidence of more ambitious proposals for amending the new version. Thus, in 1645, Dr. John Lightfoot, preaching before the House of Commons, urged them 'to think of a review and survey of the translation of the Bible,' and pleaded for 'an exact, vigorous, and lively translation.' And a few years later (1653) the Long Parliament actually made an order that a Bill should be brought in for a new translation. Nothing, however, came of this and similar schemes which were proposed from time to time:† and it was left to the Southern Convocation of the Church of England to take the initial steps for providing us with what is now known as *par excellence*—

xi. **The Revised Version.**—The fact that it took its rise in Convocation marks off the RV from all other English versions. Tindale's Testament and Coverdale's Bible were the work of individuals; the Great Bible and the Bishops' were Episcopal in their origin; the Genevan and the Rheims and Douai Bibles were due to two bands of exiles, Protestant and Roman Catholic respectively; but the idea of the RV was matured by representatives of the Church of England, and carried through with the assistance of members of other Churches.‡

Over the steps leading up to the final decision we cannot linger. Enough that in May 1870 the report of a committee appointed in the preceding February was adopted, to the effect 'that Convocation should nominate a body of its own members to undertake the work of revision, who shall be at liberty to invite the co-operation of any eminent for scholarship to whatever nation or religious body they belong'; and that shortly afterwards, in terms of this resolution, two Companies for the revision of the Old and New Testaments respectively were appointed. Eight rules were laid down for the Revisers' guidance, the most important of which were to the following effect:—the alterations to be as few as possible consistently with faithfulness to the original, and to be made in the language of the Authorized and earlier English versions; each Company to go twice over the portion to be revised, once provisionally, the second time finally; the Text adopted to be that for which the evidence is decidedly preponderating; and no changes in the text to be retained on the second final revision, unless approved by *two-thirds* of those present.

It will be seen that every precaution was thus taken to ensure that no unnecessary changes should be introduced into a version already hallowed by so many and so varied associations; and probably the charge that is most frequently brought against the Revisers is that they were too apt to lose sight of this. At the same time, it is only fair to them to keep in view the varied causes that made many changes inevitable. Thus, in the matter of text alone, it has been estimated that the text underlying the revised NT of 1881 differed from that of 1611 in no less than 5788 readings;* while other variations were necessitated by obvious misunderstandings of the original, by the removal of archaisms, and by previous inconsistencies in the rendering of the same words and phrases. Numerous, however, as the differences between the Revised and Authorized versions thus came to be, it is reassuring to know that in no particular have they seriously affected any of the doctrines of our faith, though in not a few instances these doctrines are now presented in a fuller and more convincing light.†

The revision of the NT occupied about ten years and a half, and the result was published on May 17th, 1881. Four years later the Revised OT was ready, and thus on May 19th, 1885, the English reader had the whole Bible in his hands, 'being the version set forth A.D. 1611 compared with the most ancient authorities and revised.' Each Testament was furnished with a Preface detailing the principles on which the work had been carried through, and with an Appendix in which the American Companies, who had been associated in the work, placed on record certain points of translation in which they differed from the English Companies. A revised translation of the Apocrypha by various committees of the Revisers was published in 1895. And in 1898 the work of revision was completed by the issue of a new edition of the Revised Bible with a carefully emended set of marginal references.

LITERATURE.—The principal works dealing with the separate versions have already been referred to in the preceding pages. For the versions as a whole, Eadie, *The English Bible: an External and Critical History of the various English Translations of Scripture*, 2 vols. 1876, is the most complete account; but much that is very valuable, especially with relation to the internal history of the text, will be found in the well-known *Histories* of Westcott and Moulton. Of a more popular character are Stoughton, *Our English Bible: its Translations and Translators* (no date); Pattison, *The History of the English Bible*, 1894; and *The English Bible: a Sketch of its History*, 1895, by the present writer, from which the foregoing account with various corrections and additions has been principally drawn. In Kenyon, *Our Bible and the Ancient Manuscripts*, 1895, the history of the text underlying our various versions is clearly set forth for the benefit of the ordinary readers of the Bible in English; and in *The Evolution of the English Bible*, 1901, by H. W. Hoare, the successive versions are interestingly described in connexion with their general historical setting.

Other works connected with the subject which may be consulted with advantage are, Lewis, *History of the English Translations of the Bible*, 1818, and Anderson, *The Annals of the English Bible*, 2 vols. 1845, 1 vol. revised ed. 1862, both of which, however, require to be carefully verified in the light of later knowledge; Dore, *Old Bibles*[2], 1888; Edgar, *The Bibles of England*, 1889; Mombert, *English Versions of the Bible* (no date); and the historical account prefixed to Bagster's issue of *The English Hexapla* (no date).

The principal authority for the AV, as has been noted above, is Scrivener, *The Authorized Edition of the English Bible* (1611), 1884; while to the books already mentioned as dealing with the RV there may be added Newth, *Lectures on Bible Revision*, 1881 (with an Appendix containing the Prologues and Prefaces to the various versions); Kennedy, *Ely Lectures on the RV of the NT*, 1882; Humphry, *Commentary on the RV of the NT*; Westcott, *Some Lessons of the RV of the NT*, 1897; and Ellicott, *Addresses on the RV*, 1901. Reference may also be made to *Biblical Revision, its Necessity and Purpose*, 1879, the English republication of a series of Essays by members of the American Revision Committee; and to the *Documentary History of the American Committee on Revision*, 1885, prepared originally by order of that committee for the use of its members. For a vigorous but sometimes misleading criticism of the RV see Burgon, *The Revision Revised*, 1883.

G. MILLIGAN.

* Scrivener, *The Authorized Edition*, p. 3. These changes may also be conveniently studied in *The Cambridge Paragraph Bible*, edited by Scrivener, 1873.

† See Plumptre, art. 'Version (Authorized)' in Smith's *DB* iii. 1678ff.

‡ The history of the RV still remains to be written, but amongst recent works which helped to prepare the way for it may be mentioned Trench, *On the AV of the NT in connexion with some recent proposals for its revision*[2], 1859; Ellicott, *Considerations on the Revision of the English Version of the NT*, 1870; Lightfoot, *On a Fresh Revision of the English NT*[3], 1891; the Revisions of the Gospel of St. John and of several of the Pauline Epistles by Five Clergymen, the first part of which appeared in 1857; and Dean Alford's *Revised NT*, 1869.

* See Kenyon, *Our Bible and the Ancient Manuscripts*, p. 239; and compare Bishop Westcott's weighty words, 'Whatever may be the merits of the revised version, it can be said confidently that in no parallel case have the readings of the original text to be translated been discussed and determined with equal care, thoroughness and candour' (*History*[2], p. viii, note).

† See 'The Doctrinal Significance of the RV,' three articles in *The Expository Times*, vii. 377, 452, viii. 171.

VERSIONS (GEORGIAN, GOTHIC, SLAVONIC).—

A. **The Georgian Version.**—This version is ascribed to the 5th or 6th cent., and, according to Armenian tradition, was the work of Mesrop, who also invented the Georgian alphabet. There are two characters in use—one for sacred writings called *Kuzuri*, and another, called *Mkedruli*, for civil purposes. By far the fullest account of this Version is found in Tsagareli's *Information about the Monuments of Georgian Literature* (in Russian), from which many of the facts which follow have been taken. The earliest period of literary activity lasted from the 5th to the 9th cent., and to it belong a papyrus Psalter assigned to the 7th or 8th cent., of which a facsimile is given in the work just mentioned, and a copy of the Gospels and a Psalter dated a century later. Both these are in the monastery on Mount Sinai. The next period, from the 10th to the 12th cent., Tsagareli calls the classical period. To this belong the oldest dated copy of the Gospels, assigned to A.D. 936, a MS—dated 974—of the Acts and Epistles of St. James and St. Peter, and the earliest MS of the whole Bible (now in part mutilated in the Pentateuch), dated 978, in two volumes. This last MS is preserved in the Iberian Monastery on Mount Athos. To the same period belongs an important MS of the Prophets at Jerusalem, assigned to the 11th cent. In this the Minor Prophets precede the Major, in the Athos MS the order is reversed. The chief centres of literary activity were the monastery on Mount Sinai, the monasteries of the Holy Cross and St. Sabbas near Jerusalem, and Mount Athos, each centre having a characteristic style of writing. The names of many of the scribes are preserved in the MSS. A chronological list of the MSS near Jerusalem and on Mount Sinai is given by Tsagareli in an appendix. This includes five Psalters, three MSS of other parts of the OT, fourteen of the whole or parts of the Gospels, eleven of the *Apostol*, and two of other parts of the NT.

Our information in regard to the text of the Version is derived mainly from the edition published at Moscow in 1743. This was used by F. C. Alter for the material he supplied to Holmes and Parsons for their edition of the LXX, and in his little monograph *Ueber Georgianische Litteratur* he gives a number of select readings throughout the Bible. Some doubt has been thrown on the value of the Moscow edition of the Georgian Bible because of a suggested corruption from the Slavonic. In regard to this point the Preface tells us that the edition was made for Archel, who, finding no complete Bible in Georgia, translated the gaps according to his powers, using the Slavonic for this purpose. We find passages (*e.g.* Ca 2^1) where misreading of the Slavonic has led to a mistaken rendering. When we go behind the edition to the MSS we find variations of text, as in the Athos and Jerusalem MSS of the Prophets; so again the Moscow edition differs from the Athos MS of the Song of Songs. In this as in the other Versions there seem to have been revisions and additions. Thus Tsagareli (*l.c.* 59) mentions two different translators, and adds, 'looking at the various readings of the Georgian NT and OT, we see there were several redactions of the Georgian Bible.' Mr. Conybeare also refers to the statement of Georgian writers, that 'before the tenth century a revision was made of their version.' Of the Gospels, Mr. Conybeare * from his own collations testifies that 'the printed text fairly represents the MSS,' though he adds that 'the most ancient MSS of the Version must be collated and a critical text of it prepared before it can be quite reliably used as an early witness to the Greek text in regard to any particular points.' Both in the OT and in the NT the Version was made from the Greek.

* Scrivener's *Introduction*, ii. p. 157.

LITERATURE.—Besides the brief notices in Gregory's *Prolegomena*, p. 922, and Nestle's *Urtext*, reference may be made to F. C. Alter, *Ueber Georgianische Litteratur*, Wien, 1798, to Tsagareli's book already described, and to Mr. Conybeare's account in Scrivener's *Introduction*, ii. 156.

B. **The Gothic Version.**—**i.** ORIGIN OF THE VERSION.—The beginnings of this Version are associated with the name of **Ulfilas,** and our knowledge of him comes mainly from Philostorgius, who was a contemporary and a native of the district of Cappadocia, from which Ulfilas' parents had been carried away near the end of the 3rd cent. during an invasion of Goths who came from Dacia. In Dacia, Ulfilas was born of Christian parents, probably some time between A.D. 310 and A.D. 313; thirty years later, in 340 or 341, he was consecrated bishop either at Constantinople or, as Kauffmann asserts, at Antioch. After remaining in Dacia as bishop for some seven years, he was driven out by persecution to Moesia, and to the period of his stay there the translation of the Bible into Gothic is ascribed. The commencement of the Version therefore dates from about the middle of the 4th cent., and, if it was all the work of Ulfilas, was completed before the year 381, in which year or (according to Jostes) in 383 he died.

This is one of several Versions for which an alphabet is said to have been invented by the translator. Before this time the Goths, like the other Teutonic families, seem to have used runes, and some of these older characters are kept in the alphabet ascribed to Ulfilas. Luft in his *Studien zur den ältesten Germanischen Alfabeten* (quoted by Nestle), traces 18 of the letters used by Ulfilas to a Greek source, 9 to the Latin. As was to be expected, many words were also carried over into Gothic from Greek, Latin, and other languages.* The number of foreign words found in the fragments which have come down to us is put by Nestle at 116.

It will be natural to ask what was the extent of the Version made by Ulfilas. The authority already quoted, Philostorgius, says that Ulfilas translated 'all the books of the Scripture with the exception of the Books of Kings, which he omitted because they are a mere narrative of military exploits, and the Gothic tribes were especially fond of war.' This statement is entitled to serious consideration as that of a contemporary, and we must infer from it that at any rate by A.D. 400, or soon afterwards, there was a translation of the Bible into Gothic, complete save for the books named. On the other hand, Nestle argues from Jerome's language in his well-known letter to Sunnias and Fretella, that at the date of the letter, some 50 years after Ulfilas' translation was made, these two Gothic students were occupied with a translation of the Psalter into Gothic, as if one did not exist. Jerome's words may, however, be interpreted on the supposition that they were working at a translation already made and its relation to the *Hebraica veritas*. Another statement, made by Walafrid Strabo, a writer of the 9th cent., is not sufficient to prove that Ulfilas was aided by others, for it is vague, and the authority on which it rests is unnamed. 'The Goths,' he says (*de Rebus Eccl.* 7), 'had one language; and, as histories testify, they translated the sacred books into their language . . . and of these some monuments are still preserved.' An argument of a different kind is mentioned by Sievers (*Encyc. Brit.*[9] *s.v.* 'Goths'),

* The word 'heathen,' as discussed in Murray's *English Dictionary*, gives an interesting illustration. It is traced there on the basis of investigations by Bugge through the Gothic to the Armenian.

who says that 'certain differences in language and manner of translation make it doubtful even whether the fragments of the OT can be traced to the same origin as those of the New.'*

ii. THE MANUSCRIPTS. — The history of the Version breaks off abruptly, for we know nothing more of it than can be gathered from the scanty remains which have come down to us in the MSS —remains which, scanty as they are, are of the greatest possible interest and value to the philologist, because they are 'by several centuries the oldest specimen of Teutonic speech.' How far they underwent any changes during the century and a half, or rather more, which intervened between the date of Ulfilas and that to which they are assigned, we cannot say. They all belong to the period of the East Gothic kingdom in Italy which began with Theodoric (493–526), and are all assigned to N. Italy.

The following† is a list of the MSS of the Bible in this Version:—

1. *Codex Argenteus.*—This MS is the most important. It is assigned to the 5th or early 6th cent., and is now at Upsala in Sweden. It is written in uncial, the letters being of gold or silver, on purple vellum. The MS now contains, on 187 leaves, large fragments of Matthew, John, Luke, Mark in that (the Western) order, beginning with Mt 5^{15}.
2. *Codex Carolinus.*—This and the following fragments are all palimpsest. It is bilingual (Goth. Lat.), and is now at Wolfenbüttel. The upper writing consists of works of Isidore of Seville. The MS is that usually referred to as P. Q. of the Gospels, and *gue* of the Old Latin (Epistles). It was discovered by Knittel, and edited by him in 1762. It contains on four leaves about 42 verses from Ro 11–15. It has been regarded (so Bernhardt) as corrected from the Latin in some places, *e.g.* $12^{2.3}$, and in places agrees very closely with the first fragment at Milan, even in orthographical peculiarities.
3. *Codices Ambrosiani.*—The following are now in the Ambrosian Library at Milan. These fragments, all in MSS which came from Bobbio, and originally belonged to two Gothic MSS, were discovered by Mai in 1817. Other fragments of the same MSS have been discovered at Turin and in the Vatican. Mai ascribes the writing in part to the early 5th, in part to the 6th, century:—
   (1) (S. 36) is a MS containing Gregory the Great's Commentary on Ezekiel. Of this 102 leaves (1 of which is illegible and 6 blank) belong to a Gothic MS (in which a note at 2 Co 4^{14} says, *liber sancti Columbani de bobio*) containing fragments of Rom., 1 and 2 Cor., Eph., Gal., Phil., Col., 1 and 2 Thess., 1 and 2 Tim., Titus, and Philem., in that order, and a fragment of a Gothic calendar.
   (2) (S. 45) is said to be written in an older character than (1), and contains on 78 leaves 2 Cor., and fragments of 1 Cor., Gal., Eph., Phil., Col., 1 and 2 Thess., 2 Tim., and Titus.
   (3) (I. 61 *sup.*) contains‡ on 2 leaves Mt 25^{38}–26^{8}, and 26^{65}–27^{1}.
   (4) (G. 82) contains on 3 leaves fragments of Ezra and Nehemiah.§
   (5) (G. 14) contains on 5 leaves fragments of a commentary on St. John.
4. *Codex Vaticanus* (MS 5750) contains on 3 leaves fragments of the same Commentary on St. John as the 5th Milan fragment.
5. *Codex Taurinensis* consists of 4 leaves belonging to the same MS as the first Milan fragment, found in the binding of a MS at Turin.‖ These leaves contain Gal 6^{14-18}, Col 2^{13-20} 4^{13-18}.
6. *Codex Vindobonensis.*—This MS, ascribed to the 9th cent., came from Salzburg (MS 140, olim 71), and contains, under runes, fragments of Gn 5, and, on the margin, two half-verses of Ps $52^{2.3}$.

In these MSS we have preserved to us the following passages of the OT:—Gn $5^{3-23.\ 25-28.\ 30.\ 32}$, Ps $52^{2.3}$,¶ Neh 5^{12-18} 6^{14}–$7^{3.\ 13-47ff.}$, and fragments more or less extensive of all the books* of the NT except the Acts, Catholic Epistles, and Apocalypse of which we have nothing in this Version.

iii. CHARACTER OF THE TEXT.—The next point to determine in regard to the Version is the character of the text preserved in it.

For the OT the amount preserved is very scanty indeed, but the fragments consist largely of names (as in the lists from Nehemiah), or numbers (as in the Genesis passages), and therefore the nature of the materials is some slight compensation for the deficiency in quantity.

The most careful examination of the Version in its relation to the text from which it was translated is in an article by Kauffmann,† who points out the very close agreement with Lucian's recension of the LXX text. Thus in Neh $7^{24.\ 35}$ (to take two instances only) the Gothic Version agrees with two MSS (HP 93, 108) of this recension in the names Ἀσσομ, Ἡιραμ, and this form is found in no other MSS of the LXX. The same close relationship of the Gothic and Lucian meets us in the Genesis fragments, where we find agreement between the numerals of the Gothic Version and those found in HP 44, another MS of the Lucian recension. But there are differences as well as resemblances, and Kauffmann collects instances in which the Gothic departs from Lucian and agrees with the B-text of the LXX. The Gothic does not preserve 'the original Lucianic text, but one derived from it,' or perhaps we may rather say it preserves one of the strains incorporated in the Luc. text.

In regard to the NT, Kauffmann, in a later series of articles in the periodical quoted below, entitled 'Beiträge zur Quellenkritik der Gottischen Bibelübersetzung,' examines the Version in regard to the sources from which it is drawn. He comes to the conclusion (*ib.* xxxi. 180) that 'the Goth, to whom we owe Matthew, used the Greek text current in the diocese of Constantinople,' and that for St. John there is evidence of 'no other recension than that demonstrated for St. Matthew.' Whether the Version was made from MSS obtained in Moesia, or from MSS brought by Ulfilas' parents from Cappadocia, we should expect, *a priori*, that this would be the type of text used. Westcott and Hort (*New Testament*, i. p. 158) thus sum up the position: 'The Gothic has very much the same combination as the Italian revision of the Old Latin, being largely Syrian and largely Western, with a small admixture of non-Western readings.' A few instances of the readings of this Version in noteworthy passages from the first ten chapters of St. Luke may be given:—Lk 1^{28} *εὐλογημένη σὺ ἐν γυναιξίν*; 2^{14} *εὐδοκίας*; 4^{18} *ἰάσασθαι τ. σ. τὴν καρδίαν*; 4^{44} Γαλιλαίας; 6^{1} *δευτεροπρώτῳ*; 6^{48} *τεθεμελίωτο, κ.τ.λ.*; 8^{26} Γαδαρηνῶν; 9^{35} *ἀγαπητός*; 9^{54} *ὡς καὶ Ἠλίας ἐποίησε*; 9^{55} *καὶ εἶπεν οὐκ οἴδατε, κ.τ.λ.*; 10^{1} *ἑβδομήκοντα*. In all these passages save 2^{14} and 4^{44} it supports a reading rejected by Westcott and Hort. On the other hand, in Mk 1^{2}, Mt 7^{13} 11^{23} 27^{4} it has readings accepted by the same editors.

In these and many other passages the Version will be seen to have a close relation to the Latin. Various explanations of this resemblance are possible.' It has been suggested that the Gothic has been influenced by the Latin between the date at which the Version was made and the date of the MSS of it which survive. Besides the resemblances of text, it is urged that the Gospels in the *Codex Argenteus* occur in the Western order, and that most, if not all, of the MSS are connected with N. Italy, and date from the time of the Lom-

* See also Wright, *Primer*, etc. p. 144: 'The fragments of the New Testament all point to one and the same translator, but the two small fragments of the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah differ so much in style from those of the New Testament that scholars now regard them as being the work of a later translator.'

† This information is largely taken from Stamm-Heyne's *Ulfilas* (ed. 9), Paderborn, 1896. The figures enclosed in brackets give the press-mark of the MS in the library to which it belongs.

‡ See Berger, *Histoire de la Vulgate*, p. 58.

§ Kauffmann (*Z. f. d. Philol.*, 1896) says the supposed fragment of Ezr 2^{18-42} is really Neh 7^{13-47}.

‖ See *Germania*, xiii. 271 ff.

¶ See note §, above.

* Nestle, *Einführung in d Griech. NT*, p. 111 (see also Gregory, *Prolegomena* to Tischendorf's *NT*, p. 1111), mentions quotations of the Ep. to the Hebrews as found in the Commentary on St. John, mentioned above. A complete list of fragments of the NT is given by Gregory.

† *Z. f. deutsche Philologie*, 1896.

bardo-Gothic kingdom there; that (as has been mentioned above) many Latin words have been incorporated into the Version, and that there are traces of Latin influence in the spelling of proper names, *e.g. Scariotus*. This view has been upheld by Marold in articles in *Germania* for 1880, 1881, but is disputed by Kisch,* Kauffmann,† and others.

A second explanation of the relationship is that some of the Latin MSS, at any rate, have been revised from the Gothic. This theory is stated by Burkitt (*JThSt*, i. 1) in regard to the Latin MS known as *Codex Brixianus* (*f*). He refers to the curious preface found in that manuscript,—which had before been noticed, in this regard, by Stamm —*ideo ne . . . legenti videatur aliud in Græca lingua, aliud in latina vel gotica designata esse conscripta*, etc., and supposes that it may be the preface of a bilingual Gotho-Lat. MS, of the Latin of which *f* is a transcript. Burkitt then collects a number of peculiar readings of *f*, in which it differs from the Vulg. and Old Latin, and agrees with the Gothic, *e.g.* Lk 14^{32} 6^{7} etc. In a note he makes the same assertion of Gothic influence in the OL fragment of the Ep. to the Romans (*gue*), mentioned above. Kauffmann has fully examined the relation of the Gothic to the Latin, in the light of Burkitt's suggestion, in the last of the series of articles referred to, and the conclusions to which he comes‡ are the following: — (1) About the year 410 a 'critical' edition of Ulfilas' Bible was prepared by the two Gothic clergy, Sunnias and Fretella; (2) the preface to this edition is handed down to us (not quite complete) in the *Codex Brixianus*, and formed the introduction to a bilingual (or perhaps trilingual) MS, in which certain variants of the translations were traced to their origin; (3) a fragment of this edition probably lies before us in the *Codex Carolinus*; (4) from this bilingual edition the *Codex Brixianus* arose, the original text of which is demonstrably that of a Gotho-Latin MS, and to which the text of the Gothic Gospels of the *Codex Argenteus* corresponds fairly exactly; (5) the *Cod. Arg.* and the *Cod. Brix.* sprang from that critical edition; even their calligraphical presentation shows they are related; in the 6th cent., about the same time and in the same part of Upper Italy, the Gothic Gospels on the one hand and the Latin Gospels on the other were separately derived from that archetype; (6) on the basis of the recension of Jerome's translation, which had then attained supremacy in Upper Italy,—and this may have been the reason for the whole transaction,—a redactor worked afresh over the Latin Gospels.

A third possibility is that the resemblance is due to the fact of both the Latin and the Gothic being based on Greek MSS belonging to the same family, and preserving the same type of text. Such a hypothesis will leave room for the differences as well as the resemblances of the two Versions.

It has to be added in regard to the general character of the translation that it is a close and accurate rendering of the Greek, though Ellicott notices in regard to its rendering of Ph 2^{6-8} a trace of those Arian views which characterized the Goths, especially in Spain. The 'Arianism of Ulfilas' has been discussed by Kauffmann in the articles already mentioned.

LITERATURE.—On Ulfilas: art. in *Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek*; *Dict. Christ. Biogr. s.v.*; Monograph by C. A. Scott (Cambridge, 1885); artt. by Eckstein in Westermann's *Illustr. Monatsheft*, 1892, and Jostes in *Beiträge zur Gesch. der d. Sprache*, xxii. On the Gothic Version: Scrivener's *Introduction*, ii. 145 ff.; Gregory's *Prolegomena* to Tischendorf's *NT*, p. 1108 ff.; Nestle, *Einführung in das Griech. NT*, p. 110 ff.: *Urtext und Übersetzungen*, p. 119 ff.; art. in *Z. f. deutsche Philologie*, 1896–1900, and in *Germania*. The most serviceable edition is perhaps that of Stamm, the latest editions of which have been revised by Heyne, 9th ed., Paderborn, 1896. The edition of Bernhardt, *Vulfila oder die Gotische Bibel*, Halle, 1875, is very full in regard to the relation of the Gothic to the Greek text. There are also serviceable editions of separate books by Prof. Skeat; and a useful *Primer of the Gothic Language*, Clar. Press, 1899, by Prof. Wright.

C. **The Slavonic Version.*** — i. ORIGIN. — Our information as to the origin of the Slavonic Version is fairly definite, and generally trustworthy, at any rate in its main points. The two men whose names are connected with the beginnings of a Slavonic Version are Cyril and Methodius. They were sons of a Greek nobleman of Thessalonica, round which place there were a number of Slavonic settlers. The elder, Methodius, died in 885; the year of his birth is unknown. The younger, Constantine, was born in 827, took the name of Cyril when he became a monk, and died at Rome in 869. It is probable that from childhood they were acquainted with the Slavonic of their native district of Thessalonica, and tradition ascribes to Cyril the invention of the characters which from him are called Cyrillic, assigning as the date of this the year 855. The object of Cyril was to give the Bulgarian Slavs such parts of the Bible as were used in Church services in their own language. A little later the two brothers were summoned to Moravia, and to the period following on this, *i.e.* after the year 864, the beginnings of the Version are by many assigned. But Leskien and Polevoi† urge, and with reason, that the work probably began earlier, and was spread over a longer time.

In one of the legendary lives of Cyril‡ we are told that he began his translation with St. John's Gospel, and soon completed a translation of the 'whole ecclesiastical cycle,' *i.e.* he translated first those parts of the Bible which were used for the Church services, both of the OT and NT. It is stated also in the life of Methodius that a translation of these selected parts preceded the translation of the whole; and John, exarch of Bulgaria, who is almost a contemporary, makes a similar assertion that Cyril first translated a 'selection,' and that Methodius and his brother translated 'the whole 60 books.' This translation may well have been completed before the death of Methodius, who survived his brother some time, though not, we may hope, in the short time of six months, as one authority states.

A much disputed question connected with the origin of the Version concerns the dialect into which the translation was made, and names eminent in Slavonic studies may be quoted as disagreeing. Thus Schäfarik, Leskien, and others say that the original Version was most closely allied to Old Bulgarian, while Kopitar, Miklosich, and Jagič connect it with Old Slovenish. It is possible that the various families of Slavonic had not, at the date of which we are speaking, begun to show the marks of difference found in later documentary evidence.

Another interesting literary discussion gathers round the alphabets which are met with in the early MSS. These are of two kinds. The one is known as the Cyrillic, and consisted of 38 letters, derived mainly from Greek, but also, in part, from Hebrew and other languages, and in part invented to express the peculiar nasal sounds found in Slavonic. The other alphabet is known as Glagolitic, and this is probably the older.

* *Monatssch. f. Gesch. u. Wissensch. des Judenthums*, 1873.
† *Z. f. deutsche Philol.* xxxi. 182.
‡ *Ib.* 1900, xxxii. p. 335.

* For a fuller account of the origin and later history of the Slavonic Version, and its relation to modern Russian, the writer must refer to an article of his on 'the Russian Bible' in the *Church Quarterly Review* for Oct. 1895. Little new work has been done in Russia or elsewhere on this subject since that date.
† *History of Russian Literature*, p. 7.
‡ See Ginzel, *Geschichte der Slawenapostel, Cyrill und Method.*, for details as to the documents in regard to Cyril and Methodius.

ii. THE MSS.—A few of the MSS are ascribed to as early a date as the 10th or 11th cent. by Jagič and other scholars, but these contain only the Gospels, either as complete texts or as lectionaries. The oldest MS of the complete Bible is that called after Gennadius, archbishop of Novgorod, and dated 1499.* As will be seen later, this contains a composite text, of very varying value and importance. The comparative absence of early MSS is explained by the widespread devastation caused by the Mongol invasions of the 13th and 14th cents. The records of the period before these invasions tell us of schools in which the Bible was studied, of copies of MSS of the Bible made by monks and professional scribes, of *catenæ* on the Psalms, the Prophets, the Gospels, and some of the Epistles,† and every page of the chronicles and other writings shows us how inwoven the Bible was into the texture of the language, and what a part it played in Russia, as elsewhere, in fixing the literary style. We find actual quotations of many of the OT books, *e.g.* of the Book of Proverbs, in the Chronicle of Nestor, which dates from the 11th cent.

The oldest MSS of any part of the OT are those of the Psalter, some of which go back to the 11th or 12th cent. Many of the books of the OT have been made the subject of monographs, in which details are given. Besides the editions of the Psalter by Sreznefski and Amphilochius may be mentioned studies in the text of Joshua, the Books of Kings, several of the Minor Prophets, and Isaiah.

Passing to the NT we find the Gospels preserved to us in a large number of MSS, many of which are lectionaries. Among them may be mentioned the *Codex Zographensis* and *Codex Marianus*, both written in Glagolitic characters, and the *Ostromir Codex*, written in Cyrillic, and dated 1056–1057. A critical edition of St. Mark, based on 108 MSS, has been published by Professor Voskresenski. He groups the authorities for the text in four main classes. The history of the next division of the NT, the *Apostol*, has been also carefully studied by the same author. MSS either of the continuous text, or of the parts used in services, go back as far as the 12th cent., and on these he published an elaborate monograph in 1879, and in 1892 produced a critical edition of the Epistle to the Romans based on 51 manuscripts, many of which only give the Church lections. The only other part of the NT which has been examined is the Apocalypse. The MSS of this book are fewer and later, but the earliest is ascribed by Oblak to the 13th century.

iii. THE TEXT OF THE VERSION AND ITS VALUE.—For the OT the MSS do not show any great or important variations, but the characteristics of the translation they contain are different in different parts. 'The Pentateuch shows signs of very great antiquity, and probably embodies fragments of the original translation. The Books of Joshua, Judges, and Ruth also represent an old translation. The Books of Samuel and Kings are less old and less exact. The Psalter is of course very old. Ecclesiastes and Sirach show a later but accurate translation. The Book of Job, Song of Songs, and the Prophets . . . show signs of glosses. While all the above were translated from the Greek, and the Book of Esther from the Hebrew, the Books of Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, and the other books of the Latin Bible were translated from the Vulgate towards the end of the 15th cent., and embodied in Gennadius' MS [*i.e.* of A.D. 1499]. This text was adopted for the edition of the Bible published at Ostrog in 1581.' *

It will be seen from the preceding words that the value and interest of the Version varies in different parts of the OT. The only part which is of real interest is that based on the Greek, and, in regard to this, its relation to Lucian's recension is the most important point. This has been variously described, Lagarde asserting that Lucian was the basis of the Slavonic; Buhl, that the Slavonic resembles the B text. The writer has examined this point, but only over a limited area, in reference to Lucian's recension.† The results seem to vary in different books. The Slavonic text of the OT, in the books derived from the Greek, deserves a fuller and wider examination than it has yet received.

In regard to the NT the MSS of the Version are more numerous, and contain a number of variations. These are, for the most part, of interest only in regard to the history of the Version itself, and consist of modifications in orthography, the removal of archaisms, and the translation of Greek words which in the earlier recensions had been simply transliterated. To the student of Slavonic these variants present innumerable points of interest. They also point to differences between the underlying Greek text, which are of wider interest, and it is well here to point out that the ordinary printed text of the Russian or of the Slavonic Bible often fails to indicate the important readings found in the older MSS. Among the passages where the oldest MSS differ as to the Greek on which they are based, the following may be noticed: Lk 2^3 6^1 14^{24}, Jn 9^8 19^{14} 21^{15}.

It cannot be said that the Version has any great value for textual criticism, nor should we expect, remembering its close connexion with south-eastern Europe, to find it preserving a text of any uniform or great importance. Its chief value and interest are in connexion with the history of the development of the Slavonic language, and in this department it is not easy to exaggerate its importance.

LITERATURE.—This is for the most part in Russian. See Scrivener's *Introduction*, ii. 157 ff.; *Church Quarterly Review*, Oct. 1895, and the literature there referred to. Nestle, *Urtext*, etc., p. 211 ff., should also be consulted. There are numerous articles dealing with details of this subject in the *Archiv für Slavische Philologie*. LL. J. M. BEBB.

VERSIONS, GREEK (other than the LXX).—It would seem from what has come down to us that many persons took in hand to make translations, if not of the whole of the Hebrew Scriptures, yet certainly of some books, and, as was natural, particularly of the Psalms. But, unfortunately, little remains except detached fragments. The longest passages of a continuous text still extant and already published are two passages from 1, 2 (3, 4) Kings (21 [23]$^{7\text{-}17}$ $23^{11\text{-}27}$) and one from 1 (3) Kings ($14^{1\text{-}20}$), all attributed to Aquila. The former have been edited by F. C. Burkitt, the latter is quoted in its due order in Field's *Hexapla*. Unfortunately, very few fragments of Origen's *Hexapla* in its original form have been found; a considerable portion of the Psalter is, however, shortly to be edited by Dr. Mercati of the Vatican from a palimpsest in the Ambrosian Library at Milan. It is much to be wished that, amongst the treasures still perhaps remaining to be unearthed in Egypt and elsewhere, a copy of at least some portions of Origen's work might be discovered. For the present we are indebted for the most part to the marginal notes of Septuagintal MSS for the fragments which we do possess, the chief editors of which have been Montfaucon and Field. Fresh fragments are, however, being con-

* This MS is now in the Synodal Library at Moscow, and is fully described by Gorski and Nevostruief in their description of the MSS in that library.

† For details of these writings see Philaret's *Review of Spiritual Literature from 862 to 1720* (in Russian).

* *Church Quarterly Review*, *l.c.* pp. 219, 220.

† *Ib.* cii. p. 388 f.

stantly brought to light. A number are to be found in the third volume of Pitra's *Analecta Sacra*, and also in the 3rd volume of Swete's *OT in Greek*. The last fragments which have been published are the greater part of two verses of Gn 1, which is to be found in part i. of Grenfell and Hunt's *Amherst Greek Papyri*, and a fragment of Ps 21 (22) in Dr. Taylor's *Cairo Genizah Palimpsests* (Cambridge Press).

Considerable difficulties beset the student in his consideration of those fragments that still remain. (1) In various MSS the same words are ascribed in one case to one translator, in another to another; whilst in other cases, and sometimes very questionably, the same translation is attributed to all in common. (2) Owing to Origen's well-meant but unfortunate editing of the text of the LXX, and the loss of or confusion in the diacritical marks which he inserted in his text; and owing also to the various other recensions and re-editings which the text of the Septuagint has suffered from, we are quite in the dark as to how much of these other Greek versions may be embedded in our present Greek texts of the LXX. To take an instance. If with our present limited sources of information we examine the two chapters of the Book of Judges which relate the history of Deborah, and compare the Vatican text of the Cambridge edition with the fragments printed by Field, we shall find at least thirteen expressions (4^{11} [two] $14.\ 21\ 51.\ 14.\ 16.\ 21.\ 26$ [three] 29 [two]) attributed to versions other than the Septuagint. This may perhaps be an extreme case, taken as it is from a book in which the forms of the text vary so much, and as to which questions may be raised concerning the date of the special text, but it will at any rate serve as an illustration of how complicated the phenomena of the present Greek texts of the OT are. In other cases, where a double or even triple rendering of the Hebrew occurs, we shall probably not go wrong in assigning, at least in some cases, one or more of these alternative translations to other versions than the LXX.

Origen's great work itself seems to have taken various forms besides the most prevalent Hexaplaric one. We find mention of (*a*) a *Tetrapla*, containing the four Greek versions; (*b*) a *Pentapla* of doubtful content; (*c*, *d*) a *Heptapla* and an *Octapla*, which apparently contained the fifth and sixth anonymous Greek versions. Specimens of the way in which these were respectively arranged are to be found in Field's *Prolegomena* (pp. xiv, xv); while Mercati gives an actual extract from a Hexapla MS in his 'Un palimpsesto Ambrosiano' in *Atti di R. Accademia di Scienza di Torino*, April 10, 1896 (see also Taylor's fragment of Ps 21 [22] from the Cairo Palimpsest, printed on p. 444 of the present volume).

We pass to the separate translations and their authors.

(1) *Aquila's Version.*—There seems to be no good reason for doubting that this was certainly the oldest of these Greek versions. It most probably had its origin in a desire for a faithful and literal translation of the OT by an orthodox person holding the Jewish faith. The name Aquila is one familiar to us in the pages of the NT. The Aquila of our present notice, like his Scripture namesake, was a native of Pontus, and is said to have belonged to Sinope. He is called a proselyte, and the story goes that he made his translation in the reign of Hadrian (*c.* 130 A.D.) after the return of the Christians from Pella to that city. He is said to have been a pupil of the famous Rabbi Akiba. Attempts have been made to identify him with the Onkelos of the Targum of Onkelos, but they have not at present met with general acceptance.

In translating the OT, Aquila seems to have approached his task from the point of view of an orthodox Jew holding the plenary inspiration of every 'jot and tittle.' Accordingly, his aim was so to translate that for every Hebrew word or particle there should always be an equivalent. The results of his method sometimes become grotesque. Thus having translated גַּם by the Greek *καίγε*, when the conjunction is prefixed to גַּם and the word becomes וְגַם, Aquila translates *καὶ καίγε*. The particle אֵת being identical with the preposition אֵת is also translated *σύν*, so that we have such an extraordinary solecism as *σύν* followed by the accusative case.

How far Aquila is controversial against the Christians in any of his renderings is a matter of dispute. Tregelles considers this to be proved against him, whilst Field absolves him. The only passage which really seems to support Tregelles' view is Aquila's translation of Is 7^{14}, where for the *παρθένος* of the LXX he substitutes *νεᾶνις*, a much less definite word than *παρθένος*—a translation which would have the support of many modern Christian critics.

His translation shows few traces of any readings differing from the unpointed Hebrew text now in existence. In a few cases his division of Hebrew words is not the same. His vocalization, however, differs in a considerable number of instances from the Massoretes. As between *Kĕrê* and *Kĕthîbh*, he more often follows *Kĕrê*. It is to be noted also that he, together with Symmachus, follows the euphemism of the Hebrew margin in Is 36^{12}. In his choice of words to represent the Hebrew, Aquila goes far afield. He attempts to indicate the literal meaning of words by corresponding Greek words, *e.g.* *ἐπιστημονίζειν*. He draws, as other Greek writers of the period do, a certain portion of his vocabulary from the old Greek epic poetry. He also uses Greek words of similar sound to the Hebrew, instead of actually transliterating. He transliterates the tetragrammaton by the archaic form of the four Hebrew letters, a form which appears in Hexaplaric Greek MSS as ΠΙΠΙ (*PIPI*).

There would seem to have been two editions of Aquila's translation. In a few cases he may have altered his mind about the true reading of the Hebrew. Thus in Ps 89^{10} he appears to have read at first אִישׁ, afterwards חִישׁ.

Specimens of passages in which the Latin Bible has been influenced by Aquila's version are to be found in Field's *Introduction* (p. xxiv).

For the longer story told by Epiphanius concerning Aquila, his relationship to Hadrian, and his conversion to Christianity, which he afterwards exchanged for Judaism, Epiphanius is our authority (*de Mens. et Pond.* 14), but it seems a very improbable tale, due perhaps in part to the view taken by Epiphanius of his translation. It is also to be found in the new 'Dialogue between Timothy and Aquila,' edited by F. C. Conybeare in *Anecdota Oxoniensia* (Class. ser. pt. viii.).

(2) *Symmachus' Version.*—The tr. of Symmachus occupied in the *Hexapla* the next column to that of Aquila. According to Epiphanius (*de Mens. et Pond.* 16), he was a Samaritan who turned Jew and then translated the OT Scriptures into Greek as a means of refuting the Samaritan errors. According to Eusebius (*HE* vi. 17) he was an Ebionite, and wrote a commentary on St. Matthew's Gospel. It is worthy of note, however, that, in the early chapters of Genesis, Symmachus seems to have followed the Samaritan chronology. The chief object of his version is to give a readable tr. of the Hebrew. To effect this he paraphrases Hebrew with Greek idioms, *e.g.* he replaces the *ἄνδρες αἱμάτων* of the LXX by *ἄνδρες μιαιφόνοι* (Ps 25 [26]^{9} 54 [55]^{24} 138 [139]^{19}). He does not consider it necessary always to render the same Hebrew word by the same Greek word. In places his translation becomes more of a paraphrase. He constantly gives translations of proper names: thus Ararat becomes Armenia. The influence of Symmachus, as of Aquila, is to be found in the Vulgate. In a few places mention is made of a second edition of this translation, but they are so few that little certainty exists that there actually was one. Like Aquila, Symmachus oscillates between *Kĕrê* and *Kĕthîbh*, and very seldom deviates from the consonantal part of the MT. Like the LXX, he explains away the bare anthropomorphic statement of the Hebrew, see, *e.g.*, Ex 24^{10} Heb. 'they saw the God of Israel' (Aq. *εἶδον τὸν θεὸν* 'Ισραήλ), for which LXX substitutes *εἶδον τὸν τόπον οὗ εἰστήκει ὁ θεὸς τοῦ* 'I., and Symmachus *εἶδον ὁράματι τὸν θεὸν* 'I. There is no reason why this Symmachus should be identified with the one mentioned in the Talmud (Bab. *Erubin*, 13*b*). The date of the translation is quite uncertain, but it is

probably to be assigned to the latter half of the 2nd cent. A.D. It shows an acquaintance with Aquila, but is thoroughly independent of it.

(3) *Theodotion's Version.*—Theodotion was of Pontus, according to Epiphanius (*de Mens. et Pond.* 17), and a follower of Marcion of Sinope, and afterwards became a Jewish proselyte. Irenæus also calls him a proselyte (*adv. Hær.* iii. 24), but describes him as an Ephesian. Jerome says that some called him an Ebionite, others a Jew.

His version has more of the character of a revision of the LXX than of an independent translation. So valuable was it held that in some cases, notably in the Book of Daniel, of which we possess the LXX version in only one copy (cod. 87), Theodotion's version supplanted the LXX. He included in his work the apocryphal parts of Daniel, the addition at the end of Job, the Bk. of Baruch, and the sections of Jeremiah which the LXX omits. He indulges more freely in the transliteration of Hebrew words than the other translators, though occasionally he finds himself able to give translations where the others fail.

His translation was probably made about A.D. 185. Traces of a Greek version of Daniel very like that of Theodotion go back as far as the NT.* This would lead us to imagine that just as we still have traces in other books of the OT of two Greek versions existing side by side, *e.g.* in Judges and still more in the Books of Esdras, so it is quite possible that there may have been two versions of Daniel and of some other books—a literal translation, and one which had more of the nature of a paraphrastic commentary.

(4) In addition to these translations there were at least *three anonymous versions* of at any rate parts of the Scriptures, known respectively as the Fifth, Sixth, and Seventh. According to Eusebius (*HE* vi. 16), Origen obtained the Fifth from Nicopolis near Actium. Epiphanius (*de Mens. et Pond.* 18), however, says that it was found hidden away in jars at Jericho, and assigns the Sixth version to Nicopolis. If we can depend upon the quotation of the Sixth version of Hab 3^{13}, the tr. must have been paraphrastic and made by a Christian. As to the Seventh translation, and even the certainty of its existence at all, there is much doubt. These three versions are most frequently quoted in the Psalms.

(5) The *Græco-Venetan* tr., a very late Jewish production, of which only one MS exists, need only just be mentioned. It does not include the whole of the OT. The best edition is that of Gebhardt (Leipzig, 1875).

For further information concerning the *Hexapla* and these versions see art. SEPTUAGINT.

LITERATURE.—Montfaucon, *Origenis Hexaplorum quæ supersunt* (1723); Field, *Origenis Hexaplorum quæ supersunt* (1875); Salmon, *Introd. to NT* (last edition); Swete, *Introd. to OT in Greek* (1900). For Aquila (fragments), Anger, *de Onkelo Chaldaico*; Burkitt, *Fragments of Aquila*; Taylor, 'Fragments' in *Sayings of the Jewish Fathers*[2] (1897), and Fragments of Ps. xxii. (1900), art. 'Hexapla' in *Dict. of Christian Biography*. For Symmachus and Theodotion see artt. *s.vv.* in *Dict. of Christ. Biog.* by Dr. Gwynn.

H. A. REDPATH.

VERSIONS.—In addition to the Versions treated in the preceding three articles, the following are dealt with in the present work under their respective titles: ARABIC VERSIONS, ARMENIAN VERSION, EGYPTIAN VERSIONS, ETHIOPIC VERSION, LATIN VERSIONS (THE OLD), SEPTUAGINT, SYRIAC VERSIONS, VULGATE.

VERY is still used as an adj. freely enough, but either intensively or to mark identity. The sense of 'true' (Lat. *verax*, through late Lat. *veracus* and Old Fr. *verai*), or 'real' is no longer in use. We find this sense in AV Gn $27^{21.\ 24}$ 'Art thou my very son Esau?'; Ps 5^{9} 'Their inward part is very wickedness'; Pr 17^{9} 'He that repeateth a matter separateth very (RV 'chief') friends'; Jn 7^{26} 'Do the rulers know indeed that this is the very Christ?'; Ac 9^{22} 'proving that this is very Christ' (RV 'the Christ'). This use of 'very' is common in Wyclif, as Jn $6^{32.\ 33.\ 55}$ 'my fleisch is verri mete, and my blood is verri drynke'; 15^{1} 'I am a verri vyne'; 17^{3} 'This is everlastynge liif, that thei knowe thee verri God aloone'; so Tind. 'that they myght knowe the that only very God.' So Erasmus, *Crede*, 76, 'It was no very deathe'; Elyot, *Governour*, ii. 161, 'Seneca saieth that very friendship is induced neither with hope ne with rewarde.' Sometimes the adj. with this sense has to be carefully distinguished from the adverb. Thus Udall's *Erasmus' NT*, ii. 280, 'Jesus Christ . . . is now already come, having receyved a very humayne body'; and Tindale, *Expos.* 230, 'Where faith is, there must the very good works follow.' Hall (*Works*, ii. 151) uses the compar. in the same sense, 'Surely they were not veryer lepers than we?'

J. HASTINGS.

VEX, VEXATION.—These Eng. words, as used in AV, express much more than petty annoyance. The following quotations will illustrate their force: *Vex*—Lk 8^{45} Tind. 'Master, the people thrust the and vexe (ἀποθλίβουσι, Gen. 'tread on,' AV 'press') the, and sayest thou, who touched me?'; 1 S 28^{21} Cov. 'And the woman went in to Saul, and sawe that he was sore vexed' (AV 'sore troubled'); Mt 9^{36} Rhem. 'And seing the multitudes, he pitied them because they were vexed' (ἦσαν ἐκλελυμένοι, AV 'fainted'; edd. ἦσαν ἐσκυλμένοι, RV 'were distressed'); Elyot, *Governour*, ii. 95, 'The first or chiefe porcion of justice (as Tulli saieth) is to indomage no man, onelas thou be wrongfully vexed' (Lat. *nisi lacessitus injuria*); Shaks. *Lear*, III. iv. 62, 'Do poor Tom some charity, whom the foul fiend vexes.' *Vexation*—Shaks. *Mids. Night's Dream*, IV. i. 74—

> 'Think no more of this night's accidents
> But as the fierce vexation of a dream';

Webster, *White Devil*, v. 2—

> 'There's nothing of so infinite vexation
> As man's own thoughts.'

But the force of the words in AV can be best seen by examining the original words so translated. In OT sixteen verbs (and one subst.) are translated 'vex.' These are—1. [*Bāhal*] (Ps 2^{5} $6^{2.\ 3.\ 10}$), which in Piel (Ps 2^{5}) is usually translated in AV 'trouble,' but means 'dismay' or 'terrify'; in Niph. (Ps $6^{2.\ 3.\ 10}$) 'be disturbed,' 'dismayed.' In his *Par. Psalt.* Driver has uniformly 'dismay' or 'be dismayed.' 2. [*Dāhaḳ*] (Jg 2^{18}), elsewhere only Jl 2^{3} of the crowding, thrusting of locusts, but common in Aramaic. 3. *Hāmam* (2 Ch 15^{6}), to make a noise, and so 'discomfit,' 'distress,' as in Ex 14^{24}, where 'the Lord troubled (RV 'discomfited') the host of the Egyptians.' 4. *Zûa'* (Hab 27), to tremble (as an old man shakes, Ec 12^{3}): here it is Pilp., and Davidson translates 'shall violently shake thee'; it is used figuratively of the foes of Babylon as the instruments of Jehovah's judgments. 5. [*Yāgah*] (Job 19^{2}) in Hiph. means to cause grief, Davidson 'afflict,' who adds, 'the words suggest the crushing effect which the friends' insinuations of wickedness had on Job's spirit.' 6. [*Yānāh*] (Ex 22^{21} RV 'wrong'; Lv 19^{33} RV 'do wrong'; Ezk 22^{7} RV 'wrong'[29])='oppress,' 'maltreat,' esp. the stranger [see GER] or the poor by the wealthy and powerful. 7. *Ka'aṣ* (Ezk 32^{9}) in Hiph.='provoke,' as Peninnah provoked Hannah (1 S 1), but esp. used of provoking Jehovah to anger. 8. *Mārar* (Job 27^{2}) in Qal 'to be bitter,' as 2 K 4^{27} 'her soul, it is bitter to her': here Hiph.='embitter,' 'Shaddai who hath embittered my soul' (*Oxf. Heb. Lex.*). Cf. Ru 1^{20} 'The Almighty hath dealt very bitterly with me.' 9. [*Āzabh*] (Is 63^{10} RV 'grieve') in Piel='cause pain.' 10. *Ẓarar* (Lv 18^{18}, Nu $25^{17.\ 18}$ 33^{55}, 2 S 13^{2}, Is 11^{13}, Neh 9^{27}). This verb is to press (perhaps lit. in Lv 18^{18} though RV 'to be a rival'), press together, then fig. to oppress, persecute. In Neh 9^{27} (Hiph.) to afflict (RV 'distress') on the part of enemies. 11. [*Kûṣ*] (Is 7^{6})=fear, here in Hiph.=put in fear, of a city by besieging it. Cf. 1 Mac 15^{14}. 12. [*Kāẓēr*] (Jg 16^{16}), lit. 'be short,' here of one's spirit, *i.e.* to have one's patience exhausted, AV and RV 'His soul was vexed unto death,' Gen. 'His soul was peined unto the death.' 13. *Rā'a* (Nu 20^{15}) in Hiph. to 'do evil,' to 'evil entreat' (so RV

* For traces of a version of other books than Daniel similar to that of Theodotion see Swete's *Introd.* p. 48, n. 3.

here, as AV in Ex 5^{22}, Dt 26^{6}, Amer. RV 'deal ill with'). 14. עָשָׂה רַע *'āsah ra'* (2 S 12^{18})='do evil,' AVm 'do hurt,' here to oneself by grief. 15. *Rā'aẓ* (Jg 10^{8})—'They vexed and oppressed the children of Israel,' Moore 'they broke and crushed.' It is the same verb that in Jg 9^{53} is translated 'and *all to brake* his skull.' 16. *Rāsha'* (1 S 14^{47}), lit. 'be wicked'; here Hiph.='declare wicked,' 'condemn,' 'punish,' if the text is correct, which is doubtful, see Driver's note. Amer. RV 'put them to the worse.'

The subst. *mĕhûmah*, 'vexation,' is translated by the verb in Ezk 22^{5} AV 'much vexed,' RV 'full of tumult.' Besides *mĕhûmah* (Dt 28^{20}, 2 Ch 15^{6}), 'vexation' is the tr. of (2) *zĕwā'āh* (Is 28^{19}); (3) *sheber* (Is 65^{14}); (4) *rĕ'uth* (Ec 1^{14} 2$^{11.\ 17.\ 26}$ 4$^{4.\ 6}$ 6^{9}), and (5) *ra'yôn* (Ec 1^{17} 2^{22} 4^{16}). RV gives for (1) 'discomfiture' in Dt 28^{20}, retaining 'vexation' in 2 Ch 15^{6}; for (2) 'terror'; for (3) it retains 'vexation'; for (4) and (5) gives 'striving.'

In Apocr. and NT we find thirteen different Gr. words rendered in AV by the verb to vex ('vexation' does not occur). 1. *βασανίζω* (2 P 2^{8}), which is tr. 'torment' elsewhere except Mt 14^{24} ('tossed,' RV 'distressed'), Mk 6^{48} ('toiling,' RV 'distressed'), Rev 12^{2} ('pained,' RV 'in pain'). The verb means originally to test metals by the touchstone (*βάσανος*). 2. *δαιμονίζομαι*: Mt 15^{22} *ἡ θυγάτηρ μου κακῶς δαιμονίζεται*, 'my daughter is grievously vexed with a devil.' The verb means to be possessed by a demon. 3. *ἐλαύνω*: Wis 17^{15} *τέρασιν ἠλαύνοντο φαντασμάτων*, 'were vexed with monstrous apparitions,' RV 'haunted': in 16^{18} the same word is tr. 'persecuted,' RV 'chased.' 4. *θλίβω*: 1 Mac 15^{14} 'he vexed the city by land and by sea.' Cf. Mt 7^{14} *τεθλιμμένη ἡ ὁδὸς ἡ ἀπάγουσα εἰς τὴν ζωήν*, lit. 'a compressed (hemmed in, straitened) way is that which leads to life.' 5. *κακόω*: 2 Mac 5^{22}, Ac 12^{1} RV, in both 'afflict.' The word means to do harm (*κακόν*) to, as Ac 18^{10} 'No man shall set on thee to hurt (RV 'harm') thee.' 6. *καταπονέω*: 2 P 2, lit. 'to exhaust with labour' (*πόνος*). Found also in Ac 7^{24} EV 'oppress.' 7. *λυπέω*; Bar 2^{18} 'the soul that is greatly vexed,' *λυπουμένη*, lit. 'grieved,' 'made sorrowful.' 8. *ὀχλέω*: Lk 6^{18}, Ac 5^{16}, both 'vexed with evil spirits.' In Luke edd. read *ἐνοχλούμενοι*, RV 'troubled.' The word means lit. to rouse a mob (*ὄχλος*) against one. The same verb is used in To 6^{7} of 'a devil or evil spirit' troubling one. 9. *παροργίζω*: Sir 4^{3} *καρδίαν παροργισμένην*, 'a heart that is vexed' (RV 'provoked,' as AV in Ro 10^{19}, Eph 6^{4}). 10. *πάσχω*: Mt 17^{15} *κακῶς πάσχει*, 'he is sore vexed'; RV 'suffereth grievously.' 11. *περιστάω*: Sir 41^{2} *Ὦ θάνατε, καλόν σου . . . τῷ περιστωμένῳ περὶ πάντων*, 'to him that is vexed with (RV 'distracted about') all things.' In NT the verb occurs only Lk 10^{40} 'Martha was cumbered (RVm 'distracted') about much serving.' 12. *ταράσσω*: 1 Mac 3^{5}, RV 'trouble,' as the word is often tr. in AV in the Gospels and 1 P 3^{14}. In the identical phrase (*οἱ ταράσσοντες τὸν λαόν*) in 1 Mac 7^{22} the word is tr. 'troubled.' 13. *τρύχομαι*: Wis 11^{11}, RV 'distress'; elsewhere in Bibl. Greek only 14^{15}, AV 'afflicted,' RV 'worn.'

J. HASTINGS.

VILE.—'There are many places in the Bible in which *vile* is not meant to convey the idea which it now possesses of what is physically and morally detestable, but has simply the force of the Latin *vilis*, properly *cheap*, and then *common, lightly esteemed*, or at most *looked down upon*. This, no doubt, is the sense which the Translators of 1611 intended to express in Ph 3^{21}; for the Greek is *ταπείνωσις, lowliness, low estate*—as it is rendered in the *Magnificat*, "the lowliness, or low estate, of his handmaiden"; and the contrast is simply between the lowly earthly body which we at present bear, and the future glorified body which has been made like unto the risen body of Christ.'—Driver in *Expos. Times*, Jan. 1902, xiii. 167.

This earlier meaning of 'vile' is seen in Erasmus, *Crede*, 106, 'He whome thou despysest as vyle borne, is thy brother'; p. 137, 'Thou being proude of the palace, doste mocke and skorne the vyle and homelye cotage of the pore man'; Udall, *Erasmus' NT*, ii. 29, 'The heavenly father dooeth garnishe and clothe so freshely the vile grasse, which shortely shall perishe'; Ridley, *Brefe Declaration*, 122, 'The crafte either of fyshyng, whiche was Peter's; or of makynge of tentes, which was Paules, were more vile then the science of phisicke [which was Luke's].' But the word had already a stronger meaning than this. Thus *Preface to AV*, 'Ebionites, that is, most vile heretikes'; Golding, *Calvin's Job*, 582, 'Thou vile toade.'

The examples of 'vile' in AV may be classified thus—

1. *Common, paltry, of small account*, Ps 12^{8} (*zulluth*); Jer 15^{19}, La 1^{11} (*zālal*); Jer 29^{17} (*shō'ār*); Wis 11^{15} (*εὐτελής*, RV 'wretched'), 13^{14} (*εὐτελής*, RV 'paltry'); Ph 3^{21} (*ταπείνωσις*); Ja 2^{2} (*ῥυπαρός*).

2. *Despicable, contemptible* (with *moral* reprobation), Dt 25^{3} (*kālāh*); 1 S 3^{13}, 2 S 6^{22}, Job 40^{4} (RV correctly 'of small account'), Nah 1^{14} (all *kālal*); 1 S 15^{9} ([*nĕmibzāh*] *nibzāh*); Dn 11^{21} (*bāzāh*).

3. *Shameful, abominable* (with *religious* as well as moral reprobation, almost equivalent to *impious*, see FOOL), 2 S 1^{21} (*gā'al*); Job 18^{3} (*ṭāmāh*); Wis 4^{18} (*ἄτιμος*); 2 Mac 15^{32} (*μιαρός*); Ro 1^{26} (*ἀτιμία*).

AV mistranslates Job 30^{8}: render as RV 'They are scourged out of the land' (the verb is [*nākā*], to smite).

J. HASTINGS.

VILLAGE.—The earliest Oriental village probably arose in the transition from nomadic to settled life. Interests centring in a particular locality called for more constant residence; and in course of time the tent, best suited to the moving life, would give place to the hut or house, the encampment to the village. The name חַוֹּת (*ἐπαύλεις*) in חַוֹּת יָאִיר (*Ḥavvoth-jair*, Nu 32^{41} etc.), applied to smaller towns or villages, agrees with this idea. Abulw. connects it with Arab. *ḥayy*, 'tents of a clan' (cf. Arab. *ḥiwā'*, 'group of tents'). The term, which formerly denoted the temporary dwellings, would naturally be applied to the more permanent settlements (Moore, *Judges*, p. 274; W. R. Smith, *RS*^{2} p. 281). The common word for village, חָצֵר (*ἔπαυλις*), primarily 'an enclosure,' is sometimes used for the open dwellings of the nomads (Gn 25^{16}, Is 42^{11}). כְּפָר (*κώμη*, Ca 7^{11}, 1 Ch 27^{25}, כְּפִיר Neh 6^{2}, כֹּפֶר 1 S 6^{18}), 'a hamlet' or 'village,' appeared in Palestine with the advent of Aramaic, and still persists in such place-names as *Kefr Kennah*, *Kefr Sabt*, etc. Other words are פֶּרֶז (*δυνάστης*, Hab 3^{14} RV 'warrior,' RVm 'hordes' or 'villages'); פַּרְזוֹן (*δυνατός*, Jg 5$^{7.\ 11}$ RV 'ruler,' RVm 'village'); פְּרָזוֹת (Est 9^{19} LXX *ἐν πάσῃ χώρᾳ τῇ ἔξω*, EV 'unwalled towns'; Ezk 38^{11} *ἐπὶ γῆν ἀπερριμμένην*, EV 'unwalled towns,' RVm 'an open country'; Zec 2$^{4\ (8)}$ *κατακάρπως*, AV 'as villages without walls,' RV 'as towns without walls'), which seems to denote the places in open, level country, as distinguished from fortified cities (cf. Arab. *farz*, 'plain'); cf. פְּרָזִי=*peasantry*, 1 S 6^{18}, Dt 3^{5}, Est 9^{19}.

The distinction between *city* (עִיר or poet. קִרְיָה) and *village* is carefully observed throughout the OT. The city was an inhabited, walled place; the village, not so protected, was probably always subordinate to the city. This relation of dependence appears to be indicated by the term 'daughters,' *e.g.* אֶת־קְנָת וְאֶת־בְּנֹתֶיהָ (Nu 32^{42}, cf. Jos 17^{11} etc.), by the phrase 'the cities and their villages,' הֶעָרִים וְחַצְרֵיהֶן (Jos 13^{23} etc.), and is implied in the designation 'a mother in Israel,' applied to the chief town of a district (2 S 20^{19}). This subordination was maintained in later times (1 Mac 5^{8} *τὴν Ἰζὴρ καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας αὐτῆς*, cf. 5^{65}). While the city was the chief seat of authority in a district, the smaller towns and villages seem to have been dependent on the larger. On the E. of Jordan, and especially in Trachonitis, *μητροκωμίαι* are frequently met with, that is, villages holding a position corresponding to that of a capital town. Thus Phæna, the modern *Musmîyeh*, is called *μητροκωμία τοῦ Τράχωνος* (*CIG* 4551). In NT and Josephus the ideas of *πόλις* and *κώμη* are uniformly distinguished; but in the Greek period the point of distinction came to be, not so much size or fortification as constitution and law, which differed in city and village. St. Mark, who notes the numerous towns and villages in fertile Galilee, mentions (1^{38}) *κωμοπόλεις*, a word used by Strabo and Byzantine writers, denoting towns which for size might be called *πόλεις*, but in constitution ranked only as *κῶμαι*. Jos. (*BJ* III. iii. 2) speaks of many villages in Galilee, the smallest of which contained 15,000 inhabitants. If we are to credit these figures, *κώμη* must be taken to include the surrounding district and suburbs. The Mishna distinguishes (1) כְּרַךְ 'a large city'; (2) עִיר 'a city'; and (3) כְּפָר 'a village' (*Megilla* i. 1, ii. 3; *Kethuboth* xiii. 10; *Kiddushin* ii. 3; *Baba meẓia* iv. 6, viii. 6; *Arachin* vi. 5). The first and second differed only in size. While כְּרַךְ='a fortified city,' small towns were often similarly protected (עִיר חוֹמָה, *Arachin*

ix. 3 ff.; *Kelim* i. 7), פֶּרֶז being the open village (Schürer, *HJP* II. i. 154 ff.).

Villages in Palestine to-day are related in the same way to the towns. Thus *el-Mejdel*, *Ḥaṭṭîn*, *el-Lubiyeh*, etc., are under the jurisdiction of Tiberias. All actions, civil and criminal, and all matters affecting taxation and military service, come before the authorities in that town. The sheikh, or chief man, exercises considerable influence among the inhabitants, and with him, in the first instance, the authorities treat in all that concerns his community.

The villages are the centres of agricultural industry. The surrounding land is frequently common property. All share in its cultivation. When deductions have been made for taxes, etc., the produce is divided according to local arrangement. In other cases the villagers till the soil for a landlord or company, and then a certain percentage of the crops is allowed them in payment.

Nearly all the villages in Palestine are of ancient date. They often stand on the sites, and are built from the ruins, of cities not seldom great and splendid in the past. There is something both grotesque and pathetic in the appearance of Corinthian capital and sculptured stone in the walls of mud-plastered huts. Positions difficult of access are much prized for defence against marauding bands. There are, of course, no scattered dwellings or solitary farm-steadings, which would be too easy a prey to plunderers.

The village life is mean and squalid. The houses as a rule are of but one apartment, in which, along with the family, their animals find nightly shelter. Sanitation is unknown, and the villages are hotbeds of fever. In some it is ascribed to an intervention of *Allah* when a child survives infancy. Oppressed by rapacious tax-gatherers backed by a brutal soldiery, often loaded with debt they can never hope to pay,—interest on which is a first charge upon their yearly pittance,—the spirit is crushed, and there is little inducement to work for improvements the fruits of which would infallibly be seized by others. They put little into the soil; their houses are frail; their furniture scanty; they live practically 'from hand to mouth,' and bear themselves like men who may at any moment receive notice to quit.

The villagers in Palestine mostly rank as Moslems, orthodox or heretical; but there is much obscurity as to their real religious sentiments and practices. Usually a *makâm*, the tomb or sanctuary of some saint or famous sheikh, stands near by or on a neighbouring hill. It serves as a kind of village strong-room. Although it is quite open, no one dreams of removing what has been placed there for safety. A common responsibility for hospitality is also recognized. In every village there is the *menzîl* or *meḍâfy*, 'village guest-house,' where all strangers are welcome. The sheikh acts as 'host,' but the villagers contribute each his share towards the entertainment of the guests. W. EWING.

VINE, VINEYARD.—Three Heb. words are tr. in EV 'vine.' **1.** גֶּפֶן *gephen*, Arab. *jafn*. This always refers to grape-bearing vines, except 2 K 4^{39}, where גֶּפֶן שָׂדֶה the 'vine of the fields,' AV and RV 'wild-vine,' refers to a wild gourd-vine, prob. colocynth, and perhaps Dt 32^{32}, where גֶּפֶן סְדֹם 'the vine of Sodom' may denote a grape-vine, or some other plant (see 'vine of Sodom,' below). **2.** שֹׂרֵק *sôrēḳ* (Is 5^{2} 'choicest vine'), שׂוֹרֵק (Jer 2^{21} 'noble vine'), שֹׂרֵקָה *sôrēḳah* (Gn 49^{11} 'choice vine'), used of a superior kind, producing dark-coloured grapes, with soft seeds or none. It is called in Arab. *śûrîḳ*. **3.** נָזִיר *nāzîr* (Lv $25^{5.\ 11}$ AV 'vine undressed,' m. 'separation,' RV 'undressed vine'), fig. for unpruned vine, named *nāzîr* from its resemblance to the Nazirite, whose hair was uncut and unshaven.

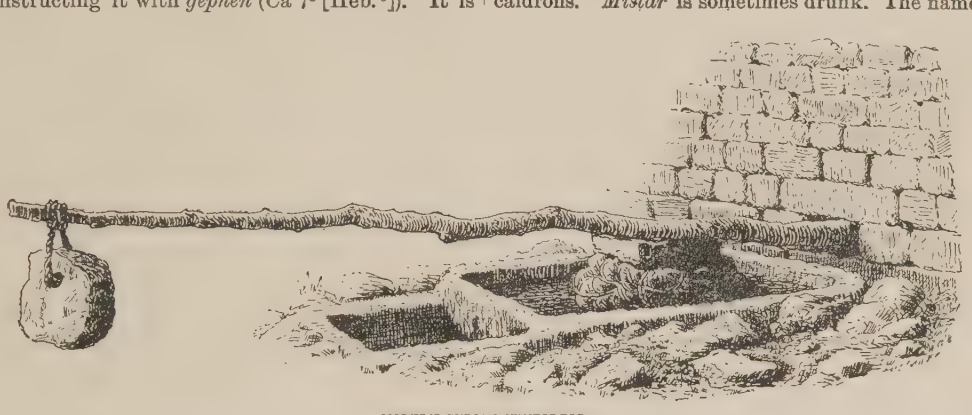
The vine is one of the most important plants mentioned in the Bible and cultivated in the East. Noah planted a vineyard (Gn 9^{20}). The chief butler saw a vine in his dream (Gn 40^{9}). Judah is represented as binding his ass to a vine (Gn 49^{11}), an allusion to the luxury in which he would live. Living under one's own vine and fig tree (1 K 4^{25}, Mic 4^{4}) was an emblem of peace. The languishing of the vine (Is 16^{8} etc.) was an emblem of destruction and desolation. Palestine was a land of vines (Dt 8^{8}). They were planted on mountains (Jer 31^{5}). They flourish best there at the present day. The NAZIRITE, as being under a religious vow, was to 'eat nothing that is made of the grape-vine, from the kernels even to the husk' (Nu 6^{4}). Manoah's wife, as the future mother of a Nazirite, was also forbidden for a time to eat or drink of the fruit of the vine (Jg 13^{14}). The vine is frequently associated with the fig (Ps 105^{33}, Jer 8^{13}, Hab 3^{17}, Ja 3^{12} etc.). Christ calls Himself the true vine (Jn 15^{1-5}). There are several other figurative allusions to the vine and vineyard. Israel was a vine brought out of Egypt (Ps 80^{8-14}, Is 5^{1-5}). The fruitful wife was compared to the vine (Ps 128^{3}). The remnant of Israel was to be gleaned as a vine (Jer 6^{9}). Samaria was to be as plantings of a vine (Mic 1^{6}). Beth-haccherem, 'the house of the vine' (Neh 3^{14}, Jer 6^{1}), Abel-cheramim, 'the meadow of vineyards' (Jg 11^{33}), were named from *kerem* = 'vine.'

The vine is cultivated in a variety of ways. Sometimes it is trained over a trellis, or made to climb a tree (Ezk 19^{11}). In this way a man sat under his vine (1 K 4^{25} etc.). Sometimes it is trained over props about the height of a man, or a little higher, and the branches spread laterally, often forming festoons from stake to stake. But the more usual method is to allow the stem to trail on the surface of the soil, and simply to prop up the cluster-bearing branches by forked sticks, sufficiently to keep them off the ground. The vines in both the latter methods of cultivation are planted far enough apart to allow the plough to pass between them. They are pruned at the end of the fruiting season (Jn 15^{2}), so that, during the winter, the vine is reduced to a trunk and a few principal branches. The shoots of the next spring are thus made more vigorous, and bear better fruit. Those branches which bear no fruit are diligently cut away (vv.$^{2.\ 6}$). A whitened branch is a sign of withering (Jl 1^{7}). The trunks of old vines often attain the thickness of a man's body or more. Vines are sometimes planted in irrigated ground (Ezk 19^{10}), but most of the vineyards are on dry hillsides, where, for 7 or 8 months they have no water except such as they can extract from the apparently arid soil. Notwithstanding this, they live (Ezk 19^{13}). In such situations as have a moist subsoil of clay or marl they flourish without irrigation, and produce large vintages. Whole mountain-sides are often green with vineyards, where one may search in vain for a spring or well. They are often not fenced off, so one can come with ease into a 'neighbour's vineyard' (Dt 23^{24}). To protect the vines from foxes, jackals (Ca 2^{15} etc.), and esp. from men, watchmen are stationed in commanding positions. In Judæa and some other parts of the country round towers are built for the watchmen (Is 5^{2}, Mt 21^{33} etc.). Generally a shelter of boughs and leaves (Is 1^{8} AV 'cottage,' RV 'booth'), similar to the 'lodge in a garden of cucumbers' (see illustration in vol. i. 532[a]), is constructed in a prominent place, from which the watchman can overlook the vineyard. To frighten away animals, a single cylindrical stone is set up, or several stones are placed one above another,

forming a pillar 3 to 4 ft. high. The top of this pillar is often whitewashed, so that it is conspicuous even at night. The large numbers of these pillars make a marked feature in the Oriental landscape. Vineyards are let out (Ca 8^{11}, Mt 21^{33}), or cultivated on the metairial principle on shares. The close association of vine and fig trees in the minds of the people of Palestine is shown by the fact that both a fig orchard and a vineyard are designated in Arab. by the term *karm* (the same as the Heb. כֶּרֶם), which primarily signifies a vine.

Grapes.—A great variety of grapes are cultivated in Palestine and Syria. There is one greenish-white, from ½ to ⅝ in. in diameter, with sweet juicy pulp; another, olive-shaped and white, resembling Malaga grapes; another, dark purple, of the size of a small prune; others similar to Black Hamburgs; others with a green rind, striped with red, and a pulp almost as firm as that of an apple; others nearly the same as the famous Zante currants; others closely resembling the Isabella grape; and many others of divers shapes, sizes, and flavours. Several Heb. words are used to designate them. **1.** אֶשְׁכּוֹל *'eshkôl*, which signifies a cluster, usually of grapes (Is 65^{8}, Mic 7^{1}), in which case greater precision is sometimes given by constructing it with עֲנָבִים (Nu 13^{23}), or associating it with the same (Gn 40^{10}), or constructing it with *gephen* (Ca 7^{8} [Heb. ^{9}]). It is sometimes used of other things, as gall (*mĕrôrôth*, Dt 32^{33}), and *henna* (Ca 1^{14}). **2.** עֵנָב *'ēnāb*, Arab. *inab*. This is the true word for the berry, as distinguished from the cluster (Gn 40^{10}, Nu 13^{23}). Wine is דַּם־עֵנָב = blood of grapes. **3.** בֹּסֶר *bōṣer* = unripe grapes. The Arabs of Syria use the term *ḥuṣrum* for green grapes. *Bōṣer* is tr. in AV 'sour grapes' (Is 18^{5} RV 'ripening grapes'), AV and RV 'unripe grapes' (Job 15^{33}), AV and RV 'sour grapes' (Jer 31^{29}, Ezk 18^{2}). The seed, 'kernel,' of the grape is mentioned, and its skin, 'husk' (Nu 6^{4}).

Vintage.—The vintage is a season of great rejoicing in the East (Is 16^{10}). It begins in low-lying districts in July. The people eat the green grapes (*bōṣer*) even in June. They also express the acid juice of the same, and sweeten it, and add water, to make a cooling drink. The nearly ripe but still acid grapes are slightly laxative, and the grape cure is as well recognized here as a course of mineral waters in Europe or America. But when the grapes are quite ripe, in August or September, the rejoicing is complete. The people go in large numbers to gather the grapes, and eat them in the vineyards (Jg 9^{27}). The quantity which one person consumes is enormous. It is curious to see a man with a huge bunch of grapes in his hand, held a little above his head, with his neck bent backward, and his free hand plucking the grapes, singly or in pairs, and tossing them into his mouth as fast as his hand can move. The luscious fruit is crushed by the tongue and teeth, and swallowed with extraordinary rapidity. The peasants declare that, however many grapes they may have eaten in this way, in the vineyards, their appetite for their regular meals is in no way diminished. The grapes are carried home to serve as food, or spread out on mats to be dried into *raisins*, צִמּוּק *ẓimmûḳ* (1 S 25^{18} etc.), אֲשִׁישׁוֹת *'ăshîshôth* (RV Ca 2^{5}, AV wrongly 'flagons'), or the juice expressed to be converted into wine or dibs. The latter is the juice of the grape, boiled to the consistence of thick treacle, and set aside to cool into a mass resembling in appearance candied honey. It is not true that this substance is anywhere used or known as wine. In its commercial form it is no more a beverage than crystallized honey, and no one here ever saw or heard of any one diluting it and using it as a drink. Much less is any such dilution known as wine. Baskets (Jer 6^{9}) were, and are still, used to gather the grapes and transport them to the houses or presses. The juice is trodden out (Is 16^{10} 63^{3}, Jer 25^{30} etc.). The presses were often dug out in the marly soil (Mt 21^{33}), or excavated in the solid rock. Such rock vats are common throughout Palestine. The boiling of the *mistâr* (fresh grape juice) is done in large caldrons. *Mistâr* is sometimes drunk. The name, as applied to this fresh juice, is, however, a popular error, as that word signifies a true fermented wine. The grape juice is never called in Arab. by any of the other names for wine, these names being applied solely to the fermented juice of the grape, date, or other fruit.



MODERN SYRIAN WINEPRESS.

Vine of Sodom (גֶּפֶן סְדֹם *gephen Ṣĕdôm*) occurs once (Dt 32^{32}), 'their vine is as the vine of Sodom, and of the fields of Gomorrah; their grapes are grapes of gall (*rôsh*), their clusters are bitter' (*mĕrôrôth*). If real plants are intended here, these must have been familiar to the Hebrews, and, if not peculiar to the Dead Sea Valley, at least so abundant there as to be designated by the names of the accursed cities. We have, as a philological guide to the plant intended, the term *gephen*, which certainly refers to a vine. The second member of the parallelism speaks of the fruit as 'grapes of gall' (*'innebê-rôsh*), and its clusters as bitter (lit. bitternesses). We are therefore to look for a vine growing so abundantly in the Dead Sea basin as to be attributed to Sodom and Gomorrah, and producing a bitter but grape-like fruit. The first embarrassment in the determination of this plant is the assumption that it is the same as the fruit of which Josephus speaks, the so-called 'apples of Sodom' (*BJ* IV. viii. 4), 'the ashes growing in their fruits, which fruits have a colour as if they were fit to be eaten, but if you pluck them with your

hands they dissolve into smoke and ashes.' This description would apply either to the fruit of the *'ushr*, *Calotropis procera*, Willd., or to that of the colocynth, Arab. *ḥondol*. Both of these have fruits, about the size of a pippin, which, when ripe and dry, contain a dust, which would suggest the 'dust and ashes' of Josephus. The *'ushr*, however, is not a vine, but a small shrub or tree, and its fruit has no resemblance to the grape. The colocynth is a vine, but it grows over a wide range in Palestine besides the Dead Sea Valley, and its fruit also has no resemblance to a grape. It is like a small water-melon when green. We therefore, while accepting one or both these plants as producing the fruit alluded to by Josephus, unconditionally reject them both as candidates for the 'vine of Sodom.' *Cucumis prophetarum*, L., a tendril-bearing vine, growing in the Dead Sea Valley and southward to Sinai, and having an ovoid, bitter fruit, ½ to ¾ in. long, might be a candidate, were it not for the fact that its fruits do not grow in clusters. On the other hand, *Solanum nigrum*, L., and *S. miniatum*, Berb., and *S. villosum*, Lam., produce clusters of berries like very small grapes. These are called by the Arabs *'inab-edh-dhîb*= wolf's grapes. But they are none of them vines, and none of them peculiar to the Dead Sea Valley. *S. coagulans*, Forsk., although peculiar to the Dead Sea and Jordan Valley, is not a vine, and has fruits like a small tomato, not like a grape. Oak galls cannot be intended. They are not produced in this valley, are not clustered, and bear no resemblance to a grape. We must conclude, therefore, that we have as yet no evidence on which to found a theory as to the plant intended by the *vine of Sodom*. We (with commentators generally) think that the allusion is figurative, and that the quality of bitterness is attributed to the grape-vine of the enemies of Israel, as their wine is said in the following verse to be 'the poison of dragons, and the cruel venom of asps.' The selection of the vine of Sodom and Gomorrah, of which their vine is said to be a shoot, was due to the proverbial bitterness of the Dead Sea, a quality which may have been supposed to be communicated to what grew on its shores. We have a similar instance (Ezk 17^{3-10}) in the rhapsodical riddle of the great eagle, which plucked off a topmost shoot and twigs of the cedars of Lebanon, and set them in a city of merchants, and took of the seed of the land, and set it as a willow-tree, and it grew and became a vine of low stature, and shot forth branches towards the furrows, that it might bear fruit. And the roots were pulled up, and the fruit withered. Here we have a combination far more intricate and unreal than that of the 'vine of Sodom,' to which the bitterness of the Dead Sea water is attributed, and the wine from the same, which is said to be serpent's venom.

G. E. Post.

VINEGAR (חֹמֶץ *ḥōmeẓ*; ὄξος, *acetum*).—A sour liquid, mentioned 5 times in OT and 5 times in NT. The vinegar of Scripture is wine which has undergone the acetous fermentation caused by the presence of a ferment plant (*Mycoderma aceti*), whereby its alcohol is converted into acetic acid. Besides this 'vinegar of wine' there is also mentioned 'vinegar of strong drink' (*shēkār*, Nu 6^3), which is produced by the fermentation of palm juice or any other saccharine fluid. Both these forms of drink were forbidden to the Nazirite (Nu 6^3).

This fluid was used as a relish, 'without which we should miss many of the comforts of civilized life' (Pliny, xiv. 25). Into it food was dipped before eating (Ru 2^{14}). A diluted vinegar or sour wine was used as a drink by the poorer classes (Aristoph. *Acharnæ*, 35), and especially by soldiers. Pescennius Niger forbade his Ethiopian troops to drink anything else (Spartianus in *Hist. Aug. Script. minores*, ii. 180). The vessel of vinegar which the Roman soldiers had by them at the Crucifixion (Jn 19^{29}) was probably filled with this drink, which was called *posca*. It was not regarded as intoxicating (Plautus, *Miles gloriosus*, iii. 836). The Greek medical writers, Oribasius and Aretæus, call it ὀξύκρατον. *Posca* and oil are recommended in veterinary medicine for wounds by Vegetius, iii. 48, vinegar being, as Plutarch says, the most cooling of fluids (*Quæst. conviv.* iii. 5). Cf. the use of wine (οἶνος) and oil by the good Samaritan (Lk 10^{34}) to cleanse the wounds of the robbers' victim.

In the accounts of the Crucifixion given by the four Evangelists vinegar is mentioned, but in each case in a slightly different connotation. According to Mt 27^{34} (AV), the soldiers offered our Lord vinegar mingled with gall (RV has 'wine,' following ℵBD). This was a different drink from the vinegar subsequently given Him on a sponge (v.^{48}), which was probably *posca*. Mark mentions both, but describes the first wine as mingled with myrrh (15^{23} ἐσμυρνισμένον οἶνον); Lk 23^{36} relates that the soldiers after He was crucified offered Him vinegar in mockery. Jn 19^{29} only mentions the vinegar given in response to His exclamation, 'I thirst.' The first 'wine' of Matt. and Mark was probably intended as a narcotic, the χολή being the equivalent of the Heb. word *rōsh*, also tr^{d} 'gall,' which was opium (see vol. ii. p. 104). This was given to those about to be executed, in accordance with the Talmudic interpretation of Pr 31^{6}, on which see *Sanhedrin*, 43. 1; Lightfoot, *Horæ Hebraicæ*, ii. 36; and Buxtorf's *Lex Talmudica*, 2131. Rosenmüller conjectures that it may have been given rather as a stimulant to keep Jesus alive during the torture (*Bib. Bot.* 163).

Vinegar by itself was too pungent to drink, hence to give vinegar to drink was part of the punishment of a victim, as in Ps 69^{21}; cf. the ἔτι δ' ἐς τὰς ῥῖνας ὄξος in Aristoph. *Batrach.* 619. Its effects on the mouth are mentioned in Pr 10^{26}, reminding of the description of vinegar as ποτὸν στυφόν given by Nikander (*Alexipharm.* 375), or the *Acetum acerbum* of Plautus (*Truc.* i. 2. 83). For other figurative expressions of the irritation and acridity of vinegar see the same author in *Rudens*, iv. 2. 32; *Pseudolus*, ii. 4. 49; and *Bacchyl.* iii. 3. 1; cf. the *mordax acetum* of Persius, v. 86. In the passage in Proverbs the LXX renders the word by ὄμφαξ, unripe grapes, as though *ḥōmeẓ* was here used in the sense of the Talmudic חוּמְצָא.

The effect of vinegar on nitre (נֶתֶר=natron or crude sodic carbonate) causing effervescence is mentioned in Pr 25^{20} (see vol. iii. p. 555).

A. Macalister.

VIOL.—Thus the Heb. *nēbhel* or *nebhel* is rendered in AV and RV Is 14^{11}, Am 5^{23} 6^{5}, and in AV Is 5^{12} (RV here 'lute'). See Music, vol. iii. p. 459^{b}, and Psaltery (the more usual tr. of the Heb.), above, p. 163^{b}. See also Driver, *Amos*, p. 234 ff., and Wellhausen, *Psalms* (*PB*), p. 222 ff. The 'viol' (from late Lat. *vidula*, *vitula*, through Fr. *viole*, *violle*; cf. Anglo-Sax. *fithele*, a fiddle) is described by Chappell as a six-stringed musical instrument, the position of the fingers being marked on the finger-board by frets, as in guitars of the present day. But it was played with a bow, not with the fingers as the guitar. Violin is a dim. of viol, as violoncello is of violin. The violin displaced the viol in England in the reign of Charles II.

J. Hastings.

VIPER.—See Serpent.

VIRGIN (בְּתוּלָה, עַלְמָה, παρθένος).—The word בְּתוּלָה is commonly used of a *virgo intacta*, as in Dt 22^{23},

2 S 13[2]. It is frequently applied metaphorically, often with the addition of בַּת 'a daughter,' to a people, especially to Israel, originally, it would seem, in the sense of not yet subdued by an enemy, as Is 37[22], Jer 14[17], La 1[15]; but sometimes to other nations, as to Ẓidon (Is 23[12]), Babylon (47[1]), and sometimes even where the original intention of the metaphor is lost, as in Jer 31[4], where the restoration of captive Israel is promised. In Is 62[5] there is a curious mixture of metaphor. 'For as a young man marrieth a virgin, so shall thy sons marry thee.' The word is, however, once used of a young *married* woman in Jl 1[8].

The meaning of עַלְמָה is from its comparatively rare use less easily determined. In Gn 24[43] it is used with reference to Rebekah, apparently in the sense of a *virgo intacta*. In Ca 1[3] the same meaning is perhaps probable, but hardly necessary. In Ca 6[8] the meaning is quite uncertain. The women in the harem of Solomon, distinguished as they are from the wives and concubines, might or might not be virgins. We cannot, therefore, argue from the usage of the word the meaning intended in Is 7[14]; but the whole context of the passage, as well as the analogy of 8[1-4], suggests that the sign intended did not consist in anything miraculous in the birth itself, but in the speedy coming of the event, and in the symbolical name to be given to the child. The LXX probably understood by *παρθένος* a virgin in its strict sense, understanding, it would seem, that the mother of Immanuel was *at the time* a virgin—a possible interpretation of the words, though RVm is probably right in rendering 'is with child and beareth.' St. Matthew, quoting from LXX, takes the passage as a direct prophecy of the birth of Christ from a virgin (see IMMANUEL). Such has till recent times been the practically universal interpretation of the passage by Christians. It has been very naturally disputed by the Jews from the time of Justin Martyr downwards, and is said to have been one of the chief reasons for the first Gr. tr. of OT by Aquila [? Onḳelos], (Eusebius, *HE* v. 8).

There is nothing remarkable about the usage of *παρθένος* in NT, except in Rev 14[4], where it is used of men who have kept themselves free from impurity. St. Paul's discussion of the topic of 'virgins' in 1 Co 7[25ff.] comes under MARRIAGE (see vol. iii. p. 266[b]).

For the בְּתוּלִים of Dt 22[15. 17] (EV 'tokens of virginity'), and the Oriental custom referred to in that passage, see art. SONG OF SONGS, pp. 595[a], 596[b], and cf. Driver, *Deut. ad loc.*

F. H. WOODS.

VIRTUE as the translation of *δύναμις* is used in AV in Mk 5[30], Lk 6[19] 8[46] in the sense of power (so RV) or influence. In earlier Eng. it was freely used (after Lat. *virtus*, from *vir*, a man, therefore 'what is manly,' 'courageous') in the sense of 'strength' or 'power.' Thus Chapman, *Odysseys*, xvii. 360—

> 'His double gates, and turrets, built too strong
> For force or virtue ever to expugn.'

It is Wyclif's usual word for *δύναμις* after the Vulg. *virtus*, as Ac 19[11] 'And God dide vertues not smale bi the hoond of Poul'; He 1[3] 'And berith alle thingis bi word of his vertu.' The same in the Rhem. version, as Lk 9[1] 'He gave them vertue and power (*δύναμιν καὶ ἐξουσίαν*, Vulg. *virtutem et potestatem*) over al devils.' The modern meaning of 'virtue' was already in use in 1611, as in the *Preface to A V*, 'Solomon was greater than David, though not in vertue, yet in power'; and it is probable that in the above passages the word was retained from the earlier versions because it conveyed the sense of *influence* (supernatural influence) to the translators' minds. Cf. Adams, *2 Peter*, 17, 'It was the brazen serpent that healed, not the eye that looked on it; yet without a looking eye, there was no help to the wounded party by the promised virtue.' Though more generally, 'influence' is also the meaning in Melvill, *Diary*, 15, 'He was a man of rare wesdome, judgment, and discretion; and, therfor, mikle employed in the trysts and effeares of the noble and gentle men of the countrey, whilk distracted him fra his calling, hinderit his vertew, and schortened his lyff.' Even Coverdale has the word in the sense of righteousness or goodness, Ezk 3[30].

J. HASTINGS.

VISION (usually חָזוֹן, *ὅραμα*). In early Heb. religion the vision had its closest affinity with the dream,—by which probably the conception of its character was determined,—and the two are usually coupled as the ordinary sources of prophetic oracles (Nu 12[6f.], Jer 23[25ff.]). Its recognized psychological condition was an emotional excitement in which the person was no longer master of his own thoughts or will (Nu 24[2ff.], 1 S 19[20ff.]). See TRANCE. In both dream and vision what carried religious significance was the fact that the presentation did not come through the ordinary sense channels, or as a product of the mind's conscious activity. On this account it was accepted as a revelation from God. When we come to the Prophets the conception of revelation has undergone a change in correspondence with religion in general. The dream disappears, together with the rapt utterance; and prophecy becomes an ethical intercourse of the mind of man with God (Is 8[19], Jer 23[28]). But, while there is no trace of ecstasy in the strict sense or its accompaniments, there are frequent allusions to times of extraordinary elevation of thought and feeling, times therefore of illumination. At such moments an issue becomes clear, a truth breaks on the mind, a resolution is formed (Is 6, Jer 1[5]). The result is sometimes presented as if it had come to the prophet in a manner analogous to sense experience,—the prophet sees, hears, questions, replies,—but the broad sense in which vision is used makes it clear that the pictorial image was not the source of his knowledge or resolution, but rather that the truth, having taken possession of his mind and heart, created the vision as its imaginative clothing. Even a verbal message, with no reference to a voice or appearance, is spoken of as a vision (Is 1[1] 21[2] 22[1], Mic 1[1], Hab 2[2]). In Amos' vision of the basket of summer fruits the motive for using the visional form is evidently the play upon the word קַיִץ. Again, as in the intricate description of Ezk 1, the vision is sometimes of a kind that could hardly be pictorially realized. Although, in fact, the primitive phraseology is retained,—the prophet sees, hears, the hand of the Lord is upon him,—it is no longer used in the primitive sense. The vision has become a literary and poetical form consciously employed to embody and communicate truths that have become clear to the inner consciousness. The pre-exilic prophets make only sparing use of the direct visional form. In Ezekiel it is more common, but has lost its earlier imaginative spontaneity, and assumed more the character of an artificial construction (Ezk 1[4ff.]). It is not found in Deutero-Isaiah or in Haggai; but it reappears in Zechariah, and continues, in its most artificial form, to be employed by apocalyptic writers. In the NT it finds a place only [but cf. the use of *τὸ ὅραμα* in Mt 17[9]] in the apocalyptic book of Revelation, and in those narratives in Acts and the earlier part of Luke that bear the character of popular tradition. (See PROPHECY and the Literature there cited).

W. MORGAN.

VOPHSI (וָפְסִי [but text dub.]; B Ἰαβεί, A Ἰαβί). —The father of Nahbi, the Naphtalite spy, Nu 13[14].

VOW (נֶדֶר, נָדַר, εὐχή).—It was a universal custom in ancient religions, too natural to need explanation, for men to seek the help of the deity in times of peril or distress (Ps $66^{13.14}$), or to secure the fulfilment of some much cherished hope, by promising him some special gift that would enlist his own interest on their side. Or their vow might be less of the nature of a bargain, and more the expression of unselfish zeal and pious devotion. It might also be a promise to abstain from some comfort or even necessary of life. Among the Hebrews all these types of vow are to be found: for the last the term אִסָּר 'bond,' which occurs only in Nu 30, was used.

Although we have no legislation on the subject in JE, the practice was very ancient. Thus Jacob vows at Bethel that if Elohim will be with him and give him bread and raiment, so that he comes to his father's house in peace, he will make the pillar a sanctuary of God, and pay tithe of all that He gives him (Gn 28^{20-22} E). In the period of the Judges we have Jephthah's vow, that if J″ delivered the Ammonites into his hand, he would offer as a burnt-offering the person who first came from his house to meet him (Jg $11^{30.31}$). Though it was his own daughter, the inviolable character of the vow in that primitive age, which had learnt none of the slippery shifts of casuistry, forced him to sacrifice her. Hannah vowed that if J″ would give her a son she would dedicate him to His service all the days of his life, and no razor should come upon his head (1 S 1^{11}). It is interesting to notice that after the birth of Samuel, when Elkanah went for the yearly sacrifice to Shiloh, the writer speaks of him as going to offer the yearly sacrifice and his vow, as if the vow were as much a matter of course as the sacrifice (v.^{21}). (It seems unnecessary to suppose, with H. P. Smith, *ad loc.*, that the words 'and his vow' were added by a scribe). In the period of the early monarchy, Absalom secured permission to go to Hebron on pretext of a vow he had made, while in exile at Geshur, that he would worship J″ if He restored him to Jerusalem (2 S $15^{7.8}$). The meaning of the vow is that he would appear before J″ and, since none could appear before Him empty, would offer sacrifice to Him. Naturally, this would be offered not at Jerusalem, but at the Judæan sanctuary of Hebron. Each of these instances is a case of a vow intended to secure a favour, and in its essence is a commercial transaction.—A vow of unselfish devotion, which was also a vow of abstinence, is exemplified in the Psalmist's poetical description of David's vow that he would not enter his house, lie in his bed or suffer himself to sleep, till he had found a place for J″ to dwell in (Ps 132^{2-5}). Saul's taboo on eating before sundown (1 S 14^{24}) was a vow of abstinence, imposed on others as well as himself, in order to secure victory by the help of J″. An extreme form of vow is exemplified in the ban or vow of extermination on Arad (Nu 21^{1-3}): 'Israel vowed a vow unto the LORD, and said, If thou wilt indeed deliver this people into my hand, then I will devote their cities.' Both cities and people were in this case destroyed (see CURSE).

In Deuteronomy we have little legislation on vows. It is insisted that what has been thus dedicated must be eaten at the central sanctuary (Dt $12^{6.11.17.18.26}$). The hire of sacred prostitutes must not be brought into the sanctuary for any vow (Dt 23^{18}). There may have been a relaxation of sentiment as to the stringency of a vow, such as may be observed in the post-exilic period; for the legislator, while insisting that there is no religious obligation to make a vow, enjoins that, once made, the pledge must be honoured under pain of Divine displeasure.

In P we naturally have much fuller regulations. In Nu 30, which in its present form belongs to a late stratum, both vow and bond are declared to be binding when uttered by a man. But a woman who lives in her father's house or is married is in a different position. Her father or husband has a right of veto, provided that it is exercised at once. But otherwise silence gives consent, and the vow must be regarded as irrevocable. If at a later period her husband cancels it, he does so on peril of Divine punishment. A widow or a woman divorced from her husband, since she is not dependent on another, is bound by her vow. Vows and freewill-offerings must be without blemish (Lv $22^{18.19}$? H); but while a freewill-offering may be made from that which has something lacking or superfluous, this is forbidden in the case of a vow (v.^{23}). In this connexion it is interesting to notice that Malachi utters a curse on the deceiver who has a male in his flock and vows it and substitutes a blemished thing (1^{14}). The laws as to the discharge of vows are to be found in Lv 27, apparently a late section of P. Persons vowed to J″ could not be sacrificed as Jephthah's daughter had been; they must be redeemed. A fixed scale is laid down. Males between the ages of twenty and sixty were redeemed at 'fifty shekels of silver, after the shekel of the sanctuary' (see MONEY, vol. iii. p. 422), females at thirty shekels. From five to twenty years, males were redeemed at twenty and females at ten shekels; from a month to five years, males were redeemed at five and females at three shekels; while from sixty upwards the tariff was fixed at fifteen and ten shekels respectively. If, however, the person who made the vow was too poor to pay the redemption price, it was to be fixed according to his ability. In the case of animals no change could be made—the vow must stand as originally uttered. Not only was it forbidden to substitute a bad for a good, but also a good for a bad. If such change was made, both became holy to J″. If the animal was unclean, and therefore incapable of being used in sacrifice, it was sold at the priest's valuation, and the money given to the sanctuary. If the owner wished to redeem it, he might do so on payment of the valuation plus one-fifth. Firstlings, however, could not be vowed to J″, since, as such, they already belonged to Him. If devoted to J″ by the ban, they were too holy to be redeemed; and it is startling to read (Lv 27^{29}) that men so devoted must be put to death. The law for the dedication of a house is similar to that for the dedication of animals. It was sold at the priest's valuation, or redeemed by the addition of a fifth to that price. The law as to fields is more complex and obscure. If a man vows part of his hereditary possession, the valuation is to be fixed according to the quantity of seed required to sow it, at the rate of fifty shekels the homer. If the field is consecrated immediately after the year of jubilee, this estimate is to stand; but if some time after, then a reduction in price must be made proportionate to the time that has elapsed. The owner may redeem it by paying the priest's estimate plus one-fifth. If he does not redeem it, but sells it, the right of redemption is lost, and the field instead of returning to him at the jubilee becomes the property of the sanctuary. The law is far from clear. Apparently, when a field was dedicated, the owner commuted his obligation by a money payment according to a fixed scale of valuation. But this by itself does not constitute him absolute owner again: this he can become only by adding one-fifth to the valuation, as penalty for the privilege of redemption. If he pays the valuation without adding the fifth, and sells the field, he loses all claim on it, and it does not revert to him in the year of jubilee, as it would otherwise have done, but falls to the sanctuary. If

the field dedicated is not a portion of the owner's hereditary possessions, then the money payment given in commutation is fixed by the time that has to elapse before the year of jubilee, and in that year it returns naturally to the hereditary owner. In this case the redemption penalty of an additional fifth is not required (see, further, SABBATICAL YEAR).

According to Nu $15^{3.8}$ (a late section of P), when an animal sacrifice was offered in fulfilment of a vow, a meal-offering had to be presented with it. Another late law (Lv $7^{16.17}$) prescribed that a peace-offering in discharge of a vow must be eaten on the day on which it was offered, and what was left on the second day. If any portion still remained to the third day, it had to be burnt. This law probably embodies the immemorial practice: a vow would, as a rule, involve a sacrificial meal, and the regulation that the flesh must not be eaten after the second day may even have been a relaxing of earlier usage. In Pr 7^{14} the woman who entices the simpleton to his ruin, has that day punctiliously performed her religious duties—she has paid her vows and come out to find a companion for the sacrificial feast.

The warning in Dt 23^{21-23}, that, while there is no sin in not vowing, when a vow has once been made it must be scrupulously fulfilled, finds an echo in the Wisdom literature. In Pr 20^{25} we apparently have a protest against hasty vows followed by repentance and attempts at evasion (the text and precise sense are alike uncertain; see Frankenberg and Toy, *ad loc.*). So also Koheleth advises his readers to make haste with the payment of their vows, and not trifle with God by delay, for He takes no pleasure in fools. Far better is it to refrain from vows than to make and fail to fulfil them. They must not be betrayed into a vow, which they will afterwards explain away to the priest's messenger as a mistake, lest God be angered with them and destroy the work of their hand (Ec 5^{4-6}, cf. Mal 1^{14}). But while on the one side the ancient sanctity of the vow was relaxed, the more spiritual, as we see from some of the Psalms, came to throw all the stress on the element of thanksgiving, and the material element sank into insignificance, as with other sacrifices (Ps 22^{25} 50^{14}).

Yet vows played a great part in later Judaism, and Jesus came into conflict with the religionists of His time on this question, singling out the law of *Corban* especially as an example of the nullifying of the Law by tradition (see CORBAN). St. Paul became a Jew to the Jews in this matter (Ac 18^{18}, if this refers to him and not to Aquila, and 21^{23-26}). On these cases, and also on the whole question of the Nazirite vow, nothing need be added to what has been said in the article NAZIRITE.

LITERATURE.—Nowack, *Heb. Archäol.* ii. 168, 169, 263–266; W. R. Smith, *RS*^{2}, 481–485; Wellhausen, *Reste Arab. Heid.*^{2} 190, 198. For Rabbinical decisions the treatise *Nedarim*, and Edersheim, *Jesus the Messiah*, ii. 17–21.

A. S. PEAKE.

VULGATE.—

i. Life of Jerome, and the circumstances under which his translation was made.
ii. History of the Vulgate after Jerome's death.
iii. Nature and method of Jerome's revision; textual criticism of the Vulgate.
iv. History of the name.
v. Main differences between the Latin and the English Bible.
vi. Manuscripts of the Vulgate.
Literature.

i. LIFE OF JEROME, AND CIRCUMSTANCES UNDER WHICH HIS TRANSLATION WAS MADE.—Jerome, or to give him his full name, Eusebius Hieronymus, was born at Stridon, on the borders of Dalmatia and Pannonia, probably about A.D. 340–342.* His parents were Christian, and sufficiently wealthy to give him a good education and to send him early to Rome, to study under the celebrated grammarian Donatus. From the first, Latin literature attracted him, and he especially studied Vergil, Terence, and Cicero; he also worked at rhetoric under Caius Marius Victorinus,* laid the foundation of a good knowledge of Greek, and collected a considerable library. Thence he moved to Gaul, where, staying at Trier, he began serious theological study, which he prosecuted further, on settling in Aquileia in 370. Four years later he travelled with several friends in the East, and at Antioch was attacked by a fever, during which a dream made a deep impression on him, and resulted in his abandoning all secular studies. He dreamt that he was summoned to the judgment-seat of Christ; on being asked who he was he replied 'a Christian,' but received the stern answer, 'Mentiris, Ciceronianus es non Christianus; ubi enim thesaurus tuus, ibi et cor tuum' (*Ep.* xxii. *ad Eustochium*, 30). Yet this classical training and fondness for the best Latin literary models proved one of the greatest possible advantages to Jerome for the work of his life, and through him to the whole Christian Church; he had been preparing himself unconsciously for making that translation of the Bible which was to be the *Editio Vulgata*, the authorized version for the whole of Western Christendom during more than a thousand years.

In search of a life of solitude and asceticism he moved the same summer (374) to the desert of Chalcis, east of Antioch, where he passed five years in strict self-discipline and diligent study, a Rabbi who had been converted to Christianity teaching him Hebrew. But this period also saw the beginning of the correspondence and warm friendship with pope Damasus, which afterwards led to the request that Jerome would undertake to put forward an authoritative Latin version of the Scriptures. The correspondence began (*Epp.* xv., xvi., written about 376–378) on doctrinal, but was a few years after renewed on biblical questions (*Epp.* xviii., xix., xx., xxi., xxxv., xxxvi., written during the years 381–384), Jerome giving Damasus the information he had desired on such questions as the meaning of the word *Hosanna*, the interpretation of Gn 4^{15}, the reason why Abraham received circumcision as a sign of faith, etc.

In 379 Jerome moved to Antioch, where he was ordained presbyter, and then to Constantinople, where he listened to the expositions of Gregory Nazianzen (*Epp.* l. 1, lii. 8), and probably continued the systematic study of Greek; and in 382 he returned to Rome. Here he spent nearly three years in close connexion with Damasus (*Ep.* cxxvii. 7), whose confidence and affection he thoroughly enjoyed. He refers with naïve self-satisfaction to his popularity in Rome at this time: 'Totius in me urbis studia consonabant. Omnium pæne judicio dignus summo sacerdotio decernebar. Beatæ memoriæ Damasus meus sermo erat. Dicebar sanctus; dicebar humilis et disertus' (*Ep.* xlv. 3, written on leaving Rome, Aug. 385).

The inconveniences from which the Western Church suffered owing to the absence of one authorized Latin version of the Bible, had long been felt. 'Tot exemplaria pæne quot codices' was Jerome's description of the state of things; and the confusion caused by a number of independent and anonymous translations of the NT was worse confounded by the carelessness of scribes and copyists.† Whether in private study or in

* See the discussion on the question in Zöckler, *Hieronymus, sein Leben u. Wirken*, pp. 21–24.

* Victorinus was converted to Christianity in old age, and is known amongst Patristic writers as Victorinus Afer; Zöckler (p. 30) doubts whether Jerome studied under him.

† This is a point of which Jerome constantly complains; see *Ep.* lxxi. 5, *Comm. in Matt.* ii. 5, iii. 3, vi. 16, etc.; also in the books of the OT, *Præf. in libr. Chron. iuxta LXX.*

public preaching, in controversy with heretics or in liturgical use, this 'Latinorum interpretum infinita varietas'* must have been almost intolerably confusing to the more cultivated members of the Church, though the common folk felt it not, and were angered at any change. Damasus therefore initiated a valuable and much-needed reform when he commissioned Jerome to undertake the preparation of a revised and authoritative Latin version of the NT. He could not have placed the work in better hands. Jerome's qualifications were unique: he was fully sensible of the urgency and importance of such a revision; he was a good Latin scholar, writing a style that was both pure and vigorous; he had been studying Greek carefully, and had already a fair knowledge of Hebrew;† in later years, when he was translating the OT from the original, he had attained a thorough knowledge of that language, while long residence and travel in the East had given him that first-hand acquaintance with the country and its customs which must be invaluable to any one undertaking a task of this nature. His abilities also as a scholar and writer were well known; and Damasus must have argued that a version proceeding from an authority so eminent, and backed by the influence and power of the Roman see, could not fail to obtain a wide acceptance.

Jerome undertook the task proposed to him by Damasus, we may well believe somewhat gladly, though in the letter to the pope which forms his preface to the Gospels, he professed reluctance to face so great a task, with the odium and the opposition to which he would be exposed from those who were used to the older translations. His fears were well grounded. Even his very sparing emendations in the Gospels were attacked, and he was accused of tampering with our Lord's own words, and denying the inspiration of Scripture (*Ep.* xxvii. 1); though, in Africa, Augustine welcomed this part of Jerome's work.‡ It was his translation of the OT, however, which brought on him the fiercer storm of indignation and opposition (see below, p. 876[b]).

The exact date of the pope's commission to Jerome is not known; but the first instalment of the revised text, consisting of the four Gospels, appeared in 383; and this was apparently followed, either the same year, or shortly after, by the Acts and the rest of the NT. It has indeed been doubted whether Jerome ever did revise more than the Gospels; the Latin of the other books shows very few marks of having been emended by him, and there is a rather suspicious absence of the prefaces which usually accompany his emended translations of the books of the Bible;§ while the preface he affixed to the Gospels promises 'quattuor tantum Evangelia,' and Augustine, in his well-known letter written in 403,‖ speaks with favour of Jerome's translation of the *Gospel*, not of the *New Testament*. Against this, however, we must set the fact that Jerome more than once definitely asserts that he revised the whole New Testament,¶ and even mentions passages in the Epistles where his own version differs from the Old Latin.** It seems hardly possible to doubt, therefore, that he did revise the whole of the New Testament, though no doubt the revision was much more hurried and perfunctory after the Gospels were off his hands;†† such readings, however, in the Acts as 8^{2} *curaverunt* for *comportaverunt* of the OL, 11^{4} *ordinem* for *per ordinem*, 16^{25} *laudabant deum* for *hymnum dicebant* (*canebant*) *deo*, 16^{35} *dimittite* for *dimitte*, are obvious instances of Hieronymian correction, sometimes against all known Gr. MSS (see below, p. 882).

At the same time, apparently, Jerome made his first revision of the Old Latin Psalter; it was simply emended from the Greek of the LXX, and the translation was altered only where the sense absolutely demanded it.‡‡ This revision was called the *Roman* Psalter, in opposition to the *Psalterium Vetus*, and was in use in the Churches in Rome and Italy till the pontificate of Pius V. (1566–1572), who introduced the *Gallican* Psalter (see below) generally, though the Roman was still retained in three Churches in Italy.§§ Towards the end of 384 pope Damasus died; and in the August of the following year (385) Jerome left Rome for Palestine. There he and his companions studied the topography, scenery, and cities of the Holy Land;‖‖ and after a journey to Egypt returned thither again to settle at Bethlehem, where (389) the two conventual buildings were founded, over one of which—that for monks—Jerome was for so long to preside, while over the other—that for nuns—Paula, the devout widow who had been his companion in travel, ruled; and was succeeded, on her death, in 404, by her daughter Eustochium.

Meanwhile, Jerome's Biblical studies had not slackened. The *Roman* Psalter had been so rapidly multiplied and so carelessly copied, that its text was soon in as bad a state as the Old Latin;¶¶ and in answer to the requests of Paula and Eustochium he undertook a second revision, correcting in addition the Greek text from the other Greek versions, and making use of Origen's critical signs: a passage between an *obelus* and two points was to be understood as present in the LXX but absent from the Hebrew; that between an *asterisk* and two points was lacking in the LXX, and had been supplied not directly from the Hebrew, but from the Greek version of Theodotion.*** This version is known as the *Gallican* Psalter, as it early obtained wide popularity in Gaul, probably through the influence of Gregory of Tours,††† and ultimately became the current version in the Latin Church; the exact date of its publication is not known, but it was probably about A.D. 387.

* Aug. *De doctr. christ.* ii. 11. The Jews, too, laughed at the variations in the Latin versions; see Jerome's *Comm. in Ezech.* c. xxxvii. (v. 432 in Vallarsi's edition, Venice, 1766–71).

† *Apol. adv. Ruf.* iii. 6 (Vall. ii. 537), 'Ego philosophus, rhetor, grammaticus, dialecticus, hebræus, græcus, latinus, trilinguis'; see van Ess, pp. 101, 108.

‡ *Ep.* civ. 6 (*Augustini ad Hieron.*).

§ *e.g. Præf. in libr. Job ex Græco*, 'Igitur et vos et unumquemque lectorem solita præfatione commoneo'; *Præf. in libr. Psalmorum iuxta LXX*, 'unde consueta præfatione commoneo,' etc.

‖ *Ep.* civ. 6 (*Augustini ad Hieron.*), 'Proinde non parvas Deo gratias agimus de opere tuo, quo Evangelium ex Græco interpretatus es.'

¶ *Ep.* lxxi. 5, 'Novum Testamentum Græcæ reddidi auctoritati,' cf. *De vir. illustr.* cxxxv.; *Ep.* cxii. 20 (*ad Augustinum*), 'Et si me ut dicis, in *Novi Testamenti* emendatione suscipis,' etc., which looks like a correction of Augustine's '*Evangelium* ex Græco interpretatus es.'

* *e.g. Ep.* xxvii., where he quotes from Ro $12^{11.12}$, 1 Ti 1^{15} 5^{19}.

† See especially on this point Vallarsi's preface to vol. x. of Jerome's works, pp. xix–xxi; and also Bp. J. Wordsworth in *Studia Biblica*, vol. i. p. 128.

‡ *Præf. in libr. Psalmorum* (Vall. x. 106), 'Psalterium Romæ dudum positus emendaram, et juxta LXX interpretes, licet cursim, magna illud ex parte correxeram.'

§ Hody, p. 383, 'in una Romæ *Vaticana* ecclesia, et extra urbem in *Mediolanensi* et in ecc. *S. Marci*, Venetiis'; it is still used in S. Peter's at Rome, and at Milan; and also partly retained in the Roman Missal, and in one place in the Breviary in the Invitatory psalm 95 (94); see Kaulen, p. 160.

‖ The advantages of such study for the purposes of translation he insists on in the *Præf. in libr. Paralip. iuxta LXX.*

¶ *Præf. in libr. Psalm.* (x. 106), 'Quod quia rursum videtis . . . scriptorum vitio depravatum, plusque antiquum errorem, quam novam emendationem valere.'

** *Id.*, 'Ubicumque viderit virgulam præcedentem (÷), ab ea usque ad duo puncta(:) quæ impressimus, sciat in LXX translatoribus plus haberi. Ubi autem stellæ (*) similitudinem perspexerit, de Hebræis voluminibus additum noverit, æque usque ad duo puncta, juxta Theodotionis dumtaxat editionem, qui simplicitate sermonis a LXX interpretibus non discordat.' The *virgula* of course = the *obelus*, and the *stella* = the *asterisk*.

†† *i.e.* at the end of the 6th cent.; see Walafrid Strabus in Hody, p. 382.

Jerome was also perfecting himself in the knowledge of Hebrew, and was studying under a Jew, who, in fear of being persecuted by his countrymen, used to visit him at night, like a second Nicodemus (*Ep.* lxxxiv. 4). He also published new translations of other books of the OT from the LXX, but as to both the extent and date of this revision there is a considerable amount of uncertainty. Job was certainly revised soon after the Psalter, and in the same way, and published with a preface to Paula and Eustochium;* and these two books alone of all Jerome's revisions *iuxta LXX* have come down to us. We also know that he similarly revised Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs, and Chronicles, for the prefaces to these books remain though the books themselves are lost.† Elsewhere he speaks generally of having revised 'the Septuagint' (*i.e.* the Latin translation of it), and 'the Canonical Books,' which certainly suggests that all the OT underwent this revision (*c. Ruf.* ii. 24, 'Egone contra LXX interpretes aliquid sum locutus, quos ante annos plurimos diligentissime emendatos meæ linguæ studiosis dedi?'; cf. iii. 25; *Ep.* lxxi. 5; *Ep.* cxii. 19, 'Quod autem in aliis quæris epistolis, cur prior mea in libris Canonicis interpretatio asteriscos habeat et virgulas prænotatas'). Two objections have been felt against this supposition. (1) The absence of prefaces to the other books, and of any reference to a previous translation in the prefaces which he affixed to those books when he translated them from the Hebrew; whereas rather pointed references occur in the case of Chronicles, Job, etc.‡ (2) The enormous amount of labour that such a work must have involved, when compressed into a very few years (for by 391 he was already engaged on the translation from the Hebrew),—years, too, that were deeply occupied with other business. The second objection need not detain us long. Jerome was an extraordinarily rapid worker: Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Song of Songs were translated from the Hebrew in three days, as he was recovering from a severe illness (*Præf. in libr. Salomonis*); Tobit was translated in a single day (*Præf. in Tobiam*); one 'lucubratiuncula' sufficed for Judith (*Præf. in libr. Judith*); when writing his commentary on the Ephesians he would sometimes finish a thousand lines in a day.§ The first objection is similar to that felt against the revision of the later books of the New Testament (see above, p. 874); and though there is again something suspicious in the absence of his wonted prefaces, we can hardly press such negative arguments against positive assertions, which, if they mean anything at all, mean that he revised the whole of the OT from the LXX: thus in the *Præf. in libr. Salomonis iuxta LXX* he states that he did not correct the books of Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus, 'tantummodo Canonicas scripturas vobis emendare desiderans'; which language certainly implies that he did correct all the other books. Their total disappearance is easily accounted for if the postscript to his *Ep.* cxxxiv. to Augustine‖ (written A.D. 416) be genuine; for there he complains that the greater part of this work had been stolen from him.

While engaged on this work, however, the bad state of the LXX text became more and more apparent to him, and he was convinced that for a satisfactory Latin version of the OT recourse must be had to the original Hebrew (*Præf. in libr. Paralip. ex Hebr.* vol. ix. 1405); the need of such a translation became additionally urgent in controversy with Jews, who, when confronted with texts from the LXX, would naturally refuse to acknowledge the accuracy of the quotation, and would assert that it did not represent the sense of the original,* while many of his friends, who felt the need of a new translation and knew that Jerome was the man best fitted for the task, urged him repeatedly to undertake it. It was indeed, as we learn from his prefaces, in answer to their requests, that he translated this or that book and sent them copies; and so the great work of his life was not prosecuted as a whole and according to a fixed plan, but bit by bit, and for the satisfaction of single and independent inquirers.

About 15 years—from 390 to 405†—were spent on the new translation. Jerome began his work with the books of Samuel and Kings, which he published with the famous *Prologus Galeatus* or 'preface with the helmet'—armed against opponents; this preface, however, is really an introduction to the whole OT, and shows that even thus early he must have conceived some idea of translating all the books. Next came Psalms, the Prophets, and Job; and in 394–396 the books of Esdras and Chronicles; then his work was interrupted by a long illness. In 398 he resumed his labours, and translated Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Song of Songs; and the Octateuch (in which Esther was included) now alone remained of the Canonical books. First the Pentateuch was published, though the precise date is uncertain; then soon after the death of Paula, in 404, Joshua, Judges, Ruth, and Esther; later, the apocryphal parts of Daniel and Esther, and the books of Tobit and Judith, which were translated from the Chaldee: and so at length the work was completed. Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, and probably Maccabees were left unrevised, and Baruch he passed over.

Jerome's translation of the *Psalms* from the Hebrew never became popular, excellent though it is; the hold on the public mind of the more familiar version was too strong to be loosened, and it is the Gallican Psalter which appears in an ordinary Vulgate Bible. A convenient edition of the version from the Hebrew has been published by P. de Lagarde, *Psalterium juxta Hebræos Hieronymi*, Lipsiæ, 1874.

For the date at which *Job* and the *Prophets* were completed, see *Ep.* xlix. 4 *ad Pammachium*; this was written towards the end of 393; he writes, 'Libros sedecim Prophetarum, quos in Latinum de Hebræo sermone verti, si legeris et delectari te hoc opere comperero, provocabis nos etiam cætera clausa armario non tenere. Transtuli nuper Job in linguam nostram.'

The preface to the books of *Esdras* was probably written about 394, as in it he refers to the discussion of several points 'quæ latiori operi reservamus'; this larger work which he was about to publish is certainly the *Ep.* lvii. *ad Pammachium* (de optimo genere interpretandi), which appeared in the latter part of 395. The third and fourth books of Esdras he refused to edit: 'nec quemquam moveat quod unus a nobis editus liber

* See vol. x. 49–100 (the references are always to Vallarsi's ed. of Jerome's works); the passages added either from the LXX or from the Hebrew through Theodotion's version were marked in the same way as in the Psalms.

† *Præf. in libr. Salom. iuxta LXX* (x. 435 f.), 'Tres libros Salomonis, id est, Proverbia, Ecclesiasten, Canticum Canticorum, veteri LXX interpretum auctoritati reddidi'; see also *Præf. in libr. Paralip. iuxta LXX* (p. 431); the passages added from LXX or Heb. were also marked as in the Psalms.

‡ *Præf. in libr. Paral.* (ix. 1408), 'Ceterum memini editionem LXX translatorum olim de Græco emendatam tribuisse me nostris'; *in Job*, 'Utraque editio, et LXX apud Græcos, et mea juxta Hebræos, in Latinum meo labore translata est' (ix. 1101); *in libros Salomonis*, 'Si cui sane LXX interpretum magis editio placet, habet eam a nobis olim emendatam' (ix. 1296).

§ *Præf. ad libr. II. Comment. in Eph.* (vii. 586).

‖ 'Grandem Latini sermonis in ista provincia notariorum patimur penuriam; et idcirco præceptis tuis parere non possumus, maxime in editione LXX, quæ asteriscis verubusque distincta est. Pleraque enim prioris laboris fraude cujusdam amisimus'; but this postscript is omitted by one MS and by several editors; see Vall. i. 1043–44.

* *Præf. in Psalterium ex Hebr.* (ix. 1155 f.), 'Quia igitur nuper cum Hebræo disputans, quædam pro Domino Salvatore de Psalmis testimonia protulisti volensque ille te illudere, per sermones pene singulos asserebat, non ita haberi in Hebræo'; see also *Præff. in libr. Paralip.*, *in Isaiam*, etc.; yet when in Africa they were appealed to as to whether Jerome's *hedera* or the traditional *cucurbita* was the right translation in Jon 4[6], they defended the translation of the LXX and Old Latin, see *Ep.* civ. 5 (*Augustini ad Hieron.*); later, the Jews bore witness to the accuracy of Jerome's work, see Aug. *De Civ. Dei*, lib. xviii. c. 43; van Ess, p. 117.

† See Kaulen, p. 168 f.; Westcott, art. 'Vulgate' in Smith's *DB*, p. 1700 f.; the latter's dating of the appearance of the several books seems preferable to Kaulen's.

est; nec apocryphorum tertii et quarti somniis delectetur; quia et apud Hebræos Ezrae Neemiæque sermones in unum volumen coarctantur; et quæ non habentur apud illos nec de viginti quattuor senibus sunt, procul abjicienda'; the 4th book is found only in the Latin version. In this same preface to Esdras, Jerome complains of his opponents for attacking his work while they secretly make use of his translation, and he begs his friends Domnio and Rogatianus not to let his translation be publicly known; they are to read it privately, or, at the most, only let a few friends see it. See vol. ix. 1524.

Chronicles was probably finished in 396, for in the preface he remarks, 'Scripsi *nuper* librum de optimo genere interpretandi.'

The *Præfatio in libros Salomonis* contains a reference to his illness: 'longa ægrotatione fractus, ne penitus hoc anno reticerem et apud vos mutus essem, tridui opus nomini vestro consecravi.' Cf. *Epp.* lxxi. 5, lxxiii. 10, both written in 398, in which he refers to the same illness apparently, and in almost the same terms—'longo tentus incommodo,' 'post longam ægrotationem.'

The *Octateuch* must have been in hand about the same time, for he refers to it in *Ep.* lxxi. 5, 'Canonem Hebraicæ veritatis, excepto Octateucho quem nunc in manibus habeo, pueris tuis et notariis dedi describendum.' *Genesis* at any rate was published before 402, as Jerome quotes the preface to it in his apology against Ruffinus (ii. 25), which cannot be later than that date. The other four books of the Pentateuch probably appeared later, as when Jerome wrote his preface to Genesis he had not finished them: 'nunc te precor, Desideri carissime, ut quia tantum opus (*i.e.* Pentateuchum) me subire fecisti, et a Genesi exordium capere, orationibus juves, quo possim eodem spiritu quo scripti sunt libri, in latinum eos transferre sermonem.'

Joshua, *Judges*, and *Ruth* are numbered with *Esther* as books he was just publishing, 'post sanctæ Paulæ dormitionem' in the *Præfatio in Josue*.

For *Tobit* and *Judith* see the prefaces to those books; Jerome was not himself acquainted with Chaldee, but he obtained the help of a scholar who translated the Chaldee into Hebrew, which Jerome in turn translated into Latin.

For his refusal to translate afresh *Wisdom* and *Ecclesiasticus* see the *Præf. in libr. Sal. iuxta LXX*: 'Porro in eo libro qui a plerisque Sapientia Salomonis inscribitur, et in Ecclesiastico, quem esse Jesu filii Sirach nullus ignorat, calamo temperavi, tantummodo Canonicas Scripturas vobis emendare desiderans'; though this was written before he began the translation of the OT from the Hebrew, he does not seem to have changed his mind afterwards. With regard to the *Maccabees*, however, the evidence is conflicting. He nowhere mentions translating the books himself, and his language quoted above certainly suggests that he had no intention of doing so in 387; in the *Prologus Galeatus* (390–91) he passes them by with a short notice: 'Machabæorum primum librum Hebraicum reperi; secundus Græcus est quod ex ipsa quoque phrasi probari potest.' Yet, as M. Berger pointed out to the present writer, there are fairly numerous remains of an Old Latin version of the Macc. other than that which appears in the Vulgate Bible; and these differ so much that the latter must be regarded as a new recension if not an independent translation; see the parallel versions in Sabatier (*Bibl. Sacr. Lat. versiones*, vol. ii.). Sabatier himself (pp. 1013, 1014) allows that Jerome may have corrected the older version, though he hardly thinks he actually retranslated it.

For his treatment of *Baruch* see the *Præf. in Jerem.*: 'Librum Baruch . . . qui apud Hebræos nec legitur nec habetur prætermisimus.'

It may be worth while to arrange the books of the Bible in the chronological order of their revision and retranslation, as given us in the above investigation.

New Testament.

383 A.D.	The four Gospels.
384–385.	Rest of the New Testament.

First revision of Psalter.

383–384.	Psalterium Romanum.

Revision of Old Testament from the Septuagint.

387 (probably).	Psalterium Gallicanum.
387 or somewhat later.	Job, followed by Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs, Chronicles.
388–391.	Rest of the Canonical books (probably).

Retranslation of Old Testament from the Hebrew.

390 or 391.	Books of Samuel and Kings.
392–393.	Psalms, Prophets, Job.
394.	Esdras.
396.	Chronicles.
398.	Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs.
401?	Genesis, followed by Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy.
405.	Joshua, Judges, Ruth, Esther. Tobit, Judith, and apocryphal parts of Daniel and Esther.

We have said that it was at the wish of friends that most of the translations were undertaken;* yet Jerome's friends, who could realize present needs and foresee future advantages, were a small circle; the vast body of clergy and laity were satisfied with the existing versions; and the mutterings of suspicion which were aroused by the emended version of the NT were as nothing compared with the storm of indignation and opposition which the translation of the OT from the Hebrew brought on Jerome's head.* No doubt several causes had to do with this result; Jerome's own hot temper, and the terribly ready and powerful tongue he could use whenever duty seemed to urge him to speak, had gained him many enemies; the fame of his learning may have made other scholars jealous and critical; but the great stumbling-block was that he should have gone behind the Septuagint version, and made a translation which took no account of it, and even set itself up as an independent rival. The popular legends as to the miraculous agreement of the seventy translators had no doubt surrounded the Greek version with a halo of sanctity, and its frequent use by the NT writers in quotation would help to place it, as regards inspiration, on a level with the original Hebrew; and no charge seems to have been more constantly hurled at Jerome than that of presumption, unlawful innovation, sacrilege, in daring to put aside the LXX version. Even Augustine held the LXX to be equally inspired with the original Hebrew,† and deprecated any new translation, though mainly from fear of the offence it would cause to the weaker brethren.‡ A story became current that a certain African bishop had adopted the new version for public use in his Church; in the book of Jonah, Jerome had employed the word *hedera* for the gourd under which the prophet rested, instead of the *cucurbita* of the earlier Latin versions; the introduction of this new translation in a familiar passage of Scripture caused such excitement and tumult in the Church that the bishop was nearly left without a flock.§ This incident, whether real or fictitious, would serve as a very fair specimen of the hostility which a new translation of Scripture was sure to encounter; and it would take several generations for such opposition to die out; and certainly Jerome's method of meeting it, as exemplified in his letters to Augustine, was the reverse of conciliatory. In the prefaces to the various books of the OT Jerome defended himself with great warmth from the charges brought against him. Over and over again he maintained that he did not intend to cast a slur upon the LXX translation,‖ and that he was only endeavouring to render the Hebrew as faithfully as possible, and to make passages clear which in the LXX and the Old Latin were obscure. The objection that the LXX must be inspired and perfect because the apostles and NT writers quoted the OT in that version, he met by bringing forward five quotations (Mt $2^{15.\ 23}$, Jn 19^{37}, 1 Co 2^{9}, Jn 7^{38}), which could not have been taken from the LXX,

* *e.g.* the Pentateuch was translated at the wish of Desiderius; Chronicles for Chromatius, the books of Esdras for Domnio and Rogatianus, Esther for Paula and Eustochium.

* Jerome's former friend Ruffinus was one of his fiercest opponents.

† Aug. *De Civ. Dei*, xviii. 43: 'Spiritus enim qui in prophetis erat, quando illa dixerunt, idem ipse erat in LXX viris, quando illa interpretati sunt'; see also the passages in van Ess, p. 91 f.

‡ *Ep.* lvi. (*Augustini ad Hieronymum*) written in 394; this letter, however, never reached Jerome; *Ep.* civ. from Augustine, written 403; and *Ep.* cxvi. 35, written 405: in the last letter Aug. explains that he had refused to allow Jerome's version to be publicly read in Church—'ne . . . magno scandalo perturbemus plebes Christi.'

§ See *Ep.* civ. (*Augustini ad Hieron.*) and cxii. 22 (*Hieronymi ad Aug.*); Thierry, *Saint Jérôme*, livre xi. (4th ed. pp. 447, 448) suggests that the incident never really occurred, but was invented probably to throw ridicule on Jerome's work; yet both Jerome and Augustine speak of it as if it were a fact.

‖ His apology in the *Prologus Galeatus*—'obsecro te lector ne laborem meum reprehensionem existimes antiquorum . . . Quamquam mihi omnino conscius non sim mutasse me quidpiam de hebraica veritate'—is repeated in different words in almost every preface.

as the reading varied in every case; they must then have been taken direct from the Hebrew, and he was justified in giving this source of our Lord's, or the apostle's, words to the Church in an intelligible translation (*Præf. in l. Paral.* ix. 1408). Indeed he maintained against Ruffinus that the apostles used the LXX in quotation only where it agreed with the Hebrew, and that where the two varied they quoted from the original.* But in spite of this he always professed the highest respect for the Septuagint version.

Gradually the conflict calmed down; the general acceptance of the new version could only be a matter of time; it was a clear case of the fittest surviving. Augustine was ultimately seen to praise it; in the Gospels he apparently used it;† the Spanish Church adopted it for public use; Sophronius, the friend and fellow-monk of Jerome, retranslated the Psalms and Prophets from Jerome's version into Greek; and when Jerome was ending his stormy life at Bethlehem in 420, the attacks or criticisms of his opponents were no longer heard, or, if heard, no longer attended to.‡

ii. HISTORY OF THE TRANSLATION AFTER JEROME'S DEATH.—The reception of the new translation was, however, uneven; some Churches clung more than others to the old version, and sometimes Jerome's version would be adopted in one part of the Bible, while the Old Latin would be retained in another. Thus the proceedings recorded in the *Acta contra Felicem* of Augustine show that at Hippo in the year A.D. 404 the Gospels were quoted in Jerome's version, the Acts of the Apostles in the Old Latin.§

Africa and Britain, both separated by the sea from the main body of the Western Church, clung more steadfastly to the older version, though even here the adhesion was a modified one, and the later African texts, such as *m*, and *h* of the Acts and Epistles (see LATIN VERSIONS), show the influence of the Vulgate upon them. In Italy and in other parts of the Western Church generations would soon arise to whom the Old Latin could not be bound by especial ties of use or affection, while by converts the best translation would naturally be that which was most welcomed and most used. The clergy and educated Christians in Rome would be likely to prefer a revision which was begun at the instigation of a pope, and the Latin of which would be more congenial than the ruder dialect of the earlier versions. Augustine's recommendation of the *versio Itala* (by which, Burkitt maintains, he meant Jerome's revision; see *The Old Latin and the Itala*, pp. 54, 60 f., and art. LATIN VERSIONS) —'est verborum tenacior cum perspicuitate sententiæ'—was quoted, apparently as a well-known formula, of the Vulgate; Isidore of Seville (6th cent.) uses almost the exact words; and Walafrid Strabus (1st half of 9th) follows Isidore, and says, 'hac translatione nunc ubique utitur tota Romana ecclesia, licet non in omnibus libris, et ipsius translatio merito ceteris antefertur, quia est verborum tenacior, et perspicuitate sententiæ clarior' (see Hody, p. 413).

In the 5th cent. the Vulgate was adopted by Vincent of Lerins, Faustus of Riez, and Prosper of Aquitaine; Eucherius of Lyons and Avitus of Vienne used it largely though not exclusively.‖ In the 6th cent. its use seems becoming almost universal amongst scholars, except in Africa, where Facundus and Junilius still preserve many Old Latin readings; and towards the end of the century pope Gregory the Great (*Præf. in Job ad Leandrum* = Migne, *Pat. Lat.* lxxv. p. 516) could say, 'Novam vero translationem dissero, sed cum probationis causa exigit nunc novam nunc veterem per testimonia assumo; ut quia sedes apostolica, cui auctore Deo præsideo, utraque utitur, mei quoque labor studii ex utraque fulciatur'; compare *in Job*, l. xx. c. 32, where he declares his personal preference for the new translation. It does not, however, follow from this that this version now became the official version in Rome, but only that, in the judgment of the head of the Roman Church, it was raised to an equal rank with the old (see van Ess, p. 137).

Yet we should be mistaken if we measured the disappearance of the older versions simply by the quotations in ecclesiastical writers; the evidence of MSS of the Sacred Books, of Lectionaries, quotations and lessons in service books, etc., must also be taken into account; and these show us that these versions died very hard; sometimes in entire books of the Bible, sometimes in marginal notes, conflate readings, and 'mixed' texts, sometimes in short lections, in antiphons and responses, they lasted far on into the Middle Ages. Thus the St. Germain MS (see p. 888) of the 9th cent. has an Old Latin text in Tobit, Judith, and St. Matthew; in the other books of the Bible which survive it is Vulgate, though strongly mixed with Old Latin readings; the Codex Colbertinus (*c*) of the New Testament (12th or 13th cent., see p. 888) has the Gospels in an Old Latin text, the rest Vulgate; the interesting Perpignan MS (13th cent., see p. 888) has Ac 1^{1}–13^{7} and 28^{15} *ad fin.* in an Old Latin text, the rest Vulgate with a very slight amount of mixture from the Old Latin; the North British and Irish MSS (such as those described p. 887) preserve a good Vulgate text interspersed with Old Latin interpolations and conflations, which with a little practice can be easily eliminated from the main body of the text. The NT suffered from this mixture far more than the OT; for, being a revision instead of a new translation, it resembled the earlier versions more closely; and it was more familiar to the members of the Church. 'L'Ancien Testament au contraire,' says M. Berger (p. 3), 'n'a réellement été révélé aux peuples latins que par Saint Jérôme': yet even the text of the OT would suffer from the very natural confusion that would come between his translation from the Hebrew and his earlier version from the LXX. In addition to this conscious preservation of the Old Latin in many Vulgate MSS, the text of Jerome's translation was exposed in after-years to the same dangers as existed in his own day, and which are inseparable from the transmission and multiplication of books by hand. The carelessness of copyists, their tendency to introduce matter from parallel passages, unconscious reminiscence of older renderings, occasional alteration for dogmatic purposes,—all these in the course of centuries tended to produce a style of text very far removed from the original purity in which it left its editor's hands.

* *Contra Ruf.* lib. ii. (Vall. ii. 529); cf. *Ep.* lvii. 11.

† *e.g.* in the *De consensu Evangelist.*; see Burkitt, *The Old Latin and the Itala*, p. 57 f.

‡ Kaulen, p. 188.

§ See Burkitt, *The Old Latin and the Itala*, p. 57 f.

‖ See Westcott, p. 1702; Kaulen, p. 197 f.; Berger, pp. 2–4; in the 6th cent. in Gaul most of the books of the OT are quoted from Jerome, while for the NT the Old Latin holds its own.

On this point the writer ventures to quote from the preface (p. viii) of the late M. Berger's *Histoire de la Vulgate*, etc., a book to which he cannot sufficiently express his obligations—'Les doctrines les plus chères aux théologiens du moyen âge exercent toutes leur influence sur le texte de la Bible. Ici c'est le dogme de la Trinité, que l'on veut trouver formulé en toutes lettres dans la Bible, et que l'on affirme par la fameuse interpolation du passage "des trois témoins." C'est la foi en la divinité de Jésus-Christ qui s'exprime en un grand nombre de falsifications de détail, toujours au détriment de son humanité. C'est, dans le troisième chapitre de la Genèse, un changement d'une seule lettre qui met "la Femme" à la place de "la Postérité de la femme." Dans le second livre des Machabées, une série de modifications successives transforment insensiblement le passage classique de la doctrine de la prière pour les morts; louée simplement dans le texte original, la prière pour les morts arrive, dans les textes de basse époque, à être prêchée

en termes exprès. Dans le quatrième livre d'Esdras, un passage qui paraît contraire à la prière pour les trépassés est, sans plus, arraché de la Bible avec la page qui le porte, et cet exemplaire mutilé est, par une singulière rencontre, presque le seul qui ait jamais été copié.' For the passage in the Maccabees see the note to p. 23 of M. Berger's book; for the fourth book of Esdras see R. L. Bensly, *The Missing Fragment of the 4th Book of Ezra*, Camb. 1875, or Speaker's Commentary, *Apocrypha, in loc.*; or M. R. James, *The 4th Book of Ezra*, Camb. 1895.

Cassiodorius, indeed, is a witness that even by the middle of the 6th cent. the text of Jerome's version had become corrupted, and that he did his best to revise it; but as to the extent both of the corruption and of the revision we are in the dark. He speaks at some length on the subject in the *De institutione Divinarum litterarum* (Migne, *Pat. Lat.* lxx. p. 1105 f.), which he composed for the instruction of his younger brethren in the monastery at Vivarium, apparently about the year A.D. 544; he expresses himself anxious that they should study their Bibles *in codicibus emendatis*, tells them that his nine codices, containing all the books of the Old and New Testaments, were revised by him 'sub collatione priscorum codicum,' that Jerome's arrangement of the Prophets into cola and commata had been adopted by him for the rest of the Bible, and that he left them a Greek pandect, or whole Bible, by which, according to Jerome's example, they might correct the errors in their Latin translation. But he gives us no list of current errors or of his own corrections; and all trace of his carefully corrected codices has disappeared. With, however, perhaps one exception: the magnificent Codex Amiatinus of the Bible, though it is of the 8th cent., resembles Cassiodorius' Bible not only in being divided into cola and commata throughout, but also in possessing a quaternion of introductory matter (*possibly* of earlier date than the rest of the MS) which strongly resembles chs. xii.–xiv. of the *De institutione*; three lists of the books of Holy Scripture occur in each, and the resemblance is of that puzzling nature which stops well short of direct copying and yet suggests very close affinity; all the closer because Cassiodorius tells us that his third division of the books was written 'inter alias (divisiones) in codice grandiore.' It may be, therefore, that in the first eight leaves of the Codex Amiatinus we actually possess part of Cassiodorius' *codex grandior*; though it is more likely that we possess a not very faithful copy of it.*

Large numbers of Italian texts must have been brought to Britain in and after the mission of Augustine, if not earlier; and in the late 7th and 8th cents. the monasteries of Wearmouth and Jarrow were, we know, enriched with copies of the Bible (*Pandectes* or *Bibliothecæ* as they were called) and other MSS obtained from Italy by the exertions of Benedict Biscop and Ceolfrid; from them such MSS as the Codex Amiatinus and the Lindisfarne Gospels were copied. The type of text thus obtained would soon penetrate to Ireland, though as it was perpetuated in the local scriptoria it would gradually become tinged with some of the peculiarities of the traditional Old Latin versions.

But the Bible the Irish thus received from Rome their missionaries carried back in the following centuries to continental Europe, to Gaul, Switzerland, and Germany. The Codex Amiatinus was itself sent to Rome by Ceolfrid as an offering to the shrine of St. Peter. Irish and British monks again settled in foreign monasteries and copied the Scriptures there (cf. Bede, *Hist. Eccl.* iii. 8); and thus the text which had been first modified by British characteristics, was further modified by the texts of the countries into which it was now brought. We owe to this cause the large number of MSS, mainly of the 9th cent., which were copied in Gaul and Switzerland by Irish scribes, and present a strange mixture of Irish and Continental types, both in text and handwriting.

Meanwhile in Spain a different family of MSS was growing up. Separated off from the rest of Europe, Spain, like Ireland, clung to old traditions and habits; and the Old Latin text preserved in the quotations in Priscillian* lives on in the Spanish Vulgate Bibles. But the Spanish scribes were fonder of interpolations, and of enriching their MSS with marginal notes, and even legendary additions, than the Irish; with the consequence, that while the Irish scribes preserved on the whole a pure type of text—yet mainly in the Gospels, for they rarely copied whole Bibles—the Spanish perpetuated one which was corrupt, and of slight critical value. And as from the north and west the Irish texts moved into France with the missionaries, so from the south the Spanish texts gradually crept in over the Pyrenees, and thus France became the meeting ground of the two opposed types.

The close of the 8th cent. witnessed two recensions of the Vulgate, which, so far as we can see, were founded on these British and Spanish MSS respectively; and, as may be expected, France was the country in which these recensions were made.

Charles the Great took a keen interest in the sacred text and its purity; he was anxious to obtain a uniform standard Bible for Church use, in simple and intelligible Latin, without solecisms.† He accordingly, in the year 797, commissioned our own countryman Alcuin, who was then abbot of St. Martin at Tours, to prepare an emended edition of the Scriptures. Alcuin was familiar with Northumbrian MSS from his youth; he himself was of Northumbrian parentage, and had been educated at York, and it was to that city that he sent for MSS to help him in the performance of his task.‡ As this task was simply to correct the Biblical text by the aid of the best Latin MSS available, without regard to the Greek, we may regard it as fortunate indeed that Alcuin's birth and education should have made him naturally consult just the libraries where the purest texts were preserved. By Christmas A.D. 801 the task was completed, and Alcuin was enabled to present Charles with a copy of the emended Bible. Of existing Vulgate MSS, the famous Codex Vallicellianus is supposed to most nearly represent Alcuin's text (see p. 889).

Simultaneously with this, Theodulf, bishop of Orleans (787–821), was undertaking a revision, though on different lines. Theodulf was a Visigoth, and was born near Narbonne, and the Spanish traditions would therefore be familiar and dear to him; yet he did not simply collect and register Spanish readings. He apparently knew and studied the MSS current in Languedoc and the south of France;§ and, collecting together all the texts he knew of, he worked with a considerable amount of prudence, marking the passages he considered suspicious, and honestly endeavouring to arrive at a pure text. Yet his work was uneven; and his habit of inscribing in the margin of his Bible the variant readings he had collected, had the unfortunate result of introducing into

* See P. Corssen, 'Die Bibeln des Cassiodorius und der Codex Amiatinus,' in the *Jahrbücher f. prot. Theologie*, Leipz. 1883; and H. J. White, 'The Codex Amiatinus and its Birthplace,' in *Studia Biblica et Ecclesiastica*, vol. ii. p. 287 f.

* Ed. Schepps, *Corpus Script. eccl. Lat.* xviii., Vienna, 1889; see also Berger, p. 8.

† See the Capitularies in Pertz, *Mon. Germ.*, tom. iii. *Leges*, tom i. pp. 44, 65.

‡ See *Ep.* lxxviii. in Jaffé, *Bibliotheca rer. Germ.*, tom. vi. (*i.e. Monum. Alcuiniana*) p. 346; also *Ep.* lxxii. p. 331; cf. Scrivener-Miller, *Introduction* (4th ed.), ii. p. 59.

§ Berger, pp. xiv and 145 f., to whom the present writer owes the greater part of this section.

France a whole congeries of corrupt readings from Spain. The best specimen of his revision is the exquisite Bible at Paris numbered Lat. 9380 in the Bibliothèque Nationale. Theodulf's work had a different fate from Alcuin's; it was the private enterprise of a scholar, not a public work undertaken for public utility at the instance of a monarch; and so its influence on the history of the text was (fortunately) slight, whereas Alcuin's was great.

The very favour and reputation which the Alcuinian recension enjoyed, proved indeed the cause of its speedy degeneracy. The demand for Bibles containing it became so large that the resources of the great writing school at Tours must have been severely strained; and the rapidity with which the MSS were copied and multiplied proved fatal to purity of text. They were transcribed hastily and from various exemplars, good and bad; and the large imposing volumes of 'Caroline' Bibles, specimens of which are to be found in almost all our principal libraries, vary indefinitely, from a nearly pure Alcuinian text to one almost worthless.

Very soon therefore after Alcuin's time complaints of the corruption of the text meet us again, the old cry is re-echoed, 'tot exemplaria pæne quot codices.' Yet effort after effort was made to arrest the decay. Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, 1069–89, is related by his biographer* to have worked at correcting all the books of the OT and NT, and also the writings of the Fathers, 'ad orthodoxam fidem'; and to have encouraged this study among his pupils: none of his corrected MSS, however, are known to survive. We are more fortunate in possessing the results of the labour of other critics. Stephen Harding, third abbot of Citeaux (about the middle of the 12th cent.), made a similar revision; and his corrected Bible, in four volumes, is still preserved in the public library at Dijon (MS No. 9 *bis*). He purged the text of a large number of interpolations, partly by collating good Latin and Greek MSS, partly with the aid of some Jewish scholars, whom he consulted as to the suspected passages in the OT; it was in the books of Samuel and Kings that the 'major pars erroris inveniebatur.'† His example was very soon followed by the Cardinal Nicolaus Maniacoria, whose criticisms are preserved in a MS at Venice.‡

With the latter part of the 12th and the 13th cents., however, we are introduced to a new and more organized system of correction. The number of Bibles belonging to these centuries, especially the 13th, testifies to the very large scale on which they must have been copied.§

Almost every library possesses some of these small manuscript Bibles, written in double columns on thin vellum, generally with wonderful regularity and beauty. Paris, according to Roger Bacon (Hody, p. 420 f.), was the city where the greatest business in the copying and selling of these Bibles was carried on, the theologians and booksellers combining to produce a regular and fixed type of text, which he calls the *Exemplar Parisiense*; the demand was large in consequence of the fame of the Paris University in the 13th cent., and the numbers of students who flocked to it. The *Exemplar Parisiense*, however, being hastily and unscientifically prepared, furnished a degenerate type of text, and Bacon complains bitterly of it.* Efforts were now made to emend it by societies of scholars, who united their labours and researches in the *Correctoria Bibliorum*, as they were called. Here the authority of Latin and Greek MSS was registered in cases of doubtful reading, the testimony of Fathers was quoted, even variants of punctuation were taken account of, and short critical notes were added stating which reading was to be preferred.

The principal *correctoria* are (1) The *Correctorium Parisiense*, prepared probably about A.D. 1236 by the Paris Theologians:† this was in the course of the next twenty years adopted and enlarged by the Dominicans residing at Sens, and possibly authorized by the bishop of that diocese; and it is sometimes called the *Correctorium Senonense* in consequence (possibly to be found in the Paris MS, B.N. 17). Roger Bacon had a poor opinion of the Paris correctors and their work; whether Franciscans or Dominicans, he speaks of them with contempt; the carelessness of the scribes at Paris was bad enough, but the ignorant correctors made things worse; 'quilibet lector in ordine minorum corrigit ut vult, et similiter apud prædicatores, et eodem modo scolares (*or* seculares?), et quilibet mutat quod non intelligit.'

(2) The *Correctorium Sorbonicum*, so called because it is preserved in a Sorbonne MS,‡ varies little from the text of the *Senonense*, and is a sort of collection of more important readings from the earlier *correctoria*.

(3) The *Correctorium of the Dominicans*, prepared under the auspices of Hugo of St. Caro, about 1240, the final corrected form of which is now preserved in the Bibl. Nat. at Paris (*Lat.* 16,719–16,722): this, like the emendation of Stephen Harding, was an endeavour not so much to recover Jerome's actual text, as to obtain a good working text of the Bible, by the use of Greek or Hebrew MSS.§ The Dominicans thought as little of the *Correctorium Parisiense* as did Roger Bacon, and they discouraged the members of their order from using it.‖

(4) The *Correctorium Vaticanum*, a good MS of which is preserved in the Vatican Library (Lat. 3466): this *correctorium* was the work of the Franciscans, and its author has been very reasonably identified by Vercellone with a 'Sapientissimus homo,' praised by Bacon, who he says had spent nearly forty years in the correction and exposition of the text; Denifle concludes that he was Willermus de Mara.¶ This is the best of the *correctoria*, and has been cited by Bp. J. Wordsworth in his edition of the Vulgate New Testament as *cor. uat.*; the author is not only a good Greek and Hebrew scholar, but has seriously set himself to restore the Hieronymian text.

These remedies were all that could be applied to the Vulgate text before the invention of printing; and, by an unfortunate chance, it was the worst of these *correctoria*, the *Parisiense*, that was made use of by Robertus Stephanus.

With the literary revival of the 15th cent., a natural desire was felt for a more satisfactory text of the Bible, as well as for a multiplication of copies of the sacred book; the great humanist pope, Nicholas v., gave a commission to the scholar Manetti, to translate the NT into Latin; the same pope offered a reward of 5000 crowns for a copy of St. Matthew's Gospel in its original Hebrew.** Naturally, some of the first and principal productions of the printing-press were Latin Bibles. But the Bibles that were taken into the printer's workshops, and from which the early editions were printed, would be the small and handy mediæval MSS described above, like the MSS from which Henricus Stephanus printed the Greek NT, and which are still preserved in the library at Basel; there would be a larger supply of such texts, they would be easier to print from, and if they were spoilt the loss was slight, while few people would have cared to entrust one of the great Alcuinian Bibles, or still earlier pandects like the *Codex Amiatinus*, to the rough usage of the printing-

* Milo Crispinus, a monk of Bec; see Migne, *Pat. Lat.* cl. pp. 55 and 101 f.

† See Hody, p. 418; van Ess, p. 162 f.; Kaulen, p. 245: and, for this section, a valuable article by Denifle, 'Die Hdss. d. Bibelcorrectorien des 13 Jahrh.,' in the *Archiv f. Literar. u. Kirchengesch. des M.A.* iv., Freiburg, 1888.

‡ Marciana, Lat. class. x. cod. 178, fol. 141; see Denifle, p. 270.

§ See Kenyon, *The Bible and the Ancient MSS*, London, 1896, p. 186.

* See Martin, 'La Vulgate Latine au 13me siècle, d'après R. Bacon' in the *Museon* (Louvain), vol. vii. p. 88 f.

† See Hody, p. 418; R. Simon, *Histoire critique des versions du NT*, ch. ix.; S. Berger, *Quam notitiam linguæ Hebraicæ habuerint Christiani medii ævi temporibus in Gallia*, Paris, 1893, p. 26 f.

‡ Now numbered 15,554 (fol. 147 ff.) in the Bibl. Nat. at Paris.

§ See Denifle, p. 295; Martene, *Thesaurus nov. anecd.*, tom. iv. 1675.

‖ Berger, *Quam notitiam*, etc. p. 27.

¶ Hody, p. 429 f.; Berger, *Quam notitiam*, etc. pp. 32–35.

** Paul Fabre, *La Bibliothèque Vaticane*, pp. 39, 41 (Paris, 1895).

office. Thus the early printed editions of the Vulgate did little more than perpetuate the current and corrupt form of text; though the copies printed by Froben at Basel seem to have been made with care, and to have enjoyed a European reputation for accuracy;* the present writer has found his Bible of 1502, with the *glossa ordinaria*, preserve a number of good readings, against almost all other early editions.

Space forbids our enumerating the early editions of the Vulgate or examining their history; the student who wishes to do this, may be referred to the sections on the subject in van Ess, Kaulen, Westcott, to Mr. Copinger's work, to E. Nestle's 'Lateinische Bibelübersetzungen' in *PRE*[3], to Le Long, *Bibliotheca Sacra* (ed. Masch, 1778–90), vol. ii., to Vercellone, *Var. Lect.* i. pp. xcvi–civ, ii. pp. xxi–xxvi; and, last, not least, to the British Museum 'Catalogue of printed books; Bible, part i.'

The following editions at any rate should be borne in mind:—

1. The 'Mazarin' Bible, so called because the copy which first attracted the notice of Bibliographers was found in the library of Cardinal Mazarin; otherwise known as the '42 line' Bible; issued at Mentz between 1452 and 1456, in two vols.; the printing is ascribed to Gutenberg, or to Peter Schoeffer, or to Johann Fust. Its rarity and beauty combine to make it one of the most valuable books in the world.
2. The first Bible published at *Rome* is dated 1471, and was printed by Sweynheym and Pannartz, 2 vols. fol.; reproduced by Andr. Frisner and Sensenschmit at Nuremberg, 1475.
3. The important Venice edition by Fr. de Hailbrun and Nic. de Frankfordia, 1475, fol.; the text is based largely on the Mazarin Bible, while in turn many of the later editions are copied from this.
4. The famous Complutensian Polyglot in six vols. fol., 1514 and following years; undertaken by Cardinal Ximenes, and printed at his expense.† A definite revision of the Vulgate text was undertaken in this edition, partly with the aid of ancient MSS, still more from the Greek; but with only moderate success.
5. The Vulgate Bible of Robertus Stephanus, Paris, 1528, the first genuine attempt at a critical edition: three good MSS were collated for it. This was followed by a larger edition on the same lines, for which seventeen MSS were collated, four of which can be still identified; printed 1538–40, reprinted 1546. *This edition is practically the foundation of the official Roman Vulgate*; it is cited as ר in Wordsworth's edition.
6. Parallel attempts at producing a critical text by the aid of MSS and earlier printed Bibles were being made by the Catholic Theologians at Louvain; and John Hentenius in his fine folio edition (Louvain, 1547, and often reprinted) used about thirty-one MSS and two printed copies; it is impossible to identify them now. This edition is cited as 𝔙 by Wordsworth.
7. The small and rare octavo edition of Robertus Stephanus, dated 1555, should be noticed, as it is the first *Latin* Bible with the modern verse divisions.

The Sixtine and Clementine editions are noticed below.

The output of printed Bibles was very large; during the first half century of printing some 124 editions were published; Vercellone enumerates 179 editions again between the years 1471 and 1599; and, in addition to these, numerous scholars, both Rom. Cath. and Protestant, undertook independent translations of the Bible into Latin, as well as revisions of the Vulgate text. Remembering this, we may be able to realize what a bewildering amount of differing versions were now current, all or any of which might appear to the ordinary reader as the *Editio Vulgata*. Such new translations were made on the Rom. Cath. side by Erasmus, Johannes Rudelius, Aug. Steuchus of Gubbio, Isidore Clarius, Sanctes Pagninus, Cardinal Caietan, and Joh. Benedictus; on the Protestant side by Andr. Osiander, Conr. Pellicanus, Sebastian Münster, Leo Judas (the Zürich version), and Seb. Castellio.‡

All these editions, however, even on the Catholic side, were the undertakings of private individuals; and neither Church nor pope had given to any one the full sanction of their authority. Yet the Council of Trent, in its fourth sitting (8th April 1546), had already taken care to pronounce on the Canon of Scripture, and to enumerate a list of the books it held as canonical (see below, p. 885). Then, in the 'Decretum de editione et usu sacrorum librorum,' pleading the advantage that would accrue to the Church if, out of the many current Latin editions, one should be held as 'authentica,' it proceeded to declare and resolve, 'ut hæc ipsa vetus et vulgata editio quæ longo tot sæculorum usu in ipsa ecclesia probata est, in publicis lectionibus, etc., pro *authentica* habeatur, et ut nemo illam rejicere quovis prætextu audeat vel præsumat.' It also ordered that 'hæc ipsa vetus et vulgata editio quam emendatissime imprimatur.' Two questions naturally suggest themselves as to this decree: what is the real meaning of 'authentica'? and what was the exact type of text, the 'vetus et vulgata editio,' which was thus designated?

The word 'authentica' seems to have been used and understood not only in the sense of *official*,* but also in the sense of *accurate*—at any rate to the extent that there were no mistakes in it which might lead to false doctrine in faith or morals; it was in this sense that scholars like Andreas Vega and Bellarmine understood the word.† No verbal inspiration or infallible accuracy was claimed for it. Scholars might read their Bibles in the original tongues if they wished; but for ordinary use it was advisable to have one standard edition ('authenticam hac mente ut cujus fas sit eam legere sine periculo') instead of a number of independent and unauthorized translations.

In regard to the second question, it is difficult to believe that the Fathers of the Council had in their minds any one particular printed or manuscript copy as the edition 'longo tot sæculorum usu in ecclesia probata';‡ probably they were speaking quite generally, and meant by this expression the Hieronymian text, which they believed to have been fairly transmitted through the Middle Ages, and to have been recognized by the Church and used in her services—as against the bewildering amount of new translations and arbitrarily corrected texts.

Though the Council thus ordered the preparation of an official Vulgate, no immediate action was taken by the Church. John Hentenius, however, a professor at Louvain, undertook the preparation of an edition: this is the edition mentioned above (preced. col., No. 6), and often reprinted. The various Hentenian editions remained for some years as the standard text of the Roman Church, but were still private publications.

Yet the task of preparing an official text occupied the minds of several popes, and under Pius IV. and Pius V. efforts were made at Rome to collect some of the oldest and most valuable MSS obtainable, and a commission was appointed to carry on the work. It was not, however, continuously pursued till the pontificate of Sixtus V. (1585–1590), who pushed forward the revision of the text with great zeal. He summoned afresh the committee of cardinals and scholars under the presidency of Cardinal Caraffa, entrusted them with the task, but worked himself with unwearied diligence at examining the readings and correcting the proofs.§ Old MSS and printed editions were consulted, and, where the authorities were divided, those readings were favoured which agreed with the original Greek or Hebrew. The result was the handsome *Sixtine Edition* of the Vulgate, which appeared in 1590, printed at the Vatican press, and bearing the following title—on the first page: *Biblia | Sacra | Vulgatæ | Editionis | tribus tomis | distincta | Romæ | ex Typographia Apostolica Vaticana*, | M·D·XC |; on the second page: *Biblia Sacra | Vulgatæ editionis | ad | concilii Tridentini* |

* See W. A. Copinger, *Incunabula Biblica*, London, 1892.

† See Kaulen, p. 314; Scrivener-Miller, *Introduction*, ii. pp. 176–181.

‡ See Kaulen, pp. 318–378; the Zürich version of the Psalms was used in the daily College Service at Christ Church, Oxford, as long as that service was said in Latin.

* So Paul Fabre, *La Bibl. Vaticane*, p. 56; see also Kaulen, pp. 401, 402.

† See the art. on the Vulgate in Wetzer and Welte's *Kirchenlexicon*; van Ess, pp. 197 f., 245 n. 1, 408, 421; the same author's *Pragmatica doct. Cath. Trid. circa Vulg. decreti sensum*, Sulzbach, 1816, pp. 7, 24; Kaulen, p. 405 f.

‡ See van Ess, p. 254 f.

§ His assistant, Angelo Rocca, was so overworked that he grew ill and nearly died; see E. Nestle, *Ein Jubiläum d. latein. Bibel*, Tübingen, 1892, p. 14.

*præscriptum emendata | et | a Sixto ·V·P·M· | recognita et approbata.**

This edition, though nominally *tribus tomis distincta*, is really in one volume, and the paging is continuous throughout; it is cited by Wordsworth as 𝔖. In text it resembles the Stephens edition of 1540 more than the Hentenian Bibles; but a new system of verse-enumeration was introduced. The inconvenience, however, of a system which differed from one which was almost universal in current Latin Bibles no doubt led to this being dropped in the Clementine edition.

The Sixtine edition was prefaced by the famous Bull beginning with the words: 'Aeternus ille.' This Bull recounted the care with which the pope, and the scholars and divines assisting him, had worked at the preparation of the book—'ita tamen ut Veterem multis in Ecclesia abhinc seculis receptam lectionem omnino retinuerimus'; it was decreed, therefore, that this edition was to be considered as the actual Vulgate, prescribed and pronounced authentic by the Council of Trent, and was to be used in all the Churches of the Christian world, 'pro vera, legitima, authentica, et indubitata, in omnibus publicis privatisque disputationibus, lectionibus, prædicationibus, et explanationibus' (here the Bull goes beyond the decree of Trent, which only asserted that the Vulgate was to be considered authentic 'in publicis lectionibus, disputationibus, prædicationibus et expositionibus'). No future edition was to be published without the express permission of the Apostolic See; nor was any one to print a private or independent edition himself; nor was the Sixtine edition, for the next ten years, to be reprinted in any other place than the Vatican; after that time editions might be printed elsewhere, but must always be carefully collated with the Sixtine edition, 'ne minima quidem particula mutata, addita, vel detracta,' and must be accompanied with the official attestation of the inquisitor of the province, or bishop of the diocese, that this was the case; no variant readings, scholia, or glosses were to be printed in the margin. Persons disobeying these orders, whether editors, printers, or booksellers, were, besides the loss of all the books and other temporal punishments, to suffer the penalty of the 'greater excommunication,' from which they could not be relieved, 'nisi in articulo mortis,' save by the pope himself.†

The Sixtine edition, however, met the fate of most revised versions,—unpopularity amongst the clergy and laity who were used to unrevised texts,—and an order in the Bull that the missals, breviaries, etc., were to be corrected from the Sixtine text, was especially distasteful. Sixtus, too, had offended the Jesuits by placing one of Bellarmine's books‡ on the *Index Librorum prohibitorum*; and Bellarmine, in a letter to Clement VIII., spoke very strongly in condemnation of the Sixtine edition.§ The brief popularity, therefore, that attended it is easily intelligible. Sixtus died in August 1590. A number of short-lived popes succeeded him; and in January 1592 Clement VIII. ascended the throne. In the same year all copies of the Sixtine edition were called in, and another official edition of the Vulgate was published from the Vatican press, which has ever since been known as the *Clementine* edition (Wordsworth's 𝔈). This edition was accompanied by a preface, written by Bellarmine,* which asserted that while the former edition was being printed Sixtus V. had himself noticed many inaccuracies in the printing, and had consequently resolved to recall it and bring out a new edition: he had been prevented by death, but his design was now at length carried out by his successor, Clement VIII.

Yet this attempt to shift the blame from the editors to the printers cannot be justified. The number of misprints in the Sixtine edition is extraordinarily small for a book of such size, and many of them were corrected, either with the pen or by pasting a small slip of paper with the right reading over the misprint, before the book was published.† The real reasons for the recall of the edition must have been partly personal hostility to Sixtus, and partly a conviction that the book was not quite a worthy representative of the Vulgate text. The Clementine text, indeed, differs from it in some 3000 places, and is a return to the type of text found in the Hentenian Bibles. In the critical notes to the Oxford Vulgate the reader will constantly see 5 𝔖 witnessing for one reading, while 𝔎 𝔈 witness for another; and on the whole we willingly admit that the Clementine text is critically an improvement upon the Sixtine.

The difficulty of escaping the penalties, so freely denounced by Sixtus on any who should change the least particle in his text, was surmounted by the bold device of printing his name instead of Clement's on the title-page, and so presenting the edition to the world as a *Sixtine* edition.‡ The title is—on the first page: *Biblia | Sacra | Vulgatæ | Editionis | Romæ | Ex Typographia Apostolica Vaticana* | M.D.XCII | ; on the second: *Biblia Sacra | Vulgatæ Editionis | Sixti Quinti | Pont. Max. | jussu | recognita atque edita* | ; the engraved border in the second page is the same as in the Sixtine edition.§

A Bull attached to the Clementine edition forbade any copy of the Vulgate to be printed in future without being first collated with the Vatican copy, 'cujus exemplaris forma, ne minima quidem particula de textu mutata, addita, vel ab eo detracta, nisi aliquod occurrat, quod Typographicæ incuriæ manifeste adscribendum sit, inviolabiliter observetur'; nor were even variant readings to be printed in the margin.

A longer life has been granted to the Clementine Vulgate than was the fate of the Sixtine, and to

* So the British Museum and Bodleian copies. See van Ess, pp. 265, 266 n., also Nestle, p. 20; but the Göttingen copy of the Bible, according to van Ess (whose statement Prof. Nestle confirms), has: *Biblia | Sacra | Vulgatæ | editionis | Tribus Tomis | distincta | Romæ | Ex Typographia Apostolica Vaticana* | MDXC |, on the second page; while the first page has: *Biblia | Sacra | vulgatæ editionis | Sixti quinti | Pont. Max. | Jussu recognita atque edita.* There may then have been more than one edition of the Sixtine Bible; it looks, however, as if the first title had been lost, and then filled up by the binder from the Clementine edition.

A reduced facsimile of the Sixtine title-page is given by P. Fabre, *La Bibl. Vaticane*, p. 59.

† This Bull is printed at length in Thos. James, *Bellum Papale*, London, 1600, and in van Ess, p. 269 f.; the most important parts of it are given in Kaulen, pp. 449–457.

‡ *De dominio Papæ directo*, in which Bellarmine maintained not the direct, but only the indirect, dominion of the pope over the whole world; see *The Pope and the Council*, by 'Janus,' 1869, p. 63.

§ 'Novit beatitudo vestra, cui se totamque ecclesiam discrimini commiserit Sixtus V., dum juxta propriæ doctrinæ sensus, sacrorum bibliorum emendationem aggressus est; nec satis scio, an gravius unquam periculum occurrerit'; see van Ess, p. 290.

* Reprinted in James, *Bellum Papale*, and in van Ess, p. 355 f.

† The number of words thus pasted over is not above forty in the whole Bible; see James, *Bellum Papale*, and van Ess, pp. 331–333. The present writer has discovered only two uncorrected misprints in the Four Gospels; and, indeed, the Sixtine edition was much more carefully printed than the Clementine.

‡ The regular form of title in a modern Vulgate Bible—'Biblia Sacra Vulgatæ Editionis Sixti V. Pont. Max. jussu recognita et Clementis VIII. auctoritate edita'—cannot be traced at present earlier than 1604; up to that time Sixtus seems to have appeared alone upon the title-page; later, Clement occasionally figures by himself.

§ James (*Bellum Papale*) not unnaturally makes capital out of the differences between the two papal editions; cf. Sixtus Amama, *Anti-Barbarus Biblicus*, lib. i. c. lxx., Amstelod., 1628. Lists of the variations can be found in James, Amama, Bukentop, *Lux de Luce*, p. 319 f., and Vercellone.

the present day the edition of 1592 remains the standard edition of the Roman Church.* The stern prohibitions of the Papal Bull have succeeded in providing members of the Roman Church throughout the whole world with a fixed and unalterable text of the Sacred Scriptures, but at the cost of suppressing any attempts at a systematic revision in the light of fuller critical knowledge; and by a strange paradox the attempts that have been made in later years to emend the Vulgate text have come mainly from students outside the communion of the Roman Church. Vallarsi, indeed, in 1734, printed an emended text with such MS help as he was able to obtain, not, however, as the Bible, but as the *Divina Bibliotheca* in his edition of the works of St. Jerome. To Bentley's proposed critical edition of the New Testament† the Latin Vulgate was to be a most important help; it being his firm conviction that the earliest MSS of the Vulgate would be found to agree so closely with the earliest Greek MSS that it would be possible 'to give an edition of the Greek Testament exactly as it was in the best exemplars at the time of the Council of Nice, so that there shall not be twenty words, nor even particles difference.' Bentley himself collated a number of English Vulgate MSS for this purpose; his friend John Walker collated still more at Paris in 1719 and the following years, and obtained collations of several Oxford MSS from David Casley. The projected edition, however, came to nought, partly perhaps in consequence of Bentley's advancing years, partly because a more extended and thorough collation of Vulgate MSS did not show that exact agreement with the earliest Greek which he had expected. Bentley died in 1742, and John Walker in November 1741; their collations, however, were preserved, and have proved of considerable value to the Bishop of Salisbury (Dr. J. Wordsworth) in his critical edition. The German scholar, Dr. P. Corssen, of Berlin, has been for some time engaged in research with a view to a critical edition of the Vulgate NT, though hitherto only the Epistle to the Galatians has been published.‡ The Bishop of Salisbury in conjunction with the present writer is also engaged on the same task, and has published the four Gospels with prolegomena; the work is still in progress.

iii. The Nature and Method of Jerome's Revision.—The work before Jerome in his edition of the two Testaments varied so widely that we must treat them apart; and, as the NT was published first, it may be advisable to consider it before the OT.

In his letter to Damasus, Jerome describes plainly enough the nature of his revision of the four Gospels. He revised the existing Latin versions by the aid of the oldest Greek MSS he could have access to, making alterations only where the sense of the passage required it.§

Such a revision was no new thing in the history of the Latin versions. We may put aside the question whether what is called the *European* family of the Old Latin texts be an independent version from the *African* family, or an early revision of it [see Latin Versions]. But there can be no doubt that the *Italian* family, represented in the Gospels by the Codices Brixianus (*f*) and Monacensis (*q*), though principally by the former, is a revision of the *European* family, partly in accordance with a different and somewhat later type of Greek MSS, partly in order to give the Latinity a smoother and more even appearance (Westcott and Hort, *Introduction*, p. 79). There can be equally little doubt that Jerome knew of, and valued, this revision, and made it the base of his own: a short examination of a few pages of the Vulgate with the main Old Latin MSS will convince any reader that Jerome's text is in Latinity much closer to the Codex Brixianus than to any other Old Latin MS; Mr. Burkitt, indeed, maintains that *f* is really a Vulgate MS with Old Latin elements that have come in through the Gothic (see *JThSt*, i. 129; and Kaufmann in *Ztschr. f. deutsche Philologie*, xxxii. 305–335).

If, however, we compare the Greek text underlying the Vulgate with that represented by *f q*, we shall see that for the Gospels at any rate it is a return to the older type of MS, especially ℵ and B; the tables of readings which, as the present writer believes, demonstrate this, may be studied in the *Epilogus* to the Oxford edition of the Vulgate;* but if the student will examine the *apparatus criticus* of Tischendorf's Greek Testament the same fact will be disclosed to him; time after time† the Vulgate follows the older Latin and older Greek MSS, while *f* and *q* agree with the later. Jerome, indeed, twice in his commentaries quotes with respect the readings of the Greek MSS belonging to Origen;‡ but the readings in one case agree with and in the other case differ from ℵB, so that we cannot conclude much as to the nature of their text. Other points have been noticed by scholars, connecting Jerome with the Sinaitic and Vatican texts; in the OT, Mr. Burkitt§ says that Jerome 'in his translations from the LXX in the prophets is generally very faithful to the Vatican text'; and in the Acts the Codex Amiatinus has 70 capitula with corresponding section-numerals in the text, an enumeration which is marked in the margins of both ℵ and B, but is otherwise, according to Hort, unknown in Greek MSS and literature;‖ so that there is a cumulative argument of considerable weight on behalf of Jerome's having made use of manuscripts of this type.

At the same time it is clear that he must have consulted MSS of a type different from anything we now possess. There are instances in the Gospels, few but clear, where he has apparently corrected the reading against all known Greek authorities, as well as against the Old Latin;¶ and in some of his commentaries he expressly mentions and discusses readings which are otherwise unknown to us. The most striking instances of these latter are, (1) the clause at the end of St. Mark's Gospel (16^{14}) quoted in the *contra Pelag.* ii.

* Naturally enough, the various modern editions do not all represent the Clementine text with absolute or with equal accuracy; the student who wishes to possess an accurate text is advised to obtain the very careful edition published by Vercellone at Rome in 1861, and to note what the editor says in his preface as to the few occasions on which he has deviated from the Clementine edition of 1592: for the NT the edition of Hetzenauer (Oeniponte 1899) is convenient and, so far as we have tested it, accurate.

† His letter to Abp. Wake is dated April 1716, the proposals for printing were issued in 1720; see A. A. Ellis, *Bentleii critica sacra* (Cambr. 1862), p. xii f.

‡ Corssen, *Epistula ad Galatas*, Berlin, Weidmann, 1885.

§ *Ep. ad Damasum*, 'Hæc præsens præfatiuncula pollicetur quattuor tantum Evangelia . . . codicum Græcorum emendata conlatione, sed veterum. Quæ ne multum a lectionis Latinæ consuetudine discreparent, ita calamo temperavimus, ut his tantum quæ sensum videbantur mutare correctis, reliqua manere pateremur ut fuerant.'

* *Novum testamentum . . . secundum editionem S. Hieronymi . . . recensuit J. Wordsworth, in operis societatem adsumto H. J. White*, Oxonii, 1889, p. 660 f.

† *e.g.* in one chapter of St. Matthew, $6^{1.\ 4.\ 6.\ 13.\ 15.\ 25}$.

‡ In Mt 24^{36} 'in Græcis et maxime Adamantii et Pierii exemplaribus'; in Gal 3^{1} 'in exemplaribus Adamantii' (=Origenis).

§ *Rules of Tyconius*, Cambr. 1894, p. cviii.

‖ Westcott and Hort, *Introduction*, p. 266; Robinson, *Euthaliana*, p. 42 f., Cambr. 1895; Berger, *Hist. de la Vulgate*, etc. p. 357.

¶ *e.g.* Mt 27^{55} omission of *videntes* or *aspicientes*=θεωροῦσαι (ὁρῶσαι 300); *ff*$_1$ *g*$_1$ *l*, who join in the omission, are mixed texts with a large Vulgate element in them; cf. Mk 6^{27} omission of *abiens* (ἀπελθών) with *l*; 10^{43} om. *in vobis* with *l*; Lk 9^{44} *in cordibus vestris* against the Gr. εἰς τὰ ὦτα ὑμῶν and the Old Lat.; 22^{55} *erat petrus* against the Gr. ἐκάθητο ὁ π. and the Old Lat. *sedebat*; Jn 7^{25} *ex hierosolymis* with *c ff*$_2$ against the Gr. ἐκ τῶν ἱεροσολυμιτῶν and the Old Lat.; 8^{37} *filii* against the Gr. σπέρμα and the Old Lat. *semen*; 21^{16} *agnos meos* against the Gr. τὰ πρόβατά μου and the Old. Lat. *oves meas*.

15, as occurring 'in quibusdam exemplaribus et maxime in græcis codicibus';* (2) the discussion on Jn 10^{16} in the Commentary on Ezk 46, where Jerome says, '*et fiet unum atrium et unus pastor*: hoc enim græce *αὐλή* significat, quod latina simplicitas in *ovile* transtulit'; all existing Greek MSS read not *αὐλή* but *πολμνη* here, and the Old Latin have *unus* (or *una*) *grex*. The careful student will detect other cases; but enough has been given, we believe, to make it clear that Jerome's Greek MSS were partly of the type so highly esteemed by Hort, partly of a type which has since disappeared.

The other books of the NT may be more summarily considered. In the Acts of the Apostles, the oldest MSS, such as Amiatinus and (less frequently) Fuldensis, agree in text with ℵB and AC;† in the Epistles, the revision was much more hasty, and very possibly was made with but slight, though with some, regard to the Greek;‡ such is also the opinion of Dr. C. R. Gregory,§ who says of the work outside the Gospels, 'Ceteri vero Novi Testamenti libri annis ut videtur proximis vel etiam proximo anno recensiti non tam diligenter emendati sunt; recensio horum textus nova vix præbet novas lectiones e Græco ductas sed solas elocutiones politiores atque cultiores Latinas.'

The textual criticism of the Vulgate NT is one of the most complicated problems facing modern scholars. The reader will, however, have gained from the section above on the history of Jerome's translation after his own death, a fair amount of information as to the relative value of different groups of MSS. The vast majority of 13th and 14th cent. MSS may be put aside as comparatively worthless, and it would be easy enough for any student to compile—say from the Oxford edition of the Gospels—a list of readings the presence of which in a late MS would be quite sufficient evidence that it was only reproducing the current and valueless mediæval type of text. He will also have learnt the interest of the MSS containing the Theodulfian recension, the very varied types of text presented by the Alcuinian Bibles, and the mixture of French and Irish elements in the 8th and 9th cent. MSS, written in France by Irish or Northumbrian scribes. It is not very hard, therefore, to arrange our MSS in *groups*, as has been done in the lists at the end of this article; but to go further and apply to them a genealogical as well as a geographical classification is what the present writer at any rate has not yet found himself able to do. The grounds on which in the Gospels the early Northumbrian MSS such as AΔSY, the 6th cent. Fuldensis (F), and Ambrosianus (M), and the first hand of the Hubertianus (H*), have been preferred to other MSS, have been set forth at some length in the *Epilogus* to the Oxford edition of the Gospels (pp. 708–732). F and M are two of the earliest existing Vulgate MSS; and the whole group seems to offer strong internal evidence of preserving a pure type of text. The MSS forming it show less trace than others of mixture from Old Latin sources; they agree more closely with the Greek text of ℵBL, and we have seen it to be probable that Jerome partly modelled his revision on MSS of this type; they are free from the numerous small additions, amplifications, conflations, etc. which are commonly found in later MSS, and may fairly be regarded as the marks of a degenerate text even when they are found in an early MS, such as the Harley Gospels (Z). Yet *all* the MSS of the Vulgate NT are so spoiled by mixture, that it is impossible to select one MS or group and follow its readings throughout. There are cases both in the Gospels and in the Acts where one group must be clearly followed in one verse and as clearly rejected in the next, there are others where an obvious clerical error, or a conflate reading, has been perpetuated in every known Vulgate MS; no MS or group seems to preserve a consistent type of text. Still there is here an excellent opportunity for the student; and it may be possible in time to do for the MSS of the Vulgate something analogous to what Westcott and Hort have done for the MSS of the Greek text.

Jerome's work on the OT stands on different ground from his work on the NT; here it was not an emended translation in the light of better MS authority, but a completely new version made direct from the Hebrew, where the text was, as he thought, in a fairly even and satisfactory condition, compared with the confusion shown by the LXX. Jerome does not seem to have imagined the possibility of variation to any serious extent in the Hebrew MSS, though he tried to procure the best that were attainable (*Ep.* xxxvi. 1, *ad Damasum; Præf. in Paralip. iuxta LXX*). He talks in general terms of the 'Hebrew,' the 'Hebraica veritas,' etc.; nor does the text used by him seem to differ largely from the Massoretic text which has been handed down to the present day.* Yet it is not quite identical;† and as it is practically certain that the copies he used did not possess the vowel points, it is but natural that his interpretation of the consonants should occasionally differ from that adopted by the Massoretes.

Jerome's version, again, was not the first that had been made direct from the Hebrew; he could consult not only the LXX, but also the independent translations of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion; and indeed in the Bk. of Daniel the version of Theodotion was that generally used in the Church.‡

His method of translating the OT he describes to us in the preface to his *Comment. in Ecclesiasten*: though he is only referring to that book in his preface, there is no doubt that he is describing his general practice. He worked with the Hebrew text, translating it directly, according to the best of his power and knowledge, with such help as he could obtain from the Jewish Rabbis and their traditional methods of interpretation; he tried to be conservative, and to keep to the lines marked out by the LXX ('de Hebræo transferens magis

* It runs: 'Postea quum accubuissent undecim apparuit eis iesus et exprobravit incredulitatem et duritiam cordis eorum quia his qui viderant eum resurgentem non crediderunt. Et illi satisfaciebant dicentes sæculum istud iniquitatis et incredulitatis substantia (*Cod. Vat.* sub satana) est quæ non sinit per immundos spiritus veram dei apprehendi virtutem. Idcirco jam nunc revela justitiam tuam'; cf. Resch, *Agrapha*, p. 456 (*TU* v. 4).

† See especially Blass, *Acta Apostolorum*, Göttingen, 1895, p. 25.

‡ For the Romans see Sanday-Headlam (*International Critical Commentary*), p. lxvi

§ In the third volume (Prolegomena) to Tischendorf's *Novum Test. Græce*, ed. 8, Leipz. 1894, p. 971.

* Kaulen, p. 166; Westcott, p. 1714; the latter says of Jerome's work that it is 'a remarkable monument of the substantial identity of the Hebrew text of the 4th cent. with the present Masoretic text'; and with regard to the Bks. of Samuel, Wellhausen speaks even more strongly in the same direction, *Der Text d. Bücher Samuelis*, Göttingen, 1872, p. 3, Anm. 2.

† Nowack, *Die Bedeutung des Hier. für die alttest. Kritik*, Göttingen, 1875, asserts that the identity is not complete, and that in many cases Jerome follows the Greek translators, or Chaldee, or Syriac, whilst in some variant readings he stands quite alone; similarly H. P. Smith, 'The Value of the Vulgate Old Test. for Textual Criticism,' in the *Presbyterian and Reformed Review*, April 1891, notes that in a number of cases Jerome's text varies from that of the Massoretes, and even where it simply shows agreement with the Greek it is not always dependent upon it; again, 'it has in a number of cases readings agreeing with the Syriac where the derivation of one from the other is unlikely; it shows besides a number of variants in which it stands alone.'

‡ *Præf. in Dan.*: 'Danielem prophetam juxta LXX interpretes Domini Salvatoris ecclesiæ non legunt, utentes Theodotionis editione; et cur hoc acciderit nescio.'

me LXX interpretum consuetudini coaptavi, in his dumtaxat quæ non multum ab Hebraicis discrepabant'); he did not disdain to incorporate parts of the Old Lat. versions,* and he also made use of the translations of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, so as to observe the mean between excessive novelty and slavish adherence to ancient errors;† and his aim in translating was to represent the sense of the original rather than strain after literal exactness (*Ep.* lvii. *ad Pammachium*; cvi. *ad Suniam et Fretelam*). Such, at least, was his general practice: 'non verbum e verbo, sed sensum exprimere de sensu.' He professes to be more careful in the Holy Scriptures 'ubi et verborum ordo mysterium est,' and where 'in verbis singulis multiplices latent intelligentiæ' (*Ep.* liii. *ad Paulinum*); yet he shows with such obvious satisfaction that the apostles and evangelists in their interpretation of the OT sought after 'sensum . . . non verba, nec magnopere de ordine sermonibusque curasse dum intellectui res pateret,' that we may well imagine that in his own translation, even of the Bible, he would be much less literal than he thought he was.‡ An examination of his translation, such as has been made by Kaulen (p. 169 f.) and Nowack, verifies this expectation. It is the work of a good, though by no means immaculate or scientific Hebrew scholar, aiming at the sense rather than at the words of the original. Occasionally in translating he shows traces of the influence of Rabbinical tradition;§ occasionally, on the other hand, he inserts a Messianic meaning in the translation where the original does not bear it;‖ and he is fond of *interpreting* Hebrew proper names, thereby reversing the practice of the LXX translators, who frequently solve the difficulty of a hard Hebrew word by simply transliterating it in Greek characters; a few amplifications are found where the verse seems to need them;¶ in other cases the pleonastic Hebrew is compressed in the Latin.**

The translation, too, varies in the different books; some were translated with the utmost care, some were finished in extraordinarily short time. In the *Prologus Galeatus* Jerome speaks of the diligence he had bestowed on the Bks. of Samuel and Kings,†† and Kaulen ranks his translation of the historical books as his best work,‡‡ and after them Job and the prophetic books. Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Song of Songs are carefully rendered, notwithstanding the short time that was directly spent on them; but Judith and Tobit, which were translated in great haste, show more dependence on the Old Latin version. In spite of this occasional unevenness, then, we may confidently assert that the general standard of the translation is a very high one; and we may gladly echo the words of the 'translators to the reader' in our own AV, that Jerome performed his task 'with that evidence of great learning, judgment, industry, and faithfulness, that he hath for ever bound the Church unto him in a debt of special remembrance and thankfulness.'

It must be remembered that the Latinity of the Vulgate is thus partly that of the Old Latin; and, even where Jerome was translating anew, he probably modelled his style, perhaps unconsciously, on that of the older versions. The Latin of those versions was the Latin of ordinary popular conversation, the old 'lingua rustica' with all its archaic characteristics, spoken not simply by the lower classes, but generally, even in Rome and amongst the higher classes; different, of course, from the classical Latin of literature, but at the same time not simply confined to Africa in its popular use, as some writers seem to imagine. Nor, again, do we get this Latin in its natural form; anxiety to reproduce the original as accurately as possible has led to the introduction and preservation of numerous Græcisms and Hebraisms in the translation; and we hardly ought to deplore this when we reflect how this literalism has revealed to the Western world the matchless beauty and power of Hebrew. The Latin of the Vulgate is therefore at once artificial and archaic, and yet forcible, clear, and majestic.*

The textual criticism of the Vulgate OT is, alas! still in its infancy. Heyse and Tischendorf published in 1873 a collation of the Codex Amiatinus throughout the OT;† and Vercellone has furnished valuable material for the Pentateuch and historical books in the mass of variant readings collected and arranged in his two volumes of 'Variæ lectiones.'‡ H. P. Smith§ has devoted some attention to examining and classifying the MSS whose readings are there quoted, with the result of awarding a higher place to the Codex Amiatinus in the OT than even in the NT: he maintains that for a recovery of Jerome's original it is of the first importance, and that any critical edition would have to be constructed on the basis of the Amiatine MS and other MSS belonging to the same group; P. Thielmann has collected a useful amount of material for Wisdom, Sirach, etc. (see Literature, p. 890), and is preparing a critical edition of those books.

iv. HISTORY OF THE NAME.‖—For us, as to the Fathers at the Council of Trent, the term *vulgata*—properly *vulgata bibliorum editio, vulgata bibliorum interpretatio, biblia vulgata*—has one meaning, and one meaning only; it means the common authorized Latin version of the Holy Scriptures, translated or edited by Jerome. Yet the expression is older than Jerome's time, and he himself frequently employs it of an edition already in use. It is used primarily in early Latin writers not of a Latin version at all, but of the *Greek* version of the Septuagint,¶ and so is equivalent to the term κοινὴ ἔκδοσις, by which that translation was known;** as, however, the LXX was already familiar to Western Europe in the various Old Latin translations which had been made from it, the term *editio vulgata* would naturally be applied to these; though, as Westcott says, there does not seem to

* G. Hoberg, *De S. Hieronymi ratione interpretandi*, Bonn, 1886, p. 36.

† See Nowack's essay, quoted above, and Driver, *Notes on the Heb. Text of the Bks. of Sam.* (Oxford, 1890), p. liv f., who notices that Jerome was especially prone to be guided by Symmachus, and that, where the Vulgate exhibits a rendering which deviates alike from the Hebrew text and from the LXX, the clue to its origin will generally be found in one or other of the Greek translations, especially in that of Symmachus. In the Preface to the *Comment. in Ecclesiasten*, Jerome frankly says, 'interdum Aquilæ quoque et Symmachi et Theodotionis recordatus sum.'

‡ See the passages collected in Hoberg, p. 4.

§ *e.g.* Gn 38^5, Jos 14^{15}, Neh 97 (Kaulen, p. 173).

‖ *e.g.* Is 11^{10} 16^1, Hab 3^{18} (Kaulen, p. 174).

¶ Gn $31^{32.47}$ 40^{22}, Lv 16^3, Jos 3^{16}, Jg 8^{11} (p. 177); see Hoberg, p. 21.

** Gn 35^{13} 39^{19} 40^5 41^{28}, Ex $40^{9\text{-}23}$; see also Nowack, pp. 18–21; Hoberg, p. 19.

†† 'Lege ergo primum Samuel et Malachim meum; meum, inquam, meum. Quidquid enim crebrius vertendo et emendando sollicitius et didicimus et tenemus nostrum est.'

‡‡ Kaulen, p. 179; Hagen (*Sprachliche Erörterungen zur Vulg.* p. 8) praises also the Pentateuch highly.

* See Hagen, *Spr. Erörterungen zur Vulg.* p. 5; Kaulen, pp. 137, also his *Handbuch zur Vulg.* p. 5.

† *Biblia Sacra Latina vet. Testamenti Hieronymo interprete* . . . ed. Heyse et Tischendorf. Lipsiæ, 1873.

‡ *Variæ lectiones vulgatæ lat. Bibl. editionis*, tom. ii., Romæ, 1860–1864.

§ 'The Value of the Vulg. Old Test. for Textual Criticism,' in *Pres. and Ref. Rev.*, April 1891, p. 224 f.

‖ All that can be said on this question seems to be collected in van Ess, p. 24 f.; Kaulen, p. 17 f.; and Westcott, p. 1689.

¶ See the passages in van Ess, Kaulen, and Westcott; especially Jerome, *Comm. in Isa.* lxv. 20, 'Hoc juxta LXX interpretes diximus, quorum editio toto orbe vulgata est'; and, in any Vulgate Bible, the notes after Est 10^3 11^1 12^6 14^{19}; also Augustine, *De Civ. Dei*, l. xvi. c. 10, 'Fiunt anni a diluvio usque ad Abraham MLXXII. secundum vulgatam editionem hoc est interpretum Septuaginta.'

** See the quotations from Origen and Basil in van Ess, p. 25.

be any instance in the age of Jerome of the application of the term to the Latin version without regard to its derivation from the Greek.*

From being applied to the *current* version of the LXX, *vulgata editio* would be opposed to the emended text of Origen's *Hexapla*,† and so the term acquires the meaning of a corrupt as opposed to an emended text; and in this sense Jerome uses the term interchangeably with *vetus, antiqua editio*,‡ the very term with which it is now so sharply contrasted.

When Jerome is referring to Latin versions of the Scriptures, he rather uses the terms *in latino, latinus interpres, apud latinos*; and, when speaking of his own, *nos, nostra interpretatio*. As his translation gradually superseded the earlier versions made from the LXX, it was inevitable that the expression which had been applied to them would ultimately pass over to him; but the process was a slow one. The instances given in van Ess, and more fully in Hody,§ show that even down to the Middle Ages *vulgata editio* was at any rate occasionally used to designate the LXX; while the usual terms by which Jerome's translation was known were *translatio emendatior* [*recens, nova, posterior, Hebraica*], *translatio quam tenet* [*quam recipit*], *Romana Ecclesia*, etc., and most of all, from Bede's time onward, *editio nostra, codices nostri*. Roger Bacon‖ seems to be the first scholar who uses the term *Vulgata* in its modern sense, though he also applies it frequently to the Septuagint.

v. Main Differences between the Latin and the English Bible.—It may be asked, in what way does the Vulgate Bible differ from our own Authorized Version? Putting aside variations of rendering and reading, the differences are in the number of books or portions of books received into the Canon, the order of books, and the numbering and division of the chapters. These differences are entirely in the OT; in the NT the order of books is the same (though the Council of Trent¶ in its list of books places the Ep. of James *after* those of John), and the 'Ep. to the Laodiceans,'** though found in many Vulgate MSS, is absent from the best, and from the official printed text. Many MSS indeed vary in the order of the books, and the Cath. Epp. often immediately succeed the Acts; but this order has not been adopted in the Clementine text.

The books in the OT are: Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numeri, Deuteronomium, Josuae, Judicum, Ruth, Quatuor Regum, Duo Paralipomenon (*i.e.* Chronicles), Esdræ primus et secundus, qui dicitur Nehemias, *Tobias*, *Judith*, Esther, Job, Psalterium Davidicum centum quinquaginta Psalmorum, Parabolæ, Ecclesiastes, Canticum Canticorum, *Sapientia*, *Ecclesiasticus*, Isaias, Jeremias *cum Baruch* (Lamentations is included under Jeremiah in the Tridentine list, though printed separately as 'Threni' in the Bible), Ezechiel, Daniel; duodecim Prophetæ minores, *id est*: Osea, Joel, Amos, Abdias (*i.e.* Obadiah), Jonas, Michæas, Nahum, Habacuc, Sophonias (*i.e.* Zephaniah), Aggæus (*i.e.* Haggai), Zacharias, Malachias; *Duo Machabœorum, primus et secundus*. The order of books, it will be seen, is the same as in an English Bible, except that the books which we count apocryphal (and which are printed in the above list in italics) are with us placed at the end; the sequence of books, however, is the same in our 'Apocrypha,' save that we insert the two additional books of Esdras and the Prayer of Manasses, which are not mentioned in the Trent list, but form in the Clementine Vulgate an appendix to the Bible, headed by the note 'Oratio Manassæ, necnon libri duo, qui sub libri tertii et quarti Esdræ nomine circumferuntur hoc in loco, extra scilicet seriem canonicorum librorum, quos sancta Tridentina synodus suscepit, et pro canonicis suscipiendos decrevit, sepositi sunt, ne prorsus interirent, quippe qui a nonnullis sanctis Patribus, et in aliquibus Bibliis latinis tam manuscriptis quam impressis reperiuntur.' See also art. Apocrypha in vol. i. esp. p. 115 f.

With regard to differences of *amount* contained under the title of this or that book, or the *arrangement* of matter in it, the following should be noticed. In most of the books of the OT the only difference found is an occasional variation in the versing, the last verse in a chapter being split up into two, and so on; these are too unimportant to notice. It should be remembered that in its numeration of the Commandments the Vulgate Bible includes our second commandment in the first, and divides up the tenth into two, thereby preserving the full number of ten; this division is also employed by the Lutherans: see Decalogue.

The Bk. of Esther in the Vulgate contains the additional chapters, which with us are printed separately in the Apocrypha after Judith. The later chapters of Job are arranged differently from the Authorized Version, though the amount contained is the same: ch. 39 contains 35 verses against 30 of AV, and consequently finishes at 40^5 of AV, and 40^1=our 40^6; and as this contains 28 verses against our 24, the chapter finishes at 41^9 of AV, and 41^1=our 41^{10}; but as 41 in the Vulgate has only 25 verses against our 34, the difference ends there, and 42 begins in the Vulgate in the same place as in the AV.

The variation in the Psalms is perhaps the most puzzling. The Vulgate follows the Hebrew in counting the title, where there is one, as the first verse of the Psalms, so that the versing is in these Psalms one verse ahead of AV. Pss. 9 and 10 form one Psalm in Vulgate, so that AV is one Psalm in front of the Vulgate for nearly all the rest of the Psalter, *e.g.* 11 AV=10 Vulg. etc.; Pss. 114 and 115 forming also one Psalm in Vulgate (*i.e.* 113), the AV is now *two* in front of the Vulgate; but as 116 AV consists of two Psalms in Vulgate, 114 and 115 (which begins at v.[10] 'I believed, therefore have I spoken'), it does not keep so for long; finally, 147 AV also consists of two Vulgate Psalms, 146 and 147 (which begins at v.[12] 'Praise the Lord, O Jerusalem'), so that 148, 149, 150 are the same in each.

In Lamentations ch. 5 of AV appears in the Vulgate as a separate book, under the title of 'Oratio Jeremiæ prophetæ.'

In Daniel at 3^{23} follow the additions which are

* Jerome, for instance, in quoting the text of the LXX, occasionally translates its reading into Latin instead of writing it down in the Greek, and here too speaks of it as *editio vulgata*; but it is the Greek reading, not the Latin translation of it, which he is referring to: see especially *Comm. in Matt.* xiii. 35, 'Legi in nonnullis codicibus . . . in eo loco ubi nos posuimus et vulgata habet editio *ut impleretur quod dictum est per prophetam dicentem*, ibi scriptum, *per Isaiam prophetam dicentem*'; and *Comm. in Gal.* v. 24, 'Et hoc ita admonitum sit, si vulgatam editionem sequimur legentes: *Qui autem sunt Christi carnem crucifixerunt cum vitiis et concupiscentiis*,' but see the whole passage. Van Ess (p. 41) seems to be quite right in maintaining that even here Jerome means the Greek by the *editio vulgata*.

† Jerome, *Ep.* cvi. 2.

‡ *Comm. in Osee* xiii. 4, 'Quæ . . . in antiqua quoque editione LXX non leguntur'; *Ep.* xlix. (*ad Pammach.*) 'Veterem editionem (libri Job) nostræ translationi compara'; *Comm. in Isa. præf. ad cap.* liv.; *præf. in Josue*, etc.

§ P. 402 f.

‖ See Hody, pp. 420, 429, 'Textus est pro majori parte corruptus horribiliter in exemplari vulgato, hoc est *Parisiensi*'; by this he seems to mean the type of text which was produced and sold in Paris; elsewhere (p. 425) he uses *vulgata* of the LXX, or its Latin representative, as opposed to Jerome's translation, 'Quare cum translatio Ieronymi evacuavit translationem vulgatam LXX et similiter Theodotionis, ut certum est omnibus, oportet quod Biblia qua utimur sit translatio Ieronymi,' etc.

¶ Sess. iv. *Decretum de Canonicis Scripturis*.

** For this apocryphal letter see Lightfoot, *Colossians*, pp. 274–300; also Westcott, *Canon of the NT*, App. E, p. 580.

printed in our Apocrypha after Baruch as 'the Song of the three Holy Children'; the versing is different, being $^{24\text{-}90}$ instead of $^{1\text{-}68}$, so that 3^{24} AV $=3^{91}$ Vulgate, which numbers in all 100 verses to the chapter, and runs into 4^{3}, chapter 4^{1} Vulgate beginning at 4^{4} AV but finishing at the same verse (^{34} Vulg. $=^{37}$ AV); the other apocryphal additions are found at the end of the book, the story of Susanna forming ch. 13, and Bel and the Dragon ch. 14.

vi. MANUSCRIPTS OF THE VULGATE.—Anything like a complete enumeration of the Vulgate MSS in Europe would be out of the question; there are thousands, not only in the public libraries, but in private libraries and collections. Berger has examined more than 800 in the libraries of Paris alone; and it is estimated that the total number cannot be less than 8000. Nor would a complete enumeration, even if possible, be of much use to the student; the majority are late 13th and 14th cent. MSS, of very slight critical value, and probably all presenting the corrupt type of text about which Roger Bacon used such strong language.

The lists may be consulted which have been drawn up by Le Long, *Bibliotheca Sacra*, ed. 1723, vol. i. p. 234 f.; Vercellone, *Variæ lectiones*, Romæ, 1860, vol. i. p. lxxxiii f., ii. p. xvii f.; in the fourth edition of Scrivener's *Introduction*, vol. ii. p. 67 f., the present writer has drawn out a selected list of 181 manuscripts, mainly of the NT; Berger (*Histoire de la Vulg.* etc. pp. 374–422) gives a good list of 253 MSS; and the largest list yet published is that of Dr. Gregory in the third volume of Tischendorf's *Novum Testamentum Græce*, ed. viii. pp. 983–1108, where some 2270 MSS are enumerated; they are not, however, described with the detail that characterizes M. Berger's list. We have endeavoured here to draw up a list of the more important Vulgate MSS, arranged, according to the type of their text, as sketched out in the history given above. The student can thus, if he wishes, test our theory of the transmission and modification of the text by his own collations; and if he examines other MSS not mentioned in the list, he can determine more easily in which class to place them.

Our list is based mainly on the materials supplied by Berger. The reader will bear in mind that the classification can be only approximate, and that there are MSS which it will be difficult to assign exclusively to this or that group; and indeed the earliest MSS on the list are among those which it is difficult to class, though we may venture to describe them as *early Italian texts*; after them we may place the early *Spanish* texts, and then the other families in due course. The Roman numerals in square brackets signify the centuries to which the MSS are usually assigned.

I. EARLY ITALIAN TEXTS.—*Codex Fuldensis* of the NT, at the Abbey of Fulda in Prussia [vi]; written for Bp. Victor of Capua, and corrected by him A.D. 541–546. The Gospels are arranged in one narrative, based on the order of Tatian's Diatessaron, but the text has been altered to the Vulgate throughout; in the Epp. Laodiceans follows Colossians. Published by E. Ranke (Marburg, 1868). Cited by Tischendorf as *fuld*, by Wordsworth as F.

The *Milan Gospels*; Ambrosian Library, C. 39 inf. [vi]; uncials; the sections and canons in the margin are written in Greek characters, while certain peculiarities of spelling and of reading also suggest that the scribe had a Græco-Latin MS before him. Defective in parts. Wordsworth's M in Gospels.

Codex Forojuliensis, at Cividale, Friuli: Gospels [vi or vii], Matt., Luke, and John are at Cividale in Friuli; these were published by Bianchini, *Evangeliarium Quadruplex*, etc., tom. ii. app. p. 473 f. (Romæ, 1749). The latter part of Mark (12^{21}–16^{20}) is at Prague, and was edited by J. Dobrowsky, *Fragmentum Pragense* (Pragæ, 1778); the earlier part is at Venice, but in a wretched condition, and illegible. Tischendorf's *for* and *prag*, Wordsworth's J.

Codex Perusinus; part of Lk (1^{1}–1^{27}, much mutilated), in a purple MS, Chapter Library, Perugia [vi or more probably vii]. Published by Bianchini, *Evan. Quadr.* tom. ii. app. p. 562; Tischendorf's *pe*, Wordsworth's P.

The *Harley Gospels*, Brit. Mus. Harl. 1775 [vi or vii], in a small but beautiful uncial hand, written probably in Italy: the first hand omits the text Jn 5^{4}. Tischendorf's *harl*, Wordsworth's and Bentley's Z.

II. EARLY SPANISH TEXTS.—Leon, Cathedral Archives 15 [vii]; a palimpsest MS, containing 40 leaves of a Bible in 7th cent. hand, *i.e.* portions of Ch, Jer, Ezk, 1 Mac, Ac, 2 Co, Col, 1 Jn. The text is Vulgate at base, especially in Jer, Ac, and Pauline Epp.; in other portions mingled with Old Lat. elements and characteristic Spanish interpolations; the 'three heavenly witnesses' occurs 1 Jn 5^{7}. See Berger, pp. 8 f., 384.

The *Ashburnham Pentateuch*, or, more strictly speaking, the Pentateuch of St. Gatien of Tours: now at Paris, Bibl. Nat., *Nouv. acq. Lat.* 2334. A splendid MS, with interesting pictorial illustrations [vii or beginning of viii]; uncial writing; a good Vulgate text. The Palæographical Soc. (i. pl. 234) ascribe the MS to North Italy, but Berger (pp. 11, 12, 410) makes out a strong case, mainly from the nature of the illustrations, for Spain.

Codex Cavensis; Bible [ix probably] written in Spain, probably in Castile or Leon, in small, round, and beautiful Visigothic minuscules, by a scribe Danila; now in the Benedictine Abbey of Corpo di Cava, near Salerno: a copy of it was made early in this century by the Abbate de Rossi, and is in the Vatican (Lat. 8484). The text is Spanish, and in the Gospels shows signs of being a revision; occasionally it is mingled with Old Latin elements; it contains 1 Jn 5^{7} *after* 5^{8}. Before the Pauline Epp. there is the '*Proœmium sancti Peregrini episcopi*,' and the canons of Priscillian; after the Apocalypse there is an incomplete *Psalterium ex Hebræo*; the Psalter in the body of the MS is Gallican, but with numerous Old Latin marginal variants; see Berger, pp. 14, 15, 379. Tischendorf's *cav*, Wordsworth's C.

Codex Toletanus; Bible, Visigothic writing [probably viii], in the Nat. Libr. at Madrid. Characteristic Spanish text, with numerous interpolations; has the text 1 Jn 5^{7} in same place as *Cavensis*, but in the Gospels does not present such a good text as that MS. Collated for the Sixtine revision by Chr. Palomares, whose work is preserved in the Vatican (Lat. 9508); the collation, however, was not used in that revision, as it reached Card. Caraffa too late. It has been published by Bianchini, *Vindiciæ Can. Scr.* pp. xlvii–ccxvi (Romæ, 1740), and reprinted by Migne, *Pat. Lat.* tom. xxix. p. 875 f. Tischendorf's *tol*, Wordsworth's T; see Berger, p. 12.

Madrid, University Library, No. 32; second volume of a magnificent Bible, in Visigothic hand [ix or x], containing Proverbs-Apocalypse. The ornamentation occasionally resembles the *Codex Cavensis*; the Pauline Epp. are headed by the Canons of Priscillian and the *proœmium Peregrini*; see Berger, p. 15.

Codex Æmilianeus, at Madrid, Royal Academy of History, F. 186. Bible [x], incomplete, and commencing in the middle of the Psalter; in the NT Laod. is written by the second hand, in the margin. The first hand resembles *Cavensis*, though it is somewhat larger; the writer's name is given as Quisius. The MS formerly belonged to the Abbey of St. Æmilianus (St. Millan de la Cogolla), between Burgos and Logroño; see Berger, p. 16.

Leon, Cathedral Archives, 6; second volume of a Bible [x], beginning at Isaiah; the NT has the Canons of Priscillian and the *proœmium Peregrini* after the Acts, and contains Laod. The writing resembles *Cavensis*, but is somewhat larger; the names of two scribes—Vimara, a presbyter, and John, a deacon—are given; see Berger, p. 17.

Codex Gothicus Legionensis, preserved in the Church of San Isidro at Leon; Bible [x], folio, dated A.D. 960, and written by the notarius Sanctio. The MS has belonged to the Church of San Isidro since the 12th cent., and was collated for Cardinal Caraffa by Fr. Trugillo, bp. of Leon, for the Sixtine revision, and by him called the *Codex Gothicus*. The collation is preserved in the Vatican (Lat. 4859). There are a large number of Old Latin variants in the margin, especially in the OT; and Tobit and Judith are in the Old Latin throughout; see Berger, p. 18; he has printed the Old Latin variants in the Bk. of Job in *Notices et extraits des MS de la B. N.* etc., tome xxxiv. 2^{e} partie, p. 20 f. (Paris, 1893).

Codex Complutensis (*i.e.* belonging to Complutum=Alcalá), Madrid, University Library, 31. Bible [ix or x], interesting text; Ruth is Old Latin, agreeing closely with quotations in Ambrose; the 4th book of Esdras is also preserved in an interesting text, with variant readings in the margin; Esther, Tobit, Judith, 1 and 2 Mac, are also in an Old Latin version. In the NT the text is Vulgate, but with Spanish characteristics; Laodiceans follows *Hebrews*. Ruth and parts of Maccabees have been published by Berger in the *Notices et extraits*, mentioned above, pp. 8–12, 33–38; see also his *Histoire*, p. 22.

Paris, Bibl. Nat., Lat. 6. Bible in four vols. folio [x.], from the Abbey of Rosas in Catalonia. Tobit and Judith are preserved not only in the Vulgate, but also in the Old Latin; and there are interesting Old Latin and other variants in the margins of the Acts, while Ac 11^{1}–12^{8} is entirely Old Latin; see Berger, p. 24. Wordsworth's R in Acts.

III. ITALIAN TEXTS TRANSCRIBED IN BRITAIN.—(*a*) *Northumbrian MSS.*—*Codex Amiatinus* of the whole Bible, in the Laurentian Library at Florence [beginning of viii]. One of the three *Pandects* written, either at Wearmouth or Jarrow, by order of the Abbot Ceolfrid. He took it as a present to the pope on his last journey to Rome in A.D. 715, but died before he reached the Holy City, and his followers carried on the volume and offered it to the chair of St. Peter. The date and origin of the MS have been thus fixed by the successful deciphering of an erased inscription on the first leaf; see the Palæographical Society's *Facsimiles*, ii. pls. 65, 66, and *Studia Biblica*, ii. p. 273

(Oxford, 1890). Later, the MS was placed in the Monastic Library at Monte Amiata, whence it was sent to Rome for use in the Sixtine revision. Finally, it was placed in the Mediceo-Laurentian Library at Florence. The NT was published in full by Tischendorf (Leipzig, 1850; second ed. with a few emendations, 1854); and in 1873 Heyse and Tischendorf edited the *Biblia Sacra Lat. Veteris Test. Hieronymo interprete*, printing the *Clementine* text of the OT, but dividing it according to the 'cola and commata' of *am*, giving a collation of its variant readings, and printing in full the *capitula* to the various books, which are found in Amiatinus, but not in the Clementine Vulgate; Lagarde has published Wisdom and Sirach, see vol. iii. p. 51.

The text of the MS in the NT, and especially in the Gospels, is a very pure Vulgate type on the whole, though with the characteristics of British MSS in it; see the Oxford *Vulgate*, i. pp. 709, 726–732. In the OT it is also good, but in Ecclesiastes and Ecclesiasticus Old Latin elements have crept in; see Berger, p. 38. Tischendorf's *am*, Wordsworth's A.

Durham Cathedral Library, A. ii. 16; Gospels [vii or viii], said to have been written by Bede, and may very possibly have come from Jarrow. The text is very close to that of Amiatinus, but where it varies Amiatinus is usually the better. Bentley's K, Wordsworth's Δ (in St. John only; in the other Gospels it is not cited).

Do., A. ii. 17; St. John, St. Mark, and St. Luke, incomplete [viii], with another fragment of St. Luke, 21^{33}–23^{34}; large uncial hand, and both text and handwriting closely resemble Amiatinus, though the orthography is occasionally different; see Berger, p. 38.

Stonyhurst St. John. The minute but exquisitely written MS of St. John, now in the possession of the Jesuit College at Stonyhurst [vii or viii]; originally, according to a legend as old as the 13th cent., the property of St. Cuthbert, in whose coffin it was found. The text closely resembles Amiatinus, but is on the whole not quite so good. Wordsworth's S in St. John.

British Museum, Cotton Nero D. iv. The superb *Lindisfarne Gospels* [vii or viii], written by Eadfrith, bp. of Lindisfarne, A.D. 698–721, and other scribes. The Latin is accompanied by an interlinear version in the Northumbrian dialect. The text very closely resembles that of Amiatinus, agreeing with it sometimes even in errors; but, as with the MSS mentioned immediately above, where the two differ, Amiatinus usually has the better text. The MS from which these Gospels were copied must have come from Naples; Dom G. Morin (*Revue Bénédictine*, 1891, t. viii. p. 481) has pointed out that at the beginning of the Gospels there are lists of festivals and saints' days, among which appear names peculiar to Naples; and the book may well have been brought to Lindisfarne by the Adrian who was abbot of a monastery near Naples, and who accompanied Abp. Theodore on his journey to England in 668; see Berger, p. 39 f. Bentley's and Wordsworth's Y.

Fragments of Matthew (1^{1}–3^{4}) and John (1^{1-21}) bound up at the end of the famous 'Utrecht Psalter.' The handwriting and text both strongly resemble the Codex Amiatinus, and are about the same dates (vii–viii). Wordsworth's U in Gospels.

For the Psalter itself the reader should consult W. de Gray Birch, *The History, Art, and Palæography of the MS, styled the Utrecht Psalter*, London, 1876; and the later treatise by Count P. Durrieu, *L'origine du MS célèbre dit le Psautier d'Utrecht*, Paris, 1895 (extrait des 'Melanges Julien Havet'); Count Durrieu supposes it to have been written at or near Rheims in the earlier part of the 9th cent. The text is the *Gallican* Psalter.

(*b*) *Canterbury MSS* (traditionally connected with Augustine and with Gregory the Great).—Oxford, Bodley 857, and Auct. D. 2. 14: Gospels formerly belonging to St. Augustine's Library at Canterbury and generally known as 'St. Augustine's Gospels' [vii]. From the point of view of *age*, the MS might well have been brought to Canterbury by some of the later followers of Augustine, but the *text* shows it to be of native origin; it is fairly near to Amiatinus, but has a large number of characteristics partly Irish, partly early Anglo-Saxon; as Berger says (p. 36), it may be placed at the base of the Anglo-Saxon type of text, and must owe its name not to being the personal property of Augustine, but to belonging to the abbey at Canterbury, which was consecrated to his memory. Tischendorf's *bodl*, Wordsworth's O in Gospels.

Cambridge, Corpus Christi Coll. cclxxxvi. Evan.; Gospels [vii], formerly belonging to St. Augustine's at Canterbury, and, according to tradition, sent by Pope Gregory to Augustine; but the text does not bear out this supposition; it closely resembles that of the preceding MS, and is really Anglo-Saxon, though it has been corrected throughout in accordance with a MS of the Amiatinus type. Bentley's B, Wordsworth's X.

British Museum, Cotton Vesp. A. 1. 'Roman' Psalter [ix], known as the 'Psalter of St. Augustine': Anglo-Saxon type of text.

Brit. Mus., Reg. 1. E. vi.; Gospels, imperfect [end of viii]; written in England, and formerly belonging to St. Augustine's, Canterbury; in all probability the second volume of the famous 'Biblia Gregoriana,' mentioned by Elmham ('Hist. Monasterii S. Aug. Cantuar.,' ed. C. Hardwick, Rolls Series 8, London, 1858). Text somewhat similar to those above; Vulgate, mixed with Irish readings; Bentley's P.

(*c*) *Irish and Anglo-Saxon MSS.—Book of Armagh*; Library, Trinity Coll., Dublin. New Testament written in a small and beautiful Irish hand, by the scribe Ferdomnach [ix]; it has the *prologus Pilagii in omnes epistolas*, Laod. occurs after Col., and Acts after Apoc. The late Dr. Reeves, bp. of Down, intended to edit it, and his work has been finished and published by Drs. Gwynn and Bernard of Dublin. The text of the MS is at bottom good and closely allied to Amiatinus; it displays many of the national characteristics, however, small interpolations, explicative additions, and relics of Old Latin readings (thus its *omission* of Jn 5^{4} is all the more remarkable), etc., while the present writer cannot help thinking that it has been to a certain extent corrected from the Greek; see the Oxford *Vulgate*, pp. 714, 715; Berger, pp. 31–33. Wordsworth's D.

The Book of Kells: Trin. Coll., Dublin, A. 1. 6; Gospels [vii or viii], given to Trinity College by Abp. Ussher; named from Kells or Kenanna, a monastery in County Meath. It is famous for being perhaps the most perfect existing specimen of Irish handwriting, as the *Lindisfarne Gospels* are of English; see Thompson, *Greek and Lat. Palæography*, pp. 239, 245, 246. But the text is also valuable, much resembling the *Book of Armagh*, with the usual Irish characteristics, and a great fondness for conflate readings. A collation has been given by Dr. Abbott in his edition of the Codex Usserianus (Dublin, 1884); see also Berger, p. 41. Wordsworth's Q.

Book of Durrow: Trin. Coll., Dublin, A. 4. 5. Gospels [vi–vii]; according to an inscription on what was the last page, the book was written by St. Columba in twelve days, but, as with the Echternach Gospels (see below in this column), this, with the rest of the book, must have been copied from an earlier exemplar; Durrow or Dearmag was a monastery in King's County, founded by Columba. Irish text, *i.e.* good Vulgate at bottom, but with some of the characteristic national interpolations; collation given by Dr. Abbott in his edition of the Codex Usserianus; see also Berger, p. 41. Wordsworth's *durmach*.

The Book of Moling or *Mulling:* Trin. Coll., Dublin. Gospels [viii or ix], apparently never bound, but preserved in a case. An inscription gives the name of the scribe as Mulling, *i.e.* probably St. Mulling, bp. of Ferns, at the end of the 7th cent.; but, as with the Book of Durrow, the inscription must have been copied from an earlier MS. Characteristic Irish text, sometimes with interesting variant readings; see Berger, p. 33, and H. J. Lawlor, *Chapters on the Book of Mulling*, Edinburgh, 1897. The MS is disfigured by damp, and is illegible in parts.

The Stowe St. John: bound up with the famous *Stowe Missal*, Royal Irish Academy, Dublin. Written in pointed Irish minuscules [viii or ix]; portions of the Gospel only. Good Vulgate text with the usual traces of Old Latin mixture; see J. H. Bernard in *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. xxx. pt. viii. (Dublin, 1893), who gives a description and collation of the MS; also Berger, p. 42.

Gospels of Macdurnan: Lambeth Palace Library. Written by the scribe Mælbrith Mac-Durnain [ix–x], delicate and rather cramped Irish writing; Irish text.

Lichfield, Chapter Library. Gospels [vii–viii], traditionally ascribed to St. Chad, bp. of Lichfield. The MS was perhaps written in Wales, but is in an Irish hand; it belonged to the Church of St. Teliau at Llandaff, but was brought to Lichfield towards the end of the 10th cent. The writing and ornamentation are very beautiful, and resemble the Book of Kells; Irish text, possibly corrected occasionally from the Greek. Contains Mt 1^{1}–Lk 3^{9}; collation of the MS, with introduction, etc., by Scrivener, *Codex S. Ceaddæ Latinus*, Cambridge, 1887; see also Bradshaw, *Collected Papers*, pp. 458–461 (Cambr. 1889). Wordsworth's L in Gospels.

Cambridge, University Library, Kk i. 24; Luke and John, nearly complete [vii–viii], half uncial Irish hand, somewhat resembling the Book of Kells or the Gospels of St. Chad. In the first 8 chs. of St. Luke the text is a strange medley of Vulgate and Old Latin; for the rest, the text is Vulgate with occasional Old Lat. readings.

Selden Acts: Oxford, Bodl. 3418 (Seld. 30). Saxon MS [viii], valuable text. Wordsworth's O in Acts.

Rushworth Gospels or *Gospels of MacRegol:* Oxford, Bodl. Auct. D. 2. 19 [ix], written by an Irish scribe, who died A.D. 820; has an interlinear Anglo-Saxon version. Irish text, with constant inversions of order in words, especially in St. Matthew; possibly, too, corrected from the Greek. Collation given by W. W. Skeat in *The Gospel of St. Matthew; A.-S. and Northumbrian versions*, Cambr. 1887. Wordsworth's R in Gospels.

Brit. Mus., Egerton 609. Gospels [ix], formerly belonging to the monastery of Marmoutier (Majus Monasterium), near Tours. It is an interesting specimen, however, of a MS, written abroad in ordinary Caroline minuscule, but with *Irish* ornamentation, and with a regular Irish type of text; see Berger, p. 47. It contains a number of variant readings which seem peculiar to the MS. Tischendorf's *mm*; Wordsworth's E.

This MS serves as an introduction to our next class of MSS.

IV. CONTINENTAL MSS, WRITTEN BY IRISH OR SAXON SCRIBES, AND SHOWING A MIXTURE OF THE TWO TYPES OF TEXT.—*Gospels of St. Gatien*, Paris, Bibl. Nat., *Nouv. acq. Lat.* 1587 [viii], Anglo-Saxon hand, but probably written on the Continent; belonged to St. Gatien's at Tours. The text contains a number of Old Lat. readings; in other respects resembles the Egerton MS. Usually cited as *gat*; Berger, p. 46.

The *Echternach Gospels:* Paris, Bibl. Nat. 9389 [probably viii], written in an Irish hand, and belonging formerly to the Benedictine Abbey of St. Willibrord at Echternach; yet an interesting inscription, obviously taken from the exemplar from which the MS was copied, asserts that the scribe corrected the text from a MS, 'de bibliotheca Eugipi præspiteri quem ferunt fuisse sancti Hieronimi.' The Eugippius here referred to was almost certainly the Abbot of Lucullanum, near Naples, in the early part of the 6th cent. The text, however, which has a series of variant readings noted in the margin, is disappointing; neither the first hand nor the corrector seems to display a consistent text; and we have a strange mixture of good Vulgate,

Continental, and Irish types; see Berger, p. 52. Wordsworth quotes it regularly.

Codex Bigotianus: Paris, Bibl. Nat., Lat. 281 and 298. Gospels [viii], formerly at Fécamp, just above Havre, and therefore directly facing the English coast. The text and the handwriting are what might be expected from its position; it is written in a fine uncial hand, but the ornamentation shows traces of British influence; and the text is a good example of the mixture of Continental and British types that would be produced by an Irish scribe writing in a French monastery; see Berger, p. 50. Wordsworth's B in Gospels.

Brit. Mus., Add. 5463. Gospels from the monastery of St. Peter at Beneventum [viii or ix], written in a fine revived uncial hand; usually supposed, on the strength of an inscription, to have been written for Ato, abbot of St. Vincent de Volterno, near Beneventum, about the middle of the 8th cent. Berger would, however, place it in the 9th cent. The text is a combination of British and Continental types; see Berger, p. 92. Wordsworth quotes its readings.

Angers: Public Library No. 20. Gospels [ix or x], written in a French hand, but with traces of Irish influence in the ornamentation; and the text is Irish: see Berger, p. 48.

Brit. Mus., Reg. I. A. xviii. Gospels [ix or x], known as the Gospels of Æthelstan, and according to tradition presented by him to St. Augustine's, Canterbury. Written on the Continent, but with a good many Irish characteristics in the text; see Berger, p. 49.

Brit. Mus., Harley 1772. Epp. and Apoc. (viii or ix), in a French hand, but with a good deal of Irish work in the initials and ornamentation; written, therefore, apparently in France, but partly by an Irish scribe. The text has been carefully corrected, and the readings of the first hand are often quite illegible; it contains a good many Old Latin and some Spanish readings; Col. is placed *after* Thess., and Jude and Laod. are both wanting; see Berger, p. 50. Wordsworth's Z_2.

Paris, Bibl. Nat., Lat. 9382: Prophets (Jerem.–Daniel), Saxon handwriting [ix], and a good text. Berger (p. 51) remarks that it is perhaps the only MS of the Prophets we possess that comes from the British Isles.

Do., Lat. 11,553. The second half of a Bible [ix], apparently written in the district round Lyons: the *S. Germani exemplar latum* of R. Stephanus (not *Germanum latum*, as he is sometimes made to call it); it was a St. Germain MS. The text is strangely mixed; in the OT, Spanish elements predominate, but the text is good, especially in Pr, Ec, Song of Songs; in the NT, Mt is Old Lat., and cited among the OL MSS as g_1 (see vol. iii. p. 51); in the other Gospels there are many OL readings, but the text at bottom is of the class copied in France by Irish scribes; Acts, good text, though showing Spanish influence; Cath. Epp., poor Spanish text; Apoc., good; Pauline Epp., fairly good, but with some OL readings. See Berger, pp. 65–72. Wordsworth's g_1 in Mt, G in rest of NT.

Würzburg University Library, Mp. th. f. 61. St. Matthew [viii], written in an Anglo-Saxon hand, with interlinear glosses; mixed text.

Do., Mp. th. f. 12. Epp. of St. Paul [ix], with Irish glosses; a well-known MS. The glosses have been often published, see Zimmer, *Glossæ Hibern.*, Berlin, 1881; Whitley Stokes, *Old Irish Glosses of Würzburg and Carlsruhe*, Austin, Hertford, 1887; Olden, *Holy Scr. in Ireland a thousand years ago*, Dublin, 1888.

Do., Mp. th. f. 69. Epp. of St. Paul [viii], with Irish initials; Col. after Thess.

Oxford, Bod. Laud. Lat. 102. Gospels, Saxon hand [early x]; it formerly belonged to Würzburg, and is among the MSS which were bought there at the instance of Abp. Laud, after the sack of the city in 1631; mixed text.

Other Würzburg MSS worthy of notice, though not possessing Irish characteristics, are:—Mp. th. q. 1 *a*. Gospels [vii], fine uncial hand; belonged, according to tradition, to St. Kilian, in whose tomb it is said to have been found. Mp. th. q. 1. Gospels [x]; q. 4 Gospels [xi]; f. 65 Gospels [viii or ix]; f. 66 Gospels [viii or ix]; f. 67 Gospels [vii or viii]; semi-uncial, and with a good many Old Lat. readings in the first hand; f. 68 Gospels [vi or vii]; good text in the first hand, resembling Amiatinus. And lastly, Mp. th. f. max. 1 Bible [xi]; the Pauline Epp., Laod., and the book of Baruch have been abstracted.

For the Würzburg MSS see Schepps, *Die ältesten Evang. Handschriften der Univ. bibliothek*, Würzburg, 1887, and Köberlin, *Eine Würzb. Evang. Handschr.* (Program d. Studienanstalt bei S. Anna in Augsburg, 1891).

V. Type of Text current in Languedoc (Berger, pp. 73–82).—Paris, Bibl. Nat., Lat. 4 and 4^2; *Codex Aniciensis*, Bible [ix or x]. The text of the first hand somewhat resembles that of the Vallicellian Bible (see below, p. 889), but a contemporary hand has added a number of corrections (amongst others the 'three heavenly witnesses,' 1 Jn 57), and these often show traces of Spanish influence in the Acts.

Do., Lat. 7. Bible [xi], with fine illuminations; text coloured by Spanish influence, and in the Acts resembling the corrector of the Cod. *Aniciensis*.

Do., Lat. 254; *Codex Colbertinus* of the New Testament [xii or xiii], written in S. of France. The text is Old Latin in the Gospels, and is cited among Old Latin MSS as *c* (see vol. iii. p. 51); in the rest of the NT the text is Vulgate, and in a later hand, with all the characteristics of the S. of France about it.

Brit. Mus., Harley 4772, 4773: Bible in two fine volumes [early xiii], the second probably of later date than the first; written in S. of France, and with text belonging to that region.

Paris, Bibl. Nat., Lat. 321: New Testament [early xiii], belonging to Perpignan. Ordinary text in Gospels, but parts of the Acts (1^{1}–13^{7} 28^{16} *ad fin.*) are Old Latin and allied to the text of the Codex Laudianus (E *e*) and the Gigas (*gig*); Catholic Epp. have a Spanish text, resembling the *Codex Toletanus*. The Old Latin portions of the Acts have been published by Berger, *Un ancien texte Lat. des Actes des Apôtres retrouvé dans un MS provenant de Perpignan (Notices et extraits des MSS de la Bibl. Nat. et autres Bibliothèques, tome* xxxv. 1re *partie)*, Paris, 1895. Wordsworth's *p* in Acts.

Codex Demidovianus. Bible [xiii], but copied from an earlier exemplar; it belonged in the last century to a Paul Demidov Gregorovitch, but its present position is unknown. The text was published in Acts, Epp., and Apoc. by Matthæi in his New Testament (1782–8); and Tischendorf has quoted it from his edition (under the sign *demid*). Wordsworth's *dem.* in Acts.

VI. Other French Texts.—For other types of French texts anterior to the Theodulfian and Alcuinian recensions the reader must study M. Berger's book, p. 83 ff. All that we can do here is to enumerate some of the MSS he quotes, and the centres around which he has grouped them; *e.g.*—

MSS from Limoges: Paris, Bibl. Nat. 5 and 5^2 [ix]; 8 and 8^2 [xi]; 315 [xii or xiii]; 2328 [viii or ix]; 315 [xii–xiii].
from Tours: Paris, Bibl. Nat. 112 [x], 113.
from Fleury: Orleans, Public Library 16, portions of 5 MSS of different dates.
from Chartres: St. John, Paris, Bibl. Nat. 10,439 [viii].
Other MSS from the N. of France: Autun, Grand Séminaire 3 [viii], Paris, Bibl. Nat. 17,226 [vii]; 256 [vii]; 14,407 [ix].
Bibles from St. Riquier: Paris, Bibl. Nat. 11,504–5 [ix], the *S. Germani longum exemplar* of R. Stephanus; interesting text; Bibl. Nat. 45 and 93 [ix or x], the *Codex Regius*; mixed text. Allied in text to these are the MSS Bibl. Nat. 309 [xi] and 305 [xi], both New Test. without Gospels.
The Metz MS (Public Library 7) preserves an interesting specimen of the mixed texts current at the time [ix]; see p. 546a.
MSS from Corbie on the Somme, near Amiens:—
Amiens, Public Library 6, 7, 11, 12, portions of a Bible in several volumes [viii or ix].
18, the famous *Corbie Psalter* [viii–ix].
10, The four books of Esdras [ix]: one of the few MSS containing the whole book; see R. L. Bensly, *The Missing Fragment of the 4th Book of Ezra*, Cambridge, 1875.
Paris, Bibl. Nat., Lat. 13,174; Acts, Cath. Epp., and Apoc. [ix].
Do., Lat. 11,532–3: Bible [ix]; contains the *Psalterium ex Hebræo*; text interesting but mixed; slight Spanish elements in it.
Bible from the Abbey of St. Vedast at Arras: Vienna, Imperial Library 1190 [ix].

VII. Swiss MSS (especially St. Gall).—Irish monks and scribes penetrated through France, and right down into Switzerland and Italy; it is thus that we get Vulgate MSS written often in Irish hands, and containing the same mixture of Irish and Continental types of text, not only in France, but in such centres of monastic life as St. Gall, Reichenau, Einsiedeln.

Of these the *Codices Sangallensis* and *Boernerianus* (Δδ and *Gg*), which are really different parts of the same interlinear Græco-Latin MS, belong rather to Old Latin than to Vulgate MSS, and are described above (see Latin Versions); though the base of δ in the Gospels is perhaps more Vulgate than Old Latin: possibly the Græco-Latin Psalter now preserved in the Basle Library (A. vii. 3) may also be part of this same MS.

The same may be said of the *Codex Augiensis*, now at Trin. Coll., Cambr. (B. 17. 1.).

Early types of such mixed Irish and Continental texts are found in the St. Gall MSS No. 10. Job, Prov., Eccl., Canticles, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus [x], Irish hand; No. 51, Gospels [viii], Irish hand, mixed text; No. 60, St. John [viii or ix], Irish hand, mixed text. Granducal Library, Karlsruhe; the Reichenau *Codex Augiensis* 211; Gospels [late ix], with a number of Irish readings. Berne, University Library 671; Gospels [ix or x], fine Irish hand, mixed text. Milan, Ambrosian Library I. 61 sup.; Gospels [viii?], in semi-uncial Irish hand; formerly at Bobbio. The text has a good many Irish readings in it, and the readings of the corrector or correctors are extremely interesting and valuable; see Berger, pp. 55–59.

We are able to fix some of the St. Gall MSS to the middle of the 8th cent., and to one scribe, Winithar, who was a monk in the monastery—
No. 2, Pentateuch, Acts, and Apoc.; mixed text, in the Acts close to Br. Mus. Add. 11,852; Wordsworth's S in Acts.
No. 70, Epp. of St. Paul; Pastoral Epp. placed after Heb.; the text is very corrupt.
No. 907, Catholic Epp. and Apoc. with interesting prefatory matter; the text is very corrupt, resembling the *Codex Lemovicensis* (Paris, Bibl. Nat. Lat. 2328, noted above).

More important, perhaps, than the work of Winithar was that of a slightly later scribe, Hartmut, who was abbot of St. Gall, 872–883; the following MSS were written either by him or under his direction: Nos. 7, Chron. and Sapiential books; 81, Sapiential books, Job, Tobit; 46, Ezek., Minor Prophets, and Dan.; 45, the same; 77, 78, 82, 79, 83, portions of a Bible; 75, Bible. To them must be added—
Brit. Mus., Add. 11,852, Pauline Epp. (including Laod.), Acts, Cath. Epp., Apoc. [ix], interesting text. See E. Nestle, *Bengel als Gelehrter*, pp. 58–60, Tübingen, 1892; Wordsworth's U in Acts; text agrees closely with the St. Gall MS 2.

St. Gall, however, was connected with other main lines of MS transmission, such as those which ran through Chur, Milan, Bobbio, and Vercelli; and these in turn were in communication

through the S. of France with the N.E. frontier of Spain, so that we find the Southern type of text again creeping up and showing traces in the Swiss and N. Italian MSS. Examples of this are—

The Bobbio MS now at Milan (Ambrosian Libr. E. 26 inf.), containing Chron.-Pauline Epp. [ix–x]; mixed text, with Spanish, Old Latin, and Irish elements in it; Berger, p. 138.

Monza, Collegiate Archives 1♀: fragments of Bible [x], text somewhat similar to the previous MS; these two MSS agree with the Codd. *Boernerianus* and *Augiensis* in omitting the last 3 verses of the Ep. to the Romans; Berger, p. 139.

VIII. Alcuinian Recension.—Rome, Vallicellian Library B. 6. Bible [ix], considered to be the best MS of the Alcuinian Recension; Wordsworth's V; see Berger, pp. 197–203.

The Tours Octateuch; Tours, Public Library 10 [commencement of ix], text related to the Vallicellian Bible, though not exactly the same.

Bamberg, Royal Library A. I. 5. Bible [ix], a handsome example of this recension; written at Tours. Wordsworth's B in Acts, etc.; see Berger, p. 206, and Leitschuh, *Führer durch d. kgl. Bibl. zu Bamberg*, 1889, p. 82.

Zürich, Cantonal Library C. 1; text resembling the Bamberg MS on the whole, but differing in Pauline Epp.; Berger, p. 207.

Brit. Mus., Add. 10,546. Bible [ix] known as the Codex Carolinus, or the Bible of Grandval (near Basle). Wordsworth's K; see Berger, pp. 209–212.

Paris, Bibl. Nat., Lat. 250. New Testament [ix], probably written at Tours; text closely resembling the last MS; Berger, p. 243.

Cologne, Chapter Library No. 1. Bible [ix] written at Tours with interesting marginal corrections, made by a contemporary hand also probably at Tours.

Paris, Bibl. Nat., Lat. 1. Bible [ix], a splendid MS, presented to Charles the Bald by Vivian, abbot of St. Martin of Tours.

Do., Lat. 2. Bible [ix] known as the Bible of St. Denis or of Charles the Bald; in the NT the Apoc. is wanting. Used by R. Stephens in his Bible of 1528.

Do., Lat. 3. Bible [ix], belonging originally to the monastery of Glanfeuil; parts of the Apoc. supplied by a later hand; see Berger, p. 213.

Monza, Collegiate Archives, G. 1. Bible [ix], written at Tours by the scribe Amalricus, who was afterwards archbishop of Tours: valuable text; Berger, p. 221.

Paris, Bibl. Nat., Lat. 17,227. Gospels written by Adalbaldus [early ix] at Tours; good Alcuinian text, closely resembling the Bamberg and Zürich Bibles; Berger, pp. 243–247.

Nancy, Cathedral Library. Gospels [early ix], written at Tours; a splendid copy. Text resembling the Monza Bible and the Brit. Mus. Gospels below (Add. 11,848); Berger, p. 247.

Brit. Mus., Add. 11,848. Gospels [ix], probably written at Tours.

Paris, Bibl. Nat., Lat. 266. Gospels [middle of ix], written at Tours, and presented by the emperor Lothaire to the Church of St. Martin.

Rome, Church of St. Paul without the walls. Fine Bible [ix], belonged to Charles the Bald, was written probably in the N. of France, and shows Saxon influence in its ornamentation. Mixed Alcuinian text, with a good deal of resemblance to the *Codex Vallicellianus*, still more perhaps to the first Bible of Charles the Bald (Paris, Bibl. Nat., Lat. 1); Berger, p. 292.

MSS (of Caroline school) written in gold (see Berger, pp. 259–277). In *text* these MSS belong rather to the type of the continental Saxon MSS (above, p. 887) than to the somewhat later Tours school.

The famous *Hamilton Gospels* [viii–ix], now in the library of Th. Irwin, Esq., of Oswego, New York; very early Caroline text, with occasional Spanish and Anglo-Saxon elements; Berger, p. 259.

The *Codex Adæ*, of Trier (Stadtbibliothek, No. xxii.), a splendid MS. Gospels [end of viii], written by two hands, the scribe who has written the latter part of the MS having also added a large number of marginal corrections to the former. The first hand shows connexion with the oldest Tours MSS, and especially the *Codices aurei*; the second hand, with the more ordinary Tours type; Berger, pp. 262–267; see also the monograph *Die Trierer Ada-Handschrift*, Leipzig, 1889; the article on the text of the Alcuinian Bibles by Dr. F. Corssen, is most valuable.

Brit. Mus., Harl. 2788. Gospels [viii–ix], written in golden uncials; an extremely fine MS; illuminations of the same school as those of the *Codex Adæ*.

Abbeville, Public Lib. No. 1. Gospels [viii–ix] written in gold, and strongly resembling Harl. 2788; Berger, p. 267.

Paris, Bibl. Nat., Lat. 8850. The Gospels of St. Medard [early ix]; a fine MS; Berger, p. 268.

Do., Lat. 11,955. Portions of Matt. and Mark [viii?].

Do., Lat. 9383. Gospels [end of viii].

Tours, Public Library 22; formerly at St. Martin's. Gospels [viii–ix], interesting text, on the whole belonging to Alcuinian revision, but with Irish and Old Latin elements in it; Berger, pp. 47, 202, 272, and the Oxford *Vulgate, Epilogus*, p. 720, Tischendorf's *mt*; Wordsworth quotes its readings.

Vienna, Schatzkammer. The famous Gospels [end of viii?], supposed to have been found in the tomb of Charles the Great; written in gold on purple vellum; Berger, p. 275.

Do., Imperial Library, 652. Psalter [end of viii].

Munich, Royal Library, Lat. 14,000 (=Cim. 55). The splendid Gospels of St. Emmeran [ix, dated 870]. Mixed text, with Anglo-Saxon elements in it; probably written in the N. of France; Berger, p. 295.

IX. Theodulfian Recension.—Paris, Bibl. Nat., Lat. 9380. The famous Theodulfian Bible [ix], written in beautiful and minute hand. Wordsworth's Θ; see Berger, p. 149 f., and Delisle, *Les Bibles de Théodulfe*, Paris, 1879; sometimes known as the *Codex Memmianus*.

Puy, Cathedral Library. Bible [ix], written under the direction of Theodulf, and so closely resembling the Paris Bible that Delisle asserts that many pages look almost like proofs struck from the same type. The text, however, is not so good: see Delisle, as above; also Berger, p. 171 ff.

Brit. Mus., Add. 24,142. Bible [ix], formerly belonging to the monastery of St. Hubert in the Ardennes; written in a small minuscule hand, strongly resembling that of the Theodulfian Bible. The text is extremely interesting, the first hand allied to the Northumbrian family, while the marginal corrections present a Theodulfian type. Wordsworth's H.

Orleans, Public Libr. 14. Book of the Prophets [ix], from Fleury. Text shows traces of Theodulfian influence, though the order of the books differs from that of Theodulf. Berger, p. 177.

Do., 11 and 13. Two volumes of a Bible [x], containing Kings, Proverbs, Song of Songs, Job, Macc., and Tobit; from Fleury. Theodulfian Text, but following sometimes the first hand, sometimes the marginal readings. Berger, p. 177.

Paris, Bibl. Nat., Lat. 11,937. Bible [ix–x], the *St. Germani exemplar parvum* of Robertus Stephanus, for the MS was formerly at St. Germain-des-Prés; the hand resembles that of the Theodulfian Bible, and the text also; the latter follows sometimes the first hand, sometimes the margin. Berger, p. 178.

Copenhagen, Royal Libr., nouv. fonds Royal I. Parts of a Bible, *i.e.* Psalms-Daniel [ix]; handwriting resembles that of the St. Germain MS above, and the text is Theodulfian. Delisle, *Bibl. de l'École des Chartes*, xlvi. p. 321; Berger, p. 181.

X. Mediæval Texts.—Out of the thousands of such MSS we can but select three, which for various reasons are interesting.

Brit. Mus., Reg. I. B. xii. Bible [xiii], written in 1254 by William of Hales for Thomas de la Wile, 'Magister Scolarum Sarum'; fair specimen of ordinary mediæval text. Wordsworth's W.

Dijon, Publ. Libr. 9 *bis*. Bible, 4 vols. [xii], containing the corrections of Stephen Harding, abbot of Citeaux.

Paris, Bibl. Nat., Lat. 16,719–16,722. Bible, 4 vols. [xiii], containing the corrections of the Dominicans, under the auspices of Hugo de S. Caro.

Literature.—Full lists of works will be found in S. Berger, *Histoire de la Vulg. pendant les premiers siècles du moyen âge*, Paris, 1893, pp. xxii–xxiv; and in E. Nestle (to whom the present writer owes many valuable suggestions), *Urtext u. Uebersetzungen der Bibel*, Leipzig, 1897, pp. 96, 102 (=*PRE*³, Bd. iii. pp. 36, 42). We give here a somewhat compressed list of the works likely to be useful to the ordinary student.

A. For the life of Jerome:—The *Vita S. Hieronymi* in Vallarsi's edition of his works, tom. xi. pp. 1–280. For the works of Jerome the student should use by preference the editions of Vallarsi, 11 vols. folio, Verona, 1734–1742, do. quarto, Venice, 1766–1772; the quarto edition is handier, and has been reprinted by Migne (but with different paging), *Pat. Lat.* xxii.–xxx.; von Cölln, 'Hieronymus' in Ersch and Gruber's *Encyclopädie* (II. Section, 8 Theil, p. 72 f.), 1831; F. X. Collombet, *Histoire de Saint Jérôme*, 2 vols., Paris, 1844; O. Zöckler, *Hieronymus; sein Leben und Wirken aus seinen Schriften dargestellt*, Gotha, 1865; A. Thierry, *Saint Jérôme*, 2 vols., Paris, 1867; E. L. Cutts, 'Saint Jerome' in *the Fathers for English Readers* (S.P.C.K.), 1877; Zöckler, 'Hieronymus' in *PRE*³ (Bd. viii. p. 42 f.), 1900; Fremantle, 'Hieronymus' in Smith and Wace's *Dict. of Christian Biography*, vol. iii. p. 29 f., 1882; the same, 'Life of Jerome' in Wace and Schaff's *Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, vol. vi. pp. xvi–xxv, 1893; G. Grützmacher, *Hieronymus; eine biographische Studie*, etc., i. Leipz. 1901.

B. For the history of the text, both manuscript and printed:—R. Simon, *Histoire critique des Versions du NT*, Rotterdam, 1690; J. Mill, *Novum Testamentum cum lectionibus variantibus, etc., Præmittitur dissertatio*, Oxonii, 1707; see especially p. lxxxi f.; H. Hody, *De Bibliorum Textibus*, etc., Oxon., 1705, pp. 342–569; L. van Ess, *Pragmatica doctt. Cath. Trid. circa Vulg. decreti sensum*, Sulzbach, 1816, *Pragmatisch-Kritische Gesch. der Vulg.*, Tübingen, 1824; G. Riegler, *Kritische Gesch. der Vulg.*, Sulzbach, 1820; Bp. Westcott, 'Vulgate' in Smith's *DB*, vol. iii., 1863; C. Vercellone, *Variæ lectiones vulg. Latinæ Bibliorum editionis*, 2 tom., Romæ, 1861–1864; F. Kaulen, *Geschichte der Vulg.*, Mainz, 1868; S. Berger, 'Des Essais qui ont été faits à Paris au xiii^e siècle pour corriger le texte de la Vulg.' (*Rev. de Théologie et de Philosophie*, t. xvi.), Lausanne, 1883, *De l'Histoire de la Vulg. en France*, Paris, 1887, *Quam notitiam linguæ hebraicæ habuerint christiani medii ævi temporibus in Gallia*, Paris, 1893, *Histoire de la Vulg. pendant les premiers siècles du moyen âge*, Paris, 1893; G. B. de Rossi, 'La Bibbia offerta da Ceolfrido' (from the *Ommagio giubilare della Bibl. Vat. al S. P. Leone* XIII.), Rome, 1888; H. Denifle, 'Die Handschriften der Bibel-Correctorien des 13 Jahrhunderts' (*Archiv f. Literatur- u. Kirchengesch.* t. iv. pp. 263, 471), 1888; P. Martin, 'La Vulg. latine au xiii^e siècle d'après R. Bacon' (in *Le Muséon* vii., Louvain, 1888), 'la texte Parisien de la Vulg. Lat.' (*Le Muséon* viii., 1889); *Die Trierer Ada-Handschrift . . . von* K. Menzel, P. Corssen, etc., Leipzig, 1889; H. J. White, 'The Codex Amiatinus

and its Birthplace,' in *Studia Biblica et Ecclesiastica*, vol. ii., Oxford, 1890; W. A. Copinger, *Incunabula Biblica, or the first half-century of the Latin Bible*, London, 1892; E. Nestle, *Ein Jubiläum der Lateinischen Bibel*, Tübingen, 1892; H. J. White, 'The Latin Versions,' in Scrivener-Miller, *Introduction to the Criticism of the NT*[4], 1894, vol. ii. pp. 56–90; E. von Dobschütz, *Studien zur Textkritik der Vulg.*, Leipzig, 1894; C. R. Gregory: Prolegomena to Tischendorf's *Novum Testamentum Græce*, etc., *editio octava critica maior*, vol. iii., Lips. 1894, pp. 971–1108; F. G. Kenyon, *Handb. to Text. Crit. of NT*, 1901, pp. 184–203; E. Nestle, *Lateinische Bibelübersetzungen* (revision of Fritzsche) in *PRE*[3], Bd. iii., also published separately in *Urtext u. Uebersetzungen der Bibel*, Leipzig, 1897; P. Corssen, 'Bericht über die latein. Bibelübersetzungen' ('Sonderabdruck,' from the *Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, 1899); P. Thielmann, 'Bericht ü. d. gesammelte handschr. Material zu einer kr. Ausgabe,' etc. (from the Munich *Sitzungsberichten*, 1899).

C. For the grammar, Latinity, etc., of the Vulgate:—J. A. Hagen, *Sprachliche Erörterungen zur Vulg.*, Freiburg in Br. 1863; F. Kaulen, *Handbuch zur Vulg.*, Mainz, 1870; P. Hake, *Sprachliche Erläuterungen zu dem lgt. Psalmentexte*, Arnsberg, 1872; W. Nowack, *Die Bedeutung des Hieron. für die alttest. Kritik*, Göttingen, 1875; H. Roensch, *Itala u. Vulg.*, Marburg, 1875; H. Goelzer, *Latinité de Saint Jérôme*, Paris, 1884; H. P. Smith, 'The Value of the Vulg. OT for Textual Criticism' (*Presbyterian and Reformed Rev.*, April 1891); A. Hartl, *Sprachliche Eigenthümlichkeiten der Vulg.*, Ried, 1894.

D. Critical Editions:—C. Vercellone, *Biblia Sacra Vulgatæ Editionis Sixti V. et Clementis VIII. Pontt. Maxx. jussu recognita atque edita. Romæ, Typis S. Congregationis de propaganda fide*, 1861. This is the best reprint of the Clementine Vulgate Bible, and Vercellone's preface should be carefully read; C. Tischendorf, *Nov. Test. Latine; textum Hieronymi . . . restituit C. T.*, Lipsiæ, 1864; P. M. Hetzenauer, *Nov. Test. Vulgatæ Editionis: ex Vaticanis editionibus earumque correctorio critice edidit P. M. H.*, Oeniponte, 1899; Corssen, *Epistula ad Galatas*, Berlin, 1885; Bp. J. Wordsworth, *Novum Testamentum . . . Latine sec. edit. S. Hieronymi . . . recensuit J. Wordsworth, S.T.P., in operis societatem adsumto H. J. White*, Oxon., 1889–1898. (The four Gospels are published; the rest of the NT is in preparation).

H. J. WHITE.

VULTURE.—אָזְנִיָּה *dā'āh* and דַּיָּה *dayyāh* are tr. AV 'vulture' (Lv 11[14], Dt 14[13], Is 34[15]), RV 'kite'; אַיָּת *'ayyāh* is tr. AV 'vulture' (Job 28[7]), RV 'falcon.' רָחָם or רָחָמָה *rāḥām* or *rāḥāmāh* is tr. RV 'vulture' (Lv 11[18], Dt 14[17]), AV 'gier eagle.' Of these four, only the last refers to the vulture. It is doubtless *Neophron percnopterus*, Sav., Pharaoh's Hen, which is still called *rakham* in Arabic. On the other hand, נֶשֶׁר *nesher*, which is always rendered 'eagle,' undoubtedly includes a number of the vultures, esp. the lämmergeier and the griffon. For the habits of the vulture and for Scripture allusions to them, see EAGLE, GIER EAGLE, OSPRAY, and OSSIFRAGE.

G. E. POST.

W

WAFER.—See art. BREAD, vol. i. p. 318.

WAGES.—See SERVANT.

WAGGON.—See CART.

WAIT (from the same root as 'wake' and 'watch') is used in AV both as subst. and verb. **1.** As subst. the meaning is a watch, plot, esp. an ambush. The phrases are (*a*) *Lie in wait*, as Dt 19[11] 'But if any man hate his neighbour, and lie in wait for him, and rise up against him and smite him mortally that he die'; Jos 8[4] 'Behold, ye shall lie in wait against the city, even behind the city.' So 'liers in wait,' as Jg 9[25] 'And the men of Shechem set liers in wait for him in the top of the mountains.' (*b*) *Lay wait*, as Jg 16[2] 'They compassed him in, and laid wait for him all night in the gate of the city'; Jer 9[8] 'One speaketh peaceably to his neighbour with his mouth, but in heart he layeth his wait' (RV as AVm 'layeth wait for him'). (*c*) *Laying of wait*, as Nu 35[20] 'But if he thrust him of hatred, or hurl at him by laying of wait.' Udall has 'lay a wait' (*Erasmus' Paraph.* i. 87), 'And in the meane tyme he touched secretelye the conscience of certayne Phariseis, whiche layed deadly a wayte for Jesus.' And Fuller has 'lay at wait' (*Holy State*, 316), 'An adversary who lay at wait for all advantages.'

2. As verb we find 'wait' in the phrases 'wait for' and 'wait on' or 'upon.' (1) 'Wait for' has three meanings: (*a*) *Watch for*, equivalent to 'lay wait for,' Job 15[22] 'He is waited for of the sword' (וְצָפוּי הוּא אֶלֵי־חָרֶב; LXX ἐντέταλται [A ἐντέτακται] γὰρ ἤδη εἰς χεῖρας σιδήρου; Vulg. 'circumspectans undique gladium'; Cov. 'the swearde is allwaye before his eyes'; Kautzsch, 'für das Schwert ist er ausersehen'); Ps 56[6] 'They mark my steps, when they wait for my soul' (בַּאֲשֶׁר קִוּוּ נַפְשִׁי); cf. Ps 71[10] 'And they that lay wait for my soul' (וְשֹׁמְרֵי נַפְשִׁי). (*b*) *Expect*, the modern use, Lk 12[36] 'Like unto men that wait for their lord, when he will return from the wedding' (προσδεχομένοις τὸν κύριον ἑαυτῶν, RV 'looking for'); Ac 10[24] 'Cornelius waited for them' (ἦν προσδοκῶν αὐτούς, RV 'was waiting for them'); 17[16] 'Now while Paul waited for them at Athens' (ἐκδεχομένου αὐτοὺς τοῦ Παύλου); 2 Th 3[5] 'the patient waiting for Christ' (ὑπομονή, RV as AVm 'patience'). (*c*) The most important use of this phrase is when it refers to the attitude towards God of the patient believer, who is confident that God will yet show Himself to be the enemy of evildoers and the praise of them that do well; it is then almost equivalent to *believe in* or *worship*. Thus 2 K 6[33] 'Behold, this evil is of the Lord; what (RV 'why') should I wait for the Lord any longer?' (מָה־אוֹחִיל לַיהוָה עוֹד, LXX τί ὑπομείνω τῷ κυρίῳ ἔτι;); Ps 37[7] 'Rest in the Lord, and wait patiently for him'; 39[7] 'And now, Lord, what wait I for? my hope is in thee'; 65[1] 'Praise waiteth for thee, O God, in Sion.' See also Driver, *Par. Psal.* p. 465.

(2) 'Wait on' or 'upon' means: (*a*) *attend to*, as Nu 3[10] 'And thou shalt appoint Aaron and his sons, and they shall wait on their priest's office'; 8[24]; 1 Ch 23[28] 'Their office was to wait on the sons of Aaron for the service of the house of the Lord'; 2 Ch 13[10] 'the Levites wait upon their business'; Mk 3[9] 'He spake unto his disciples that a small ship should wait on him' (προσκαρτερῇ αὐτῷ); Ro 12[7]. So Adams, *2 Peter*, 35, 'Life . . . which is obnoxious to sin, and waited on with misery.' In this sense 'wait at' is used in 1 Co 9[13] 'They which wait at the altar' (RV 'wait upon'). (*b*) The other use is the same as the special biblical sense of 'wait for,' viz. *look for, trust to*, nearly *worship*, as Ps 25[3] 'Let none that wait on thee be ashamed'; 25[5. 21] 27[14] 104[27].

The simple verb is used twice of God's long-suffering towards men, Is 30[18] 'And therefore will the Lord wait, that he may be gracious unto you'; 1 P 3[20] 'the long-suffering of God waited in the days of Noah.'

J. HASTINGS.

WALLS.—All over the East, where wood is not plentiful, walls of houses and even palaces have

been built from the earliest times of crude or sun-burnt brick. It is only in certain localities, where stone was plentiful, and in later ages, that stone has been used. Strabo (xvii. 2. 3) tells us that the houses in the cities of Ethiopia were formed by interweaving split pieces of palm wood or of crude bricks, and says (xvi. 1. 5) of Seleucia (Assyria, near Babylon) that on account of the scarcity of timber the beams and pillars of the houses were made of palm wood: they wound ropes of twisted reeds round the pillars, painted them over with colour and drew designs on them; they covered the doors with asphalt. All the houses were vaulted on account of the scarcity of timber. The earliest efforts of construction in Egypt were made in wood, probably like the dwellings now found in Nubia—palm branches interlaced, plastered over with clay and straw, roofs of branches or planks, or faggots of wood. Bricks were an advance upon this. The palaces of Egypt were of very slight construction, stuccoed walls and planks of acacia. In Assyria stone was so scarce that it was only used as an accessory; the bodies of the structures were never composed of it: it was mainly confined to plinths, pavements, and the internal linings of walls. In Chaldæa stone was entirely absent. The mountains which run parallel to the left bank of the Tigris were bare of trees, and the palm and poplar alone yielded wood of any length: the one soft and fibrous, the other brittle and light. Nineveh, Babylon, Egypt, and Jerusalem all drew their timber from the forest of Lebanon. The employment, however, of this excellent wood must always have been rare and exceptional (Lenormant, *Histoire Ancienne*, ii. 298; Perrot and Chipiez, i. 124; Layard, *Discoveries*, 356).

'In Chaldæa the architect was condemned by the *force majeure* of circumstances to employ little more than crude or burnt brick and bad timber; in Assyria he voluntarily condemned himself to the limitations they imposed' (Perrot and Chipiez, i. 125). The Chaldæans could employ neither pier or column, nor bearers or lintels of stone; they were thus debarred from constructing spacious galleries and chambers, and 'consequently their towns were artificial mountains, as solid and massive from base to summit as the natural hills' (*ib.* 133). The few long and narrow apartments contrived within them could be compared only to caves hollowed out in the face of a cliff. When the arch was discovered it was made frequent use of. A bas-relief recovered by Layard, showing a group of buildings at Kouyunjik erected by Sennacherib in his palace at Nineveh, depicts them as having not only flat roofs, but hemispherical cupolas, and tall conical domes: the same forms are still in use all over that country, the flat roofs usually for dwelling-houses, but yet the peasants' houses as well as the store-houses have often domed roofs of brick.

In building the tower of Babel we are told 'they had brick for stone, and bitumen had they for mortar' (Gn 11^3). Herodotus says (i. 179), in regard to the walls of Babylon, 'As they dug the ditches they converted the excavated earth into bricks, and when they had enough they burnt them in the kilns. Finally, for mortar they used hot bitumen, and at every thirty courses of bricks they put a layer of reeds interlaced.' There are many bituminous fountains still to be found springing through the soil between Mosul and Baghdad (Layard, *Nineveh*, ii. 46). See BITUMEN. In spite of the abundance of stone in Egypt, crude brick was extensively used, and the captives taken in war were forced to undertake the erection of public granaries and other buildings in that material for the Egyptian monarch. Wilkinson (i. 50) refers to the buildings of great size and solidity, found in various parts of the country, of crude brick. At Thebes these buildings consist of walls enclosing sacred monuments and tombs, and some are made with and others without straw.

In Palestine all the earliest remains that have been recovered are of crude brick; and even in the ruins in the mountains, where stone was plentiful, there are no stone remains attributed to an earlier time than that of king Solomon. At *Tell el-Hesy* (Lachish) at least eight ruined cities have been brought to light, one lying over the other, the earliest being attributed to 1700 years B.C., the latest to 500 years B.C. The houses are of crude brick, similar to those of the country at the present day. No indications were obtained whether the roofs were vaulted or supported by beams; probably the latter, judging by the thickness of the walls (Bliss, *Mound of Many Cities*). At *Tell es-Sâfi* recent excavations of *PEF* have exposed a wall of defence of stone earlier than the times of the Crusades, but the date is not yet approximated to. The stones are roughly squared rubble, laid in mud and straw, and the interstices filled with mud and small stones from the fields: height of courses 1′ 5″ to 2′. A few drafted stones occur. Part of the wall is plastered with dark mud and straw, over which is a layer of white mud and straw, made by mixing a powder of unburnt limestone with water. This kind of plaster is used in the Lebanon to-day (*PEFSt*, 1899, 195).

Foundations of a city in Egypt.—When a new district was to be added to a city, the ground was prepared by building with crude brick a number of long and thick walls parallel to one another; then cross walls at right angles with the first, chess-board fashion. The square pits thus constructed were filled with earth, broken stone, or anything else within reach. The foundations of the future city were laid upon the mass thus obtained, and they profited by the operation both in health and amenity. The cities of Memphis and Thebes both seem to have been built in this manner (Edouard Mariette, p. 139). Diodorus (i. 45. 4) says there were houses of four and five storeys at Thebes, and attributes them to the time of the fabulous monarch Busires. As a rule we find a ground floor, one floor above that, and a covered flat roof on the top.

Egyptian houses were built of crude brick made of loam mixed with chopped straw. These bricks are usually a foot long and 6 inches wide. The ceilings of the larger rooms were of indigenous or foreign wood, the smaller rooms were often vaulted: the walls of the houses were coated with stucco, and painted with religious and domestic scenes. The galleries and columns of the porch were coloured in imitation of stone, or painted. The ceilings were covered with arabesques and interlacing ornaments of all kinds, while the floors were strewn with nets woven of many coloured reeds (M. Gailhabaud's *Monuments anciens et moderns*).

Wilkinson (*Anc. Egyp.* iii. 316) states that the brick arch was used 1540 years B.C., and the stone arch 600 B.C. in Egypt, and suggests that it came into use owing to the small quantity of wood in Egypt, and considers that the invention of the arch there may date as far back as 2020 years B.C.* He gives instances of stone monoliths of over 290 tons weight being dragged by manual labour over 500 miles from the quarries: the power to move the mass was the same, whatever might be the distance. They simply put on a sufficient number

* In all probability this date should be carried much further back, for recent excavations at Nippur have shown that in Babylonia the arch of burnt brick was employed prior to B.C. 4000. See BABYLONIA in vol. i. p. 219[b].

of men to move the stone by hauling it along on a sledge. One case he mentions of a single block, 587 tons weight, being transported 138 miles.

The walls of temples and the fortifications of cities required to be of a very solid description, on account of the battering-ram (which see); and as the latter became more scientifically constructed, and other arts of war came into existence, the walls had to be made more and more solid, and the foundations extended deep into the soil or to the solid rock (Lk 6^{48}).

There exist a number of instances at the present day of the magnificent walls of cut stone built in early days from the time of Solomon to Herod, at Jerusalem, Hebron, Arak el-Emir, Baalbek, Tyre and Zidon, and Egypt.

At Jerusalem some of the stones in the wall of the temple enclosure, still existing, are over 30 feet long, 8 feet wide, and 3½ feet high, weighing over 80 tons. The ancient walls are in places still over 150 feet in height, and were originally at the corners at least 250 feet in height. The stones are of hard mountain limestone, approximating to marble, and are carefully chiselled, with a sunken draft of about 3 to 5 inches width all round. The stones of the wall surrounding the cave of Machpelah at Hebron are very little inferior in size to those at Jerusalem.

At Baalbek the stones of the wall of the temple are not quite equal in size to those of Jerusalem, and the stone is much softer; but this wall is protected by another one in front built of exceedingly large stones, 3 of which weigh each about 800 tons, and are over 60 feet in length, 17 feet in breadth, and 14 feet in height. The manner in which these stones were cut and brought down from the quarry can be seen in the quarry itself. When a large stone was ready to be brought away, it could be brought down by gravity with not a very great expenditure of labour.

Josephus (*Ant.* xx. x. 7) speaks of square and very white stones used in the temple, the work of king Solomon, 20 cubits long and 6 cubits high; he also speaks (*BJ* v. v. 1) of stones in the temple itself 40 cubits in length. These great stone walls are taken down to the rock for their foundations, while the buildings of Babylon had their foundations usually on the sand near the surface (Perrot and Chipiez, i. 157). The Pharaonic temples were also rather laid on the surface than solidly placed in the ground.

The gardens in Syria formerly, as at present, had stone walls as boundaries (*BJ* v. iii. 2), and narrow paths traversed the gardens of the suburbs (Nu 22^{24}). The bare hillsides were terraced with stone walls and soil brought up from the bottom, so that the bare hills became fertile fields, as is the case at the present day in Spain, Northern India, Java, Japan. This also is carried out at the present day in many parts of Palestine (*BRP* ii. 493, iii. 14).

For other points connected with the subject of this art. see BRICK, GATE, HOUSE, MORTAR, PAVEMENT, ROOF.

For details regarding the walls of Jerusalem, Babylon, Nineveh, etc., see the articles under these titles. C. WARREN.

WAR.—

i. The Terrain of Palestine.
ii. The Method of War.
iii. The Conduct of War.
iv. Treaties.
v. The Outlook of the Prophets on War.
vi. Allusions to War in the NT.

i. THE TERRAIN OF PALESTINE.—The first requisite for understanding the wars of the Bible is a knowledge of the geography of Palestine. We need to know something about the routes which so unwieldy a traveller as an army can use, the physical and artificial obstacles which hinder it in its march, the places which allow it room for fighting or for encamping, and other similar geographical details. (In reading this article the reader should have open before him the large map of Palestine prefixed to vol. i. of this Dictionary).

The great strategic routes are three in number. There is the important road which, coming from the north and skirting the coast of the Mediterranean, passes Tyre, Mount Carmel, and Gaza, and finally reaches the border of Egypt. Then there is the scarcely less important route, now followed by the railway from Damascus to Haifa, which takes a S.W. direction to the Jordan, and then crosses the whole length of the fertile plain of Esdraelon in a N.W. direction to the neighbourhood of Mount Carmel. The meeting of this road with the first-mentioned in the plain of Esdraelon confers great strategic importance on the plain. There armies could meet, victual themselves, and find room to manœuvre both with footmen and with chariots. There, too, in ancient times stood four of the chief fortresses of Palestine, put there to hinder the free use of the great plain by an enemy (cf. G. A. Smith, *HGHL*[3] ch. xix. pp. 387–390). The third great strategic route lies east of the Jordan and runs from Damascus through Sela (Petra) to the port of Elath at the head of the Gulf of Akabah.

Besides these three great routes, none of which touched the heart of the land of Israel, some others must be mentioned which gave access to the central range. Two of these are mentioned below as giving strategic importance to Gilgal. A third, starting from the modern Jenin, crosses several small plains and easy passes (cf. *HGHL*[3] ch. xvi. p. 327), and gives access from the north to the city of Samaria. It is a route which must often have been followed by Syrian invaders. On the west, the hill-country of Judæa was pierced by several rugged and winding passes, the best known being that which is marked by the Upper and Lower Beth-horon. These passes were the scene of much of the irregular fighting which went on between the Philistines and Israel.

Before leaving this subject one possible strategic line, lying for the most part outside Palestine, must be mentioned, *i.e.* the sea route from the Egyptian Delta to the coast of Palestine. The possession of this line gave the king of Egypt an advantage over the rival power (Assyrian or Babylonian) in the Euphrates Valley, in that it enabled him to threaten his enemy's line of communications by landing troops in his rear. It has been suggested that Pharaoh-neco reached Megiddo partly by the sea route in the reign of Josiah (but cf. *HGHL*[3] p. 405, note 2), and it is possible that there is an allusion in Dt 28^{68} to the possession of such a route by Egypt (but cf. Driver, *in loco*).

Of localities of strategic importance the plain of Esdraelon has already been noticed. A second spot of similar interest is the plain of Gilgal, the S.W. part of the Arabah or 'plains of Jericho.' Here Israel encamped after crossing the Jordan (Jos 4^{19} 10^{6}; cf. Jg 2^{1}), and here the headquarters remained, until a more central place, either Shiloh (Jos 18^{1} 22^{12} 24^{1} [LXX]), or Shechem (Jos 24^{1} [MT]), was secured to Israel. From Gilgal a pass leads westwards over the great central ridge by Bethel and the two Beth-horons down to the maritime plain. Some distance north of Gilgal another pass leads up the Wady Farah (*Fâri'ah*), sometimes identified with the Brook Cherith, in a N.W. direction to Shechem. The first of these routes was probably followed by Joshua in his marches on Ai (Jos 8^{3}) and on Gibeon (Jos $10^{6, 7}$); the second is probably

referred to in Jg 1[22-25], where the conquest of Bethel by the house of Joseph is recorded.

In this enumeration of routes and localities no reference has been made to Jerusalem. Indeed its strategic importance was not great. Neither Alexander of Macedon (*pace* Jos. *Ant.* XI. viii.; cf. Piepenbring, *Histoire*, pp. 590–592), nor Napoleon Bonaparte when on the march to Egypt, deigned to turn aside to Jerusalem. To an Assyrian king engaged in a similar expedition, Lachish and Libnah (2 K 19[8]), both on the edge of the Shephēlah (see Map), were each of more importance than the comparatively remote Jewish capital. It was the political influence of Ḥezeḳiah over the Philistine malcontents which caused Sennacherib to detach a strong force (2 K 18[17]) against Jerusalem. Isaiah was right in holding that it was possible for Judah to maintain a policy of isolation in the face of the clash of the great powers of western Asia. These powers seldom desired to encumber themselves with such 'a burdensome stone' (Zec 12[3]) as Jerusalem. Shishak, king of Egypt, did indeed capture the city in the reign of Rehoboam, but only because Solomon had made it a city worth plundering (1 K 14[25. 26]). Hazael, king of Syria, 'set his face to go up against Jerusalem,' but commuted his hostility for a payment in money (2 K 12[17. 18]). Similarly was Sennacherib bought off once at least (2 K 18[13-16]). Pharaoh-neco, king of Egypt, slew Josiah at Megiddo and deposed Jehoahaz at Riblah 'in the land of Hamath,' but does not seem to have turned aside to Jerusalem (2 K 23[29-35]). Nebuchadrezzar was at least equally contemptuous. Jehoiaḳim was in a state of rebellion against Babylon for eight years, but the great king contented himself with sending marauding bands against his vassal. Jerusalem was outside the sphere within which great captains contended with great armies.

Samaria, on the other hand, was comparatively of great strategic importance. It stands on a commanding hill (well shown in Sir R. Temple's *Palestine Illustrated*, p. 180) where the important road from Jenin meets at right angles the broad, 'fat valley' (Is 28[1]) which slopes westward towards the plain of Sharon and the Mediterranean. Eastward, passes of no great difficulty lead to the fords of the Jordan. Thus Samaria was strategically as well as politically 'the head of Ephraim' (Is 7[9]).

We have now had occasion to mention representatives of three classes of fortresses in Palestine. On the south-west, Libnah, Lachish, Gezer, and Beth-horon guarded Judah against Egypt, the Philistines, and the inhabitants of the Sinaitic Peninsula. On the edge of the plain of Esdraelon stood Megiddo, Jezreel, and other fortresses closing the different approaches. On the central ridge, Jerusalem and Samaria were strongly fortified. Two classes of fortresses remain to be mentioned. On the border between the northern and southern kingdom Geba and Mizpah and other cities were built to stop the passage of possible fugitives and deserters and to watch the frontier (1 K 15[16-22]). Lastly, the great fortresses east of Jordan, of which perhaps Ramoth-gilead was the most important (1 K 22[3], 2 K 8[28] 9[1]), must be mentioned; nor must the watch-towers, built to protect the roads and watch over the pastures, be forgotten (see TOWER).

The geographical conditions of Palestine were such that the kind of warfare best known to the Hebrews must have been the foray. The south of Judah lay open to the Amaleḳites and other predatory tribes (1 S 30). On the east were the Midianite freebooters (Jg 6[3. 4]). Against these the Jordan was an ambiguous defence, for, if the invaders could seize one of the fords by surprise, they could hold it with a rearguard against pursuers while the booty was being safely carried off into the desert. The Philistines (1 S 13[17]), the Moabites (2 K 13[20]), and the Hebrews themselves (David, 1 S 27[8]; Joab, 2 S 3[22]; and Gad, Gn 49[19]) were much given to making raids ('roads,' AV).

ii. THE METHOD OF WAR.—(*a*) *The Preliminaries.*—Wars were regularly begun in the spring, in order that if possible operations might be concluded before the beginning of winter (cf. 2 S 11[1]). Yet winter did not always bring relief from the pressure of war (Jer 8[20]), and sieges were sometimes prolonged over twelve months, *e.g.* that of Samaria (*three years*, 2 K 17[5]) and Jerusalem (*eighteen months*, 2 K 25[1-3]).

Something approaching to a *declaration of war* was sometimes given, *e.g.* by Amaziah of Judah to Jehoash of Israel (2 K 14[8]), and negotiation was sometimes tried, *e.g.* by Jephthah with the king of Ammon (Jg 11[12]), in order to avert war; but such instances are not common.

Before beginning a war, efforts were generally made to gain religious sanction for the step. Inquiry of God was made before the ark (Jg 20[27. 28] [Heb. and LXX] and 1 S 14[18] [Heb. only]), or before a priest wearing the ephod with Urim and Thummim (1 S 14[18] [LXX only], 1 S 28[6] [Heb. and LXX], and 1 S 30[7] [Heb. and LXX]), or through a prophet (Micaiah, 1 K 22[15]), or by means of dreams (Gideon, Jg 7[13]), or even through a familiar spirit (the witch of Endor, 1 S 28[7]). Hence the phrase 'to consecrate' a war or warriors; Jl 3[9], Mic 3[5], Jer 6[4]; Is 13[3], Jer 22[7] 51[27. 28]. Moreover, the ark was sometimes carried by Israel into the field (1 S 4[3-11], 2 S 11[11]), and, on the other hand, the Philistines took 'their images' with them (2 S 5[21]). When there was no ark to go forth, individual Israelites were found who carried into battle 'consecrated tokens of the idols of Jamnia' concealed under their garments (2 Mac 12[40]).

The people in general were warned of the approach of an enemy or summoned to war (1) by the blowing of trumpets (1 S 13[3], Ezk 33[1-6], Am 3[6]); (2) by putting up ensigns on bare heights to mark rallying places (Is 13[2]), or by kindling fires on suitable hill summits (Jer 6[1] [AV]); (3) by sending messengers throughout the land (Jg 7[24], 1 S 11[7]). It was sometimes necessary to rouse a warlike feeling by unwonted appeals to indignation or to fear; in Jg 19[29] the Levite sends the pieces of his divided concubine into every part of Israel, and in 1 S 11[7] Saul sends the hewn pieces of a yoke of oxen throughout Israel with the threat of so destroying the cattle of any who should be slack to obey his call.

In advancing to attack, a leader gave his troops a watchword ('for Jehovah and for Gideon,' Jg 7[18]; cf. 2 Mac 8[23] *δοὺς σύνθημα θεοῦ βοηθείας*, also 13[15] *θεοῦ νίκην*); and sometimes a 'pæan' was sung (2 Ch 20[21], 2 Mac 12[37] *καταρξάμενος τὴν μεθ' ὕμνων κραυγήν*).

(*b*) *Strategy as illustrated by campaigns conducted in Palestine.*—Strategy is the art of choosing the right route by which to attack or await the enemy. For an instance of consummate strategy we may take the Philistines' conduct of the campaign of Gilboa (1 S 28–31). Instead of attacking Israel by the direct route through the defensible valleys of the south-west, where chariots could hardly pass, much less manœuvre, the army of Achish, with its chariots and horsemen, struck northward, aiming at the fertile plain of Esdraelon, and drawing Saul away from his Benjamite strongholds. The Israelites failed to close the passes over the eastern end of Mount Carmel, and the Philistines poured into the plain, where they could victual their large army and use their chariots with effect. Saul's hillmen could not meet the enemy in such a place with much hope of success.

Their king was outmarched and outmanœuvred. No wonder that his stout heart trembled when he saw the Philistines in force on this vantage-ground (1 S 28[4. 5]). The battle of Gilboa was from the first only a forlorn hope for Israel. On the other hand, when the Philistines 'came up to seek David' (2 S 5[17-25]), their strategy was faulty. Despising the enemy, they twice came up the Judæan (or possibly the Benjamite) valleys into the small plain of Rephaim (between Jerusalem and Bethlehem). Twice did David await his opportunity in the hold (v.[17]) hard by, and twice did he inflict a severe defeat upon the Philistines. They failed because through over-confidence they chose a route more favourable to the enemy than to themselves.

(*c*) *Tactics.*—The tactics of the Israelites in the earliest days were very simple, but often very effective. First a surprise gained by stratagem, and then a sudden rush of men in which personal prowess had its full opportunity. For such warfare the strong individuality of the Hebrew race fitted them in a very high degree. The stratagems described in the historical books belong to all periods and are of various kinds.

(1) *Night marches* and *night attacks* were frequent. Joshua marched all night to the relief of Gibeon, and, it seems, surprised the Amorites at dawn (Jos 10[9]). Mesha (Moabite Stone, line 15) captured Nebo from Israel by similar tactics. Gideon assailed the Midianite camp 'at the beginning of the middle watch' (Jg 7[19]), *i.e.* about midnight. Saul attacked the Ammonites in the morning watch, *i.e.* shortly before dawn (1 S 11[11]). Joram, king of Judah, when surrounded by the Edomites, cut his way through them *with his chariots* by night—a great feat, needing a clear night and able leading (2 K 8[21]). (2) An *ambush* was a favourite stratagem. By this Ai was captured (Jos 8[10-28]), and Gibeah (Jg 20[30-44]). The Syrians tried it against Israel without success (2 K 6[8. 9]). With the ambush a pretended flight of the main body was often combined. (3) Similar to the ambush was the device of *giving a deserted appearance to a camp*, in the hope of taking the enemy at a disadvantage when he came to spoil it (2 K 3[24], cf. 7[12]). (4) A well-organized *force could be divided* just before an engagement, and the enemy put at a disadvantage by attack from more than one direction (Gn 14[15], 2 S 18[2], cf. v.[8]).

The usual defensive tactics of the Hebrews consisted of standing in close order, shield touching shield, with spears carried at the charge, and of awaiting the attack of the enemy on higher ground and with the front protected by a wâdy or other obstacle. Such probably was the array (מַעֲרָכָה *ma'ărākhāh*) with which they fronted the Philistines in the valley of Elah (1 S 17[21]). In such a position they were unassailable, and things might well remain at a standstill for *forty days* (v.[16] [not in LXX B]). Unless the position could be turned by a flank movement, the only resource left to an assailant was to seek to shake the steadiness of the array by enticing the prominent warriors to leave their posts to engage in single combats. This resource the Philistines in the valley of Elah tried in vain. 'The men of Israel [when they saw Goliath] fled from him [back to their places in the array]' (v.[24]).

Israel's simple tactics were really adapted only to broken country, such as the hill-country of Judah, with its caves and deep rugged wâdis. The enemy when defeated said, not without truth (1 K 20[23]), 'Their god is a god of the hills; therefore they were stronger than we.' For more scientific tactics we have to look to Israel's foes. We see such in use at the battle of Gilboa. Saul, like Harold at Hastings, had formed his army probably in close order on a hillside up which the enemy must advance to attack. But the Philistines, like the Normans towards the close of the battle of Hastings, prepared the way for the decisive attack by flights of arrows. Saul fell like Harold, pierced through by the archers (1 S 31[3]). Then, and not till then, the Philistines could trust their chariots and horsemen to make a successful charge up the slope (2 S 1[6]), and a decisive victory was won.

Another good though unsuccessful piece of tactical skill was shown by the Syrians at the battle of Ramoth-gilead. The Syrian king massed his chariots (1 K 22[31]), and endeavoured to obtain a decisive effect by employing them at a decisive point, viz. the person of Ahab. Ahab escaped this danger through his disguise, and was thus able to encourage his army by his presence 'until the going down of the sun.' Thus Israel was repulsed but not routed at Ramoth-gilead.

(*d*) **Fortresses** played an important part in the wars of Palestine. In the days of the Judges Israel had no fortresses, but had to take refuge from Midianite (Jg 6[2]) and Philistine oppression (1 S 13[6]) in cave districts and among the mountains. But the land is studded with heights suitable for fortified posts, and under the kings these were crowned with walled cities.

Fortresses (cities 'having gates and bars,' 1 S 23[7]) were surrounded by walls of stone or of sun-dried bricks, built often close to the precipitous sides of a hill or mound.* If there were no precipice near to defend the wall, then a trench (חֵל *ḥēl*) was added. Samaria had such a trench (1 K 21[23] ['wall' AV, 'rampart' RV]); and Jerusalem, though none was needed on the E., where ran the deep valley of Jehoshaphat, probably had one elsewhere (La 2[8]).

The walls of Jerusalem were strengthened with towers and furnished with battlements (Jer 5[10] 'thy branches' [RV, prob. a poetical term for 'battlements' AV], cf. Zeph 1[16] and 2 Ch 26[15]). On the walls were placed engines for throwing arrows and great stones (2 Ch 26[15]).

Of the attack of strong places by the Israelites we have many notices. Jericho was captured by *coup de main* with an ease in which Israel rightly saw the hand of God; the *falling of the walls* seems to be a metaphor describing the failing of the hearts of the defenders (Jos 6[20], cf. 2[11]). Similarly, Judas Maccabæus is said to have captured a strong city by 'rushing wildly against the wall' (ἐνέσεισαν θηριωδῶς τῷ τείχει, 2 Mac 12[15]). Sometimes fire was applied to burn the gates or to set fire to a wooden defence (Jg 9[48-52]); this device is also pictured on the Assyrian reliefs. As early as the time of David the 'mount' or 'bank' (סֹלְלָה *ṣōlĕlāh*, see below) was employed (2 S 20[15]). If these means of attack failed, the besiegers were obliged to maintain a wearisome blockade, until surrender was brought about by famine or treachery. The fall of Rabbah was perhaps hastened by threatened water-famine (2 S 12[27]). The Syrians (Aramæans) probably used engines (1 K 20[12] [RVm]); and the Assyrians, as masters of the art of war, practised regular siege operations. Great shields or screens were raised against the wall (Is 37[33]), behind which archers were set to keep under the 'fire' of the defenders. Under cover of this bombardment a causeway was built (perhaps by captives) from the Assyrian camp to the city to be attacked. Rising gradually in height, it was pushed nearer and nearer the city. Such a mound, when it touched the wall, might be used to facilitate an escalade or to bring the battering-ram on a level with the upper part of the wall. Another instrument of attack used

* Compare Flinders Petrie (*Tell el-Hesy*, 1891) and F. J. Bliss (*A Mound of many Cities*, 1894).

by the Assyrians was a movable tower occupied by archers. If these archers succeeded in clearing the wall of its defenders, the tower could then be pushed up to the wall and the place taken by storm (cf. 1 Mac 13[43-45]). The steps in a siege are enumerated in Ezk 26[8. 9].

(*e*) *Payment* to warriors on service was apparently made chiefly in the form of booty. There are, however, some allusions to pay of an ordinary kind. Amaziah is said to have hired 100,000 men from Israel for his expedition against Edom for 100 talents of silver (2 Ch 25[6]). The Assyrian warrior from the time of Sargon was a paid foreigner, not an Assyrian peasant (*KAT*[3] p. 64). The Chaldæan armies of Nebuchadrezzar were also mercenary (*ib.* p. 109). Antiochus Epiphanes opened his treasury, and gave his forces pay (*ὀψώνια*, cf. Ro 6[23], 1 Co 9[7]) for a year (1 Mac 3[28]). But booty meant more to a warrior than pay, as the disappointment of the Israelite mercenaries shows (2 Ch 25[10. 13], cf. Jg 5[19]). Booty was to be divided in equal shares between those who went into the battle and those who guarded the camp (1 S 30[24. 25]). A chosen part was sometimes dedicated to the Lord (silver and gold, 2 S 8[11]; sheep and oxen, 1 S 15[21]), or reserved for a leader (1 S 30[20]).

iii. The Conduct of War.—The treatment of conquered enemies was often very severe. David removed the Ammonites from Rabbah and the other cities of Ammon which he captured, and put them to the hardest task-work in the form of hewing stone and making brick (2 S 12[31]). The allied armies of Israel, Judah, and Edom deliberately made a desert of Moab, filling the good land with stones, stopping the wells, and cutting down the good trees (2 K 3[25]). Joab slew every male whom he found in Edom (1 K 11[16]). The still more horrible cruelty of massacring women with child is more often ascribed to the enemy than to Israel itself (the Syrians in 2 K 8[12], Menaḥem of Israel in 2 K 15[16], Ammon in Am 1[13]).

More reasonable severity was shown by expatriating the flower of an enemy's army (the first Chaldæan captivity, 2 K 24[14]), breaking down part of the wall of an enemy's city (2 K 14[13] and 25[10]), and taking hostages (2 K 14[14]).

Two instances of mildness are worthy of note. Ahab let Ben-hadad of Syria go free on his consenting to a treaty (1 K 20[34]); 'the king of Israel,' on Elisha's advice, fed and dismissed in safety a detachment of Syrians whom the prophet had taken by stratagem (2 K 6[23]).

There is some uncertainty as to the treatment of the Canaanites by Israel at the conquest. It is true that, according to the earliest document (JE), only one family, that of Rahab, was saved alive at Jericho (Jos 6[21-25]); that at Ai all persons were put to the sword (8[24-29]); and that at Makḳedah five kings were slain in cold blood (10[16-27]). On the other hand, the passages (Jos 10[28-43] 11[14-23]) which represent the extermination of the Canaanites as carried out by the Israelites from one end of Palestine to the other are usually referred to a later document (D^2, the work of the redactor of Deuteronomy), and, moreover, these passages cannot be reconciled with the very early document from which Jg 1 is taken, nor again with Jos 15[63] 17[11-18]. It is clear from many precise statements in Joshua and Judges that Israel was not able to carry on a war to the knife; the conquerors were obliged to grant terms to the conquered. It may indeed be objected that Dt 20 (which belongs to the kernel of the book) enjoins the massacre of the Canaanites. But (1) D no less than D^2 is a later document than JE; (2) it is far from improbable that Dt 20[10-14] contains the earlier law (applicable even to war with the Canaanites), and that the exclusion of the Canaanites from the benefits of this law (vv.[15-18]) is due to the author himself, who wrote under the influence of the spirit which was soon to manifest itself in the violent reformation of Josiah (2 K 23[1-20]). We conclude that the Canaanites were in part massacred, in part reduced to task-work, in part borne with on sufferance, in part taken into Israel by intermarriage.

iv. Treaties.—Treaties of peace were granted to a beaten foe, the most common condition being the payment of an indemnity (Sennacherib to Ḥezeḳiah in 2 K 18[14]). A modern-sounding treaty is that made by Ahab with Ben-hadad (1 K 20[34]): cities captured from Israel were to be restored and the right to trade in Damascus was to be conceded. An instance of a barbarian's treaty is that offered by Nahash of Ammon to Jabesh-gilead (1 S 11[2]) on the condition that the right eye of every male defender (? or of every inhabitant) of Jabesh-gilead should be put out. Savage as the offer is, it was probably seriously meant.

v. The Outlook of the Prophets on War.—The earliest prophets show no horror of war as war, but lead or encourage their own people to resist the enemy. Deborah the prophetess rouses her countrymen against Sisera (Jg 4[4-9]) and gives the signal for the battle (v.[14]). Samuel is at the head of the rising against the Philistines (1 S 7[3-12], perhaps a late passage, but of importance in this connexion). An unnamed prophet encourages Ahab against Ben-hadad (1 K 20[13. 14]). Elisha's prophetic activity is the turning-point in the campaign against Moab (2 K 3[11-20]); and the same prophet, on his deathbed, heartens Joash of Israel in the contest with Syria (2 K 13[14-19]). An interesting touch of mercy or of good policy appears in Elisha's treatment of the Syrian prisoners in 2 K 6[21-23]. In the writing prophets, however, from Amos onwards we have a wider outlook upon war. War is no longer a mere event; it has become a symbol. The coming Day of the Lord is associated with terrible wars (Am 5–7, Is 13[6-18], Jl 3 [4][9-17]). On the other hand, the Latter Days are to be marked by universal peace, between nation and nation and even between man and beast (Is 2[1-4] 9[2-7] [11[6-9]], Mic 4[1-4]; cf. Zec 14[9-11. 16-19]).

vi. Allusions to War in the NT.—In the Gospels three references to war, all in Luke, call for notice. In 3[14] *στρατευόμενοι* ('soldiers on service,' RVm) ask for and receive counsel from John the Baptist. In 14[31] our Lord takes a lesson from the action of a king in calling a council of war, and in 19[43] He prophesies that the enemy will cast up a *bank* (*χάρακα*) against Jerusalem. On these passages cf. Plummer's *St. Luke*. In the Epistles, St. Paul shows in a dozen references to a soldier's career that he looked at it with interest and even with sympathy. He calls the Christian life 'the good warfare' (1 Ti 1[18]), refers to the soldier's *ὀψώνια* (1 Co 9[7]), holds up the soldier's ideal of service for imitation (2 Ti 2[3. 4]), praises the Colossians as an inspecting officer might praise a legion (Col 2[5]), and compares the recovery of the erring for Christ to the taking of captives alive in battle (2 Ti 2[26]). The apostle, moreover, describes himself in words of startling sternness as waging a warfare *οὐ κατὰ σάρκα* against pride and disobedience in his converts (2 Co 10[3-6]). In the Apocalypse there are several references to the great struggle between the saints and the powers of evil. There is 'war in heaven,' which results in the dragon and his angels being cast down to earth (Rev 12[7-12]). The Beast (*τὸ θηρίον*) makes war with the saints by commission from the Dragon (13[7a], omitted by AC, etc., has the support of the Syriac text—Philoxenian ?—published by Gwynn, 1897). The kings of the whole world (*τῆς οἰκουμένης ὅλης*) are gathered together to Har-magedon for 'the war of the great day of God the Almighty' (16[12-16]). The Word (*ὁ Λόγος*) of God, who 'in righteousness doth judge and make war,' leads the armies which are in heaven to final victory over the Beast (19[11-21]).

The general teaching of the NT on war can hardly be better given than in the following words: 'We have seen then so far that war is sanctioned by the law of nature—the constitution of man and the constitution of society; and by the teaching and practice of Christ and of His immediate disciples. Certain limitations are im-

posed, on the ground of expediency, by society; and, in the ideal brotherhood of men to which the Christian gospel teaches all men to aspire, war would be impossible. But, with a view to the necessary process of the attainment of this ideal, war in the abstract is not condemned. Here as always the Christianity of Christ looks to the motive' (Bethune-Baker, *Influence of Christianity on War*, 1888, p. 18).

LITERATURE.—Benzinger (1894), *Heb. Archäologie*, p. 360 ff.; Nowack (1894), *Heb. Archäologie*, i. pp. 357–375 (very full); G. A. Smith, *HGHL* (*passim*). See also ARMOUR, CAMP, ENGINE, FENCED CITIES.

W. EMERY BARNES.

WARD.—The Eng. word 'ward' is another spelling of 'guard.' 'Ward' is the older Teut. form (Anglo-Sax. *weard*), 'guard' came in through the Old Fr. *garder*: cf. wage-gauge, warrant-guarantee. Both forms are used in AV, though, with one exception,* the same words are not translated by both. The form 'guard' had not then been very long in use, but was already freely used synonymously with 'ward.' The Anglo-Sax. *weard* is the same in the masc. = 'a guard,' 'defender,' and in the fem. = 'guarding,' 'defence'; hence 'ward' is used in both these senses, as well as for a body of men on guard and the place in which one is guarded, a prison. Bunyan makes a distinction between 'ward' and 'guard': *Holy War*, p. 94, 'He sent special orders to Captain Boanerges . . . to put them all three in ward, and that they should set a strong guard upon them.'

'Ward' in AV means: (1) A body of men on guard; Jer 37[13] (*pᵉḳîduth*, only occurrence; lit. 'oversight,' OHL tr. פָּעַל פ 'sentinel'); Ac 12[10] (*φυλακή*). (2) The office of guarding, the defence: 1 Ch 12[29] (*mishmereth*, RV 'allegiance'); Neh 12[45 bis] (*mishmereth*). (3) The position of the guard, post: 1 Ch 25[8 bis] 'ward against ward' (RV 'for their charges,' Heb. *mishmereth*); 26[16], Neh 12[24. 25] (all *mishmār*); Is 21[8] (*mishmereth*); Jth 8[36] (*διάταξις*, RV 'station'). (4) The place for guarding, prison, cell: Gn 40[3. 4. 7] 41[10] 42[17], Lv 24[12], Nu 15[34] (all *mishmār*); 2 S 20[3] (*mishmereth*); Ezk 19[9] (*ṣûgar*, only occurrence; RV 'cage'); 1 Mac 14[3] (*φυλακή*).

The adverbial suffix 'ward,' expressing direction towards a place, was formerly used with great freedom. In AV we find 'to Godward' Ex 18[19], 2 Co 3[4], 1 Th 1[8]; 'to theeward' 1 S 19[4]; 'to usward' Ps 40[5], Eph 1[19], 2 P 3[9]; 'to youward' 2 Co 1[12] 13[3], Eph 3[2]; and 'to the mercy-seatward' Ex 37[9], besides the adverbs northward, rereward, thitherward, and the like. Cf. 'To himward' Dt 32[5] Tind.; 'to themward,' Berners, *Froissart*, 16; 'to Israel warde' Nu 32[14] Tind.; 'to the city-ward,' Berners, *Froissart*, 16; 'whiche waye soo ever warde,' Erasmus, *Crede*, 46.

J. HASTINGS.

WARE (Anglo-Sax. *warn*; Skeat thinks the orig. sense was 'valuables') is used in AV (in both sing. and plu.) for merchandise. The sing. occurs Neh 10[31] (מַקָּחוֹת), 13[16] (מָכָר), 13[20] (מִמְכָּר); and the plu. in Jer 10[17] (מִנְעָה), Ezk 27[16] (מַעֲשֶׂה), AV 'the wares of thy making,' RV 'thy handiworks'), 27[33] (עֲנִיּוֹן), Jon 1[5] (כֵּלִים). We still retain 'warehouse,' which Coverdale gives as two words, Jer 40[10] 'Therefore gather you wyne, corne and oyle, and kepe them in youre ware houses.'—See FAIRS.

J. HASTINGS.

WARE.—'Ware,' 'aware,' and 'wary' are forms of the same adj., the *a* in 'aware' representing the Anglo-Sax. *ge* (*gewaer*, Middle Eng. *iwar*, *ywar*), and the *y* in 'wary' being an addition. 'Ware' occurs in Mt 24[50] (1611, mod. edd. 'aware'), Ac 14[6], 2 Ti 4[15]. So Lv 5[2-18] Tind. (5[18] 'And the preast shall make an attonement for him for the ignorance whiche he dyd and was not ware'); Lk 11[44] Rhem. 'Woe to you, because you are as monuments that appeare not, and men walking over, are not ware.' Udall (in *Erasmus' Paraph.* ii. 278) uses 'ware' for modern 'wary'; so Erasmus, *Crede*, 127, 'ware and wyse circumspection.' 'Wary' occurs in AV in 2 Es 7[52], and 'wariness' in Sir 11[18].

J. HASTINGS.

WARS OF THE LORD, BOOK OF THE (סֵפֶר מִלְחֲמֹת יהוה; LXX B *ἐν βιβλίῳ* [A *βίβλῳ*] *Πόλεμος τοῦ κυρίου*). —An authority quoted in Nu 21[14] to settle a question about the boundary between Moab and the Amorites. In all probability, the other two citations in the above chapter are from the same source. The last of these is indeed referred (v.[27]) to a poem circulating amongst the *môshĕlîm* or reciters of sarcastic verses, but this does not prove that it was not incorporated also in the 'Wars of J".' The book in question is mentioned nowhere else in the OT, for its identity with the 'Book of Jashar,' although contended for by some, cannot be established. From the title we can readily infer the contents of the book. It was doubtless a collection of songs which celebrated the victories gained by Israel in its religious wars from the Mosaic age downwards. The title was chosen by men who delighted to think of J" as Israel's commander-in-chief (יהוה צְבָאוֹת '*J" of the hosts* [*of Israel*]'). Cf. the words in the Song of Moses in Ex 15[3] 'The LORD is a man of war.'

The meaning of all the three citations in Nu 21 is more or less obscure. The purity of the text is not beyond suspicion, and it may be also, as several critics hold, that some of the extracts refer to events which happened later than the Mosaic age, and that the narrator has only partially succeeded in accommodating the original language to the new context. Stade, for instance, believes that the third quotation has in view incidents that occurred during the wars between Israel and Moab under the dynasty of Omri. The argument of Wellhausen, that the Well-song (vv.[17. 18]) should be metaphorically interpreted of the conquest of the Moabite city Beer (well), is plausible but not convincing. If Cornill is right in assigning the whole passage in which the citations occur to E, there is probability also in his conjecture that 'the book of the Wars of the LORD' originated in the N. kingdom. Its composition will in any case hardly be later than B.C. 750.

It is only fair to mention that some deny that Nu 21[14] furnishes any evidence whatever for the existence of a book called 'the Wars of J".' Sayce (*Academy*, 22nd Oct. 1892) would render the passage thus: 'Wherefore it is said in a (the) book, The wars of J" were at Zahab in Suph,' etc. It may, however, be safely predicted that few will agree to follow this line of interpretation.

LITERATURE.—Ryle, *Canon of OT*, 19; W. R. Smith, *OTJC*[2] 327; Delitzsch, *Genesis*, new ed. i. 7; Reuss, *AT* iii. 463; Cornill, *Einleitung*[2], 69 f.; Wellhausen, *Comp.* 343; Wildeboer, *Lit. d. AT*, 22 f.; Kittel, *Hist. of Heb.* i. 90; Kautzsch, *Heil. Schr. d. AT*, Beilagen, 136; Budde, 'The Well-song' in *New World*, March 1895; Driver, *LOT*[6] 121.

J. A. SELBIE.

WASHINGS.—See UNCLEAN.

WASHPOT (סִיר רָחַץ).—Only fig.: 'Moab is my washpot,' Ps 60[8] = 108[9] (LXX Μωὰβ λέβης τῆς ἐλπίδος μου, Vulg. *Moab olla spei meæ*, taking רחץ in its Aram. [cf. Dn 3[28]] sense of 'trust'). Like the parallel 'Upon (*or* unto) Edom will I cast my shoe,' the expression appears to combine the ideas of ownership and of contempt. Cf. art. SHOE.

WASP (*σφήξ*, Wis 12[8] AV and RVm; RV 'hornet,' see HORNET).—The common wasp, *Vespa vulgaris*, is very abundant in the East. The general colour

* The exception is *mishmār*, which is usually tr[d] 'ward,' but in Ezk 38[7] Neh 4[22. 23] is rendered 'guard'; RV makes no changes.

of its body is yellow, variegated by a longitudinal black line. Its nest is composed of a papery substance, made by chewing up the wood and bark of trees, and is formed of hexagonal cells, like those of the bee. Wasps swarm in the neighbourhood of houses in the summer, and boldly enter them to feed on the meats, sweets, and fruits on the table. They also frequent the vineyards, esp. where grapes are spread out to dry into raisins. They invade the caldron in which grape juice is boiled down to *dibs*, and shops where sweets and fruits are sold. Other *Vespidæ* are also included under the general title wasp. The hornet belongs to the same tribe, and both of these hymenopterous insects are closely related to the bee.

G. E. Post.

WATCH.—A division of the night. See Time, p. 766[b].

WATCHER (Aram. עִיר, Theod. ἐγρ). —A title applied to angels in Dn 4[13. 17. 23] [10. 14. 20]. It means 'wakeful one' (Aq. Symm. ἐγρήγορος), and occurs with great frequency in the (Ethiopic) Book of Enoch (see vol. i. p. 707), as well as in Jubilees (4[15] 8[3] 10[5]) and the Syriac Fathers. It is hardly likely that in Daniel it has already acquired the restricted sense of ἐγρήγοροι in these later writings; more probably it is a designation of angels in general. See the Comm., esp. Driver, *ad loc.*

WATER in EV is usually the equivalent of מַיִם or ὕδωρ.

In 2 K 18[27], Is 36[12] RV 'water' represents שֵׁינַיִם and *Kĕrê* has מֵי רַגְלֵיהֶם. In 2 Co 11[26] 'waters' stands for ποταμοί (RV 'rivers'). 'Watercourse' is the tr. of תְּעָלָה (Job 38[25] RV 'waterflood'), of יְבַל מַיִם (Is 44[4]), and of מוֹצָא מַיִם (2 Ch 32[30] RV 'spring of waters'). The last phrase is also rendered 'waterspring' (Ps 107[33. 35]), and 'spring of water' (Is 41[18] 58[11]). 'Waterspout' is the tr. of צִנּוֹר (Ps 42[7] RVm 'cataract'), and 'waterflood' of שִׁבֹּלֶת מַיִם (Ps 69[15]).

The verb 'to water' represents various Heb. expressions. It stands in Pr 11[25] for the Hiph. of יָרָא ('to throw [rain]'); in Ps 6[6] for the Hiph. of מָסָה ('to melt'); in Ps 65[9] for the Pilel of שׁוּף ('to run over'); in Ps 36[8mg.] for the Qal, in Ps 65[10], Is 16[9] for the Piel, and in Pr 11[25], Is 55[10] for the Hiph., of רָוָה ('to be saturated'); and in Gn 2[6. 10] 29[2. 3. 7ff.], Ex 2[16ff.], Dt 11[10], Ps 104[13], Ec 2[6], Is 27[3], Ezk 17[7] 32[6], Jl 3[18] for הִשְׁקָה ('to give to drink'). מְשֻׁקֶה is tr. 'well watered' in Gn 13[10], and רָוֶה 'watered' in Is 58[11], Jer 31[12]. In Ps 72[6] 'showers that water' stands for the apposition רְבִיבִים נְרְוִיךְ ('showers—a down-pour'). 'Watering' in Job 37[11] is for רִי (RV 'moisture'). 'Watering' in Lk 13[15] and 'to water' in 1 Co 3[6ff.] represent ποτίζειν. 'To drink water' (1 Ti 5[23]) is the tr. of ὑδροποτεῖν. 'Waterpot' (Jn 2[6. 7] 4[28]) is for ὑδρία, and 'without water' (2 P 2[17], Jude 12) for ἄνυδρος. 'To have (*i.e.* to be supplied with) water' (Jth 7[13]) is for ὑδρεύεσθαι. 'Τδραγωγός (Sir 24[30]) is tr. 'conduit.'

מַיִם is once rendered by 'washing' (Neh 4[23] RV 'water'). In Jos 11[8] 13[6] the word is retained as part of a proper name (מִשְׂרְפוֹת מַיִם).

Water is among the commonest and most widely diffused of natural substances, and the Scripture allusions to it are consequently both numerous and varied. At ordinary temperatures it is a liquid, transparent, yet capable of reflecting light from its surface (Pr 27[19]). When heated to the boiling point it is converted into invisible vapour (Is 64[2]), and the same process of evaporation takes place gradually at lower temperatures (Job 24[19]). When cooled below the freezing point it solidifies into hard, transparent, brittle ice, which is compared to a stone (Job 38[30]), and to a breastplate (Sir 43[20]). The water vapour in the air may be condensed by cooling into the small drops of cloud or mist, or the larger drops of rain (Job 36[27]), or it may be deposited on the surface of objects as dew. If the cold in the atmosphere is sufficiently great, the moisture may fall in frozen drops as hail, or in feathery ice-crystals as snow (see Cloud, Dew, Hail, Rain, Snow). Among the most characteristic physical properties of water is that of quenching fire. The antagonism of these two 'elements' appears in 1 K 18[33ff.], Wis 19[20].

The water which the earth receives partly flows along the surface in the form of brooks, streams, and rivers, or gathers in ponds, lakes, and seas; and partly sinks beneath the ground, from which it may flow forth again in springs and fountains (Gn 16[7], Dt 8[7] etc.), or be recovered by sinking pits and wells (see Well).

Water plays an important part in changing the earth's surface (Job 14[19]), but the process is so slow that the streams, etc., which effect it seem to be among the most permanent features of the landscape, and acquire a geographical significance. Thus we have the 'water' of Nephtoah (Jos 15[9] 18[15]), of Jericho (Jos 16[1]), of 'the pool Asphar' (1 Mac 9[33]), of Jordan (1 Mac 9[45]), and of Gennesar (1 Mac 11[67]); the 'waters' of Merom (Jos 11[5. 7]), of En-shemesh (Jos 15[7]), of Megiddo (Jg 5[19]), of Nimrim (Is 15[6]), and of Dibon (Is 15[9]); the 'great waters that are in Gibeon' (Jer 41[12]).

A situation on a navigable river or by the sea gave a city great commercial and other advantages; *e.g.* Babylon (Jer 51[13]) and No (Nah 3[8], here esp. as *a defence*, cf. Is 33[21]).

The waters, like the earth and the air, have their population of living creatures (Gn 1[20. 21. 22]), among which only those with fins and scales (*i.e.* fish) were recognized as clean by the Mosaic law (Lv 11[9. 10. 12. 46], Dt 14[9. 10]). Images of fishes (Dt 4[18]), and of anything living in the water (Ex 20[4], Dt 5[8]), were forbidden. The 'dragons in the waters' (Ps 74[13]) appear to have been mythical sea-monsters symb. of Egypt; see Sea-Monster.

Water is indispensable to all forms of life on the earth, whether animal or vegetable. Vegetation is refreshed by rain, dew, etc., and is specially luxuriant where there are streams or springs to moisten the soil. We read of the effect which the presence of water has on trees (Job 14[9] 29[19], Ps 1[3], Jer 17[8]), cedars (Nu 24[6], Ezk 31[4]), vines (Ezk 17[5]), willows (Is 44[4]), flags or sedges (Job 8[11], Sir 40[16] RV), and lilies (Sir 50[8]). One of these passages (Ezk 31[4]) shows how irrigation was practised in order to convey water from a river to all the parts of the ground under cultivation. Seed was sown beside the waters (Is 32[20]), and even cast into them, as in Egypt when the Nile is in flood (Ec 11[1]). The verdure of river-sides made them a favourite haunt of birds (Ca 5[12]).

Essential to vegetable life, water is equally essential to animals and man. It is enumerated among the necessaries of life in Is 33[16], Sir 29[21] 39[26]. Among its uses may be noticed—

(*a*) **Drinking.** Here particular references are unnecessary, except to the water which flowed from the rock in Horeb (Ex 17[5. 6]) and Kadesh (Nu 20[11]). Next to the absence of water, the greatest of evils was water which for any reason had become undrinkable. This was one of the Plagues of Egypt (vol. iii. p. 889), and similar calamities appear in the Apocalypse (8[11] 11[6]). Israel had an experience of bitter water at Marah (Ex 15[23]).

The explanation of the remedy used by Moses on this occasion is uncertain. The tree may have had the natural property of purifying the water (see Sir 38[5]). Various plants are used in different parts of the world for a similar purpose. Rosenmüller (*A. u. n. Morgenl.* ii. 28 ff.) mentions Nellimaran in Coromandel, Sassafras in Florida, and Yerva Caniani in Peru. It seems doubtful, however, whether any plant now growing in the Sinaitic desert has such an effect, though Lesseps (*L'isthme de Suez*, p. 10) says he has been told by Arab chiefs that a certain bitter thorn, growing in the desert, is used by them in this way. Burckhardt (*Travels in Syria*, 474) suggests that the berries of the plant called Gharkad (*Peganum retusum*) might have been employed, but other travellers have not found them

effectual (Robinson, *BRP* i. 98 f.; Ebers, *Durch Gosen zum Sinai*, 116 f.).

The waters of Jericho were bad in Elisha's day (2 K 2[19. 22]), but no explanation save a miraculous one can be given of the remedy used in this case.

Drinking water might be fouled by the feet of animals (Ezk 32[2. 13] 34[18]). Certain bitter potions receive special mention, such as 'water of gall' (Jer 8[14] 9[15] 23[15]), and the water mixed with the ashes of the golden calf (Ex 32[20]). Water mixed with dust from the floor of the tabernacle was used in the ordeal of chastity described in Nu 5.

Water was not only drunk alone, but also mixed with wine (Ps 75[8], Pr 9[2], 2 Mac 15[39]). The incident of the making of water into wine at Cana is given as the earliest of the miracles of Jesus (Jn 2[6ff.] 4[46]). Water for domestic purposes was usually drawn by women (Gn 24[13], Ex 2[16], 1 S 9[11], Jn 4[7]) or by servants (Dt 29[11]). The Gibeonites were reduced to this menial office (Jos 9[21ff.]). In Mk 14[13] ‖ the unusual circumstance of a *man* bearing a pitcher of water enables the two disciples to recognize their guide. Supplies of drinking water were carried in skins, larger or smaller (see BOTTLE), and we hear also of vessels of earthenware and stone.

(*b*) **Washing** of clothes (Jer 13[1]), of the hands (Job 9[30], Mt 27[24]), the feet (Gn 24[32] 43[24], Lk 7[44], Jn 13[5]), and the whole person (Jth 10[3] 12[7]). To 'pour water upon the hands' is synonymous with being a servant (2 K 3[11]). In the ceremonial system of the OT, washings occupied a prominent place. The priests were washed at their consecration (Ex 29[4]), and the Levites were sprinkled when they were set apart to their special duties (Nu 8[7]). There was a laver before the tabernacle, in which the priests washed their hands and feet before offering sacrifices (Ex 30[18-21] 40[7. 30-32]). Special ablutions were required on particular occasions, such as the Day of Atonement (Lv 16[4. 24. 28]). The sacrificial flesh was washed before it was burnt (Lv 1[9. 13] 8[21]). Washing was a frequent process for removing ceremonial defilement (Lv 11[32] 15[5ff.] 17[15], Dt 23[11]). A specially interesting case is that of recovery from leprosy (Lv 14[8. 9]). In connexion with leprosy and certain other forms of uncleanness *running* water required to be used (Lv 14[5. 6. 50. 51. 52] 15[13], Nu 19[17]). The 'water of separation' used for sprinkling the unclean (Nu 19, He 9[13]) consisted of running water mixed with the ashes of a heifer that had been burnt along with cedar wood and hyssop.

(*c*) **Cooking,** as in Ezk 24[3].

(*d*) **Medicinal Bathing** (Jn 5[3. 4]).

In Eastern lands, where so much depends on the presence of water, the distress caused by drought is very great, and is often vividly described in Scripture (Is 19[5], Jer 14[3], Jl 1[20]). The same result follows when a water-supply is cut off, which was a common operation of warfare and siege. Jehoshaphat and his allies stopped the wells of Moab (2 K 3[19. 25]). Holofernes did the same for Bethulia (Jth 7[7ff.] 8[9] 11[12]). Hezekiah, when besieged by Sennacherib, succeeded in reversing this proceeding, and in securing water for the besieged while the besiegers were deprived of it (2 Ch 32[3. 4], Sir 48[17]). When water is scarce from such causes, it has to be doled out carefully (La 5[4], Ezk 4[11. 16]). 'Water of affliction' seems to mean a supply that is limited either from scarcity (Is 30[20]) or as a punishment (1 K 22[27], 2 Ch 18[26]).

Water, though so necessary, is also a source of danger. It may cause death by suffocation (2 K 8[15]) or by ordinary drowning. Of the latter the Flood and the overthrow of the Egyptians at the Red Sea are the most notable Scripture instances. In the miracle of Christ's walking on the water (Mt 14[25] ‖) we see this natural property for once overcome. Water may be destructive from its force when agitated by storms (Ezk 27[26. 34], Wis 5[22], Lk 8[23-25]), or when rushing along in a torrent (2 S 5[20], Rev 12[15]), or from its simply submerging the works of man (Ezk 26[12. 19]).

'Water' is used for tears (Ps 119[136], Jer 9[1. 18], La 1[16] 3[48]), and for the liquid that flowed along with the blood from the pierced side of Christ (Jn 19[34]). The nature of the latter has been much discussed, and all attempts at ordinary physiological explanation seem doubtful. The commentaries must be consulted for the various views that have been suggested. See also MEDICINE (vol. iii. p. 326[a]). The substance NEPHTHAR (which see) is called 'thick water' (2 Mac 1[20. 21. 31. 33]).

In the *biblical cosmogony* water held an important place. There was a primitive waste of waters, which was divided into two portions by the firmament. The upper portion was the source of rain. The dry land rose out of the lower portion and was founded upon it. The FLOOD, in which both the waters above and those beneath were let loose (Gn 7[11]), was a catastrophe provided for by the very structure of the universe (2 P 3[5. 6]). These and similar cosmological ideas appear in Job 26[8. 10], Ps 33[7] 104[3. 6f.] 148[4], Pr 30[4], Is 40[12], Jth 9[12] 16[15]. While the heathen deified the waters as well as the other forces of nature (Wis 13[2]), the biblical conception consistently subordinates them to God. He controls the waters of the thunderstorm (2 S 22[12], Ps 18[11] 29[3] 77[16. 17], Jer 10[13] 51[16]). The division of the Red Sea is His work (Ps 78[13], Is 43[16] 51[10]). It is in obedience to Him that the water flows from the rock (Ps 114[8]). It is He who moves the sea (Am 5[8] 9[6]). The voice of God is compared to the sound of many waters (Ps 93[4], Ezk 43[2]. Cf. Rev 1[15] 14[2] 19[6]).

The metaphorical usages of water are numerous. The want of it is an emblem of spiritual need (Ps 42[1] 63[1], Am 8[11]), and its presence becomes, in some of the most beautiful poetry of Scripture, a figure for *spiritual refreshment* and blessing (Ps 23[2], Is 30[25] 32[2] 35[6. 7] 41[18] 43[20] 44[3] 49[10] 55[1] 58[11], Jer 31[9], Ezk 47[1-11], Jl 3[18], Zec 14[8], Jn 7[38], Rev 7[16] 21[6] 22[1. 17]). It represents a blessing which may be neglected (Jer 2[13] 17[13] 18[14]). It suggests the gratefulness of *good news* (Pr 25[25]); and *wisdom*, as the drink of the soul, is compared to it (Sir 15[3]). Water symbolizes the means of *moral cleansing* (Ezk 16[4. 9] 36[25], Eph 5[26], He 10[22]), with which we may connect the whole subject of BAPTISM, and also the conception of Christians as 'born of water' (Jn 3[5], 1 Jn 5[6. 8]). Bitter drink is a metaphor for *trouble* (Ps 73[10]), and water in its dangerous aspect is still more extensively so (Ps 18[16] 32[6] 46[3] 66[12] 69[1. 2. 14] 88[17], Is 43[2], La 3[54], Jon 2[5]). *Enemies* are spoken of under a similar figure (Ps 124[4] 144[7], Is 8[7] [Assyria] 17[12. 13] [the nations] 28[2. 17], Jer 47[2]).

Various subordinate metaphors are deserving of notice. Water becomes a figure for *instability* of character (Gn 49[4]), *for weakness and dissolution* (Ps 22[14] 58[7] 109[18], Ezk 7[17]), and for *worthlessness* (Wis 16[29]). *Pride* passes like a ship that leaves no track on the waters (Wis 5[10]). The foam of water [or, perhaps better, a chip on a stream, cf. RVm] is an emblem of extreme *transiency* (Hos 10[7]). To give earth and water is a token of *submission* (Jth 2[7]). In Sir 15[16. 17] *the choice between life and death* is compared to that between fire and water. The *wickedness of Jerusalem* is likened to the water of a fountain (Jer 6[7]). Stolen water is an emblem for *secret sin* (Pr 9[17]), and the drinking of water is a figure for *unlawful love* (Sir 26[12]). To drink the waters of a country is *to conquer* it (2 K 19[24], Is 37[25]), or *to seek alliance* with it (Jer 2[18]). The letting out of water has as its counterparts *the beginning of strife* (Pr 17[14]), or the giving of *liberty to a wicked woman* (Sir 25[25]). *Apostate disciples* are compared to waterless wells (2 P 2[17]), or clouds (Jude [12]). *The inconsistency of blessing and cursing*

is suggested by the impossibility of fresh and salt water coming from a fountain together (Ja 3^{10-12}). The salt in the sea corresponds to *God's wrath against the heathen* (Sir 39^{23}). The smallness of a waterdrop compared with the sea is an image of *the relation of time to eternity* (Sir 18^{10}). Deep water is a figure for *wise counsel* (Pr 18^4 20^5). *Judgment* and righteousness are likened to the waters of a mighty stream (Am 5^{24}). The extent of the sea is made to suggest the universal spread of *God's glory* (Is 11^9, Hab 2^{14}).

JAMES PATRICK.

WATERSPOUTS. — Only Ps 42^7 'Deep calleth unto deep at the noise of thy waterspouts' (RVm 'cataracts'); Heb. תְּהוֹם אֶל־תְּהוֹם קוֹרֵא לְקוֹל צִנּוֹרֶיךָ; LXX ἄβυσσος ἄβυσσον ἐπικαλεῖται εἰς φωνὴν τῶν καταρακτῶν σου. The only other occurrence of the word צִנּוֹר is in the very obscure passage 2 S 5^8, so that its meaning is somewhat uncertain, although in late Hebrew it means a *spout* or *pipe* (cf. Job 38^{25} 'Who hath cleft a channel for the waterflood?' מִי־פִלַּג לַשֶּׁטֶף תְּעָלָה). The reference in Ps 42^7 is prob. to the numerous noisy waterfalls in a stream swollen by the melting of the snow (see Duhm, *ad loc.*).

WAVE - BREAST, WAVE - OFFERING. — See SACRIFICE.

WAW (letter).—See VAU.

WAX.—See WRITING, p. 945a.

WAX.—This verb, which means to *grow* (Middle Eng. *waxen*, Anglo-Sax. *weaxan*, allied to αὐξάνειν), is frequently used in AV, and gives another syn. for 'grow,' as in Lk 1^{80} 'And the child grew, and waxed strong (ἐκραταιοῦτο) in spirit,' 13^{19} 'And it grew, and waxed a great tree' (ἐγένετο εἰς δένδρον μέγα, RV 'became a tree,' omitting μέγα with edd.). Cf. Maundeville, *Travels*, 105, 'In Ethiopia, when the children be young and little, they be all yellow; and when that they wax of age, that yellowness turneth to be all black.' The word is sometimes used with scarcely more meaning than 'become,' as Nu 11^{23} 'Is the Lord's hand waxed short?' So Mt 26^{37} Tind. 'And he toke with him Peter and the two sonnes of Zebede, and began to wexe sorowfull and to be in an agonye'; Lk 11^{53} Tind. 'The Pharises began to wexe busye aboute him.' It was, however, formerly used in the sense of *grow* or *increase*, without an adjective (it is never so used in AV), as Ac 6^7 Wyc. 'The word of the lord wexed'; Gn 9^7 Tind. 'See that ye encrease, and waxe.'

J. HASTINGS.

WAY (דֶּרֶךְ, אֹרַח, ὁδός), meaning literally either road* or journey, is used by a natural figure for course or manner in a great variety of applications. It is used for God's purpose or action (Ex 33^{13}, Job 21^{31} 36^{23}, Ps 67^2 77^{13}, Pr 8^{22}, Is 26^8 40^3, Job 21^{14} 34^{27}), described by varied epithets of excellence (Ps 25^{10}, 2 S 22^{31}, Ps 18^{30}, Dt 32^4, Rev 15^3, Dn 4^{37}, Hos 14^9, Job 26^{14}, Ro 11^{33}), defended against doubt (Ezk $18^{25.\ 29}$), and contrasted with man's plans and doings (Is 55^8); also of His commandments (Gn 18^{19}, Ex 18^{20} 32^8, Dt 9^{12} 11^{28} 31^{29} Jg 2^{22}, Job 23^{11}, Ps 37^{34} 119^{14}, Jer $5^{4.\ 5}$, Mal 2^8, Mt 22^{16}, Mk 12^{14}, Lk 20^{21}, Dt 5^{33} 8^6 10^{12} 11^{22} 19^9 26^{17} 28^9 30^{16}, Jos 22^5, Ps 18^{21} 25^4 51^{13} 81^{13} 95^{10} 103^7 119^3 128^1 138^5, 2 S 22^{22}, 1 K 2^3 3^{14} 8^{58} 11^{33-38}, Is 2^3 42^{24} 58^2 63^{17} 64^5, Jer 7^{23}), which He is ready to teach men (Ps $25^{8.\ 9.\ 12}$ 27^{11} 32^8 86^{11} $119^{27.\ 29.\ 33.\ 37}$ 139^{24} 143^8, Is 30^{21} 35^8, Jer 32^{39} 42^3, Mic 4^2, Ps 16^{11} $119^{35.\ 105}$ 23^3), and in obedience to which there is reward (Pr 8^{32}, Zec 3^7, Mal 2^9). Man's conduct generally is spoken of as a 'way' (1 K 2^4 8^{25}, 2 Ch 6^{16}, Ps $119^{1.\ 9}$, Ja 5^{20}) or 'ways' (1 S 18^{14}, Job 4^6 13^{15} 22^3, Ps 39^1 $119^{5.\ 26}$, Ezk 16^{47}, Ac 14^{16}, 1 Co 4^{17}, Ja 1^8, cf. Pr 6^6), morally contrasted as good (1 S 12^{23}, 1 K 8^{36}, 2 Ch 6^{27}, Job 31^7, Ps 1^6 $101^{2.\ 6}$, Pr 2^{20} 29^{27}, Is 26^7, Mt 21^{32}, Ro 3^{17}, 1 Co 12^{31}, 2 P $2^{15.\ 21}$) and bad (Gn 6^{12}, Nu 22^{32}, Jg 2^{19}, 1 K 13^{33}, Job 8^{19} 22^{15}, Ps $1^{1.\ 6}$ 36^4 49^{13}, Pr $4^{14.\ 19}$ 19^3, Ezk 3^{18}, Hos 10^{13}, Ps 10^5 125^5, Pr 1^{19} $2^{13.\ 15}$ 3^{31} 10^9 14^2 22^{25} $28^{6.\ 18}$, Jer 15^7). Although man is free to choose his own 'way' (Ps 119^{59}, Pr 7^{25} 21^{29} 23^{19}), hating the evil 'way' (Ps $119^{101.\ 104.\ 128}$), or choosing it (Is 53^6 57^{17} 59^8 65^2, Jer 3^{21}, Is 66^3), yet training is important (Pr 22^6), and example, whether for good (Jg 2^{17} 2 Ch 20^{32}, 1 K 22^{43}), as David's (2 K 22^2, 2 Ch 11^{17} 17^3), or for evil (1 K 15^{26}, 2 K 21^{21}, Pr 1^{15} 16^{29} 28^{10}, Is 3^{12}, Jer 2^{18} 10^2 18^{15}, Ezk $23^{13.\ 31}$), as of the kings of Israel (2 K 8^{18} 16^3, 2 Ch $21^{6.\ 13}$ 28^2), of the house of Ahab (2 K 8^{27}, 2 Ch 22^3), of Jeroboam (1 K 15^{34} $16^{2.\ 19.\ 26}$ 22^{52}), of Balaam (2 P 2^{15}), and of Cain (Jude ^{11}); but example is not always followed (1 S $8^{3.\ 5}$, 2 Ch 21^{12}). As a man's course is well known to God (Job 24^{23} 31^4 34^{21}, Ps 119^{168} 139^3, Pr 5^{21}, Jer 16^{17}), He deals with him according to his deserts (1 K 8^{32}, 2 Ch 6^{23}, Ps 146^9, Jer 4^{18}, Ezk 7^{27} 11^{21} 16^{43} 22^{31} 36^{19}, 1 K 8^{39}, 2 Ch 6^{30}, Job 34^{11}, Pr 14^{14}, Jer 17^{10} 32^{19}, Ezk 7^3 18^{30} 24^{14} 33^{20}, Hos 4^9, Zec 1^6) in spite of occasional appearances to the contrary (Ps 37^7). But God desires men to consider their 'ways' (Ezk 20^{43} 16^{61} $36^{31.\ 32}$, Hag 1^5) and turn from the evil (2 K 17^{13}, 2 Ch 7^{14}, Pr 5^8, Is 55^7, Jer $7^{3.\ 5}$ 18^{11} 25^5 $26^{3.\ 13}$ 35^{15} $36^{3.\ 7}$, Ezk 18^{23} $33^{8.\ 11}$, Jon $3^{8.\ 10}$, Zec 1^4), which He hates (Pr 8^{13} 15^9); and He promises to guide them into the good (Pr 4^{11} 8^{20}), which He loves (Pr 11^{20}). There are two 'ways' before man (Jer 21^8, Mt $7^{13.\ 14}$, cf. Lk $13^{24.\ 25}$, also *Didaché*, i. 1, and *Ep. of Barnabas*, xviii.), one of which leads to life, peace, and happiness (Pr 6^{23} $10^{17.\ 29}$ 11^5 12^{28} 13^6 15^{24} 16^{17}, Ac 2^{28}, Ro 3^{17}, Pr 3^{17} 16^7 4^{18}), and the other to death, trouble, and misery (Pr 7^{27} 13^{15} 14^{12} 16^{25} 21^{16} 22^5 22^{25}, Is 59^7), in spite of man's illusions (Pr $12^{15.\ 26}$ 21^2). This close connexion between conduct and condition is shown in the use of 'way' or 'ways' for man's lot as well as his deeds (Gn 28^{20}, Ex 23^{20}, Dt 1^{31}, Jos 1^8, Jg $18^{5.\ 6}$, Dt 28^{29}; the literal sense is in these six passages passing over to the figurative, which appears clearly in 2 S 22^{33}, Ps 18^{32}, Job 3^{23} 19^8 23^{10} 22^{28} Ps 35^6). A man may think of ordering his lot after his own wishes (Pr 16^9, Jer 10^{23}), but God disposes it according to His own will (Ps 37^{23} 85^{13}, Pr $28^{.\ 12}$, Ps 91^{11}, Dn 5^{23}), to which it is well for man to commit himself (Ps 37^5, Pr 3^6). One lot none can escape, for death is 'the way of all the earth' (Jos 23^{14}, 1 K 2^2, cf. Job 16^{22}).

The purpose of God, foretold by the prophets (Is 40^3, Mal 3^1) and fulfilled in Christ, is described as the 'way of the LORD' (Mt 3^3, Mk $1^{2.\ 3}$, Lk 3^4 7^{27}, Jn 1^{23}, Ac $18^{25.\ 26}$, cf. Ac 13^{10}), of peace (Lk 1^{79}), of truth (2 P 2^2), and of salvation (Ac 16^{17}). Christ Himself is (Jn $14^{4.\ 5.\ 6}$), or has opened up, the way for man to God (Heb 9^8 10^{20}); and, accordingly, the Christian religion is spoken of simply as 'the Way' (Ac 9^2 $19^{9.\ 23}$ 22^4 $24^{14.\ 22}$), either because Christ claimed to be the Way (Jn 14^6), or because He had spoken of the narrow way unto life (Mt 7^{14}); or, lastly, because in Him was fulfilled the prophetic saying regarding the way (Is 40^3, Mal 3^1).

A. E. GARVIE.

WAYMARK. — In Jer $31^{21\ (20)}$ 'the virgin of Israel' is called on to set up waymarks and make guide-posts to mark the way for the returning exiles. The Heb. word tr^d 'waymark' is יָצִיב, which apparently means here a small stone pillar, similar to our milestones, with an indication of routes and distances. The only other occurrences of the Heb. term are 2 K 23^{17} (of the tombstone of the man of God from Judah; AV wrongly 'title,' RV 'monument') and Ezk 39^{15} (of the stone to be set up to guide the burying party

* For an account of the main roadways of Palestine see articles TRADE AND COMMERCE, p. 805b, and WAR, p. 892b.

to a corpse; AV and RV 'sign'). In Jer 31 [Gr. 38][21] the LXX, confusing with צִיּוֹן (Zion), reads στῆσον σεαυτήν, Σ(ϵ)ιών; in 2 K 23[17] it has σκόπελον, and in Ezk 39[15] σημεῖον.

WEALTH.—i. *Terms.*—In OT 'wealth' is tr[n] of הוֹן *hôn*, πλοῦτος, etc., *divitiæ*; חַיִל *ḥayil*, πλοῦτος, *divitiæ* [but also, as its proper meaning is 'strength,' 'resources,' δύναμις, etc.]; טוּב *ṭôbh*, properly 'good,' 'prosperity,' an Elizabethan sense of 'wealth'; כּוֹחַ *kôaḥ*, properly 'strength'; נְכָסִים *nekhāṣîm*, τὰ ὑπάρχοντα, χρήματα, *substantia* [only in post-exilic literature; the corresponding Aram. נְכָסִין in Ezra is tr[d] 'expenses,' 'goods']; and in NT of εὐπορία, *acquisitio*. 'Wealthy' tr. in AV שַׁלְיָו, Jer 49[31] ('quiet,' 'ease'), but RV (from AVm) 'that is at ease'; 'wealthy place' stands in Ps 16[12] for רְוָיָה ('saturation'), prob. error for רְוָחָה 'a spacious place.' The common term for 'riches' is עֹשֶׁר.

ii. *National wealth* would consist in the fertility, etc., of the soil, the minerals, streams, pasturage, population, cattle, etc.; in the neighbourhood of the country to trade-routes, and in natural facilities of intercourse with other nations; cf. PALESTINE, TRADE. Dt 8[7-9] describes the land as well-watered, rich in cereals, grapes, olives, figs, iron, and brass. It is possible, however, that these verses come from an exilic editor, and that the colouring is heightened by an exile's fond recollections of the ancient home of his people. The older description 'flowing with milk and honey,' Nu 13[27] (JE), suggests that the wealth of the land was chiefly pastoral. Naturally, the settled government of the monarchy fostered trade, and promoted a certain accumulation of wealth, especially in the days when the Israelite States were independent and powerful, and were receiving, and not paying, tribute, *e.g.* in the days of Solomon (1 K 10[14-29]) and in the early days of Isaiah (Is 2[7]). Dt 8[12. 13] looks back to prosperous periods such as these. Nevertheless, in view of the uncommercial character of the people, and the barrenness of large portions of the country, especially in Judæa, Israel can hardly have been wealthy, even in proportion to its population, as compared with great commercial and conquering nations. We gather from the prophets of the 8th cent. that in Israel, as elsewhere, the material well-being of the people generally was greater in the earlier stages of the history, before the development of civilization led to the accumulation of land in large properties.

The Jewish community in Palestine after the Exile was poor, and burdened with tribute to Persia; and, as it seems, with wealthy nobles who preyed upon the necessities of their brethren (Neh 1[3] 5, Hag 1[6-11] 2[16. 17], Zec 8[10], Mal 3[14]). Time, no doubt, brought some improvement; and a measure of prosperity resulted from the work of Nehemiah; but the tone of the Psalms and other literature of the Persian and earlier Greek period suggests that the people generally, at any rate, were poor. There was, however, some revival of national wealth under the later Maccabæan kings, and still more under the Herods: witness the splendid buildings of Herod the Great. In addition to a settled government, two other causes contributed to produce this result. First, Palestine could not fail to profit in some measure by the growing prosperity of the Roman empire. Secondly, the Jews of the Dispersion often engaged in commerce and became wealthy; the sanctity of the temple brought vast crowds of pilgrims to Jerusalem for the great feasts, and increased the trade of the city; also, devout Jews and proselytes sent costly offerings to the temple. In the thirty or forty years, however, before the fall of Jerusalem, Palestine suffered severely from misgovernment and disorder.

iii. *Individual wealth.*—In the outlying pastoral districts we meet with men like Nabal in southern Judah (1 S 25) and Barzillai in Gilead (2 S 17[27-29]), rich in flocks and herds and slaves; and their circumstances suggested the terms in which the wealth of the patriarchs is described, *e.g.* Gn 24[35]. The chief use which such men had for their possessions was to maintain a great retinue, which gave them power and distinction. Another class of rich men consisted of chiefs, kings, priests, and other great officials, like Gideon, Abimelech, Jephthah, Eli, and the kings of Israel and Judah. Their authority brought them wealth (1 S 8[11-17]). We learn from the prophets of the 8th cent. (Is 5[8-10] etc.), that towards the end of the monarchy there grew up a class of great landowners; and Neh 5 illustrates the process. In bad times the 'nobles and rulers' lent money, probably at exorbitant rates, on the security of the land, which became forfeit to them when the borrowers failed to fulfil their obligations. The allusions in the Prophets show that wealth had now become an instrument of luxury and display. Apart from Solomon, we have no instance in the OT of the successful Israelite merchant, of wealth gained by trade.

In the NT wealthy men like Joseph of Arimathæa and the young ruler appear upon the scene; such, too, figure in parables (*e.g.* Lk 16[19ff.]), and in the teaching; but none of them play any important part in the history of our Lord or the early Church. Both in the Gospels (Mk 10[23-27]) and elsewhere (*e.g.* Ja 5[1-6]) wealth is represented as involving spiritual disadvantages, and as accompanied by high-handed injustice, and by persecution of the Church.

W. H. BENNETT.

WEAN (גָּמַל).—For the Eastern usages connected with weaning see art. BIRTH, vol. i. p. 301[b]. The meaning of Ps 131[2] ('Surely I have stilled and quieted my soul; like a weaned child upon his mother, my soul is upon me like a weaned child') is that the Psalmist has learned to renounce lofty aspirations, as the weaned child has learned to dispense with its mother's breast.

WEAPONS.—See ARMOUR.

WEASEL (חֹלֶד *ḥōled*).—The authority of the LXX γαλῆ and Vulg. *mustela* (Lv 11[29]) is in favour of the EV 'weasel,' and others of the *Mustelidæ*, as the marten and civet. The authority of the Arab. *khuld*, the cognate of *ḥōled*, which signifies the *spalax* or mole-rat of the East, would be against the rendering 'weasel,' were it not that cognates often have widely different meanings. In the articles CHAMELEON and MOLE we have given all the evidence that bears on the question. It is perhaps best to follow the LXX and Vulg., and render 'weasel,' which must be held, however, to include other *Mustelidæ* in Palestine, as the marten, *Mustela foina*, L. (Arab. *nims*), the ichneumon, *Herpestes Ichneumon*, Fisch. (Arab. *nims* and *zerdî*), and the genet, *Genetta vulgaris*, C. A. Gray (Arab. *nisnâs* and *sammûr*), and others.

G. E. POST.

WEAVING (אָרַג 'weave,' אֶרֶג 'web' or 'shuttle.' Besides AV occurrences, RV gives 'weave in chequer work' for AV 'embroider' [שָׁבַץ] in Ex 28[39], and 'weave together' for AV 'wrap up' in Mic 7[3], where MT יְעֻבְּתוּהָ is prob. corrupt).—Weaving is closely connected with spinning, as the materials for the loom were, for the most part, products of the spindle. Weaving, like spinning, is a very ancient art, one of the first invented by civilized man, being necessary for the preparation of his clothing, and we find abundant evidence of it upon the monuments. The early proficiency of Egyptian weavers is established by the remains of their textile fabrics, some of their linen products being like silk to the touch, and equal to our finest

cambric in texture (Wilkinson, *Anc. Egyp.* ii. 161, ed. 1878); and vestures of fine linen are mentioned in the story of Joseph (Gn 41^{42}). The goodly Bab. garment found at Jericho indicates the skill of the Chaldæan weavers; and the 'fine linen,' the 'finely wrought garments' (Ex 31^{10} RV), and other articles of similar character mentioned in Ex. by P, as prepared for the tabernacle, and the garments of the priests, make it evident that the Hebrews had attained proficiency in the art. Weaving was generally carried on by men in Egypt, but women sometimes engaged in it (Herod. ii. 35; Wilkinson, i. 316, 317), and this seems to have been true of the Hebrews also (2 K 23^{7}, Pr 31^{24}). The loom was of various kinds, upright and horizontal, and the woof was pushed both upwards and downwards (Wilkinson, ii. 170, 171). The Hebrews after arriving in Palestine would have a similar variety, but in the desert they might use simpler forms, such as are still found there. Burckhardt (*Bed. and Wah.* i. 67) describes a loom which consists of two short sticks driven into the ground at such distance apart as the width of the piece to be woven requires, and upon these a cross-piece, two other similar stakes with cross-piece being placed at a convenient distance from the first. Upon these cross-pieces the threads of the warp are stretched, the upper and under threads being kept apart by a flat stick. The common loom of the country today is quite simple, and has no doubt been used for centuries without much change. Two upright posts are fixed in the ground, which hold the roller to which the threads of the warp are fastened, and upon which the cloth is wound as it is woven. The threads of the warp are carried upward towards the ceiling at the other end of the room, and pass over rollers, and are gathered in hanks and weighted to keep them taut. The different sets are kept apart by reeds. The weaver sits at the cloth-roller and works the shuttle, while the healds are worked by treadles. We have no mention of the loom as a whole in the Bible, but from the incidental notices of various parts we infer that it did not differ greatly from that now in use. Thus we have the *beam*, with which a great spear or its staff is compared (1 S 17^{7}, 2 S 21^{19}, 1 Ch 11^{23} 20^{5}), from which we should infer that the cloth-roller is intended. In Jg 16^{14} the loom itself may be meant, the word in Heb. (אָרֹג) being derived from the verb *to weave*, while the word in the other passages (מָנוֹר) is from quite a different root. The *pin* (יָתֵד) in the above passage seems to be that which holds the web, *i.e.* the cloth-roller, for Samson carried it all away attached to his hair. The *shuttle* (אֶרֶג) is the emblem of the swift passing of human life (Job 7^{6}), and the *thread work* (יְרֻעָה) or *thrum* (Is 38^{12}) which fastens the web, furnishes, by its being cut off at the hands of the weaver, a striking simile for sudden death. These and other notices indicate that weaving was a household word with the Hebrews, and it is quite probable that many families produced their own wearing apparel, as did that of the virtuous woman (Pr 31). The products of weaving were various: fine linen, purple and scarlet, woollen, goats'-hair cloth, tent-cloth, sack-cloth, etc., were produced in abundance. Garments of flax and wool together were forbidden (Lv 19^{19}, Dt 22^{11}), but stuffs of variegated patterns worked in the loom, perhaps by gold thread, were produced as we know they were in Egypt (Wilkinson, ii. 166). This work may be that of the 'cunning workman,' and of those who 'devise cunning works' (Ex 35^{35}) [see, on these expressions, EMBROIDERY (3)], and certainly it is the clothing 'inwrought with gold' (Ps 45^{13} RV). The high priest's garments seem to have been of this character, woven in one piece (Jos. *Ant.* III. vii. 4), as we know Christ's coat (χιτών) was (Jn 19^{23}).

H. PORTER.

WEDDING.—See MARRIAGE.

WEEDS, as tr. of סוּף *ṣuph*, Jon $2^{6\,(5)}$, refers to sea weeds. The Red Sea was called יַם־סוּף, because of the numbers of them in its waters (see SUPH). The weeds (χόρτος) of Sir 40^{16} mean the same as our indefinite English term *weeds*.

WEEK.—See TIME.

WEEKS (FEAST OF).—See PENTECOST.

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.—

i. Introductory. The Sources, monumental and literary.

THE HEBREW WEIGHT-SYSTEM.

ii. (*a*) The Babylonian or 252-grain unit.
iii. (*b*) The new Syrian or 320-grain unit.
iv. (*c*) The Phœnician or 224-grain unit.
v. (*d*) The syncretic weight-system of the Mishna.

MEASURES OF LENGTH AND SURFACE.

vi. The approximate value of the Hebrew cubit.
vii. Its subdivisions and multiples.
viii. Surface measure.

MEASURES OF CAPACITY.

ix. Scale of wet and dry measures. The value of the *ephah-bath*.
x. The measures of Scripture.
Literature.

i. *Introductory. The Sources, monumental and literary.*—The system of weights and measures adopted by a particular nation of antiquity is not merely a subject of interest to the metrologist, but is of importance to every student of the history and development of the human race. In its metrology we have a clue, frequently older than anything to be found in its literature, to the forces at work in shaping the social and economic development of this particular nation, and to the influence, it may be, which it was able to exercise in its turn. The early economic history of a nation or country, in particular, is a subject of which in many cases the student of metrology holds the key. This is to some extent true even of the economic history of the Hebrews, notwithstanding the comparative antiquity of their literature, and the almost entire absence of monumental evidence in the shape of actual weights and measures.

An outline of our still imperfect knowledge of Hebrew weights and measures may be expected to include the following topics:—(1) A presentation of the various systems—weight, measures of length, and measures of capacity—and of the mutual relation of the various denominations within each system; (2) an attempt to determine the absolute value or values of each individual weight and measure in terms of the British imperial system; and (3) the relation of the Hebrew system in its various divisions to the older metrological systems of antiquity. Reference will be made only incidentally to the question of the origin of weights and measures in general, and to the inter-relation of the various systems,—of the weight standards to those of length, and of both to the standards of volume,—subjects of equal interest and complexity, which belong rather to a scientific treatise on metrology. It must suffice at this stage to record the fact that most Continental metrologists are now agreed as regards the most elaborate of the ancient systems, and, it would appear, the source of all or almost all existing systems, namely the Babylonian, that it was constructed with rigid scientific accuracy upon the basis, astronomically ascertained, of the unit of length. A cubic vessel, a fraction of this unit in the side, furnished the unit of volume; the weight of water contained in this unit was the unit of weight (see below, §§ vi. ix.).

The sources from which are derived the materials

for such an outline as has just been sketched are of two kinds—monumental and literary. The former, unfortunately of the most meagre amount, consist of actual measures and weights, including coins, that have come down to us from the various periods of the national life of the Hebrews. The literary sources are, first of all, the books of the Bible, to which the works of Josephus, despite numerous inaccuracies, form an invaluable addition, owing to the frequent valuation of Jewish measures in terms of the contemporary Græco-Roman system. The treatises of the Mishna also contain valuable material for the first two centuries of our era. Finally, we have the late Greek writers on metrology, one or two fragments, in particular, showing accurate knowledge of the later Jewish system (see Hultsch's *Metrologicorum Scriptorum Reliquiæ*, 1864). Under both heads, monumental and literary, may be classed the metrological data furnished by the two great centres of early civilization, Babylonia and Egypt, on the one hand, and on the other by the better-known systems of Greece and Rome.

At every period of their history the Hebrews were alive to the necessity of an accurate system of weights and measures, and of an honest handling of the same. The earliest literary prophets are already found inveighing against the too pliant conscience of their contemporaries who made the ephah small and the shekel great (Am 8^5); in other words, gave short measure in selling the necessaries of life, while weighing the price to be paid against a weight that was unduly heavy. Amos' successors, Hosea (12^7) and Micah ($6^{10f.}$), were also led to denounce the 'balance of deceit' with its 'bag of deceitful weights,' and the 'scant ephah which is abominable.' Centuries later there is a sad monotony in the complaints of the religious teachers regarding the prevalent tampering with the 'just' weights and measures (Pr 11^1 16^{11} 20^{10}). The first legislative action in the interests of economic righteousness in our extant records is found in the Deuteronomic legislation (Dt 25^{13-16}). Here the practice of employing a double set of weights and measures—one above the normal for buying with, and another below it for selling with—is condemned, and 'whole and just,' *i.e.* accurately adjusted, weights and measures expressly enforced under promise of the Divine blessing. A similar demand for 'a just balance, just weights, a just ephah, and a just hin,' is emphasized in the Law of Holiness (Lv $19^{35f.}$) and in an important passage of Ezekiel's ideal constitution, to which attention will afterwards be called (Ezk 45^{9-12}). The latest legislation even went so far as to order the periodical cleaning of the weights, scales, and measures, lest their true value and capacity should be impaired by the adhesion of foreign substances (*Baba bathra*, v. 10 f.).

THE HEBREW WEIGHT-SYSTEM.—ii. (*a*) *The Babylonian or 252-grain unit.*—Just as the natural proportions of the human body furnished the earliest measures of length (see below, § vi.), so man in all probability 'made his earliest essays in weighing by means of the seeds of plants, which nature had placed ready to his hand as counters and weights' (Ridgeway, *Origin of Metallic Currency and Weight Standards*, 387). By the beginning of the third millennium B.C., however, both the Babylonians and the Egyptians had left this primitive system far behind them. The former, in particular, as early as B.C. 3000, and probably long before, had elaborated a metrological system which, in its scientific basis and inter-relation of standards, bears a striking resemblance to the metric system of the Continent (see art. BABYLONIA, vol. i. p. 218 f.). The importance of the Babylonian system for our present study is due to the fact, first clearly revealed in the Tel el-Amarna correspondence, that the early civilization of Canaan was, in all essentials, of Babylonian origin. The grounds on which the older metrologists, such as Boeckh and Brandis, had long before inferred that the Babylonian weight-system had penetrated to Syria and Palestine, and the conclusive proof of the accuracy of this inference afforded by the Amarna tablets, have been given in the opening section of the article MONEY (vol. iii. p. 418), and need not be repeated here. It is essential, therefore, to understand the principle upon which this system was constructed. This was the now familiar sexagesimal principle, characteristic of the Babylonian scheme of numeration, the number 60 holding in this scheme the place of 10 in our decimal system. Thus 111 is not, as with us, 10^2+10+1, but 60^2+60+1, or 3661. Our division of the hour into 60 minutes, each of 60 seconds, it need hardly be said, is a direct legacy from the banks of the Euphrates. The unit of weight in the developed system was the mina (written ideographically MA.NA, and therefore presumably of Sumerian origin, though possibly Semitic), the Heb. מָנֶה *maneh* (so AV Ezk 45^{12}, elsewhere 'pound') and the Gr. *μνᾶ*. The next higher denomination, its sixty-fold, was the talent (Heb. כִּכָּר, apparently the *gaggaru* of the Amarna letters, in Greek *τάλαντον*), while below the mina was its $\frac{1}{60}$th, the shekel (*shiklu*, Heb. שֶׁקֶל, from *shaḳalu*, 'to weigh,' hence rendered in Greek by *στατήρ* from *ἵστημι* in the same sense, and transliterated by *σίγλος*). The scale may be graphically represented thus—

1 talent = 60 minas = 3600 shekels.
1 mina = 60 ,,

In the early temple-accounts, dating from B.C. 2000, recently recovered from Telloh in Southern Babylonia, there occurs a subdivision of the shekel into 180 *shé* or grains of wheat, which was afterwards discarded. This subdivision into 60×3 parts is of course an adaptation to the sexagesimal system; but it is worth noting that the prehistorical or natural Babylonian shekel, as it may be called, cannot have been far off the weight of 180 wheat-grains. If the weight of a grain of wheat be taken at the usual estimate of ·70–·72 of a grain Troy (originally a grain of barley, according to Ridgeway, *op. cit.* 180 ff.), 180 such grains come to 126–130 Troy grains, which is precisely the weight of the shekel as given by the existing stone weights (see below). As there can be little doubt that the use of the balance was first employed for the precious metals, the shekel, as its name denotes, was almost certainly the earliest unit of weight, as it continued to be, to the exclusion of the mina, in the earlier Hebrew literature (cf. MONEY, vol. iii. p. 420^b for illustrations).

When we pass to the determination of the value of the shekel and the higher denominations in the Babylonian system, we find that this branch of metrology has been almost revolutionized by the discovery in recent years of a few very ancient inscribed stone weights from the earliest centres of civilization in Southern Babylonia. The evidence of these weights may best be represented in tabular form. For full description (with illustrations) reference must be made to the numerous essays of the discoverer, Dr. C. F. Lehmann (see Literature at end of article), esp. to *Das altbabylonische Mass- und Gewichtssystem*, etc., Leiden, 1893.

Here we have unexpected evidence that the double standard, familiar enough in the weights of the Assyrian period, in which each denomination (mina, shekel, etc.) of the one set weighed was *twice* the weight of the same denomination of the other set, was in existence at a very early period, for the weights in question date from B.C. 3000–2500. Weights of the former class are said to be

on the *heavy* standard, those of the latter on the *light* standard. Weight B, it will be found, represents the average mina of the light standard, viz. 491·2 grammes = 7580 grains. The corresponding mina of the heavy standard is therefore 982·4 grammes = 15,160 grains. The following table gives the values of the complete scale:—

	Description of Weight.	Actual weight in grammes.	Weight of resultant mina in grammes.
A	Oval stone, about 4 in. long, with inscription in Sumerian, '½ mina, true weight,' etc.	244·8	489·6
B	Similar to A in form and material. Inscription uncertain. Clearly ½ of the foregoing, or ¼ mina . . .	81·87	491·22
C	Longish barrel-shaped stone of same hard greenstone as A and B. '½ mina, true weight; palace of Nabusumesir, priest of Marduk' .	164·3	492·9
D	Cone-shaped stone, with long inscription in Babylonian. '1 mina, true weight—copy of weight or standard of Dungi . . . by Nebuchadnezzar . . . king of Babylon' [about 18 grains lost by fracture of the stone, originally 15,105 grains = 979·5 grammes] . .	978·3	979·5

VALUES OF THE EARLIEST BABYLONIAN WEIGHTS.

	HEAVY.	LIGHT.
Shekel . .	252⅔ grains	126⅓ grains*
Mina = 60 shekels	15,160 ,,	7580 ,,
	circa 2⅛ lb. avoir.	*cir.* 1 1/12 lb. avoir.
Talent = 60 minas = 3600 shekels,		
	circa 130 lb. avoir.	,, 65 ,, ,,

These new values are considerably less in the higher denominations than those previously adopted in metrological studies, which were based on the evidence of numerous lion and duck weights of a much later period from the ruins of Babylon and Nineveh, yielding minas of 15,600 (heavy) and 7800 grains (light standard), and shekels of 260 and 130 grains respectively. From the fact that several of the bronze lion weights bear inscriptions containing, *inter alia*, the phrase '1 mina, ⅔ mina, etc., *of the king*,' it has become customary to describe these as belonging to the *royal standard*, to distinguish them from the earlier or *common standard*. In addition to these two standards, Dr. Lehmann has brought forward evidence, to which we propose to add presently, to show that the common standard at some early period received an increase of 5 per cent., yielding minas of *circa* 16,000 and 8000 grains respectively. Whether or not this increase was intended to be confined to payments made to the royal treasury cannot be ascertained, but there is monumental evidence that Darius Hystaspis added just this percentage to the weights of his time (see the inscribed weight published by Budge, *PSBA* (1888), pp. 464–466; Lehmann, *Verhandlungen d. berliner Gesell. f. Anthropologie*, etc. 1889, p. 273).

Returning now to the original mina of 15,160 (7580) grains, and shekel of 252 (126) grains, we find from a comparative study of the weight-systems of antiquity that the advancing tide of Babylonian civilization carried them to the shores of the Mediterranean, from whence they passed, in a bewildering variety of forms, to almost every civilized country. Thus, when the first Ptolemy reorganized the metric system of his new kingdom, he introduced the light mina of 7580 grains as the standard trade weight of Egypt. This mina, again, is exactly 1½ times the Roman pound, or *libra*, of 5053 grains, which is one-third of the corresponding heavy mina. The available evidence, further, goes to show that the shekel of 252 grains was the unit for the weighing of gold adopted by the Hebrews, as it was the gold as well as the trade unit of Babylonia—as has been assumed in the article MONEY (see table, vol. iii. p. 419[b]), although, in the light of recent discoveries, to be related in the sequel, and of the preference of the priestly legislation of the Pentateuch for the Phœnician or silver standard of the same table, the assumption of that article requires to be somewhat qualified. Still, when we compare the statement of the Hebrew historian as to the amount of Ḥezeḳiah's indemnity imposed by Sennacherib, so far as the amount of gold is concerned, viz. 30 talents (2 K 18[14]), with the latter's official account (see Schrader, *KIB* ii. p. 95), where precisely the same amount is recorded, we are bound to infer the identity of the Hebrew and Babylonian talent of gold. Then there is the statement of Josephus with reference to the weight (300 minas) of the beam of solid gold taken by Crassus from the temple treasury: ἡ δὲ μνᾶ παρ' ἡμῖν ἰσχύει λίτρας δύο ἥμισυ (*Ant.* XIV. vii. 1 [Niese, § 106]). This gives a weight of 2½ Roman libras, or 12,630 grains, for the mina of 50 shekels, and 252⅔ grains for the shekel, or alternatively 126⅓ grains for the mina of 100 shekels (for this division see below). In either case, the result is the familiar shekel of the early Babylonian system. This yields a Hebrew gold monetary talent of 60 minas or 758,000 grains (*c.* 108 lb. avoir.). But another statement of Josephus shows that at least an article made of gold might have its weight stated in other terms; for he gives the weight of the golden candlestick, which was a talent according to Ex 25[39], as 100 minas (μνᾶς ἑκατόν), adding: Ἑβραῖοι μὲν καλοῦσι κίγγαρες [*i.e.* כִּכָּר], εἰς δὲ τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν μεταβαλλόμενον γλῶτταν σημαίνει τάλαντον (*Ant.* III. vi. 7 [§ 144]). The mina of this passage is clearly distinct from the mina of the passage just cited, viz. 1/100 of 758,000 grains, or 7580, which is the light Babylonian trade mina of 60 shekels of 126⅓ grains, as shown in the table, § ii. above. This explanation, suggested for the first time, has the merit of preserving the consistency of Josephus as regards the weight of the Hebrew gold talent. On the other hand, inasmuch as the weights of gold and silver in the Priests' Code are expressly stated to have been on the standard of the so-called 'shekel of the sanctuary' (see next §, and MONEY, vol. iii. p. 422), or Phœnician shekel of 224½ grains, 3000 of which yield a talent of 673,500 grains, the explanation of the passage adopted in the previous article (*l.c.*), that the 100 minas are Attic minas of 6735 grains, is perhaps to be preferred, even at the expense of the Jewish historian's consistency, and despite the fact that the Roman-Attic mina in his day weighed considerably less (see § v. below). These considerations, at least, show the difficulty of arriving at definite results in the absence of monumental data.

The persistence, side by side, of the two standards, the heavy and the light, explains how the heavy mina might by one writer be taken as containing 50 heavy shekels, by another as containing 100 light shekels. Thus it is that the weight of Solomon's smaller shields is given in 1 K 10[17] as three (heavy) minas,* but in the parallel passage

* This is only 3 grains heavier than the English sovereign, 123·274 grains.

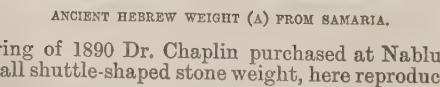
* The mina (מָנֶה) is here first met with in OT. Elsewhere only Ezr 2[69], Neh 7[71f.] (in all three passages rendered 'pound' in EV), Ezk 45[12] where it is transliterated 'maneh,' and Dn 5[25-27].

(2 Ch 9^{16}) as 300 (light) shekels, assuming, that is, that the text of both passages is intact. If the explanation given elsewhere (MONEY, vol. iii. p. 421[b]) of the new denomination, *darkemōn*, found only in the historical work, Chronicles–Ezra–Nehemiah, is correct, that we have here a Hebraized form of the Greek δραχμή, we have further confirmation of the prevalence in the Persian and early Greek periods of the light, in preference to the heavy, shekel. The weight of 1000 drachms (AV 'drams,' RV 'darics,' Ezr 8^{27}), for example, is undoubtedly 1000 of the light Perso-Babylonian shekel on the royal standard, viz. 130 grains (see above), the theoretical value of the Persian daric.

The same weight is most probably intended by the unique expression employed to indicate the weight of Absalom's hair, viz. '200 shekels after the king's weight' (בְּאֶבֶן הַמֶּלֶךְ * 2 S 14^{26}). The context of this verse is now regarded as a post-exilic addition to the original narrative (Budde, Thenius-Löhr, H. P. Smith); and, since the phrase is parallel to the legends on the lion weights of Nineveh, we may safely understand the shekel in question to be the light Persian unit of 130 grains, giving a total weight of 26,000 grains, or 3¾ lb. avoirdupois.

If the legend of Bel and the Dragon, as is possible, had its home in Egypt, the '30 minas of pitch' in this curious story (v.[27] LXX) are the Ptolemaic trade minas, which we have seen to be identical with the light mina of the earliest Babylonian weights; and thus we return at the close of this section to the point from which we set out.

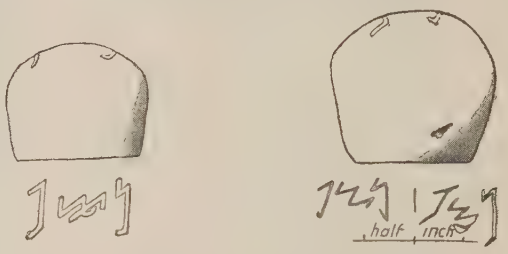
iii. (*b*) *The new Syrian or 320-grain unit.*—Reference has already been made to the interesting fact that the tribute of the vassal-states of Syria and Palestine in the reign of Thothmes III. (*c.* 1500 B.C.) when expressed in terms of the Egyptian weight-system, based on the *ket* with its decimal multiple, the *deben* or *uten*, runs to irregular numbers and even fractions of the *ket*, whereas its original weight must have been hundreds and thousands of shekels. Various attempts have been made recently (see Brugsch, *Z. f. Aegypt. Sprache*, 1889, 22 ff., 87 ff., *Z. f. Ethnologie*, 1889, 36 ff.; Lehmann, *Verhandl. d. berl. Ges. f. Anthropologie*, 1889, 272 f.; Hultsch, *Gewichte d. Altertums*, 25 f., 119 f.) to determine the value of the shekel or shekels by which this tribute was weighed. These attempts, however, can yield but doubtful results, owing, for one thing, to the considerable range in the value of the *ket*, as shown by actual weights. Thus, to take a simple illustration, in Thothmes' 34th year 'the tribute of the provinces of the land of Retennu [Syria]' was in 'gold 55 *deben* 8 *ket*' (Petrie, *Hist. of Egypt*, ii. 118). Now, if we take the *ket* as fixed by Lepsius, Hultsch, and others at 140 grains, it will be found that 558 *ket* represent 620 shekels of 126 grains, or 600 shekels of 130·2 grains, on the 'royal' or later daric standard, without a remainder in either case. On the other hand, we have only to take 143·35 grains as a mean value of actual *ket* weights to get 558 *ket* = 80,000 grains, or 10 light minas of the common norm, raised 5 per cent. as explained above. We have been led to this result by fresh evidence, unknown to the writers just cited, to which we now turn. In the spring of 1890 Dr. Chaplin purchased at Nablus a small shuttle-shaped stone weight, here reproduced,



ANCIENT HEBREW WEIGHT (A) FROM SAMARIA.

* Literally, 'after (the standard of) the king's *stone*.' That the Hebrew, like the early Babylonian, weights were of stone, is shown by the fact that אֶבֶן is elsewhere frequently used in OT in the sense of 'a weight'; cf. Lv 19^{36}, Dt 25^{13}, Pr 16^{11} etc.

on either side of which were engraved a number of early Heb. characters. The correct decipherment and interpretation of these gave rise to a somewhat heated controversy in various periodicals, in which Professors Robertson Smith, Sayce, Driver, and others took part (see *PEFSt*, 1890, 267; 1891, 69; 1893, 22; 1894, 220, 284 ff.; 1895, 187 ff.). With the help of other inscribed weights still more recently discovered by Dr. Bliss in Southern Palestine, one



WEIGHT C. WEIGHTS D AND E.

ANCIENT HEBREW WEIGHTS FROM SOUTHERN PALESTINE.

of the two doubtful words on the Chaplin weight is now made out with tolerable certainty to be נְצַף, a Heb. word from the same root as the Arabic *nusf*, meaning 'half,' first suggested by Professor Euting in 1890 (in König's *Einleit. in d. AT*, 425). The second doubtful word (של), on which the controversy mainly turned, is apparently an abbreviation of the familiar שְׁקָל (Conder, *PEFSt*, 1891, 69; Clermont-Ganneau, *ib.* 1899, 208, and, more decidedly, *Recueil d'archéol. orientale*, iv. (1900) 24 ff., where a full discussion of these early weights will be found), the limited space available perhaps causing the omission of the ק. The evidence of the Chaplin and other weights, five in all, may best be presented in tabular form thus—

EARLY INSCRIBED HEBREW WEIGHTS.

	Description of Weight.	Actual weight in grains.	Weight of resultant heavy shekel in grains.
A	Small shuttle-shaped weight of hæmatite from Samaria, with inscriptions רבע נצף [½ *nezeph*—¼ shekel]. Illustr. *PEFSt*, 1890, 267; 1894, 287.	39·2	313·6 / 156·8
B	A perforated 'bead' of reddish-yellow stone from Anathoth inscribed נצף. Actual weight 134 grains; before perforation approximately 156 grains (*ib.* 1893, 32 f., 257; illust. Clermont-Ganneau, *op. cit.* 26).	156	312
C	Small dome-shaped weight of reddish stone from Tell Zakariya, inscribed נצף (Bliss, *PEFSt*, 1899, 107 f.; illust. *ib.* plate 7).	157·5	315
D E	Two similar weights; one of white limestone, the other of 'light reddish' stone, with the same legend as B and C. Same provenance as C (Bliss, *ib.* 183, with illust.).	146·7 139	293 278

The last two, of soft limestone, are evidently much worn, and may be neglected in favour of the better preserved specimens in our determination of the unit here disclosed. Starting from the more extended inscription of the Chaplin weight, the characters of which point to an 8th cent. date, we

note, first of all, the influence of the Babylonian double standard. This alone explains how this tiny weight can be at once the fourth of a whole shekel and the same fraction of a half-shekel, assuming that this is the true sense of *nezeph* (see Clermont-Ganneau, *op. cit.* 30 f.). Further, although of hard hæmatite, the condition of the inscription shows that it has lost a trifle of its original value, which must have been not less than 40 grains. As it represents a quarter (cf. the רֶבַע שֶׁקֶל or quarter-shekel of Saul's servant, 1 S 9[8]), this gives 160 grains for the light shekel, the half or *nezeph* of the corresponding heavy shekel of 320 grains—a result entirely in harmony with the original values of weights B and C. The great importance of these new discoveries lies in the fact that we have here a shekel hitherto unknown in Palestine. Indeed it appears to have been unknown to metrologists until discovered in numerous examples by Flinders Petrie in Naukratis and neighbourhood (Petrie, *Naukratis*, pt. i. 78, 85 f.; *Tanis*, pt. ii. 84, 91 f.; cf. his art. 'Weights and Measures' in *Encyc. Brit.*[9] xxiv. 487 f.). The standard of these weights is named the '80-grain standard' by Petrie, who regards it as derived from 'the Assyrian 5 or 10 shekel weight, binarily divided and used as an independent unit,' since 128 grains × 10÷4 gives 320 grains. While differing with reluctance from so distinguished a metrologist, the writer still adheres to the conclusion he had come to before having an opportunity of consulting the Naukratis and Tanis volumes, viz. that the new Palestinian weights are derived directly from the Babylonian mina of 16,000–8000 grains, the origin of which has already been fully explained. The shekels of these minas, of course, yield 266–133 grains, on the sexagesimal system; but in the West this system never supplanted what must be regarded as the earlier decimal system. Hitherto it has been usual, it is true, to assume that the Hebrews in early times adopted the sexagesimal system in its entirety—the talent containing 60 minas of 60 shekels each (so even by our most recent authority on Hebrew archæology, Nowack, *Heb. Arch.* i. 208); but proof of this view is entirely wanting. For the attempt to obtain it from the corrupt MT and the EV rendering of Ezk 45[12] 'twenty shekels, five and twenty shekels, fifteen shekels [=60 shekels] shall be your maneh,' is grammatically and otherwise inadmissible. The only possible remedy for this passage is, with all recent critics, to accept the reading of the codex A of the LXX, and render: 'five (shekels) shall be five, and ten shekels ten, and fifty shekels shall be your mina'; *i.e.* the weights in everyday use, like the measures referred to in the verses preceding and following, shall be neither more nor less than the standard value.

In the West, then, we hold that from the first a compromise was effected between the decimal and sexagesimal systems, and that, while the less frequently used talent of 60 minas was retained, the 'raised' minas of 16,000 and 8000 grains were divided by 50 to yield shekels of 320 and 160 grains. The fact to which Petrie calls attention (*Naukratis*, i. 85 f.), that the Egyptian weights of this standard are of large size, averaging 2000 grains, —Petrie's weights, Nos. 483, 486, 1282, 1286, the largest found, are all *c.* 8000 grains,—seems to tell in favour of the derivation here proposed and against the derivation from a smaller unit. Petrie, however, is of the opinion, to which we were led independently after repeated attempts to find the shekel of the Syrian tribute lists, that the shekel in question is to be found in this new 80-grain unit, which he therefore proposes 'to call in future the Hittite standard' (*Tanis*, ii. 92). On the whole, however, a safer nomenclature would be the Syrian standard; and certainly the unit must be raised, in deference to the unequivocal testimony of the Chaplin weight, to 160 or 320 grains. The result, then, of the recent discoveries is to show that from the 16th to the 6th cent. B.C. a light shekel was in use in Syria and Egypt of the value of 160 grains, which was at the same time the half of a corresponding heavy shekel of 320 grains, each being $\frac{1}{50}$ of minas of 8000 grains (1¼ lb. avoir.) and 16,000 grains (2½ lb.) respectively. Further, this mina of the 320-grain or Syrian standard continued in use in Syria down to the Christian era: witness the inscribed weights from Antioch and neighbourhood, described by Brandis (*Das Münz-, Maas- und Gewichtssystem Vorderasiens*, 156 ff.), one of which bears the interesting legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥ ΜΝΑ, and weighs 7960 grains. The smallness of the Palestine weights points, like the tribute lists, to the use of this unit for weighing the precious metals; while the large size of the Naukratis weights shows that in Egypt it was rather used 'for domestic and common purposes' (Petrie). So far, then, as our present evidence goes, we may conclude that this ancient unit was in use for all transactions alongside of the Phœnician unit, next to be discussed, until displaced by the latter after the Exile, largely, no doubt, owing to the influence of Ezekiel and the Priests' Code, both these authorities contemplating the latter as the only official unit. It is worth noting, finally, as a notable example of the trustworthiness of tradition, that Maimonides in his הלכות שקלים, a commentary on the Mishna treatise *Sheḳalim*, records that the early Heb. shekel weighed 320 grains of barley (*i.e.* Troy grains), and was supplanted in the time of the second temple by the *ṣela'* (סֶלַע), the Heb. equivalent of the tetradrachm or heavy Phœn. shekel (see Surenhusius' summary in his preface to the treatise in question, *Mishna*, ii. 177).

iv. (*c*) *The Phœnician or 224-grain unit.*—Previous to the discovery of the weights described in the foregoing section, the only Heb. unit monumentally attested was the shekel of the coins of the revolts, generally but wrongly known as the Maccabæan shekel. The usual explanation of the origin of this widely-spread unit (the theoretical value of which may be put at 224½ grains, with effective weight averaging 218–220 grains) as a silver unit from the Babylonian gold shekel of 252 grains, on the ratio of gold to silver as 13½ : 1, has been given under MONEY (iii. 419[a]). Hultsch, on the other hand (*Gewichte d. Altertums*, 7, *et passim*), finds its origin in Egypt, the shekel of 224 grains being $\frac{1}{50}$ of a mina of 60 shekels, each of the value ⅘ *ket* (140 grains × ⅘ × 60÷50=224). It is possible, however, that the Phœnician 224-grain shekel is to be derived from the Syrian 160-grain shekel described in the previous section. We have only to assume that in the West gold stood to silver in the more convenient ratio of 14 : 1; the gold shekel of 160 grains would then be worth ten silver shekels of 224 grains each, since 160 × 14 =224 × 10. This is at least preferable to Ridgeway's theory based on an assumed ratio between the metals of 17 : 1 (*Origin of Currency*, 287).

In any case we have to deal with an exceedingly ancient unit, for an Egyptian weight inscribed with the name of Ampi, a priest of the 10th dynasty (*c.* 2300 B.C.), and marked as 10 units, weighs 2188 grains (Griffith, *PSBA* xiv. 445), yielding a unit of 218·8 grains, which can scarcely be other than the Phœn. shekel of 218–224 grains. Its prevalence in Palestine from the earliest historical period need not be doubted, as it may be confidently assumed to have been the silver, if not, also, the trade shekel of the Phœnician traders in Canaan, whose name Canaanite (כְּנַעֲנִי) came latterly

to signify 'merchant' in general (Zec $11^{7.\ 11}$ [LXX], Pr 31^{24} etc.). It must therefore have existed side by side with the 320 (160)-grain shekel above described. Like the other units of Western Asia, the Phœn. unit had its heavy and light shekels of 224½ and 112¼ grains respectively. Fifty of the former or 100 of the latter went to the heavy mina of 11,225 grains (*c.* 1⅝ lb. avoir.), and 60 minas, as elsewhere, to the talent (see table, vol. iii. p. 419[b]). It is manifestly the shekel intended by Ezekiel (45^{12}), who first mentions the subdivision into 20 *gerahs* —a term apparently adopted from the Babylonian, *qiru* being the name of a small silver coin (?) of Nebuchadnezzar's time, and identified by the Alexandrian translators with the Greek *ὀβολός* (see, further, MONEY, vol. iii. p. 422). The Priests' Code likewise seems to contemplate its adoption for every transaction with the balance, certainly for silver and gold (Ex $38^{24ff.}$), spices ($30^{23f.}$), and copper (cf. 38^{29} with Lv 27^{25}). This is confirmed by the evidence of the Mishna to the weights of the first two centuries of our era (see next §). That the heavy shekel of 220–224 grains, and no other, can be the 'shekel of the sanctuary,' or 'sacred shekel,' we have endeavoured to prove elsewhere (*l.c.*). The '20 shekels of bread' of Ezk 4^{10} are doubtless of this standard, probably also the talents of iron of 1 Ch 29^{7}; while for the brass and iron of Goliath's armour (1 S $17^{5.\ 7}$) we have the choice of the Phœn. and of the new Syrian shekel.

v. (*d*) *The syncretic weight-system of the Mishna.* —It has been sufficiently explained elsewhere (MONEY, iii. 426 ff.) how, after the Roman conquest of the East, the drachm of the Greek monetary system became interchangeable with the Roman denarius, reduced in weight, first to 60, and then by Nero to 52½ grains, when it differed but little from the quarter-shekel of 54½ grains, effective weight. Now, since the denarius was a fixed fractional part of the Roman pound, being $\frac{1}{96}$ of the libra and therefore ⅛ of the uncia, the denarius-drachm was found to be not only useful as money, but exceedingly convenient as a weight. Thus it came to form the unit of the latest Jewish weight-system as reflected in the Mishna. Its divisions and multiples are a tribute to the adaptive genius of the Jewish people, combining, as they do, elements from the systems of Phœnicia, Greece, and Rome, which all had their meeting-ground in the Palestine of the first century. The denarius-drachm itself was named the *zûz* (זוז), and retained the division into six obols (סְאָה). Two denarii made a (light) shekel, four a tetradrachm (סֶלַע), the ancient Heb. (heavy) shekel, of which 25, or 100 *zûz*, went to the mina. For the last the old Heb. term מָנֶה was retained, *e.g.* a mina of flesh (*Sanhed.* viii. 2), of figs (*Peah* viii. 5), of wool (*Khullin* xi. 2). In the two passages last cited, and elsewhere, we meet with the *pĕrāṣ* (פְּרָס) or half-mina. This term most scholars now agree in finding—as first suggested by M. Clermont-Ganneau—in the PERES and U-PHARSIN of Dn $5^{28.\ 25}$, the mysterious writing on the wall signifying, not as in RVm 'numbered, numbered, weighed, and divisions,' but 'a mina, a mina, a shekel, and half-minas.' The system above sketched may be presented thus, omitting the lowest denomination—

THE LATEST JEWISH WEIGHT-SYSTEM.

זוז	Denarius-drachm	1				52½	grs.
שֶׁקֶל	Shekel*	2	1			105	,,
סֶלַע	Tetradrachm	4	2	1		210	,,
מָנֶה	Mina	100	50	25	1	5250[1]	,,
כִּכָּר	Talent	6000	3000	1500	60 1	315,000[2]	,,

Notes.—[1] *i.e.* 12 oz. avoir. [2] *i.e.* 45 lb. ℔

* The old term 'shekel' was henceforth confined to the true half-shekel, formerly 112 grains; cf. the name of the treatise *Shekalim*, dealing with the payment of the temple tax of half a shekel. In Galilee, however, the term סֶלַע was applied to the latter, hence in the Mishna the Galilæan *ṣela'* is always said to be equal to ½ the *ṣela'* of Judæa.

The importance of this late Jewish system for our previous investigations lies in the fact that it supplies the evidence, for which one looks in vain in the older Heb. literature, that the Phœn. weight-system has the best claim to be regarded as that on which Jewish trade was conducted not only in the first two centuries of our era, but for several centuries before. It was natural that the mina of this system should be identified with the libra or pound of the Roman weight-system. The latter occurs in the NT only in Jn 12^{3} 19^{39} (EV 'pound,' *λίτρα*, whence the לִיטְרָא of the Mishna, also occasionally מָנֶה אִיטַלְקִי). The talent (Rev 16^{21}, cf. Josephus, *BJ* v. vi. 3 [§ 270] *ταλανταῖοι πέτραι*) of 315,000 grains when doubled, *i.e.* when taken not as 3000 light but as 3000 heavy shekels or tetradrachms, was tariffed on the Roman system as 125 libras, as is testified by a weight with the inscription PONDO CXXV TALENTVM SICLORVM III (3000 shekels, the M for 1000 being omitted), and confirmed by Epiphanius. A large stone weight found at Jerusalem in 1891 (*PEFSt*, 1892, 289 f.), said to weigh 41,900 grammes (*c.* 646,000 grains), is evidently a heavy talent on this system.

To sum up the result of the foregoing sections, evidence has been adduced for the existence, side by side, in the earlier period of Heb. history of three distinct units of weight—the Babylonian 252-grain unit, the new Syrian 320-grain unit, and, the best attested of all, the Phœnician 224-grain unit, each with its corresponding light unit of 126, 160, and 112 grains respectively. The second probably did not survive the Exile; while the last, in the end, gained the day over both its competitors.

HEBREW MEASURES OF LENGTH.—vi. *Approximate value of the Hebrew cubit.*—The most widespread of all metrical denominations are those measures of length which have been derived from certain parts of the human body—the finger-breadth or digit, the handbreadth or palm, the cubit (*κύβιτον*, *cubitum*, the elbow), or the length of the forearm from the elbow to the tip of the middle finger. The equally convenient 'foot,' however, is foreign to the Heb. system. By the Gr. metrologists of the empire the digit was regarded as the unit: *ὁ δάκτυλος πρῶτός ἐστιν ὥσπερ καὶ ἡ μονὰς ἐπὶ τῶν ἀριθμῶν*, so writes Julian of Ascalon (*ap.* Hultsch, *Metrol. Script. Reliquiæ*, i. 200), who proceeds to give the usual denominations of the system in use in his time in Palestine, disclosing the well-nigh universal division of the cubit into 6 palms, each of 4 digits (for exceptions to this division see below). The comparative frequency of the references to the cubit in the OT, however, warrant us in regarding it as the unit of the Heb. system. Before proceeding to the investigation of the length of the cubit, it may be noted at this stage that the Hebrews in their measurements employed both the measuring-rod (קָנֶה הַמִּדָּה Ezk 40^{3} etc., LXX and NT *κάλαμος*, Rev 11^{1} $21^{15f.}$) and the measuring-line (קָו הַמִּדָּה Jer 31^{39}; also חוט 1 K 7^{15}, Jer 52^{21} [AV wrongly 'fillet']). The latter was probably used for the larger measurements, one such being mentioned in the Mishna as of 50 cubits in length (*Erubin* v. 4).

The evidence of the OT goes to show that the Hebrews, before and after the Exile, were familiar with two cubits of different lengths. First of all, we find the bed or sarcophagus of Og, the king of Bashan, measured according to 'the cubit of a man' (בְּאַמַּת אִישׁ Dt 3^{11}, cf. Rev 21^{17}); in other words, according to the then customary, everyday cubit (cf. the similar expressions in the original of 2 S 7^{14},

Is 8[1], Rev 13[18] etc.). When we consider, in the second place, that the early chapters of Deuteronomy are almost certainly later than the eighteenth year of Josiah, and therefore within the period embraced by the lifetime of Ezekiel, we are led to identify the 'cubit of a man' of the passage cited with the cubit in everyday use among Ezekiel's contemporaries. This prophet, in a passage of the first importance for our investigation, informs us that the measurements of the temple of his vision are not on the standard of the then generally used cubit, but after a cubit longer than the latter by a handbreadth (Ezk 40[5], cf. 43[13]).* Now, since the proportions and arrangements of Ezekiel's temple are in all essential particulars identical with those of the temple of Solomon, the prophet's aim in the use of this longer cubit can hardly be other than to ensure that his temple shall be a replica of the older Solomonic temple. That this, rather than the possible alternative that Ezekiel is here introducing a new cubit on the Babylonian standard (so Haupt in *SBOT*, 'Ezekiel,' 179 f.), is the correct inference from the passage before us, is confirmed by the remark of the Chronicler that the dimensions of Solomon's temple were determined by cubits 'after the *former* measure' (2 Ch 3[3]). Ezekiel and the Chronicler, then, are our authorities for the conclusion that the cubit in ordinary use, both before and after the Exile, was shorter by a handbreadth than the cubit employed, for building purposes at least, in the reign of Solomon. In view, further, of the all but unvarying tradition, confirmed by the practice elsewhere, as shown above, that the ordinary cubit contained six palms or handbreadths, we are left to infer that the Solomonic building cubit *was a cubit of seven handbreadths.*

When we look for further light on this point to the ancient home of all scientific metrology, the result is disappointing. As early as B.C. 3000, the era of Gudea, the Babylonians had discarded the more primitive or natural system of lineal measures for a rigidly scientific system, constructed, like the rest of their metrology, on a sexagesimal basis. On this system fresh light has recently been thrown by the recovery of two early scales of linear measurement, engraved upon statues of Gudea, from Telloh in Southern Babylonia (see details by C. F. Lehmann in *Verhandl. d. berliner Gesell. f. Anthropologie*, 1889, 288 ff.; 1896, 453 ff.; *Das altbabyl. Maas- und Gewichtssystem*, 52 ff. A short summary with illustration is given by Haupt in Toy's 'Ezekiel' [*SBOT* 179 f.]; cf. art. BABYLONIA, vol. i. p. 218[b]). The more perfect of the two scales is divided by transverse lines into sixteen subdivisions, each a trifle over § in. in length, fifteen of which are considered to represent a quarter of the double cubit, which, as we know from the tablet of Senkereh (*WAI* iv.[2] 37), constituted the unit of the linear system. This double cubit, then, contained 60 of the *ubānu* or fingerbreadths of Gudea's scale, or about 39¼ in., which gives a single cubit of 30 digits, or 19§ in. Five digits on this system are supposed to have gone to the handbreadth, of which 6 formed the cubit. In addition to this cubit there appears to have been a so-called royal cubit of 33 digits (Herod. i. 178), or 21§ in. In all periods of Babylonian history the size of the square bricks for building purposes remained constant at 13 in., which is ⅔ of Gudea's cubit or ⅔ of the royal cubit, and is termed by Continental metrologists the Babylonian foot.† The primitive Hebrew measures appear to have remained uninfluenced by this more artificial system.

On the other hand, when we turn to the other centre of early civilization in the East, we find in Egypt a system presenting an exact correspondence with what we have so far learned of the chief Hebrew measure of length (see esp. F. L. Griffith, 'Notes on Egyptian Weights and Measures' in *PSBA* xiv. [1892] p. 403 ff.). Here two cubits were in use from the earliest times—the 'short' cubit of 6 and the 'royal' cubit of 7 handbreadths. Happily, the survival of actual cubit-rods and the measurements of the pyramids and other ancient monuments have made it possible to determine the length of the royal cubit with sufficient accuracy for ordinary purposes as 20·63 in. (Petrie, *Encyc. Brit.*[9] xxiv. 483[a]; cf. Watson, *PEFSt*, 1897, 203; Griffith, *l.c.*). The short cubit, as ⅘ of the other, contained 17·68 in., 6 palms of 2·95 in., or 24 digits or fingerbreadths of ·74 in. We have here, then, the same ratio between the cubits, and the same subdivisions as we found in the case of the Hebrew cubits—facts which render it impossible to avoid bringing the two systems, Egyptian and Hebrew, into more intimate connexion. It would be rash at this stage, however, to propose their original identity until we have had some evidence as to the probable length of the early Hebrew cubit.

Innumerable attempts have been made in the course of the last two centuries to determine the absolute length or lengths of the OT cubit. One of the most eminent of living metrologists is reduced to finding 'the sole reliable determination of the Hebrew measures of length' in a metrological table which in its present form is scarcely older than the 14th cent. of our era! From this document, with doubtful cogency, he argues for the identity of the ordinary Heb. cubit with the royal Egyp. cubit (Hultsch, *Metrol.*[2] 437 ff.). In our own country a few of the more noteworthy values proposed in recent years are as follows:—

Conder (*Handbook of the Bible*, and elsewhere) . . .	16 inches.
Beswick (*PEFSt*, 1879, 182 ff.) .	17·72 ,,
Watson (,, 1897, 203 ff.) .	17·70 ,,
Warren (,, 1899, 229 ff.) .	17·75 ,,
Petrie (,, 1892, 31) .	22·6 ,,
Petrie (*Encyc. Brit.*[9] xxiv. 484)	25·2 ,,

To these may be added the estimates adopted in Smith's *DB*, from Thenius, of 19·5 in. From these widely-varying results it will be clear to every reader that *reliable data for the exact evaluation of the Hebrew cubit do not exist.* The following is merely a fresh attempt to reach an approximate value.

(*a*) *The evidence of the Siloam inscription.*—In lines 4 and 5 of this famous inscription may be read: 'and the waters flowed from the outlet [of the spring] to the Pool [of Siloam] one thousand and two hundred cubits.' Now the total distance from the spring to the pool, according to Conder's careful measurements (*PEFSt*, 1882, 122), is 1758 ft., which yields a cubit of 17·58 in. Unfortunately, the number 1200, like the other specification of 100 cubits as the height of the rock above the tunnel, is evidently a round number, so that the value of the cubit as *c.* 17·6 in. here

* This longer cubit, however, is not, as our EV would lead one to suppose, called by the prophet a 'great cubit' (see 41[8] RVm). But the original is here confessedly unintelligible.

† The whole system of Babylonian weights and measures is based, according to Lehmann, who has made this subject specially his own, on the double cubit (39¼ in.) of Gudea's scale, which he holds to be identical with the length of the seconds pendulum in the latitude of the astronomer priests of Babylonia! The unit of volume was a cubic vessel, the side of which was a handbreadth, or $\frac{1}{10}$ of the double cubit (*c.* 3·9 in.); the weight of water it contained constituted the unit of weight, viz. the heavy mina of 15,160 grains (see § ii. above). For a thoroughgoing criticism of Lehmann's views, and of the earlier researches of Oppert in this field, see Johns, *Assyrian Deeds and Documents* (1901), ch. iii. 'Metrology,' pp. 184–273.

disclosed is only approximate. The measured length, 1758 ft., yields 1193 short Egyp. cubits of 17·68 in. and 1206 of the Gr. cubit of 17½ in. Both the cubits proposed by Flinders Petrie are evidently out of the question (see, further, below).

(*b*) *The evidence of Josephus.*—All attempts to solve our problem from a comparison of the measurements of the temple area as given by Josephus and in the Mishna treatise *Middoth* ('measurements') with those of the Ḥaram of to-day, are unsatisfactory, for the double reason that the data of the two authorities named are frequently in conflict,—and, at the best, have no claim to be more than roughly estimated, and, in the case of the Mishna, traditional figures,—and that the Ḥaram area has undergone many changes since the 1st cent. of our era. But there is an argument from Josephus which has not hitherto been pressed, viz. the *argumentum e silentio*. It is generally admitted (see W. R. Smith, *Encyc. Brit.*[9] xxiii. 166) that Josephus makes use of the Roman-Attic cubit (πῆχυς) throughout his historical writings. Thus the side of the square, within which stood the temple of Herod, is given now as a stadium, or 600 Gr. ft. (*Ant.* xv. xi. 3 [§ 400, cf. 415]), now as 400 cubits (*ib.* xx. ix. 7 [§ 221]), which assumes the ratio (3 : 2) between the cubit and the foot adopted by the nations of classical antiquity. Now Josephus, as we shall see in a subsequent section, frequently gives equations of the Jewish measures of capacity with those of his Græco-Roman readers, and less frequently compares the respective weights and coins; but nowhere, apparently, does he give *a single indication of the Heb. cubit differing materially from the Roman-Attic cubit of the 1st cent.* Hence, in giving the dimensions of objects described in the OT,—such as Solomon's temple, the tabernacle, etc.,—Josephus renders the numbers of the Heb. cubit by the same numbers of the Gr. cubit. In one case at least he even gives the dimensions of 2½ by 1½ cubits of the original (Ex 25[10]) as 5 by 3 spans (σπιθαμή), the *spithamé* being the half of the Gr. cubit. Again, the distance of the Mount of Olives from Jerusalem is given by the author of the Acts (1[12]) as 'a Sabbath-day's journey,' which was a very familiar measure of 2000 Heb. cubits (see next §). But Josephus gives the same distance as five stadia (*Ant.* xx. viii. 6 [169]), which are 3000 Gr. feet or 2000 Gr. cubits. These data, then, all go to show that, in Josephus' day at least, the Jewish and Gr. cubits were for practical purposes identical in value. Taking the Roman-Attic foot, as finally determined by Dörpfeld's elaborate researches, as 296 millimetres = 11·65 in. (art. 'Mensura' in Smith's *Dict. of Antig.*[3]; Nissen, *Metrologie*[2]), we obtain 17·47, say 17½ in., as a second approximation to the length of the Jewish cubit in the 1st cent. of our era.

(*c*) *The evidence of the Mishna.*—Nothing is to be gained from the oft-quoted but purely academic discussion regarding the two cubit-rods, said to have been preserved in chambers over the Shushan gate of the temple (*Kelim* xvii. 9, 10), beyond confirmation of the uniform tradition that the 'cubit of Moses,' *i.e.* of the Priests' Code, contained 6 palms or 24 digits (*ib.* 10). The true explanation of the cubit-rods of 24½ and 25 digits respectively may be that we have here a confused recollection that the Heb. cubit was originally longer by a fraction of an inch than the Roman-Attic cubit. Rabbi Judah's cubit of 5 palms 'for vessels' (*l.c.*) may be the *gōmed* or short cubit of Ehud's dagger (see next §). A more definite datum for the approximate value of the Mishna cubit is found in *Baba bathra*, vi. 8, where the law prescribes the following as the dimensions of the *ḥûkim* (חוּקִים) or *loculi* in the case of a Jew taking a contract for the construction of a rock-cut tomb, viz. height 7 palms, width 6 palms, *length* 4 *cubits*. The last of these dimensions recalls the ὀργυιά (from ὀρέγω, 'to stretch'), or the 4-cubit fathom of the Greeks, it having been early observed that the 'stretch' of a well-proportioned man, from tip to tip of his outstretched arms, was equal to his height. Since the Jews were buried without coffins, if we knew their average height, we should have a fair approach to the length of their cubit. They were certainly not a tall people, and in modern times, in the most favourable circumstances, are said to average 5 ft. 6 in. to 5 ft. 8 in. (Jacobs quoted by Warren, *PEFSt*, 1899, 228 f.)* Allowing a margin for the bier, we cannot be far wrong in taking 5 ft. 10 in. as the probable length of the *loculi* contemplated by the later Jewish law, which yields a cubit of 17½ in. as our third approximation. In any case, this passage disposes finally of Conder's cubit of 16 in., which would reduce the average height of the Jews to less than 5 ft. 4 in. !

The latest valuation of the cubit by the distinguished metrologist Flinders Petrie (*PEFSt*, 1892, 28 ff., the tomb-cutters' cubit at Jerusalem) cannot be so easily disposed of. The dimensions contemplated in the Mishna are evidently the use-and-wont dimensions that would satisfy a contract in which no more precise specifications were entered, hence they do not preclude the possibility of larger dimensions being used on occasion. Now Petrie, on the strength of many hundred measurements of the dimensions of actual tombs, contends that the great majority disclose a cubit of 22·6 in., which he maintains (*loc. cit.*) 'should be taken as the standard in future.' This is not the place either to expound or to criticise the methods employed by Petrie here and elsewhere in his metrological works, beyond saying that a considerable element of uncertainty must always attach to them where the results cannot be controlled by literary evidence (cf. Ridgeway's criticism of this method of determining the value of ancient standards of length by measurement alone, in Smith, *Dict. of Antiq.*[3] ii. 166), a statement of which an illustration may now be given. In the case of the tombs in question, Petrie finds recurring lengths of about

88·1, 113·0, 132·0, 159·7, 171·9, and 226 in.,

all pretty certainly even numbers of the same cubit. And it is therefore seen that the multiples

4, 5, 6, 7, 7½, and 10 cubits

are the numbers in question, as we thus reach

22·0, 22·6, 22·0, 22·8, 22·9, 22·6 in.

for the cubit, yielding an average of 22·61 ± ·03 in. (*loc. cit.* 29). But suppose, taking the first row of figures, we were to say that the multiples

5, 6½, 7½, 9, 10, and 13 cubits

are the numbers in question, we should obtain

17·6, 17·4, 17·6, 17·7, 17·2, 17·4 in.

for the cubit actually a smaller range of variation than is shown by Petrie's own results,—or an average of 17½ in., which is in remarkable agreement with the approximations already obtained. There is therefore a clear alternative before us. Either we must bring down the Siloam inscription to the Roman age, as has indeed been recently proposed, and say that the Jews of that period had finally discarded their native cubit, *of which, in that case, we remain in absolute ignorance*, in favour of the Græco-Roman cubit, or—which is the preferable alternative—we must hold to the Egyptian origin of both the historically attested cubits of 7 and 6 handbreadths, the latter, originally 17⅝ in. in length, having been gradually reduced, until in

* Warren here gives some interesting statistics as to the height of the modern Jew; and, although not aware of the above passage of the Mishna, conducts the same argument and decides for a cubit of 17·75 in.

NT times it was equated with the Greek cubit of 17½ in. This Egyptian, as opposed to an alternative Babylonian, derivation is further confirmed by the following considerations: (1) the existence, just referred to, at one period among the Hebrews of two cubits of 7 and 6 handbreadths respectively; (2) the subdivisions (see table) are parallel in both systems, and bear no trace of sexagesimal or Babylonian influence; (3) the smallest unit, the digit, bears a cognate designation in both, *'eẓba'* in Hebrew, *t'ba* in Egyptian, while the corresponding Hebrew unit was named *ubânu* in Babylonian, probably the Heb. בֹּהֶן; (4) the Heb. *zereth* or span finds its nearest congener in the Egyptian *drt* (Ges.-Buhl, *Lex. s.v.*; cf. similar affinities below, under measures of capacity). The following table shows the values of the Heb. cubits and subdivisions on the basis of the Siloam cubit of 17·58 in., which proves to be the mean between the original Egyp. short cubit of 17·68 and the Gr. cubit of 17·47 in., and is probably the nearest value attainable until further monumental evidence is forthcoming:—

TABLE OF THE HEBREW MEASURES OF LENGTH.

	Digit.	Palm.	Span.	Cubit.	Value in		Convenient approximation.
					Mm.	In.	
Digit .	1	...	...	...	18·6	·73	¾ in.
Palm .	4	1	...	...	74	2·93	3 ,,
Span .	12	3	1	...	223	8·79	9 ,,
Cubit .	24	6	2	1	446	17·58	1½ ft.
Cubit of Ezekiel	28	7	...	...	521	20·51	1¾ ,,
Reed .	144	36	12	6	...	105·48	9 ,,
Reed of Ezekiel	168	42	...	...	...	123·06	10 ,,

No reference has yet been made to the determination of the value of the cubit from the statement of the mediæval Rabbis that the smallest unit, the fingerbreadth, was equal to 6 medium-sized grains of barley laid side by side, partly because the tradition is of late origin, and partly on account of the widely diverging results that this method has produced.* Maimonides, writing in Egypt, seems to have been the first to give currency to this mode. He assigned 7 barleycorns to the digit, or 168 to the cubit, apparently identifying it with the royal Egyptian cubit (see Zuckermann, *D. jüd. Maassystem*, 20; Boeckh, *Metrolog. Untersuchungen*, 268 ff., which see also for further details of this method). It is, however, a striking coincidence, to say the least, that the latest and most scientific attempt to determine the Jewish cubit on the basis of the usual Rabbinic valuation of 144 barleycorns yields a cubit of 17·7 in. (Col. Watson, *PEFSt*, 1897, 201 ff.), which is practically the short cubit of Egypt.

vii. *Subdivisions and multiples of the cubit in OT and NT.*—It now remains to glance briefly at the subdivisions and multiples of the cubit to be found in the canonical literature. At the bottom of the scale stands the *μονάς* or *μέτρον σμικρότατον* of the Gr. metrologists, the digit or **fingerbreadth** (אֶצְבַּע only Jer 52[21]; cf. Joseph. *Ant.* VIII. iii. 4, *δάκτυλος*, and Mishna, *passim*). Four digits naturally went to the palm or **handbreadth** (טֶפַח 1 K 7[26]=2 Ch 4[5]; טפח in Ezk 40[5, 43] 43[13] and P), the *παλαιστή* of the LXX and Gr. writers generally. The cubit and the palm were the most frequently used denominations in later times. Bricks for building purposes, for example, are said to have been '3 palms square' (*c.* 9 in.), not a square span (*Erubin* i. 3).† The **span** (זֶרֶת, *σπιθαμή*, Ex 28[16] 39[9], 1 S 17[4] etc.) was always half the cubit. Thus a comparison of Ezk 43[13] with v.[17] shows that the span might be taken as half the royal cubit of 3½ palms. Josephus, we have seen, renders the dimension of the ark of the covenant, in the original 2½ by 1½ by 1½ cubits (Ex 25[10]), by twice the number of spans (*Ant.* III. vi. 5 [135]).

* Thenius' cubit of 19·05 in., adopted in Smith's *DB* (art. 'Weights and Measures'), was obtained by this method.

† The Babylonians regularly built with a brick 13 in. square.

In Jg 3[16] the short two-edged sword of Ehud is said to have been a *gōmed* in length (גֹּמֶד, EV 'cubit'). This measure, occurring only in this passage, is explained by the Jewish commentators as a short cubit, the length of the forearm from the elbow to the knuckles or to the second joint of the fingers (see Moore, *in loc.*, and more fully *JBL* xii. 104). It was thus the equivalent of the Gr. *πυγών* or *πυγμή*, and may have been the cubit of 5 palms mentioned in the Mishna (see above).

The **cubit** itself has been fully discussed in the preceding section, where its apparent Egyptian origin and value have been set forth. At first, naturally, of the same value as the short cubit of Egypt, 17·68 in., it appears to have gradually shrunk, until in the 1st cent. of our era it was practically identical with the Roman-Attic cubit of 17·47 in. By this latter measure, say 17½ in., we may safely estimate the only NT references to the cubit in the literal sense (Jn 21[8], Rev 21[17]). In Mt 6[27], Lk 12[25] the cubit is best taken metaphorically, 'which of you can add a "span" to his age?' (cf. RVm).

The only multiple of the cubit mentioned in the OT, and that only by Ezekiel, is the **reed** (קָנֶה, *ḳaneh*, the Bab. *ḳanû*, Ezk 40[5ff.] 42[17ff.] etc.) of 6 cubits,—in this case the 'royal' cubit of 7 palms. It does not appear to have come into common use. In the Græco-Roman age we find instead the **fathom** (*ὀργυιά*, Ac 27[28]) of 4 cubits, approximately 6 ft., and the favourite Gr. measure of distance the stadium (*στάδιον*, 2 Mac 12[9ff.], Lk 24[13], Jn 6[19] etc.). The latter contained 600 Gr. ft. or 400 cubits, about 194 yds.; it was thus considerably less than the **furlong** (220 yds.), by which it is rendered in our versions. The **mile** (*μίλιον*, Mt 5[41]; מִיל, in Hebrew, *Yôma* vi. 4, 8), as its name reveals, was a Roman measure, containing 1000 double paces (*mille passus*), or 5000 Roman ft., equal to 1618 yds. The Romans reckoned their mile as roundly equivalent to 8 stadia. The Jews, on the other hand, reckoned only 7½ stadia or *rîs* to the mile (*Yôma* vi. 4), and so obtained a convenient division of the parasang of 30 stadia—another example of the syncretism that pervades the later Jewish metrology.

The largest measure of distance of native Jewish origin was the **Sabbath day's journey** (*σαββάτου ὁδός*, Ac 1[12]). Its origin was on this wise. Combining the injunction of Ex 16[29] with the fact recorded in Jos 3[4], that the ark preceded the main body of the host by 2000 cubits (*c.* 1000 yds.), the inference was drawn that the tents of the Israelites in the wilderness were this distance from the ark; and, further, that the said distance might lawfully be traversed on the Sabbath, since the injunction of Exodus (*l.c.*) could not have been meant to exclude the privilege of worship on that day. A square of 2000 cubits in the side was also the prescribed 'suburbs' of a Levitical city (Nu 35[5]). The Jews of later times, as is well known, were able ingeniously to free themselves from the restriction of a single 2000-cubit limit, by depositing at its furthest boundary, before the entry of the Sabbath, sufficient food for two meals. This spot, by a legal fiction, was considered to be the traveller's 'place' in the sense of Ex 16[29]; he was then able to proceed with immunity for another distance of 2000 cubits. The technical name for this process was the 'mixture of limits' (עֵרוּב תְּחוּמוֹת), to the regulation and enforcement of which the treatise *Erubin* (mixtures) is devoted. In certain cases the legal distance might be increased to 2800 cubits, which was the estimated diagonal of a square 2000 cubits in the side. A number of boundary-stones, two of which bear the legend תחום גזר, have been discovered in such relative positions near Gezer (which see) as to suggest that they

probably served to mark the Sabbath 'limit' for that city (*PEFSt*, 1899, 118 ff.). (For details as to the mathematical precision with which the Sabbath day's journey was calculated for each town, see Baneth's edition of *Erubin*, also Surenhusius' edition with plates. An English translation is given in Sola and Raphall's selections).

As vaguer measurements of length and distance, finally, may be mentioned the **pace** (2 S 6[13]) and the 'little way' (כִּבְרַת אֶרֶץ Gn 35[16] 48[7], 2 K 5[19]), also a day's journey (Nu 11[31], 1 K 19[4], Jon 3[4], Lk 2[44]) and three days' journey (Gn 30[36], Nu 10[33]), distances which naturally varied according to circumstances (see DAY'S JOURNEY, vol. i. p. 573[b]).

viii. *Surface measure.*—In OT the idea of 'square' is generally expressed by the passive participle רָבוּעַ (a denom. verb from אַרְבַּע 'four'), rendered 'four square' (Ex 27[1] 28[16] etc.), the dimensions, however, being given as *x* cubits long and *x* cubits broad. In later Hebrew we find the more compendious expression '*x* cubits by (עַל) *x*,' as in the Mishna *passim*.* The diagonal of a square was estimated by the Talmudic authorities as $\frac{7}{5}$ of its side (Baneth, preface to *Erubin*, p. 52; see preceding §). The ratio of the circumference (הֶקֵּף) of a circle to its diameter (רֹחַב) was taken as 3 to 1 (*Erub.* i. 5).

With regard to the measuring of land, two methods were in vogue in ancient times before and after the application of more scientific methods. The one attested by the consensus of East and West consisted in taking as the standard of measurement the extent of ground which a yoke of oxen could plough in a given time. In Syria at the present day the unit of land measure is the *feddân*, the ground which a yoke of oxen can plough in a day (Post, *PEFSt*, 1891, 110), which is variously estimated in different parts of the country (see Schumacher, *Across the Jordan*, 22, and more fully Bergheim, 'Land Tenure in Palestine,' *PEFSt*, 1894, 192 ff.). The corresponding Roman measure 'jugerum vocabatur quod uno jugo boum in uno die exarari posset' (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xviii. 9), and was legally fixed at *cir.* 3016 sq. yards. The second method was by estimating the size of a field by the amount of seed required to sow it. Both methods were known and practised by the Hebrews. Passing by 1 S 14[14] as almost certainly corrupt, we find a reference in Isaiah to '10 acres of vineyard' (5[10], lit. 10 yoke [צֶמֶד],† *i.e.* of oxen; cf. *jugum* and *jugerum*), which at once suggests the modern *feddân*. Since the Egyp. unit of surface measure was a square 100 royal cubits in the side, called by the Greeks ἄρουρα (Griffith, *PSBA*, 1892, 410 ff.), we shall not be far wrong if we estimate the Heb. *ṣemed* as a square of 100 ordinary cubits in the side, and thus the equivalent of a measure of surface presently to be considered; in other words, at about half an acre.‡

On the other hand, the priestly legislation introduces us to a mode of computing the size of a field 'according to the seed thereof' (Lv 27[16]), 50 shekels being fixed as commutation-money for a field requiring 'a homer of barley seed.' But there is almost certainly an earlier reference to this method of mensuration in a hitherto misunderstood passage of 1 Kings. The trench which Elijah is said to have dug round about his altar on Mt. Carmel is described as כְּבֵית סָאתַיִם זָרַע, lit. 'like a house of two seahs of seed' (1 K 18[32]). What does this mean? The AV and RV rendering is impossible, while RVm suggests that the trench had the breadth and depth of a two-seah measure. In reality the writer is here employing a familiar land measure, and indicating the length—not the depth and breadth—of the trench by the amount of surface which it enclosed. It is true there is no further illustration of this mode of expression in our older extant literature, but the evidence of the Mishna, considered in the light of the immemorial practice in Babylonia and Assyria, shows that its absence is accidental (see the Mishna, *passim*, esp. the agricultural treatises and those dealing with contracts). Here the size of a field is uniformly denoted by the amount of seed required to sow it. The standard of measurement was indeed the very expression under consideration, 'the house,' *i.e.* the field 'of two seahs,' which was fixed as equal in extent to the court of the tabernacle, viz. 100 cubits by 50, *c.* 1195 sq. yards (under ¼ acre). The half of this surface, 2500 sq. cubits (*c.* ⅛ acre), was the *beth-ṣeah* (בֵּית סְאָה), its double 'a four-seah field' or square of 100 cubits in the side. A field of this size is in one place (*Ohaloth* xvii. 1) identified with the obscure סְעָנָה * of 1 S 14[14], which would thus be a later equivalent of the *ṣemed* considered above.

The whole series of dry measures, to be discussed in the following sections, were used by the Jews of NT times in this way, from the frequently mentioned *beth-rôba* or ¼ *ḳab* plot (104 sq. cubits, *Peah* i. 6, *Baba bathra* ii. 5, etc.) up to the *beth-kôr* (*B. bathra*, vii. 1) of 75,000 sq. cubits, and its multiples. The dimension last given is that of the field of Lv 27[16], mentioned above (for the identity of the *kor* and the *ḥomer* see next §), which was therefore about 3¾ acres in extent. This system of field measurement, although it may be traced in parts of the Roman empire, as, *e.g.*, in the σπόριμος μόδιος, which was a third of the *jugerum* (Hultsch, *Metrol.*[2] 616 f.), had its home in Babylonia, where the field last mentioned would have been described as in Hebrew (*bîtu 1 imêr ekli*, a one-homer field; see Johns, *Assyrian Deeds*, 219 ff.)—a fact which seems conclusive in favour of the explanation of Elijah's trench given above.

HEBREW MEASURES OF CAPACITY.—ix. *The scales of wet and dry measure. The value of the ephah-bath.*—While familiar with such rough-and-ready measures of capacity as the *ḳômeẓ* or handful (Lv 2[2] 5[12] 6[15]) and the *ḥôphen* (dual, 'two-hands full,' Ex 9[8], Lv 16[12], Ezk 10[2]), the Hebrews from early times had a carefully graduated system both for wet and dry measures, the names and values of which have too frequently been obliterated in our English versions by an indiscriminating fondness for the rendering 'measure.'† The relation of the various denominations to each other are happily amply attested, and may be represented in tabular form, by anticipation, thus—

SCALE OF MEASURES OF VOLUME.

Homer-Kor.		Ephah-Bath.		Seah.		Hin.		Kab.		Log.
1	=	10	=	30	=	60	=	180	=	720
		1		3		6		18		72
				1		..		6		24
						1		..		12
								1		4

Of these the *homer*, *ephah*, *ṣeah*, and *ḳab* are mentioned in OT as dry measures, the first named

* The MT of Ex 27[18b] 'fifty by fifty' cannot be defended. The LXX goes still further astray. The second 'fifty' is corrupted from באמה, which the Samaritan still has (see the writer's forthcoming commentary on *Exodus*, *in loc.*).

† Winckler, *KAT*[3] (1902) 339, finds in צֶמֶד a weight, connecting it with the Assyr. *ṣamâdu*, to weigh.

‡ Strictly 2390 sq. yards with the cubit of 17·6 in.; an acre is 4840 sq. yards.

* It is tempting to compare this expression with the *actus*, originally the headland where the plough was turned (Heb. עֲנָה), which ultimately became the Roman unit of land measure (120×120 ft., *c.* 1500 sq. yards).

† As illustrations of confusion thus caused—a baneful legacy from the LXX—Lk 13[21] compared with 16[6, 7] may be consulted, where three denominations, standing to each other in the ratios 1 : 3 : 30, are rendered indiscriminately by 'measure' (see next §).

being supplanted in later times by the *kor*; the *bath*, *hin*, and *log* only as liquid measures. The proportions in the table show the influence of the sexagesimal system, while the *'omer* or *'issaron*, $\frac{1}{10}$ of the *ephah*, represents a parallel decimal subdivision (see below). It will be noted, further, that the two sets are essentially identical. In the case of the *homer* and the *kor*, also of the *ephah* and the *bath*, this identity is indeed expressly attested by Ezekiel in an important context, where also the latter pair are stated to be a tenth part of the former pair (Ezk $45^{11ff.}$).

Of the absolute values of the various denominations in terms of other and better-known systems, we have no reliable evidence older than the 1st cent. of our era, by which time, as the latest Jewish weight-system so strikingly illustrated, Palestine had become the meeting-place of several systems of metrology, leading to an unavoidable syncretism, and to the identification of native weights and measures with the nearest approximations in foreign systems. Bearing this in mind, we shall now adduce a few of the more useful equations to be found in the *Antiquities* of Josephus.

(*a*) VIII. ii. 9 (Niese, § 57), the *bath* (βάτος) is equivalent to 72 *sextarii* (ξέσται).

(*b*) IX. iv. 5 (§ 85), the *ṣeah* (σάτον = $\frac{1}{3}$ ephah or bath) = $1\frac{1}{2}$ Roman *modii*, *i.e.* 24 *sextarii*.

(*c*) III. viii. 3 (§ 30), the *hin* (εἶν = $\frac{1}{6}$ *bath*) = 2 Attic *choes*, *i.e.* 12 *sextarii*. Cf. III. ix. 4 (§ 234).

(*d*) XV. ix. 2 (§ 314), the *kor* (κόρος = 10 *ephah-baths*) is equivalent to 10 Attic *metretai*, *i.e.* 720 *sextarii* (μεδίμνους [read μετρητὰς] Ἀττικοὺς δέκα).

Earlier possibly in date than these equations is the evidence of the anonymous fragment περὶ μέτρων (Hultsch, *Metrol. Script.* i. 258), where after the definition of the Phœn. *kor* as containing 30 *ṣeahs* it is added: 'the seah is $1\frac{1}{2}$ modius,' a definition identical with that of Jerome commenting on Mt 13^{33}. Now, the basis of all these equations is the identification, as a glance at our table will show, of the Hebrew *log* with the Græco-Roman *sextarius*, as is done by the anonymous translator of Lv 14^{10} cited *apud* Field, *Origenis Hexapla*, *in loc.* (cf. *Antiq.* IX. iv. 4 [§ 62], where the quarter *ḳab* of 2 K 6^{25}, *i.e.* the *log*, is also rendered by ξέστης). Evidence to the same effect might be produced from the Mishna, where it is said of the offerings prescribed in the Pentateuch that 'their measure is on the Roman standard' (*Kelim* xvii. 11). The determination of the value of the *sextarius-xestes*, the common unit of the Greek and Roman systems, in terms of our imperial system is therefore an indispensable preliminary to further progress. Two methods are open to us. We may, with Hultsch, start from the theoretical and legal determination of the Roman quadrantal as 80 Roman pounds weight of wine, and the similar determination of our imperial gallon as 10 lb. of water, and so reach a value for the *sextarius* of ·96 imperial pint, the value adopted in the tables in Smith's *Dict. of Antiq.*[3] from Hultsch, *Metrol.*[2] (*passim*). Or we may prefer the determination given by the best of the extant Roman measures, the Farnese congius in Dresden, which yields a *sextarius* equal to ·99 of a pint. This latter method has the advantage of allowing the *sextarius-log* of the Jewish system to be taken, for the smaller determinations, as the equivalent of our pint, and will be followed in this and the subsequent section. This gives for the *ephah-bath* of 72 *logs*, which is the most convenient measure for detailed examination, the value of 71·28 pints, or approximately 9 gallons (see table below).

It is scarcely to be expected, however, that the measures of OT times can have been so precisely the equivalent of the Græco-Roman denominations as this identification presupposes, and there are not wanting indications of this in Josephus' own writings and in those of later authors, especially as regards the larger denominations. Are there, then, sufficient data available for reaching a closer approximation of the original values of the Heb. measures? Perhaps the most unsatisfactory of all methods of solving this problem is that frequently attempted, down even to our own day (see Watson, *PEFSt*, 1898), on the basis of the dimensions of Solomon's brazen sea and the lavers of the temple (1 K $7^{23f. 38}$ with paralls. in Chron., LXX, and Joseph.)—a solution which the conflicting dimensions in the literary sources named, and our ignorance of the shape of the vessels in question, render only less futile than the converse attempt to deduce from the same conflicting and insufficient data the length of the Heb. cubit! But little more satisfaction is obtained by starting from the Rabbinic theory, that the *log* was equal in cubic content to six medium-sized eggs, as may be seen from the widely divergent results in the writings of previous investigators. The Alexandrian translators (LXX), finally, to whom one naturally turns for the equivalents of the Hebrew measures in the Græco-Egyp. system, are disappointing in the extreme. Here transliterating, there paraphrasing, now omitting and now making a random guess, these translators betray a remarkable ignorance of the contemporary Jewish measures (see next § for ample illustration).

(*a*) Two features of the system under investigation seem to warrant us in looking once more to Babylonia as its original home, namely the number of *logs* in the *kor* (720 = 360 × 2), as if the *log* were the half of a unit that has now disappeared, and the apparent identity of the *kor* with the Babylonian ideogram *gur* (cf. *kikkar*, talent, with Bab. *gaggaru*). Unfortunately, it must be admitted that, notwithstanding the brilliant researches of Oppert and his fellow-workers, the measures of volume are still the least satisfactory department of Bab. metrology (see esp. the elaborate exposition and criticism in Johns' *Assyrian Deeds*, etc. [1901]). Adopting, however, with due reserve the view of Lehmann and others (cf. above § vi., also Hommel's art. BABYLONIA, vol. i. p. 219) that the unit of volume was the *ka*—which Hommel (*l.c.*) would identify with the Heb. *ḳab*—equal to an original heavy mina's weight of water (15,160 grains, see § ii. above), we get 1·73 imperial pints as the value of this unit,* 624 pints for a *gur* of 360 *ka*, and 62·4 pints for the assumed original of the Heb. *ephah-bath*. On the other hand, if the measures of volume increased *pari passu* with the weights, the mina of 16,000 grains which has been conclusively proved to have been adopted in the West (§ ii.) would yield a *kor* of 658 pints and an *ephah-bath* of 65·8 pints.

(*b*) Again, if we follow the clue suggested by the Egyptian affinity in the department of the linear measures, we find an interesting parallel to the treatment of the Heb. measures in the Græco-Roman period. A working equivalent of the *ephah-bath*, we have seen, was obtained by identifying it with the Attic *metretes* of *72 sextarii*. Now, precisely this same equation was adopted in Egypt under the Ptolemies for a measure with a long pedigree, known in the Ptolemaic ages as the *artabe* (ἀρτάβη).† That this equation of the *artabe*

* The imperial gallon contains 10 lb. (70,000 grains) of distilled water at a temperature of 60° Fahr.

† Wilcken, however, has found no fewer than five different *artabes* in use in Egypt in the Ptolemaic period (*Griech. Ostraka*, i. 740 ff.).

with the *metretes* was a working and not a scientifically exact equation, is evident from the fact that by the native authorities (Griffith, *PSBA* xiv. 435) the *artabe* was defined as containing 80 Egyptian *hin*, the *hin* being a volume of water 5 *deben* in weight (7020–7170 grains, according to the valuation of the *ket*, see § ii.), which works out at a little less or more than 65 pints for the *artabe*. Now, the *artabe* was the lineal descendant of an ancient measure derived from a fraction of the cubit cubed (Griffith, *l.c.*); and since the Egyp. cubits passed to Palestine, there is a *prima facie* case for suggesting, as an alternative to the Babylonian origin of the *ephah-bath*, its derivation from the Egyptian system, with a value of 65 pints.

(*c*) But there is more reliable evidence than these somewhat hypothetical deductions as to the actual capacity of the Heb. measures, the most trustworthy in the opinion of such metrological authorities as Hultsch and Petrie being a statement in an unfortunately corrupt passage of Josephus. This author, writing of the famine in the time of Claudius (cf. Ac 11[28]), tells of 70 *kor* of wheat being brought into the temple, and adds—adopting Hultsch's emendation, *Metrol.*[2] 455—*μόδιοι δὲ Σικελοὶ μέν εἰσιν εἷς κόρος τριάκοντα, Ἀττικοὶ δὲ τεσσαράκοντα εἷς* (*Ant.* III. xv. 3 [321]). In view of the connexion of Sicily with Phœnicia through Carthage, the '30 Sicilian modii' are most probably 30 Heb. *ṣeahs*,—this rendering of the *ṣeah* by *modius* is found in Epiphanius and other writers; cf. Mt 5[15] *μόδιος* for the seah-measure,—while the very precise statement that the *kor* contained 41 Græco-Roman *modii* seems, as Hultsch says, to rest upon actual measurement. Now, 41 *modii* or 656 *sextarii* yield as nearly as possible 650 pints for the *kor*, or 65 for the *ephah-bath*.

(*d*) In several later Gr. writers (see Hultsch, *Metrol. Script.*, Index under *σάτον*) the *ṣeah* is given as $1\frac{1}{4}$ *modii* instead of, as by Josephus and Jerome, $1\frac{1}{2}$ *modii*, that is, at 20 instead of 24 *sextarii*. Now, in the Mishna there are frequent references to local varieties in the size of the *ṣeah*, *ḳab*, etc., the Jerus. measures, for example, standing to those of Galilee in the ratio of 5 : 6,† which is precisely the proportion disclosed by the variant valuations of the *ṣeah* just cited. It is allowable, in the light of these divergent equations, to hold that different authorities made different attempts to establish a convenient equation of the two systems, Jewish and Greek, and that the true value of the *ephah-bath* lay between the two equations of 60 and 72 *sextarii* respectively, which is quite in harmony with the more positive results already obtained. The same conclusion is established by a study of the conflicting data of Epiphanius in his work on weights and measures (edited by Hultsch, *op. cit.*, and by Lagarde in his *Symmicta*), which give to the *ephah* a value ranging from 64 to 66 *sextarii*. For other, mainly speculative, methods of calculation see Watson, *PEFSt*, 1898, 109 ff. (7·85 galls.), and Warren, *ib.* 1899, 252 ff. (8·42 galls.).

The result of our investigation, then, is to point to an approximate value for the *ephah-bath* in OT times of 65 imperial pints (36·92 litres). From the necessity of establishing a more convenient working equation in later times, it was regarded in most cases as the equivalent of the Attic *metretes* of 72 Roman *sextarii*, or 9 galls. nearly, on the basis of the identification of the *log* with the *sextarius*. Both these values are given in the following tables:—

TABLE OF HEBREW DRY MEASURES.

	Log.	Kab.	Omer.	Seah.	Ephah.	Earlier values in		Later values in		Approximate values.
						Litres.	Pints.	Litres.	Pints.	
Log . . .	1	...	...	...	...	·51	·90	·56	·99	1 pint
Kab . . .	4	1	...	...	...	2·05	3·6	2·25	3·96	4 pints
[Omer* . .	$7\frac{1}{5}$	$1\frac{4}{5}$	1	...	...	3·7	6·5	4·05	7·13	$7\frac{1}{5}$,,]
Seah . . .	24	6	$3\frac{1}{3}$	1	...	12·3	21·6	13·5	23·76	$1\frac{1}{2}$ pecks
Ephah . .	72	18	10	3	1	36·92	65	40·5	71·28	1 bushel
Homer or Kor .	720	180	100	30	10	369·2	650	405	712·8	11 bushels

TABLE OF HEBREW LIQUID MEASURES.

	Log.	Hin.	Bath.	Earlier values in		Later values in		Approximate values.
				Litres.	Pints.	Litres.	Pints.	
Log	1	...	...	·51	·90	·56	·99	1 pint
Hin	12	1	...	6·12	10·8	6·75	11·88	$1\frac{1}{2}$ galls.
Bath	72	6	1	36·92	65	40·5	71·28	9 ,,
Kor	720	60	10	369·2	650	405	712·8	90 ,,

x. *The measures of Scripture.*—It only remains to make a short reference to the individual measures in the canonical and deutero-canonical writings. The **log**, the lowest denomination in both the wet and dry scales, occurs in OT only in the ritual for the purification of the leper (Lv 14[10.24] LXX *κοτύλη* = $\frac{1}{2}$ *sextarius*) as a measure of oil. Originally about $\frac{1}{96}$ pint, it was in NT times identified with the *sextarius* (or pint), by which it is rendered by a Gr. translator cited by Origen (Field, *Hexapla*, *in loc.*), and was then used as a dry measure as well, subdivided binarily down to $\frac{1}{64}$ *log*, the $\frac{1}{4}$ *log* being specially frequent in the Mishna. The $\frac{1}{288}$ *log* was also known as the large spoonful (מְלֹא הֹרֶד), the $\frac{1}{576}$ as the small spoonful (Herzfeld, *Handelsgesch. d. Juden*, 184). Four *logs* went to the **kab**, which in OT is found only in the corrupt passage 2 K 6[25], which speaks of 'the fourth part of a kab' (so RV, AV 'cab').* At the date when this reading arose the log was probably still confined to liquids. The LXX render by *τέταρτον τοῦ κάβου*, while Josephus gives the equivalent *ξέστης* or *sextarius*. Peculiar to the Priests' Code is the next highest dry measure, the *'issaron* (עִשָּׂרוֹן Ex 29[40], Lv 14[10] etc.), the **tenth deal** of our AV, *i.e.* as RV 'the tenth *part* of an ephah,' as already once correctly rendered by LXX *τὸ δέκατον τοῦ οἰφί* (Nu 15[4]). The loaves of the shewbread contained each two *'issarons* (Lv 24[5]), transliterated *ἀσσαρών* by Josephus, who wrongly gives its value

* The *'omer* is here inserted for comparison, though an intruder, as the fractional proportions show; see next §.

† These variations in quantity may also have been due to some extent to the difference between heaped and straked measure; cf. *Baba bathra* v. 11.

* Cheyne, however, would read 'a quarter of a kor of carobpods,' etc. (*Expos.*, July 1899).

as '7 Attic cotylæ,' or only 3½ *sextarii* (3½ instead of 6–7 pints). A special name for this measure is found in the story of the manna (Ex 16[16ff.]), viz. the **omer** (עֹמֶר, LXX γόμορ), defined in v.[36] as 'the tenth part of the ephah,' the same expression as is found in Lv 5[11] 6[20] etc. In Ex 16[32f.] the term is used of the *'omer*-measure. This decimal division of the *ephah* is another indication of the conflict between the decimal and duodecimal or sexagesimal systems, which met us in connexion with the Heb. weight-system. It was probably confined to priestly circles, as it does not fit into the rest of the system below the *ephah*.

The sixth part of the *ephah-bath* for liquids was the **hin** (הִין, LXX ἶν or εἶν [B], but χοῦς, Lv 19[36]), a term apparently of Egyp. origin, the *henu* (Coptic *eine*) of Egypt, however, being a much smaller measure (see preceding §). With the exception of Ezk 4[11] (¼ *hin* of water), the *hin* occurs exclusively in the Priests' Code in connexion with the offerings of wine and oil that accompanied the meal-offering. Thus we have ½ *hin*, ⅓ *hin*, ¼ *hin*, all in Nu 28[14]. The value of the *hin* was 1¼–1½ galls. The double of the *hin*, the **seah** (סְאָה, σάτον), was used exclusively as a dry measure, containing 6 *ḳabs* (see Mishna, *Menaḥoth* vii. 1; *Para* i. 1, and oft.). It was the third of the *ephah*, and is therefore to be identified with the *shālîsh* (Is 40[12], lit. 'third,' hence AVm 'tierce'). The *ṣeah* is variously rendered by the LXX; but where not given by the general term μέτρον, whence our AV 'measure,' it is wrongly identified with the *ephah* (1 S 25[18]) or with the *metretes* (1 K 18[32]). The correct σάτον is found in the later translations of Aquila and Symmachus, but in LXX only in Hag 2[16(17)], where no measure is named in the original. In the NT also it appears as σάτον (Mt 13[33], Lk 13[21] 'three measures of meal'), where it is equal in value to 1½ *modii* (Jerome) or 24 pints, the 'three measures' being, of course, an *ephah* or 1½ bushels of flour.* We have seen in a former section that a seah of seed was calculated to sow a surface of 2500 sq. cubits, which thus became the common unit of surface measure.

The most common of the large measures was the *ephah-bath*, originally in all probability equal to 65–66 pints, but in NT times identified with the *metretes* of nearly 72 pints. The **ephah** was used exclusively for measuring grain and other dry substances, the *bath* exclusively for liquids. The former term appears to be of Egyp. origin, and is given as οἰφί by the LXX (cf. Coptic *oipi*) when not rendered by μέτρον (both in Ezk 45[13]). On the other hand, they render the *ephah* of Is 5[10] by τρία μέτρα, evidently 3 *ṣeahs*, and so expressly in the Targum of this passage (cf. *Menaḥoth* vii. 1). The ⅒ *ephah* of Ezk 45[13] 46[14] is accordingly ½ *ṣeah*. For the **bath** the LXX again use their favourite μέτρον, or the absurd χοῖνιξ (only 2 pints! Ezk 45[10]), only once the correct βάτος (Ezr 7[22]). The 'hundred measures of oil' (Lk 16[6]) in the unjust steward's accounts were 100 *baths*, or close on 900 gallons. The highest denomination in the system was the **homer** (חֹמֶר) or **kor** (כֹּר, EV 'cor' in Ezk 45[14], but generally 'measure'), both used with considerable frequency in OT as a measure of barley (Lv 27[16] etc.), wheat (Ezk 45[13]), and cereals generally. The identity of the *kor* and the *homer*, as each containing 10 *ephah-baths*, with the information that the *kor* was also used for liquids, is given by Ezekiel (45[11ff.]). The latter came in time to be the name in ordinary use for both wet and dry measure, and passed to the Greeks as the κόρος (1 Es 8[20]). The 'hundred measures of wheat' of Lk 16[7] are 100 *kors*, at this period equal to more than 1110 bushels. Hosea tells us that part of the price he paid for the recovery of his unfaithful wife was a homer of barley and a *lethekh* (לֶתֶךְ), which our EV, following Jewish tradition, render as 'half a homer' (Hos 3[2]), a value which it certainly has in the Mishna.

In the NT we find the names of Græco-Roman measures, although in some cases the terms are not used as measures, but as the names of household utensils. Thus the *xestes* of Mk 7[4. 8], properly the *sextarius* or pint measure, is here used generally of a cup or other small domestic vessel. The *modius* (μόδιος) of Mt 5[15] and parallels, however, is a classical loan-word for the housewife's *ṣeah*-measure required for the daily provision of the household bread. On the other hand, the '**firkins**' of Jn 2[6] are the Gr. *metretes* of *c.* 72 pints, which we have seen to be the working equivalent of the *bath*. Apart from its careless use by the LXX, now for *ṣeah*, now for *bath*, it is found 1 Es 8[20] (AV 'pieces of wine,' RV 'firkins') and Bel [3] (AV 'vessels of oil,' RV 'firkins'). We have seen above that the *metretes* was also the working equivalent in Egypt of the *artabe* (ἀρτάβη, Bel [3] AV and RV 'great measures'; also Is 5[10] LXX, another gross miscalculation), which was originally of the same cubic capacity as the *ephah-bath*, *i.e. c.* 65 pints. The author of the Fourth Gospel represents Mary of Bethany as taking a λίτρα (EV 'pound') of ointment of spikenard to anoint our Saviour's feet (Jn 12[3]). This has usually been understood of the Roman pound, as in Jn 19[39]; and probably with justice. Hultsch, however (*Metrol.*[2] 720 f., 602), understands by the former *litra* the vessel of horn, in which such unguents were kept by the Roman physicians, with measuring lines on the outside like our modern medicine glasses, and which certainly bore this name. Mention is made, last of all, in Scripture of the small Gr. measure the *chœnix* (χοῖνιξ, Rev 6[6]) of two *sextarii* or pints as a 'measure' (AV) of wheat.*

LITERATURE.—*A.* General works on metrology: A. Boeckh, *Metrologische Untersuchungen*, 1838; J. Brandis, *Das Münz-, Maas-, und Gewichtssystem in Vorderasien*, 1866; F. Hultsch, *Griechische u. Römische Metrologie*[2], 1882 (the standard work on ancient metrology, but already out of date in many parts); also, *Metrologicorum Scriptorum Reliquiæ*, 2 vols. 1864; W. M. F. Petrie, art. 'Weights and Measures' in *Encyc. Brit.*[9] 1888; H. Nissen, 'Griech. ü. röm. Metrologie' in Iwan Müller's *Handb. d. klass. Altertumswissenschaft*, 1892 (also separately); W. Ridgeway, *The Origin of Metallic Currency and Weight Standards*, 1892. — *B.* Special treatises and essays: Hultsch, *Gewichte des Altertums*, 1898; R. Lepsius, *Längenmaase der Alten*, 1884. On Babylonian metrology: J. Oppert, *L'Etalon des mesures Assyriennes*, 1875 (antiquated); C. F. Lehmann, 'Das altbabylonische Mass und Gewicht und deren Wanderung' in *Verhandl. der Berliner Anthropol. Gesellschaft*, 1889; also in several succeeding years to 1896; the same author's *Das altbabyl. Maas- und Gewichtssystem als Grundlage der antiken Gewichtssysteme*, etc., 1893; C. H. W. Johns, *Assyrian Deeds and Documents*, 1901 (ch. iii. 'Metrology,' very full collection of material). For Egypt: F. Ll. Griffith, 'Notes on Egyptian Weights and Measures' in *PSBA*, 1892 (pp. 403–450): for the Ptolemaic period, U. Wilcken, *Griechische Ostraka*, 1899, i. 738–780. For late Jewish metrology: B. Zuckermann, *Ueber talmudische Münzen und Gewichte*, 1862, *Das judische Maassystem*, etc., 1867. On the general subject of the above article see also corresponding article in Smith's *DB*, and Schrader's articles 'Gewicht' and 'Masse' in Riehm's *HWB*[2]; also the relevant sections in Nowack, *Heb. Arch.* 1894, i. 198 ff., and Benzinger, *Heb. Arch.* 1894, 178 ff., and the recent papers on the measures of length and capacity by Col. Watson in the *PEFSt*, 1897, 1898, and Sir C. Warren, 'The Ancient Standards of Measure in the East,' *ib.* 1899; Schrader-Winckler, *Die Keilinschriften u. d. AT*[3], 1902, 337–342; W. Shaw-Caldecott, *Bible Archæology*, 1902, part i. Metrological.

A. R. S. KENNEDY.

WELL.—A distinction is now made in Eng. between the words 'fountain' and 'well' which did not exist when the AV was made. According to its etymology (Anglo-Sax. *wylla* or *wella*, a spring, from *weallan* to surge, boil, and akin to Sansk. *val*

* The same quantity in Sarah's hands (Gn 18[6]) was nearer a bushel.

* The vague 'measure,' it may be useful to state here, stands in AV for *ephah* Dt 25[14f.], Pr 20[10], Mic 6[10]; *kor* 1 K 4[22] *bis* 5[11] *bis*, 2 Ch 2[10] *bis* 27[5], Ezr 7[22]; *ṣeah* Gn 18[6], 1 S 25[18], 1 K 18[32], 2 K 7[1] *bis*. 16 *bis*. 18 *bis*, Is 27[8] [but see RV and *Comm.*]; *shālish* Ps 80[5], Is 40[12]; βάτος (=*bath*) Lk 16[6]; κόρος (=*kor*) Lk 16[7]; σάτον (=*ṣeah*) Mt 13[33]=Lk 13[21]; χοῖνιξ Rev 6[6].

to move to and fro), 'well' was used of springing water, and not confined as now to water standing in a hole or stored up in a pit. Thus Chaucer, *Death of Blaunche*, 160—

> 'Ther were a fewe welles
> Came renning fro the cliffes adoun ;

Milton, *Lycidas*, 15—

> 'Begin then, sisters of the sacred well
> That from beneath the seat of Jove doth spring.

In AV 'well' is therefore an accurate rendering of such words as *'ayin* and πηγή. In RV the attempt has been made here and there, but not consistently, to bring out the modern distinction. See next article. J. HASTINGS.

WELL (בְּאֵר, בּוֹר [properly 'cistern'], עַיִן, מַעְיָן [both = 'fountain'], πηγή, φρέαρ).—The art of sinking wells for supply of water in the absence of springs or brooks comes down from very early times. Three wells of special interest are noted in the Bible: (1) Abraham's well at Beersheba; (2) Jacob's well near the village of Sychar (*'Askar*) in Samaria; and (3) the well at the gate of Bethlehem. All these are in existence at the present day. For the first see BEERSHEBA and SHIBAH. (2) The digging of Jacob's well is not recorded in the OT, but in the NT we have the interesting account of the conversation between our Lord and the woman of Samaria (Jn $4^{5.\ 6}$) which took place at this spot. The village of 'Askar, which, according to Conder, is the modern representative of Sychar, stands on the slope of Mount Ebal within sight of Jacob's well.* See further under JACOB'S WELL. (3) The well of Bethlehem, for whose water David thirsted (1 Ch 11^{17}), is shown to travellers by the roadside on approaching Bethlehem from Jerusalem. There is no reason to doubt that it is the same which existed in the days of David.

Wells in Eastern countries have always been of the highest importance as objects of possession and as historical landmarks. It was one of the special privileges accorded to the Israelites that they should come into possession of wells which they themselves had not digged (Dt 6^{11}),† and they sometimes became objects of strife (Gn 21^{25}). This is not to be wondered at, considering the difficulty of sinking wells into the rock in these early times, and the great value of the water when it had been reached. E. HULL.

WENCH.—The translators of AV accepted this word from the Bishops' Bible as the tr. of *shiphhah* in 2 S 17^{17}. Wyclif has (1382) 'bondwomman' and (1388) 'handmaide,' Cov. 'damsell,' Geneva Bible 'maid.' The oldest form of the word is *wenchel* (from Anglo-Sax. *wenclo*, plu. 'children'), which signified a child of either sex, as *Ancren Riwle*, 334, 'Were and wif and wenchel.' Afterwards in the contracted form 'wenche' it was restricted to a female child, a girl, or young woman. Thus Mt 9^{24} Wyc. 'Go ye away, for the wenche is not dead, but slepith'; Mk 5^{41} Rhem. 'And holding the wenches hand, he saith to her, *Talitha cumi*, which is being interpreted, *wenche* (I say to thee) *arise*'; Elyot, *Governour*, ii. 324, 'Achilles . . . for a lytle wenche contended with Agamemnon.' By 1611 the most frequent use of the word was to denote a servant maid, its meaning (as above) in AV. So Mt 26^{71} Tind. 'When he was goone out into the poorche, a nother wenche saw him'; Jn 18^{17} Rhem. 'The wench therfore that was portresse saith to Peter.' But the word was already used in a sense that opened the way to its present deterioration, as Bar 6^{9} Cov. 'Like as a wench that loveth peramours is trymly deckte.' J. HASTINGS.

* *Tent-Work*, 40. Conder says: 'The tradition of Jacob's well is one in which the Jews, Samaritans, Moslems, and Christians alike agree.' *Ib.* 38.

† RV 'Cisterns hewn out which thou hewedst not,' probably both wells and cisterns were intended.

WHALE.—The EV tr^{n} of two words. **1.** תַּן *tan*, and its derivatives (see DRAGON and SEA-MONSTER). **2.** κῆτος (Mt 12^{40}). The latter is the LXX and NT rendering of דָּג גָּדוֹל *dāgh gādhōl*, 'a great fish' (Jon 1^{17}). There is no doubt of the existence of whales in the Mediterranean. Large parts of the skeletons of two specimens of the right whale are preserved in the museum of the Syrian Protestant College at Beirût. One of these animals was cast up on the shore near Tyre, not far from the traditional site of the ejection of Jonah, which is at Nebi-Yunûs, near Zidon. The other was drifted ashore at Beirût itself. But the gullet of this species would not admit a man. The sperm whale has a gullet quite large enough to enable him to swallow a man. It is probable that one of these monsters occasionally wanders into the Levant. Κῆτος, however, includes marine monsters other than the whale, as the *shark*. Sharks exist in the Mediterranean large enough to swallow a man whole. The writer has seen one at Beirût 20 ft. long. They sometimes attain a length of 30 ft. There are abundant testimonies in books of travel and works of natural history to the fact that sharks have swallowed men, and even horses and other large animals, whole (see Pusey). The preservation of Jonah alive in the belly of the fish seems to be intended by the writer to be considered part of a continued miracle. 'The Lord prepared a great fish to swallow up Jonah' (1^{17}). The Lord heard Jonah's prayer (2^{2}). 'The Lord spake unto the fish, and it vomited out Jonah upon the dry land' (2^{10}). But see art. JONAH.

G. E. POST.

WHEAT.—The following Heb. words are used for 'wheat.' **1.** בַּר, בָּר *bar*, *bâr* (Arab. *burr*), is most frequently tr. 'corn' (Gn $41^{35.\ 49}$ $42^{3.\ 25}$, Ps $65^{9.\ 13}$ $72^{11.\ 16}$, Pr 11^{26}). In four places (Jer 23^{28}, Jl 2^{24}, Am 5^{11} 8^{6}) 'wheat' is the more correct rendering. **2.** דָּגָן *dāghān*. This is generic for cereals (see CORN). It is, however, twice tr. in AV 'wheat' (Nu 18^{12}, Jer 31^{12}; RV 'corn'). 'Corn' (generic) is undoubtedly correct. **3.** רִפּוֹת *rîphôth*. Once (2 S 17^{19}) tr. in AV 'ground corn,' RV 'bruised corn,' and once (Pr 27^{22}) AV 'wheat,' RV 'bruised corn.' The Arabs have two ways of preparing this substance. (*a*) The wheat is boiled, dried in the sun, and then cracked under a wheel or in a mortar. So prepared it is called *burghul*. The fragments are exceedingly hard, and resist the action of weevils and other insects. (*b*) The wheat is cracked under a hand millstone, without previous boiling. This preparation is called *jerîsh*. It is quite similar in appearance and properties to our wheaten grits. 'Though thou shouldest bray a fool in a mortar among wheat with a pestle' (Pr 27^{22}), may refer to the preparation of these grits with a hand mortar, or to the process of pounding grits in a stone mortar with a wooden pestle, with meat, onions, and spices, in making *kibbeh*, the favourite national dish of Bible lands. **4.** חִטָּה *hiṭṭāh* (Arab. *hinṭah*). This is the specific word for wheat, as distinguished from other cereals.

Grains of wheat have been found in very ancient tombs in Egypt, and in the ruins at Tell el-Hesy in Palestine. Wheat is first mentioned in Gn 30^{14}, where its harvest season is designated (cf. Ex 34^{22}, Jg 15^{1}, Ru 2^{23}, 1 S 6^{13}), as also the barley harvest (Ru 1^{22} 2^{23}). The wheat harvest commences in the lowlands of the Jordan Valley in April, and ends on subalpine Lebanon in August. Wheat was an article of export from Judæa (Ezk 27^{17}). It was

offered in sacrifice (Ex 34[22]), as were all cereals (Nu 18[12] *dāghān* = '*corn*,' as in RV, not 'wheat,' as in AV). It was of different qualities (Ps 81[16] 147[14]). Some produced 100 grains (Mt 13[8]). This is not an exaggeration in the case of the Egyptian wheat (Gn 41[22]), the panicle of which is compound. 'Kidneys of wheat' (Dt 32[14]) doubtless refers to the fat grains of the best qualities. It is usual at the present day to cut off bunches of the fattest wheat ears while still green, and toast them in the fire. Other cereals are treated in the same way. Thus cooked, they are the 'green ears of corn dried by the fire, even corn beaten out of the full ears' (AV Lv 2[14], RV 'corn in the ear parched with fire, bruised corn of the fresh ear'), and 'parched corn,' Heb. '*parched*' (1 S 17[17] 25[18], 2 S 17[28]). They are a favourite food of the people a month or so before the harvest. The Arabs call them *ferîk*. Nearly ripe ears are rubbed out in the hands, and the grains eaten raw (Lk 6[1] etc.). An ear of corn was called *shibboleth*, which the Ephraimites pronounced *ṣibboleth* (Jg 12[6]). See SHIBBOLETH.

The wild original of wheat is unknown. Some have suggested that it is derived from *Ægilops ovata*, L. Only one species of wild wheat, *Triticum monococcum*, L., is found in Palestine, and that only in northernmost Syria. G. E. POST.

WHEEL.—Various Heb. words are so translated. **1.** אָבְנַיִם turnings, wheels. In Jer 18[3] this word (used elsewhere only Ex 1[16], where prob. = *sella parturientis*) refers to the potter's wheel. In Syria this is commonly two horizontal discs of wood joined together by an upright pillar or axle. On the upper disc the clay is put which is to be formed into a vessel, while the lower one is turned by the feet of the potter. **2.** אוֹפָן refers to chariot wheels in Ex 14[25], Nah 3[2], Ezk 1[15ff.]; in 1 K 7[30. 32f.] to the wheels of the bases of the lavers of the temple; in Pr 20[26], Is 28[27], to the rollers of a threshing-waggon. **3.** גַּלְגַּל, a rolling thing, a wheel. In Ps 83[13] it is applied to the dust raised by a whirlwind, 'whirling dust.' In Ec 12[6] it refers to the wheel of a cistern or well; to chariot wheels in Is 5[28], Jer 47[3], Ezk 10[2. 13] 23[24] 26[10]; and in Dn 7[9] to wheels of throne of burning fire. Another form גִּלְגָּל is found in Is 28[28], and is applied to the rollers of a threshing-waggon. **4.** פָּעַם beat, step, in Jg 5[28] probably refers to the noise made by chariots, or to the step of the horses drawing them. It is evident from Scripture that chariots were frequently used in Syria and Palestine, and the wheels must have been very strongly made to withstand the rocky roads over which they were driven. On the old road near the mouth of the Nahr el-Kelb, or Dog River, a few miles north of Beirût, along which both Assyrian and Egyptian armies passed, the marks of the chariot wheels are still to be seen, deeply engraved in the rock. After the Mohammedan invasion, wheeled carriages ceased to be used, and it was only about the middle of this century that they were reintroduced by Europeans. The wheels of the ancient Egyptian chariots had six spokes (חִשֻּׁקִים), which connected the nave (חִשּׁוּר) with the felloes or rim (גֵּב). Slits were made in the tyre, through which bands were passed and fastened round the rim. The axle-tree (צִיר) was fixed to the body of the chariot, and its extremities were rounded where they passed through the wheels. The wheels were secured by pins. The wheel evidently had its origin in the roller, then discs of wood were used, and in India wheels are often made of planks of wood nailed together and then cut into a circular shape.

On the 'wheel of nature,' Ja 3[6] RV, see esp. Mayor, *in loc.* W. CARSLAW.

WHELP.—בֵּן, lit. 'son' (Job 4[11] 28[8]), גּוּר (Jer 51[38], Ezk 19[2. 3. 5], Nah 2[11. 12]), σκύμνος (1 Mac 3[4] used of the young of the lion (see LION)); in 2 S 17[8], Pr 17[12], Hos 13[8], of bears' cubs (see BEAR). In the last three passages the Heb. is simply שְׁכוּל 'bereaved,' the words 'of her whelps' being supplied in EV.

WHIRLWIND (סַעַר *ṣa'ar*, סְעָרָה *ṣĕ'ārāh*, סוּפָה *ṣûphāh*).—The term is applied generally to any violent destructive wind. The same words are often translated in other passages by 'storm' or 'tempest,' *e.g.* Ps 55[8] 83[15] (both *ṣa'ar*); Is 29[6] (*ṣĕ'ārāh*); Am 1[14], Jon 1[4. 12] (all three *ṣa'ar*). The 'whirlwind' of AV is rendered 'tempest' by RV in Jer 23[19] 25[32] 30[23] (all *ṣĕ'ārāh*); 'stormy wind' in Ezk 1[4] (*rûaḥ ṣĕ'ārāh*); 'storm' in Job 37[9] and Is 17[13] (both *ṣûphāh*). The term 'whirlwind' is used both in a physical and a symbolical sense. In the former we may take the passage descriptive of the rapture of Elijah in 2 K 2[1], as also that in Job 21[18] 37[9], Is 17[13] 21[1], Ezk 1[4], Am 1[14], Nah 1[3], Ps 107[25] 148[8]; but in the remaining passages the term is used figuratively: of chariots (Is 5[28] 66[15], Jer 4[13], Dn 11[40]), the passionate acts of man (Ps 55[8]), the ruin brought upon man by his sin (Hos 8[7] and oft.), or the anger of God against the wicked (Pr 1[27] and oft.); nor can the term be considered inapt from what we know of the destructive effect of rotatory storms in some countries. To such storms the references in the Bible must be considered to refer; but, strictly speaking, whirlwinds differ essentially from cyclones, which arise from unequal distribution of atmospheric pressure over *horizontal* areas; whereas whirlwinds, tornadoes, dust-storms, and waterspouts are different forms of atmospheric movement consequent on a *vertical* disturbance of the equilibrium of the air. When occurring over the sea or inland lakes the rotatory movement gives rise to waterspouts; when over the land, and especially over a sandy desert, a dust-storm, a cause of terror to caravans and wandering Arabs, is the result. As this is the form which is most usual in Bible lands, it may be referred to in a little further detail. When a dust-storm is about to commence, the air is unusually stagnant and sultry; presently a tall column of sand approaches, moving in a certain direction, and drawing into itself as it moves along sand, dust, and light bodies whirling around the centre of the column. Sometimes several of these columns move over the surface, each gyrating independently round its own axis. Observations made on such phenomena appear to show that the air of the surface is strongly drawn in towards the base of each column, and that it ascends along the central axis of the whirlwind. The only course of safety for the traveller over the desert, on the approach of a dust-storm, is to descend from his camel, throw himself on the ground, and completely cover his head with his mantle, till the storm passes away. In the tales of the *Arabian Nights*, and generally in the folk-lore of the East, the travelling dust-pillar is regarded as a favourite abode of the *'afrît* or *genius loci*.

During the storms that precede the rain at the end of summer (September and October), the wind hustles along in front of it, to the depth of some three feet above the ground, a vast collection of thistle-tops and various seed-vessels. They hasten along so that before the rain comes they may find each in its little hollow or crevice a resting-place in which to die and become fruitful. In places where the wild artichoke abounds, as in the great open plain between the two Lebanons, the rushing wind snaps off the dry, globular, dahlia-like tops, and urges them along, like the jumping chariots (Nah 3[2]) of the Assyrian king. They move with military precision, now

charging at the double-quick, and then wheeling to right or left, as if imitating some phantom fugleman, or obeying some ghostly word of command. Thomson is of opinion that this must be the 'wheel' of Ps 83[13], *rolling thing* of Is 17[13] (גַּלְגַּל); in both instances RV 'whirling dust' (*Land and Book*, S. Pal. 212). The driving power of the storm is exemplified in Ex 10[13-19], Nu 11[31], 1 K 19[11].

Very often the whirlwind or tempest is accompanied by rain and dark clouds. The wind whistles and moans, and seems to come from all directions at once, flinging out scuds of fine spray and discharging torrents of rain. The cold is often such as to cause loss of life to men and animals. Tents and booths are wrecked, and the 'overflowing shower' (Ezk 38[22]) created by it undermines houses and tears down vineyard walls. It is a sort of cloud-burst, and is called by the Arabs a *seil*, that is, a *flood*. Like the suddenness of its onslaught (Pr 1[27]) is the rapidity of its disappearance (Pr 10[25], Is 5[28]). It is referred to in Ps 18[7-16], Jer 23[19], and its leading features are given in the parable illustration with which Christ closed His Sermon on the Mount (Mt 7[25-27]).

G. M. MACKIE and E. HULL.

WHITE.—See COLOURS, vol. i. p. 458[a].

WHITE OF AN EGG (רִיר חַלְמוּת, EV Job 6[6], RVm 'juice of purslain'). — The allusion should perhaps be understood to be to the juice of some insipid plant, probably *Portulaca oleracea*, L., the common purslane. 'White of an egg' (lit., on this view, 'slime of the yolk') is a Rabbinic interpretation, and is still accepted by A. B. Davidson, Duhm, *et al.* The comparison in the other member of the parallelism is with 'unsavoury,' which would be better rendered 'insipid.' G. E. POST.

WHOLE, WHOLESOME.—The Anglo-Sax. *hāl* became in Middle Eng. *hole*; the spelling *whole* is due to a dialectic pronun. (as in whoop, whore *) and obscures the connexion of the word with hale, heal, holy. 'Hole' as well as 'whole' is used by Tindale, as Ex 5[18] 'see that ye delyver the hole tale of brycke.'

1. The earliest meaning is *healthy*, as in Mt 9[12] 'They that be whole need not a physician, but they that are sick' (οἱ ἰσχύοντες). So Udall, *Erasmus' Paraph.* i. 28, 'Yf thine iye bee clere and wholle, it geveth sight to all the membres'; Hall, *Works*, iii. 461, 'We are not the same men sick and whole'; Calderwood, *History*, 140, 'Mr. Patrick Adamsone, called commonly Bishop of St. Andrews, had keeped his Castle, like a fox in a hole, a long time, diseased of a great seditie, as he himself called his disease. . . . When the King cometh to St. Andrews, he becometh a whole man.'

2. Next, *made healthy, healed*, as in Mk 5[34] 'Go in peace, and be whole of thy plague' (ἴσθι ὑγιὴς); so Tennyson, *Lancelot and Elaine*—

> 'He called his wound a little hurt,
> Whereof he would be quickly whole.'

3. Then, *unbroken, entire*, as in Dt 27[6] 'Thou shalt build the altar of the Lord thy God of whole stones' (RV 'unhewn'); 2 S 1[9] 'my life is yet whole in me'; Pr 1[12] 'Let us swallow them up alive as the grave; and whole, as those that go down into the pit'; Is 14[29, 31] 'Rejoice not thou, whole Palestina' (RV 'O Philistia, all of thee'). Cf. Erasmus, *Crede*, 139, 'with pure and whole faith.'

Wholesome occurs in AV but twice, Pr 15[4] 'a wholesome tongue' (מַרְפֵּא לָשׁוֹן), LXX ἴασις γλώσσης, RVm 'the healing of the tongue'), and 1 Ti 6[3] 'and consent not to wholesome words' (ὑγιαίνουσι λόγοις, RV 'sound words,' RVm 'healthful'). In both places the word means health-giving, healing. In the latter place there is at least a hint of that moral meaning which 'wholesome' had in older English = soul-healing, *saving* ('heilsam'). This meaning is found in the Pr. Bk. Psalter, Ps 20[6] 28[9]. See Driver's *Par. Psalt.* p. 485, and the quotations there. See also art. HEALTH.

J. HASTINGS.

* Hot is spelt 'whot' in Dt 9[19] AV 1611.

WHORE.—See HARLOT.

WIDOW * (אַלְמָנָה *'almānā*; χήρα; *vidua*. The absence of any term for 'widower' shows that the wife was considered of less importance to the husband than *vice versa*).

i. OT AND APOCRYPHA.—The position of the widow varied according to her family. A young, childless widow might return to her father's house and remarry after an interval (Tamar, Gn 38[11]; Ruth and Orpah, Ru 1[8, 9]). She might also be claimed in marriage by her late husband's brother (Gn 38[8], Mk 12[19ff.], Ru 1[12f.]) or nearest kinsman (Dt 25[5], Ru 3[12, 13]). In many instances this arrangement would cause serious inconvenience, and provision is made by which the kinsman might be released from his obligation, or might transfer it to some one else (Dt 25[7-10], Ru 4[4-10]). The passages cited show that this Levirate marriage was an actual custom, which, however, was often neglected. A widow with a grown-up son would usually live with him, *e.g.* Micah's mother (Jg 17[1-6]), apparently a widow in possession of property of her own (cf. 2 S 14[5ff.], 1 K 7[14], Jth 8[1-8]). The honourable and influential position of the queen-mother, *e.g.* Bathsheba (1 K 2[19], cf. QUEEN), illustrates the status of such widows. But there was evidently a large class of widows who were in very poor circumstances. The widow and the fatherless (cf. ORPHAN) are constantly spoken of as suitable objects of charity and special consideration (Dt 14[29] 16[11, 14] 26[12f.], Job 22[9] 24[21] 29[13] 31[16], Ps 146[9], Pr 15[25], Jer 49[11]), or as liable to suffer injustice (Ex 22[22], Dt 10[18] 27[19], Job 24[3], Ps 68[5] 94[6], Is 1[17, 23] 10[2], Jer 7[6] 22[3], Ezk 22[7], Zec 7[10], Mal 3[5], Sir 4[10] 35[14f.]). Deut. makes special provisions in favour of widows: their clothing was not to be taken as a pledge (24[17]), and the forgotten sheaf of the harvest, and the gleanings of the olive trees and the vintage, were to be left for the stranger, the fatherless, and the widow (24[19ff.]).

These needy widows must have belonged to the poorer classes, and have had families of young children; but even the widows and orphans of well-to-do men might be robbed of their property by some kinsman or powerful neighbour, often on some legal pretext (cf. 2 S 14[7]). The widow ranks with the divorced woman as being her own mistress, and therefore capable of taking a binding vow without obtaining the consent of father or husband (Nu 30[9]). A high priest is not allowed to marry a widow (Lv 21[14]), nor is any ordinary priest (Ezk 44[22]); the latter passage, however, permits a priest to marry the widow of a priest. In 2 Mac 3[10] we read of deposits for widows and orphans in the temple treasury.

ii. NEW TESTAMENT.—Here, too, the widow is spoken of as poor and an object for charity and special consideration (Mk 12[41-43], Lk 20[47] 21[2, 3], Ja 1[27] etc.; cf. Barn. xx. 2; Herm. *Sim.* i. 8, etc.; Ign. *ad Smyrn.* 6, etc.; Just. *1 Apol.* 67; Polyc. iv.). The marriage of widows generally is sanctioned (Ro 7[3], 1 Co 7[8, 39]), and, according to RV, the marriage of younger widows is enjoined in 1 Ti 5[14]. RVm, however, makes the injunction refer to younger women.

* See also FAMILY, ii. *a*, vol. i. p. 847; MARRIAGE, ii. 2, vol. iii. p. 269; POVERTY, p. 27ff.; WOMAN (Deaconess, etc.), p. 936[b].

The charge against the Pharisees, that they devoured widows' houses (Mk 12^{40}), is sometimes explained of spoliation under legal forms (Gould), but more commonly, and probably, of sponging on the generosity of foolish women through an ostentatious display of unctuous piety (Holtzmann, Swete, etc.). Thus Swete, 'Schöttgen on Mt 23^{14} . . . shows that such a course was familiarly known as מכת פירושין, *plaga Pharisæorum.*'

The care of widows was one of the special ministries of the early Church (Ac 6^{1} 9^{39}). Weizsäcker, however (*Apostolic Age*, i. 56), considers that widows cannot have formed a separate class so soon, and that the language of Acts reflects the conditions of a later time. From 1 Ti 5^{16} we gather that the relations of widows tried to shift their responsibility on to the shoulders of the Church; and any woman that has 'widows' is told that she must bear her own burden in this matter; further, the duty of supporting widows is specially urged upon children, grandchildren (5^{4}), and other relatives (5^{8}). The somewhat lavish charity of the Church at Jerusalem in the days after Pentecost would be a special attraction to the needy, and may account for the apparently large proportion of widows. In considering 1 Ti 5^{16} we must remember the large households of the East, comprising relations of various degrees to three or four generations. The 'woman's' 'widows' might be daughters, daughters-in-law, etc. We further gather from 1 Ti 5 that the Church sought to limit its alms to widows of good repute, exemplary piety and beneficence, over the age of sixty; and, from the similarity of this description to those of presbyters and deacons, it seems that the Church required service from these widows in return for maintenance, and that they constituted an order of church officers; and, according to some, corresponded to the deaconesses, of whom we have an example in Ro 16^{1} (cf. WOMAN (Deaconess)), and who are described in 1 Ti 3^{11}. It should be noticed, however, that in 1 Ti 5 the writer is chiefly occupied with the burden which the relief of widows imposed upon the Church, and anxious to reduce it in every possible way. Hence the age limit, the exacting conditions as to character, and the repeated urgent appeals to relatives to maintain widows. The character qualification suggests Christian service, otherwise this function of the widows is not referred to. In Tit 2^{3} the 'aged women' are to be 'teachers of that which is good,' and to train the younger women; but the terms 'aged women,' and, in the previous verse, 'aged men,' are perfectly general.

1 Ti 5, mainly occupied as it is with the subject of poor relief, makes us wonder what was to become of destitute, friendless widows who were under sixty, or who had not reached the requisite standard of piety and beneficence. Did the Church leave them to starve, or allow them to be dependent on casual almsgiving, instead of making regular provision for them? It is sometimes supposed that the roll in 5^{9}, on which only those widows were to be entered who possessed the qualifications specified in v.$^{9ff.}$, was a register of church officers; and that these 'widows' were distinct from the widows generally whose relief is discussed in the rest of the section. Some such view is supported by v.^{11}, which objects to the enrolment of young widows because it is likely that they will marry again. If the enrolment simply entitled to relief, this would be no objection; it seems to imply that a woman entering the order of widows pledged herself to remain unmarried in order to serve the Church. Cf. Anna (Lk 2^{37}), a widow who devoted her life to religious exercises.

There are two main questions as to the 'widows' of the NT. (i.) Whether they were merely a class of the poor, specially cared for in the distribution of alms, or whether they were an order of church officials. Such an order existed in later times, and continued into the Middle Ages. Polyc. iv. 3 is as ambiguous as 1 Timothy; the terms used of widows, *e.g.* 'altar of God,' seems to imply an ecclesiastical order; and yet from the context the passage seems to refer to widows generally as distinguished from married women. But from the close of the 2nd cent. the existence of the order is vouched for by a succession of references in Tertullian, Origen, *Apostolical Constitutions*, etc. It is therefore natural to understand 1 Ti 5 of such an order, but not necessarily Ac 6^{1} $9^{39.\ 41}$. We cannot carry back to the 1st cent. the exact organization and regulation of the order in later times, but no doubt its duties consisted in devotional exercises, the instruction of women, nursing, and other works of charity.

(ii.) The second question as to NT widows is—assuming that they constituted an order, what was its relation to that of **deaconesses**? They have sometimes been supposed to be identical; but if 1 Ti 3^{11} refers to deaconesses, they are probably different from the widows of 1 Ti 5; and widows and deaconesses appear as distinct orders in the early Church, although they seem to be often confused one with the other. The most probable conclusion is that of Sanday-Headlam on Ro 16^{1}: 'Of the exact relation of the "deaconess" to the "widows" (1 Ti 5^{3}) it is not necessary to speak, as we have no sufficient evidence for so early a date; it is quite clear that later they were distinct as bodies, and that the widows were considered inferior to the deaconesses (*Apost. Const.* iii. 7); it is probable, however, that the deaconesses were for the most part chosen from the widows.'

For an account of widows in the early Church see art. 'Widow' in Smith's *Dict. of Christ. Antiquities*.

W. H. BENNETT.

WIFE.—See FAMILY and MARRIAGE.

WILDERNESS or DESERT.—Both these terms, especially the latter of them, suggest to the English ear ideas which are foreign to the Heb. words which are so rendered in EV. In particular, the popular notion of a *sandy* waste must be banished from the mind if one is to understand the meaning of 'desert' in the Bible.

1. מִדְבָּר *midbār* (LXX usually ἔρημος) occurs about 280 times in the OT, and is tr^{d} 'wilderness' by AV except in 12 passages (Ex 3^{1} 5^{3} 19^{2} 23^{31}, Nu 20^{1} 27^{14} 33^{16}, Dt 32^{10}, 2 Ch 26^{10}, Job 24^{5}, Is 21^{1}, Jer 25^{24}), where the tr. is 'desert.' RV renders by 'wilderness' except in Dt 32^{10} and Job 24^{5}, where it retains AV 'desert,' and Pr 21^{19}, where it substitutes 'a desert land' for AV 'the wilderness' as tr. of אֶרֶץ־מִדְבָּר. *Midbār* is properly a tract to which herds are driven (from דבר 'to drive [herds]'; cf. the Germ. *Trift* and *treiben*), an uncultivated region, but one where pasturage, however scanty, may be found (Ps $65^{13\ (12)}$, Jl 2^{22}, Jer 23^{10}; cf. Jl $1^{19.\ 20}$, Jer 9^{10}); usually without a settled population (Nu 14^{33}, Dt 32^{10}, Job 38^{26}, Pr 21^{19}, Jer 9^{2}; the abode of pelicans Ps 10^{26}, wild asses Job 24^{5}, Jer 2^{24}, jackals Mal 1^{3}, ostriches La 4^{3}), although in certain districts there might be towns and cities (Jos $15^{61.\ 62}$, Is 42^{11}) occupied by nomads. The term *midbār* is usually applied to the Wilderness of the Wanderings (Gn 14^{6}, Nu $14^{16.\ 29.\ 33}$ *et al.*), or the great Arabian desert (Jg 11^{22} *et al.*), but may refer also to any other (Ca 3^{6} 8^{5}). In the Wilderness of the Wanderings the following special tracts are distinguished: the Wilderness of SHUR, Ex 15^{22}; SIN, Ex 16^{1} 17^{1}, Nu $33^{11.\ 12}$; SINAI, Ex $19^{1.\ 2}$, Lv 7^{38}, Nu $1^{1.\ 19}$ $3^{4.\ 14}$ $9^{1.\ 5}$ 10^{12} 26^{64} $33^{15.\ 16}$; PARAN, Gn 21^{21}, Nu 10^{12} 12^{16} $13^{3.\ 26}$, 1 S 25^{1}; ZIN, Nu 13^{21} 20^{1} 27^{14} 33^{36} 34^{3}, Dt 32^{51}, Jos 15^{1}; KADESH, Ps 29^{8}; ETHAM, Nu 33^{8}. In W. Palestine there are: the Wilderness of JUDAH, Jg 1^{16}, Ps 63^{title} (cf. Jos 15^{61}); MAON, 1 S $23^{24.\ 25}$; ZIPH, 1 S $23^{14.\ 15}$ 26^{2}; BEER-SHEBA, Gn 21^{14}; EN-GEDI, 1 S $24^{1\ (2)}$; TEKOA, 2 Ch 20^{20}; JERUEL, 2 Ch 20^{16}; GIBEON, 2 S 2^{24}. In E. Palestine: the Wilderness of MOAB, Dt 2^{8}; EDOM, 2 K 3^{8}; KEDEMOTH, Dt 2^{26}.

Midbār is used figuratively in Hos 2^{3} ('lest I

make her [Israel] as a wilderness' ‖ 'a dry land' אֶרֶץ צִיָּה), and Jer 2^{31} ('Have I [Jahweh] been a wilderness to Israel?').

2. עֲרָבָה *'ărābāh* (prob. from a root meaning *to be arid*; LXX often *ἔρημος*, but also such renderings as *ἀγρός*, *ἕλος*, *γῆ διψῶσα*) stands for a tract of country whose soil is bare, desolate, unfertile. Its nearest equivalent is 'steppe' or 'desert-plain.' Apart from its application to *the* 'Arabah, the great depression which includes the Jordan Valley, and extends southwards to the Gulf of 'Aḳabah (see art. ARABAH, and PLAIN in vol. iii. p. 893[b]), the term *'ărābāh* is applied to steppes in general. Its renderings in EV are as follows: Job 24^5 (‖ מִדְבָּר) 39^6 (‖ מְלֵחָה 'salt land'), AV and RV 'wilderness'; Is 33^9, Jer 51^{43} (in latter ‖ אֶרֶץ צִיָּה) AV 'wilderness,' RV 'desert'; Am 6^{14} AV 'wilderness,' RV 'Arabah'; Is 35^6 (‖ מִדְבָּר and צִיָּה) 40^3 41^{19} (in both ‖ מִדְבָּר) 51^3 (‖ חָרְבָּה and מִדְבָּר), Jer 2^6 (‖ מִדְבָּר and אֶרֶץ צִיָּה) 17^6 (‖ מִדְבָּר and אֶרֶץ מְלֵחָה) 50^{12} (‖ מִדְבָּר and צִיָּה) AV and RV 'desert.' In the plur. *'arbôth* the word is used of the 'plains' (AV and RV; better 'steppes' or 'desert-plains') of Moab (Nu 22^1 $26^{3.\ 63}$ 31^{12} $33^{48.\ 49.\ 50}$ 35^1 36^{13}, Dt 34^1) and of Jericho (Jos 4^{13} 5^{10}, 2 K 25^5 [Jer 39^5 52^8]). See art. PLAIN, *l.c.*

3. חָרְבָה (in plur. חֳרָבוֹת), from a root meaning *to be waste* or *desolate*, is 3 times tr[d] 'desert(s)' in AV: Ps 102^6 (‖ מִדְבָּר; LXX *οἰκόπεδον*; RV 'waste places'), Is 48^{21} (so also RV; LXX *ἔρημος*), Ezk 13^4 (RV 'waste places'; LXX *ἔρημοι*). Elsewhere EV offers such renderings as 'waste(s),' 'desolation(s),' 'waste places,' 'desolate places': Lv $26^{31.\ 33}$, Ezr 9^9, Is 5^{17} 44^{26} 49^{19} 51^3 52^9 58^{12} 61^4 64^{10}, Jer 7^{34} 22^5 $25^{9.\ 11.\ 18}$ 27^{17} $44^{2.\ 6.\ 22}$ 49^{13}, Ezk 5^{14} 25^{13} 26^{20} $29^{9.\ 10}$ $33^{24.\ 27}$ 35^4 $36^{4.\ 10.\ 33}$ 38^8, Dn 9^2, Mal 1^4, Ps 9^6 109^{10}, Job 3^{14}. The proper application of this Heb. term is to cities or districts *once inhabited, but now lying waste* (cf. the use of שְׁמָמָה 'devastation' and its cognates in Is 1^7 5^9 6^{11}, Jer 42^{18}, Ezk 35^7), although it is once (Is 48^{21}) used of the Wilderness of the Wanderings. Its nearest Eng. equivalents are 'waste(s)' and 'ruin(s).'

4. יְשִׁימוֹן.—See JESHIMON. **5.** צִיָּה *ṣîyyāh* is twice tr[d] 'wilderness' in AV: Job 30^3 (RV 'dry ground'; LXX *ἄνυδρος*), Ps 78^{17} (RV 'desert,' RVm 'a dry land'; LXX *ἄνυδρος*; here used of the Wilderness of the Wanderings). Its proper meaning is 'dry ground' (cf. אֶרֶץ־צִיָּה of Ps $63^{2\ (1)}$, צִיּוֹן of Is 25^5 32^2, and שָׁרָב [AV 'parched ground,' RV 'glowing sand,' RVm 'mirage'] of Is 35^7). In Is 13^{21} 34^{14}, Jer 50^{39}, Ps 74^{14}, צִיִּים is used of wild beasts of the desert; in Is 23^{13} [unless we emend, with Ols., to עִיִּים, or take the word, with Marti, to mean 'seamen'] and Ps 72^9 [but prob. read, with Ols., Duhm, *et al.*, צָרִים] of human inhabitants of these arid tracts.

6. תֹּהוּ *tōhû* occurs in the collocation בְּתֹהוּ יְלֵל יְשִׁימוֹן (LXX *ἐν δίψει καύματος, ἐν γῇ ἀνύδρῳ*), lit. 'in the waste of the howling of a desert'='in the howling (adj.) waste of a desert' [on the construction see Driver, *ad loc.*], Dt 32^{10}, where it refers to the Wilderness of the Wanderings. It is tr[d] 'wilderness' by AV and RV in Job 12^{24}, and by AV (RV 'waste') in Ps 107^{40} (LXX *ἐν ἀβάτῳ*). The special sense of this word is that of a wild desolate expanse (Job 6^{18} 'they [the caravans] go up into the waste and perish'). It is the term applied to the chaotic confusion that preceded the creation (Gn 1^2; cf. Jer 4^{23}, where the prophet beholds the earth returned to the primeval *tōhû wābōhû*; and contrast Is 45^{18} 'He created it not a waste' [but perhaps here the word ='in vain,' RVm]).

7. The NT terms are *ἐρημία* and *ἔρημος* (the latter used either as adj. with *τόπος* or the like, or alone, in the fem., with *χώρα* understood). As a rule AV tr. the substantives by 'wilderness' and the adjective by 'desert.' RV changes 'desert' of AV into 'wilderness' in Mt 24^{26} and Jn 6^{31} as tr. of *ἔρημος*. Conversely, it changes 'wilderness' of Lk 5^{16} 8^{29} into 'deserts' as tr. of *αἱ ἔρημοι*, and into 'a desert place' in Mt 15^{33} and Mk 8^4 as tr. of *ἐρημία*. It also reads 'a desert place' for 'a solitary place' in Mk 1^{35} as tr. of *ἔρημος τόπος*.

The wilderness of JUDÆA witnessed the commencement of John the Baptist's ministry (Mt 3^1 ‖). An unnamed wilderness, probably the *Quarantania* of tradition, was the scene of our Lord's temptation (Mt 4^1 ‖). The words of Ac 8^{26} 'Arise and go toward the south unto the way that goeth down from Jerusalem unto Gaza: *the same is desert*' (*αὕτη ἐστὶν ἔρημος*), have occasioned a good deal of difficulty. If *αὕτη* could be taken as referring to *ὁδός*, the statement might be justified, for the road that is probably in view actually passes through the desert (so Robinson, *BRP*[2] ii. 514). But it is more natural to refer *αὕτη* to *Gaza*, and this city was, in Philip's time, quite a flourishing one. G. A. Smith (*HGHL* 187) seeks to evade this difficulty by supposing the allusion to be to Old Gaza, by which the road ran, and to which the title *ἔρημος* may have clung, even if it were not actually deserted. Upon the whole, however, it appears preferable to regard the words 'the same is desert' as a late marginal gloss which has found its way into the text.

On Oriental superstitions about the wilderness as the haunt of demons see art. DEMON, vol. i. p. 590.

J. A. SELBIE.

WILDERNESS OF JUDÆA. — See JUDÆA (WILDERNESS OF).

WILDERNESS OF THE WANDERINGS. — See EXODUS AND JOURNEY TO CANAAN.

WILL, WOULD.—1. These Eng. words are often used in AV with a significance that is hidden from the reader who does not consult the Heb. or Greek. RV has done much, esp. in the NT, to show their force, but much has yet to be done.

Will was originally an independent verb (Anglo-Sax. *willan* or *wyllan*, Middle Eng. *willen*), and expressed, either transitively or intrans., a wish or resolve, as Bacon, *Essays*, p. 77, 'It is common with Princes (saith Tacitus) to will contradictories'; p. 40, 'In evill, the best condition is not to will; the second, not to can.' As an indep. verb 'will' was often followed by an infin., with or without a direct object. Thus Bacon, *Essays*, p. 255, 'The French king willed his Chauncellor or other minister to repeate and say over Fraunce as many times as the other had recited the severall dominions'; Knox, *Hist.* p. 317, 'Thinke not (said hee), Madame, that wrong was done unto you, when you are willed to be subject unto God.'

But as the Eng. verb lost its inflexions, certain verbs, themselves originally independent, were used to form its tenses, etc. One of these was *will*, though in this case it was rather to supply a defect than to replace a lost inflexion, there being no future inflexion in the Eng. verb.* 'Will' did not cease to be an indep. verb when it became an auxiliary; it was used sometimes in the one way, sometimes in the other. And as Elizabethan writers felt at liberty to insert or omit the 'to' before an infin. as they pleased,† it has now become

* 'Shall' was used as the auxiliary of the future before 'will, and, as Earle says (*Philology*, § 304), 'will has carved all the area it occupies out of the domain of shall.' In the Introd. to *The Psalter of 1539* (Murray, 1894), Earle points out that *will* as an auxiliary 'is hardly to be found in Saxon times, it is even strange to Wyclif in the 14th cent., it is not firmly established in the Bible of 1539. It is encroaching upon *shall* and driving it back, but its limits are not yet determined. And this aggressiveness of *will*, which has long ceased in the central places of the language, is still moving at the extremities, like the flapping of the waves on the shore after the subsiding of a storm at sea.'

† Shakespeare uses great freedom with this 'to,' frequently

very difficult to distinguish 'will' as an auxiliary expressing the future tense, from 'will' as an indep. verb followed by an infin. without 'to.' Cf. Mt 10[26] 'There is nothing covered that shall not be revealed,' with 11[27] 'Neither knoweth any man the Father save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son will reveal him.' The former is a simple future (*ὁ οὐκ ἀποκαλυφθήσεται*, Vulg. *quod non revelabitur*), the other is the verb *to will* with an infin. of the following verb, the 'to' being omitted (*ᾧ ἐὰν βούληται ὁ υἱὸς ἀποκαλύψαι*, Vulg. *cui voluerit filius revelare*, Rhem. 'to whom it shal please the Sonne to reveale,' RV 'to whomsoever the Son willeth to reveal him').

The attempt has sometimes been made to distinguish the indep. verb 'to will' from the auxil. verb 'will' by their inflexions, 'to will' when indep. being often inflected *will, willest, willeth* or *wills*; past *willed*; and the aux. *will, wilt, will*, past *would*. But this distinction cannot be maintained, the indep. verb being often inflected as the auxiliary. Thus Jg 1[14] 'What wilt thou?' (מַה־לָּךְ, RV 'What wouldest thou?'); Mt 13[28] 'wilt thou then that we go and gather them up?' (*θέλεις οὖν*, RV as AV); Jn 1[43] 'Jesus would go forth into Galilee' (*ἠθέλησεν ἐξελθεῖν*; Vulg. *voluit exire*, RV 'was minded to go forth'); so *Article*, x. (1553) 'Those that have no will to good things, He maketh them to will, and those that would evil things, He maketh them not to will the same'; *Piers Plowman*, vi. 213—

> 'And now wolde I witen [='know,' inf.] of the what were the best.'

The earlier versions are often a guide to the use of 'will,' 'would,' in AV. But it is often necessary to consult the Heb. or Greek, when it may be considered probable that at least when representing an original indep. verb 'will' and 'would' are themselves independent. The verbs most frequently represented are in OT *'ābah*, and in NT *θέλω* and *βούλομαι*,* all meaning to will, purpose, desire. Clapperton (*Pitfalls in Bible English*, p. 90) gives the foll. list of passages which demand special attention: Mt 11[27] 15[32] 16[24], Mk 6[19. 25], Lk 11[31], Jn 1[43] 5[40] 7[17], Col 1[27], 1 Ti 5[11], Tit 3[8].

2. Occasionally the following verb is omitted after 'will' and 'would,' as Ps 81[11] 'Israel would none of me'; Pr 1[25] 'Ye . . . would none of my reproof'; 1[30] 'They would none of my counsel'; Sir 13[heading] 'Like will to like.' So Jn 19[head.] Rhem. 'Professing that themselves will no king but Cæsar, he yeldeth unto them.' Especially is this so with verbs of motion, as Tindale, *Works*, i. 147, 'The wind bloweth where it listeth, and thou hearest his voice, and wottest not whence he cometh, nor whither he will'; Tindale, *Expos.* 23, 'Whosoever will to heaven, must buy it of them'; Ezk 28[22] Cov. 'Beholde o Sidon, I wil upon the, and get me honoure in the.'

3. There are passages in AV in which 'will' would now be considered redundant, as Gn 32[11] 'I fear him, lest he will come, and smite me' (RV 'lest he come'); Lv 2[1] 'When any will offer a meat offering unto the Lord' (RV 'when any one offereth'); Mt 9[38] 'Pray ye therefore the Lord of the harvest, that he will send forth labourers into his harvest' (RV 'that he send'); Mk 3[27] 'No man can enter into a strong man's house, and spoil his goods, except he will first bind the strong man' (RV 'except he first bind').

J. HASTINGS.

WILL.—In this art. the consideration of the teaching of the Bible regarding both the Divine and the human Will is to be included. These may seem at first sight to be subjects of very different kinds; nevertheless, an adequate treatment of either must clearly be impossible if the other is not taken into account. The light of revelation falls upon both the human and the Divine will in the sphere of their relations to one another. We derive our idea of the Divine will in Scripture chiefly, if not entirely, from what we are told of God's mind towards and purpose for man, which have led and lead to action on His part, whereby the action of the human will must necessarily be conditioned. And, further, Scripture is no exception to the rule that the ideas which men can frame or receive about God are affected by their knowledge of themselves. The conceptions commonly formed of the mind and soul of man have ever been transferred to the Divine nature, with more or with less qualification and extension; and this has especially been the case in the absence of philosophical thought, and particularly so in primitive times.

i. *Biblical terms for the act of willing.*—The psychological and metaphysical, and to some extent also the theological, ideas of early ages, and of the majority of men at all times, are to be studied in language. It is, then, first to be observed that there is no word either in OT or NT for the will, as a faculty; and even the act of willing is not contemplated in an abstract manner. As a point of some psychological interest we may also note, that of the two Heb. words in frequent use which seem to describe an act of the will most purely as such (מָאַן in Pi. and אָבָה), one has a negative signification, and the other is almost invariably joined with a negative. (The exceptions are Is 1[19], Job 39[9]). It is in the absence of apparent reason, and in the resistance offered to a pressure from without, that the power of will is most barely presented, and therefore most readily apprehended. We may compare our term 'wilfulness.' The latter of the two Heb. words just named is often used of the wrongful assertion of the human will in opposition to the Divine will (*e.g.* Ps 81[12 (11)], Pr 1[30]). See also, as regards the former word, Ex 7[14]. The notion of an exertion of the will, not for resistance but for the achievement of something, appears to be most distinctly conveyed by יָאַל, in Hiph., but it is not so common as either of the words above mentioned. Lit. it means *to set oneself, determine, undertake, to do something*; a sense which we can trace in the LXX rendering *ἄρχεσθαι*.

We need also to consider the whole group of words signifying to *desire* (אוה, in Pi. and Hithp., and חָמַד), to *take pleasure in* (חָפֵץ), to *favour* (חָנַן and רָצָה), to *love* (אָהַב and חָשַׁק), to *choose* (בָּחַר). Where there has as yet been little or no psychological reflexion, such words may, and commonly do, involve the notion of willing. The mind has not become accustomed to distinguish between the motive—whether this consists in some purpose which commends itself to the reason, or a physical want, or external attraction acting upon the senses—and its adoption by the will; nor, again, between the act of the will and the feeling which accompanies its exercise. This is eminently true of the language of OT. In the case of men, indeed,

omitting where we should now insert, and sometimes inserting where we should omit. Cf. *Othello*, II. iii. 190, 'You were wont be civil,' with IV. ii. 12, 'I durst, my Lord, to wager she is honest.' The omission is found also in Milton, *Sonnet to Mr. Lawrence*—

> 'Where shall we sometimes meet, and by the fire
> Help waste a sullen day?'

And Guest quotes two consecutive lines from the *Mirror for Magistrates*, one of which omits, the other inserts this 'to'—

> 'And though we owe [=ought] the fall of Troy requite,
> Yet let revenge thereof from gods to light.'

* For the distinction between *θέλω* and *βούλομαι* consult Ellicott on 1 Ti 5[14], Lightfoot on Philem 13, Mayor on Ja 3[4], Sanday-Headlam on Ro 7[16], and esp. 'the full and excellent note' [Sanday-Headlam] in Thayer, *N.T. Lex. s.v. θέλω*

there is the beginning of a distinction in the prominence given to the phenomena of temptation, but it is not followed out philosophically; while in regard to God, who can effect what He pleases, the distinction naturally does not suggest itself in the same way.

The fact, however, which is perhaps of most significance for us is that all words of this class, without material exception, even those which have the most decidedly physical associations, or which are used frequently in a bad sense, are applied to God no less than to men in the Hebrew OT. Thus חָשַׁק *to cleave in love to* (used of sexual passion, Gn 34[8]), though also more generally for what the mind desires (1 K 9[19]), is used of God's love to Israel (Dt 7[7] 10[15]), and also of man's love to God (Ps 91[14]); while חָמַד to *covet* (Ex 20[17], and Mic 2[2]) describes God's feeling for Zion, Ps 68[17 (16)]. It is used also of a spiritual desire in man, Ps 19[10 (11)]. Some words, such as חָנַן to *favour*, and its subst. חֵן *favour, grace*, רָצָה and רָצוֹן, with much the same meaning, and בָּחַר to *choose*, have, esp. through their Greek representatives, come to be more particularly connected in our minds with the mysteries of saving grace; but their early history was not dissimilar to the rest, *i.e.* their transference to God was at first somewhat crudely anthropomorphic. The instance of אָהַב to *love*, to which further reference will be made, should especially bring this home to us.

In the LXX several of these Heb. words are most commonly rendered by *βούλεσθαι, θέλειν*, and *εὐδοκεῖν*, which more simply express the act of willing:—all three are used for אָבָה and חָפֵץ, *οὐ βούλεσθαι* and *οὐ θέλειν* for מָאֵן, *θέλειν* and *εὐδοκεῖν* for רָצָה; for אָוָּה, *θέλειν*, and also *ἐπιθυμεῖν*; for חָמַד, *βούλεσθαι, εὐδοκεῖν*, and *ἐπιθυμεῖν*. A feeling is, however, manifested in the LXX that some difference of language is advisable in speaking of God; *ἐπιθυμεῖν* is avoided in connexion with Him. אָהַב also, in the case both of God's love for men and men's love for God, is translated not by *φιλεῖν* but by *ἀγαπᾶν*, though it is to be added that this is, on the whole, the commoner rendering of the word in all contexts, and that *φιλεῖν* is used for the love of wisdom (Pr 8[17] 29[3], Wis 8[2]).

The non-classical word *θέλημα* is many times used both for חֵפֶץ and רָצוֹן, and for the latter sometimes also *εὐδοκία*.

The usage of NT is based upon, and in the main conforms to, that of LXX. In regard to *θέλημα*, in particular, we may observe that alike in LXX and NT it frequently denotes an individual wish or desire, and hence is used in pl. (Ps 102 (103) [7. 21], Ac 13[22], Eph 2[3]). But it may also describe such a permanent inclination as shows the bent of the character (Sir 32[17], cf. *θέλησις* in 2 Ch 15[15], and *βούλημα* in 1 P 4[3]). Other noteworthy uses are to be found in Jn 1[13], 2 P 1[21]. In Rev 4[11] the created universe is said to proceed from an act of the Divine will, for in accordance with biblical usage we must understand *θέλημα* to denote an act here rather than a faculty.

ii. *The human will.*—In considering the conception of the human will and its present condition, as well as of the Divine will, to be derived from the Bible, grave subjects which have been treated in other articles (FALL, GRACE, PREDESTINATION, and ELECTION) come before us again; but they are to be regarded here, as it were, on their psychological, moral, and metaphysical side, and such a view of them may assist us in rightly apprehending them. At the same time, we may expect that some light will be thrown by the study in which we are engaged on questions which have been debated in the philosophical schools. It is true that little, if any, trace is to be found in any part of the Bible of direct speculation on the nature and prerogatives either of the human or the Divine will. Nevertheless, through the vivid presentation in Scripture of moral and spiritual truth in its practical bearing on man, important elements in the problems relating both to the will in man and to God's will are brought into relief, and this may contribute to the right solution of those problems.

1. The proposition that the will is free is commonly understood, alike by those who assert and those who deny it, to mean that man has, at least within certain limits, the power of self-determination, of yielding to or resisting motives,—those which arise within him as well as those which plainly have their origin without him,—and of modifying his own character in some degree. The notion of moral freedom, however, which meets us in Scripture is something different from this. It appears there simply as the opposite of the bondage of sin. From this point of view, 'to be free' is to have the power of acting according to one's true nature as God designed it; and those whom we cannot imagine to be any longer capable of doing wrong, like the perfected saints, because no tendency to evil remains in them and they are thoroughly established in holiness, would yet in this sense be free, indeed the only true freemen (Jn 8[32-36], Ro 6[17-22] 8[18-21]; cf. also Ja 1[25] 2[12]). There is evidently profound truth in this conception: such must be the freedom of God Himself.

2. Nevertheless, Christian theologians of all schools have ever deduced from Scripture that man, originally at least, possessed free will in the common sense of the term, whether they admit that he still retains it to any extent or not. And, indeed, even apart from what is implied in the narrative of the Fall and all subsequent express statements (*e.g.* Ec 7[29], Ro 1[21-32]), this alone is compatible with the Scripture doctrine of God as at once the all-powerful and all-wise and the perfectly good Creator. Man's fallen condition must be due to his own fault. For some good reason God suffered man to be tempted, but He intended that the temptation should be, as it might have been, withstood. Sufficient light had been granted to man to enable him to discern the true good, and power to choose it; yet he chose evil.

It is worthy of note that even those who have been most ready to silence criticism of the morality of the action which is attributed to God in theories of the method and scope of redemption, by alleging that these are matter of Divine revelation, and by declaring that God's ways are not to be submitted to a human tribunal, have yet themselves asserted, and sought to convince men of, the justice of man's punishment on the ground that in Adam he brought it upon himself.

But we must go a step further. The attempt to satisfy the sense of human justice, significant as it is when made in the quarters just indicated, must break down so long as it is supposed that men lost their moral freedom *totally* by the first fall, and therewith all hope of salvation except in so far as they should be visited by irresistible grace, which to some, and even the majority of the race, would never come at all. The Bible, we are bold to affirm, does not support such a position. It is true that it speaks of man as enslaved by sin, as unable to accomplish his own deliverance, as dependent upon God at every step for salvation, and even for the first motions towards good (Eph 2[1. 5. 8], Ro 3[24], Tit 3[4-6], Jn 6[44. 65]). But the strongest statements to this effect, even if they stood alone, could not fairly be made to mean that nothing depends on the consent, or resistance, of man's own will to the work of God in and upon him. And by the sacred

writers who insist most emphatically on man's helplessness by himself, as well as in other parts of Scripture, it is plainly declared, or assumed, that he is responsible for being compliant (Jn $1^{9ff.}$ 5^{40} and 6^{45}, Ph 2^{12}), and in more general terms for his temper of mind and conduct, and that he will be punished or rewarded on ordinary principles of justice (Ro 2^{1-16} 3^{19-21}, Jn 7^{17}); in short, that each man born into the world is put to a probation still, however the conditions of his trial may be affected by the failures and successes of all who have gone before. So that the tragic interest and solemnity of the story of Adam's fall lies not only in the thought of what was lost for the human race from the beginning of its history, but also in its being the type of a conflict between good and evil which is perpetually renewed in the soul of every man.

It is less than the truth to say, as many do, that the recognition accorded in Scripture to the principle of man's moral freedom on the one hand, and its doctrine of grace on the other, present an insoluble antinomy, and that those who accept the authority of the Bible must accept both, though with a sense that they cannot be reconciled. This is certainly a wiser attitude than that of those who virtually deny the one in the interests of the other. It must, however, be admitted on reflexion that the sacred writers themselves do not seem to be conscious of any contradiction; and we cannot but infer that if to us there seems to be one it is largely of our own making, through the effect upon our minds of later controversies and the traditions they have left. The real difficulties in connexion with the conception of the freedom of the will are not, in point of fact, raised through the endeavour to combine in one view those moral and spiritual truths regarding Divine grace and human responsibility to which the Bible bears testimony, nor could they naturally have been indicated there. We gather from its teaching that the Spirit of God is the source of all moral and spiritual good, that Divine grace must be present with and must precede all rightful action of the human will, that this grace is bestowed in some measure upon all, and always with the design of leading on to salvation; but that it rests with man to respond to the Divine love, to yield to the Divine promptings.

Confusion and error have probably been introduced into the subjects disputed by Augustinians, Calvinists, and Pelagians, more through the too narrow notion of Divine grace in which all alike shared—as though it were to be traced only in definite Christian faith and its special fruits, and in the godly of Israel under the Old Dispensation—than from any other cause. Hence the Calvinist has been led to make a distinction between an 'effectual' grace granted in certain cases, and an operation of God's Spirit in other cases which has no saving purpose, and to regard the signs of moral and spiritual life in a multitude of instances as wholly illusory. Hence also, on the other hand, the Pelagian has supposed man to be capable of many kinds of good apart from God. Nowhere does the mistake to which reference has been made appear more clearly as the initial source of error than in the doctrine of certain schoolmen that grace was to be deserved *de congruo*, the authors of which theory evidently aimed at presenting that which they regarded as the truth in Pelagianism in the form in which it would be least open to attack. For here it was supposed that though man could not be finally saved without grace, yet by a character and a course of conduct, in shaping and inspiring which grace had had no part, he could win it. The different opinions here referred to are unscriptural, baseless, and profoundly irreligious. In contrast with all alike we would place the belief—justified, as we contend, by particular declarations of Scripture, and still more by a comprehensive view of the Divine training of man, which finds its clearest interpretation in the Bible—that no human spirit is left destitute of the life-giving visitations of the Divine Spirit, and that, rudimentary as that moral and spiritual life may be which at first He has sought or seeks to create and to foster, *e.g.* in the savage or in many even of those who live in Christian lands, no bounds can be set to the growth which may, and which He intends should, result in this world or another, wherever the human will is consentient. This is consistent with our ideas of justice, while at the same time it recognizes man's absolute dependence always upon God's grace, and can afford man no ground for claiming merit in the sight of God; for there can be no merit in his allowing himself to be saved, though he may justly expose himself to blame and loss if he frustrates God's merciful design. Further, it does not lower the supernatural to the level of the natural, though it treats that which is often called mere natural goodness as itself the outflow of a supernatural life, and as one of the lower stages, it may be, in an ascent to the highest saintliness.

3. To the extent, then, at least of giving or withholding that response to the leading of the Divine Spirit of which we have spoken, man is, according to the teaching of Scripture, free. It will, however, be said on behalf of Necessitarianism by adherents of the so-called Experience Philosophy, or Naturalism, that this response itself, and with it every feeling, thought, purpose, so far as they are not determined by causes now external to the individual, are the result of character, which has been itself completely determined and could be fully accounted for, and its products also predicted, if we knew fully the human being's parentage and life-history, as well as his present circumstances, and if the whole combination were not too complex for us to deal with by the aid of any science which we possess or are likely to possess. The force of this reasoning—and it cannot be denied that it has force—lies in the fact that to a very large extent mental phenomena are, or may with a high degree of probability be held to be, subject to Natural Law, and that the rapid and vast extension in our conception of its domain which has in recent times taken place, predisposes us to believe that all our experience may in reality come under it. On the other side, however, it may be urged that the consciousness in man of a power of choice, of a sense of responsibility for his conduct, his conviction often that he might have done better or acted in some way otherwise than he has, and the remorse which he feels, in spite of his readiness to complain of the action of an adverse fate, the blame which he imputes to himself or to others for any lack of loyalty to truth and right, of firmness and of courage, are facts which cannot be satisfactorily explained on the principles of Naturalism. We seem here to be brought face to face with an element in the sources of human character and action which, whatever its laws may be, is not subject merely to laws analogous to those which we can trace in the physical order,—a power of self-determination, a force which within a limited—in each individual a very limited—range is truly creative, a causation which is not merely phenomenal but real. As believers in the biblical revelation, we can suppose only that the all-wise and loving Creator, without diminishing aught from the fulness of His own power, has yet, in making man a spiritual being, imparted to him a certain—by comparison infinitesimal—amount of power like His own, and left him to make an independent use of it with a

view to the discipline and training which he would thus receive, and also to the response which the creature might then render to the Creator, and which would be otherwise impossible (cf. R. Browning, *Christmas Eve and Easter Day*, § 5). On the philosophical side we derive support for this view from many of the ablest thinkers of the past 150 years, from Kant and Hegel onwards, though it is necessary that we should emphasize the separation between the human and the Divine will more decidedly than some of the transcendental school do, in order to guard against Pantheism and against falling again virtually into Necessitarianism, though one of a different kind from that before spoken of.

Before passing on, it may be well to point out to what a small extent there can be any alliance between those theologians who hold that man altogether lost freedom of the will by the Fall, and philosophical Necessitarians of any school. The latter build upon their conception of what has ever been the constitution of man, of nature, and of the universe; whereas the theologians to whom we have referred regard, and must regard, man as, according to his original and true constitution, free. It is only in attempts to prove that man's belief in his own freedom is wholly illusory that they can make common ground; but this is the weakest part of the philosophers' case.

On the other hand, men in general, and that common-sense philosophy which has aimed only at formulating common opinion and at making it self-consistent, show far too little sense of the mystery attaching to the freedom of the will, or of the binding power of character, which, though not so fixed as to be beyond all possibility of being modified even by the action of the will itself, can, in general, only be altered slowly. But Holy Scripture, which lays so much stress on the bondage of sin, the operation of Divine grace, and the appointment of the circumstances of human lives by Divine Providence, cannot be said to ignore the limitations to human freedom. In this connexion it is important to observe that man's responsibility for the use of any freedom that he possesses is not diminished in proportion to the smallness of its amount. He is as much bound to turn to good account what he has if it be but a very little, as if its stock were practically unlimited. So at least he must be on the Scriptural view of his hopes and opportunities. The effort to strive against strongly riveted habits of evil might not seem worth while on the supposition that the time for seeking to undo them was very brief, and that he was left solely to what he could accomplish for himself and to human assistance; but it is otherwise if the influences of the Divine Spirit are at his disposal, and there is a prospect of infinite time in which a change in his nature may be effected. Thus it is that the Bible can give such prominence to the necessities affecting our human condition, and yet inspire and stimulate human endeavour to the utmost.

iii. *The Divine will.*[1]—The created universe is said to proceed from an act of God's will (Rev 4^{11}, and cf. Sir 43^{16}; this is, of course, also implied in the language used in Gn $1^{3,6}$ etc., Ps 33^{9} etc.; as regards the creation of man see Ja 1^{18}). His will furnishes the true end and rule for human action. Very broadly, Jn 7^{17}, Ro 12^{2}, Col 4^{12}, and in the Lord's Prayer, Mt 6^{10}; with a more special reference, 1 Th 4^{3}. The Law of the Old Dispensation is not anywhere directly called 'the will' of God, but that it is a principal expression of God's will is plainly suggested in Ro $2^{17\text{-}20}$. With this passage Jn 9^{31} may be compared, both being put into the mouth of Jews. 'The will of God' is also used specifically of God's purpose of redemption through Christ, as by our Lord Himself in speaking of His mission, Jn 4^{34} etc., and also in Ac 22^{14}, Eph 1^{9}. St. Paul and others look for indications of God's will to direct their missionary course (*θέλημα* without art. in 1 Co 16^{12} may probably mean *God's* will, cf. RVm). It is to be recognized in the ordering of events and the variety of human lots (1 P 3^{17}).

This last point brings us to the manifestation of God's will in the choice of some for special destinies or for temporal, moral, and spiritual advantages—a subject which, on account both of its peculiar difficulty and its connexion with that of human responsibility, needs particular consideration. We have seen that words used in the case of men to describe preferences of a kind for which we do not ordinarily seek to discover rational motives, and which we are content to treat as matters of individual idiosyncrasy, are applied to God, especially in OT. Such language may serve to teach in a simple way the lesson of the *absoluteness* of the Divine will. It may impress upon our minds the practical truth that when God wills this or that, man's duty lies in submission and obedience, or in humble thankfulness for His unmerited favour, on the part of those whom He exalts and blesses. But it must not be assumed that, when no motive is assigned for God's action, therefore it has not a moral and rational motive. It has to be remembered that if words descriptive of simple desire and attraction and the mere exercise of will are applied to God, so also are those which imply planning and taking counsel with oneself (Is 19^{17}, Jer 51^{29}, 2 Ch 25^{16}, Ps 33^{11}, Job 12^{13} etc.). There are, besides, passages in which we are expressly told what the Lord delights in (1 S 15^{22}, Jer 9^{24}, Is 1^{11} 65^{12} 66^{4}, Pr 11^{20} 12^{22} 15^{8}, Ec 5^{4}). Indeed all those many declarations in OT, that purity and righteousness of heart and life are required in those who would please God, are here in point; and it is to the principle thus laid down that the elevating effect of the religion of Israel was largely due.

The chief objects, however, of God's favour mentioned in OT are the Israelite nation and David with his royal house. And, in the case of the former at least, it may be said, the freedom of God's election is insisted on. But the language used can scarcely form a basis for a formal doctrine on this subject, and certainly not for a view of it which conveys the notion of arbitrariness. Later generations of Israelites were indeed taught that God's goodness to them was not due to any merit of theirs. But other reasons for it are given: it was part of the purpose which He had been pursuing from the days of their fathers, men of very different worth from themselves, and which He, in whom constancy is so notable a characteristic, could not abandon, and it was connected also with the punishment of other nations for their exceptional wickedness (Dt $9^{4\text{-}6}$ 8^{18}).

Special acts of Divine favour are seen in their true place in the light of the revelation of God's character as a whole. There could be no more instructive study in the history of the progress of the knowledge of God than that which is supplied by following out the conception of the love of God in the Bible. We have already touched upon the gradual refinement of the idea as shown in the use of language. But we have to observe also that the love of God spoken of in OT is always a distinguishing love for particular individuals and a particular race. The earliest lesson to be learnt by men, and all that they were capable of understanding, was that the good which happened to themselves was the result, not of chance or fate but of God's appointment, and the proof of His merciful regard. As we pass on to the NT the image is pre-

sented by Christ Himself of the Universal Father who loves impartially all His human children. It is evident that this revelation ought to control all more partial views.

Those who at first were made the recipients of special privileges could not fully enter into the largeness of the Divine intention in their bestowal. But this became apparent when the Church of Christ became the heir of the truth communicated to Israel. The principle of special grace and vocation was not then abandoned. It is indeed written large in human experience, and in the days of the first preaching of the gospel it was manifested in a new and deeper manner than ever before. Its application to individuals took the place of that to a nation, while spiritual blessings absorbed the attention which had been largely occupied by such as were material. But God's purpose in conferring such favours, viz., that those whom He chooses and calls to receive special knowledge, or upon whom any gift is conferred, should be ministers of it to others, is plainly set forth (Gal 1^{16}, Ro 1^{1}, 1 P $4^{10.\ 11}$, Ro $11^{15.\ 29\text{-}32}$).

V. H. STANTON.

WILL.—See TESTAMENT.

WILL-WORSHIP is the tr. in AV (1611 'will-worship,' mod. edd. two words 'will worship,' RV restores 'will-worship') of ἐθελοθρησκία in its only occurrence, Col 2^{23}. The tr. is probably suggested by the Gen. NT (1557) 'voluntarie worshipping,' where the Geneva translator seems to use the adj. 'voluntary' in the unusual sense of 'arbitrary.' The Gen. Bible (1560) has 'voluntarie religion,' and explains in the marg. 'Suche as men have chosen according to their own fantasie.'

Cran. and Rhem. have 'superstition' after Vulg. *superstitio*. Fuller adopts the word 'will-worship' in *Holy State*, p. 70, 'One Ceremony begat another, there being no bounds in will-worship, wherewith one may sooner be wearied than satisfied.' And Jer. Taylor uses 'will-worshipper,' *Rule of Conscience*, II. iii. 13, 'He that says, God is rightly worshipped by an act or ceremony concerning which himself hath no way expressed his pleasure, is superstitious or a will-worshipper.' These quotations probably explain the Gr. word aright.

J. HASTINGS.

WILLOW TREE (צַפְצָפָה *ẓaphẓāphāh*; **WILLOWS,** עֲרָבִים *'ărābîm* [only in pl.]).—Both these Heb. words appear to be used for the willow, although some consider the latter to be the poplar (see *Oxf. Heb. Lex.* and authorities cited *s.v.*). The former is the cognate of the Arab. *ṣafṣâf*, which is generic for willow. The latter is the cognate of the Arab. *gharab*, which signifies a willow, more particularly the weeping willow, *Salix Babylonica*, L. *Ẓaphẓāphāh* occurs but once (Ezk 17^{5}), in a poetical rhapsody concerning the transplanting of a cedar top, contrary to its nature, apparently to the waterside, where a plant from the seed of the land is set out as a willow, and spreads as a vine. *'Ărābîm* occurs in five places. In all of them the fact that willow trees grow by the watercourses is alluded to. 'Willows of the wâdy' (Lv 23^{40}) were taken for booths during the Feast of Tabernacles. The lair of Behemoth was among the 'willows of the wâdy' (Job 40^{22}). 'By the rivers of Babylon . . . upon the willows . . . we hanged our harps' (Ps 137^{2}). Moab carried 'riches . . . to the wâdy of the willows' (Is 15^{7} AVm 'valleys of the Arabians'). Israel is to 'spring up among the grass as willows by the watercourses' (Is 44^{4}). Eight species of willow grow in the Holy Land—*Salix Safsaf*, Forsk., *S. fragilis*, L., the brittle willow, *S. alba*, L., the white willow, *S. Babylonica*, L., the weeping willow, *S. triandra*, L., *S. Capræa*, L., the Capræan willow, *S. pedicellata*, Desf., the stalked willow, and *S. nigricans*, Fres., the blackish willow (Arab. *bân*). The first four are far more abundant than the latter. One of the peaks of Jebel Mûsa, in Sinai, is called *Râś eṣ-Ṣafṣâfeh*, from some willow trees at its base. No allusion is made in Scripture to the economic uses of the willow. Its branches are much used at the present day for basket-work. Willows are planted or grow spontaneously by all watercourses, and are characteristic trees of the landscape. The 'wâdy of the willows' (Is 15^{7}), LXX φάραγγα Ἀραβας, Vulg. *torrens salicum*, is probably a wâdy at one of the boundaries of Moab, with willows by its watercourses. If it be the southern boundary, it may be the same as נַחַל הָעֲרָבָה 'the wâdy of the 'Arabah (*or* of the Willow),' which was the southern border in the days of Amos (6^{14}), about 70 years earlier. What this was is uncertain. Wâdy Kerak, a part of this valley, is said by Irby to be called *Wâdy eṣ-Ṣafṣâf* = Valley of the Willow.

G. E. POST.

WIMPLES is AV tr. in Is 3^{22} (only) of מִטְפָּחוֹת (RV 'shawls'). See art. DRESS, vol. i. p. 627^{b}, and MANTLE, vol. iii. p. 240^{a}. The word 'wimple' means a covering for the neck (Anglo-Sax. *winpel*, Old High Ger. *wimpal*). Skeat guesses 'a covering from the wind,' taking Anglo-Sax. *win-pel* as from 'wind' and *pell* (Lat. *pallium*) a covering.

WIND (רוּחַ *rûaḥ*; ἄνεμος).—In Palestine the life of man and beast during the rainless summer depends upon the supply of water in the fountains for drinking, and in the brooks and streams for purposes of irrigation. This supply is in proportion to the amount of rain and snow deposited upon the mountains during the previous winter. As the rain is borne inland by the wind, the winds become of the highest importance, and are characterized by their power to produce or prevent rain. Hence the wonderfulness of water supplied independently of both wind and rain (2 K 3^{17}), and the unnaturalness of wind and clouds that do not produce rain (Pr 25^{14}, Jude ^{12}).

i. THE FOUR WINDS.—Winds claim attention by the periodicity that rules amid continual change, as well as on account of the heat and cold, dryness and moisture, connected with them. The Bible frequently refers to the four winds (Ezk 37^{9}, Dn 8^{8}, Zec 2^{6}, Mt 24^{31}, Rev 7^{1}), and the diversity of specific influence gives individuality to each, and prepares the way for the figurative use of their leading characteristics.

(1) *North wind* (רוּחַ־צָפוֹן *rûaḥ ẓāphôn*).—This is distinguished by its coldness and its power of dispersing rain. 'Fair weather (RV 'golden splendour') cometh out of the north' (Job 37^{22}). In Job 37^{9} ('cold out of the north') the literal meaning, unless a special constellation be referred to, is *out of the scattering winds* (RVm). In Pr 25^{23} 'The north wind driveth away (תָּחוֹלֵל) rain,' RV gives 'bringeth forth rain,' the testimony of the climate, however, being with the former [although the context demands the latter. Perhaps the text is corrupt; cf. Targ. *ad loc.*]. In a day of gloom and persistent rain, if one cloud can be seen moving from the north it is known that in less than an hour the clouds will break up and the sunshine will return.

(2) *South wind* (רוּחַ דָּרוֹם *rûaḥ dārôm*).—This wind, whether tempestuous (Is 21^{1}, Zec 9^{14}) or gentle (Ac 27^{13}), is always warm, dry if inclined to S.E., and moist if from S.W. Under the S. wind everything is warm to the touch, and, if it prevails for a day or two, all living things become silent under its oppressive heat (Job 37^{17}). In Lk 12^{55} it is referred to as a sure sign of heat.

(3) *East wind* (רוּחַ קָדִים *rûaḥ ḳādîm*). — This is

sometimes called a *wind from the wilderness* (Job 1^{19}, Jer 4^{11} 13^{24}); it is described as strong and gusty (Ex 14^{21}, Job 27^{21} 38^{24}, Is 27^{8}, Jer 18^{17}), and its destructive power was felt at sea (Ps 48^{7}, Ezk 27^{26}). It is referred to in Ja 1^{11}, where the expression 'with a burning heat' (*σὺν τῷ καύσωνι*) is correctly rendered by RV 'with the scorching wind' (see Driver on Am 4^{9} and Hos 13^{15}, with references). During summer a light land-breeze usually prevails from sunrise to 9 A.M., and rapidly grows hot under the increasing power of the sun.

(4) *West wind* (רוּחַ יָם *rûaḥ yām*).—This is a moist and refreshingly cool breeze. The W. and S.W. winds are the bringers of rain (1 K $18^{44.\ 45}$, Lk 12^{54}). If blowing freshly for several days in succession, they will cause a shower to fall even during the dry summer months.

In NT various terms are used to describe the violence of the wind; *e.g.* 'a great wind' (*ἄνεμος μέγας*, Jn 6^{18}); 'a storm of wind' (*λαῖλαψ ἀνέμου*, Lk 8^{23}); 'a great storm of wind' (*λαῖλαψ ἀνέμου μεγάλη*, Mk 4^{37}); 'a great tempest' (*σεισμὸς μέγας*, Mt 8^{24}). 'Tempest' is the translation also of *χειμών* (Ac 27^{20}), *θύελλα* (He 12^{18}). The 'tempestuous wind' (*ἄνεμος τυφωνικός*, Ac 27^{14}), called Euroclydon, RV 'Euraquilo,' is the E.N.E. gale now called *levanter*, which prevails over the eastern half of the Mediterranean. In ancient times it troubled the ships of Tarshish (Ps 48^{7}) when returning deeply laden to Tyre. See EURAQUILO.

ii. FIGURATIVE SUGGESTIONS. — Wind is the symbol of (1) *vacuity and nothingness:* Job 6^{26} 15^{2}, Pr 11^{29}, Is 41^{29}, Jer 5^{13}, Hos 8^{7} 12^{1}.

(2) *Brevity:* Job 7^{7}, Ps 78^{39} 103^{16} 104^{4}.

(3) *Freedom:* Pr 27^{16} 30^{4}, Ec 1^{6}, Eph 4^{14}.

(4) *Power:* Job 21^{18} 27^{21}, Ps 1^{4} 35^{5} 83^{13}, Is 41^{16} 57^{13} 64^{6}, Jer $49^{32.\ 36}$ 51^{1}, Ezk $13^{11.\ 13}$; Dn 2^{35}, Ja 1^{6} 3^{4}.

(5) *The will of God:* Ps $18^{10.\ 15}$; 104^{3} 148^{8}.

G. M. MACKIE.

WINDOW.—See art. HOUSE, vol. ii. p. 435[b], and TEMPLE, p. 700[a].

WINE.—See art. FOOD, vol. ii. p. 33 f., and VINE, p. 868.

WINEBIBBER (Pr 23^{20} in plu. סְבָאֵיִין; Mt 11^{19}, Lk 7^{34}, *οἰνοπότης*). — The Eng. word comes from Coverdale at Pr 23^{20}; AV is the first to use it in NT. The verb 'to bib' (perhaps from Lat. *bibere*, to drink) is still in use, signifying to keep on drinking, tipple. North (*Plutarch*, 847) speaks of 'Orators that did nothing but bib all the day long'; and Drant, *Horace Sat.* VII. E iv, 'Thou thinkes by sleepe and bibbinge wyne, to banishe out all woes.' The Eng. is a lit. tr. of the Heb. and Greek.

WINEFAT (*i.e.* Winevat).—See FAT.

WINE-PRESS.—See VINE, p. 868.

WINK.—In Ac 17^{30} the verb to 'wink at' is used figuratively of God's longsuffering, 'The times of this ignorance God winked at' (*ὑπεριδών*, RV 'overlooked'). The same use (also of God) occurs in Wis 11^{23} 'Thou . . . winkest at the sins of men' (*παροράς*, RV 'overlookest'); and (of parents) in Sir 30^{11} 'Wink not at his follies' (*μὴ παρίδῃς*). So Golding, *Calvin's Job*, 559—'Some times God spareth the wicked and wincketh at their misdedes, and that is to their sorer damnation'; and Udall, *Erasmus' Paraph.* ii. 284, 'Suche maner of faultes of children, those that be gentil parentes doe for the most part winke at, which would not suffre greater offences.' J. HASTINGS.

WINNOW.—See AGRICULTURE, FAN, SHOVEL.

WISDOM.—1. *In the age of the Prophets.*—The Wisdom (חָכְמָה *ḥokhma*) of the Hebrews developed itself originally as an independent intellectual movement, side by side with the religious one, in the form of a half-poetical, half-philosophical * observation of nature. We have the earliest reminiscences of this in the Fable poetry of the OT (Jg 9^{7-15}, 2 K 14^{9}), and in the traditions which attach to the name of Solomon (1 K 5^{10-14} [Eng. 4^{30-34}]). The comparison between the latter and the allied creations of Arabia (v.$^{11\ (31)}$), and the description of the material of Solomon's sayings (v.$^{13\ (33)}$), show that we have to do here with products not of religious but of secular poetry. This Wisdom was thought of as specially naturalized in Edom (Jer 49^{7}, Ob ^{8}). — The great prophets are upon the whole not favourable to this Wisdom, Is 5^{21} 29^{14}, Jer 4^{22} $8^{8.\ 9}$ 9^{23}: they reproach 'the Wise' with conceit and immorality. In the technical language of the prophets, תּוֹרָה, *i.e.* decision by oracle, is attributed to the priests (Jer 18^{18}, Ezk 7^{26}); דָּבָר, 'the word of Jahweh' (= רבר יי Jer. *l.c.*), to the prophets; עֵצָה, the faculty of self-determination or devising of measures, to 'the Wise' (Jer. *l.c.*). Even before the Exile the need made itself felt of fixing the teaching of Jahweh and establishing firmly its contents. It was this that led to the composition of the Book of Deuteronomy. The fierce conflicts with false prophets which had to be waged by Jeremiah and Ezekiel (Jer 28. $29^{24ff.}$, Ezk 13) tended further in the direction of limiting the influence of prophecy (Dt 18^{18-22}). The latter decayed to such an extent that in the post-exilic period its silence was painfully felt (Ps 74^{9}, 1 Mac 9^{27}). Yet it proved impossible to cause this dry branch on the tree of Israel to put forth shoots afresh.

2. *Post-exilic development of the Wisdom teaching.*—The priests and 'the Wise,' unlike the prophets, found a new sphere for their activity after the Exile; the former in the re-established cultus of the temple, the latter in the carrying forward of the legal religious system which Ezra the scribe took in hand after the Return (Ezr $7^{6.\ 10}$). Yet it was a considerable time before the effort to confine the whole intellectual life of post-exilic Judaism within the limits of rigid law succeeded. The wave which stirred the nations in consequence of the establishment of the world-empire of Alexander the Great, overflowed the Holy Land as well, and on the other hand carried Judaism far beyond the borders of that land to the interior of Asia and all the coasts of the Mediterranean. Israel came thus everywhere into contact with Greek civilization, for the Greeks were from the earliest times a race of colonists.

3. *The earliest traces of Greek influence.*—The traces of the influence of Greek Wisdom meet us for the first time in the Book of *Proverbs* (2nd cent. B.C.), which, in addition to the practical wisdom of life which it preaches (hence the name ספר חכמה applied to it in Tos. to *Baba bathra*, 14*b*), is acquainted also with a special artificial form of gnomic wisdom. On מָשָׁל 'likeness,' 'parable,' attached at first to an object borrowed from the world of nature, or קְלִיצָה (LXX *σκοτεινὸς λόγος*) 'hidden allusion' (Pr 1^{6}; cf. חִידָה, *ib.* and Ezk 17^{2}), cf. Cheyne, *Job and Solomon*, London, 1887, p. 215.

Wisdom is conceived of in Pr $8^{22ff.}$ as a separate

* Philosophy proper had no existence, and could have none, among the Hebrews. A process of thought free from presuppositions was unknown to them. God and Divine revelation were accepted as fixed points. Accordingly, all that was aimed at was merely to penetrate deeper into the contents of what was given and to define it more precisely. Nor is the form of the *Ḥokhma* that of the school speech; it is popular. Its problems are not theoretical, but concern questions dealing with the practical wisdom of life or with godliness.

Existence whom Jahweh formed as the first of His works prior to the creation of earthly things (vv.[23-26], cf. v.[22] קנני; see also Ps 139[13]). The *Ḥokhma* did not co-operate in the creating of the heavens and the earth, for, according to vv.[26-30a], Jahweh Himself made all things. Hence אָמוֹן of v.[30] cannot be rendered 'master workman' (RV), but, upon the analogy of הָאֹמֵן of Nu 11[12] ('guardian of children'), ought to be tr[d] 'foster-child' (cf. AV, Aquila *τιθηνουμένη*, Gunkel [*Schöpfung*, 1895, p. 94] 'Hätschelkind'). The *Ḥokhma* poet's thought is that Jahweh, after the toils of creation (which, according even to Gn 2[3], rendered rest necessary), found a diversion, as it were, in this His firstborn before the world, as the child played before His eyes (Pr 8[30b]). Wisdom is thus, in the mind of our poet, not a principle at work in the forming of the world, since she was only an onlooker at this and at the fashioning of individual objects. She has, according to Pr 8[31b], to do with men alone. In these she finds her delight, to them alone she turns with her call to hear instruction (מוּסָר Pr 8[33]). It is thus purely ethical aims to which she seeks to lead men, by whom, of course, from the Judaistic standpoint, are meant simply Israelites.

The notion of the Divine *Ḥokhma* as a separate Existence outside of and over against Jahweh, is, however, as un-Israelitish as possible and absolutely opposed to the monotheism of the יהוה אחד (Dt 6[4]) that had become firmly established since the time of Deuteronomy. It can be explained only as due to the influence of Greek philosophy, according to which the archetypes of things (*ἀρχέτυποι ἰδέαι*, Plato, *Timæus*, p. 29) or the powers of the Divine essence diffused throughout the world (the *κοιναὶ ἔννοιαι* of the Stoics; cf. C. Wachsmuth, *Die Ansichten der Stoiker über Mantik*, etc. p. 21) are regarded as having a separate existence of their own, although in their relation to the world they are otherwise conceived of than in the Book of Proverbs.

4. *The Jewish doctrine of retribution and the struggles of faith to which it gave rise.*—In other parts of the Book of Proverbs the questions of wisdom in the ordering of the life of a Jew are discussed. Piety appears here as the successful and most advantageous course (2[7f. 11f. 20-22]). Virtue is never unrewarded (3[1ff. 8-10. 16] 10[27ff.] 16[20]). Misfortune befalls only the ungodly (11[31]), for the pious it is only a passing chastisement (3[11f.]).—The actual experiences, which were diametrically opposed to such doctrines, led to a period of struggles of faith (Farrar in *Speaker's Apocr.* vol. i., London, 1877, 'The era of difficulties,' p. 416), whose deposit we have in several of the Psalms, in Job, and in Ecclesiastes.

(*a*) *The Psalms.*—Ps 37 proceeds upon the idea that the good fortune of the wicked has no continuance (vv.[2. 9f. 17. 20. 35f. 38]). In brilliant poetic language the sudden end of their prosperity is described, and this has the counter-description opposed to it of the exaltation and happiness of the godly which always comes to pass after a transient period of woe (vv.[5f. 17b-19. 24f. 33. 39f.]). Since, however, this was contradicted by other experiences which told of wicked men who were prosperous down to the end of their life (Job 21[7-15. 23. 29-33]), the difficulty was not solved. The expedient of declaring that in such cases the punishment overtakes the children of the ungodly (Job 21[19]) was nothing more than a palliative, for this punishment extended, according to Ex 20[5], only to the third or fourth generation; and it gave no satisfaction at all to the later prophets (cf. Jer 31[29f.], Ezk 18[2-32]), who insisted upon the personal responsibility of the transgressor.—Ps 49 accordingly grappled with the problem afresh and offered the solution that death at all events brings punishment to the wrong-doer whom continued prosperity has made defiant (v.[7]). Then can none deliver him (vv.[8-11]), he must leave behind him his ill-gotten wealth (vv.[12. 17-20]), and he himself becomes a prey to corruption (v.[14]). The godly man, on the other hand, has the sure hope that God will deliver him from death (v.[15], cf. Ps 16[10]), and he can enjoy his prosperity, while the wicked die away (v.[15b]). But, seeing that the stroke of death falls in any case at last upon the righteous as well, neither could this solution of the problem be regarded as satisfactory. —Ps 73, in which we can still detect the scars of the fierce conflict which faith had to sustain with doubt (vv.[2-16]), followed to some extent the same path, arguing that the prosperity of the ungodly is but fleeting, whereas that of the godly is at last permanent (vv.[17-24. 27]). Along with this, it points to a solution which, from the Christian standpoint, indeed, would be perfectly satisfying, namely, that the happiness of the righteous is purely inward, and that this, or in other words the blessedness produced by the fellowship of the heart with God, cannot be torn from them by any suffering of an earthly kind (v.[25f.]). But this solution was inadequate from the standpoint of the OT, for the latter demanded outward prosperity for the righteous by way of reward, and outward suffering for the wicked by way of punishment. Equally unsatisfactory as a full answer was the declaration that, in the case of the righteous, suffering is chastening, and, as such, an evidence of Divine love (Pr 3[11], He 12[5-9]), intended to warn them against going on further in sin (Job 33[10f. 17-30]), and, on the other hand, purifies them from stains and in this way perfects them (He 12[10f.]). However correct and beautiful all this is, one does not see why in that case the ungodly, who surely in any case also deserve punishment, receive none. Again, from the OT point of view, the use of such a purifying of the godly could not be apprehended; for if, as frequently happened, the suffering continued till the death of the sufferer, the whole fruit of such purification was lost in Sheol, where godly and ungodly lead the same dreamy existence (Ps 49[11. 15], Job 3[11-19] 7[7-10] 14[22], Ezk 32[18-32]). There even the righteous have no more hope (Ps 6[5] 30[9], Is 38[10. 18f.], Job 7[9f.] 14[10-12]; cf. esp. W. Schwally, *Leben nach dem Tode nach den Vorstellungen des alten Israels*, Giessen, 1892, pp. 59–74). Nor could doubts be solved by the expedient of declaring that in the last resort all are sinners, that none is good but God alone (Job 4[17-19] 14[4] 15[14-16] 25[4-6], Mk 10[18]), for this supplied no answer to the question why it is, under these circumstances, that the notoriously ungodly so often remain unpunished. But, above all, these attempts at solving the problem all left the main question untouched, how the circumstance is to be explained that God does not fulfil His solemn promise to reward the righteous and to punish the wicked (Dt 28), but almost consistently does the opposite. With loud complaints the godly addressed to God the bitter question why He looks so calmly on this course of things (Jer 12[1. 2]); and a kind of despair took possession of them (Jer 20[14-18], Job 3[1-12]). It appeared as if God were asleep (Ps 44[23]). The prosperous transgressor asked mockingly, 'Where is now thy God?' (Ps 42[3. 10]) and triumphantly denied the alleged principle of a Divine government of the world (Ps 10[13] 14[1] 73[11]).

(*b*) *The Book of Job.*—The finest exhibition of the problem of the doctrine of retribution on all its sides and in all its depth is afforded by the poem of Job. We have here three [or four] speakers, who state their case from the standpoint of the traditional doctrine; and also in the speeches of their opponent, Job, a large space is devoted to a description of the doctrine he combats. The fundamental dogma of the old doctrine of retribution

is that all suffering is punishment inflicted by an angry God. God turns away offended from man (Job 13^{24} 19^{7} $23^{8f.}$ $30^{20f.}$); or turns the glance of His anger upon him (7^{19a} 14^{6a} 16^{9}), meets him as an enemy (19^{11} 13^{24}), smites him with the stroke of His hand (13^{21} 30^{21}). The storms of trial appear like the attack of an adversary (10^{17} $16^{13f.}$ 19^{12}) or the threatened onslaught of wild beasts (10^{16}, cf. Ps $22^{13f.\ 17}$, Is 38^{13}). Side by side with this we find the figures of the net (Job 19^{6}), the prison (7^{12} 13^{27}), darkness (19^{8b}), the closed-up way (3^{23} 19^{8a} *et al.*). The sufferings are described at one time as outward (9^{23}), and again as inward (30^{27} pains of the entrails). Finally, they carry the man off ($9^{17f.}$ 14^{18-20}). This hostile attitude on the part of God awakens in the mind of the sufferer the fear of further misfortunes (Job 9^{28} $10^{14f.}$ $30^{23f.}$), and therewith a feeling of despair and hopelessness ($3^{25f.}$ $9^{11ff.}$ $23^{14ff.}$), so that he prays merely for a brief respite (7^{19} 10^{20} 14^{6}), or even for death ($6^{9ff.}$ 7^{15}). — The further result of this view of the causes of suffering is that the sufferer torments himself continually with the question why he has incurred this mysterious and, to him, inexplicable anger of God ($10^{2ff.}$ $13^{23ff.}$ $23^{3ff.}$), for it appears to him as if he were continually watched by God, who seeks for occasions to punish him for possible transgressions ($7^{20f.}$ $13^{26f.}$).—To the sufferer it is peculiarly painful that his associates, friend and foe alike, take the same view of the cause of his woes. They regard him as one thus marked out by God. His enemies with malicious joy seize the opportunity to inveigh against him ($16^{10ff.}$ $30^{1ff.}$); his slaves and domestics refuse him obedience ($19^{15f.}$); wife and children and friends shrink from him ($19^{13f.\ 21f.}$ 12^{4}); all regard him as a reprobate (17^{6}). Whoever should doubt this would call the Divine justice in question, charge God with unrighteousness and untruth, and thus commit the most heinous blasphemy (8^{3} 34^{7-12}), and he would load himself with new and heavier guilt (11^{4} 15^{13} $33^{9ff.}$ $34^{5ff.}$). The whole duty of the sufferer is, accordingly, by honest self-examination to discover his offence. Such must be *a priori* assumed, for otherwise there would be no suffering, *i.e.* no punishment, to explain (8^{11}); and, as no one is perfect (4^{17-19} 15^{14-16} 25^{4-25}), some kind of guilt will not be difficult to discover. [It might be that the offence was trifling: in that case it was God's aim to deter the man from something worse, 33^{27-30}]. Hence the man who denies his guilt reveals a hardened disposition, which will not confess what is certainly there all the same, and which justifies, according to the notions of the time, the heaping of all conceivable evil charges upon his head (ch. 22).—To this doctrine Job objects: in the first place, that at all events the sufferer has a right to complain; in $6^{4ff.}$ that it is harsh when, instead of offering to the sufferer comfort in his affliction, people upbraid him with the sins they impose upon him (v.$^{14ff.}$), repeat with all kinds of variations the familiar theory of the Divine punitive justice and apply this to the unfortunate being before them (12^{2-4} 13^{2} $16^{2ff.}$ 19^{2-5}). Again, it is an easy matter on the ground of pure theory to heap all kinds of charges upon a sufferer's head, charges to which the latter can oppose the partly notorious facts of his blameless life (ch. 31). No doubt, the omnipotence of God makes rebellion on man's part against the strokes of His hand useless, but this does not prove that these sufferings are just ($9^{2ff.\ 29ff.}$ 10^{15-17} $12^{14ff.}$ 13^{19-21} $19^{6ff.}$). Although it is not to be denied that there are terrible instances of Divine judgment upon wrong-doers (19^{29} $13^{10.\ 16}$), on the other hand experience shows that good and bad alike are the victims of God's stroke ($9^{22f.}$ $12^{23ff.}$), and that it goes well with the one and ill with the other, without any merit on the part of the one or blame on the part of the other ($21^{23.\ 25}$). It often happens even that wicked men enjoy undisturbed prosperity down to their death (12^{6} $21^{7-15.\ 30-33}$ $24^{1ff.}$).—On the other hand, no power in the world, and no alleged doctrine of Divine Providence, however hallowed by time, can tear from the soul of an innocent sufferer the consciousness of his innocence, and compel him, in opposition to the acquitting voice of conscience, to confess himself guilty (10^{7} 13^{18} 16^{17} $23^{6f.}$ $27^{5f.}$ 31). Such a man is entitled to appeal to the better judgment of God Himself, which does not agree with the verdict which men think to discover in the strokes of misfortune that have fallen upon the sufferer (10^{7} 12^{4} $13^{7-11.\ 22f.}$ 16^{19-21} 17^{3} $19^{23ff.}$). The very assertion that there is not a single righteous man shows how utterly untenable is the old doctrine of retribution, for in that case it is quite incomprehensible why it often happens that it is just those who are relatively least stained with guilt that are most severely punished, whereas gross offenders go free ($8^{12.\ 20f.}$ $13^{23ff.}$ $14^{4.\ 17}$). The negative result of these observations is briefly this: What hitherto it has been the custom to call the exercise of Divine justice in the fortunes of men is nothing more than the exercise of Divine omnipotence, whose resolutions are without any moral quality. These take their place, undistinguished, amongst natural occurrences, be these beneficial or destructive, and affect all men alike. In like manner, individuals are prosperous or the reverse in the affairs of their natural life, without regard to whether they are good or bad. The gifts of prosperity and the blows of adversity, in so far as by these are understood material well-being or suffering, do not depend at all on the moral character of the man, and have no relation at all to the moral nature (the righteousness) of God. Such is the result of an unprejudiced examination of things. The old doctrine of Divine retribution is completely shattered against it. Cf. Goethe's *Faust*, i.—

> Fluch sei der Hoffnung! Fluch dem Glauben!
> Und Fluch vor allen der Geduld!
> *Geister-Chor:* Weh! Weh!
> Du hast sie zerstört,
> Die schöne Welt,
> Mit mächtiger Faust;
> Sie stürzt, sie zerfällt:
> Ein Halbgott hat sie zerschlagen!
> Wir tragen
> Die Trümmern ins Nichts hinüber,
> Und klagen
> Über die verlorne Schöne.
> Mächtiger
> Der Erdensöhne,
> Prächtiger
> Baue sie wieder,
> In deinem Busen baue sie auf!

Over against this the following positive structure is reared by one who supplemented the poem (cf. C. Siegfried, 'Job' in Haupt's *SBOT*). He insists that, while Nature, especially in her terrible catastrophes, exhibits merely the working of Almighty power whose immensity overwhelms man (ch. 26), yet in her positive operations, in the variety of her creatures and their mode of life, she reveals an admirable law and order; from which it follows that not merely brute force but also hidden wisdom interpenetrates and controls the life of nature (chs. 38–41). The depths of this wisdom are indeed beyond man's understanding (28^{1-27}), but the analogy of the life of nature leads us to postulate a similar order for the moral world, although it is not in man's power to state its laws. Man has left to him the essence of all wisdom in the practical maxim of life—the fear of Jahweh and the avoiding of evil (26^{28}). The theoretical solution of the problem is thus given up in the Book of Job. Yet the standpoint of faith and of religion is maintained, as in Ec $12^{13f.}$.—Another solution is proposed in the Elihu speeches, but it

is opposed to the whole tendency of the poem. These speeches trace the sufferings of the righteous to an aim on God's part to purify them morally, and to keep them from sin ($33^{17f.\ 27-30}$ 36). The object of suffering, that is to say, is here a pædagogic one.

(*c*) *Ecclesiastes.*—A complete breach with the position of Jewish orthodoxy was reached in the 'Grundschrift' of this book (Q^1; cf. C. Siegfried in Nowack's *Hdkom. z. AT*, 'Prediger und Hoheslied,' Göttingen, 1898), embracing the following passages: 1^{3}–$2^{12.\ 14b-24a}$ $3^{1-10.\ 12.\ 15f.\ 18-21}$ $4^{1-4.\ 6-8.\ 13-16}$ $5^{9f.}$ $^{12-16}$ 6^{1-7} $7^{1b-4.\ 15.\ 26-28}$ $8^{9f.\ 14.\ 16f.}$ $9^{2f.\ 5f.}$ 10^{5-7} (cf. *l.c.* p. 6 ff.). We find here a pessimist philosophy radically divorced from Judaism and influenced mainly by Stoicism (cf. *l.c.* pp. 6–10). The book was glossed by an Epicurean Sadducee (Q^2), to whom belong 3^{22} 5^{17-19} $7^{14.\ 16}$ 8^{15} $9^{4.\ 7-10.\ 12}$ 10^{19} $11^{7-8a.\ 9a.\ 10}$ 12^{1b-7a} (*l.c.* p. 10 f.); further, by a *ḥākhām* (Q^3), who defends Wisdom against its disparagement by Q^1, and to whom are attributed $2^{13.\ 14a}$ 4^{5} $6^{8.\ 9a}$ $7^{11f.\ 29}$ 8^{1} 9^{13-18} $10^{1-3.\ 12-15}$ (*l.c.* p. 11); and, most notably, by a Jewish *ḥāsîd* (Q^4; *l.c.* p. 11 f.), who corrected the anti-Jewish views of Q^1. To his hand we owe the passages: $2^{24b-26a}$ $3^{11.\ 13f.\ 17}$ 4^{17}–$5^{1.\ 3-5.\ 6b\ f.}$ 6^{10-21} $7^{13.\ 17.\ 23-25.\ 29}$ $8^{2-8.\ 11-13}$ 9^{1} $11^{5.\ 8b.\ 9b}$ $12^{1a.\ 7b}$. On the other hand, scattered interpolations (Q^5; *l.c.* p. 12), in the spirit of the old gnomic Wisdom, contain exhortations to a prudent conduct of life: 4^{9-12} $5^{2.\ 6a.\ 8.\ 11}$ $7^{1a.\ 5.\ 6a.\ 7-10.\ 18.\ 20-22}$ 9^{11} $10^{4.\ 8-11.\ 16-18}$ $11^{1-4.\ 6}$. A redactor (R^1) put together 1^2–12^7, and supplied this whole with the closing formula 12^8. Then came particular additions: first epilogue $12^{9f.}$, which informs the reader as to the personality of Qoheleth and removes the mask of king Solomon; second epilogue $12^{11f.}$, which assumes an opposite attitude, one opposed to this Wisdom literature; and $12^{13f.}$, the work of a final redactor (R^2), who from the Pharisaic standpoint alludes to a final future judgment, a doctrine with which Q^4 (3^{17} 11^{9b}) is not yet acquainted (*l.c.* p. 12).

In the genuine parts of the poem the theme 'All is vanity' is treated by Q^1 in a series of parallel arguments. In the first of these it is established that all that happens on earth exhibits an iron law of cycle, in which certain passing phenomena regularly recur (1^{3-11}). All man's efforts to discover a reasonable ground for this arrangement come to nought (vv.$^{12-18}$). Qoheleth assures us that he has tried all kinds of expedients to banish the pessimistic disposition produced by the above observation; he has revelled in every species of enjoyment; he has given himself to the most laborious inventions. But all in vain (2^{1-11}). The attempt to find consolation in the pursuit of Wisdom ($2^{12.\ 14b.\ 15f.}$) has likewise been a complete failure, so that he has ended in blank despair (vv.$^{17-24a}$). — The second argument on the theme of 1^2 shows how the contraries, which characterize all that happens on earth, prove all labour on man's part to be vain. Birth is followed by death, planting by rooting up, etc. (3^{1-9}). This law of nature, which always destroys again what it has made (vv.$^{10.\ 12.\ 15}$), shows that there is no moral principle in the ordering of the world. Consequently there can be none in the case of men either, for, as their existence is not essentially different from that of the beast, no more can their fate be different ($3^{16.\ 18-21}$). Special arrangements for the good of man are impossible in the plan of the universe.—The third argument (chs. 4. 5) is already interrupted by a number of interpolations. But the hand of Q^1 may still be recognized in $4^{1-4.\ 6-8.\ 13-16}$ $5^{9f.\ 12-16}$ in the complaint about human suffering, from which there is no escape, and which is yet so useless, and about the restless and yet fruitless labours of men. Isolated fragments of the following chapters (Siegfried, *l.c.* p. 22) contain complaints of similar experiences, and wage a special conflict with the Deuteronomic doctrine of retribution. Laws of nature, according to Q^1, not moral laws, rule everything. There is no Divine government of the world. This is proved by the world's course. Man's lot is a continual vain struggle. Pleasures cannot compensate him for this, for they rest upon an illusion. Nor does Wisdom bring any real satisfaction, for the pursuit of her is fruitless. — Amongst the glossators, Q^2 occupies a purely Epicurean standpoint. Eating and drinking and other sensual indulgences he considers of very real value, and counsels participating in these before the coming of old age when the capacity for enjoying them ceases. Labour, again, is, according to him, not without result, for by it man gains something which procures enjoyment. Hence man is to note the good days and accommodate himself to the evil ones.—The glossator, the *ḥākhām* Q^3, as was already remarked, defends Wisdom against the disparagement of its value by Q^1. — The Pharisee Q^4 maintains the positions of Judaism against Q^1, namely the Divine causality in the creation and government of the world: the Divine justice, which calls even the exalted to account and protects the law-abiding; the view of premature death, which overtakes the wicked, whereas it is escaped by the godly (Siegfried, *l.c.* p. 11 f.).

5. *The Wisdom teaching in the Apocrypha.*—In the apocryphal literature the Wisdom teaching received abundant attention. (*a*) *Sirach.* — The standpoint of the sayings of Ben Sira has points of contact with that of Q^4 just described. His 'Wisdom' is out and out Jewish-religious. 'All wisdom is from the Lord, and is with him for ever' (1^1); hence it is unfathomable in its nature, for God alone comprehends it (v.^{6}). God created it (v.^{9}), and poured it out on all His works, but in a special manner upon the godly (v.^{10}), who recognize that the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom (vv.$^{14-20}$). From this source flow all ethical rules, which are specialized in rich variety, a course which gives the author occasion for a number of separate expositions (1^{21}–16^{23}). Once more he turns to the contemplation of the nature of wisdom in 24^1–30^{27}, a section which opens with a call to Wisdom to raise a hymn in praise of herself, to which she responds in 24^{3-12}. She glorifies herself as having proceeded out of the mouth of the Highest, and relates how at the Creation she lay upon the earth like a mist (cf. Gn 1^2 2^6). Then she took her seat upon a pillar of cloud (cf. Ex 14^{19}) and spread her flight through the heights of heaven. But she likewise walked through the depths of the abyss. Sea and dry land have been taken possession of by her, and she has sought a dwelling-place among all nations. But 'the Creator of all things' commanded her: 'In Jacob take up thy dwelling.' Then she received her place in Zion, and flourished there like a fine tree. And so she calls all who long for Wisdom to come and enjoy her fruits. But Wisdom has found its fullest expression in the Book of the Law (24^{23-29}), whose full stream is compared with that of the four rivers of Paradise. With Sirach thus as in Pr 8 (see above, p. 925[a]) Wisdom is not God's intermediary in the creation of the world, but has to do only with men. She seeks a dwelling-place with them upon the already created earth, and finds it in Israel, partly in the Temple worship ($24^{10f.}$), partly in the Book of the Law (24^{23}).

(*b*) *Baruch.*—In this book Wisdom appears simply as attached to the book of the commands of God (ch. 4): Israel's misfortunes, which came upon her with the Exile, are due solely to her having forsaken these commandments of life ($3^{9ff.}$; cf. Ryssel in Kautzsch's *Apokr. u. Pseudepigr. d. AT*, i. 230–475).

(*c*) *4 Maccabees.*—Here the Jewish philosopher of religion starts with the principle that the natural reason (ὁ νοῦς) of man is intended to rule the passions (τὰ πάθη). This is accomplished when the νοῦς chooses a life in Wisdom and thus becomes λογισμός. Only thus can it arrive at the σοφία, which consists in possession of a knowledge of things Divine and human and of their causes (σοφία δὴ τοίνυν ἐστὶν γνῶσις θείων καὶ ἀνθρωπίνων πραγμάτων καὶ τῶν τούτων αἰτίων, 1[16]). But the Wisdom that is recognized must also be desired, the λογισμός must be εὐσεβὴς λογισμός, thought determining itself to a virtuous life. The best aid to the leading of such a life is the ancestral Law, which teaches us Divine and human things in the worthiest and most suitable manner (ἡ τοῦ νόμου παιδεία, δι' ἧς τὰ θεῖα σεμνῶς καὶ τὰ ἀνθρώπινα συμφερόντως μανθάνομεν, 1[17]). By the help of the prescriptions of the Jewish Law a man will be best able to check perturbations of spirit, for from it we derive trust in God, and the conviction that the enduring of any suffering for virtue's sake brings blessedness. True philosophy thus coincides with εὐσέβεια, and is of value simply as laying a scientific foundation for Judaism (cf. J. Freudenthal, *Die Flavius Josephus beigelegte Schrift über die Herrschaft der Vernunft*, Breslau, 1869; A. Deissmann, 'Das sogenannte vierte Buch der Maccabäer' in Kautzsch's *Apokr. u. Pseudepigr. d. AT*, ii. 177; and, in general, Farrar in *Speaker's Apocrypha*, 415[b]–420[a]; and art. MACCABEES in vol. iii. p. 194).

In this intellectual movement which defended the Jewish religion with the weapons of Greek philosophy, and embellished it with the grace acquired from Greek education, the BOOK OF WISDOM took its place as an important factor. See the following article. C. SIEGFRIED.

WISDOM, BOOK OF.—i. TITLE.—The title σοφία Σαλωμῶνος rests upon the circumstance that the book in several passages, particularly chs. 7–9 (cf. esp. 9[7ff.]) claims to be the words of king Solomon, who passed in general for the patron of didactic composition, as David did of lyric. In like manner the canonical Book of Proverbs received the title 'Proverbs of Solomon' (מִשְׁלֵי שְׁלֹמֹה), although in 30, 31[1] other composers of oracles are also introduced as authors. Of Solomon's kingly wisdom we hear in 1 K 3[7-14]. In Sir 47[12-18 (14-19)] he is celebrated as one who filled the earth with dark sayings, songs, parables, and apophthegms, as well as with interpretations which evoked the admiration of all lands. Also in Qoheleth he is regarded as the real founder of the schools of wisdom (Ec 1[12]), and even the sayings of this book are in a way attributed to him as their legendary author (see Siegfried, *Prediger*, p. 1 f.). The author of the Book of Wisdom appears to have been moved by a definite polemical aim in opposition to the Book of Qoheleth, when he chose Solomon as the representative of his views. In 1[10]–2[20] he assails with remarkable vehemence the opinions of unorthodox Jews, who incline partly to Stoicism, partly to Epicureanism. These opinions correspond exactly to those put forward in the Book of Ecclesiastes. He reproaches these men with their pessimism, in which they in a manner 'called death unto them by their hands and their words' (Wis 1[16]), consumed themselves with longing after this friend, and made a covenant with him (*ib.*). According to their perverted judgment, life is short and sorrowful (2[1a]; cf. Ec 6[12] 2[22f.] 3[10] 4[1ff.]). Man has no remedy against death, and none can release from Hades (2[1b]; cf. Kautzsch, *Apokr.* i. 482). The breath of our nostrils (cf. Gn 2[7]) is but as a smoke that ascendeth; thought (ὁ λόγος) is a spark kindled by the beating of the heart [the ancients had no idea of the functions of the brain], and, when this is extinguished, the body is turned into ashes, and the animating breath is dissipated in the air. Then even the recollection of us fades quickly (2[4-6]; cf. Ec 2[16] 9[5b]). Our life is like the passing of a shadow (2[5]; cf. Ec 6[12]). Hence from these circles of thought comes the Epicurean call to enjoy the good things of this life as long as they are within our reach.—Further, there are expressions here and there in Wisdom which recall the late Hebraisms peculiar to Ecclesiastes: *e.g.* μερίς, Wis 2[9c] = חֵלֶק of Ec 2[10] 3[22] in the sense of 'fruit of toil,' 'reward'; καταδυναστεύειν, Wis 2[10], cf. עָשַׁק בְּ Ec 4[1], שָׁלַט בְּ 8[9] (cf. Farrar, *Apocr.* i. 404[b]). To this unbelieving Solomon our author opposes a genuinely Jewish, pious, orthodox Solomon.—That the words of the book are those of the historical king Solomon, our author does not mean to assert, nor could the readers of his time have supposed this to be the case. The Muratorian canon pronounces the Book of Wisdom to be 'a work composed in his honour by friends of Solomon' (*ab amicis Salomonis in honorem ipsius scripta*); Clement of Alexandria, it is true, cites sayings from our book as words of Solomon, but also as those of σοφία; Origen and Cyprian use the book as canonical, but Origen is doubtful of its authenticity (ἡ ἐπιγεγραμμένη Σολομῶντος σοφία, *adv. Cels.* v. 29). Jerome and Augustine give up the Solomonic authorship (see Schürer, *GJV*[3] iii. 381 f.).

ii. LANGUAGE.—D. S. Margoliouth attempted (*JRAS*, Apr. 1890, pp. 263–297) to prove a Heb. original for the Book of Wisdom.* But, in spite of certain phenomena which at first sight favour this theory, J. Freudenthal (*JQR*, July 1891, pp. 722–753) has conclusively shown that both the speech and the form of thought in our book plainly point to a Greek original. Hebraizing expressions are employed by the author because he found these in the LXX, and because he was himself a Jew (cf. Farrar, 404[b], 405[a]; Grimm, *Apokr.* 6[te] Lieferung, pp. 5, 8); but these expressions do not justify the conclusion that the work was originally composed in Hebrew.—The Greek of the book is indeed not always correct. Our author at times gives words a meaning which is not usual in classical literature (cf. Farrar, 405[a]). To this category belong expressions which are particularly characteristic of the Platonic or the Stoic philosophy (Farrar, 407[a]; Grimm, 19); compound adjectives, which appear to be in part of the author's own coining (Farrar, *l.c.*; for similar phenomena in Philo see Siegfried, *Philo von Alexandria*, 1874, pp. 46 f., 135). The author shows himself to be also well read in Greek poetry (Farrar, 405[b], 406[a]; Grimm, 7); he imitates Greek figures of speech (according to Farrar, 405[b], 406[a], and Grimm, *l.c.*), although not always with success (Farrar, 406[a]). Regarding the influence which the Greek of the Book of Wisdom exercised upon the NT, cf. Farrar, p. 408. Our author reveals also an acquaintance with Greek culture, art, and science; in particular, he displays a knowledge of astronomy and natural history (cf. 7[17-20]), makes reflexions on the origin of idolatry (13[1-9] 14[13f.] 15[5ff.]), etc. Towards the end of his book his creative power gets exhausted, and he begins to repeat himself (11[4ff.], cf. chs. 16–19). His language, too, degenerates into rhetorical bombast.

iii. GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE BOOK.—In spite of our author's familiarity with Greek culture, and the profundity of his studies, especially in the Platonic and the Stoic philosophy, which may be detected both in his language (Farrar, 407[a]) and his world of ideas (Grimm, 19 f.), he was far from feeling, like Josephus and Philo, hampered by his Jewish faith, and far from seeking, like the former, to embellish it with Hellenizing graces, or, like

* His treatment of this book in the *Expositor* (Feb.–March 1900) can hardly be taken seriously.

the latter, to make it more acceptable to the educated classes by allegorizing explanations. Besides, he felt himself, as a worshipper of the true God, too far raised above all idolaters (13[10]–14[31]) for this, and too much embittered against those of his countrymen who had allowed themselves to be turned by Greek philosophy away from their ancestral religion to free-thought and immorality (1[16]–2[24]). His Jewish temper shows itself even in the outward form of his work, to which he strove with all diligence to give a genuine biblical colouring. We have seen already (p. 928[b]) how closely he attached himself to the LXX and its Hebraisms. Although he is capable of imitating the artistic periodic structure of the Greeks (cf. 12[27] 13[1ff. 11-15]), he prefers as a rule the simple Hebrew fashion of clauses connected without particles (cf. Grimm, p. 13). He seeks also, at least in the greater part of 1–12[18], by imitating the Heb. parallelism, to make his book approximate as closely as possible to his model, the Book of Proverbs.

iv. THE AIM OF THE BOOK.—The author's zeal for the Jewish religion, and his orthodoxy, are still more evident in the aim of the Book of Wisdom. The Judaism of his time and environment found itself sorely pressed both from without and from within, and this in proportion to its faithfulness (2[10. 12-20]). It was weakened (3[10-12] 4[13b-20]) by internal dissensions and by apostasy, particularly, it would appear, on the part of the wealthy and influential classes (5[8]). In addition, it was continually threatened by the spiritual force of Greek culture and philosophy (2[1ff.]). In face of these dangers, the author seeks to provide a sure hold for the professors of the Jewish faith. It is quite intelligible that, face to face with these Hellenized Jews who 'sought after wisdom' (1 Co 1[22]), he felt himself moved to proclaim the Jewish religion as the true Wisdom, and to make the notion of *σοφία* the centre of his discourse. The choice of this notion was specially happy, because within its sweep could be brought all that the Greek philosophy contained of truth and all that the OT taught about *Ḥokhma*. We find, accordingly, that the author drew from all these sources. Platonic is his doctrine of amorphous matter (11[17]), of the central ideas (13[1] *ὁ ὤν*), of the pre-existence of the soul (8[19f.]), of the body as hindering elevation to the divine (9[15]; in the expressions *βαρύνει*, *βρίθει*, and *γεώδες* there are points of contact with Plato's *Phædo*, 87[b]); he Platonizes also in his doctrine of the four cardinal virtues (8[7]). Stoic is his conception of Wisdom as the all-pervading power (7[22. 24]). On the other hand, his doctrine of Wisdom as an attribute of God is based wholly upon Pr 8. 9. He thinks of Wisdom as immanent in God, as something belonging to the Divine essence (7[26]), but, on the other hand, also as something independent, existing side by side with God (7[22] 8[3] 9[4], cf. Pr 8[30]), so that he frequently personifies Wisdom (1[6] 8[9] 10[1ff.]). In one point, however, his conception differs from that of Proverbs. While, according to Pr 8[25-30a], at the creating of the things in heaven and earth God alone was active, and Wisdom was simply an onlooker (v.[30b], cf. above, p. 925[a]), in the Book of Wisdom (8[4b]) she is *αἱρετὴς τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ* (*sc.* *τοῦ θεοῦ*), and makes a selection among God's works, *i.e.* she determines which of the works whose idea God has formed are to be actually carried out (Grimm). She is an emanation from God (7[25]), therefore free from all stains, and she pervades all things (1[7] 7[24]), without being in any way infected with the imperfections inherent in them: because she is 'more mobile than any motion,' it is impossible for any of the impurities which belong to things to attach to her.—On the relation of the Wisdom of Solomon to Philo cf. Menzel, *De Græcis in libris* קהלת *et σοφία vestigiis*, 1858, p. 66; Ed. König, *Einl. in d. AT*, Bonn, 1893, p. 489; Soulier, *La doctrine du logos chez Philon*, 1876, p. 162 f.—But, as in Pr 8[31] 9[1ff.], the special object of interest to Wisdom is man (Wis 7[23. 27cd]). Penetrating into the human understanding, she gives birth to all varieties of theoretical knowledge (8[6. 8]), particularly in the realm of theology, because she is initiated into the knowledge of God (8[4a]). She communicates the inspiration of the prophets (8[8] 9[17]), but also the knowledge of earthly things in the sphere of history (8[8b]), astronomy, chronology, natural science (7[17-21]), art (7[16b]; cf. Ezk 18[3]). But in the practical sphere as well Wisdom is the best counsellor of man, for from her comes all morality and virtue (1[4f.] 7[25c] 8[7]; cf. Pr 8[12. 18-20. 31-36]). See, further, Farrar, p. 420.

v. CONTENTS OF THE BOOK.—(*a*) The first section (chs. 1–5) describes the conflict which the Divine Wisdom has constantly to carry on with the godless wisdom of the world, and the victory to which she leads those who surrender themselves to her. In the first place (ch. 1) the author addresses himself apparently, in quite a general exhortation, to all rulers and authorities in the world. But as in what follows he deals not with public conditions or the duties of rulers, but with purely inward physico-ethical developments, it is natural to suppose that he has in view not heathen rulers, but powerful and influential personages in his Jewish environment, who, as is evident from 1[16] 2[1ff.], had apostatized from their religion and attached themselves to the heathen Government. How high in those days such men might sometimes rise may be seen from the case of the Jewish noble Tiberius Alexander, who a little later was nominated Imperial administrator (*alabarch*) of the whole of the so-called Arabian side of the Nile (Schürer, *GJV*[3] iii. 490). It was only such rulers, of Jewish descent, that our author could hope to reach with his words; he could scarcely expect to be read by heathen ones. The description contained in 1[16]–2[20] suits, moreover, only such apostate powerful Jews. Greek philosophy, particularly Epicureanism, had estranged them from their religion (2[1-5]), and the practical consequences of the new frivolous view of life had speedily shown themselves in abandonment to sensualism and immorality (2[6-9]). To these men their fellow-countrymen who remained true to their religion were a genuine stone of stumbling. The life of the latter, with its piety and fidelity to the Law, caused them secret shame, and was a constant prick to their conscience. This drove them to hatred and bitter persecution of the 'righteous' (2[10-20]). The author now faces these apostates like a prophet of rebuke, and exposes the vanity of their whole conduct in the passage 2[21]–5[23]. Wholly ensnared by earthly things, they have no idea that man, formed after the image of God, has an eternal destiny (2[21-23]), whose form is only decided in the world beyond (3[7] *ἐν καιρῷ ἐπισκοπῆς* 'on the day of visitation'; v.[17b] *ἐπ' ἐσχάτων, ἐν ἡμέρᾳ διαγνώσεως*; v.[18b] 'at the final decision' [the statement varies, it is true, in regard to some points: in 4[16ff.] it is a judgment carried out in the next world after death, in 5[17-23] it is one that takes place in this world in eschatological times]). Then shall it be manifested whose life was the truly profitable one. The ungodly, *i.e.* those Jews who have despised the Law (3[16] 4[20] 5[7]), with their whole brood, are exposed in their nothingness (3[10-12. 16-19] 4[3-6. 18-20]). They themselves shall confess their mistake with bitter but vain repentance (5[3-14]). The righteous, on the other hand, who kept by the Law, shall reap the fruit of their strivings (3[13-15] 4[1f.] 5[5. 15f.]), and shall pronounce judgment on the ungodly (4[16] 5[1f.]). The author incidentally controverts the old

Jewish doctrine that premature death is a sign of impiety (Ps 55[23] 102[24]), holding that it is so only in the case of the wicked (3[18f.]), but not in that of the righteous, whose sufferings are meant simply to try them, and whose death is a rapture to perfect bliss (3[1-9] 4[7-17] 5[5. 15f.]).

(*b*) The second section (chs. 6–9) sets forth the great advantages of Wisdom. The author here attaches his words in the first instance to the exhortation of 1[1-15] to rulers, on whom he urges (*a*) in 6[1-11] that they in particular are bound in quite a special way to seek after Wisdom, and that they will be held specially responsible if they have ruled without it. Such conduct is all the more culpable, seeing that (*β*) Wisdom is so easily accessible and so ready to meet those that seek her, 6[12-25]. This is followed by (*γ*) 7[1]–8[1], a description which Solomon from his own experience gives of the nature of Wisdom; and (*δ*) 8[2-21] an account by the same king of how he came to attach himself to Wisdom as a life companion; and the whole closes with (*ε*) 9[1-18] Solomon's prayer for Wisdom.

(*c*) The third section (10[1]–19[22]) recounts, finally, the wonders wrought by Wisdom in the history of Israel: (*α*) in the period from Adam to Moses, specially down to the passage of the Red Sea, 10[1]–11[1]; (*β*) during the wilderness wanderings, 11[2]–12[27]. This is followed by some general observations (*γ*) on the folly of the Wisdom-forsaken heathen, who have given themselves over to the worship of natural forces and images of gods, as contrasted with the Israelites who obey Wisdom, chs. 13–15; and (*δ*) on the remarkable providences of God, whereby the animal-worshipping Egyptians were punished by means of the very same animals which brought deliverance to the Israelites; in which connexion other instances of contrast between the lot of the Egyptians and the Israelites are also insisted upon.

vi. PROGRESS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF RELIGIOUS DOCTRINE IN THE BOOK OF WISDOM.—(*α*) In the doctrine of *God* the central point in the religious system of this book is the thought that the Divine essence is *love*. Whereas the canonical OT regarded Jahweh by preference as the *Lord* of His creatures, who, according to His pleasure, called these into being by His breath, and who by withdrawing that breath causes them to perish (Ps 104[29. 30]), in the Book of Wisdom Jahweh is full of love to all His creatures, and upholds and spares them because He has pleasure in all that lives. Even the wicked, to whom He gives every opportunity to repent (*τόπον μετανοίας*, 12[10], cf. He 12[17]), God seeks to spare as long as possible. Alongside of this the author's inclination towards Jewish particularistic notions shows itself. God is Father only in relation to the Jews, to the heathen He is Ruler. Sufferings are to the former fatherly chastisement and have an educative value; in the case of the latter they are an expression of anger and a sign of judgment (11[9. 10]).

(*b*) In his *anthropology* the author insists preeminently upon individual immortality. Of this the canonical OT knew nothing, its point of interest lying merely in the continuance of the people of Israel and the consummating of the kingdom of God amongst them. But the Book of Wisdom recognizes that man, *i.e.* the individual, was created for incorruption (2[23] 6[19] 12[1]); in particular, the righteous live for ever (5[15a]); the knowledge of the power of God is the root of immortality (15[3]). It is true that the conception of immortality vacillates between that of a continued personal existence and that of a survival in the memory of posterity (8[13]), or even between the first conception and that of the ideal community of life with Wisdom (8[17]), which the righteous enjoy even here during their earthly existence. On the other hand, a future judgment for the wicked is presupposed in 4[20], following up the OT conception of a mockery of the dead in Sheol (4[19], cf. Is 14[10ff.]). See, further, Farrar, p. 409.

(*c*) In the *soteriology* of the book, the late prophetic expectation of a personal Messiah, the Servant of the Lord, recedes. The author knows Him neither as vicarious sufferer nor as deliverer of His people. The Messianic glory consists in the establishment of a kingdom of Jahweh which shall rule over the heathen (3[8]); the righteous exercise personally this sway upon earth (5[16a]), as happened formerly with Solomon by God's command (8[14]). On the attitude of the rest of the Apocryphal books to this question cf. Farrar, 410[a], esp. note 3. —Our author maintains rigidly the Jewish doctrine of retribution (*δι' ὧν τις ἁμαρτάνει διὰ τούτων κολάζεται*, 11[16]). But his method of expounding this dogma is new. He seeks to show that even the form of punishment corresponds exactly to the sin committed. The Egyptians worshipped animals, therefore they were also punished by means of animals, nay the very animals which they adored (11[15] 15[18] 16[1]). They sinned in connexion with water by casting the newly-born children of the Hebrews into the Nile (11[6]), therefore they were also punished by means of blood-red water (*ib.*).

vii. INTEGRITY OF THE BOOK. — The work is evidently the well-arranged product of a single author. On now defunct hypotheses, which found in it the work of a number of different hands, see Grimm, pp. 9–15, and Farrar, p. 415[a]. Its integrity, too, may in general be admitted (Grimm, 15 f.). Only the conclusion (19[18ff.]) gives the impression of abruptness. Although in general the author's intention is successfully carried out in depicting the wonderful guidance of Israel by Wisdom from the Exodus onwards (Grimm), yet the theme started in v.[18] appears to require somewhat fuller treatment between v.[21] and v.[22], so that the traditional text is here defective.

viii. AUTHORSHIP.—As to the personality of the author various suggestions have been offered. The book has been attributed to Solomon by Clem. Alex. (*Strom.* vi. 120 ff.), Tertullian, Hippolytus (ed. Lagarde, p. 66), *et al.*; to Philo by Jerome, Luther, Joh. Gerhard, *et al.* For these and other conjectures see Grimm, pp. 16–26; Farrar, 412–415[a]. In view of their untenable character, we consider that we may dispense with a closer examination of them. The probabilities are in favour of an Egyptian Jew who had received a Greek education but had remained true to the Law. His description of Epicureanism, to which many Jews had apostatized (2[1ff.]), appears to have been derived partly from Qoheleth. For his further acquaintance with the works of Greek philosophers see above, p. 928[b]. The beauty of the works of Greek plastic art found him as unimpressionable as St. Paul (Ac 17[16]). Sculptors and painters are to him lovers of evil, and their work is unprofitable (15[4ff.]); works of sculpture are to him nothing but idols (14[10]). He has Euhemeristic notions of the motives that led to the making of them (14[15ff.]). That he was not a Palestinian but an Alexandrian Jew, is shown by his allusions to the Egyptian animal-worship (15[18. 19] 16[1. 9]). Greek images of the gods (15[4ff.]) might then be seen even in Egyptian cities. In favour of the view that the author lived in Alexandria, is the circumstance that both a Greek and a Jewish population were settled there, and that his culture was derived from both these quarters.

ix. DATE.—For the date of the Book of Wisdom, the *terminus a quo* is the Greek translation of the Bible (c. 250 B.C.), the *terminus ad quem* the unquestionable acquaintance of St. Paul with the

book (cf. Grafe, 'Das Verhältniss der paulin. Schriften zur Sap. Salom.' in *Theol. Abhandlungen C. v. Weizsäcker zu s. 70 Geburtstage gewidmet*, Freiburg, 1892, p. 251 ff., where in particular the author establishes St. Paul's dependence upon the book in regard to the doctrine of predestination, the condemnation of the heathen, and the conception of the relation of soul and body). Resemblances to the book or influences from the same quarter are discoverable also in the Epistle to the Hebrews (cf. He 1^3 with Wis 7^{26}, He 4^{12} with Wis $7^{22ff.}$ etc.). The most recent attempts to fix the date vary up and down between 150 B.C. and 40 A.D. (cf. Farrar, 420b–422a). The position which the author assumes in the development of Alexandrianism prior to Philo (cf. Siegfried, *Philo von Alex.* 22–24) is in favour of placing him between B.C. 100 and 50. Kuenen (*Hist.-crit. Onderzoek*, § 105^{10}), it is true, will have it that the book was not composed till the time of Gaius Caligula.

x. TEXT.—The Text is best preserved in cod. Vaticanus (B); it is very good also in cod. Sinaiticus (ℵ or S), as well as in the fragments of cod. Ephræmi rescriptus (C); it is less satisfactory in cod. Alexandrinus (A) and, with the exception of the excellent cod. 68, in 10 cursives. Swete (*OT in Greek*, vol. ii., Camb. 1891, 2nd ed. 1897, pp. 604–643) uses B in general as the basis of his text, but gives in footnotes all the variants of ℵ (S), A, and C. O. F. Fritzsche in his *Libri apocryphi V.T. græce*, Lipsiæ, 1871, gives not only the variants of the above MSS but also those of cod. Venetus (HP 23), etc., as well as those derived from the cursives and the Versions. W. J. Deane (*The Book of Wisdom*, Oxford, 1881) agrees almost entirely with Fritzsche. Noteworthy emendations are to be found in Grimm *ap.* Fritzsche, in Grimm, *Kgf. exeget. Hdb. zu den Apokr.* 6te Lieferung (Lpzg. 1860), and in F. W. Farrar in 'Speaker's Com.' *Apocrypha*, i. (London, 1888) 403–534, as well as in H. Bois, *Essai sur les origines de la philosophie judéo-alexandrine* (Toulouse, 1890), p. 378 ff.

xi. VERSIONS.—Of the Versions, the Vetus Latinus of Jerome was taken over unaltered into the Vulgate, in the Books of Sirach and Wisdom. The Latin text of the two Wisdoms from the cod. Amiatinus was critically edited for the Wisdom of Solomon by de Lagarde in *Mitteilungen*, Bd. i. 243–284.—Of the Syriac Versions, the Peshitta recension was published in de Lagarde's *Libri apoc. V.T. Syriace*, Lips. 1861; another recension in Ceriani's edition of the cod. Ambros. sæc. vi. (Milan, 1876 ff.); cf. Nestle in *Urtext u. Übersetzungen der Bibel* (a reprint of the art. in *PRE*^{3}), p. 230; Ryssel in Kautzsch's *Apokr. und Pseudepigr. d. AT*, i. 250–254.—On the Armenian literal Version, the so-called Mechitar Bible, Venice, 1805, cf. Nestle, *l.c.* pp. 155–157; also *PRE*^{3} iii. 79 on the special editions of the Wisdom of Solomon, from 1824 to 1854.—For recent English translations by Deane and Farrar see above.—The most recent German translation is that of C. Siegfried in Kautzsch's *Apokr. und Pseudepigr. d. AT*, i. 476–507, with Introduction and short exegetical notes. J. K. Zenner arranged the first section of the book (1^1–6^{11}) in strophes and in verses of from 2 to 3 strophes, and published this in a German translation, with short explanatory notes in the *Ztschr. für kath. Theol.* xxii. [1898] pp. 417–429. In an Appendix he adds Egyptian parallels to ch. 2 from Erman's translation (p. 430 f.).

LITERATURE.—For references see Grimm, *Buch der Weisheit* (cf. *Kgf. exeget. Hdb. zu den Apokr. d. AT*), pp. 45, 46, and Farrar, *l.c.* pp. 422b–423. See also W. J. Deane, *The Book of Wisdom*, Oxford, 1881, pp. 42, 43; Zöckler, *Apokryphen*, 1891, pp. 360, 361; Schürer in *PRE*^{3} i. 652, and *GJV*^{3} iii. 383 ff.; Ph. Thielmann, *Bericht über das gesammelte handschriftliche Material zu einer kritischen Ausgabe der latein. Übersetzungen bibl. Bücher d. AT*, Munich, 1900, pp. 207–214. The last-named author has either personally or through others collated 30 MSS. Of these, 27 are complete, while the other 3 contain fragments of the Book of Wisdom. They belong to the 8th–10th centuries, and include Spanish, Anglo-Saxon, pre-Carlovingian French, South German, Swiss, Italian texts, as well as the Bibles of Theodulf and Alcuin. In addition, he deals with excerpts from 33 MSS. This had been preceded by Thielmann's studies, 'über den character der latein. Übersetzung der Weisheit Salomonis,' etc., in *Archiv für latein. Lexicographie und Grammatik*, viii. (1893) 235–297, 501–561, ix. (1894) 247–284. According to Thielmann, the unity of the Latin text of Wisdom can be established; see, further, Schürer in *ThLZ*, 1900, No. 12.

C. SIEGFRIED.

WIST, WIT, WOT, WITTY.—The parts of the verb 'to wit' (Anglo-Sax. *witan*, Middle Eng. *witen*, 'to know') were: Pres. tense 'I wot,' 'thou wotest,' 'he wot' or 'woteth'; plu. 'we witen'; past tense 'wiste'; past ptcp. 'wist'; infin. 'to wit.'

Examples: *I wot*—Maundeville, *Travels*, 72, 'I wot never, but God knoweth'; Knox, *Hist.* 67, 'I wot, and know surely by the Word of God'; Jn 11^{42} Tind. 'I wot that thou hearest me all wayes' (where the tense should be past, ᾔδειν, Wyc. 'I wiste,' Cran. and AV 'I knew,' Rhem. 'I did know'). *Thou wotest*—Jn 13^7 Tind. 'What I do, thou wotest not now, but thou shalt knowe herafter.' *He wot* or *woteth*—Tindale, *Expos.* 60, 'He that hateth his brother is in darkness, and walketh in darkness, and woteth not whither he goeth.' *We, ye, they witen* (and later, as in AV, *wot*)—*Piers Plowman*, ii. 74—

> 'Witen all and witnessen that wonen here on earth
> That Meed is ymarried more for her richesse
> Than for holiness or hendeness, or for high kind:
> Falseness is fain of her, for he wot her rich.'

Wyclif uses 'they wyteth,' *Works*, iii. 107, 'Fader, forgeve hem this gylt, for they wyteth nought what they dooth.' Past tense, *wiste*—Jn 13^{28} Wyc. 'Noon of hem that saten at the mete wiste wherto he saide to hym'; Tindale has 'wyst,' Dt 34^6 'No man wyst of his sepulchre unto this daye.' Past ptcp. *wist*—Mt 12^7 Tind. 'Wherfore yf ye had wist what this sayinge meneth'; Occleve in Skeat's *Specimens*, p. 22—

> 'For, yf myn hertes wille wist were and preved
> How, yow to love, it stered is and meved,
> Ye shulde knowe I your honour and welthe
> Thurste and desire, and eke your soules helthe.'

Infin. *wit*—Malory, *Holy Grail* (in Morley's *Eng. Rel.* 38), 'And so they looked upon him, and felt his pulse, to wit whether there were any life in him;' Ex 9^7 Tind. 'And Pharas sent to wete.' For the phrase 'do to wit' (2 Co 8^1) see art. Do in vol. i. p. 614b, and observe the parallel phrases 'give to wit,' Rhem. NT, note to Jn 15^4 'These conditional speaches, *If you remaine in the vine, If you keepe my commaundements*, and such like, give us to wit that we be not sure to persist or persevere, nor to be saved, but under conditions to be fulfilled by us'; and 'let to wit,' Cranmer, *Works*, i. 70, 'We let you to wit, that forasmuch as it belongeth unto us,' etc.

In AV there occur: (1) Present tense, 'I wot,' Gn 21^{26}, Nu 22^6, Jos 2^5, Ac 3^{17}, Ph 1^{22}; ['he] wotteth,' Gn 39^8 'My master wotteth not what is with me in the house'; 'we wot,' Ex $32^{1\text{-}23}$, Ac 7^{40}; 'ye wot,' Gn 44^{15}, Ro 11^2. (2) Past tense, 'I wist,' Jos 2^4, Ac 23^5; 'he wist,' Ex 34^{29}, Lv $5^{17.\ 18}$, Jos 8^{14}, Jg 16^{20}, Mk 9^6, Jn 5^{13}, Ac 12^9; 'ye wist,' Lk 2^{49}; 'they wist,' Ex 16^{15}, Mk 14^{40}. (3) Infin. 'to wit,' Gn 24^{21}, Ex 2^4, 2 Co 8^1 ('do to wit').

The Heb. and Gr. are the ordinary verbs 'to know,' *yāda'* and οἶδα, except in the last case, where 'we do you to wit' is the tr. of γνωρίζομεν ὑμῖν, RV 'we make known to you.'

The infin. 'to wit' is also used as a connecting phrase in Jos 17^1, 1 K 2^{32} 7^{50} 13^{23}, 2 K 10^{29}, 1 Ch 7^2 27^1, 2 Ch 4^{12} $25^{7.\ 10}$ 31^3, Est 2^{12}, Jer 25^{18} 34^9, Ezk 13^{16}, Ro 8^{23}, 2 Co 5^{19}. The fuller phrase is 'that is to wit,' which shows the infin. more clearly, as Mt 23^8 Tind. 'For one is youre Master, that is to wyt Christ, and all ye are brethren'; Tindale, *Works*, i. 87, 'Wherefoer they which are of faith are blessed, that is to wit made righteous, with righteous Abraham.' Except in 2 Co 5^{19} (ὡς) there is no equivalent in Heb. or Greek.

Wit as a subst. occurs in Ps 107^{27} 'And are at their wit's end' (וְכָל־חָכְמָתָם תִּתְבַּלָּע, lit. as AVm, RVm 'and all their wisdom is swallowed up,' RV 'and are at their wits' [plu.] end'; the AV phrase comes from Cov.; Wyc. has the more lit. 'and al

the wisdom of hem was devourid,' after Vulg. *et omnis sapientia eorum devorata est*); 1 Es 4[26] 'Many there be that have run out of their wits for women' (*πολλοὶ ἀπενοήθησαν ταῖς ἰδίαις διανοίαις διὰ τὰς γυναῖκας*); 2 Es 5[9] 'Then shall wit hide itself' (*abscondetur tunc sensus*); Sir 31[20] 'He riseth early, and his wits are with him' (*ἀνέστη πρωί, καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ αὐτοῦ μετ' αὐτοῦ*).

The subst. 'wit' was very common in the cent. preceding the issue of AV. It was losing its tone by 1611, and not only occurs less frequently in AV than in previous versions, but is used more readily in the *Preface*, with its familiar style, than in the tr. of any of the books. Thus, 'their sharpnesse of wit'; 'to exercise and whet our wits'; 'opening our wits, that we may understand his word'—all occurring in the Preface. In the earlier versions we find, *e.g.*, He 5[14] Wyc. 'hem that for custum han wittis exercisid,' so Tind. 'which thorow custome have their wittes exercised,' and all the VSS till Rhem., and AV ('senses,' Gr. *τὰ αἰσθητήρια*); Lk 2[47] Tind. 'And all that hearde him mervelled at his wit and answers' (so Matt., Wyc. 'prudens,' Rhem. 'wisedom,' others 'understanding,' Gr. *σύνεσις*); 24[45] Tind. 'Then openned he their wyttes that they myght understond the scriptures' (Rhem. and AV 'understanding,' Gr. *τὸν νοῦν*); Mk 5[15] Rhem. 'They see him that was vexed of the devil, sitting, clothed, and wel in his wittes.'

The word has some range of meaning, thus: (1) *Sense, meaning*, as Wyclif, *Works*, i. 98, 'Syththe the Pater Noster is the beste prayer that is, for in it mot alle other prayers be closed yf thay schulle graciouslyche be hurde of God, therfore scholde men kunne this prayour, and studie the wyt thereof'; Melvill, *Diary*, 36, 'A babling of words without wit, at least wesdome.' (2) *Cleverness*, as Hall, *Works*, ii. 69, 'How many shall once wish they had been born dullards, yea idiots, when they shall find their wit to have barred them out of heaven? Say the world what it will, a dram of holinesse is worth a pound of wit.' (3) *Understanding, ability to understand*, as Pr. Bk. 1552 (Keeling, p. 379)—

'O Holy Ghost, into our wits,
Send down thine heavenly light';

Elyot, *Governour*, ii. 439, 'A man of greate witte, singuler lernynge, and excellent wisedome.' (4) *Wisdom*, as Ro 11[34] Wyc. 'Who knew the witte of the lord, or who was his counceilour?'; Spenser, *Hymn of Heavenly Beauty*—

'O thou most Almightie Spright,
From whom all guifts of wit and knowledge flow.'

Wittingly is found in Gn 48[14]: cf. Tind. *Expos.* 177, 'When they espied that the truth could not stand with the honours which they sought in the world, they wittingly and willingly persecuted it.'

Witty occurs in Pr 8[12], Jth 11[23], Wis 8[19]. Cf. Mt 11[25] Cheke's version, 'which has hidden yees thinges from wijs and witti men, and hath disclosed the saam to baabs'; Wyclif, *Works*, iii. 88, 'Who wiser than David? or hwo moore witti than Salomon his sone?' J. HASTINGS.

WITCH, WITCHCRAFT.—See MAGIC, vol. iii. p. 208 f.

WITHS is the tr. in Jg 16[7. 8. 9] of יְתָר in plu., which means 'bowstring' in Job 30[11], Ps 11[2], and is so tr[d] here by Moore, who thinks that it was with cords made from the intestines of animals that Samson offered to be bound, 'green' meaning fresh, not dried, when they would tie better and be less liable to split. But RV tr. the word 'tent-cord' in Job 4[21], and probably the meaning in Jg 16 is simply 'green ropes.' The Eng. word (usually spelt 'withe') means a tough flexible twig or willow branch. Wyclif uses it in Lv 23[40] 'withies of the rennynge water,' *i.e.* willow branches; also in Ps 137[2], Is 15[7]. J. HASTINGS.

WITNESS.—For 'tabernacle of witness' (הָעֵדוּת Nu 17[7. 8] 18[2], 2 Ch 24[6]; *τοῦ μαρτυρίου* Ac 7[44] [RV in all 'testimony']) see art. TESTIMONY. 'Witness,' as treated in the present article, represents the following verbs and nouns: [עוּד], עָנָה (lit. 'answer'); עֵד and עֵדָה (the latter only of things); LXX and NT *μαρτυρέω, ἐπιμαρτυρέω, καταμυρτυρέω* ('witness against'), *συνμαρτυρέω* ('witness along with,' 'corroborate'), *ψευδομαρτυρέω* ('bear false witness'), *μαρτύρομαι, διαμαρτύρομαι, προμαρτύρομαι* ('witness beforehand'); *μάρτυς* (of persons), *μαρτυρία, μαρτύριον*.

The nouns עֵד and עֵדָה [whose root notion is prob. that of *reiterating*, hence *emphatically affirming*] are used in two leading senses—

1. *Witness=testimony, evidence* (of things): Gn 31[44. 48. 52] [JE] the heap of stones that was to witness the covenant between Jacob and Laban, Ex 22[12 (13)] [E] the carcass that was to be brought in evidence that the animal entrusted to the keeping of a neighbour had been torn, Dt 31[19. 21] [J] the Song of Moses is to be a witness against the children of Israel if they go astray, v.[26] (D[2]) the book of the Law is to serve the same purpose, Jos 22[27. 28. 34] [P] the altar erected by the 2½ tribes (see art. ED), Is 19[20] the altar and the *maṣṣēbah* in the land of Egypt, Job 16[8] Job's miserable condition is a witness against him, Ps 89[37 (38)] the moon [possibly, but we prefer the interpretation below]. In all these passages עֵד is used. עֵדָה [only E] occurs in Gn 21[30] of the seven ewe lambs that are to witness the covenant between Abraham and Abimelech, 31[52] the heap of stones that witnessed Laban's covenant with Jacob, Jos 24[27 *bis*] the great stone set up by Joshua at Shechem to witness Israel's covenant with Jahweh.—Similarly in NT *μαρτύριον* is used: Mt 8[4] (‖ Mk 1[44], Lk 5[14]) of the gift to be offered by the leper, Mt 10[18] (‖ Mk 13[9], Lk 21[13]) the persecutions of Christ's followers, Mk 6[11] (‖ Lk 9[5]) the dust to be shaken off the apostle's feet [on all these passages see Swete's note on Mk 1[44]], Ja 5[3] the dust of the rich men's silver and gold to be a witness against them.

2. *Witness* (of persons): (*a*) of God: Gn 31[50] [E] God is to be witness between Jacob and Laban, Job 16[19] 'my witness is in heaven,' 1 S 12[5 *bis*] 'the LORD is witness against you . . . He is witness,' so v.[6] [reading עֵד יְהוָה, after LXX *μάρτυς Κύριος*], 20[12] 'the Lord be witness' [inserting עֵד before יְהוָה], Jer 29[23] against the false prophets Ahab and Zedekiah, 42[5] invoked as a witness by Johanan and his companions (cf. Jg 11[10], where the elders of Gilead say to Jephthah, 'The LORD shall be witness [lit. 'hearer,' שֹׁמֵעַ] between us'), Mic 1[2] against the nations, Mal 3[5] against evil-doers in Israel, Ps 89[37 (38)] 'the witness in the sky, *i.e.* God [see Driver, *Par. Psalt.*], is faithful.'—Similarly, in NT St. Paul calls God as witness (*μάρτυς*) to the truth of his words and the purity of his motives, Ro 1[9], 2 Co 1[23], 1 Th 2[5. 10], Ph 1[8].

(*b*) David (or perhaps the Davidic dynasty personified) was God's witness to the nations, Is 55[4].

(*c*) Of witnesses in a more or less strictly forensic sense: Jer 32[10. 12. 25. 44] of transfer of property, Ru 4[9. 10. 11] betrothal (see art. SHOE); usually of testimony in court and in civil and social relations: *e.g.* Nu 5[13], Dt 5[20] 17[6], Job 10[17] (fig.), Is 8[2], Jer 32[10]. Note the phrases 'false witness' עֵד שֶׁקֶר (hence Ex 20[16] עָנָה עֵד שֶׁקֶר בְּ 'bear false witness [lit. 'answer (in court) as a false witness'] against') Ex 20[16], Dt 19[18 *bis*], Ps 27[12], Pr 6[19] 14[5]; also עֵד שָׁוְא Dt 5[20], Pr 25[18]; עֵד שְׁקָרִים Pr 12[17] 19[5. 9]; עֵד בְּלִיַּעַל Pr 19[28], cf. עֵד חָמָס 'witness of [*i.e.* supporting] violence,' Ex 23[1] [E], Dt 19[16], Ps 35[11]; 'faithful witness' is עֵד אֱמוּנִים Pr 14[5], or עֵד אֱמֶת Jer 42[5], Pr 14[25]; 'at the mouth of witnesses' is לְפִי עֵדִים Nu 35[20] [P], or עַל־פִּי עֵד(ים) Dt 17[6 *bis*] 19[15 *bis*].

The verb [עוּד], denom. from עֵד, means in Hiphil [the only instance of Qal is in *Kethîbh* of La 2[13]]—(1) 'testify *or* witness,' in favour of (Job 29[11], La 2[13] [*Kerê*]), or against (1 K 21[10. 13]) one, or between two parties (Mal 2[14]); (2) 'cause to testify,' *i.e.* 'take as witness' (Is 8[2], Jer 32[10. 25. 44]), with בְּ 'against' (Dt 4[26] 30[19] 31[28]); (3) 'protest,' 'affirm solemnly,' 'warn' (Jer 6[10], Neh 13[15]), with בְּ (Gn 43[3 *bis*] [J], Ex 19[21] [E] 21[19] [Hoph. 'if a protest have been entered'], 1 S 8[9 *bis*], 1 K 2[42], 2 Ch 24[19], Neh 9[26] 13[21], Jer 42[19], Am 3[13]); note esp. the instances where God is the subject: Ex 19[23] [J], Dt 8[19] 32[46], 2 K 17[13. 15], Neh 9[29. 30. 34], Jer 11[7 *ter*], Zec 3[6], Ps 50[7] 81[9]; whence the use explained in art.

TESTIMONY of the term 'testimonies' for God's laws as solemn charges or declarations of the Divine will.

עָנָה [lit. 'answer,' 'respond'] has the specific sense of 'respond *as a witness*,' 'testify': with בְּ 'for' Gn 30[33]; but usually *against*, Ex 20[16] 23[2], Nu 35[30] [P], Dt 3[17] 19[16. 18], 1 S 12[3], 2 S 1[16], Is 3[9] 59[12], Mic 6[3], Jer 14[7], Ru 1[21] (?), Pr 25[18]; with בְּרֵעֲךָ Hos 5[5] 7[10], Job 16[8]; with לְפָנָיו Dt 31[21] (+לָעֵד 'as witness').

The testimony of at least two witnesses was required to justify a capital sentence, Dt 17[6] 19[15], Nu 35[30] [P]. Cf. the general saying 'that at the mouth of two witnesses or three every word may be established' (Mt 18[16], similarly 2 Co 13[1], He 10[28]; also the rule laid down in 1 Ti 5[19] that an accusation is not to be received against an elder except on the information of two or three witnesses); and note the two witnesses against Naboth (1 K 21[10]), and against Jesus (Mt 26[60]). Although perjury was punished by the infliction of the same penalty as the false evidence, if accepted, would have involved for the accused (Dt 19[16ff.]), we gather from the last two instances (cf. the evidence suborned against Stephen, Ac 6[13]) as well as from the terms of the Ninth Commandment, that amongst the Jews false witness was as common and as easily procurable as it still is in many Eastern courts of justice. The witnesses, in the event of the accused being condemned to death, had to take the leading part in carrying out the sentence, Dt 17[7], cf. 13[10 (9)] and Ac 7[58].

In the NT the apostles are repeatedly presented in the character of witnesses (*μάρτυρες*) regarding the life and death and, above all, the resurrection of the Lord Jesus (Lk 24[48], Ac 1[8. 22] 2[32] 3[15] 5[32] 10[39. 41] 13[31] 22[15] 26[16], 1 P 5[1]; cf. Mt 24[14], Ac 4[33]). The name *μάρτυς* is twice (Rev 1[5] 3[14], cf. 1 Ti 6[13]) applied to our Lord Himself; it is used also of the two witnesses of Rev 11[3]. John the Baptist came *εἰς μαρτυρίαν*, that he might bear witness concerning the Light (Jn 1[7]). The heroes of faith of the OT are 'the cloud of witnesses' (*νέφος μαρτύρων*) of He 12[1]. AV tr. *μάρτυς* by 'martyr' in Ac 22[20], Rev 2[12] 17[6], but it is questionable whether the word had acquired this sense in NT times (see MARTYR). RV has 'martyr' only in Rev 17[6], elsewhere 'witness.' For the 'witness of the Spirit' (Ro 8[16], cf. 1 Jn 5[10]) see art. HOLY SPIRIT, vol. ii. p. 409[b].

J. A. SELBIE.

WIZARD.—See SORCERY, p. 606[a].

WOLF.—In all the passages in the OT where AV and RV have 'wolf' the Heb. original is זְאֵב *zĕ'ēb*, LXX and NT λύκος, Vulg. *lupus*, Arab. *dhi'b*. The wolf is, unfortunately, quite abundant in the Holy Land, and very destructive to the flocks of sheep and goats, which constitute so large a part of the wealth of the people. It is not surprising, therefore, that the allusions to it and its habits should be frequent. Its insatiableness is the theme of a comparison with Benjamin (Gn 49[27]). One of the most signal miracles of the triumph of God's kingdom is the change in the habits and instincts of the wolf (Is 11[6] 65[25], Sir 13[17]). The princes of apostate Israel are characterized as wolves (Ezk 22[27]). The nocturnal habits of the wolf are noted (Jer 5[6] עַרְבוֹת 'evenings,' m. 'deserts,' Hab 1[8], Zeph 3[3]). The enemies of the truth are wolves (Mt 10[16], Lk 10[3], Jn 10[12]). Hypocrites in the Christian Church are wolves (Mt 7[15], Ac 20[29]). The wolves of the Holy Land are large, tawny, and usually solitary, or one or two together. They prowl around the flocks and herds, and sometimes get into the folds. They seldom attack men.

G. E. POST.

WOMAN.—

Heb. אִשָּׁה, a form similar to אִישׁ and אֱנוֹשׁ 'man,' but, according to *Oxf. Heb. Lex.*, not derived from the same root, but perhaps from אנשׁ, أنث, with the sense of 'tender,' 'frail.' Gn 2[23] (where Luther has *Männin*, Symm. *ἀνδρίς*, Vulg. *virago*) cannot be taken as an authoritative statement of etymology; but it illustrates a popular conception of the relation of the words based on the Heb. tradition of the origin of woman. In three places (Lv 15[33], Nu 31[15], Jer 31[22]) AV, followed by RV, has the Eng. word 'woman' for נְקֵבָה, which is literally 'female,' is used for the female of animals (*e.g.* Gn 6[19], Lv 3[1. 6]), and tr. 'female' when applied to the human race in Gn 1[27] 5[2].

Gr. *γυνή*, which also stands for 'wife,' as does the Heb. equivalent. In Ro 1[26. 27] AV is followed by RV in using the Eng. word 'woman' for the Gr. *θήλεια* ('female'). The diminutive *γυναικάριον* occurs in the plural in 2 Ti 3[6], and is rendered 'silly women' both in AV and in RV.

For information on the social and legal status of woman in Israel see FAMILY and MARRIAGE. There remain to be considered the place of woman in religion, Jewish and Christian, and the treatment of questions affecting woman religiously and ethically by the Scripture writers.

i. IN THE OLD TEST. AND JUDAISM.—While sharing to some extent the universal Eastern conception of the inferiority of woman to man, the Jewish religion of biblical times by no means sanctioned the total subjection of woman subsequently authorized by Mohammedanism or the low view of woman's place in religion taken by rabbinical Judaism. Women seem to have enjoyed considerable rights and privileges in all the Semitic cults. This is apparent in the ancient Arabic cult, in which an important part was played by female divinities.

Most of the *jinns* were female. According to Robertson Smith, 'in old Arabian religion gods and goddesses often occurred in pairs, the goddess being the greater' (*Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*, p. 300). The Byzantine writers regarded the worship of *Aphroditê* as the principal cult at Mecca. This idea is supported by recent research, the white stone being the original Meccan divinity, and the black stone her son, the very name *ka'ba* seeming to point to a supreme female deity. Prostitution, both by married and by unmarried women, in imitation of the conduct of the goddess, was a recognized custom in the ancient Arabian cult. In the various functions of worship, bringing offerings, stroking the sacred stone, etc., women took part as well as men, and in the cult of the dead it was their part to chant the rhythmical dirge. Women were also found in the official position of the *kâhin* (seer), originally the chief officer of the Arabian religion.

Woman also has a prominent place in the Babylonian, Assyrian, and Phœnician religions.

This is seen in the prominence given to female divinities. The Babylonian Ishtar was the mother goddess and head of all the gods. Among the Assyrians Astarté is the supreme goddess. It is to a goddess, apparently, that king Mesha devotes the Israelite captives in the inscription on the Moabite Stone. Then women took a prominent part in the worship. There are inscriptions with the words 'handmaid of Melkart,' 'sister of Melkart.' Women, too, were recognized as priestesses and prophetesses. Thus there were priestesses of Ishtar at Uruk.

The OT contains evidence of the lead taken by women in idolatrous rites. Maacah, the mother of Asa, introduced the worship of Astarté (1 K 15[13]). Jezebel in the Northern kingdom supported the prophets of the Phœnician cults and persecuted the followers of J" (1 K 18[4. 19]); and her daughter Athaliah apparently played the same part in the Southern kingdom (cf. 2 K 8[18] and 2 Ch 21[6] with 2 Ch 22[2] and 24[7]). Jeremiah describes the devotion of the women of Jerusalem to the rites of Ishtar, kneading dough and making cakes which would be shaped like the moon (see QUEEN OF HEAVEN), to represent the goddess (Jer 7[18]). If we do not accept Stade's conjecture that 2 K 23[7b] is a gloss, possibly the clause may refer to the work of some of the women in providing sacred garments for the worship of Astarté (*i.e.* on the suggestion of Peritz that בתנות [χιτών, cf. Lucian *στολάς*] be substituted for the Massoretic בתים). Ezekiel mentions the devotion of Jerusalem women to the worship of the Babylonian Adonis, saying, 'There sat the women weeping for Tammuz' (Ezk 8[14]). Women must have had their share in the horrible rites of Molech, which took place in the Valley of Hinnom, as the 'inhabitants of Jerusalem' gener-

ally, without distinction of sex, are accused of having 'filled this place with the blood of innocents' (Jer 19^{2-4}).

It is therefore quite in accordance with contemporary Semitic custom that woman should take part in the religion of Israel, as Peritz has demonstrated in his exhaustive monograph on the subject, a work to which this article is largely indebted.

1. *The Participation of Woman in the Privileges of Religion.*—(*a*) *Prayer, e.g.* the instance of Hannah at Shiloh (1 S $1^{9ff.}$).—(*b*) *Feasts.* In primitive times women attended the periodic religious gatherings of Israel. It was taken for granted that the daughters of Shiloh would be present at the annual feast (Jg 21^{16-19}). Later, the wives and daughters of Elkanah are found attending the Shiloh festival (1 S 1^{1-4} 2^{19}). Women were present at David's feast and sacrifices on the recovery of the ark (2 S 6^{19}). The Deuteronomic code makes express provision for the presence of women at the temple festivals. The Jews are exhorted to rejoice with their sons and their daughters (Dt 12^{12}). Among those who are to eat the feast we have 'thy daughter' and 'thy maidservant' (v.^{18}), 'thine household' (14^{26} 15^{20}), cf. $16^{11.\ 14}$.—(*c*) *Sacrifices.* Women also took part in the ancient sacrifices. When Manoah offered a burnt-offering because the angel of J" had visited him, his wife joined him in the deed. They both 'fell on their faces to the ground' (Jg 13^{20}), and it was the woman who said, 'If the Lord were pleased to kill us, he would not have received a burnt-offering and a meal-offering at *our* hand' (v.^{23}). The Law required the attendance only of men at the yearly feasts (Ex 23^{17} 34^{23}, Dt 16^{16}); but it did not forbid women to come, and it is evident that custom, which lay behind the Law, allowed the attendance of women. The meaning of the Law was to make this obligatory on men while it was left optional with women, in part, no doubt, owing to the fact that they could not always take the necessary journey. The women of post-exilic times also have their share in religious functions. The presence of women is expressly mentioned in the account of Nehemiah's reading of the Law (Neh $8^{2.\ 3}$), and again in the description of the sacrifices and rejoicings associated with the dedication of the city walls (12^{43}). Certain sacrifices women were forbidden to eat, viz. the flesh of the sin-offering, which was allowed only to males (Lv 6^{29}). This plainly implies that they were allowed to eat of those sacrifices concerning which no such prohibition was made (see W. R. Smith, *RS* p. 379, note 2). The priest's daughters are mentioned with his sons as those who are to share with him in eating sacrificial meat (Lv 10^{14}). If a priest's daughter is married to an alien she may not eat of the sacrifice, but the privilege will be restored to her on her widowhood or divorce if she has no children ($22^{12.\ 13}$); cf. Nu 18^{11}. Women were required to bring sacrifices for purification (Lv 12. 15^{19-33}).—(*d*) *Vows.* They were free to take the Nazirite vow (Nu 6^{2}).—(*e*) *Oracles.* Women could consult oracles, as we read in the case of Rebekah (Gn 25^{22}).—(*f*) *Theophanies.* They enjoyed the privilege of theophanies, as in the cases of Hagar (Gn $16^{7ff.}$ $21^{17ff.}$), Sarah ($18^{9ff.}$), Manoah's wife (Jg $13^{3ff.}$).

2. *Official and other leading Positions in Religion held by Women.*—(*a*) *Witchcraft.* The lowest form of female influence in this direction is seen in the idea of witchcraft, according to which certain occult powers in dealing with the unseen world were ascribed to women. The witch of Endor was supposed to be holding intercourse with 'a familiar spirit,' which enabled her to call back Samuel from the dead against the will of the great seer (1 S $28^{7ff.}$). The Law attached the death penalty to the crime of sorcery on the part of a woman, in the command, 'Thou shalt not suffer a sorceress to live' (Ex 22^{18}). For the purpose of divination women attached some sort of amulets to the arm (כסתות Ezk 13^{18}, which the Hexapla renders *φυλακτήρια*), and also something to the head, both used, according to W. R. Smith, for the purpose of invoking the deity. With this we may compare Rachel's possession of the teraphim. She would hope to perform some occult rite with the idol and obtain an oracle from it (Gn 31^{19}).—(*b*) *Mourning.* While the funeral rites and their accompanying lamentations were used for women as well as for men (Jer 16^{7}, Mk 5^{38}), women took a prominent place in the performance of them, just as there were 'mourning women' in Arabic heathenism.—(*c*) *Tabernacle and temple service.* There were 'serving-women which served at the door of the tent of meeting' (Ex 38^{8}; the mention of these women in 1 S 2^{22b} is generally regarded as an interpolation). No account of the service of these women is given anywhere in the OT. The LXX has in Exodus *τῶν νηστευσασῶν αἳ ἐνήστευσαν*, but in 1 Sam. *τὰς γυναῖκας τὰς παρεστώσας*; Vulg. *quæ excubabant*, and Targ. and Syr. have 'who prayed' and 'who came to pray,' manifestly no more than a loose paraphrase of the original Hebrew צבא, a word frequently used in the Priestly Code for some sort of Levitical service in the tabernacle (*e.g.* Nu 4^{23}). The statement that the laver of brass, etc., were made out of the mirrors of 'the serving-women which served' (we might read 'which had served,' reading צבאו as a pluperfect), seems to imply that this service was no longer going on. Thus the sentence points to an ancient custom which had been abandoned. Except that some ritual service associated with the priest's sacrificial work is implied, it is impossible to say what the work of these women had been.—(*d*) *Music, singing, and dancing.* Women appeared in choral dances on occasions of great victories and other sources of rejoicing (*e.g.* Ex 15^{20}, Jg 11^{34}, 1 S 18^{6}, Ps 68^{25}). In company with singing men, women were also engaged in the temple choir (Ezr 2^{65}). The register of returned exiles contains a reference to 'two hundred forty and five singing men and singing women' (Neh 7^{67}). We are left to conjecture what their special function was, but the fact that there were subsequently men and women singers in the temple points to the conclusion that a guild of singers in connexion with public worship had been formed as early as the Exile.—(*e*) *Prophecy.* Women appear from time to time in the history of Israel as inspired prophetesses. Miriam is called a 'prophetess' (Ex 15^{20}), and is associated with her brother Aaron in exclaiming, 'Hath J" indeed spoken only by Moses? hath he not spoken also by us?' (Nu 12^{2}). The prominence of Miriam appears also in Mic 6^{4} 'And I sent before thee Moses, Aaron, and Miriam' (see MIRIAM). Deborah appears both as a prophetess and as a judge (Jg $4^{4.\ 5}$). See DEBORAH. Huldah appears as a prophetess to whom the messengers of Josiah applied when they were directed to 'inquire of the Lord' (2 K 22^{13-20}). See HULDAH. In Neh 6^{14} 'the prophetess Noadiah' [but see NOADIAH] appears among 'the rest of the prophets' hired by Tobiah and Sanballat to hinder the restoration of Jerusalem, who must therefore be regarded either as heathens or as false Jewish prophets. It is manifest that the appearance of a prophetess in Israel was quite exceptional. The prophetic guilds did not include women; they consisted only of 'sons of the prophets.' A prophetess was, like Amos coming from his farm work, not trained for office, but inspired and compelling respect by her gifts and the power of her utterances. No law forbade her to speak; no custom hindered her from rising to a position of great influence.

ii. IN THE NEW TEST. AND CHRISTIANITY.—

The freedom and prominence of woman in the early Church, compared with the restraint and suppression commonly observed in Eastern civilization, are to some extent developments of contemporary Jewish customs. Women moved freely about in society, and were present at the table of hospitality, though it cannot be shown that in Palestine they partook of the meals in common with men. They went up to the temple to worship, but were there limited to the privilege of using the 'court of the women,' and could not advance so near the altar as men were permitted to go. They united in the worship at the synagogue, apparently sitting by themselves apart from the male worshippers. Now that Conybeare has gone some way towards vindicating the *De Vita Contemplativa* as a genuine work of Philo, it is possible to appeal to that treatise as a witness to customs current in the time of Christ. The following extract describes the arrangements of public worship of the Therapeutæ or Egyptian Essenes:—

'And this common holy place to which they all come together on the seventh day is a twofold circuit, being separated partly into the apartment of the men, and partly into a chamber for the women; for women also, in accordance with the usual fashion there, form a part of the audience, having the same feelings of admiration as the men, and having adopted the same sect with equal deliberation and decision; and the wall which is between the houses rises from the ground three or four cubits upwards, like a battlement, and the upper portion rises upwards to the roof without any opening, on two accounts: first of all, in order that the modesty which is so becoming to the female sex may be preserved; and, secondly, that the women may be easily able to comprehend what is said, being seated within earshot, since there is then nothing which can possibly intercept the voice of him who is speaking' (*De Vit. Contemp.* 3).

The phrase 'in accordance with the usual custom there' shows that this participation in the Sabbath worship of men and women, but with some degree of separateness, was the common Jewish form of procedure. The illustration of a battlement, the upper portion of which reached the ceiling, indicated a wall perforated near the top with square holes. We cannot infer from this description that the separation was by the same means and to the same extent in the synagogues of ordinary Jews. All that is implied is that the sexes did not mingle in public worship, though they joined in the same acts of worship. In the simple room known as a προσευχή (Ac 16^{13}) there could have been no elaborate barriers of separation. Paul and Silas seem to have entered freely into the society of Lydia and the other devout women at Philippi. No office in the synagogue appears to have been open to women. The limited education commonly enjoyed by all women but those of the wealthy and leisured class would necessarily debar them from much influence in intellectual regions. The Jews paid great attention to the education of children; but whenever we meet with an explicit statement on the subject we read only of boys. Thus Josephus says that Moses 'commanded to instruct children' (*c. Apion.* ii. 25), and 'we take most pains of all with the instruction of children' (*ib.* i. 12); but when he is more explicit he states that Moses prescribed 'that *boys* should learn the most important laws' (*Ant.* IV. viii. 12). Philo and the Talmud follow on similar lines (see Schürer, *HJP* II. ii. 27). The inference is that all young children were taught the elements of religion by their parents, but that when it came to the question of more exact instruction about the Law, in the synagogue schools, this was confined to boys.

1. *The Prominence of Women in the NT.*—Women come to the front with reference to the life of our Lord. This is especially the case in the Third Gospel, St. Luke delighting in gathering information concerning women and in showing their part in the Gospel story. It cannot be maintained that the Magnificat, though ascribed to the Virgin Mary, was actually composed by her. It is more consonant with ancient literary custom to suppose that the evangelist supplies hymns of the Jewish or Christian Church to express the sentiments of the persons whom he represents as uttering them. But, while we may not venture to designate the mother of Jesus as a poetess, Anna is distinctly represented as a prophetess who spent all her time in worship in the precincts of the temple (Lk 2^{36}). Our Lord's teaching and healing ministry was carried on among women as freely as among men. The means for the support of Christ and His apostles appears to have been chiefly derived from the contributions of women: this was in accordance with custom, women sometimes contributing largely towards the support of Rabbis (see Plummer, *Intern. Com.* on Lk 8^{1-3}). Women were prepared to perform the last offices for the dead on the body of Jesus. In the early apostolic age it was to the house of a woman that St. Peter went, after his liberation from prison during the persecution by Herod, to meet a considerable group of disciples ('where *many* were gathered together,' etc., Ac 12^{12}). We cannot infer that the whole Church was accustomed to meet in this house, as has been often assumed, for the majority were not present on this occasion, nor was St. James, since St. Peter says, 'Tell these things unto James, and to the brethren' (v.^{17}). At Joppa, Tabitha was a woman disciple highly honoured for her 'good works and alms deeds' (Ac 9^{36}). St. Paul's first convert in Europe was a woman, and he and his companions stayed at her house ($16^{14.15}$). At Philippi, where this occurred, there were other women who laboured with the apostle (Ph $4^{2.3}$). Priscilla is mentioned before her husband in regard to their teaching of Apollos, as though she took the lead (Ac 18^{26}). Timothy's faith is to be encouraged with memories of his mother's and grandmother's earlier faith (2 Ti 1^{5}). One NT Epistle (viz. 2 John) appears to have been written to a woman, though this is doubtful (see JOHN, EPISTLES OF). Women figure largely in the symbolism of the Apocalypse, *e.g.* 'the woman Jezebel, which calleth herself a prophetess' (Rev 2^{20}, see JEZEBEL, n.), the 'woman arrayed with the sun' ($12^{1ff.}$), the woman representing 'Babylon the Great' ($17^{1ff.}$).

2. *The Gifts of Women and the Exercise of them.*—There were no women among the Twelve Apostles, to whom special gifts of healing were given by our Lord. There is no proof that women disciples were not included among the Seventy (Lk 10^{1-20}), but there is no evidence that there were any, and the nature of the mission renders it improbable. No miracle is ever attributed to a woman. Still, as there were women in the churches among whom gifts of healing were said to be distributed, and no exception in their case is named, it cannot be denied that they may have shared in these as in other gifts. No book of the NT claims to be written by a woman; but Harnack assigns the authorship of Hebrews to Priscilla. Women were present at the day of Pentecost when the gift of the Spirit was bestowed (cf. Ac 1^{14} and $2^{1ff.}$), and must have shared in it, since St. Luke, referring to the whole company, says of the appearance of the tongues, that 'it sat upon each one of them' (2^{3}). Its result was prophecy (v.^{18}), and prophecy is the specific gift, the exercise of which at Corinth by women St. Paul refers to (1 Co 11^{5}), a gift which he prefers in honour to all others (14^{2}). The apostle assumes that women prophesy and pray in the church, only directing that they do so veiled. A little later he orders women to 'keep silence in the churches' (14^{34}). This seems to imply that on further reflexion he thought it not sufficient to protect their modesty that women should wear veils while

preaching or praying, and therefore forbade their exercise of the gift of prophesying in public at all. But observe, (*a*) this was at Corinth, a most dissolute city, where 1000 women were devoted to immorality at the shrine of Aphrodité on the Acrocorinthus, and therefore where it was most important to preserve the modesty of the Christian women from any suspicion or temptation; and (*b*) in the context of the second passage St. Paul does not again mention prophesying or praying, but says, 'It is not permitted unto them to *speak*' (λαλεῖν, which might be rendered 'talk'). This looks as though the apostle were now thinking of mere chattering, or, at best, questioning, especially as he adds, 'And if they would learn anything, let them ask their own husbands at home' (v.[35]). The ground of the prohibition is more than the requirements of modesty; it is the idea of the subjection of married women to their husbands ('but let them be in subjection,' *ib.*). Possibly there was a temporary and local reason for this apostolic precept in the condition of the Corinthian Church at the time. The apostle's words suggest the idea that in some cases the new, large family brotherhood and sisterhood of the Church was threatening to submerge the original relationships of the home. That must be prevented. But that the apostle holds to a certain subjection of woman in general must be inferred from his appeal to Genesis (3[16]). This, however, is to be considered rather as a matter of order than a question affecting the spiritual status of women. When referring to the latter, St. Paul lays down the principle that in Christ 'there can be no male or female' (Gal 3[28]). It has been said that the apostle was inconsistent with the principle here enunciated when giving his specific directions to the Corinthians (McGiffert, *Apost. Age*, p. 305). But he had also said 'there can be neither bond nor free' (Gal 3[28]), and yet he sent the slave Onesimus back to his master (Philem [12]). In both cases he supported established customs for the time being while enunciating great principles which would ultimately abolish them. Thus the NT leads to the emancipation of woman as to the abolition of slavery, not by sudden revolution from without, but by gradual evolution from within. St. Paul's lofty conception of marriage (Eph 5[22-33]), while including the subjection of women, involves the dignity of womanhood. Even under the restrictions required at the time, it is manifest that women enjoyed more liberty and were more on an equality with men in the church than in the synagogue. There could have been no such separation as Philo (?) describes. 1 Cor. plainly indicates that women took part with men at the *Agapé*. They must have been in view if it was requisite for them to be veiled. Their prophesying before the Church involves their being in the presence of the whole community. Doubtless, the sexes were so far divided as that the men and women sat in separate groups, since this was the custom in the churches of early patristic times. That the kiss of Christian brotherhood and sisterhood was not restricted between the sexes is plain from the fact that in later times it was subject to abuse, which led to the restriction being imposed upon it. Athenagoras (A.D. 177) quotes some apocryphal writing under the designation of 'the Logos' in rebuke of the abuse, which says, 'If any one kiss a second time because it gives him pleasure,' etc., and again, 'Therefore the kiss, or rather the salutation, should be given with the greatest care, since, if there be mixed with it the least defilement of thought, it excludes us from eternal life' (*Legat. pro Christian.* 32). Clement of Alex. condemns 'the shameless use of the kiss, which ought to be mystic' (*Pædagog.* iii. 11). Tertullian remarks on the reasonable complaint of a pagan husband that his wife should 'meet any one of the brethren to exchange a kiss' (*ad Uxor.* ii. 4). Accordingly the custom was altered, the earliest instance of the new regulations appearing in the *Apostolical Constitutions*: 'Let the clergy salute the bishop, the men of the laity salute the men, the women the women' (*Const. Apostol.* viii. 2. See *Dict. of Chr. Ant.*, art. 'Kiss').

3. *Offices held by Women.*—There were no women apostles. The elders were all men, in accordance with the invariable custom of the synagogue. It is given as a sign of the 'contempt' into which religion had fallen in the 5th cent., that women were found to be acting as priests at the altars, a complaint implying that this was an innovation previously unheard of (see *Dict. of Chr. Ant.*, art. 'Women'). Two offices are said to have been held by women in the NT Church—the office of the Deaconess and that of the Widow.—(*a*) **Deaconesses.** There is no certain description of the office of deaconess in the NT. We meet with deacons in Ph 1[1] and in 1 Ti 3[8-13], but without any clear reference to deaconesses, though in the latter passage deacons' wives are referred to; and there is mention of women in the course of the directions about the deacons (v.[11]), and before the mention of their wives, which seems to suggest that women deacons are meant. Earlier than this, Phœbe of Cenchrea is called 'a servant of the Church' (Ro 16[1]). The word is διάκονος, RVm 'deaconess.' In the earlier parts of the *Apostolical Constitutions* (ii. 26, iii. 15), ἡ διάκονος is the title of the deaconess; later we have διακόνισσα (viii. 19, 20, 28). See Sanday-Headlam, *in loc.*, also Lipsius, who considers that Phœbe's work would be care of the sick and of strangers. The fact that she went with a letter of recommendation suggests that she was travelling in the service of the Church. She must have been a woman of wealth and social standing, which gave her importance apart from her office, as she is called προστάτις, *i.e.* 'patroness.' See PHŒBE. The earliest definite reference to deaconesses is in Pliny (*Ep.* x. 96), '*Quo magis necessarium credidi ex duabus ancillis, quæ ministræ dicebantur, quid esset veri et per tormenta quærere.*' The title 'ministræ,' by which Pliny says these 'handmaidens'—surely in a humbler position than that of Phœbe—were known, is the Latin representative of διάκονοι and διακόνισσαι; the former of which titles would probably have been in use in Bithynia. There is nothing in the NT to identify the deaconesses with the 'widows' of the Pastoral Epistles; and if 1 Ti 3[11] refers to deaconesses, they must be in a distinct office, as they are mentioned apart from the widows, to whom reference is made later (5[3-16]). See Lightfoot, *Com. on Ph.*, Dissertation on Chr. Ministry, p. 189. We have no description of the work of deacons and deaconesses. But the significance of the title, pointing to service in distinction from the work of ruling entrusted to the elders or bishops, implies that they would have the care of the poor, 'serving tables' like 'the seven' (Ac 6[2-4]). The division of labour effected in the appointment of the seven is also implied in the Pastoral Epistles, since, while the bishop is required to be a capable teacher (Tit 1[9]), that is not said of the deacon; much less, then, could it have been required of the deaconess. Priscilla's instruction of Apollos, in conjunction with her husband, is not associated with any office.—(*b*) **Widows,** see WIDOW.

LITERATURE.—See the works named in the articles on FAMILY and MARRIAGE; also Peritz, *Woman in the Ancient Hebrew Cult*; W. R. Smith, *RS*; Stade, *Geschichte*; Schwally, *ZATW* xi. p. 176 ff.; Schechter, *Studies in Judaism*; Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*; Allen, *Christian Institutions*; Bartlet, *The Apostolic Age*; McGiffert, *Hist. of Christianity in the Apost. Age*; the *Internat. Critical Comm.* and the *Hand-Commentar* on passages referred to. W. F. ADENEY.

WOOD.—See GROVE, FOREST, TREE.

WOOL (צֶמֶר *ṣemer*; גֵּז *gēz*, גִּזָּה *gizzah*, Arab. *jazzah*, 'a fleece').—Wool was an important article of commerce (2 K 3^4 [part of the tribute of king MESHA], Ezk 27^{18}), and woollen fabrics formed a representative element in Oriental wealth (Mt 6^{19}, Ja 5^2). It was also an indication of social rank (Mt 11^8, Lk 7^{25}). The soft raiment (τὰ μαλακά) worn in kings' houses was not the rough homespun of the shepherd's cloak, but prob. like the close smooth-faced broadcloth still woven in the East, with native dyes in grey-blue, moss-green, and various brown and purple tones. Until recently the emirs of the Lebanon prohibited the peasantry from wearing such cloth. A many-folded Oriental suit of woollen cloth must have always been costly, and in modern use it is kept for high family occasions and religious festivals. Esau's 'goodly' garment was under his mother's personal charge (אֲשֶׁר אִתָּהּ Gn 27^{15}), and Tyrian cloth was valuable enough to be stored up as an ancestral heirloom (עָתִיק Is 23^{18}).

Great care had to be taken to protect woollen cloth from the ravages of moths (Is 50^9, Lk 12^{33}). In Is 51^8 mention is made both of the *moth* (עָשׁ *'āsh*, Arab. *'uththah*) and the *worm* (סָס *ṣās*, Arab. *ṣuṣ*, Gr. *σής*). In Arab. the former is the small silvery moth, and the latter word indicates the destructive larvæ.

The Israelites were forbidden to wear clothing made of interwoven wool and linen, called שַׁעַטְנֵז *sha'aṭnēz*. The context, Lv 19^{19} Dt 22^{11}, seems to indicate that the objection was to the mixture as such. The matter is the subject of discussion in the Mishna (*Kilaim* ix. 1), and Josephus briefly states that the reason was because such cloth of wool and linen was the special dress material of the priests (*Ant.* IV. viii. 11). It is one of the tit-bits of rabbinical conscientiousness to discuss whether a man wearing a woollen coat, of which the buttons are sewn on with linen thread, is wearing *sha'aṭnēz*, and so breaking the Law.

Wool was the standard of lustrous whiteness (Ps 147^{16}, Is 1^{18}, Dn 7^9, Rev 1^{14}), as goats'-hair or sackcloth was of intense black (Rev 6^{12}).

G. M. MACKIE.

WORD (λόγος, ῥῆμα).—Commenting on Dt 8^3, Philo says (*Leg. Alleg.* iii. 61), τὸ μὲν γὰρ στόμα σύμβολον τοῦ λόγου, τὸ δὲ ῥῆμα μέρος αὐτοῦ. The definition of ῥῆμα, as an isolated specific affirmation in contrast with λόγος, a connected whole, though for the most part tenable, cannot be universally accepted. In LXX both words are used indifferently as tr. of דָּבָר, and sometimes λόγος is found, where on the ground of this distinction we might have expected ῥῆμα (Is 50^4). In the familiar phrase, 'the word of the Lord came,' 'word' is rendered in the historical books, now by λόγος (2 S 24^{11}, 1 K 6^{11} 12^{22} 16^1 etc.), now by ῥῆμα (1 S 15^{10}, 2 S 7^4, 1 K 17^8 19^9 etc.); but in the prophetical books (with the possible exception of Jer 1^1, where the translation is inexact) λόγος is invariably used to denote the message which God revealed to the prophet that he might declare it to the people in His name. It may be noted that, in referring to the call of the Baptist—'the word of the Lord came unto John' (3^2)—St. Luke uses ῥῆμα. The choice of ῥῆμα may be accidental; or he may have done so designedly to mark the contrast between the word that came to the Baptist and the word (λόγος) proclaimed and revealed by Christ.

At a very early date, if not at the very beginning of the Church, ὁ λόγος was used κατ' ἐξοχήν to designate the special revelation of grace given in and by Jesus Christ (Lk 1^2, Ac 4^4 etc.). Our Lord appears to have so described His message (Mt 13^{20}, Mk 4^{14}). St. Mark thus summarizes the teaching of Jesus (2^2). At the institution of the diaconate the apostles characterize their own distinctive duty as a steadfast continuance in the ministry of the word (Ac 6^4); it is represented as the exclusive subject and substance of the proclamation of the early missionaries of the cross (Ac 8^4 17^{11} etc.); it is found in the earliest as well as in the latest of the Epistles of St. Paul (1 Th 1^6, 2 Ti 4^2). By describing the gospel in this way, the speakers or writers meant to imply that it was the perfect and authoritative word which was to supersede all other words that God had spoken to men. In relation to its origin it is the word of God (Lk 8^{11}, Ac 4^{31}, 1 Co 14^{36}, He 4^{12}, 1 P 1^{23}); in respect of its method of communication it is the word of hearing (1 Th 2^{13}, He 4^2); as to its nature it is the word of the kingdom (Mt 13^{19}), of truth (2 Ti 2^{15}), of life (Ph 2^{16}); it is pre-eminently the word of salvation (Ac 13^{26}), of reconciliation (2 Co 5^{19}), the word of the cross (1 Co 1^{18}). (See Cremer, *Bib. Theol. Lex.*[4] pp. 392, 393; Trench, *N.T. Syn.* 289, 337). For Word in the personal sense see LOGOS.

JOHN PATRICK.

WORLD.—'The world,' in that meaning of the term from which others that are in use may be most clearly derived, denotes a system known to man through his senses, to which he himself on one side of his nature belongs, but from which, as a personal being, he can and usually does regard himself as distinct. It is a portion of the material universe, and may even stand for the whole of it where man's knowledge of nature is limited. It will be our chief aim in this article to examine the view taken in OT and NT of this material system, and of man's actual as well as his true relation to it.

i. IN OLD TESTAMENT.—תֵּבֵל, which is commonly rendered 'world' both by AV and RV, is not a word of larger meaning than אֶרֶץ 'earth'; indeed, so far as a distinction can be drawn between them, it has the narrower application. [Cf. art. EARTH, and see esp. Pr 8^{31} תֵּבֵל אַרְצוֹ=RV 'his habitable earth,' also Job 37^{12}]. The two words constantly occupy the corresponding places in the parallelisms of Heb. poetry (Ps 19^4 24^1 etc.). תֵּבֵל occurs only in poetry, and the word 'world' may have been thought to have somewhat more poetic associations, and have been adopted for this reason to translate it. [תֵּבֵל is never rendered by 'earth' either in AV or RV; אֶרֶץ is rendered by 'world' only at Ps 22^{27}, Is 23^{17} 62^{11}, and Jer 25^{26} in AV, and only at Job 37^{12}, Is 23^{17}, and Jer 25^{26} in RV. In these last two places 'earth' was reserved to tr. אַדְמָה].

There is no single word in OT which describes the material universe, even as it was conceived by the Hebrews. The phrase 'heaven and earth' is used to convey that notion (Gn 1^1, Ps 89^{11}, Jer 10^{12} 51^{15} etc.). Both אֶרֶץ and תֵּבֵל are also distinguished from the seas or the sea (Gn 1^{10}, Ps 98^7).

Heaven and earth by their vastness and stability, and by the rich variety, excellence, and beauty of that which they contain (cf. the expression 'the fulness of the world' and 'of the earth,' Ps 50^{12} and 24^1 etc., as also 'the sea and its fulness,' Ps 98^7); the sea kept under firm restraint for all its raging; the sun, moon, and stars observing their regular times and seasons, were felt to be constant witnesses to the power and wisdom of God, of Jehovah the God of Israel, who is the Creator and ruler of all (Am 4^{13} 5^8, Is 48^{13} 51^{13}, Jer 5^{22} 10^{12} 51^{15}, Ps $19^{1\text{-}6}$ $24^{1.2}$ 8. $33^{6\text{-}9}$ 29. 89^{11} 93. $95^{4.5}$ 104). To their testimony even the heathen might be expected to pay heed (see esp. Ps $19^{1\text{-}6}$). In this sense even inanimate things praise God (Ps $96^{10\text{-}13}$ $98^{8.9}$ 148). Moreover, His care for His creatures was recognized, as shown in the regular provision which He has made for their sustenance. He is their guardian, the source of life and happiness to all

living things (Gn 8^{22}, Ps 33^5 36^{5-9} 65^{5-13} $103^{4.5}$ 104^{27-30} 147^{8-17}, Job 10^{12}). But He was believed, too, to manifest Himself in a special manner in the more exceptional and terrible aspects of Nature, in storm and earthquake, in drought and pestilence. By means of these He had fought and was expected to fight on the side of His own people against their enemies (Ex 15, Jg $5^{20.21}$, Am $9^{5.6}$, Ps 18^{7-15} $48^{6.7}$ 68^{7-9} 76^{3-9} 77^{11-20} 78. 83^{13-16} 97^{3-6} 105. 106^{7-10} 111. 114. 144^{5-8}), or punished Judah and Israel (Am 4^{6-11}) or individuals (Ps 107) for their sins. Those proofs of His presence and operation which are regular, and those more unusual ones where there has evidently been some particular end in view, are remarkably brought together in some passages (Ps 74^{13-18} 89^{10-14} 136).

With the rise and development of the doctrine of WISDOM, interest in Nature was greatly stimulated, a more careful observation of particular facts, and even a certain kind of speculation upon her laws, were encouraged, but all under the guidance of a strongly religious spirit (Pr 8^{22-31}, Job 26^{7-14} 28. 36^{22}–39. 40^6–41. Comp. Wis 7^{17-22}, Sir 43. A similar bent may be noted in a work belonging to another class of literature, En. 72–82 and 2–5).

So far we have spoken of the impression made upon the minds of devout and inspired Heb. prophets, psalmists, and philosophers by the contemplation of that order of which the earth forms a part. But the earth itself was specially thought of by them as the spacious dwelling-place of mankind, divided into its many races, tribes, and kingdoms. [See such expressions as 'kingdoms,' 'peoples,' 'inhabitants' of 'the earth,' or 'the world,' Gn 22^{18}, Jos 4^{24}, 2 K $19^{15.19}$, Is $26^{9.18}$ 37^{20} etc.]. Hence, further, both תֵּבֵל and אֶרֶץ (ה) are used by themselves for mankind, which is capable of doing right and wrong and of knowing God, and which shall be judged by God (Gn 6^{11}, Ex 9^{16}, Nu 14^{21}, Gn 18^{25}, 1 S 2^{10}, Ps 2^8, Is 38^{11}, Ps 9^8 10^{18} 33^8 96^{13} etc.). But when we speak of mankind in these relations we must beware of thinking primarily of a collection of responsible individuals, as from our modern habits of thought we may be apt to do. In accordance with the point of view of the OT, 'the earth' in this use of the term must be understood to mean 'the nations of the earth'; the judgment of nations and the homage that should be paid by the nations generally to the God of Israel are intended in the passages in question. 'Earth' is also used in a sense akin to our phrase 'human society' in Ps 75^3 ('the foundations of the earth' = 'the principles on which human society rests'; cf. Pr 30^{21}). In the following places, however, it seems to describe men as men—Jos 23^{14}, Is 24^{18-20} 26^{18}, Jer 50^{46} 51^{25}.

The last-mentioned use may possibly be associated with the idea of man's origin (Gn 2^7 and 3^{19}, Ps 146^4), though it is to be remembered that in these places the words used are אֲדָמָה and עָפָר. But at Ps 10^{18} the expression אֱנוֹשׁ מִן־הָאָרֶץ 'mortal man from the earth' may most naturally be explained thus. The little value of man and his transitoriness are in this way brought home to the mind. No moral signification seems to attach to this 'earthiness' of man. It does not imply earthliness of aims and principles. On the other hand, a notion analogous to this is suggested in at least one passage (Ps 17^{14}) where another word חֶלֶד, sometimes translated 'world,' in sense of *time* (Arab. *khalada* 'abide,' 'endure') is used. [At Ps 39^5 89^{47} and Job 11^{17} it is rendered 'age,' 'time,' 'life'; but at Ps 17^{14} 49^1 and Is 38^{11} (implying here חֶלֶד for חֵבֶל) 'world' both in AV and RV. In the former of these passages, however, 'mortals of time' would give a good sense]. An excessive devotion to the things of this present life, which are the things of sense, is here indicated such as to constitute a type of character. This is an interesting anticipation of NT thought. Another point of interest is the analogy between the use of חֶלֶד, a word denoting time, and the subsequent use of *αἰών*. Another word עוֹלָם, to the meaning of which *αἰών* still more closely approximates, is also translated 'world' at Ec 3^{11} AV and RV (not RVm). In later Hebrew it did bear at times this sense, but it is more than doubtful whether it has it here. (See esp. the commentaries of Nowack - Hitzig in the *Kurzgef. Com.*, and E. H. Plumptre, *in loc.*).

ii. APOCRYPHA.—In the Books of Wisdom and 2 Maccabees we are introduced to the important word *κόσμος* in the sense which it acquired among the Greeks through philosophic usage. The LXX of OT has the word, but only in its earlier meaning of 'adornment,' or as a rendering of צָבָא 'host' (Gn 4^1, Dt 4^{19} etc.); while אֶרֶץ and תֵּבֵל are there translated by *γῆ* and *οἰκουμένη* (אֶרֶץ almost always by *γῆ*, and תֵּבֵל by *οἰκουμένη*; there are, however, a few cases in which these renderings are interchanged, all in Isaiah). But in the Apocrypha, *i.e.* in the two books of the Apocrypha above mentioned, it occurs repeatedly as a name for the material universe, which is its most common signification there. The Most High is again and again described by such phrases as 'the Creator of the world,' 'the Ruler of the world.' For the word in this sense comp. Plato, *Gorgias*, 508; Aristotle, *de Mund.* 2. The thought of order, and of the beauty arising therefrom, which the word by its derivation suggested, is naturally associated with this application of it, and may well have been present to the mind of the author of the Book of Wisdom in his use of it at 11^{17}. Other passages, interesting in connexion with his view of the *κόσμος*, are 1^{14} and $7^{17f.}$. In 5^{20} and 16^{17} reference is made to the co-operation of the world, *i.e.* the forces of nature, in the work of moral retribution and the defence of the righteous, in full agreement with OT thought, though the language is somewhat different. Man's birth is described as an entry into the world, 7^6 (some MSS, however, read *βίον*). The position assigned to him in it is, in accordance with Gn $1^{26.28}$, Ps $8^{6f.}$, that he should 'rule the world—*διέπῃ τὸν κόσμον*—in holiness and righteousness' (9^3). For this reason, too, it would seem, Adam is somewhat strangely called 'the first-formed father of the world' (10^1). But the world has, through human perversity, become the scene of idolatry and moral corruption, and therewith death has been admitted into it, though this is attributed to the envy of the devil (14^{12-31} 2^{24}, cf. Ro 5^{12}).

There does not seem to be a passage in which *κόσμος*, either in this book or in 2 Mac., denotes mankind exclusively, for at Wis 6^{24} where the world is said to be benefited by the large number of the wise, and at 14^6 where the ark is spoken of as 'the hope of the world,' the whole of creation may be thought of as associated with men.

Before passing from the Apocrypha we may observe that in Wis 13^9 there is a use of *αἰών* which may help to show how it came to have at times almost the sense of 'world.'

iii. NEW TESTAMENT.—We have noticed one or two places in the Book of Wisdom in which *κόσμος* appears to denote simply this earth and its inhabitants. Two interesting examples are referred to by Liddell and Scott (*sub voce*) of the use of the word in much the same way in public inscriptions of the end of the first or beginning of the 2nd cent. A.D. Nerva is called *σωτὴρ τοῦ πάντος κόσμου*, and Trajan *σωτὴρ τοῦ κόσμου*. See Boeck, *CIG* 1306, 334. In NT many more instances of its having this meaning will come before us, as well as of other meanings which arise out of this one. It is necessary to ask at once whether we ought to

attempt to carry the original meaning of 'order' through all these applications of the word [Westcott, Comm. on *Gospel according to St. John*, Additional Note at end of ch. 1, on κόσμος, tries to do this]. Its sense is not anywhere restricted to denote the earth in classical literature. It is there used sometimes of the heavens alone; and indeed there is reason to think that the Pythagoreans, who are credited with having been the first who employed it to express a philosophical conception, applied it thus. And we can readily understand that the heavenly bodies with their regular motions might impress them with their order and beauty. The earth, too, might well come to be included under the term κόσμος, as forming one member of a great system in which there was true relation of parts. But it is not so easy to see how by itself it could have been regarded as 'an ordered whole.' It must be remembered that the ancient mind was not penetrated as the modern is with the thought of law in nature. On the other hand, the possibility that the 'cosmopolitanism' of the Cynics and Stoics influenced common speech is not to be overlooked. Yet it should be observed that their phrase κόσμου πολίτης had a different force from that which 'citizen of the world' has to our ears. In the mouth of the Stoic it expressed the conviction that the universal system and law, the polity of the great City of Zeus, in which every man had his own place, conditioned his life and determined his obligations. To the Cynic, on the other hand, —if we may take the passage in Lucian, Βίων πρᾶσις §§ 7–10, as a correct representation of the teaching of Diogenes and his school,—it meant, indeed, that he was unfettered by ties of country and could make his home anywhere, but the reason for this was that his life was composed of the simplest, most universal elements. The saying attributed to Socrates by Plutarch (Περὶ Φυγῆς, § 4, 600 f.)—that he was himself not Athenian nor Hellene, but citizen of the world (κόσμιος)—should also be compared, where in the context Plutarch quotes the saying of Plato that man is οὐράνιος. The use of κόσμος with that particular limitation of its meaning which we are considering may have been facilitated in a measure by this language of the schools. To a still greater degree, probably, it was due to the fact that the earth seemed, especially perhaps to the Hebrew mind, to be incomparably the most important part of the created universe, to which the heaven with its lights, properly speaking, belonged, as a canopy over it. But the question for us is, not so much what the history of this usage was, but whether the notion of order was usually present to the mind of those who employed it as the NT writers do. We can conceive that it might have been to that of St. Paul (cf. Ac 17^{24}), but it does not seem probable in the case of others, and indeed the idea is not suggested in connexion with the term κόσμος by any context in which it is used, even in St. Paul's Epistles. And when our world was viewed in its ethical aspects it seemed to Christian apostles to be, not a realm of order but a scene of disorder; and their teaching substantially is, that it could not be an order while God was left out of account, though there is no evidence that they formulated their thought to themselves exactly in this way.

We have seen what range of meaning אֶרֶץ and תֵּבֵל have in OT, and have observed that γῆ and οἰκουμένη are used in LXX to render them. In connexion with the meanings of κόσμος it is not unimportant to notice that there are in NT parallel or closely similar passages in one of which γῆ or οἰκουμένη is found, and in the other κόσμος. Comp. Mt 4^{8} with Lk 4^{5}, Mt 24^{14} and 26^{13}, Mt 5^{5} with Ro 4^{13}, Jn 3^{31} and 8^{23}. Yet, even though κόσμος at times seems to have much the same meaning as γῆ or οἰκουμένη in many passages of LXX, it was felt to be a preferable word for many purposes. In spite of the usage of LXX there was danger of confusion in employing οἰκουμένη, which was applied by Greeks and Romans specially to the Græco-Roman world. [This word occurs most frequently in the writings of St. Luke, and most often with the meaning just indicated]. Κόσμος may also more readily have suggested a comprehensive idea, so as to include more at least than γῆ did; it suggested the idea of a whole, if not necessarily of an ordered whole. The philosophical associations which still clung to the word also made it more suitable when the intention was to signalize certain principles which underlay and governed the entity in question. It may be observed that οἰκουμένη occurs but once in St. Paul's writings (Ro 10^{18}), and there in a quotation from LXX; γῆ also is met with there comparatively rarely.

We proceed to review the use of κόσμος in NT more in detail. Our object in doing so will be to mark differences between various writers, and also to some extent in the same writers, in the denotation of the term, and in the conception implied when that which is denoted is the same. It will be seen that there are instances in all the chief groups of writings of its standing for (1) the material universe, (2) our world as containing mankind, but without the connotation that the world or men have certain ethical characteristics. The ethical signification of the word appears to be confined to the Epp. of St. Paul, the Gospel and Epp. of St. John, the Ep. of St. James, and 2 Peter; though there is a possible exception when the kingdoms of the world and their glory are offered as a temptation (Mt 4^{8}), and the possession of the whole world is compared with the true interests of the soul (Mk 8^{36}, Mt 16^{26}, Lk 9^{25}); we may in these places be intended to gather that worldly dominion and wealth are even of themselves dangerous to the soul. Further, we ought to be better able to form for ourselves a clear and complete view of the conception as a whole presented in the teaching of NT and in individual writers, after marking aspects of it which are severally prominent in particular passages. The idea thus obtained we must take with us in order that we may fully feel the force of other passages. This is specially true in the case of St. John's writings. Thus, when in Jn 13^{1} it is said that the hour had come that Jesus 'should depart out of this world unto the Father,' and that He had 'loved his own which were in the world,' some thought of what the world is must have been present to the mind of the evangelist. It is, moreover, obvious that where St. John uses the word in successive, or nearly successive, clauses or sentences—as he does again and again in chs. 14–17—though from each occurrence the same notion cannot be gathered fully, it would be a mistake to regard them disconnectedly. The word has one meaning in the thought of the writer, though he may not be equally conscious of all its elements at every moment, and though he is still less able to convey the whole of it at once to others, but lights up first this, then that part of it, after his characteristic manner.

1. The material universe, the heaven and earth which were created at the beginning, most frequently in the phrase ἀπὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου, or others similar to this, Mt 24^{21} 25^{34}, Lk 11^{50}, Jn $17^{5.\ 24}$, Ro 1^{20}, Eph 1^{4}, 1 P 1^{20}, He 4^{3} 9^{26}. In Jn 11^{9} we read of the natural light of this world; in 1 Co 8^{4} 14^{10} ἐν κόσμῳ seems to be equivalent to the Latin phrase *in rerum natura*.

1 Co 4^{9} belongs, perhaps, here. Angels are added probably as distinguished from the world; men, on the other hand, as a particular and important part of it.

2. The earth, but rarely without reference to that which it contains, and especially to its human inhabitants.

(*a*) The scene of human life, the abode of mankind, Ro $5^{12.\ 13}$, 2 Co 1^{12}, Eph 2^{12}, 1 Ti 1^{15} 6^{7}, He 10^{5}, 1 P 5^{9}, Jn 1^{9} 6^{14} 11^{27}, 1 Jn

41. 9. 17. In Jn 21[25] little more seems to be implied than the extent of space included.

(*b*) The earth, together with all the treasures it contains, and including, no doubt, dominion over men, Mt 4[8], Mt 16[26] = Mk 8[36] = Lk 9[25], Ro 4[13], 1 Co 3[22].

(*c*) The scope appointed for the work of the missionaries of the gospel; it is to be preached throughout the world: Mt 5[14] 13[38], Mt 26[13] = Mk 14[9], Mk 16[15], Ro 1[8], Col 1[6], Ph 2[15], 1 Ti 3[16].

3. Idiomatic and peculiar uses—

(*a*) A rhetorical expression for the great majority of people in a particular place, as in French, 'tout le monde,' Jn 12[19].

(*b*) Equivalent almost to the modern phrase 'the public.' 'Show thyself to the world' = 'court publicity,' Jn 7[4], cf. 18[20].

(*c*) Means of sustenance for the body is called *βίος τοῦ κόσμου*, 1 Jn 3[17].

(*d*) 'The tongue a world of iniquity,' Ja 3[6].

(*e*) The world before the Flood, He 11[7], 2 P 2[5] 3[6]. The population of the world, then, and its accumulations of wealth and the products of its labour, are no doubt chiefly in view; yet the comparison in 2 P 3[6. 7] with 'the heavens and the earth that now are,' suggests a sweeping away at that time of the old order of nature.

4. The term used with ethical significance.

(*a*) As material and transitory the world presents a contrast with that which is spiritual and eternal. In this way St. Paul seems to regard it in the very important passages Gal 4[3] 6[14], Col 2[8. 20]. So we gather from comparing them together and from their contents (see Lightfoot, *in loc.*). The instances with which the apostle is dealing illustrate the general principle to which he refers. The Law and its ordinances belong to an external sphere. Now things outward (= 'the things that are seen' of 2 Co 4[18]) have for St. Paul lost all their value through Christ's death, in comparison with the things spiritual, and this ought to be the case with all Christians. He is not thinking of the world as evil. Indeed the Law, which is 'of the world' in the sense defined, has been used by God for the rudimentary instruction and discipline of the Israelites, and so may other things which are of the world be used. Elsewhere, also, he allows for a certain use of them, which must, however, be sparing and kept in strict subordination to higher considerations, 1 Co 7[31. 34]; cf. Lk 12[30]. This view of the world is hardly to be traced in St. John's writings; a darker one appears, we shall find, there, upon which St. Paul dwells less.

(*b*) Devotion to the things of the world produces a certain temper of mind, which under the sense of loss is manifested in that 'sorrow of the world' which is not 'according to God,' 2 Co 7[10]. There is a scale for estimating men and things, which may be in a measure true relatively to the things of this world, but which is, to say the least, altogether incomplete, 1 Co 1[27. 28] 4[13], Ja 2[5]. The world has a fancied wisdom which does not know God, 1 Co 1[20. 21] 3[19], Jn 1[10]; it cannot receive the Spirit of Truth, Jn 14[17]. There is, in short, a spirit of this world, 1 Co 2[12]. Those in whom this spirit is are described as being 'of the world' or 'of this world' (Jn 8[23], 1 Jn 4[4. 5]); and, by contrast, Christ's disciples as 'not of the world' (Jn 15[19] 17[14]; cf. also 1 Co 5[10] and 11[32]).

The state of the world arising from the influence of this spirit is one of dire moral corruption, Eph 2[2], 1 Jn 2[15-17], Ja 1[27] 4[4], 2 P 1[4] 2[20].

(*c*) The world denotes the mass of men who are hostile to the truth and to the followers of Christ, or at least indifferent to it and them, Jn 7[7] 16[20. 33], 1 Jn 3[1. 13] 4[4. 5].

(*d*) The world is dominated by the Evil One, Jn 12[31], 1 Jn 4[4] 5[19].

(*e*) The world as the object of judgment and of saving mercy, Ro 3[6. 19] 11[12. 15], 1 Co 6[2], 2 Co 5[19], Jn 1[29] 3[16-19] 4[42] 6[33. 51] 8[12. 26] 9[5] 12[46. 47]. Primarily, of course, men are the objects of judgment, and that individually. But this is not all that is meant. In view of the general use of the term *κόσμος* and of OT language, we must think, also, of a judgment upon mankind collectively, and on the manner of life and environment which it has made for itself, and in a sense, too, on the whole creation with which it is so intimately connected; and so also with regard to salvation (cf. Ro 8[19ff.]).

(*f*) The Holy Spirit has a special office in regard to the world, distinct from that which He exercises towards believers (Jn 16[8-11]).

(*g*) The Christian can through his faith overcome the world; *i.e.*, no doubt, alike its spirit in himself, the opposition of worldly men, and the world's ruler (1 Jn 4[4] 5[4. 5]).

5. The word *αἰών*—which signifies properly a period of time, but a much longer one than we mean by an age, probably indeed the whole period during which the present order of nature has continued and shall continue—is used in many places with much the same connotation as 'world.' It is often rendered by this word both in AV and RV, though by 'age' in RVm and at He 6[5] in RV. *Αἰών* and *κόσμος* are brought into close connexion at 1 Co 1[20] and Eph 2[2. 3]. This 'æon' is contrasted with that which is to come (Mt 12[32], Mk 10[30], Lk 18[30], He 6[5]). We read of its cares (Mt 13[22] = Mk 4[19]); its sons (Lk 16[8] 20[34]); its rulers, *i.e.* the kings and great ones of the earth (1 Co 2[6. 8]); its wisdom (1 Co 1[20] 2[6] 3[22]); its fashion, to which the Christian must not be conformed (Ro 12[2]). It is evil (Gal 1[4]), and under the dominion of the Evil One (2 Co 4[4]). This use of *αἰών* with an ethical signification is not difficult to understand, easier indeed than the corresponding and commoner one of *κόσμος*. It is otherwise with the expression at He 1[2] *ἐποίησεν τοὺς αἰῶνας*. Here *οἱ αἰῶνες* seems to mean 'the sum of the "periods of time," including all that is manifested in and through them' (see Westcott, *in loc.*). But to regard creation primarily with reference to time, and not merely to time as a general condition, but to periods of time, is not natural for us; it would seem to have been more so for the Hebrew mind (cf. the Rabbinic use of עוֹלָם). It may be worth while to note that the original sense of the Eng. word 'world' by its derivation is 'age of man.' In the Gospel and Epp. of St. John and the Apocalypse *αἰών* occurs only in the phrase *εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα* and similar expressions.

The conception of the world which we have been considering is characteristic of Christianity. There is nothing like it in the philosophy or religion of Greece and Rome. It differs widely also from the belief found in the various forms of Gnosticism, in Manichæism, or Neoplatonism, and in Oriental systems to the present day, that matter is essentially evil, or necessarily at best a hindrance and burden to the spiritual nature. From the Christian point of view things material constitute indeed a grave danger owing to the misleading fascination which they have for the minds of men, strengthened, as it is, through the subtle influence of habits of thought and opinions which have grown up in human society, and which are based upon a false estimate of the value of the wealth and honours of this world. To such an extent are men governed by wrong motives and aims in this respect, that any one who, with singleness of purpose, sets himself to act with reference to God and His glory is likely to feel himself more or less alienated from and placed in a position of antagonism to his kind. The little handful of Christians in the first age must have experienced this sense of estrangement with peculiar acuteness. But at the same time they had been taught, and they believed, that the world in its origin came from God, and also that, bad as its present condition was, it was salvable—that alike the men who are of it and the things that belong to it may be redeemed from sin and sinful uses and consecrated to the glory of God.

In conclusion, we may observe that the order of nature is appealed to in NT as well as in OT in proof of the existence, the power, and the goodness of God (Ac 14[17], Ro 1[20]), but the same stress is not laid upon the more exceptional phenomena as signs of His presence.

LITERATURE.—Art. on *κόσμος* in Cremer's *Bibl.-theol. Lexicon*; Westcott's *Commentary on St. John*, Additional Note at end of ch. 1.

V. H. STANTON.

WORM.—The following Heb. words are tr. 'worm' in AV. **1.** סָס *ṣās*, *σής*, *tinea* (Is 51[8]), is undoubtedly the same as the Arab. *sûs*. It is the grub of the moth, *'âsh*, Arab. *'uth*, mentioned in the same passages. See MOTH. **2.** רִמָּה *rimmāh* = maggots, bred in putrefying vegetable (Ex 16[24]) and animal (Job 7[5] 17[14] 21[26] 24[20], Is 14[11]) substances. Once man is declared to be such a maggot (Job 25[6]). **3.** תּוֹלֵעָה *tôlē'āh*, תּוֹלַע *tôlā'*, תּוֹלָעַת *tôla'ath*: (*a*) a maggot, generated in putrefying vegetable (Ex 16[20]) and animal (Is 14[11] 66[24]) substances; (*b*) a worm which gnaws and blights plants (Dt 28[39], Jon 4[7]). The number of these is very large in the Holy Land; (*c*) figuratively to denote the weakness of man (Job 25[6], Ps 22[6], Is 41[14]). תּוֹלַע and תּוֹלָעַת are used also of the *coccus* (see CRIMSON, SCARLET). Earth worms do not seem to be included in the meaning of any of the above names. The term 'worms' (AVm 'creeping things,' RV 'crawling things') of the earth; וְחַלְיֵי אֶרֶץ, LXX *σύροντες γῆν* (Mic 7[17]), is probably generic for all reptiles and worms which burrow in the ground. It certainly does not refer to any genus or species. The worms of which Herod died (*σκώληξ*, Ac 12[23]) may have been maggots bred in a gangrenous mass. Josephus says that he died five days after he was smitten. Σκώληξ is also mentioned in Apocr. (Sir 10[11] 19[3], 1 Mac 2[62]).

G. E. POST.

WORMWOOD (לַעֲנָה *la'ănāh*).—A generic word for the species of *Artemisia*. It is always spoken

of as a bitter and deleterious plant. The root, in Arab. and perh. in Heb., signifies 'to curse.' *La'ănāh* is mentioned with gall (*rôsh*, Dt 29[18], Jer 9[15] 23[15], La 3[19], Am 6[12]). It is the summing up of the career of a strange woman (Pr 5[4]). Figuratively it signifies calamity (La 3[15]) and injustice (Am 5[7]). The great star which fell from heaven (Rev 8[11]) is called 'Wormwood' (Ἄψινθος). In point of fact, the excessive dread which the Hebrews had of most bitter substances was founded not on clinical experience but on prejudice. Camels, at least, eat more or less of the species of *Artemisia*, of which there are five in Palestine and Syria, all known in Arabic by the name *bu'aiterân*. They are *A. monosperma*, Del. (Arab. *'adâh*), *A. Herba-Alba*, Asso. (Arab. *shîh*), *A. Judaica*, L., *A. annua*, L., and *A. arborescens* (Arab. *dhoḳn-esh-sheikh*). They are composite plants, mostly of the interior tablelands, esp. of the deserts. Their growth in desolate places, added to their bitterness, gave them their bad reputation. G. E. POST.

WORSHIP, both as subst. and verb, was formerly used of reverence or honour done to men as well as to God, and so occurs in Lk 14[10] 'then shalt thou have worship in the presence of them that sit at meat with thee' (δόξα, RV 'glory'). The word is a contraction of *worthship* (from Anglo-Sax. *weorth* 'worth,' with the suffix *scipe*, Eng. *ship*, Ger. *schaft*, akin to *shape*). It is used of men in earlier versions frequently. See Driver, *Par. Psalt. s.v.* for the Pr. Bk. Psalms. Cf. also for the subst., Wyclif, *Works*, iii. 156, 'Men abstenen in werre, with myche fastyng and peyne, to wynne worschip of the worlde and to anoye hir enmyes'; Nu 24[11] Tind. 'I thoughte that I wolde promote the unto honoure, but the Lorde hath kepte the backe from worshepe'; Job 14[21] Cov. 'Whether his children come to worshipe or no, he can not tell.' And for the verb, Jn 12[26] Wyc. 'If ony man serue me, my fadir schal worschip hym'; Pr. Bk. *Marriage Service*, 'With my body I thee worship.'
J. HASTINGS.

WORSHIP (IN OT).—See PRAISE (IN OT) and TEMPLE.

WORSHIP (IN NT).—Christian worship grew out of the Jewish synagogue worship, to which, in its early forms, it bore considerable resemblance. Our Lord with His disciples visited the synagogues at Capernaum (Mk 1[21] 3[1]) and Nazareth (Mk 6[2]); and, as He preached in the synagogues of Galilee generally (Mk 1[39], Lk 6[6]), He must have taken part in the public worship. When St. Paul was on his missionary tours he invariably sought out the synagogue, or, if that were wanting, the *proseuché* (Ac 16[13]), no doubt joining in the Jewish worship. See SYNAGOGUE. It was only by degrees that Christian worship came to supersede synagogue worship in the Church. At first the meetings of the Christian brotherhood, which of course were held in private, were quite distinct from the Sabbath worship, and Jewish Christians would go to the synagogue on the Saturday and to their own meeting on the Sunday. The Epistle of St. James seems to imply that the community there addressed consisted of the worshippers in some synagogue who had accepted Christianity as a body, and who then continued to meet in the building, but as a Christian Church, so that the writer, referring to the place of worship where the Church assembled, could call it 'your synagogue' (Ja 2[2]; but von Soden understands the word συναγωγή here to mean 'assembly,' see *Hdcom. in loc.*; Bennett allows that it may mean the Jewish place of worship 'if the Epistle is very early,' though preferring 'assembly' as RVm, see *Century Bible, in loc.*). The separation of Christian from Jewish worship was brought about under various influences, viz. (1) Jewish antagonism, leading to the expulsion of the Christians from the synagogue; (2) Church development, giving more importance to the worship carried on in the Christian assembly and stamping it with an individual character, thus rendering attendance at the Jewish synagogue superfluous and incongruous; (3) the conversion of the heathen on the lines of Pauline liberalism, dispensing with circumcision, so that the Gentile Christians could not be regarded as proselytes to Judaism. As these free Hellenistic Christians increased in number, and before long became the majority of the Apostolic Church, the necessity for maintaining Christian worship quite apart from the synagogue would be apparent to all but the narrow Judaizers.

i. TEACHING AND PRACTICE OF JESUS CHRIST.—The only worship that our Lord expressly required was private worship, as when He warned His disciples against the Pharisaic ostentation of praying 'in the synagogues [private prayers] and in the corners of the streets,' and bade them enter their 'inner chamber' and pray to their 'Father which is in secret' (Mt 6[6]). His teaching about prayer deals with the subject of personal prayer, encouraging individual faith with regard to specific petitions (*e.g.* Lk 11[5-13]). In one place He commends the united prayer of two persons for a common end (Mt 18[19]); but this refers to a special emergency, and has no bearing on public worship. On the other hand, He assumed that His disciples took part in public worship; He did not need to command a universal practice which He sanctioned by Himself following it. Whenever our Lord's own praying is referred to, this is not connected with public worship. Most frequently it is associated with mountain solitude. In this worship He was either entirely alone or praying by Himself in the presence of disciples rather than praying with them. Still, is it quite accurate to say that He never prayed together with other men? Must He not have done this in the synagogue? The incident of the woman of Samaria contains His most significant utterance on the subject of worship, in which He denies the peculiar efficacy of sacred places (Jerusalem claimed by the Jews, Gerizim claimed by the Samaritans), and affirms that, for the future, worship must be 'in spirit,' *i.e.* internal, not merely in external functions, and 'in truth,' *i.e.* in accordance with the nature of God and our true relations with Him as at once 'Spirit' and 'Father' (Jn 4[23. 24]). That this teaching influenced the Church, rendering the dedication of sacred buildings superfluous, is apparent from Justin Martyr's answer to Rusticus (*c.* 165 A.D.) who had inquired, 'Where do you assemble?' Justin said, 'Where each one chooses . . . because the God of the Christians is not circumscribed by place; but, being invisible, fills heaven and earth, and everywhere is worshipped and glorified by the faithful' (*Martyrdom*, 2).

ii. APOSTOLIC TEACHING AND CUSTOM.—As the Church gradually emerged from the synagogue, specific Christian worship, as distinguished from the customary Jewish worship, came to be shaped on lines indicated by the principles of the new faith.

(*a*) *Times.*—The NT contains no regulations concerning stated days and hours for worship. In so far as Jewish Christians still followed the law and customs of their people, they observed the Sabbath and the great feasts. St. Paul frequented the synagogues on the Sabbath (*e.g.* Ac 13[14. 44] 16[13] 17[2]); much more must this have been the case with less liberal Jews in the Church. St. Paul also took some account of the annual festivals, *e.g.* desiring to be at Jerusalem for the

Pentecost (Ac 20[16], 1 Co 16[8]). But he held himself to be free from any obligation in regard to sacred seasons, and never laid any such obligation on his converts, even bidding the Colossians let no man judge them 'in respect of a feast day or a new moon or a Sabbath-day' (Col 2[16]). The Galatians are rebuked because they 'observe days, and months, and seasons, and years' (Gal 4[10]). But, while no especial sanctity of seasons was recognized by St. Paul, of necessity a certain periodicity was requisite for public worship in the Greek as well as in the Jewish Church. At Jerusalem, over and above the temple worship, which they shared with other Jews, the disciples had their own private assembly. As no mention is made of their attendance at the synagogue, though the temple is named, it seems probable that they gave up this custom in Palestine—perhaps from the time when Jesus was expelled from the synagogue. Thus a necessity would arise to institute some worship in its place. But that was never done formally, nor did it come about suddenly. The Christian worship arose from another cause; it grew out of the fellowship of Christian brotherhood. The origin of this worship is indicated in the statements that the new converts—doubtless associated with the older Christians—'continued steadfastly in the apostles' teaching and fellowship (*κοινωνία*), in the breaking of bread and the prayers' (Ac 2[42]); that 'day by day, continuing steadfastly with one accord in the temple, and breaking bread at home, they did take their food with gladness and singleness of heart, praising God,' etc. (v.[46]). This seems to imply a daily meeting, which must have been early in the morning or at night, so as not to interfere with the common work of life. Probably the statement applies only to the time of primitive enthusiasm. We meet with nothing of the kind later. The custom of the Church, both Jewish (cf. Jn 20[19] and v.[26]) and Greek (Ac 20[7]; 1 Co 16[2]), was to meet on the first day of the week. See LORD'S DAY. The NT contains no reference to any yearly Christian festivals. The Paschal controversy in the 2nd cent. reveals a very early practice of keeping Easter, and Polycarp's association with St. John seems to connect this with apostolic times, especially as the apostolic precedent is cited. Irenæus states that Polycarp, visiting Rome in the time of Anicetus (*c.* 155 A.D.), 'had always observed it [*i.e.* on the 14th Nisan, the date in dispute] with John, the disciple of our Lord, and the other apostles with whom he had associated' (Euseb. *HE* v. 24). But the identification of the date with the Passover — the very question discussed by Polycarp — points rather to St. John's Jewish custom of keeping the Passover than to the institution of Easter as an independent Christian festival. It indicates that, in late apostolic times, the surviving apostles, being Jews, when they kept the Passover, associated this with our Lord's last Passover, and so with His death and resurrection. Similarly, the Pentecost continued down from Jewish times as a Jewish festival adopted by the Church to commemorate the gift of the Holy Spirit as late as the 2nd cent. (Tertullian, *de Idol.* c. 12; *Const. Apost.* v. 20). Subsequently it was divided into the feast of the Ascension and Pentecost proper (Whitsunday), and lost its Jewish associations. Epiphany was not known till the end of the 2nd cent. (Clem. Alex. *Strom.* i. 21), and then as a Gnostic festival, Christmas appearing still later.

(*b*) *Places.* — The Jerusalem Christians worshipped 'in the temple' (Ac 2[46]). This would be in common with other Jews and according to Jewish custom. The prayer would be private and personal — like the prayers of the Pharisee and the publican in the parable. Similarly, when 'Peter and John were going up into the temple at the hour of prayer, being the ninth hour' (Ac 3[1]), this must have been for private prayer. There could have been no public Christian worship there. If the phrase *κατ' οἶκον* (2[46]) should be rendered 'at home,' as in RV, this would not point to Church fellowship as in AV, where we read 'from house to house.' But when the Christians met at Jerusalem it was in a private house, using an 'upper room' (*ὑπερῷον*, Ac 1[13]), perhaps the same room as the 'guest chamber' (*κατάλυμα*), also called 'a large upper room' (Lk 22[11. 12]), in which Jesus took the Last Supper with His disciples. When St. Peter was liberated from prison, he went to the house of Mary, the mother of Mark, and found *many* gathered together there praying (Ac 12[12]). The word 'many' does not suggest that the whole Church was there assembled. But the Church could only meet in such a place. There were no buildings for Christian worship before the end of the 2nd cent. (see Schaff, *Ante-Nicene Christianity*, i. p. 199). St. Paul frequently refers to the Church in a house (Ro 16[5], 1 Co 16[19], Col 4[15]). Once only, and that as late as the Pastoral Epistles, do we meet with the expression 'the house of God' (1 Ti 3[15]); but probably the word 'house' here means 'family' (cf. 2 Ti 1[16], Tit 1[11]. See von Soden, *Hdcom. in loc.*).

(*c*) *Persons.* — The apostles naturally took the lead in conducting public worship when they were present. It would appear that, at Troas, St. Paul conducted the Lord's Supper, himself breaking the bread (Ac 20[11]). This is the only passage in the NT in which the distribution of the elements by any person, other than our Lord Himself, is mentioned. Elsewhere, the references to the Lord's Supper, in apostolic times, simply tell us of the Christians partaking of it together. The NT references to the functions of Church officers are confined to administration, discipline, and teaching; they are silent in regard to worship. From the fact that the bishops took the lead in the worship of the sub-apostolic age, we may conclude that the elders in the Jewish Churches, and the bishops in the Greek Churches of NT times, had some pre-eminence in the conduct of worship. But from the example of Corinth—the one Church concerning the internal life of which we have any fulness of information—it is apparent that this was not always the case; for 1 Cor. shows that there it was open to any member of the assembly to offer prayer or give utterance to a hymn of praise or a message of exhortation, even women praying and prophesying. If there were any who were more especially looked to for these offices they were the prophets (1 Co 14[29]), not the bishops, and the *Didaché* makes it certain that these were different persons. That, too, is apparent from Eph 4[11], where the bishops must be looked for among the 'pastors' rather than among the 'prophets.'

(*d*) *Method.*—The proceedings of the best-known Church—that at Corinth—suggest that there was no settled order for the conduct of public worship in the apostolic Churches. It would not be safe to treat this one Church as typical of all other Churches, especially as St. Paul has occasion to rebuke its irregularities. Still, in doing so, he lays down no rules beyond that of mutual deference (1 Co 14[30]); nor is anything approaching a rubric, except that of the Lord's Supper, to be found in the NT, or in any primitive Church writing, earlier than the *Didaché*. It is probable that, throughout the apostolic age, the worship of the Church was always centred in the Lord's Supper, combined with the Agapé. St. Paul gives directions for the conduct of the Lord's Supper on the authority of Christ, from whom the particulars

concerning the institution of the ordinance had come down to him (1 Co 11[23-28]). The rest of the service seems to have been left to the impulses of individual members as they felt moved by the Spirit (McGiffert, *Apostolic Age*, p. 520 ff.). If, however, the Christians met twice in the day, it is probable that the morning assembly was for prayer and praise, and the evening meeting for the Agapé, the arrangement we find in Bithynia in the reign of Trajan (*c.* 112 A.D.). Pliny writes, 'It was their habit on a fixed day to assemble before daylight and sing by turns a hymn to Christ as a god.' He adds that they 'bound themselves with an oath . . . not to commit theft,' etc., and says, further, 'After this was done, their custom was to depart, and meet together again to take food,' etc. (*Ep.* x. 96). The following functions would certainly be found in the primitive Christian worship: (1) Prayer (1 Co 14[14. 15]). (2) Praise, either by individual utterance (v.[26]), or in hymns sung in common. The example of their Lord would encourage the early Christians to employ the Jewish Psalter, which appears to have been always used in the Church (Mt 26[30]). Then we have fragments of Christian hymns scattered over the NT (*e.g.* Ac 4[24-30], perhaps Eph 1[3-14], 5[14], 1 Ti 3[16]), especially those of the Apocalypse (4[8-11] 5[9. 10. 12. 13] 7[12] 11[17] 12[10-12] 15[3. 4] 19[1. 6. 7]). The Canticles in St. Luke—the *Magnificat* (1[46-55]), the *Benedictus* (vv.[68-79]), the *Gloria in Excelsis* (2[14]), and the *Nunc Dimittis* (2[29-32])—though possibly of pre-Christian origin, were probably found by the evangelist in use in the worship of the Churches, together with more specially Christian hymns. The passage from Pliny's letter, cited above, shows that in Bithynia, early in the 2nd cent., the singing was antiphonal (*carmenque . . . dicere secum* vicissim). See HYMN. (3) Lessons. St. Paul's frequent allusions to the OT, even in letters to Greek Churches, presuppose a knowledge of the LXX among his readers. This would be read in Christian worship after the analogy of the synagogue, though perhaps the Law would be omitted and preference would be given to Messianic prophecies. Possibly, *logia* of Jesus were also read and facts of His life recited. St. Paul expected his Epistles to be read in the meetings of the Churches (1 Th 5[27], Col 4[16]), but only the OT was treated as Scripture. (4) Prophecy. The inspired utterance, so named, came from any member of the Church who felt the afflatus of the Spirit (1 Co 14[1]), though it was especially expected from those who were recognized as prophets (v.[29]). The Thessalonians were warned not to check this gift or despise the exercise of it (1 Th 5[20]). But they were to use their own intelligence, accepting the good and rejecting what did not approve itself to their judgment (v.[21]). (5) Other gifts—tongues, exorcism, etc. (6) Contributions. The Corinthians were to put by, on the first day of each week, their contribution towards the fund for the poor of Jerusalem (1 Co 16[1]). St. Paul's language implies, not that they were to bring it to the assembly every week, but that they should make up an amount at home by weekly instalments. The gifts for the Agapé, however, would be brought every week, and the apostle requires them to be divided among the brethren. Out of this subsequently grew the communion collections, which were sent to the poor, the sick, and confessors in prison (Justin Martyr, 1 *Apol.* 65–67).

(*e*) *Object.*—Christian worship in NT times is usually offered to God as Father through Jesus Christ as His Son (see Ro 1[8], Eph 1[3] 3[14]). The Aramaic 'Abba' appears to have been adopted by Greek-speaking Christians as the peculiar title for God in the Churches (see Ro 8[15]). But, while this was the normal type, worship was sometimes offered to Christ and prayer addressed to Him. Some indefiniteness attaches to this subject, partly owing to the two senses in which the Gr. word προσκυνεῖν is used, and partly owing to the ambiguous usage of the title κύριος. Liddon claimed many instances of the worship of Jesus during His earthly life, mostly on the strength of the use of the word προσκυνεῖν in the Gospels, viz. Mt 2[11] 8[2] 9[18] 14[33] 15[25] 17[14. 15] 20[20] 28[9. 17], Lk 7[37. 38] 17[15. 16] 24[51. 52], Jn 9[35-38] 20[17. 28] (*Bampton Lectures*, 1866, vii. 1). But it cannot be proved that in any of these cases (except the last, and there the word 'worship' is not used) more than an act of homage and humble obeisance is intended. Josephus uses the word προσκυνούμενοι of the high priests (*BJ* IV. v. 2). In the second case cited (Mt 8[2]), which occurred quite early in our Lord's public ministry, it cannot be supposed that the leper actually offered Divine honours to Christ. The physical act of prostration in profound humility, and as rendering great honour, is all that can be meant. In another case (Mt 17[14]) the word προσκυνεῖν is not used, but we have γονυπετῶν (kneeling). Still it is to be observed that this homage was reserved for Christ alone, being repudiated by St. Peter (Ac 10[25. 26]) and by the angel in the Apocalypse before whom St. John had prostrated himself (Rev 22[8. 9]). The homage offered to Christ would vary in its significance from the simple prostration of the leper before the Great Healer to the adoration of Mary Magdalene and Thomas in presence of the risen Christ, its significance depending wholly on the idea of His nature that had been attained, and therefore not to be determined by the mere statements of the outward acts which we find in the Gospels. It is inappropriate to introduce the case of the dying malefactor (Lk 23[42]) as an instance of prayer to Christ (Liddon). This was a simple request without the element of worship.

But one effect of the resurrection was to develop so exalted a conception of Christ in the Church that homage which cannot be distinguished from worship came to be addressed to Him. Thus Ananias of Damascus, when addressing Jesus in a vision (since it was in a vision, we cannot cite this as an act of prayer to Christ, because, in this vision, Jesus appears to Ananias and a conversation takes place), describes Christians as 'all that call upon thy name' (Ac 9[14]; cf. v.[21] 'them which called on this name'). The same expression is used by St. Paul (1 Co 1[2]). The form of words is a Hebraism, used in the OT of the worship of Jehovah—קָרָא בְּשֵׁם יְהוָה (Gn 4[26] 12[8], 2 K 5[11]), and St. Paul cites an OT passage where it occurs with reference to God and applies this to Christ (Ro 10[13]). St. Stephen commends his spirit to Jesus, and prays to Jesus as Lord for the pardon of his enemies, in language closely resembling that which Jesus addressed to God (Ac 7[59. 60], cf. Lk 23[34. 46]). St. Paul refers to Jesus Christ in association with 'God himself' as exercising a directing Providence for the help of which he prays (*e.g.* 1 Th 3[11], 2 Th 2[16. 17], Ph 2[19]). Various forms of benediction imply a reference to Christ (*e.g.* Ro 16[20], 1 Co 1[3]). St. Paul writes of praying to 'the Lord,' evidently meaning Christ, but in language which suggests an allusion to the Jewish thought of Jehovah (*e.g.* 2 Co 12[8. 9]). The author of Hebrews claims for Christ OT language referring to the worship of God (He 1[6. 10-12]). According to the Fourth Gospel, 'all men are to honour (τιμῶσι) the Son, even as they honour the Father' (Jn 5[23]). In the Apocalypse, direct worship is offered to Christ as 'the Lamb.' The prayers of the saints are presented to Him (Rev 5[8]), and hymns are sung in honour of Him (vv.[9. 11. 12]). In the sub-apostolic age prayer is usually offered to God through Christ, rather than directly to Christ Himself

(*e.g. 1 Clem.* 59–61; *Didaché*, 9, 10); but Ignatius (*ad Rom.* 4) and Polycarp (*ad Phil.* 1, 12) use the language of prayer concerning Christ; and the ancient homily, called *2 Clement*, begins, 'Brethren, we ought so to think of Jesus Christ as of God' (see Harnack, *Hist. of Dog.* I. iii. 6).

According to Pliny, the Christians were in the habit of meeting to 'sing a hymn to Christ as God' (*carmenque Christo quasi deo dicere,—Ep.* x. 96). There is no indication of saint-worship or of the adoration of the Virgin Mary in the NT; nor do we there meet with the distinction between the *adoration* (λατρεία) due to God alone, and the lower form of prayer to saints (δουλεία, *invocatio*) observed from the time of Augustine. St. Paul rebukes the worship of angels, associated with Jewish Gnosticism (Col 2^{18}).

LITERATURE.—Schaff, *Apostolic Christianity*; McGiffert, *History of Christianity in the Apostolic Age*; Bartlet, *The Apostolic Age*; Weizsäcker, *Apostolic Age* (Eng. tr.), vol. ii.; Harnack, *History of Dogma*, vol. i.; Hort, *The Christian Ecclesia*; Lechler, *Apostolic and post-Apostolic Times*; Beyschlag, *NT Theology* (Eng. tr.); Pfleiderer, *Urchristenthum*; Loening, *Gemeindeverfassung des Urchristenthums*; also article CHURCH, i. *The Public Worship*, and books there named.

W. F. ADENEY.

WOT.—See WIT.

WRATH.—See ANGER.

WRESTLING is twice referred to in EV of OT and once in NT. The Heb. terms are—**1.** אבק (in Niph.),* of Jacob's wrestling at Peniel, Gn $32^{24.25}$ (LXX παλαίω). On the word-play between *ne'ĕbaḳ* and *Jabbok* see vol. ii. p. 530[a], note †. **2.** פָּתַל, in Rachel's saying: 'With mighty wrestlings (*naphtúlîm*) have I wrestled (*niphtalti*) with my sister and have prevailed,' whence she is said to have given to Bilhah's son the name NAPHTALI, Gn 30^{8}. The word means '*twist* oneself' without being specifically confined to wrestling.

Wrestling, which was a familiar spectacle at the games in any Greek city, supplies a metaphor to St. Paul in Eph 6^{12} 'For our wrestling is not against flesh and blood,' etc. (ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἡμῖν [*v.l.* ὑμῖν] ἡ πάλη πρὸς αἷμα καὶ σάρκα, κ.τ.λ.). For a description of wrestling contests see Smith's *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Ant.*, *s.v.* 'Lucta.'

WRITING.—i. THE ANTIQUITY OF WRITING.—The practice of writing in the countries of the nearer East goes back to a remote and indefinite antiquity. Looking only at the nations connected in some measure with Palestine, we find evidence of the use of written characters at a date far earlier than the beginnings of anything that can be called definite Hebrew history. In Egypt, inscriptions have been found containing the name of Menes, the first king in the first dynasty known to subsequent Egyptian chroniclers, whose date cannot be much later (and may be earlier) than B.C. 5000, while other inscriptions are believed to belong to yet earlier rulers. These are inscribed upon stone: the earliest extant example of writing upon papyrus is one found at Sakkara in 1893, containing accounts dated in the reign of Assa, the last king of the 5th dynasty (*c.* 3580–3536 B.C.). To the same date purports to belong the first recorded literary composition in Egypt, the Proverbs of Ptah-hotep, preserved in the Papyrus Prisse, though the papyrus itself is of a much later date (*c.* 2500 B.C.). In Babylonia, inscriptions are extant of Sargon I., who flourished about B.C. 3750; while the thousands of tablets found at Telloh prove the free use of writing among the Sumerian inhabitants of Babylonia at an even earlier date, which cannot be placed lower than B.C. 4000. From Palestine itself we have no remains of so early a period; but the tablets of Tel el-Amarna (see § iii.) include several letters written by the governors of cities in Palestine to their masters in Egypt in the 15th cent. B.C.; and recent excavations at Knossos in Crete have brought to light a large quantity of inscribed tablets, partly hieroglyphic, but mainly linear in script, in characters as yet undeciphered, which must also be assigned to about the middle of the second millennium B.C. How far these are to be regarded as the ancestors of Greek writing is a point still undetermined; but they complete the proof that in the countries surrounding Palestine, and probably also in Palestine itself, writing was an art well known and familiarly practised for many centuries before the earliest examples of Hebrew writing at present extant.

LITERATURE.—Arts. BABYLONIA, EGYPT, above; Petrie, *Royal Tombs of the First Dynasty at Abydos*, 1900, *Hist. of Egypt*, i. 81; L. W. King, *Encyc. Bibl.* i. 439–442; A. J. Evans, *Annual of the British School at Athens*, 1899–1900, pp. 55–63.

ii. MATERIALS.—Many materials were used in Palestine and the adjoining countries for the reception of writing at various times. (*a*) **Stone** is almost everywhere the earliest material on which writing has come down to us. The earliest inscriptions in Egypt and Babylonia are on stone. Stone is also used for the Hittite inscriptions in northern Syria and Asia Minor; and in Palestine itself the earliest considerable examples of writing are the MOABITE STONE and the SILOAM inscription (see § iii.). The Hebrew books, moreover, mention the use of stone in the earliest periods of their history. The Law given to Moses on Mt. Sinai is said to have been written on 'tables of stone' (Ex 31^{18} $34^{1.28}$). Moses commanded the people, when they passed over Jordan, to set up great stones, covered with plaster, and to write the Law upon them (Dt $27^{2.3}$, cf. Jos 8^{30-32}). Job desires that his words might be graven in the rock for ever with an iron pen and lead (Job 19^{24}). In Phœnicia and Greece, similarly, the earliest extant examples of writing are inscriptions upon stone. (*b*) **Clay** was used predominantly in Assyria and Babylonia, the records and literature of which countries have come down to us mainly in the form of tablets of clay, on which characters in cuneiform writing have been inscribed while it was soft (see BABYLONIA). The discovery at Tel el-Amarna, in Upper Egypt, of similar tablets, containing the correspondence of the governors of the Syrian provinces and others with their Egyptian masters (see § iii.), shows that this kind of writing was the normal form of official correspondence between Egypt and Syria, at any rate in the time of the 18th dynasty (*c.* 1400 B.C.). The Knossian tablets also are of sun-baked clay. In Ezk 4^{1} the prophet, in captivity in Assyria, is directed to draw a plan of Jerusalem upon a tile (Heb. *lĕbhēnāh*, LXX πλίνθος). (*c*) **Wood** was largely used in many countries, in the form of tablets. In Greece it appears to have been the principal material in use before the introduction of papyrus, and to have continued to be employed for special purposes long after that date. The earliest mention of writing in Greek literature (Homer, *Il.* vi. 169) describes a message written ἐν πίνακι πτυκτῷ. The laws of Solon were written upon wooden tablets (ἄξονες and κύρβεις, Arist. *Birds*, 1354; Plut. *Sol.* 25). Tablets, whitewashed in order to receive ink better, were employed for official notices in Athens in the 4th cent. B.C. (γραμματεῖα λελευκωμένα, πινάκιον λελευκωμένον, Ar. Ἀθ. Πολ. 47, 48); a set of such tablets, used for private purposes at Panopolis in Upper Egypt about the 7th cent. after Christ, is now in the British Museum (Add. MS 33369).

* This word may be a denom. from אָבָק 'dust,' and mean 'get dusty' (cf. κόνις, κονία), or may be a dialectical variant of חָבַק 'clasp,' 'embrace.'

Wooden boards, inscribed in the one case with lines from Homer, in another with part of the *Phœnissæ* of Euripides and the *Hecalé* of Callimachus, are in the British Museum and the Rainer Collection at Vienna respectively, both having been found in Egypt. Many wooden tablets with Egyptian writing are also in existence, and Egyptian monuments represent scribes in the act of using such tablets. In Is 30^8 and Hab 2^2 the 'tablet' or 'table' [Heb. *lûaḥ*, LXX πυξίον] is no doubt wooden. The 'tables [same Heb.] of the heart,' metaphorically spoken of in Pr 3^3, may be regarded either as wood or, in the light of Jer 17^1, more probably as stone. It is not always possible to tell whether the writing upon tablets mentioned by ancient authors is upon the wood itself or upon wax or some similar material with which the wood was covered. **Wax** was certainly used sometimes, and in later periods wax tablets were the commonest form of note-books in Greece and Italy. Herodotus mentions such a tablet (vii. 239), and Cicero, Martial, and other authors refer to them very frequently. Many examples of them are still extant, notably those discovered at Pompeii.* (*d*) **Bark** is said by Pliny (*HN* xiii. 11) to have been used for writing before papyrus was known, and it continued to be used in the West, though rarely, as late as the 5th cent. after Christ (Martianus Capella, ii. 136; though it is not quite clear that the books so described are intended to be contemporary productions). From its name, *liber*, comes the Latin word for 'book.' (*e*) **Linen** also was used in Italy in ancient times (*libri lintei*, Livy, iv. 7, x. 38). The largest extant example of Etruscan writing is upon linen (in the museum at Agram). Linen was also used by the Egyptians for this purpose. (*f*) **Lead** was used in Greece and Italy, and probably elsewhere. Pausanias (ix. 31. 4) mentions a leaden plate which he saw at Helicon, inscribed with the *Works and Days* of Hesiod; but the principal use to which lead (and other metals) was put as writing material seems to have been to receive magical incantations and charms. Such tablets have been found, and mention of them is frequently made in magical papyri. (*g*) **Potsherds** (ὄστρακα) were used at Athens to receive the names of persons on whom sentence of banishment (*ostracism*) was to be pronounced. In Egypt they were very plentifully used for accounts, and especially for tax receipts; in the Coptic period passages of Scripture and quasi-literary pieces were also inscribed upon potsherds. (*h*) **Leather** plays a far more important part in the history of writing, especially of the Bible. It was used in Egypt; leather rolls are extant from about B.C. 2000, and papyri of later date refer to documents written on skins as far back as the 4th dynasty. On the Assyrian monuments scribes are shown holding rolls which appear to be of this material. The Persians used leather to contain the royal records (βασιλικαὶ διφθέραι, Ctesias, *ap.* Diod. II. xxxii. 4). Similarly, Herodotus states that the Ionians of Asia Minor formerly used skins of sheep and goats, and that many barbarous peoples continued to do the same in his own time. In the OT, leather or skins are not expressly mentioned, but it is practically certain that this material was largely used, and was, in fact, the principal vehicle of Hebrew literature in historical times. The use of books in roll form is mentioned in Ps 40^7, Jer $36^{2,4}$ etc., Ezk 2^9; and the roll form implies the use of either leather or papyrus (vellum not having been yet invented, and bark, so far as is known, never having been employed in Palestine). Papyrus might, no doubt, have been introduced into Palestine from Egypt, and there is a recorded case of its being sent to Phœnicia in the 11th cent. (*Zeitsch. f. ägypt. Sprache*, 1900, p. 11); but there is no evidence of its general use at this date. On the other hand, the mention of the 'scribe's knife' (*ta'ar haṣṣōphēr*, LXX τῷ ξυρῷ τοῦ γραμματέως) in Jer 36 (43)[23] probably indicates that the roll destroyed by Jehoiakim was of leather; since a knife (for the purpose of erasures) was part of the equipment of a scribe writing upon leather or vellum, but could not be used on so delicate a material as papyrus. In Nu 5^{23} it is implied that writing could be washed off with water; but this was the practice in the case of papyrus as well as leather, so that the passage is inconclusive. Clearer evidence is given by later writers. In the Letter of Aristeas the copy of the Law sent from Jerusalem to Egypt for the purpose of the version of the LXX is expressly said to have been written on διφθέραι. Further, the Talmud requires all copies of the Law to be written on skins, and in roll form; and this regulation, which still remains in force for volumes intended for use in the synagogue, no doubt points back to an ancient tradition. All the evidence, in fact, seems to go to show that the OT Scriptures were habitually written on prepared skins, for which, in course of time, vellum was probably substituted in the case of ordinary copies (as distinct from synagogue rolls). It is not improbable that in St. Paul's request (2 Ti 4^{13}) for τὰ βιβλία, μάλιστα τὰς μεμβράνας, the latter word refers to copies of parts of the OT.*

(*i*) **Papyrus.**—If skins probably played the most important part in the early history of the Hebrew Scriptures, the papyrus plant certainly did so in the case of the Greek. The papyrus plant (*cyperus papyrus*), which formerly grew in great profusion in the Nile (though now confined to the higher part of its course), was used from a very early date in Egypt as a material for writing. The earliest extant papyrus MS dates from the 5th dynasty (see § i.), and from about the 12th dynasty onwards many such volumes are known, with writings in all the varieties of Egyptian script—hieroglyphic, hieratic, and demotic. From Egypt the use of papyrus spread into the neighbouring countries, and it was the universal material for book-production in Greece and Italy during the most flourishing periods of their literature. The LXX version of the OT was produced in Egypt under the Ptolemies, and there can be no doubt that it was written upon papyrus, like the hundreds of Greek documents of that period which recent discoveries in that country have brought to light. So, too, with the books of the NT. These were written in Greek, in various parts of the Greek-speaking world—in Asia Minor, in Greece, in Rome, etc.; and there is no reason to doubt that they were written on papyrus in the ordinary way. The only books which may have been originally written in Palestine are St. Matthew and St. James; but these, it must be remembered, would not at first be written as sacred books, so that the rules applying to the OT would not apply to them. They, too, must almost certainly have been written on papyrus; and on this material the Greek OT and the NT must have circulated habitually, if not exclusively, until the 4th cent. of our era.—The method of manufacture of papyrus is described by Pliny (*HN* xiii. 11–13). The

* Sir H. M. Stanley (*Cornhill Magazine*, Jan. 1901, pp. 60, 61) records that on his first visit to Uganda, in 1875, portions of the NT, translated or paraphrased by him and his companions, were written on 'thin and polished boards of white wood, about 16 by 12 inches. . . . During the three months I remained with Mtesa, the translations which we made from the Gospels were very copious, and the principal events from the Creation to the Crucifixion were also fairly written out, forming quite a bulky library of boards.'

* The suggestions that the μεμβράναι were blank sheets of vellum, or note-books (which were sometimes made of vellum at that date), or account-books, seem inconsistent with the importance evidently attached to them.

pith * of the stem of the plant was cut into thin strips, which were laid side by side to form a sheet. Another layer of strips was then laid upon the first, at right angles to it, so that the whole sheet was composed of two layers, in one of which the fibres ran horizontally, in the other perpendicularly. The two layers were attached to one another by moisture and pressure, with or without the addition of glue.† The sheets (κολλήματα, *schedæ*) so formed were dried and polished, and were then ready for use. They could be used singly, as for letters, accounts, and the like; or a number of them could be joined together, so as to form a roll. According to Pliny, the manufacturers prepared rolls (*scapi*) consisting of not more than 20 *schedæ*; but a scribe who required more to contain the work he was copying could attach a second roll to the first, and cut off so much of it as might not be needed. The length of papyrus rolls, as actually used, varies greatly. In ancient Egypt, when books were largely used for ceremonial and ritual purposes, they were often of excessive length; the longest at present known measures 144 ft. But for practical use much more moderate dimensions were necessary, and no Greek literary papyrus is known which exceeds 30 ft. The height varies from 15½ to about 5 in.; about 9 or 10 in. is a common height for a literary papyrus. The writing is normally on that side of the papyrus on which the fibres lie horizontally, *i.e.* parallel to the length of the roll (*recto*); the *verso* is only used either when the scribe's matter exceeds the papyrus at his disposal, so that after filling the *recto* he is forced to continue on the *verso*, or (a commoner case) when the *recto* has already been used to receive some other writing. A roll of the first description (whether its material be leather or papyrus) is that mentioned in Ezk 2^{10} (cf. Rev 5^{1}), which was 'written within and without; and there was written therein lamentations, and mourning, and woe.' The multitude of calamities is indicated by the writing extending over both sides of the roll. An example of a roll so written occurs in a magical papyrus in the British Museum (Pap. cxxi.). Opisthograph rolls of the second description imply that the writer employed papyrus already once used, either because he was too poor to get any other, or too remote from a town where it might be obtained, or that the matter he wished to write was too unimportant to justify the use of fresh papyrus. Thus rough accounts are frequently written on the back of used papyrus; or schoolboys' copies, as in the case of the papyrus which bears on its *verso* the Funeral Oration of Hyperides, roughly written in a schoolboy's hand; or we may have a literary work, written for the private use of an individual, not for sale or for a public library, as in the case of the Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία of Aristotle, which is written on the back of farm accounts. Such literary MSS might, no doubt, occasionally come into the market as cheap copies, but they would form no part of the regular book trade. That the habitual use of them implied poverty, appears from Lucian (*Vit. Auct.* c. 9), where it is one of the signs of the poverty-stricken disciple of Diogenes. The writing on papyrus was disposed in columns (σελίδες), the width of which, if not dictated by necessity, as in the verses of a poem, is generally from 2 to 3½ in. in the case of literary MSS of good quality. In copies written without regard to appearances (like the Ἀθ. Πολ.), it might be considerably more. The title of a work was normally written at the end. The inner edge of the roll, or both edges, might be provided with a wooden roller (ὀμφαλός), and volumes which claimed elegance of appearance were probably always provided with them. Commoner copies were not so provided, but the edges were then generally strengthened by an extra strip of papyrus, to prevent tearing. A σίλλυβος, or thin strip of papyrus or vellum, was attached to the outside of the roll, bearing the title of the work; such a σίλλυβος, bearing the title of Sophron's *Mimes*, has been discovered at Oxyrhynchus (Ox. Pap. 301, now Brit. Mus. Pap. 801). The roll might be enclosed in a cover (φαινόλης), to protect it from damage, and stored in a wooden case (*capsa*) with several others.—The roll form of book continued in common, if not universal, use until the 3rd cent.; but from that date onwards (under the influence, no doubt, of the increasing use of vellum) papyrus books in codex form (like modern books) begin to be found, and the roll form gradually drops out of use. The earliest fragments of the Greek Bible are written in the codex form, which seems to have been preferred by the Christian converts. Vellum superseded papyrus as the material for the best books in the 4th cent., but papyrus continued to be employed for inferior copies until the 7th cent. In 640, however, the Arabs conquered Egypt, and, by stopping the export of papyrus, struck the death-blow to its use as a vehicle of Greek and Latin literature. It continued to be used in Egypt to some extent for accounts and for Coptic documents; but its literary importance was at an end.

(*k*) **Parchment** or **vellum.**—This material may be regarded as a special development from the use of skins, described above; but it occupies a far more important place in the history of literature than its parent. According to Varro (*ap.* Pliny, *HN* xiii. 11), it originated at Pergamum under Eumenes II. (B.C. 197–158), when the king of Egypt, anxious to cripple his rival's growing library, forbade the export of papyrus. The king of Pergamum accordingly reverted to the use of skins, which had formerly been general in Asia Minor (see above); but the skins were made more suitable for literary purposes by a special preparation, and the material thus produced received from its place of origin the name of περγαμηνή, whence our *parchment*. Parchment differs from leather in not being tanned; the skins are merely stretched and dried, the hairs being removed from the one side and the flesh from the other, and the whole being smoothed with pumice. In modern usage the flesh side is also dressed with chalk; the special methods, if any, of preparing ancient parchment are unknown. The skins used are principally those of sheep, lambs, and calves, but those of goats, asses, and swine may also be used; and specially fine vellum is provided by antelopes. Strictly speaking, vellum denotes the material manufactured from calves (and antelopes), and parchment that provided by sheep, etc.; but practically no distinction is made between them, and the term *vellum* is applied to all kinds of dressed skins used for the purposes of writing. Of the character of the vellum MSS of Pergamum nothing is known; but it is certain that the material did not come into general use for literary purposes, in

* Dziatzko (*Untersuchungen*, pp. 31, 32) suggests that in ancient Egypt the fibres of the bark were used as well as the pith, the exclusive use of the latter being introduced after the Greek occupation; but there is no authority for this distinction, and an examination of early Egyptian papyri does not reveal any essential difference in the method of their manufacture. Moreover, since Pliny states that even that part of the pith which was nearest the bark made material too coarse for writing purposes, the bark itself must have been still more unsuitable, and could not produce such excellent material as the papyri of the 18th and even earlier dynasties.

† Pliny's words, 'turbidus liquor vim glutinis præbet,' are variously interpreted to mean that the muddy water (of the Nile) 'gives strength to the glue' (*glutinis*, dat. plur.) or 'answers the purpose of glue' (*glutinis*, gen. sing.). Dziatzko (*op. cit.* pp. 84, 85) states that a chemical examination of some fragments of papyrus disclosed no trace of glue between the layers, but showed that it had been applied to the surface, presumably to smooth and strengthen it. Certainly it is not always possible to discern glue, but sometimes it appears to be present.

other countries, until a much later period. At Rome, in the 1st cent. B.C. and the 1st and 2nd cents. after Christ, there is evidence of the use of vellum, but only for note-books and for rough drafts or inferior copies of literary works (Cic. *ad Att.* xiii. 24; Hor. *Sat.* ii. 3; Martial, xiv. 7. 184, etc.; Quintilian, x. 3. 31). A fragment of a vellum MS, which may belong to this period, is preserved in Brit. Mus. Add. MS 34473, consisting of two leaves of Demosthenes, *de Fals. Leg.*, in a small hand, which appears to be of the 2nd century. The use of vellum for note-books, which would be shaped according to the analogy of wax tablets, the form of note-book previously existing, naturally led to the evolution of the *codex*, or modern book form; and the rise of vellum into favour for literary purposes is also the rise of the codex. This appears to have taken place during the 3rd cent., the final victory of vellum and the codex form being achieved in the early part of the 4th century. When Constantine founded his new capital, he instructed Eusebius to have fifty MSS on vellum (*σωμάτια ἐν διφθέραις*) prepared by skilled calligraphers for the churches in it (*Vit. Const.* iv. 36, A.D. 331); and about the middle of the century the library of Pamphilus at Cæsarea (consisting largely of the works of Origen), which had fallen into decay, was restored by Acacius and Euzoius, who had the damaged volumes replaced by vellum ('in membranis instaurare conati sunt,' Jerome, *Ep.* cxli.). The spread of Christianity probably had much to do with the change, by creating a demand for complete copies of the Scriptures. No papyrus roll of ordinary dimensions could hold more than one of the longer books of the NT, and a set of some 30 or 40 rolls would be necessary for the entire Bible; while the whole could be gathered into a single codex of not immoderate size. Examples of such codices from this very period remain in the celebrated Codex Vaticanus and Codex Sinaiticus, and probably also in the earliest copies of Virgil. The vellum of these early MSS ranks with the very finest in quality. For special magnificence, the vellum was sometimes dyed purple, with letters of silver or gold. The existence of such MSS in the 4th cent. is proved by Jerome's denunciation of them ('in membranis purpureis auro argentoque descriptos,' *Præf. in Job*; 'inficiuntur membranæ colore purpureo, aurum liquescit in litteras, gemmis codices vestiuntur,' *ad Eustochium de custod. virg.*).

To this period may perhaps be attributed the Codex Veronensis of the Old Latin Gospels; but most of the purple MSS now extant are of later date. Those of the Greek Gospels are all attributable to the 6th cent. (the codices known as Evann. N, N^a, Σ, Φ, and one recently brought from Sinope to Paris, the latter and N^a being written in gold letters, the others in silver, with gold only for the sacred names). Other purple MSS are the Codices Palatinus and Saretianus (5th cent.), Vindobonensis and Brixianus (6th cent.) of the Old Latin Gospels, the Vienna Genesis (6th cent.), which also has painted miniatures, the Gothic Gospels at Upsala (6th cent.), the Metz Gospels and Psalter of St. Germanus at Paris (6th cent.), the Zürich Greek Psalter (7th cent.), the Vulgate Gospels written by Godescalc for Charlemagne (A.D. 781), the Hamilton Gospels, now in America, and two other copies of the Gospels at Paris (8th cent.). The last four, all written in the time of Charlemagne (to which more of the same and subsequent periods might be added), have letters of gold; the earlier MSS are in silver. Among special curiosities of ornamentation may be mentioned two leaves gilded all over, with lettering in blue, containing the tables of Eusebian Canons, from a copy of the Greek Gospels, of the 6th cent., in the British Museum, and two books of prayers written on black vellum in gold and silver letters, of the 15th to 16th cents., at Vienna.

The sheet of vellum having been prepared for use, it was folded into quires, a process which causes hair-side to face hair-side, and flesh-side flesh-side throughout the volume. Quires are found of various sizes, eight leaves being the commonest number. In Greek MSS the flesh-side normally begins the quire, in Latin MSS the hair-side. Lines were ruled on the vellum with a blunt-pointed instrument, generally on the hair-side, making a furrow on that side and a ridge on the flesh-side. After the use of vellum had become well established, the writing was generally arranged in two columns to the page, sometimes less, but very rarely more. The earliest MSS, however, show a larger number, the Cod. Sinaiticus having four columns to the page, and the Codd. Vaticanus and Patiriensis (5th cent.) three. It is probable that the use of narrow columns which this involves is a reminiscence of the narrow columns habitually found in papyri, from which these MSS were almost certainly copied. A revival of this practice is occasionally found in later MSS, as in Brit. Mus. Royal MS 1 D ii, containing part of the LXX, of which four quires are written with three columns to the page; or the great Bibles containing Theodulf's recension of the Vulgate, which also have triple columns.

(*l*) **Paper,** the ultimate survivor in the competition between the various vehicles of literature, is of much less importance for the history of writing than either papyrus or vellum, on account of the lateness of its appearance in Europe and Western Asia. The date of its invention is unknown, but there seems to be no doubt that it was first manufactured in China. About the middle of the 8th cent. it became known to the Arabs, perhaps as a result of their conquest of Samarcand, in 704, and factories were established in Baghdad and elsewhere. Specimens of their workmanship have been found in Egypt, dating from an early period in the Arab occupation of that country. To this paper the names *charta* (often with the epithet *Damascena*) and *papyrus* were applied, since it served to take the place of the material formerly known by those names. From the Arabs the knowledge of paper passed, after a considerable lapse of time, to the Spaniards and Italians. The earliest known specimens are of the 12th cent., but it was only slowly that the new material made headway against the supremacy of vellum for literary purposes. Towards the end of the 14th cent. it began to be used with some freedom in the book trade, and during the 15th cent. it was coming to supersede vellum for ordinary purposes, even before the invention of printing dealt the fatal blow to the older material. It was formerly supposed that the earliest paper, introduced into Europe from the East, was made from cotton wool, and a distinction was drawn between cotton paper and linen paper. Microscopic examination, however, shows that this is a delusion, and that no such thing as paper made wholly of cotton has ever existed. The name *bombycina*, which is used to describe the Oriental paper, has probably nothing to do with the material out of which it was made, but is a corruption of *bambycina*, from Bambycé, in Syria, where it was manufactured. The materials out of which it was usually manufactured were hemp or flax, for which woollen cloth was subsequently substituted, and eventually (in the 14th cent.) linen rags. Water-marks, which do not occur in Oriental paper, were introduced by European manufacturers in the 13th cent. The earliest known specimen is on paper used in the district of Ancona in 1293.

(*m*) The *implements of writing* have naturally differed according to the various materials on which they had to be employed. A sharp, pointed metal instrument, known to the Greeks as *στῦλος*, Lat. *stilus*, was used for writing on clay or wax tablets (cf. Job 19^{24}, Jer 17^{1}). On papyrus the **reed** (*κάλαμος, calamus*) was used (cf. 3 Jn ^{13} *διὰ μέλανος καὶ καλάμου*), and possibly also on leather (cf. Ps 45^{1}, where the LXX has *κάλαμος γραμματέως*). Metal pens in the form of a reed or quill have been found in the so-called Grave of Aristotle at Eretria,

and (of the Roman period) in Italy and Britain. The quill pen is first mentioned by an anonymous biographer of Theodoric the Goth (*c.* 500) and by Isidore of Seville (*c.* 600).—The earliest form of **ink** (*μέλαν, atramentum, ἔγκαυστον, incaustum*, whence *ink*) appears to have been either the juice discharged by the cuttle-fish (Persius, iii. 13) or a mixture of soot and gum. This often gives excellent results, the ink of the Greek papyri, even from the earliest times (3rd and 2nd cent. B.C.), being often admirably black. This kind of ink did not sink deeply into the material on which it was laid, and could be washed off without much difficulty; on papyrus this was the ordinary method of deletion on a large scale. Gall-apples are not mentioned until the 5th cent. (Martianus Capella, iii. 225), but were probably used considerably earlier. Metallic inks were not used with papyrus, but must have been adopted early in the history of writing upon vellum; it is to this element that the erosion seen in so many early vellum MSS (*e.g.* the Codex Vaticanus and the Codex Alexandrinus) is due. In the Middle Ages a less corrosive ink is generally used. Some beautiful specimens remain from about the beginning of the 8th cent., *e.g.* the Codex Amiatinus and the Lindisfarne Gospels. Many recipes for ink are recorded in mediæval MSS; the principal ingredients are gall-apples, vitriol, and gum.

LITERATURE.—Birt, *Das antike Buchwesen*, 1882; Gardthausen, *Griechische Palæographie*, 1879; Thompson, *Handbook of Greek and Latin Palæography*, cc. ii–iv, 1893; Dziatzko, *Untersuchungen über ausgewählte Kapitel des antiken Buchwesens*, 1900; Pietschmann, *Leder und Holz als Schreibmaterial bei den Aegypten* (Sammlung bibliothekswissenschaftlichen Arbeiten, Hft. 8), 1895; Karabacek and Wiesner, *Das arabische Papier* (Mitth. aus d. Sammlung d. Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer, ii. 87 ff.), 1887; Buhl, *Canon and Text of the OT*, Eng. tr. § 74, 1892; Kenyon, *Palæography of Greek Papyri*, ch. ii. 1899; Wattenbach, *Das Schriftwesen im Mittelalter*[3], 1896.

iii. HEBREW WRITING.—It is impossible to fix with any precision the beginning of writing among the Hebrews. The uncertainty which attends the dating of the earlier books of the OT and of the materials upon which they are based, makes it dangerous to draw any conclusions from the references in them to the practice of writing. The discovery (in 1887) of the Tel el-Amarna tablets (Fig. 1), near the site of the capital of Amenophis IV., containing correspondence, in cuneiform characters and in Babylonian dialect, between the Egyptian governors or vassal princes in Palestine and Syria and the king and his ministers in Egypt, proves that writing was practised in Palestine at a date either a century before the Exodus (if that event be assigned to the reign of Merenptah, as commonly held), or contemporary with the Hebrew entry into the Promised Land, according to the alternative chronology. There is also no difficulty in believing that Moses, having been brought up in the Egyptian court (cf. Ac 7[22]), was acquainted with the art of writing; though, of course, this fact in itself proves nothing as to his actual and immediate authorship of the books ascribed to him. The name Kiriath-sepher (Jos 15[15]) is held by Sayce and some others (but see Moore, *Judges*, 26 f.) to mean 'city of books,' which might indicate even the existence of a library (perhaps such a one as that of Ashur-bani-pal at Nineveh) or record-office; and one interpretation of *shēbeṭ ṣōphēr* in Jg 5[14] (LXX B *ἐν ῥάβδῳ διηγήσεως γραμματέως*, AV 'the pen of the writer,' RVm 'the staff of the scribe'; but RV 'the marshal's staff') finds a reference to writing in what is universally admitted to be a very ancient document. It is not until much later, however, that indubitable evidence of Hebrew writing is found. The earliest extant specimens are on the *bowls of Baal Lebanon* (see ALPHABET, vol. i. p. 73), the earliest of which may date from *c.* 1000 B.C., and the *Moabite Stone*, erected by MESHA, king of Moab, about 850 B.C., to commemorate his own revolt against Jehoram. This

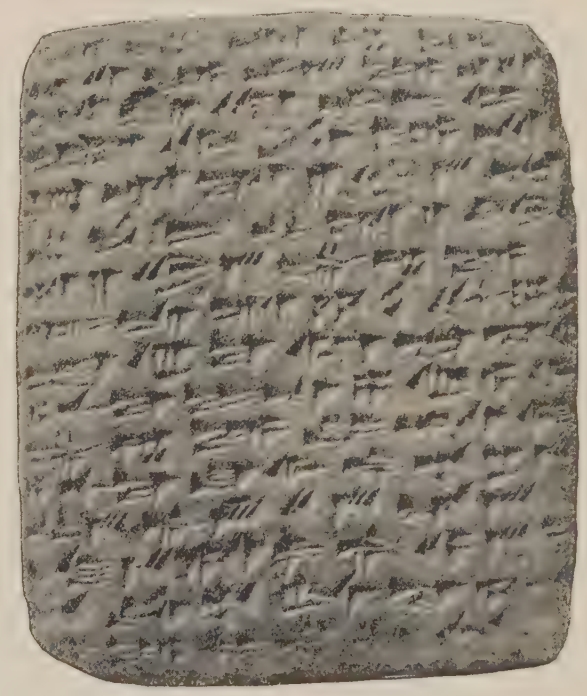


FIG. 1.—CUNEIFORM TABLET FROM TEL EL-AMARNA, 14TH CENT. B.C.
(Brit. Mus. BU. 88-10-13, 75.)

is written in a dialect scarcely differing from Hebrew, and in the ancient Hebrew characters, which were a development from the original Phœnician alphabet (ALPHABET; for facsimile see MOAB). It is followed by the *Siloam inscription*, attributed to the reign of Hezekiah (*c.* 700 B.C.) or Manasseh (*c.* 650 B.C.), the characters of which are a modification of those on the Moabite Stone. Somewhat later still, probably, are the inscriptions on the jar-handles found by Dr. Bliss at Tell ej-Judeideh, which are assigned approximately to 650–500 B.C. (*PEFSt*, 1900, pp. 207, 341).

Of actual Hebrew *writing* in the old characters we have no remains, since our earliest extant MSS belong to a period long after the adoption of the square characters; but their appearance may be learnt from the MSS of the Samaritan version of the Pentateuch, the Samaritans having retained the ancient alphabet when the Jews abandoned it, after the Captivity, in favour of the Aramæan characters, which represented a different line of descent from the original Phœnician alphabet.

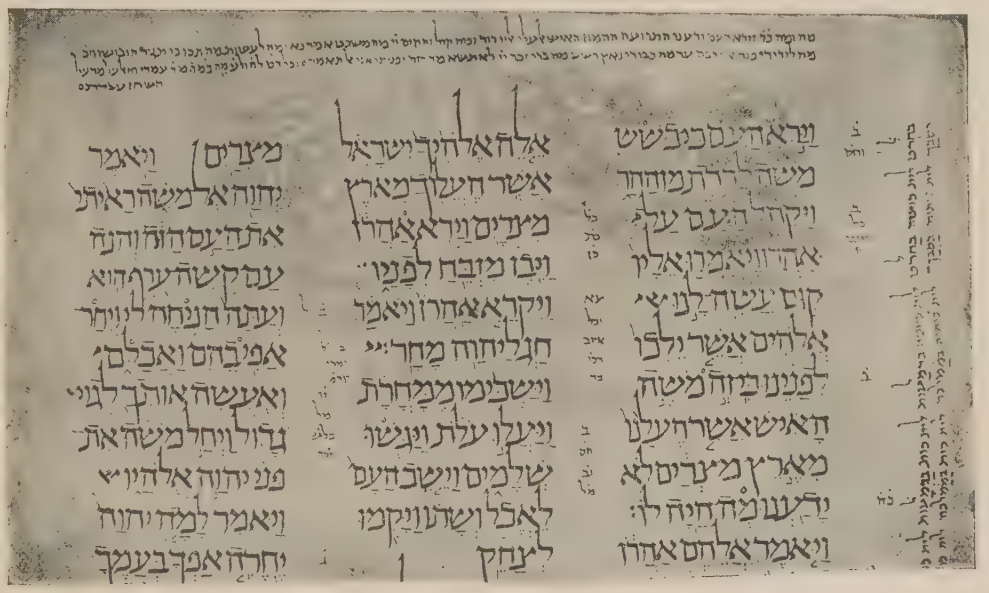


FIG. 2.—HEBREW PENTATEUCH CODEX, 9TH CENT.
(Brit. Mus. MS Or. 4445, reduced).

The old characters remained in use on coins of the Maccabæan period, but they had fallen out of use for literary purposes long before the time of our Lord, and there can be no doubt that the books read by Him (*e.g.* Lk 4[17]) were written in the square alphabet, in which the smallness of the letter *yôd* justified the metaphor of Mt 5[18].* The square characters of the earliest period were not identical in form with those of the MSS now extant, but they were their direct ancestors. So far we have very little light as to the appearance of the MSS in which the Hebrew Scriptures were preserved; it is only when we reach the period of the Talmud (*c.* 300–500) that we find those principles being laid down which, stereotyped by the Massoretes, have given us the MSS now extant (Fig. 2). Minute directions are given for the copying of the Scriptures, especially of those volumes of the Law which were to be used in the services of the synagogue. These must always be leather rolls, not in modern book form; and they must be written with the most scrupulous care.

'A synagogue roll must be written on the skins of clean animals, prepared for the particular use of the synagogue by a Jew. These must be fastened together with strings taken from clean animals. Every skin must contain a certain number of columns, equal throughout the entire codex. The length of each column must not extend over less than 48 or more than 60 lines; and the breadth must consist of thirty letters. The whole copy must be first lined; and if three words be written in it without a line, it is worthless. The ink should be black, neither red, green, nor any other colour, and be prepared according to a definite receipt. An authentic copy must be the exemplar, from which the transcriber ought not in the least to deviate. No word or letter, not even a *yod*, must be written from memory, the scribe not having looked at the codex before him. . . . Between every consonant the space of a hair or thread must intervene; between every word the breadth of a narrow consonant; between every new *parāshāh*, or section, the breadth of nine consonants; between every book, three lines. The fifth book of Moses must terminate exactly with a line; but the rest need not do so. Besides this, the copyist must sit in full Jewish dress, wash his whole body, not begin to write the name of God with a pen newly dipped in ink, and should a king address him while writing that name he must take no notice of him' (S. Davidson, *Text of the OT*[2], p. 89).

Vowel-points are never added in synagogue rolls. Originally absent from Hebrew writing altogether, vowels were first represented, when some special need required their indication, by the semi-vowels ו, י, ה, and sometimes א, technically known as *matres lectionis*. The insertion of these signs gives what is known as the *scriptio plena*, their omission the *scriptio defectiva*. The date of the introduction of this device is uncertain, but it must be later than the production of the LXX. The more complete and satisfactory system of vowel-points was introduced about the 7th century. An alternative system, in which the points are supralinear instead of infralinear, is found in the oldest dated MS (the St. Petersburg Codex of the Prophets, A.D. 916), and in some others: this is supposed to have been practised at Babylon (but not exclusively even there), but never gained general acceptance. Vowel-points are habitually inserted in MSS other than synagogue rolls, but it was a rule that the consonantal text should be written

* An isolated survival of the old alphabet occurs in the case of Aquila, in whose Greek OT the name Jehovah was regularly written in these characters. Origen's statement to this effect has been confirmed by the fragments of Aquila recently discovered at Cairo, and now at Cambridge (Burkitt, *Fragments of Aquila*, 1897, cf. Taylor, *Genizah Fragments*, p. 26 f.).

independently, and the points added by a different scribe.—*Accentuation* was probably introduced into Hebrew writing at about the same date as vowel-points (5th–7th cents.), and used to denote the logical interrelation of the several words in the sentence, as well as their vocal modulation in public reading.—*Separation of words* is effected in the Moabite and Siloam inscriptions by the insertion of a dot; but the frequent mistakes in the division of words in the LXX, and the subsequent introduction of the 'final letters,' show that in early MSS Hebrew writing, like Greek and Latin to a much later period, was undivided. The use of the five 'final letters,' to indicate the ends of words, belongs to a date intermediate between the version of the LXX and the Talmud, a period in which most of the *minutiæ* in the practice of the scribes probably originated.—*Divisions of the text* in Hebrew MSS are of various kinds. The larger divisions, corresponding roughly to our chapters, are the 'open' and 'closed' sections. Open sections begin a new line in the MSS; and if the previous section has ended at the end of a line, a whole line is left blank before the new section begins. Closed sections follow on in the same line as the end of the previous section, a blank space only being left between; or, if the previous section ends too near the end of a line to admit of this, the next line is indented. Late MSS sometimes insert the letters ס or פ in the blank space, to indicate an open or a closed section respectively. In the Law the MSS agree generally in their distribution of open and closed sections, but in the Prophets and Hagiographa there is considerable divergence, indicating difference of tradition in different Massoretic schools. This section-system was certainly introduced before the time of Jerome, and probably before the period of the Mishna.—Another form of division was into *ṣedarim*, or lections suited to a three-years' cycle of the reading of the Law. The Pentateuch is divided into 167 *ṣedarim*, while of the other books, which were similarly divided, the Former Prophets have 77, the Later Prophets 107, and the Hagiographa 81. Side by side with this was a one-year cycle of the reading of the Law, which was in use in Babylonia, involving a division of the Law into 54 *pārāshîyôth*. These are indicated in the MSS, with a mnemonic mark to show the number of verses in each *parāshā*. Verse-division is rarely found in synagogue rolls; in MSS in book form having accents and vowel-points it is regularly practised. The earliest method of indicating the end of a verse is by placing a *ṣilluḳ* (׀) beneath the final letter; subsequently the double point or colon (*ṣoph paṣuḳ*) was introduced. The verses were carefully numbered by the Massoretes, as a precaution against interpolation; but the systems of division practised by the Babylonian and Palestinian Jews respectively differed considerably, and the one now in use differs from both of these, being apparently due to the Massoretes.

The margins of Hebrew MSS play an important part in their character, since they generally contain the Massorah and certain kinds of various readings. The **Massorah,** or body of traditional commentary on textual matters, is of two kinds —the Greater and the Lesser Massorah. The Greater Massorah generally occupies the upper and lower margin of the page, while the Lesser is placed in the outer side margin. Between the columns come the various readings known as the *Kĕrê* and *Ṣevirin* (see TEXT OF OT). The places of the Lesser Massorah and the various readings are, however, sometimes interchanged. Often, too, the Hebrew text is accompanied by an Aramaic paraphrase, either in parallel columns or between the lines.—On the palæography of Hebrew MSS it is not necessary to dwell. Changes in the manner of writing between the 9th cent. (the date of our earliest MS) and the invention of printing were slight, and the best authorities differ considerably in their attribution of dates on the handwriting alone. Moreover, in view of the stereotyped character of the text preserved in all extant MSS, not so much depends on the precise assignment of dates as in the case of Greek MSS.

LITERATURE.—Ginsburg, *Introd. to the Massoretico-Critical Edition of the Hebrew Bible*, 1897; S. Davidson, *Text of the OT*[2], 1859; Buhl, *Canon and Text of the OT*[2], Eng. tr. 1892; Wickes, *Accentuation of the so-called Prose Books*, 1887; Driver, *Notes on the Heb. Text of the Books of Samuel*, 1890, pp. ix–xxxv, see also p. 957; Weir, *Short Hist. of the Heb. Text*, 1899.

iv. GREEK WRITING ON PAPYRUS.—We are far better situated with regard to knowledge of the manner in which the Greek Bible was written than is the case with the Hebrew Bible; for, whereas the earliest extant Hebrew MS is separated by more than a thousand years from the date of composition of the latest Hebrew book of the OT, we have (thanks to the discoveries made in Egypt within the last twelve years) Greek MSS as early as the date at which Greek first began to be used as a vehicle for the Scriptures. From the first half of the 3rd cent. B.C. onwards we have a continuous stream of Greek MSS (not indeed biblical, but showing how the biblical MSS must have been written), at first exclusively on papyrus, but from the 4th cent. after Christ also on vellum.

Greek writing upon papyrus falls into two categories, *literary* and *documentary*, the former being used primarily for works of literature, but at times also for documents of special importance, such as petitions to the great magistrates; while the latter, primarily used for all sorts of non-literary documents (receipts, contracts, accounts, letters, etc.), was also occasionally employed for private copies of literary works. Both classes have therefore to be taken into consideration with regard to the transmission of the sacred text. So far as the LXX is concerned, indeed, the non-literary hand is not of much importance, since there is no reason to suppose that the version circulated to any great extent among other than literary classes. Copies were, no doubt, occasionally made in the common hand for poor people or for private use; but it is not likely that this happened to such an extent as materially to affect the textual tradition. With regard to the NT the case is different, as will be shown below.

The literary hand of the 3rd cent. B.C., at the time of the production of the LXX, is known from the papyri extracted by Prof. Petrie from the cartonnage of some mummy cases found by him at Gurob in 1889, of which the best, from a palæographic point of view, are the fragments of the *Phædo* of Plato and the *Antiope* of Euripides. These are written in a very small uncial hand, neat and firm, in columns about 6 in. high and 2¾ in. wide. According to a rough calculation, two rolls of about 35 ft. each would be required to contain the Book of Genesis in the style of writing employed in the *Phædo* MS; and, even with a taller column and greater economy of space between the lines, it is certain that such a book could not have been contained in a single roll of normal length. The uncial hand on papyrus admits of occasional ligatures between the letters, so that the distinction between uncial and cursive hands is less sharply marked on papyrus than on vellum. Besides the small literary hand just mentioned, the early Ptolemaic papyri show a larger and rougher uncial hand, likewise used for literary purposes, but probably for cheaper and less carefully executed copies. The non-literary hands of the period are various, but for the most part are very cursive, with broad letters freely spaced out and large ligatures.

In the 2nd cent. B.C. two forms of literary hand are again found in existence (and it must be remembered that the extant evidence is still scanty, so that no description is likely to be exhaustive)—one (exemplified by the papyrus of Hyperides *in Athenogenem* at the Louvre) being a square, firm hand, larger than that of the Petrie *Phædo*, while the other (contained in a rhetorical papyrus, also at the Louvre) is smaller, weaker, and more sloping. The non-literary hand is generally less straggling than in the previous century, the larger forms of it being often very handsome, and the smaller neat and flowing. The 1st cent. B.C. is a period of transition, the Roman conquest of Egypt

leading gradually to a marked change of hand. Of literary papyri, few can be quite certainly attributed to this century, but there are strong grounds for placing the Herculaneum rolls here, with a few others from Egypt. The Herculaneum papyri show a number of rather small, business-like hands, without much ornament, written in narrow columns on papyrus of moderate height, and from these a good idea may be formed of the appearance of a MS of the LXX in the generation preceding the birth of our Lord.

For the 1st cent. of the Christian era, and especially for the second half of it, during which the books of the NT were written, we have fairly good evidence as to the current literary hand, and ample for the non-literary hand. The literary hand is rather larger than was usual in the Ptolemaic period, with well-rounded curves and not infrequent ligatures; a graceful style of writing, and, at its best (as in a papyrus of the *Odyssey* in the British Museum), very handsome. It is not likely, however, that the authors and early copyists of the books of the NT often had writing of this excellence at their disposal. A better example of the style in which the autographs of the NT may have been written is provided by a MS of Hyperides in the British Museum, written in the latter part of the 1st cent. in a hand akin to the best contemporary non-literary MSS (Fig. 3). Even, however, when the author's autograph or the first transcripts were produced by competent scribes, the conditions of circulation among the Christian community make it practically certain that the Scriptures must often have been copied by private persons, unskilled in the art of writing, and thinking, not of producing a volume fit for the book market, but of reading for themselves, or transmitting to their friends, the all-important narrative of the Master's life. Throughout the first three centuries of the Christian era the books of the NT must have circulated mainly in channels outside the ordinary book trade. Public libraries did not require them; churches must often have lost their copies in times of persecution; professional scribes, unless they happened to be Christians, would not be employed to transcribe them; and in country places skilled calligraphy would not be forthcoming. Under these circumstances, the NT Scriptures must have circulated much in privately written copies. A good example of such a copy of a literary work in a non-literary hand is provided by the papyrus of Aristotle's *Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία*, written at the end of the 1st cent. on the back of used papyrus, in four different hands, of which three are cursive and one a rough uncial. The cursive hands use abbreviations freely for common words and terminations (*e.g.* / = *ἐστί*, *γ'* = *γάρ*, *κ'* = *καί*, *κ̀* = *κατά*, *τ̀* = *τήν*, *τ'* = *τῆς*, *τ'* = *τῶν*), and the possibility must be reckoned with that similarly written MSS enter, to some extent, into the textual history of the NT. The common hands of the Roman period are small and very cursive, and errors in transcription would consequently be easy; to say nothing of the probable want of habits of literary exactness among many of the copyists. No doubt, many well-written copies were also produced, especially in the great towns where Christian communities were strong; and these would have a good chance of preserving a pure tradition, since

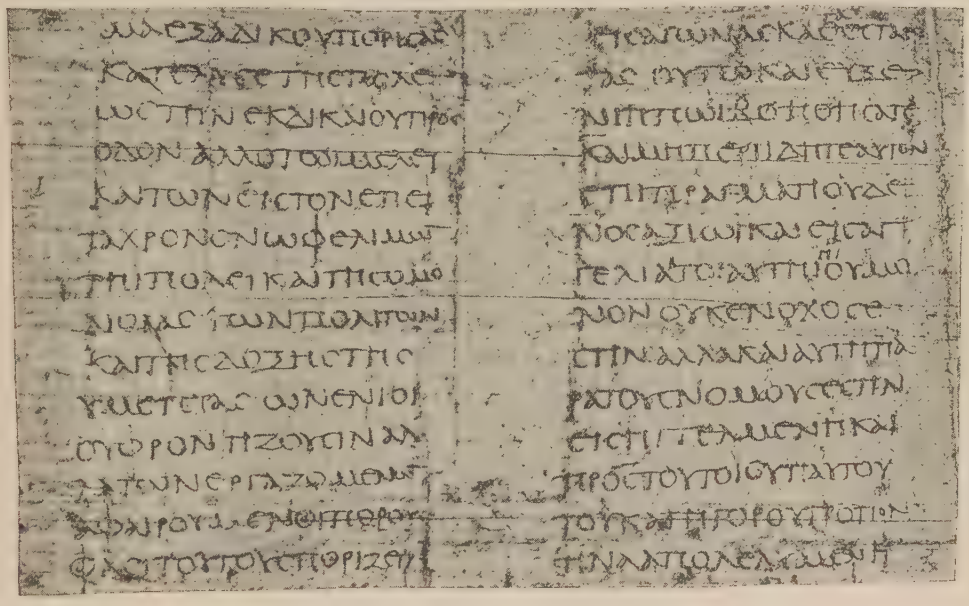


FIG. 3.—GREEK PAPYRUS ROLL, LATE 1ST CENT.
(Brit. Mus. Pap. 115, Hyperides, *pro Euxenippo*).

the literary hand of the 1st and 2nd cents. is clear and good, increasing in size, and perhaps in showiness, as time goes on. The most calligraphically elaborate papyri extant (two copies of the *Iliad*, bk. ii., at Oxford and in the British Museum) probably belong to the 2nd century.

In the 3rd cent. a new element enters into consideration, namely the adoption of the codex form, the roll form continuing alongside of it for a period which cannot be exactly defined. At first the codex form was inferior, as a style of book production, to the roll form, being an adaptation to literary purposes of a form which had hitherto been adopted mainly for memoranda and rough drafts. There are signs, however, that it was early taken into use among the Christians for their private copies of the Scriptures. The evidence at present available is too scanty to justify dogmatism, but it certainly is the case that several of the earliest examples of the codex form contain Christian writings, and that the majority of papyri of the 3rd cent. containing Christian writings are in

the codex form. Of the NT, two fragments are extant which are assigned to the 3rd cent., and three of the 4th; all these are in codex form. Of the OT there are three fragments of the 3rd cent., of which one is certainly from a codex, and one is uncertain. In addition, the Oxyrhynchus fragment containing alleged sayings of our Lord is a leaf from a codex of the 3rd century. It appears, therefore, that the codex form was generally used among Christians at an earlier date than among people in general; for of 21 non-Christian papyri assigned to the 3rd cent. only two are written in this form. These early Christian codices are not showy specimens of the calligrapher's art; on the contrary, they are somewhat roughly written, unornamental productions, generally of small size, suitable, it may be thought, for easy conveyance and easy concealment. This fits in with what has been said above as to the character of the MSS in which the books of the NT circulated before the recognition of Christianity by the State. Prof. Hort has observed (*Introd. to NT*, § 352) that the Codex middle of the line, that of a comma; and at the foot of the line, that of a semicolon. In a few extant papyri these distinctions are observed; but oftener they are neglected, and the dot is placed above the line to denote all values.—*Accentuation* is not unknown, as it is in the earliest vellum uncials, but is rarely and sporadically applied. No papyrus MS has accents fully and systematically supplied, but some of the best-written of them (notably the Bacchylides MS) have them fairly plentifully. Less well-written MSS have fewer of them, and MSS in non-literary hands practically do not have them at all.—*Separation of words* is not found, except in a few cases where ambiguity might result: here a single point is sometimes used to indicate the correct division. This is again especially the case in carefully written MSS, which are always more fully supplied with aids to comprehension than their commoner kindred. It is not at all likely that any of the early copies of the books of the NT were supplied with accents or punctuation, or had any indication of the division of words.—The use of *abbreviations* in non-literary hands has been mentioned above. In addition to the symbols there described, a common method of abbreviation is to drop the termination of a word, writing the last letter which is retained above the line: *e.g.* αυτ or αυτ^{ο} for αὐτός or αὐτόν, γραμ^{μ} for γράμμα or γραμματεύς, ποιησ^{θ} for ποιεῖσθαι, and so on. Abbreviation by the omission of letters from the middle of a word is not practised, except in the common theological compendia ($\overline{κς}$, $\overline{θς}$, $\overline{χς}$, $\overline{ιης}$, κ.τ.λ.), which are found from the 3rd cent. onwards.

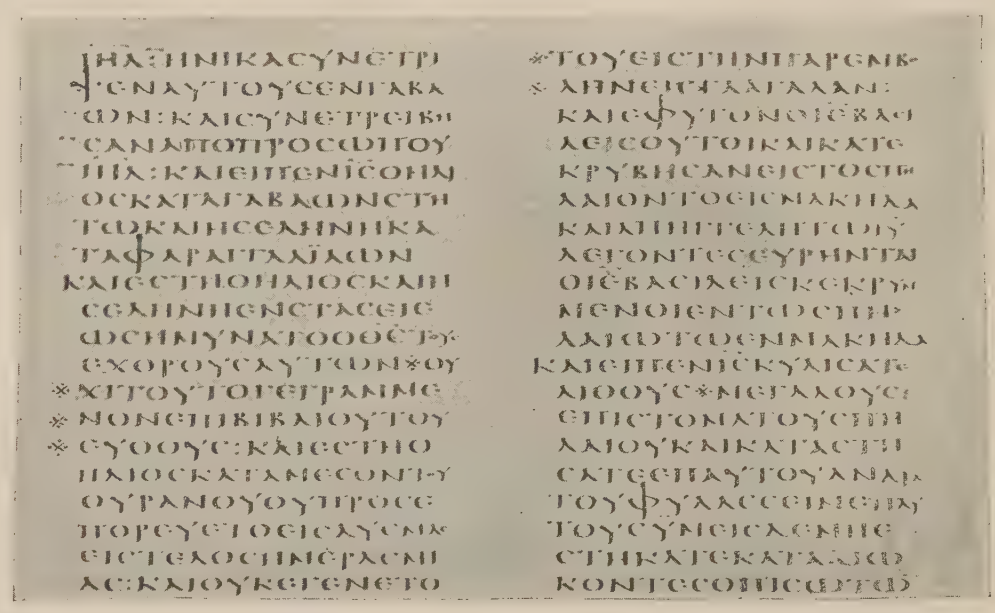


FIG. 4.—GREEK UNCIAL CODEX, 5TH CENT.
(Codex Sarravianus, Leyden University Library, reduced.)

Ephraemi in the Apocalypse must have been copied from a MS composed of small leaves; and it is possible that it was such a one as those which we have been describing,—a private copy, without beauty of workmanship, and perhaps without much attention to precise accuracy of transcription. From this predilection for the codex form even on papyrus, the Christian Church was well prepared to make use of it when vellum began to come to the front as the material for book production.

Before considering, however, the progress of palæography upon vellum, it will be as well to say something as to the *minutiæ* of Greek writing upon papyrus. In ordinary literary papyri, the writing is arranged in narrow columns, often leaning to the right, in uncial characters of medium size (smaller than is usual upon vellum), admitting of ligatures between them to a limited extent. Enlarged initials are not used. Pauses in the sense are indicated (if at all) by small blank spaces in the text, often accompanied by a *paragraphus*, or short horizontal stroke below the first letters of the line in which a sentence ends.—*Punctuation* in the ordinary sense is very rarely found in prose MSS, but it occurs sporadically in a few MSS. In one or two very early MSS a double dot, like a colon, is used to separate sentences; but usually only a single dot is employed. According to the strict system, developed by the Alexandrian grammarians, a dot placed above the line has the value of a full stop; in the

LITERATURE.—Thompson, Kenyon, Birt, Gardthausen, *opp. citt.*; Blass, art. 'Palæographie,' in Müller's *Handbuch der klassischen Alterthumswissenschaft* (1892); Grenfell and Hunt, *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, pts. i. ii. (1899–1900).

v. GREEK UNCIAL WRITING ON VELLUM.—The supersession of papyrus by vellum has been described in § ii. The supersession, however, was not immediate and absolute; for it is clear that copies of the Scriptures continued occasionally to be inscribed on papyrus as long as the material itself was accessible. Fragments of such MSS are in existence (such as a Psalter in the British Museum, and the Books of Zechariah and Malachi in a MS at Heidelberg) which are attributable to the 7th cent.; and much later than this no Greek MS on papyrus can be, on account of the Arab conquest, which closed Egypt to the Christian world. But from the 4th cent. onwards papyrus takes a secondary place. From that century we have the Vatican and Sinaitic Codices, and we know by tradition of the 50 volumes prepared for the churches of Constantinople; and it is not likely that any papyrus MS, extant or hereafter to be

discovered, can be put into successful comparison with these. From this time forward, moreover, there was nothing to prevent the free multiplication of copies of the Scriptures, with all the resources of trained penmanship. The textual tradition of the NT henceforth runs, not through private copies, but through the great churches and libraries; and if Constantinople and Cæsarea used vellum, there is no reason to doubt that their example was followed in Rome and Antioch and even Alexandria; indeed there is good reason for believing, on palæographical grounds, that the Vatican and Sinaitic Codices, and still more the Codex Alexandrinus, were produced in Egypt. It is therefore to vellum MSS that we must look for the custodians of the sacred text from about the date of the Council of Nicæa.

The palæography of vellum MSS has been studied much longer than that of papyri, and rests on a far wider consensus of competent opinion. It may therefore be treated the more briefly here. The earliest vellum MSS show a resemblance to the papyri, not only in the use of narrow columns (see § ii.), but in the handwritings themselves. It appears that, when vellum was taken into use for the best copies of literary works, the scribes abandoned the sloping and somewhat inelegant writing which is characteristic of the papyri of the 3rd cent., and cast back to the better models of an earlier period. The uncial* characters of the Vatican and Sinaitic Codices appear to be modelled on the best papyrus MSS of the 1st and 2nd cents., a square, upright uncial of medium size, written with much simplicity of style. Ligatures between letters are entirely eschewed, and no cursive element appears in the writing at all. The Cod. Vaticanus has no punctuation or accents by the first hand, no separation of words, no enlarged initials, no projection of letters into the margin to denote a new paragraph. The same is the case with the Cod. Sarravianus (Fig. 4) of the Pent., probably of the early 5th century. The Cod. Sinaiticus differs only in the last detail, the first letter of a new paragraph projecting very slightly into the margin, but without enlargement. In the Cod. Alexandrinus, assigned to the first half of the 5th cent., the hand is larger and heavier, the number of columns on a page is reduced to two, and the first letter of a new paragraph (or, if the paragraph begins in the middle of a line, the first letter of the first complete line) not only projects into the margin, but is considerably enlarged. In later MSS still these enlarged initials become the subject of ornamentation, until we reach the magnificent illuminated initials of the Middle Ages. In the 6th cent. the style of writing grows generally heavier, and there is more distinction between the thick and thin strokes of a letter. In many MSS, too, the characters are larger, especially in the purple MSS, which are a notable feature of this period. In Egyptian MSS of this period (*e.g.* the Codex Marchalianus of the Prophets) a somewhat stiff and angular style is adopted, which is akin to the hand found in Coptic MSS. After the 6th cent. the best age of uncial writing is past. In the 7th cent. the writing began to assume a sloping form,—always a sign of degeneracy,—and to compensate for its loss of natural strength and firmness by excrescences in the shape of exaggerated knobs and bars at the extremities of the letters. Added to this a tendency to lateral compression is found, which culminates in the so-called 'Slavonic' uncials which dominate the 8th and 9th centuries. In these, whether upright or sloping, the letters are heavy and angular, and tall in proportion to their width. A letter like O, instead of being a circle, is compressed into an oval, or even a diamond shape; while T, K, Γ, and other letters have large bars at the ends of their projecting limbs. A reaction occurs in the 10th cent., when a return to the square and well-rounded characters of the 4th to 6th cents. is seen; but by this time the day for uncial writing was past, and its place was to be taken by a smaller and less cumbrous style.

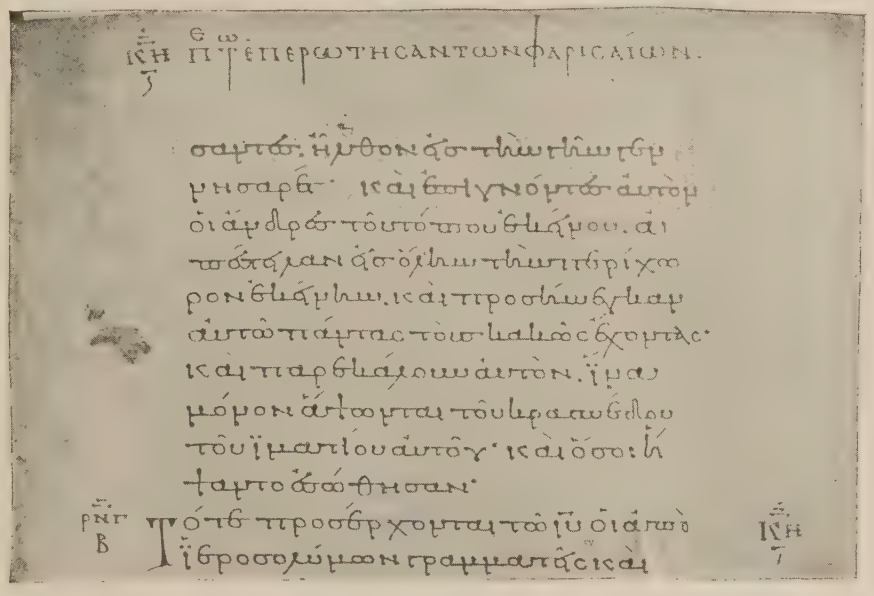


FIG. 5.—GREEK MINUSCULE CODEX, 10TH CENT.
(Brit. Mus. Add. MS 11300).

* The term is derived from an expression of Jerome's (*præf. ad Job.*), 'uncialibus ('inch-long'), ut vulgo aiunt, litteris,' and is applied to writing in capital letters, each formed separately, as distinct from the smaller minuscule style, introduced in the 9th cent., which lent itself easily to cursive writing. In vellum MSS the distinction between uncial and minuscule is clearly marked; but on papyrus it is less evident, and uncial writing on papyrus, as stated above, admitted not infrequently a cursive element.

LITERATURE. — Thompson, *op. cit.*; Gardthausen, *op. cit.*; *Palæographical Society*, facsimiles of MSS; Omont, *Facsimilés des plus anciens manuscrits grecs . . . de la Bibl. Nat.* 1892; Kenyon, *Facsimiles of Biblical MSS in the Brit. Mus.* 1900.

vi. GREEK MINUSCULE WRITING. — The great defect of uncial writing as a vehicle of literature was its cumbrousness. Written without ligatures, in large, heavily-formed letters, it occupied more time and more space than its predecessor on papyrus, and could not be adapted to the production of cheap or handy volumes. Up to the 7th cent. this need was supplied, as has been shown above, by copies upon papyrus; and the failure of the supply of this material drove the scribes ultimately to the production of a substitute. Further, as uncial writing degenerated, it lost its sole recommendation—the beauty of the volumes written in that style; and the way was open to a successor. Both these wants were supplied by an adaptation of the cursive style of common writing to the purposes of literature. It is not to be supposed that uncials were ever the sole manner of writing in existence. From the earliest point at which

we have extant remains of Greek writing (3rd cent. B.C.), cursive writing is found in existence side by side with uncial; and common-sense tells us that this must always have been the case, such writing being required for ordinary use, quite apart from the needs of book production. We now have plentiful examples of Greek cursive writing from the 3rd cent. B.C. to the 7th cent. after Christ, with a few specimens from the 8th cent.; and it is only through the accident of the Arab conquest of Egypt that we are unable to trace its development on into the 9th cent. The extant evidence, however, is enough to show that the minuscule hand which was taken into use for literary purposes in the 9th cent. is the direct descendant of that which is found in the Byzantine papyri of the 6th and 7th centuries. The forms of nearly all the letters are the same; only the exuberances of the Byzantine style are repressed, the size of the characters (which is often considerable) reduced, and the whole made far more calligraphic. The Greek minuscule MSS of the 9th and 10th cents. are, in fact, as beautiful examples of writing as exist anywhere; and at the same time the economy in space and labour, as compared with the coarse Slavonic uncials which preceded them, is very considerable (Fig. 5). The effect of the reformation upon the textual tradition of the Greek Bible was very great. The multiplication of copies was rendered infinitely easier, the possession of them was placed within the reach of a much wider circle, and the consultation of the Scriptures was greatly facilitated. The extant uncial MSS of the NT number less than 200, the extant minuscules are nearly 3000; and though much must be allowed for the greater antiquity of the former style (and consequently greater certainty of the destruction of MSS), very much of the disparity must be due to the increased ease with which the minuscule could be produced.

Into the details of Greek minuscule writing from the 9th cent. to the 15th it is not necessary to enter here. When all are so far removed from the original autographs, little turns on the precise date of a minuscule MS of the Bible. It is the character of the text contained in them, and the evidence thence derivable as to the archetypes from which they are descended, that make them valuable or the reverse. Moreover, it is not possible to describe the successive styles of minuscule writing, with the slight variations by which the typical hand of one century can (more or less precariously) be distinguished from that of another, without a copious use of facsimiles. For these the reader may be referred to the publications of the Palæographical Society or the series of facsimiles of dated MSS in the Bibliothèque Nationale issued by M. Omont. These illustrate at once the predominant hands of the successive centuries, and the uncertainty which must always attend the precise fixing of undated MSS, owing to the sporadic reappearances of the various hands at considerable intervals of time.

The earliest extant dated minuscule MS is dated in A.D. 835 (the Uspensky Gospels); and in the course of this century, though the uncial style was by no means yet extinct, the minuscule hand was perfected into a style of great beauty. It is a firm, upright hand, rather square in character, and sometimes leaning slightly backwards. The letters are frequently linked together, but only in small groups. The breathings are angular (⊢ ⊣ ⊔ ⊐), the accents small and inconspicuous. The characters are pure minuscule, without intermixture of uncial forms. The writing stands upon the lines ruled in the vellum. Towards the end of the 10th cent. a change is made in this respect, and the writing frequently depends from the ruled lines. Uncial forms of certain letters (such as η, κ, ν) creep in again among the minuscules. A looser style of writing is adopted, the letters being less firm and square, and more freely spaced out. This is especially characteristic of a number of MSS of classical authors written about the 11th cent., and the same tendencies continue progressively in the succeeding centuries. In the 11th cent., too, the rounded breathing makes its appearance, and in the 12th it is definitely established as the usual form. In the 12th cent. the minuscule hand is often large and somewhat handsome, though without the compactness of the earlier style; but from this point it degenerates more decisively. The forms of the letters become more irregular, accents are larger and more conspicuous, the practice of contraction is introduced, which in later MSS increases to such an extent as to render them unintelligible except after a special study of the various marks of abbreviation. Accents also are frequently formed in one stroke with the letters, and in every respect the tendency to cursiveness increases. The Renaissance, with its revival of interest in Greek in the West, and the increased demand for handsome specimens of Greek writing which it produced, led to some improvement in calligraphy; but here the invention of printing stepped in, and the handiwork of the scribe was superseded by the mechanical precision of the press.

LITERATURE. — The authorities cited in § v.: Omont, *Facsimilés des manuscrits grecs datés de la Bibliothèque Nationale du ixe au xive siècle*, 1890, and *Facsimilés des manuscrits grecs des xve et xvie siècles*, 1887; Wattenbach and von Velsen, *Exempla Codicum Græcorum litteris minusculis scriptorum*, 1878.

vii. LATIN WRITING.—It does not come within the scope of this article to consider all the forms of writing in which the Bible has circulated; but the Latin version holds such a unique position, as the Bible of the West, and one of such special interest to us, that a short description of Latin writing may be useful. Of its early stages, before the general adoption of vellum, we have much less knowledge than in the case of Greek; for the papyri found in Egypt, which are our chief source of information of the pre-vellum period, contain but very few examples of Latin writing. Even the papyri of Herculaneum are almost wholly Greek; and though we know that papyrus was the main material of book production throughout the whole of the most productive period of Roman literature, and continued to be employed for literary purposes as late as the 7th cent., and for certain official purposes (notably papal rescripts) down to the beginning of the 11th cent., we have no literary works of any substantial size now extant on this material, with the exception of a few papyrus codices of the 6th and 7th cents., long after the victory of vellum had been accomplished. We have nothing to show us what the first editions of Cicero and Cæsar, of Virgil and Horace, or even of Tacitus and Pliny, were like. The history of the Latin literary hand begins, where the history of the Greek literary hand began until recently, with the rise of vellum. Of the early non-literary hand we have rather more evidence, in the shape of a few papyri and a considerable number of wax tablets; and this may have been used, like the Greek non-literary hand, for the dissemination of the Scriptures in very early times. On this point, however, there is at present no evidence.

On vellum the history of Latin writing follows substantially the same course as the Greek. It begins with an elaborately-written majuscule hand, in which all the letters are separate; and this is ultimately superseded by a minuscule hand, which from the 9th cent. to the 15th is the universal vehicle of literature. In the majuscule type of hand, however, distinctions are introduced which find no place in Greek. The earliest phase is that of writing in *capitals*, in which rounded forms of letters are rare, the general character being the same as that of inscriptions upon stone. These, again, are subdivided into *square* capitals, in which the letters are even in height and square in build, and *rustic*, in which the horizontal strokes are very short in proportion to the perpendicular. Of square capitals very few specimens now remain (notably two fragmentary MSS of Virgil), and it seems clear that they were used only for *éditions de luxe*, and never were the form of writing exclusively in use. The shapes of the letters are essentially the same as in rustic capitals, only they are increased in breadth. The two styles are contemporaneous, and of the two the rustic style is unquestionably that which was in common use. It is also the earlier in date, going back to the papyrus period (*e.g.* a Roman military roll of A.D. 156, *Pal. Soc.* ii. 165); while the heavier square capitals can hardly have been written except on vellum. Rustic capitals are found in the great early MSS of Virgil, the Romanus and Palatinus of the 4th cent., and the Mediceus of the 5th; also in the Bembine Terence (4th-5th cent.), the Paris Prudentius (6th cent.), and even as late as the Psalter falsely attributed to St. Augustine, but really of the early 8th cent., and the Utrecht Psalter of the 9th cent. Commoner, however, than the rustic hand,—at any rate from the 4th cent. onwards,—is the other form of the

majuscule hand known as *uncial*. In this style many of the letters (notably A D E H M), which are angular in the capital hand, are rounded into curves, and vertical strokes are habitually carried above or below the line of writing. This is the hand found in the earliest extant MSS of the Latin Bible, such as the Codd. Vercellensis (4th cent.), Veronensis and Palatinus (4th–5th cent.), Bobbiensis (5th–6th cent.), and other fragments of the Old Latin version; and from the 6th cent. onwards it ousts the capital style from the field, with the exception of a few isolated examples, such as those mentioned above. At first rather a small and irregular hand, without much pretension to beauty, it improves in regularity, firmness, and handsomeness up to the beginning of the 8th cent.; the MSS of that period, such as the Lindisfarne Gospels and the Cod. Amiatinus, being probably the most magnificent examples of Latin writing in existence. Meanwhile there was a tendency to intermix minuscule forms with uncials in writing of a less formal character, and this, which is known as the *half-uncial* style, is found as early as the 6th cent. adopted into use for literary purposes (*e.g.* a MS of Hilary at Rome, written not later than A.D. 509–10). Subsisting side by side with the uncial style, the half-uncial hands paved the way for a general adoption of minuscules, which thus comes by an easier and less abrupt transition than in the case of Greek. On the one hand, the majuscule style had been gradually toned down successively from capital to uncial, from uncial to half-uncial; on the other, the cursive hand in daily use for common purposes was raised into the various 'national' hands, Lombardic, Visigothic, and Merovingian, which, though inelegant enough, were still book-hands of a kind. By the 8th cent. the old literary hands had been broken up, and their place taken by these various species of mixed hands which had neither the beauty of the majuscule nor the ease and simplicity of the cursive. From this state of chaos Latin calligraphy was rescued by the reforms introduced in the reign and under the inspiration of Charlemagne. The Caroline reform, accomplished principally at the school of Tours, under the direction of Alcuin of York, evolved a style of writing which was at once graceful and clear, easy both to write and to read, which was destined to supersede the various national hands then in existence, and form the foundation of the minuscule hand which was the vehicle of literature until the invention of printing. To the Caroline minuscule style belong the Bibles containing the recensions of the Vulgate text by Alcuin himself and by Theodulf of Orleans; while the beautiful uncials of the various contemporary 'Golden' Gospels, produced perhaps in the palace schools at Aachen, show how the best traditions of the 8th cent. could be carried on.

It is impossible here to follow the developments of Latin palæography in all their details. For the history of the biblical text perhaps the most notable is the compressed hand of the 13th cent., in which so many Bibles are still extant. Coming after the bold and handsome hand of the 12th cent., its rigidity and compression are very noticeable. The scribe seems anxious to economize space to the last degree; and this, aided by the very thin vellum then in use, enables him to produce Bibles in a comparatively small compass. It is natural to connect this activity on the part of the scribes in multiplying copies of the Bible with the activity of the scholars of the University of Paris at this same period in revising and stereotyping its text; the whole testifying to an increased interest in the reading of the Scriptures, which may perhaps be attributed to the influence of St. Louis. In the 14th and 15th cents. it is only necessary to point out the divergence of styles in the north and south of Europe; the northern countries developing a heavy character, which, imitated by the printing-press of Gutenberg, was the parent of the 'black-letter' type of the Mazarin Bible and other early printed books; while in Italy a happier taste led to a renaissance of the Caroline style in the beautiful Italian hand from which, through the intermediary of Aldus and the other printers of the south, our modern types are derived.

LITERATURE.—Thompson, *op. cit.*; *Palæographical Society*, facsimiles; Marini, *I Papiri Diplomatici*, 1805; Wattenbach and Zangemeister, *Exempla Codicum Latinorum litteris majusculis scriptorum*, 1876–79; Delisle, *Album Paléographique*, 1887; Kenyon, *Facsimiles of Biblical MSS in the British Museum*, 1900.

viii. PALIMPSESTS.—A few special subjects remain to be noticed. One peculiar class of MSS consists of palimpsests, or MSS from which the original writing has been removed in order that the material may be used again. With papyrus this could hardly be done. The material would not stand scraping with a knife, and, although ink could be removed with a sponge, it does not appear that this could be effected (at any rate without considerable damage to the surface) except when the ink was fresh and had not sunk deeply in. Certainly it is very seldom that traces of an earlier writing are observable on papyrus. Since the writing was in the first instance confined to one side of the roll, the *verso* was still left open for use by a later possessor when writing material ran short; and further than this it does not seem to have been usual or possible to go. With vellum it was different. The tougher material admitted of the use of the knife, with which the scribe is habitually represented in mediæval miniatures, and many instances are known of MSS in which the original writing has been scraped or washed off, and a later work substituted. Such MSS are known as *palimpsests* ('scraped again,' πάλιν and ψάω); and, since the original writing is seldom wholly obliterated, it is often possible to decipher it in whole or in part. The most notable MSS of the Bible in this category are the Codex Ephraemi (C) at Paris, the Codex Nitriensis (R) in the British Museum, and the Sinaitic Codex of the Old Syriac version. In the first instance the upper writing is Greek, in the two others Syriac. Other biblical palimpsests are the Codex Dublinensis (O of the LXX, Z of the Gospels), Codex Cryptoferratensis (Γ of the LXX), the Codices $I^{1\text{-}7}$, P, Q, T^{w}, W^{b}, W^{t} (in part), Ξ, Υ, $ך^{5}$, of the Gospels, M, P, ב, of the Acts, R of the Pauline Epistles, *t* of the Old Latin Gospels, *s* of the OL Acts, *gue* of the OL Pauline Epistles, the Fragmenta Wirceburgensia of the OL Pentateuch and Prophets, some leaves at Vienna of the OL Kings, a Reichenau fragment of the OL Psalms, some Vatican and St. Gall fragments of the OL Prophets, and some fragments of the Pauline Epistles in Gothic at Milan. In most of these MSS the original writing is of the 5th or 6th cent.; the upper writing is of various dates.

LITERATURE.—Scrivener, *Introd. to Text. Crit. of NT*[4]; Gregory, Prolegomena to Tischendorf's *NT Græce*; Swete, *Introd. to the OT in Greek*.

ix. STICHOMETRY AND COLOMETRY.—A στίχος (lit. 'row') is used primarily to mean a line of poetry. Hence it comes to denote a length of writing equal to an average line of poetry, and in this sense is used as a unit of measurement for literary purposes. Books are described as possessing so many στίχοι, and scribes were paid according to the number of στίχοι written by them. Thus Dionysius of Halicarnassus (vi. 1126) states that the extant works of Demosthenes contained 50,000 or 60,000 στίχοι; and the edict of Diocletian, *de pretiis rerum venalium*, fixes the scribe's pay at 25 denarii per 100 στίχοι for the more expensive style of writing, and 20 denarii for the second quality. Galen (*de Placit. Hipp. et Plat.* viii. 1) expressly states that the unit of measurement was the average Homeric hexameter, reckoned at 16 syllables (it was independently calculated by Ch. Graux as 37–38 letters, but Galen's statement shows that the syllable was the basis of calculation actually adopted). Rendel Harris has argued that the average iambic line of 12 syllables was also employed at times, and that this is, in fact, the second quality mentioned in the edict of Diocletian; but explicit confirmation of this hypothesis has not yet been obtained. The system of stichometry was also applied to Latin MSS, though evidences of its use are less numerous. A 4th cent. MS in the Phillipps Library at Cheltenham (Mommsen, *Hermes*, xxi.) contains a computation of the contents of the works of Cyprian in στίχοι which are the average Vergilian hexameter. The number of στίχοι in the various books of the Bible is stated in many MSS, no doubt for the purpose of calculating the scribe's pay; but there are considerable discrepancies in the figures. The oldest extant tables of biblical stichometry are the Cheltenham list (which includes the biblical books as well as Cyprian), a list (applying to the Pauline Epistles only) in the Cod. Sinaiticus (ℵ), a list in the Cod. Claromontanus (D [paul.]), a list in an 8th cent. Freisingen MS at Munich, published by C. H. Turner, and the list of Nicephorus in the 9th cent.: for the figures see Swete, *Introd. to the OT in*

Greek, p. 346; Scholz, *Prolegomena to the NT*, vol. i. p. xxviii; Turner, *Journ. Theol. Stud.* ii. 236. The division into στίχοι, which is purely mechanical, must be distinguished from the division of texts into κῶλα and κόμματα, which is a division into clauses according to the sense. Some MSS are thus written, not continuously, but in short sense-lines of varying length, presumably in the first instance to facilitate reading aloud. Such *colometry* was a special feature of the edition of the Acts and Epistles by Euthalius, and appears now in the chief MS of that edition, H of the Pauline Epistles. It is also used in the bilingual MSS, D D_2 E_2, in order to keep the two versions more exactly parallel than they would be in continuous script, and to facilitate comparison between them. Between κῶλα and κόμματα there is no clear distinction, but the latter denotes somewhat shorter clauses than the former.

LITERATURE.—Graux, *Revue de Philologie*, 1878, p. 97; Diels, *Hermes*, xvii, 1882; J. Rendel Harris, *Stichometry*, 1893; Thompson, *op. cit.* ch. vi.

x. LIBRARIES.—In conclusion, it may be useful to give some account of the manner in which books were preserved in ancient and mediæval times. The most ancient library of which we have precise knowledge is that of *Ashur-bani-pal*, king of Assyria (B.C. 668–626), the contents of which have actually come down *en masse* to the present day. It was not founded by Ashur-bani-pal, having existed under his predecessors, Sargon, Sennacherib, and Esarhaddon; but it was under his patronage that it assumed its great proportions. He set himself deliberately to collect books, sending scribes to make copies of works in other libraries, and instructing scholars to compile vocabularies of the Sumerian and Assyrian languages. In 1850 this library was disinterred by Sir H. Layard from the mounds of Kouyunjik, and its contents, amounting to over 20,000 tablets, are now in the British Museum. The tablets appear to have been laid on shelves, grouped in classes, and labelled. They included historical, literary, theological, magical, and scientific works, as well as letters, contracts, and other business documents; and the library was apparently accessible to the people in general. — In *Egypt* there must have been depositories of the papyrus rolls, which were produced in large numbers from very early times; probably, the literature being almost wholly theological, they were preserved in or about the temples. Diodorus Siculus (i. 58) states that Osymandyas, who has been identified with Ramses I., possessed a large library; and two officials of his time are described as librarians. But no details are known of these early Egyptian libraries.—Nor have we express mention of libraries in *Palestine* in pre-Christian times,* though the references in the Books of Samuel and Kings to other books suggest the probability of the existence of some repository where these works might be consulted (2 S 1^{18}, 1 K 11^{41} $14^{19.29}$ 15^{23} etc.). —In the early history of *Greece*, even when her literature was at its height, libraries (as distinct from public record offices, which certainly existed in Athens and presumably elsewhere) play but a small part. Pisistratus is stated to have formed a library, which was taken to Persia by Xerxes, and restored long after by Seleucus Nicator (*Aul. Gell.* vi. 17). Athenæus (i. 4) mentions libraries belonging to Polycrates of Samos, Nicocrates of Cyprus, the archon Euclides, the poet Euripides, and Aristotle. The latter is said by Strabo to have been the first person to collect books; and indeed it is evident that his works could not have been produced without a library. After his death his library was preserved at Scepsis; and, after having been sold to Apellicon of Teos and brought to Athens, it was ultimately taken by Sulla to Rome. The two most famous libraries of the Greek world, however, were those of Pergamum and Alexandria. The former, founded by Attalus I. and Eumenes II. at the end of the 3rd cent. and beginning of the 2nd cent. B.C., flourished greatly for a century and a half, but ultimately was transported by Mark Antony to Alexandria to replace that which had been destroyed by fire in Cæsar's wars. It is said to have consisted of 200,000 rolls at that time. The library of Alexandria, founded perhaps by Ptolemy I., was especially encouraged by Ptolemy II. (Philadelphus). It was a department of the great Museum, and every effort was made to gather into it all extant literature, and to attract the best scholars to accept posts in connexion with it. According to the well-known story embodied in the letter of Aristeas, it was in connexion with the establishment of the Alexandrian library, and at the express desire of Ptolemy Philadelphus, that the production of the LXX was undertaken. The main library, in the Museum, is stated to have been destroyed during the siege of Cæsar in Alexandria, and thenceforth the principal Alexandrian library was that of the Serapeum, which previously had held a secondary place. This in turn suffered greatly at the sack of the Serapeum by Bishop Theophilus in 390, so that it is doubtful if much was left to be destroyed by the Arabs in 641. From the date of the foundation of these two great libraries, public libraries, previously almost unknown in Greece, seem to have become common. Polybius (xii. 27) in the 2nd cent. B.C. speaks as if they would naturally be found in most large towns. At *Rome* they were of later growth. Private collections of books must certainly have been known to Varro, and Cicero's library was an extensive one for those days. Æmilius Paullus and Lucullus brought back libraries from their wars in the East. Cæsar planned the establishment of a public library; but the execution of it was left to Augustus, who, however, had been slightly anticipated by Asinius Pollio. From this point public libraries, often in connexion with temples, became common in Rome, as elsewhere. A concrete example of a library, though on a small scale, is provided by that at Herculaneum, in which the papyrus rolls, now in the Naples Museum, were found. It was a very small room, with shelves round the walls, on which lay the rolls (1756 in number); and a cabinet, also containing rolls, stood in the middle of the room.

Coming to Christian times and Christian literature, it must have been long before anything in the nature of a library was required. The only books with which Christians, as such, had to deal were those of the OT and NT, and the few books which for a time hovered on the border of the Canon, such as the Epistles of Clement and Barnabas, the Shepherd of Hermas, the Gospel of Peter, and the like. These would either be in private possession or the property of a Church, which would also, in time, require something in the nature of service books. The earliest Christian libraries, therefore, apart from the small collections which an individual might have, were attached to churches; but even these could not attain to any considerable size, so long as they were liable to dispersion in the days of persecution. The earliest of which we have individual knowledge is that which Pamphilus († A.D. 308) established at Cæsarea, consisting primarily of the works of Origen. Here the great scholar's *Hexapla* and *Tetrapla* were preserved, and the colophons of several MSS (notably the Codd. Sinaiticus and Marchalianus, and

* Little importance attaches to the statement in 2 Mac 2^{13} about Nehemiah founding a library (καταβαλλόμενος βιβλιοθήκην).

Cod. H of the Pauline Epistles) testify to the use of these autographs for the purposes of revision. On the adoption of Christianity as the religion of the State, a library was founded by Constantine in his new capital, which was greatly increased by his successors. With the institution of monasticism, monasteries as well as churches became the homes of libraries. Pachomius, the founder of monasticism in Egypt, required his monks to study the Scriptures, and his rules (Migne, *Patr. Græc.* xl.) clearly imply ready access to manuscripts. Throughout the Eastern empire, though learning was never so exclusively the possession of the clergy as it became in the West, the large majority of scribes were connected with churches or monasteries. Naturally, this is especially the case with MSS of the Bible or theological works; but in the list of scribes of Greek MSS of all kinds, whose names are on record, by far the most are monks or clerics (Gardthausen, *Griech. Pal.* p. 302 ff.). In the West, so long as the old Roman civilization remained, private and public libraries continued to exist throughout the empire, and the great provincial mansions of the nobility were well stocked with books, literary culture being one of the marks of that leisured and luxurious section of society.* The irruptions of the barbarians swept this civilization away. The pagan institutions for the preservation and multiplication of literature went to the ground, and the sole libraries which continued to exist were those of churches, and especially of monasteries. Benedict, like Pachomius in the East, prescribed reading as one of the special duties of his monks, thereby establishing a tradition which became an honourable characteristic of monasticism in general, and of the Benedictines in particular. In the early part of the Middle Ages, learning flourished most in the north of England, which was made famous by the scholarship of Bede and by the excellent schools of Wearmouth and Jarrow. From the north of England proceeded what are perhaps the most beautifully written MSS that Latin scribes ever produced—the Codex Amiatinus and the Lindisfarne Gospels. The history of these MSS establishes a point of some importance, namely the ease with which books were transferred from one part of Europe to another. The Lindisfarne Gospels was certainly transcribed from an exemplar brought from Naples; and the Codex Amiatinus, which must have been copied from the same or a similar volume, was itself (though it is one of the largest MSS in existence) conveyed from England to Rome as a gift to the Pope. From England learning spread southward to France and Switzerland; and while Alcuin founded the famous school of Tours, from which a new tradition of calligraphy came forth to influence all Europe, Irish monks founded (and to a large extent peopled) St. Gall, which became the centre of learning and of writing in the Rhone valley and the adjacent countries. As monasticism grew and the monasteries became rich, so did their libraries increase. Monte Cassino, Bobbio, Grotta Ferrata, in Italy; Fleury, Cluny, Corbie, St. Germain des Prés, in France; Fulda, Reichenau, in Germany; St. Gall, in Switzerland; Canterbury (both St. Augustine's and Christ Church), Rochester, St. Albans, York, Durham, in England,—these are only a few of the most famous monasteries whose libraries were special homes of literature in the ages preceding the invention of printing. The accommodation for books was at first neither large nor luxurious. The early buildings of monasteries show no place for a library. The books (apart from such precious ones as were placed in the shrine of the patron saint) were stored in cupboards (*armaria*) along the sides of the cloister, or in recesses in its walls; and in the cloister the monks read and copied them. In course of time the cloister windows adjoining the books were glazed as a protection, and the elder monks, at least, had 'carrells' or pews in which they could sit at their work. As books multiplied, increased provision had to be made for them. In the Cistercian houses, small cupboard-like rooms were introduced, in which the books lay upon shelves round the walls, much after the fashion of the Roman library at Herculaneum. In the 14th and 15th centuries larger rooms were provided, generally above some earlier building; and here the books could be arranged in regular bookcases. Libraries are provided for also in the statutes of the earliest colleges at the universities; and the manner of them can be realized from examples still extant, as in the Laurentian library at Florence. Sometimes the books lay on desks, sometimes they stood on shelves, with desks below or above on which they could be placed for consultation. In either case they were normally attached to their place by chains, so that they could not be carried away without permission. For the copying of MSS special *scriptoria* were provided in the great monasteries, and monks with a turn for literature were told off for this duty; so that in many places (as at Grotta Ferrata or St. Albans) distinct traditions of penmanship were established, and special styles, whether of historical chronicles or of illuminated miniatures, were cultivated. For a long time these were practically confined to monasteries. Only with the revival of learning did literature and art issue out to the world in general; and then the end of the reign of manuscripts was at hand. In the 15th and 16th centuries we find many scribes (especially the Greek scribes in Italy) and many miniaturists who were certainly laymen; and so, before the decline of monasticism was accomplished, its special work as the exclusive guardian of literature was done, and the secular world was ready to take into its own keeping the heritage of learning which the monks had been so largely instrumental in handing down to it.

* See, *e.g.*, Dill, *Roman Society in the last Century of the Western Empire*, p. 154 ff.

LITERATURE.—*Guide to the Babylonian and Assyrian Antiquities in the British Museum*, 1900, pp. 34–78; Dziatzko, art. 'Bibliotheken' in Pauly-Wissowa, *RE*; Edwards, *Memoirs of Libraries*, 1859, *Libraries and Founders of Libraries*, 1865; S. R. Maitland, *The Dark Ages*[3], 1889; F. A. Gasquet, *Some Notes on Mediæval Monastic Libraries*, 1891; J. W. Clark, *The Care of Books*, 1901.

On Heb. (also Phœn., Palmyr., Aram., etc.) palæography, with facsimiles of gems, seals, inscriptions, etc., see, further, references and illustrations under artt. MONEY and WEIGHTS AND MEASURES; M. A. Levy, *Siegel u. Gemme mit aram. phön. altheb., etc., Inschriften* (1869); Lidzbarski, *Hdb. der nordsem. Epigr. nebst ausgewählten Inschriften* (1898, with plates; indispensable for further study of subject, with full bibliography, pp. 4–88, 493–99); Mordtmann u. Müller, *Sabäische Denkmäler*, 1883; D. H. Müller, *Epigr. Denkmäler aus Arabien*, 1889; Hommel, *Südarab. Chrestomathie*, 1893; *CIS* (Phœn., Aram., Himyar. inscriptions, with facsimiles); Clermont-Ganneau, *Rec. d'Archéol. orient.*; the collection of fine *Facsimiles of MSS and Inscriptions*, pub. by the Palæograph. Society (Oriental series); the atlas of facsimiles of Heb. MSS accompanying Neubauer's *Catalogue of Heb. MSS in the Bodl. Library*. See also the recently established periodicals: Lidzbarski's *Ephemeris für sem. Epigraphik* (I. i. 1900); and *Répertoire d'Epigraphie sém.* [suppl. to *CIS*] (I. i. 1900).

F. G. KENYON.

X

XANTHICUS.—See TIME, p. 765.

XERXES (Ξέρξης), king of Persia (B.C. 485–465), is the AHASUERUS of Ezr 4^6 and of the Book of Esther.* In the first of these instances the position of the name, between Darius (Hystaspis) and Artaxerxes (Longimanus), scarcely permits of any other conclusion. The view (Ewald, *et al.*) that Cambyses the son of Cyrus is referred to, is now generally abandoned. There has never been any doubt as to the intention of the author of the Book of Esther to identify his Ahasuerus with Xerxes, although a difference of opinion has prevailed regarding the historicity of the rôle he assigns to this king. It may suffice to say here that, while the extravagance, cruelty, and caprice attributed to Ahasuerus, and the vindictiveness of Esther, correspond closely enough to what we are told of Xerxes and his queen Amestris (cf. *e.g.* Herod. vii. 35, 114, 118 ff., 238; viii. 24 ff.; ix. 110 ff.), there are powerful considerations which forbid our accepting the book as a record of actual occurrences. See, further, ESTHER, vol. i. pp. 773[a], 775.

The name *Ahasuerus* appears in the MT as אֲחַשְׁוֵרוֹשׁ or אֲחַשְׁוֵרֹשׁ [in Est 10^1 *Kĕthîbh*, prob. by copyist's error, has אחשרש]. The LXX forms are: Ezr 4^6 B Ἀσθηρού [or perh. "Ἀσθηρος], A Ἀσσούηρος, Luc. Ἀσσύηρος; Dn 9^1 Theod. Ἀσσύηρος [A^1 B] or Ἀσσούηρος [$A^{*\,salt}$ Q], LXX Ξέρξης, Luc. Ἀσσύηρος; To 14^{15} B Ἀσύηρος, A Ἀσούηρος, ℵ$^{c.\,a}$ Ἀσσύηρος; in Esther BA, confusing with ארתחשתא (*Artaxerxes*), reproduce uniformly by Ἀρταξέρξης or some corruption of that name, although Luc. has Ἀσσύηρος except in 9^{20} Ἀρταξέρξης. Bevan (*Daniel*, p. 149) holds that the form of the name originally in use among the Jews was no doubt אחשירש (*Aḥashyarsh* or *Aḥshayarsh*), answering to the Pers. *Khshayārshā* (Aram. חשיארש, *CIS* II. i. 122).

J. A. SELBIE.

* It seems hopeless to attempt to fix the identity of the Ahasuerus of Dn 9^1 and To 14^{15}. In any case he cannot be the *historical* Xerxes.

Y

YARN.—See LINEN.

YEAR.—See TIME.

YELLOW.—See COLOURS, vol. i. p. 458[a].

YOKE (מוֹט, מוֹטָה, עֹל, עוֹל, צֶמֶד ['team']; NT ζεῦγος 'a team,' 'a pair,' ζυγός) in Scripture usage is almost exclusively associated with the plough. The simple yoke (מוֹט, מוֹטָה) was a cross piece of wood fastened to the forehead of the draught ox; and the same Heb. word, especially in the plural (מֹטוֹת), describes the bars going round the neck of the ox to keep the yoke in its place. Generally, however, the cross piece of wood rested upon the necks of two oxen drawing together, and this (עֹל from עָלַל, Arab. = 'insert,' 'thrust in,' Aram. = 'enter') is the *yoke* of the plough with which we are familiar. The plough used by the *fellaḥîn* of Syria is the same as that with which Elisha was ploughing when Elijah cast his mantle upon him (1 K 19^{19}). Although in the Ḥaurân and the Ghôr of Jordan two pairs of oxen are to be seen yoked to the plough, in Galilee and the plain of Jezreel the plough is drawn by a single pair. The yoke rests upon the neck of the beasts, being fitted to each by forked pieces of wood mortised into the yoke and joined under the neck with a thong or chain. To the yoke the pole of the primitive plough is attached by thongs or cords fastened to the cross-pin of the pole, which passes through a ring on the yoke, or is held firm by a peg inserted into it (see Figures in *PEFSt*, 1891, p. 113; *ZDPV* xii. pp. 159, 160; Benzinger, *Arch.* 207; Whitehouse, *Primer of Heb. Ant.* 87; and art. AGRICULTURE). The 'thongs' are מוֹסְרוֹת (AV 'bands' or 'bonds'), see Jer 2^{20} 5^5 27^2 30^8, Nah 1^{13}, and cf. Ps 2^3 107^{14}, Is 52^2. For examples of מוֹטָה see Lv 26^{13}, Jer 27^2 $28^{10.\,12.\,13}$, Ezk 30^{18} 34^{27}; fig. Is $58^{6.\,9}$.

The yoke (*nîr*) is composed of a horizontal bar of wood with knobbed extremities, but with no hollowed-out portion to receive the nape of the neck of the ox. In place of the *bow* two pins (*isbalân*) are let into holes in the *nîr*, at an angle of about 30 degrees to each other, their upper extremities being about 3 in. apart to receive the nape of the neck. When adjusted they are fastened by a leather thong or a chain (*jenîr*). The ring (*halaḳah*) is a tough branch, bent in a rude elliptical form. It is tied to the *nîr* by a leather thong (*sher'*) between two pintles (*sifrâyah*), which keep it in place (Post in *PEFSt*, 1891, p. 112).

The pair of beasts in the plough is called *a yoke* (1 K 19^{19}, Jer 51^{23} צֶמֶד [from צָמַד 'to bind *or* join together']), or *yoke of oxen* (צֶמֶד בָּקָר 1 S 11^7, Job 1^3, ζεῦγος βοῶν Lk 14^{19}). The ground that a pair of oxen was sufficient to cultivate was known as צֶמֶד (1 S 14^{14}).* See above, p. 910[b].

The yoke was among the Hebrews the emblem of subjection and servitude (Gn 27^{40}, Lv 26^{13}, 1 K $12^{4ff.}$, La 3^{27}, Nah 1^{13}). Where the subjection was more than usually bitter, the yoke of wood is exchanged for a yoke of iron (Dt 28^{48}, Jer 28^{14}). To impress upon the Jewish people the necessity of submitting quietly to Nebuchadnezzar's sway, the prophet Jeremiah put a yoke upon his own neck, and appeared in public with this badge of servitude. It was the popular thing when Hananiah, one of the prophets who said, 'Peace, peace, when there was no peace,' tore the yoke off Jeremiah's neck to back up his own false prediction that within two years God would break the yoke of Nebuchadnezzar from off the neck of all the nation. To this Jeremiah answered, 'Thus saith the Lord, Thou hast broken the bars of wood, but thou shalt make in their stead bars of iron. For thus saith the Lord of hosts, the God of Israel: I have put a yoke of iron upon the neck of all these nations' (Jer $28^{13.\,14}$). In the NT 'yoke' (ζυγός) is used only in this metaphorical sense,—the yoke of legal obedience (Ac 15^{10}, Gal 5^1), of servitude (1 Ti 6^1), of Christ (Mt $11^{29.\,30}$), whose yoke is 'kindly' (χρηστός), because it is 'lined with love.'†

LITERATURE.—Benzinger, *Heb. Arch.* 207 ff.; *PEFSt*, 1891, p. 112; *ZDPV* xii. 159 f.

T. NICOL.

YOKEFELLOW.—See SYNZYGUS.

* This superficial measure is known still in Palestine. The *feddân* in Egypt and Syria is the amount which a pair of oxen can plough in the season. In Scotland it is customary to speak of a three pair or five pair of horse farm.

† Matthew Henry, *ad loc.*

Z

ZAANAN (צַעֲנָן; B^{ab} AQ* Σενναάρ, Q^{a} Σενναάν).—A place mentioned, along with SHAPHIR and BETH-EZEL in Mic 1^{11}, where there is a characteristic word-play: 'the inhabitress of *Ṣa'ănān* went (*yāṣĕah*) not out' (for fear of the enemy). Ṣa'ănān is generally considered to be the same as Ṣenan (צְנָן; B Σεννά, A Σεννάμ, Luc. Σενάμ) of Jos 15^{37}, an unidentified town in the Shephēlah.

ZAANANNIM.—In Jos 19^{33} 'the terebinth of Bĕṣa'ănaim' (אֵלוֹן בְּצַעֲנַיִם) is mentioned in defining the boundaries of Naphtali, while in Jg 4^{11} 'the terebinth of Bĕṣa'ănannim' (א' בְּצַעֲנַנִּים; RV gives in both passages 'the oak (m. 'terebinth') in Zaanannim') is the site of the encampment of Heber the Kenite and the scene of Sisera's murder by Jael. There can be little doubt that ב is not the preposition but part of the name (a conclusion which is strongly supported by the absence of the art. from אלון), and that the form בְּצַעֲנַיִם deserves the preference (see Dillm. *Jos. ad loc.*). The LXX has in Jos 19^{33} B Βεσεμείν, A Βεσενανίμ, Luc. Σεενανείμ; in Jg 4^{11} it translates, B πλεονεκτούντων [צען 'be covetous'], A ἀναπαυομένων [confusing with שאנים].

The site of Bĕṣa'ănaim is quite uncertain. It is difficult, not to say impossible, to reconcile some of the other data in Jg 4 with the statement in v.^{11} that it was 'by Kedesh,' if by the latter is meant KEDESH-NAPHTALI. Equally unsuitable is the Kedesh of Issachar (? *Abu Kadeis*) between Taanach and Megiddo. Conder (*Tent-Work*, ii. 132), favoured by G. A. Smith (*HGHL* 395), identifies Bĕṣa'ănaim with *Khirbet Bessûm*, E. of Tabor, and takes Ḳedesh to be *Ḳadîsh*, a ruin on the shore of the Sea of Galilee, S. of Tiberias. Cheyne (*Encyc. Bibl.* i. 571), somewhat arbitrarily, emends בצענים to קרשנים, supposing the reference to be to a Ḳidshon or Ḳadshon in Issachar, whose inhabitants would be called Ḳidshonim. Upon this theory the words אשר את־קדש of Jg 4^{11} must of course be viewed as a gloss. (See, further, Moore, *Judges*, pp. 121, 125 f.; G. A. Smith, *l.c.*; Neubauer, *Géog. du Talm.* 225).

On the difficulties of the narrative of Jg 4 see artt. BARAK, DEBORAH, SISERA.

J. A. SELBIE.

ZAAVAN (נַעַוָן).—A descendant of Seir, Gn 36^{27} (A Ζουκάμ)=1 Ch 1^{42} (B Ζουκάμ, A Ἀζουκάν, Luc. Ζαυάν). The tribe of which he appears here as the eponymous head has not been identified.

ZABAD (זָבָד, prob. a contraction for זְכַרְיָה or וְזַכְרִיאֵל).—The word זָבָד and others formed from it occur as proper names in Palmyrene and Nabatæan inscriptions (Lidzbarski, *Nordsem. Epigraph.* p. 265). Fuller forms are ZEBADIAH, ZABDIEL='my gift is Jehovah' or 'God.' G. B. Gray (*HPN* 222 f.) points out that there are in the OT about* 36 persons bearing the name Zabad or names formed from it. Of these, 23 occur in Chron. alone. No more than 3 are mentioned in pre-exilic books. In the case of one of these (and we may add possibly in that of the other two) the text is doubtful, and the original may not have included the element *Zabad*. He draws the conclusion: 'The historical character, therefore, of persons bearing one of these names and mentioned only by the Chronicler seems to me suspicious.' Cf. Nos. **1. 2.**

* It is sometimes difficult to be certain whether the same name in different passages refers to one or to more persons.

Zabad occurs in the OT as the name of the following:—**1.** One of the links in the genealogy of the Judahite family Jerahmeel, 1 Ch $2^{36f.}$ (Ζαβέδ) 11^{41} (B Ζαβέτ, A Ζαβάτ). Cf. GENEALOGY, § IV. 12, *Sheshan*.

1 Ch 2^{34-41} is an appendix to the account of the clans of Jerahmeel, which is closed in v.^{33} by the subscription: 'these are the sons of Jerahmeel.' A doubt has been raised as to the identity of Zabad ben Nathan ben Attai ben Sheshan and Ahlai (אחלי) his wife in 2^{31-37}, and Zabad ben Ahlai, one of David's mighty men, in 11^{41}. Siegfried-Stade and *Oxf. Heb. Lex.* regard the former as a family name, and the latter as an individual. There can be little doubt that the Chronicler intended to identify them. The historical value of the sections in which this Zabad is mentioned is uncertain. Kittel (*SBOT*) regards 2^{34-41} as one of the latest additions to Chronicles; Kautzsch (*Bibel*), however, refers it to an ancient source; while Gray (*HPN* 235) says of the section as a whole: 'The character of the thirteen names presents nothing inconsistent with the genealogy being genuine.' He is, unfortunately, doubtful about the names in which we are specially interested. 'The only names which appear to me suspicious are זבד [Zabad] and, in a less degree, עתי [Attai].' 1 Ch 11^{41b-47}, a passage peculiar to Chron., is the direct continuation of vv.$^{26-41a}$, which=2 S 23^{24-39}. Possibly, therefore, vv.$^{41b-47}$ are from the same ancient source as the rest of the list, and were accidentally omitted from Samuel (so Kautzsch, Kittel, etc.). The concluding note in 2 S 23^{39}, 'thirty and seven in all,' is transposed by LXX, and the number 37 does not correspond with the list. But Gray (*op. cit.* 229 ff.) holds that if vv.$^{41b-47}$ is based on an ancient document, the text is very corrupt. Possibly Zabad b. Nathan (1 Ch 2^{36}) is the same as Zabud b. Nathan, Solomon's priest and 'king's friend' in 1 K 4^{5}. The latter occurs in some texts and versions (see ZABUD, and cf. No. 3) as *Zacur* or *Zaccur*, so that we might read for Zabad in 1 Ch 2^{36} *Zacar*, a contraction of the familiar *Zechariah*. In some scripts of Heb. *Zacar* (זכר) and *Zabad* (זבר) can hardly be distinguished. Cf. JOZACAR. If Zabad is accepted, and 1 Ch 2^{26-41} is regarded as based on some old genealogy setting forth the relations of clans, the apparent occurrence of Zabad as an Ephraimite clan in 1 Ch 7^{21} may indicate that the clan was at one time reckoned to Judah, and at another to Ephraim; or that it was ultimately divided between the two tribes. Note also the Elishama in 2^{41} and 7^{26}.

2. A link in an Ephraimite genealogy, 1 Ch 7^{21} (Ζάβεδ), ending apparently in a certain 'Ezer and Elead,' who were slain by the men of Gath. Zabad in MT is the son of Tahath and the father of Shuthelah. In LXX^{B}, however, the genealogy is much shortened, and it is Zabad who is slain—thus, 'And the sons of Ephraim, Sothalath. The sons of Laada, Noome, his son, Zabad his son: and the men of Gath killed him.' It is pointed out in SHUTHELAH that Zabad (זבד) here is probably a corruption of 'and Bered' (וברד) repeated from v.^{20}.* If so, this Zabad disappears. If, however, Zabad is retained here, cf. No. **1.**

3. In 2 Ch 24^{26} the name of one of the murderers of Joash is given as Zabad (B Ζαβέλ, A Ζαβέθ), the son of Shimeath the Ammonitess. 2 K 12^{21} has Jozacar. Perhaps we should read here *Zacar* (Kittel, *SBOT*); cf. JOZACAR.—**4. 5. 6.** Three laymen of the time of Ezra, who had married foreign wives, whom they promised to divorce: (*a*) Ezr 10^{27} of the benê Zattu (B Ζαβαδάβ, ℵA Ζαβάδ; 1 Es 9^{28} Σάβαθος, cf. SABATUS). (*b*) Ezr 10^{33} of the benê Hashum (B Ζαβέλ, A Ζαβάδ; 1 Es 9^{33} B Σαβανναιοῦς, A Βανναιοῦς, cf. SABANNEUS). (*c*) Ezr 10^{43} of the benê Nebo (B Σεδέμ, A omits both this and the following *Zebina*; 1 Es 9^{35} Ζαβδαλας, cf. ZABADAIAS). Apparently *Zebina* is omitted. One of the two, *Zabad*, *Zebina*, may be due to accidental repetition.

W. H. BENNETT.

ZABADÆANS (Ζαβαδαῖοι).—The name of an Arab-

* So also GENEALOGY, VII.^{b} 4, and in *Encyc. Bibl.* Hogg, art. 'Ephraim,' 12, and Hervey quoted by Hogg. The present writer arrived at this view independently.

ian tribe defeated by Jonathan (1 Mac 12^{31}). The Pesh. form of the name seems to mean *Zubaidæans*, *i.e.* Banu Zubaid, which was the name of a famous Arabian family; and indeed derivatives from the root *Zbd* form many proper names in Arabic and Nabatæan (the name substituted for Zabadæan by Jos. *Ant.* XIII. v. 11), though the verb itself in its old sense 'to give' is not found in Arabic. The name of the tribe defeated by Jonathan is thought to be retained in *Zebdany* or *Zabadani*, 'a well-known district between Damascus and Baalbek, where the river of Damascus rises' (Yāḳūt, ii. 913). The plain of Zebdany is thus described by Conder, *Tent-Work in Palestine*, i. 249: 'It is flanked on the west by the ragged and castellated ridges of the Anti-Lebanon, and on the east by a range of equal height. The plateau is bare and treeless, except towards the north, where are groves of poplar. Through the centre runs the river, its course marked by green bushes.' The situation of the plain seems to agree with the movements recorded in 1 Mac. exceedingly well. *Beth Zabdai*, to which allusion is sometimes made in the Rabbinic writings, and which some have connected with this place, has been shown by Kohut (*Aruch Completum*, ii. 68) to belong to a different region. D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

ZABADEAS (Ζαβαδαίας, AV Zabadaias), 1 Es 9^{35} = Zabad, Ezr 10^{43}.

ZABBAI (זַבַּי).—**1.** One of the descendants of Bebai who had married a foreign wife, Ezr 10^{28} (BA Ζαβού, Luc. Ζαβούθ); called in 1 Es 9^{29} **Jozabdus.** **2.** Father of Baruch who assisted in the rebuilding of the wall, Neh 3^{20} (BA Ζαβού, ℵ Ζαβρού, Luc. Ῥαββαι). The *Kĕrê* has, perhaps rightly, זַכַּי **Zaccai,** a name which occurs in Ezr 2^{9} (B Ζακχού, A ^{vid} Ζακχάν, Luc. Ζακχαίας) = Neh 7^{14} (Bℵ Ζαθού, A Ζακχούρ, Luc. Ζακχαιάς), and is the origin of the ZACCHÆUS of 2 Mac 10^{19} and the NT.

ZABBUD (*Kĕthîbh* זבוד, *Ḳĕrê* זַכּוּר *Zaccur*; B. om., A Ζαβούδ, *i.e.* זְבוּד [cf. 1 K 4^{5}], Luc. Ζακχούρ).—An exile who returned with Ezra, Ezr 8^{14}. In 1 Es 8^{40} זְנַכּוּר is apparently corrupted into ISTALCURUS.

ZABDEUS (Ζαβδαῖος), 1 Es 9^{21} = Zebadiah of the sons of Immer, Ezr 10^{20}.

ZABDI (זַבְדִּי ? 'gift of Jah,' or perh. 'my gift,' or 'gift to me'; NT Ζεβεδαῖος, ZEBEDEE).—**1.** The grandfather of Achan, Jos $7^{1.\ 17.\ 18}$ (B Ζαμβρεί, A Ζαβρί, Ζαμβρί, Luc. Ζαβδ(ε)ί), called in 1 Ch 2^{6} **Zimri** (B Ζαμβρεί, A Ζαμβρί). **2.** A Benjamite, 1 Ch 8^{19} (B Ζαβδεί, A Ζαβδί, Luc. Ζεβδί). **3.** An officer of David, 1 Ch 27^{27} (B Ζαχρεί, A and Luc. Ζαβδί). **4.** A Levite, Neh 11^{17} (B om., A Ζεχρί, Luc. Ζεχρεί); but read probably זִכְרִי **Zichri,** as in ‖ 1 Ch 9^{15}.

ZABDIEL (זַבְדִּיאֵל 'my gift is El').—**1.** Father of one of David's officers, 1 Ch 27^{2} (BA Ζαβδιήλ, Luc. Ζαβδιήλ). **2.** A prominent official, overseer of 128 'mighty men of valour' in Nehemiah's time, Neh 11^{14} (B Βαδιήλ, A Ζοχριήλ, Luc. Ζεχριήλ). **3.** An Arabian who put Alexander Balas to death and sent his head to Ptolemy, 1 Mac 11^{17} (Ζαβδιήλ), Jos. *Ant.* XIII. iv. 8 (Ζάβειλος).

ZABUD (זָבוּד 'bestowed').—The son of Nathan, 'priest' and 'king's friend' (see art. PRIESTS AND LEVITES, p. 73), 1 K 4^{5} (B Ζαβούθ, A Ζαββούθ, Luc. Ζαχούρ, *i.e.* זָכוּר).

ZACCAI.—See ZABBAI.

ZACCHÆUS (Ζακχαῖος), the same name as Zaccai ('pure') in the OT (Ezr 2^{9}, Neh 7^{14}).—**1.** The publican. All that we know of him from the Bible is to be found in Lk 19^{1-10}. He was a Jew,* and a chief official amongst the publicans in and about Jericho, where a considerable amount of revenue was raised from the palm-groves and balsam (Joseph. *Ant.* XV. iv. 2). Zacchæus had therefore great opportunities for growing rich. He was a man of short stature. Anxious to see Jesus, he climbed up into a sycomore tree† to be above the throng that surrounded our Lord. On coming to the place, Jesus called to him to come down, and invited Himself to his house. This delighted Zacchæus, though the bystanders murmured at the choice of lodging which our Lord had made. He declared his anxiety to be liberal to the poor, and to make fourfold restitution to any whom he had wronged. His wish to do right won from Christ the declaration: 'To-day is salvation come to this house, forasmuch as he also is a son of Abraham. For the Son of man came to seek and to save that which was lost.' In the *Clementine Homilies* (iii. 63), Zacchæus, after being companion of St. Peter, is made by him bishop of Cæsarea. By 'Prædestinatus' he is said to have combated the errors of Valentinus and Ptolemæus (a disciple of Valentinus),‡ though this is chronologically impossible. There is no early authority for making Zacchæus a bishop at all. A Zacchæus is mentioned by the Talmud as living at Jericho, the father of the celebrated Rabbi Jochanan ben-Zachai.

2. An officer of Judas Maccabæus, 2 Mac 10^{19}.

H. A. REDPATH.

ZACCUR (זַכּוּר).—**1.** A Reubenite, Nu $13^{4\ (5)}$ (B Ζακχύρ, A Ζαχρού, Luc. Ζαγχούρ). **2.** A Simeonite, 1 Ch 4^{26} (B om., A Ζακχούρ, Luc. Ζαχούρ). **3.** A Merarite, 1 Ch 24^{27} (Ζακχούρ). **4.** An Asaphite, 1 Ch 25^{2} (B Σακχούς, A Ζακχούρ)[10] (B Ζαχχούθ, A Ζακχούρ), Neh 12^{35} (Ζακχούρ). **5.** One of those who assisted Nehemiah to rebuild the wall, Neh 3^{2} (B Ζαβαούρ, A and Luc. Ζακχούρ). **6.** One of those who sealed the covenant, Neh 10^{12} (B Ζαχώρ, A Ζακχώρ, Luc. Ζακχούρ), prob. same as mentioned in 13^{13} (BA Ζακχούρ, Luc. Ζακχούρ). **7.** Ezr 8^{14} *Ḳĕrê*. See ZABBUD.

ZACHARIAH (Ζαχαρίας, whence AV *Zacharias*).—In His denunciation of the Pharisees and the guilty nation of the Jews, our Lord declares that the innocent blood of the prophets is to be required of them, 'from the blood of Abel the righteous unto the blood of Zachariah the son of Barachiah, whom ye slew between the sanctuary and the altar' (Mt 23^{35}, cf. the ‖ Lk 11^{51}). The reference is almost certainly to the murder of Zechariah (see ZECHARIAH, No. **11**) recorded in 2 Ch 24^{20-22}. This is far more likely than the view held by some, that the Zachariah intended is the father of John the Baptist (see ZACHARIAS), who, according to Origen (*Com. in Matt.*), was killed in the temple. The reason why Jesus fixes upon a murder in the time of king Joash (*c.* 840–800 B.C.) is probably because the Books of Chronicles already in our Lord's day came last in the Canon of the OT. 'It was equivalent to an appeal, in Christian ears, to the whole range of the Bible from Genesis to Revelation' (Ryle, *Canon of the OT*, p. 141).

Some difficulty is occasioned by the designation 'son of Barachiah.' The Zechariah of 2 Chron. was the son of the high priest Jehoiada. The only 'Zechariah the son of Berechiah' known to us is the prophet who was contemporary with

* Tertullian (*adv. Marc.* iv. 37. 1) says that he was a Gentile. This is contradicted by the 'son of Abraham' of Lk 19^{9}.

† Not the tree commonly called sycomore, but one with fig-like fruits and leaves like those of the mulberry tree.

‡ See Harnack, *Geschichte der altchristlichen Litteratur*, vol. i. p. 791.

Haggai (cf. Zec 1^1). There may be a confusion with him on the part of the evangelist Matthew [Luke omits the designation 'son of Barachiah'] or of a glossator.*

ZACHARIAS (Ζαχαρίας).—**1.** 1 Es 1^8 = Zechariah, one of 'the rulers of the house of God' in Josiah's reign, 2 Ch 35^8. **2.** In 1 Es 1^{15} (LXX ^{14}) Zech. stands in place of Heman, the singer of David's time, in the parallel passage 2 Ch 35^{15}. **3.** 1 Es 6^1 7^3 the prophet Zechariah. **4.** 1 Es 8^{30} = Zechariah of the sons of Parosh, Ezr 8^3. **5.** 1 Es 8^{37} (B Ζαχαριαί) = Zechariah of the sons of Bebai, Ezr 8^{11}. **6.** 1 Es 8^{44} (LXX ^{43}) = Zechariah, one of the 'principal men and men of understanding' with whom Ezra consulted, Ezr 8^{16}. **7.** 1 Es 9^{27} = Zechariah of the sons of Elam, Ezr 10^{26}. **8.** 1 Es 9^{44} = Zechariah, one of those who stood upon Ezra's left hand at the reading of the Law, Neh 8^4. **9.** 1 Mac $5^{18.\ 56}$ Father of Joseph, a leader in the Maccabæan war under Judas Maccabæus. **10.** Lk 1^5 etc. Father of John the Baptist. See following article.

ZACHARIAS (Ζαχαρίας).—Father of John the Baptist (Lk 1^5 etc. 3^2). He was a priest of the course of ABIJAH, one of the twenty-four courses into which from the time of the Chronicler at least (1 Ch 24^{7-18}) the families of the priests that had returned from Babylon were divided (see Schürer, *HJP* II. i. 216, 219). The course of Abijah was the eighth of these courses, and had now been brought up for its week's service in the temple. The lot for that particular day's service (see Edersheim, *The Temple*, p. 129 ff.) had fallen to the house of Zacharias, and to Zacharias himself the duty of offering incense in the Holy Place. While performing this service he had a vision, and the Angel of the Lord announced that his aged wife should have a son, who should be called John, and be the forerunner of the Messiah. Asking a sign he was struck dumb, and recovered speech only after having the child named John at his circumcision. The Song of Praise which is put in his mouth, the *Benedictus* (Lk 1^{67-79}), celebrates in prophetic strains the glorious fulfilment of Israel's Messianic hope. With the song he drops completely out of the pages of canonical Scripture.

ZACHARY (*Zacharias*), 2 Es 1^{40}.—The prophet Zechariah.

ZADOK.—1. The most important of the many persons who bore this name was the founder of the leading branch of the priesthood in Jerusalem. We have no reliable information concerning his origin or his early history. He comes before us first in a list of David's officers, where we are told that 'Zadok the son of Ahitub, and Ahimelech the son of Abiathar, were priests' (2 S 8^{17}).

The text of this verse is obviously corrupt. Ahimelech was murdered at Nob, and his son Abiathar was David's attendant and priest to the end of his reign. If Ahitub, in our passage, is the priest mentioned in 1 S 14^3 he can hardly have been Zadok's father, for we are certainly meant to understand that Zadok did not belong to the descendants of Eli (1 S 2^{35}, 1 K 2^{27}). Comparing 1 S 22^{20} it would seem that 2 S 8^{17} should run: 'Abiathar the son of Ahimelech, the son of Ahitub, and Zadok, were priests.'

Zadok and Abiathar appear again when David fled from Jerusalem before Absalom. They purposed accompanying him and taking with them the ark, but the king bade them return with it to the city, watch the course of events, and send him news (2 S $15^{24ff.}$).

According to the Vulg. (*O vuiens*) and many modern versions, he addresses Zadok as a seer. 'Art thou not a seer?' (AV and RV text 2 S 15^{27}). But the Heb. will not bear this rendering, and it is difficult to be content with any pointing or translation of it. The LXX ἀναβαίνων (רֹאֶה) is better. Wellhausen (*Text der Bb. Sam.* p. 177) proposes to read הַכֹּהֵן הָרֹאֹשׁ for הַכֹּהֵן הָרֹאֶה: if the two words are a late insertion this would be an improvement. In any case, there is no reason for believing that Zadok bore the title of 'seer.'

At the close of David's reign Abiathar joined the party of Adonijah (1 K 1^7), but Zadok gave in his adhesion to Solomon (v.^{8}), and was ordered by the king to anoint him (v.^{34}). When Solomon had made sure of his position he deposed Abiathar from the priestly office, 'and Zadok the priest did the king put in the room of Abiathar.' This event has influenced the earlier narratives in Samuel, where Zadok is from the first put before Abiathar.

There can be no doubt that the descendants of Zadok continued during many centuries to take the lead amongst the priests of the temple. The Deuteronomic reform raised them to an even higher position than they had occupied previously, for it denied the legitimacy of all sacrifices offered elsewhere than at Jerusalem, and thus brought the provincial priesthood into discredit. Ezekiel went further. To him the sons of Zadok were the only legitimate priests (40^{46} 43^{19} 44^{15} 48^{11}); the rest of the Levites, because of their unfaithfulness, were to be degraded, nothing but the menial work of the sanctuary being left in their hands (44^{10-14}).

The Chronicler's accounts require separate treatment. 1 Ch 12^{28} states that amongst 'the heads of them that were armed for war, which came to David to Hebron, to turn the kingdom of Saul to him,' was 'Zadok, a young man mighty of valour, and of his father's house twenty and two captains.' As he is said to have been of the house of Aaron, we cannot wonder that Josephus (*Ant.* VII. ii. 2) identifies him with the priest. But the narrative as a whole is conceived in a totally different spirit from those in Samuel, and the details do not command our credence. The numbers alone are sufficient to condemn it. Equally unsatisfactory are the genealogical lists in which Zadok's descent from Eleazar is traced (1 Ch $6^{4-15.\ 50-53}$ 24^9). Their object is to make out that the Zadokite priests belonged to the elder branch of Aaron's descendants, and the descendants of Eli to the younger branch of Ithamar. The most cursory inspection reveals their artificial construction and their unreliableness. The utmost we can gather from the Chronicler is the fact that after the return from the Exile some families which traced no connexion with Zadok managed to vindicate their right to minister at the altar (1 Ch $24^{3.\ 4}$), but that his representatives were both more numerous and more highly placed (1 Ch $24^{3.\ 4}$ 27^{17}; 1 S $2^{33.\ 36}$ points in the same direction). See, further, art. PRIESTS AND LEVITES.

The MT vocalization צָדוֹק, is probably mistaken. The LXX frequently has Σαδδούκ a transliteration of צַדּוּק. From Σαδδούκ was derived Σαδδουκαῖος, although it cannot be unhesitatingly affirmed that the SADDUCEES took their name immediately from the original Zadok. There can, however, be no doubt as to their close connexion with the priestly aristocracy.

2. In 2 K 15^{33}, 2 Ch 27^1, we are told that Jotham succeeded Uzziah, his father, and that his mother's name was Jerusha, the daughter of Zadok. In the statements concerning the accession of a king it is not usual to give the maternal grandfather's name; possibly, therefore, Jotham's grandfather was a person of considerable importance, not improbably a priest.—**3.** Neh 3^4 mentions a Zadok, son of Baana (בַּעֲנָא), as one of Nehemiah's willing helpers in rebuilding the city wall. His father seems to be mentioned as one of those who came to Jerusalem with Zerubbabel, Ezr 2^2, Neh 7^7.—**4.** Zadok, the son of Immer, Neh 3^{29}, repaired the wall 'over against his own house,' on the east side of the city, near the horse-gate. We have no

* A Zechariah 'the son of *Jeberechiah*' is mentioned in Is 8^2, but it is quite unlikely that he was thought of in Mt 23^{35}.

means of deciding positively whether he is to be identified with the bearer of the same name in a later passage of the book. But there is no conclusive reason against the identification. Zadok 'the scribe' is appointed by Nehemiah to be one of the 'treasurers over the treasuries' (Neh 13^{13}). He would seem to have been a priest. Shelemiah the priest and himself are distinguished from the Levites. Ezra's example shows that the priest may also be the scribe. In this case Zadok must have been the head of 'the children of Immer.'—**5.** Zadok is distinguished from the priests as one of 'the chiefs of the people' who sealed the covenant (Neh 10^{21}).—**6.** 1 Ch 6^{12}, compared with Ezr 7^{2} and Neh 11^{11}, appears to refer to a high priest of the name of Zadok later than the founder of the line. But it is impossible to rely on these lists, and, in any event, nothing is known of the man.

Mt 1^{14} mentions a Sadoc (Σαδώκ) as one of the progenitors of Joseph, the husband of Mary. Josephus (*Ant.* xviii. i. 1) states that one Zadok, a Pharisee, assisted Judas of Galilee (Ac 5^{37}) in rousing the people against the 'enrolment' under Quirinius (Lk 2^{1}). Jost (*Gesch. des Judenthums*, ii. 29) refers to a Zadok who is mentioned in the Talmud as having fasted forty years, until the destruction of Jerusalem. He propounds a theological puzzle first to Rabbi Joshua and next to Rabban Gamaliel, who give him discordant answers. Thereupon Joshua is publicly rebuked and put to shame by Gamaliel (*Bech.* 36*a*).

J. Taylor.

ZAHAM (זַהַם).—A son of Rehoboam, 2 Ch 11^{19} (B Ῥοολλάμ, A Ζαλάμ, Luc. Ζαάμ).

ZAIN (זַיִן).—The seventh letter of the Hebrew alphabet, and as such employed in the 119th Psalm to designate the 7th part, each verse of which begins with this letter. It is transliterated in this Dictionary by *z*.

ZAIR (צָעִיר).—According to the MT of 2 K 8^{21}, Joram, in the course of his campaign against Edom, 'passed over to Zair' (B εἰς Ζειώρ, A om.). In the parall. passage 2 Ch 21^{9} the Heb. is 'passed over with his princes' (עִם־שָׂרָיו; LXX μετὰ τῶν ἀρχόντων), which may be confidently pronounced to be a corruption of the text in Kings. The latter itself is unfortunately not certain. No place of the name of *Ṣa'ir* being mentioned elsewhere, it has been conjectured that *Ṣo'ar* (Ewald, *el al.*) or *Se'ir* (cf. Vulg. *Seira*) should be read. The latter, however, is somewhat vague, and against the claims of *Ṣo'ar* may be urged the LXX Σειώρ, whereas that name is elsewhere reproduced by Σηγώρ (cf. Buhl, *Edom.* 65, who also objects to Conder's suggested identification of *Ṣa'ir* with *ez-Zuwēra* S.E. of the Dead Sea).

ZALAPH (צָלָף; B Σελέ, A and Luc. Σελέφ).—The father of Hanun, who assisted in repairing the wall, Neh 3^{30} [the text is a little suspicious, 'the *sixth* son' being a somewhat peculiar note, which, however, is supported by the VSS].

ZALMON (צַלְמוֹן; Σελμών; *Salmon*).—**1.** The place mentioned in Ps 68^{14} is considered by some commentators to be the same as Mount Zalmon (Jg 9^{48})—the hill, near Shechem, on which Abimelech and his people cut down boughs to set 'the hold' of the house of El-berith on fire. There is, however, nothing in Ps 68 to lead to the belief that the Psalmist intended to refer to an underfeature of Mount Gerizim, which is mentioned in the OT only in connexion with an incident that had no influence on the history of the Israelites. The central idea of the psalm is the selection of Zion as the abode of God, in preference to Sinai whence the Law was given, and to 'the mountain of Bashan' which had looked down upon the memorable overthrow of Og and his army. The earlier verses contain a retrospective glance at the journey of the Israelites from Sinai onwards, through the desert, under the immediate leading and guidance of God, and their triumphant occupation of Canaan after vanquishing all their enemies. In this victorious progress, one of the most striking incidents was the complete overthrow of Og, near Edrei, on the plains of Bashan,—a victory which long lingered in the national memory (Ps 135^{11} 136^{20}),—and Zalmon should probably be looked for in that region. Some suppose that Zalmon means 'darkness,' and connect it with the 'darkly' wooded hill near Shechem, but this meaning would be equally applicable to the basalts and volcanic hills of Bashan. Zalmon may have been a portion of Bashan, or one of the summits of *Jebel Hauran*, or Mount Hermon. (In Jg 9^{48} the LXX reads ὄρος Ἑρμών for Mount Zalmon). The allusion to the snow is supposed by some to refer to ground white with the bones of Canaanites slain in battle; but this is rather straining the meaning. Possibly the words refer to an actual fall of snow in Zalmon during the battle with Og.

2. One of David's heroes, 2 S 23^{28}. See Ilai.

C. W. Wilson.

ZALMONAH (צַלְמֹנָה, Σελμονά).—The station in the journeyings of the children of Israel, following Mt. Hor, in the itinerary of Nu 33, and mentioned there only in vv.$^{41.42}$. Nothing is known as to its position. It must have been in the neighbourhood of Punon, the station following; and, if the identification in art. Punon be accepted, its site would be approximately determined.

The Gr. rendering is identical with that of Hashmonah, as has been noticed in art. Hashmonah; but the same rendering also occurs for Azmon of Nu 34^{5} in A, Ἀσελμωνά in F, and in AF of Nu 33^{29} for Hashmonah. Ewald's proposed modification of the text, which would separate Mt. Hor from Zalmonah by inserting vv.$^{36b-41a}$ after Hashmonah, has been given in art. Exodus, vol. i. p. 805^{b}.

A. T. Chapman.

ZALMUNNA.—See Zebah.

ZAMBRI (B Ζαμβρεί, A Ζαμβρίς, AV Zambis), 1 Es 9^{34} = Amariah, Ezr 10^{42}.

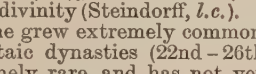
ZAMOTH (Ζαμόθ), 1 Es 9^{28} = Zattu, Ezr 10^{27}.

ZAMZUMMIM (זַמְזֻמִּים; LXX Ζοχομμιν, A Ζομξομμειν, F Ζομμειν).—In the archæological notice, Dt 2^{20-23}, said (v.^{20}) to have been the name given by the Ammonites to the 'Rephaim,' who once inhabited their land, but had afterwards been expelled by them,—a people 'great and many and tall, like the Anakim' (comp. the similar note in vv.$^{10.11}$ respecting the 'Emim,' the prehistoric occupants of the territory possessed afterwards by Moab, and in v.^{12} respecting the Horites, the original occupants of Edom). The Rephaim were a people, reputed to have been of giant stature, who left remains or memories of themselves in different parts of Palestine,—cf. *e.g.* the 'Vale of Rephaim' Jos 15^{8} *al.* S.W. of Jerus., and the description of Og, king of Bashan, as 'of the remnant of the Rephaim,' also 2 S $21^{16.18.20.22}$ RV; and the Ammonites called those Rephaim who, in prehistoric times, had inhabited their own territory by the name 'Zamzummim.' This is all that is known about them. As regards the name, *zamzamah* in Arab. is *a distant and confused sound*, and *zizîm* is the *low hum of the Jinn* heard in the desert at night (Lane, 1248 f.), whence W. R. Smith (*ap.* Driver on Dt 2^{20}) thinks with Schwally that the name meant properly *whisperers*, *murmurers*, and denoted the spirits (cf. Is 8^{19}) of the old giants, which 'were still thought to haunt the ruins and deserts of East Canaan.' But of course this is only a conjecture: we do not *know* that the root *zamzama*, with its Arabic meaning, was in use in Ammonitish. Cf. Zuzim.

S. R. Driver.

ZANOAH (זָנוֹחַ).—**1.** A town in the Shephēlah, Jos 15^{34} (B Ταναώ, A and Luc. Ζανώ), Neh 3^{13} (BA

Ζανώ, Luc. Ζανών) 11[30] (BA om., א[c. a mg inf.] Ζανῶε, Luc. Ζανώ), 1 Ch 4[18] (BA Ζανών, Luc. Ζανῶε). In the last cited passage Jekuthiel is said to have been the 'father' of Zanoah. The place, it is generally agreed, is the modern *Zanû'a*, S.E. of Zoreah (Robinson, *BRP*[2] ii. 61). **2.** A place in the mountains, Jos 15[56] (B Ζακαναείμ [combining זָנוֹחַ and the following חֲקוֹקִין], A Ζανώ, Luc. Ζανού), possibly *Zânûta* S.W. of Hebron (*SWP* iii. 404), although Dillm. objects that this is too far south.

ZAPHENATH-PANEAH (צָפְנַת פַּעְנֵחַ, Ψονθομφανήχ). —The name given by Pharaoh to Joseph (Gn 41[45]). Far-fetched attempts of the ancients to explain it by Hebrew have found no favour amongst modern commentators, the name being evidently intended for Egyptian. In 1886 Krall connected it with a well-known Egyptian type of name (*zd*+divine name+*e*–*f*'*nḫ*) meaning 'Said Amon (Bast, Mont, etc.), he liveth,' and in subsequent years Steindorff established its identity more closely (*Zeitschrift für Ægyptische Spr. u. Alterthumskunde*, 1889, 41, 1892, 50). The Massoretic vocalization of the name is wrong: so also are the Greek forms in the LXX and elsewhere. But the consonants in the Hebrew text are a precise transliteration of those in *ⲥⲉ-ⲡⲛⲉⲧ-ⲉϥ-ⲱⲛϧ, which would be approximately the pronunciation of a hieroglyphic name *  'Said God, he liveth.' A Greek mummy-label of the Roman age preserves an example of the same formation Καμεντεβωνχ, where Μωνθ (shortened to Μεντ-) is the divinity (Steindorff, *l.c.*). This type of personal name grew extremely common in the period of the Deltaic dynasties (22nd–26th): earlier, it is extremely rare, and has not yet been traced before the end of the 20th dynasty. Probably many details in the story of Joseph date from the 26th dynasty (B.C. 666–525), there being much intercourse between Egypt and Palestine at that period. The compound with *p ntr* 'The God' (ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ shortened to ⲡⲛⲉⲧ-) has not yet been found on Egyptian monuments: it is probably a monotheistic touch added by a Hebrew familiar with Egypt and the Egyptian language. F. Ll. Griffith.

ZAPHON (צָפוֹן 'north').—A city E. of Jordan, assigned to Gad, Jos 13[27] (B Σαφάν, A and Luc. Σαφών). It is named also in Jg 12[1], where צָפוֹנָה should be rendered 'to Zaphon' (RVm) instead of 'northward' (AV and RV). LXX in the latter passage: B, translating, *εἰς βορρᾶν*; A and Luc., not recognizing the ה *locale*, have, respectively, Κεφεινά and Σεφηνά. Eusebius and Jerome (*OS*[2] 219, 75; 91, 26) mention an Amathus 21 miles south of Pella, and the same place is referred to by Josephus (*BJ* I. iv. 2 [if the text be correct]) as the strongest fortress on the Jordan, and as the seat of one of the *synedria* instituted by Gabinius (*Ant.* XIV. v. 4). This is the modern *'Amāteh*, a little north of the Jabbok, at the mouth of Wādy er-Rugeib. There appears to be no reason (in spite of Buhl, *GAP*, 259) to doubt the Talmudic tradition that Amathus represented the ancient Ẓaphon (see Neubauer, *Géog. du Talm.* 249).

Ẓaphon is probably connected with צְפִיּוֹן **Ẓiphion** (Gn 46[16]), or (more correctly) צֵפוֹן **Ẓĕphon**, with gentilic name **Ẓephonites** (Nu 26[15]; LXX Σαφών, Σαφων(ε)ί), described as a 'son' of Gad.

ZARAIAS (Ζαραΐας).—**1.** (A Ζαρέας, AV Zacharias) 1 Es 5[8]=Seraiah, Ezr 2[2]; Azariah, Neh 7[7]. **2.** 1 Es 8[2] (B om.), one of the ancestors of Ezra, called Zerahiah, Ezr 7[3], and Arna, 2 Es 1[2]. **3.** 1 Es 8[31]= Zerahiah, the father of Eliehoenai, Ezr 8[4]. **4.** 1 Es 8[34]=Zebadiah, son of Michael, Ezr 8[8].

ZARAKES (B Ζάριος, A Ζαράκης, AV Zaraces), 1 Es 1[38] (LXX [36]). He is there called brother of Joaḳim or Jehoiaḳim, king of Judah, and is said to have been brought up out of Egypt by him.—The name apparently is a corruption, through confusion of ר and ד, of Ẓedeḳiah, who was a brother of Jehoiaḳim, 2 K 24[17]. The verse of 1 Es. is entirely different from the corresponding passage in 2 Ch 36[4b].

ZARDEUS (B Ζεραλίας, A Ζαρδαίας, AV Sardeus), 1 Es 9[28]=Aziza, Ezr 10[27].

ZAREPHATH (צָרְפַת; LXX and NT Σάρεπτα [A in 1 K 17[9] Σεφθά]).—The Arab. village of *Ṣarafend* lies on a promontory about eight miles south of Ẓidon. On the shore in front of it are the scattered remains of what must have been a considerable town, the Zarephath or **Sarepta** of the Bible. This was possibly also Misrephoth-maim of Jos 11[8] 13[6] [but see Misrephoth-maim]. Zarephath originally belonged to Ẓidon (1 K 17[9]), but passed into the possession of Tyre after the assistance rendered by the fleet of Ẓidon to Shalmaneser IV. in B.C. 722 in his abortive attempt to capture insular Tyre. In Lk 4[26] it is again called a city of Sidon (RV 'in the land of Sidon'). Zarephath is included in the list of towns captured by Sennacherib when he invaded Phœnicia in B.C. 701. It was the town in which Elijah lodged during the years of famine (1 K 17[8-24]). In the middle of the present ruins, by the shore, stands a shrine of St. George, occupying the place of the Crusaders' Chapel, which was built on the traditional site of Elijah's upper room. The rewarded faith of the Gentile woman of Sarepta was recalled by Christ in the synagogue of Nazareth, and the allusion gave deep offence to His hearers (Lk 4[26]). Here may have lived the Syro-Phœnician woman whose faith was greatly commended by Christ, and whose daughter was healed by Him (Mt 15[21-28], Mk 7[24-30]).

G. M. Mackie.

ZARETHAN (צָרְתָן). — When the Jordan was divided, the waters rose up in a heap 'at Adam, the city that is beside Zarethan' (Jos 3[16], LXX om.). One of Solomon's commissariat officers had in his district 'all Bethshean which is beside Ẓarethan, beneath Jezreel' (1 K 4[12], LXX om.). The bronze castings for the temple were made in the Jordan district 'at the ford of Adamah [reading, with Moore, במעברת (ה)ארמה for MT במעבה ה' (AV and RV 'in the clay ground')] between Succoth and Ẓarethan' (1 K 7[46]). In the parallel passage 2 Ch 4[17] the name appears as **Ẓerēdah** צְרֵדָה (B corruptly 'Αναμεσιρδάθαι [? = *ἀνὰ μέσον* Σιρ.], A *ἀνὰ μέσον* Σαδαθά, Luc. Σαριδαθά), which is named in 1 K 11[26] (B and Luc. Σαρειρά, A Σαριδά) as the birthplace of Jeroboam, and in Jg 7[22] [where read צְרֵדָה Ẓeredah for צְרֵרָה **Ẓerērah**; B Γαραγαθά, A om., Luc. *καὶ ἦν συνηγμένη*] in connexion with the flight of the Midianite host.

Ẓarethan or Ẓeredah cannot be precisely located, but must be sought in the vicinity of *ed-Dāmieh* (the city of Adam of Jos 3[16]). The proposal (van de Velde, Knobel, *et al.*) to identify with *Ḳarn Ṣarṭabeh*, the great landmark of the Jordan Valley, must be rejected on phonetic and other grounds (see Dillm. *Jos. ad loc.*; Moore, *Judges*, 212 f.; Kittel, *Könige*, 34; Buhl, *GAP* 181).

J. A. Selbie.

ZATHOES (Ζαθοής, AV Zathoe), 1 Es 8[32], probably stands for Zattu. The name does not appear in the Heb. of the corresponding passage Ezr 8[5], which should be corrected by 1 Es. so as to run 'Of the sons of Zattu, Shecaniah the son of Jahaziel.'

ZATHUI (B Ζατόν, A Ζαθθουί), 1 Es 5[12]=Zattu, Ezr 2[8], Neh 7[13]; called also Zathoes, 1 Es 8[32].

ZATTU (זַתּוּא).—The name of a family of exiles that returned, Ezr 2^8 (B Ζαθουά, A and Luc. Ζαθθουά) = Neh 7^{13} (B Ζαθουιά, A Ζαθθουά): several members of this family had married foreign wives, Ezr 10^{27} (B Ζαθουιά, A Ζαθουά, Luc. Ζαθθουά); its head sealed the covenant, Neh $10^{14\,(15)}$ (B Ζαθουιά, A Ζαθθουιά, Luc. Ζαθθαίας). The name of this family has dropped out of the Heb. text of Ezr 8^5; see SHECANIAH, No. 2.

ZAZA (זָזָא).—A Jerahmeelite, 1 Ch 2^{33} (B Ὀζάμ, A Ὀζαζά, Luc. Ζηζά). The initial Ὀ of BA is due to taking the ו of MT וזזא as part of the name, and not as the particle = 'and.'

ZEALOT.—See CANANÆAN.

ZEBADIAH (זְבַדְיָה and זְבַדְיָהוּ 'J" hath bestowed'; cf. the names יְהוֹנָדָב and נְתַנְיָאֵל).—**1. 2.** Two Benjamites, 1 Ch 8^{15} (B Ἀζαβαδιά, A Ἀζαβαδιά, Luc. Ζαβαδιά) ^{17} (BA Ζαβαδιά). **3.** One of those who joined David at Ziklag, 1 Ch 12^7 (B Ζαβιδιά, A Ζαβαδιά). **4.** One of David's officers, son of Asahel, 1 Ch 27^7 (B Ἀβδείας, A Ζαβδίας, Luc. Ζαβδαίας). **5.** An exile who returned with Ezra's second caravan, Ezr 8^8 (Ζαβδειά, A Ζαβδίας, Luc. Ζαβδίας); called in 1 Es 8^{34} **Zaraias.** **6.** A priest, of the sons of Immer, who had married a foreign wife, Ezr 10^{20} (B Ζαβδειά, A Ζαβδιά, Luc. Ζαβδιάς); called in 1 Es 9^{21} **Zabdeus.** **7.** A Korahite, 1 Ch 26^2 (B Ζαχαρίας, A and Luc. Ζαβαδίας). **8.** One of the Levites sent by Jehoshaphat to teach in the cities of Judah, 2 Ch 17^8 (B Ζαβδείας, A Ζαβδίας). **9.** An officer of king Jehoshaphat, entrusted with judicial functions, 2 Ch 19^{11} (B Ζαβδείας, A Ζαβδίας, Luc. Ζαβαδαίας).

ZEBAH and **ZALMUNNA** (זֶבַח 'victim,' צַלְמֻנָּע 'shade, *i.e.* protection, withheld'; Ζέβεε, Σελμανά; Jg 8^{4-21}, Ps 83^{11}).—The narrative of Gideon's pursuit of these two Midianite kings (Jg 8^{4-21}) cannot be a continuation of the foregoing verses (7^{23-8^3}); it must be derived from another source, attached abruptly, and with the loss of its opening verses, to the story of the defeat of Midian. So far from a victory having been just won, it seems such a remote possibility that the men of Succoth and Penuel treat Gideon with derision as he passes them on the track of the two kings ($8^{6.\,8}$). The kings were returning to their country, laden with spoil ($8^{24f.}$); they were not in flight, and had no thought of being pursued (8^{11}), otherwise they would have used the advantage which their camels (8^{26}) gave them to effect their escape. We gather, in fact, from this narrative (8^{4-21}) that Gideon's expedition against Zebah and Ẓalmunna was not part of the general campaign against Midian, but a private enterprise of personal revenge. On one of their raids, probably on this very one from which they were returning, the two Arab chieftains had murdered Gideon's brethren at Tabor, doubtless a place near Ophrah (8^{18}). To Gideon, as next of kin, fell the duty of avenging their blood. Collecting 300 of his clan, he followed the enemy across the Jordan, attacked them unexpectedly at Karkor, captured the two kings, and, after exhibiting them as his prisoners to the men of Succoth, carried them back in triumph, probably to his home at Ophrah (Moore). There he slew them with his own hand, when his young son refused to be their executioner, the two kings meeting their fate with barbaric courage. The execution was a religious act as well as an act of blood-revenge, and may well have taken place before the altar (Smend, *AT Religionsgeschichte*, 128). Human victims were similarly sacrificed after the return from a victorious campaign (Jg $11^{30f.\,39}$), or as the chief portion of the spoil (1 S 15^{33}). W. R. Smith, (*RS* 397 n.) compares the choice of Gideon's young son as executioner of the kings with the choice of 'young men' or 'lads' as sacrificers (Ex 24^5), and illustrates from the custom of the Saracens, who charged lads with the execution of their captives. The pronunciation of the names Zebah and Ẓalmunna represents merely a popular etymology, which gave a contemptuous meaning, 'victim,' 'protection withheld,' to the names of the kings. The first syllable of Ẓalmunna may be the name of a deity *Ẓalm*, found in Aramaic inscriptions from Teima (*CIS* pars. II. cxiii, cxiv), perhaps also in the Phœnician *Ẓadam* (*Ẓalam*) - *ba'al* (*CIS* i. cxxxii), called in Greek Σαλαμβώ, or *-as*; see Hoffmann, *ZA* xi. 244 f. On the other hand, the names may be merely symbolic, and not the actual names of the two kings (so Nöldeke, *Die Amalekiter*, 9 n., and Stade, *GVI* i. 190).

G. A. COOKE.

ZEBEDEE (Ζεβεδαῖος; Heb. זַבְדִּי 'gift of J",' or, more properly, Aram. זַבְדִי; raising the question why the name is not spelt Ζαβδαῖος, as in the OT [1 Es 9^{21} etc.], but Ζεβεδ-. On Jewish bearers of this name see Jastrow, *Dict.* 377, where also a local name גֶּבֶת זַבְדִין, 'probably in Galilee,' is mentioned).—The father of the apostles James and John (Mt 4^{21}) and the husband of Salome (Mt 27^{56}, Mk 15^{40}). Zebedee followed the occupation of fisherman on the Sea of Galilee, and was apparently in easy circumstances, to judge from the mention of his 'boat with the hired servants' (Mk 1^{20}). This is also borne out by the facts that his wife was one of the pious women who afterwards ministered to the Lord of their substance (Mt $27^{55.\,56}$, Lk $8^{2.\,3}$); and that his son John was personally known to the high priest (Jn 18^{16}), and had the means of providing for the mother of Jesus (Jn 19^{27}). Zebedee himself comes before us directly only in connexion with the call of his sons; and, from his raising no objection, it has been conjectured that he himself was a disciple of John the Baptist, as his sons certainly were, and by him had been taught to regard Jesus as the Messiah. Whether he ever became an active follower of Jesus it is impossible to say. The subsequent silence of Scripture regarding him would incline one to think not, unless this silence is to be explained by Zebedee's death soon after his sons' call.

According to Barhebræus (on Mt 10^2) and the *Book of the Bee*, the sons of Zebedee belonged to the tribe of Zebulun; according to the *Gospel of the Twelve Apostles* (ed. Harris, p. 26), to the tribe of Issachar.

G. MILLIGAN.

ZEBIDAH (so RV, following *Kĕthîbh* וְבִידָה; AV follows *Kĕrê* וְבוּדָה **Zebudah**).—The daughter of Pedaiah of Rumah, and mother of king Jehoiaḳim, 2 K 23^{36} [MT omits in ‖ 2 Ch 36^5]. In Kings the LXX has: B Ἰελλὰ θυγάτηρ Ἐδείλ ἐκ Κρουμά, A Ἐλελδὰφ θυγάτηρ Ἐλεδδιλὰ ἐκ Ῥυμά; in 2 Chron.: AB Ζε(κ)χωρὰ θυγάτηρ Νηρείου ἐκ Ῥαμά; Luc. has in both passages Ἀμιτὰλ θυγάτηρ Ἰερεμίου [confusing with Zedeḳiah's mother, 24^{18}].

ZEBINA (זְבִינָא).—One of the sons of Nebo who had married a foreign wife, Ezr 10^{43} (B Ζαμβινά, A om., ℵ Ζαμβεινά, Luc. Ζεβενεί). See ZABAD, No. 6.

ZEBOIIM.—One of the five Cities of the Plain, Gn 10^{19} (צְבֹיִם) $14^{2.\,8}$, Dt $29^{23\,(22)}$ (*Kĕth.* in all צְבִיִים, *Kĕrê* צְבוֹיִם), Hos 11^8 (*Kĕth.* צְבָאִים; *Kĕrê* צְבוֹיִם, the א being regarded as quiescent; AV and RV here **Zeboim**). The LXX has uniformly Σεβω(ε)ίμ [but in Dt $29^{23\,(22)}$ AF Σεβωείν]. According to Böhme (on Neh 1–6, p. 3) the word is punctuated in MT upon the analogy of צְבָעִים 'hyænas,' and so as to avoid suggesting צְבָיִם, or צְבָאִים 'gazelles.'

The site has not been identified. Upon the

general question of the situation of the five Cities of the Plain see art. ZOAR.

ZEBOIM.—**1.** 'The ravine of Ẓebō'im' (גֵּי הַצְּבֹעִים 'ravine of the hyænas'; BA Γαὶ τὴν Σαμεὶν, Luc. Σαβαὶν) is named in 1 S 13[18] in describing the route followed by one of the bands of Philistine marauders. It is prob. the *Wādy el-Ḳelt* or one of its branches (Buhl, *GAP* 98; G. A. Smith, *HGHL* 291 n. 1). The name *Wādy abû dabâ'* ('Hyæna gorge') is still applied to a ravine in this neighbourhood, though perhaps not to the identical one referred to in 1 Samuel. The same locality appears to be referred to in the Ẓeboim (BA om., $\aleph^{c.a}$ Σεβοείμ, Luc. Σεβωείν) of Neh 11[34]. **2.** Hos 11[8]. See ZEBOIIM.

ZEBUL (זְבֻל; Ζεβούλ, = 'height,' 'high dwelling' (?), perhaps shortened from '(God's) dwelling' or from (Baal)-zebul).—Jg 9[28. 30. 36. 38. 41], Abimelech's officer (*pāḳîd*) and governor (*sar*) of Shechem. By his loyalty and resource he dealt successfully with an insurrection against his master's authority in Shechem. It was an insurrection of Shechemites against Abimelech, who was only half a Shechemite by birth and had usurped his position (so Moore, *Judges* 255 ff., whose arguments are convincing). The interpretation of 9[28] is uncertain; Moore reads 'served' for 'serve ye' (עָבְדוּ for עִבְרוּ), and explains, 'Abimelech and Zebul were formerly the servants of Shechem; why then should Shechemites serve them now?' Others take the insurrection to have been one of Israelites against Shechemites (*e.g.* Wellhausen, *Composition* 353 f.; Robertson Smith, *ThT* xx. 1886, 195–198); but this does not agree well with the rest of the narrative. See, further, ABIMELECH, No. **3.**

G. A. COOKE.

ZEBULUN (זְבוּלֻן, זְבוּלֹן, זְבוּלוֹן; Ζαβουλών, *Zabulon*). —The first and second forms of the name in Heb. are used interchangeably; the third occurs only in Jg 1[30]. Two explanations of the name are given in Gn 30[19 (20)]. In the first (from E) Leah exclaims זְבָדַנִי אֱלֹהִים אֹתִי זֵבֶד טוֹב 'God has gifted me with a good gift,' ד of זבד being made equivalent to ל. In the second (from J) she cries, הַפַּעַם יִזְבְּלֵנִי אִישִׁי 'this time my husband will dwell (lie) by me,' *Zebulun* receiving a meaning like 'neighbour' or 'borderer' (Dillmann). From an Assyr. root the meaning 'will exalt (esteem) me' has been suggested, and Delitzsch (*Genesis, in loc.*) points out that this agrees with the LXX rendering *αἰρετιεῖ*; it seems doubtful, however, whether *zabâlu* means more than *to carry* or *bear* (not *to lift up*).

Zebulun appears in the lists of Jacob's sons, and as the ancestor of the tribe (Gn 46[14], Nu 26[26]). An old Jewish tradition says he was the first of the five brethren presented by Joseph to Pharaoh (Targ. pseudo-Jon. on Gn 47[2]). So far as our records go, the man and his life are wrapped in obscurity. The chief tribal families are three, at the head of which stand Zebulun's three sons: Sered, Elon, and Jahleel, said to have been born in Canaan before the settlement in Egypt (Gn 46[14]).

In the desert journey Zeb. was placed with Issachar in the camp of Judah, eastward of the tabernacle. These marched in the van, under the standard of Judah (Nu 2[7. 8]). The tribe then numbered 57,400 men capable of bearing arms, and the headman or 'prince' was Eliab, son of Helon (Nu 1[9. 30] 2[7]). Gaddiel, son of Sodi, represented Zeb. among the spies (Nu 13[10]). At Shittim, after the camp had been devastated by the plague, the warriors of Zeb. are given at 60,500 (Nu 26[27]). Elizaphan, son of Parnach, acted with the representatives of the other tribes in the division of the land (Nu 34[25]). At Shechem, Zeb. the youngest son of Leah, and Reuben, who had fallen from honour, are placed with the sons of the handmaids, over against the other six sons of Rachel and Leah, to make equal division of the tribes (Dt 27[13]). Zeb. earned no special distinction either under Moses in the wilderness, or under Joshua during the Conquest. In the second division of territory the lot of Zeb. came up third (Jos 19[10]), and there fell to him a stretch of country, richly diversified, with sylvan vale, fruitful plain, and breezy height.

The boundaries of Zeb. cannot now be traced with any certainty. As described in Jos 19[10-16] it marched with Issachar on the S., Naphtali on the E. and N.E., and Asher on the W. and N.W. The eastern boundary probably ran from Tabor, along the W. border of Naphtali, as far north as *Kefr Anān* (Hannathon); turning westward, it skirted the district of *er-Rāmeh*, reaching the eastern border of Asher down the vale of *'Abilîn*, in which lies *Jafāt*, which some identify with Iphtah-el, or down *Wady el-Ḳurn*, further to the north (Conder): thence it passed southward to the lip of Kishon, opposite *Tell Kaimūn* (Jokneam). We can hardly even guess at the southern boundary. Chisloth-tabor, or Chesulloth (*Iksāl*), and Daberath (*Debūrieh*) seem to be given to Zeb. in v.[12]; but in v.[19] the former, and in 21[28] the latter, are assigned to Issachar. Tabor, possibly the city on the mountain, 1 Ch 6[77] places in the land of Zebulun. If *Debūrieh* belonged to Issachar, this would mean possession of at least part of the mountain, perhaps the western and southern slopes. If the two tribes shared the mountain, this may be alluded to in Dt 33[19]. It is the most striking feature in the landscape, and round it sacred associations from of old were sure to gather. Other identifications proposed are precarious, and, if established, would produce a very peculiar borderline. *Tell Shadūd* may be identified with Sarid, by the substitution of *d* for *r*. In that case *Ma'lul* cannot be Marala, as it lies not westward, but a little east of north from *Tell Shadūd*; and not only the change of *r* to *l*, but also the intrusion of *'ain* before *lamed*, must be accounted for. Again, it is difficult to conceive the line running from *Tell Shadūd* past *Iksāl* to *Debūrieh*, and then doubling back upon *Yafa*, as the identification of this last with Japhia would require. The authority for locating Gath-hepher at *el-Meshed* is very slender, and the name, which is of some antiquity, is against it. The line indicated for the western border of Naphtali seems to throw the boundary of Zeb. further to the east; so also the identification of Nahalal with *'Ain Mahil*.

The Blessing of Jacob (Gn 49[13]), which dates from the time of the Judges, or at latest not after Solomon, apparently gives Zeb. access to the sea. 'Zebulun, towards the strand of the sea he settles, he himself towards the strand of the ships, and his rear to, or towards, Ẓidon' (Dillm.); this is supported by Josephus (*Ant.* v. i. 22; *BJ* III. iii. 1). The boundaries between the tribes and the land held by the Canaanites must have varied from time to time, and possibly then Zeb. held an approach to the shore, perhaps through the gorge of Kishon and along the base of Carmel. But the words may mean only that the sea was near and easily reached; that Zeb. bordered on the coast, *i.e.* the coast-lands, and not the sea itself. Delitzsch translates, 'Zebulun, near to the coast of the sea shall he dwell, yea he, near to the coast of the ships, and his side leans on Ẓidon.' The reference to Ẓidon is obscure: Zeb. never approached that city. Possibly the name of their chief city is given to the rich coast-lands, including Acre, from which the Phœnicians were never driven out (Jg 1[31]). The much later writer in Joshua (P) knows nothing of any 'outgoing' of the territory to the Mediterranean. 'The way of the sea' (Is 9[1]), the

great highway of commerce from north and east to the harbour at Acre, which passed through a large part of his land, and brought Zeb. into contact with the trade of the world, would itself enable him to 'suck the treasures of the sea' (Dt 33[19]).

In Zeb. four cities were given to the Levites—Jokneam, Kartah, Dimnah (Dillm. and others read Rimmon), and Nahalal (Jos 21[34. 35]). Of these, Kitron (identical with Kartah [see art. KARTAH]) and Nahalal (probably *'Ain Mahil*) remained in the hands of the Canaanites, and so could not be occupied by the Levites (Jg 1[30]). In 1 Ch 6[77] [Heb. [62]] only Rimmono (Rummaneh) and Tabor are named, the latter corresponding with no name in the former list.

What is said of the territory of Naphtali (see art. NAPHTALI) applies generally to Zeb., although the mountains of Naphtali north and north-east rise to a much greater height. *Jebel Kaukāb* (1850 ft.) is a prominent feature of the western landscape, and *Jebel es-Sîkh*, N.W. of Nazareth, crowned by *Neby Sa'în*, commands one of the finest and most comprehensive views in N. Palestine. The Plain of Asochis, *el-Baṭṭauf*, is not so large as Esdraelon, but is equally rich and fruitful. Olive groves flourish in the valleys, and most villages have orchards or vineyards, protected by cactus hedges.

Only one judge is mentioned as rising in Zebulun, viz. ELON, who judged Israel ten years (Jg 12[11. 12]). But the tribe seems always to have produced men of warlike energy and enterprise. 'Marched . . . from Zeb. those who carry the muster-master's staff' (Jg 5[14]; 'officers who had charge of the enumeration and enrolment of troops' [Moore]). Called by Barak to the conflict with Sisera (Jg 4[6. 10]), their patriotic devotion and prowess are specially celebrated in Deborah's song (Jg 5[14. 18]). Gideon summoned them to the strife with Midian (Jg 6[35]). To David at Hebron came from Zeb. 50,000 men of war 'who were not of double heart' (1 Ch 12[33]); nor were gifts lacking from the produce of well-cultivated land (*ib.* 12[40]). Under David the headman of the tribe was Ishmaiah, son of Obadiah (1 Ch 27[19]). In response to Hezekiah's invitation, despite the scoffing of others, some from Zeb. humbled themselves and went to Jerusalem, where, although not 'cleansed according to the purification of the sanctuary,' they were welcomed and allowed to eat the passover (2 Ch 30[10. 11. 18. 19]). Doubtless, Zeb. shared the fate of Naphtali when, along with other districts, Galilee was carried into captivity by Tiglath-pileser (2 K 15[29], cf. Is 9[1]).

The peasant farmers of Zeb. lent strength to the Jewish army in the war of independence, and their soil witnessed some of the fiercest encounters. Jotapata (*Jefat*) made a heroic defence against the Romans (*BJ* VII.). Sepphoris became the centre of Roman administration in the district (*Ant.* XVIII. ii. 1; *BJ* III. ii. 4). Here for a time were the headquarters of the Jewish Rabbis before they settled in Tiberias (Jost, *Judenthum*, ii. 16 ff.). Through the territory of Zeb. from the springs at Sepphoris to the hill of *Ḥaṭṭîn*, the Crusaders marched to their overthrow at the hands of Saladin. It is the chief glory of Zeb. that it afforded the infant Saviour a safe asylum; that on its breezy uplands, in the free atmosphere of the north, His frame grew to maturity, and mind and heart were prepared for His mighty task.

Members of this tribe are called **Zebulunites** (הַזְּבוּלֹנִי, *Ζαβουλών*, *Zabulon*, Nu 26[27]). The title הַזְּבוּלֹנִי 'the Zebulunite,' is also applied to Elon the judge (Jg 12[11. 12]). W. EWING.

ZECHARIAH (זְכַרְיָהוּ and זְכַרְיָה; *Ζαχαριά* and *-las*). —**1.** Brother of Ner and uncle of Saul (1 Ch 9[37]), one of the ten sons of Jeiel or Jehiel, patriarch of Gibeon in Benjamin. He is called **Zecher** in 1 Ch 8[31]. **2.** A Levite, one of the sons of Korah, firstborn son of Meshelemiah (1 Ch 9[21] 26[2. 14]). **3.** A Levite, whose place was among the brethren of the second degree under the chief singers Heman, Asaph, and Ethan (1 Ch 15[18. 20]). **4.** A priest in the time of David (1 Ch 15[24]), one of the seven appointed to blow a trumpet before the ark. **5.** A Levite, of the family of Kohath (1 Ch 24[25]). **6.** A Levite, of the family of Merari (1 Ch 26[11]). **7.** Father of Iddo (1 Ch 27[21]). **8.** One of the princes of Judah in the days of Jehoshaphat (2 Ch 17[7]). **9.** A Levite, one of the sons of Asaph (2 Ch 20[14]). **10.** Son of Jehoshaphat (2 Ch 21[2]), to whom, with his brethren, his father gave large gifts of silver and gold, together with certain fenced cities. Along with the other sons of the king he was slain by his brother Jehoram on his accession to the throne. **11.** Son of Jehoiada the priest (2 Ch 24[20]). After Jehoiada's death, Joash, who had yielded to the evil counsels of his princes, was privy to the conspiracy against Zech., because he reproved the idolaters and announced God's judgment against them. He was stoned with stones at the commandment of the king in the court of the house of the Lord. His dying words, 'The Lord look upon it and require it,' were long remembered. See also ZACHARIAH. **12.** A prophet, living in the earlier part of Uzziah's reign, *i.e.* before the middle of the 8th cent., about B.C. 770, who exercised a powerful influence for good upon the king (2 Ch 26[5]). He is described as having 'understanding in the vision of God,' or giving 'instruction in the fear of God.' **13.** Son of Jeroboam II., king of Israel (2 K 14[29] 15[8-12]). It would seem that his father's death had been succeeded by a period of confusion, and probably the interval of at least ten years between the father's death and the son's succession had been spent in incessant conflicts between rival claimants of the throne. Jeroboam died in the twenty-seventh year of Uzziah, and Zech. succeeded in the thirty-eighth year of that monarch's reign (2 K 15[8]). It may very well be that Zech. was a brave soldier and a capable ruler like his father, but all that the sacred historian records of him is that, in respect of character and moral conduct, he followed his fathers in evil-doing. He did that which was evil in the sight of the Lord, as his fathers had done; he departed not from the sins of Jeroboam the son of Nebat, wherewith he made Israel to sin. After a reign of six months he was slain by a conspirator Shallum, who himself survived only one month. With Zech. ended the dynasty of Jehu, according to the word of the Lord (2 K 10[30]), 'thy sons of the fourth generation shall sit on the throne of Israel.' **14.** A man of high repute in Isaiah's day (Is 8[2]). When faithful witnesses were required to attest a solemn prophetic roll, this Zech. was chosen along with Uriah the priest. He is described as son of Jeberechiah, and may possibly be the same as the Asaphite mentioned in 2 Ch 29[13], as Delitzsch suggests (see No. **16**). Diestel (in Schenkel, v. 130) would identify him with the prophet of Uzziah's time (see No. **12**); but this cannot be, for the prophet referred to evidently died in the earlier years of Uzziah's reign, whereas this Zech. is represented as living in the days of Ahaz. Riehm suggests his identification with the father of Hezekiah's mother (No. **15**). **15.** The father of Abi or Abijah, the mother of king Hezekiah (2 K 18[2], 2 Ch 29[1]). Murphy thinks he may be identified with the prophet mentioned in 2 Ch 26[5]; but this is extremely improbable. **16.** A reforming Asaphite under Hezekiah (2 Ch 29[13]), who took part in the cleansing of the house of the Lord. **17.** Head of a house of the

Reubenites (1 Ch 5[7]), one of the brethren of Beerah, who as one of the princes of the Reubenites was taken away captive into Assyria by Tiglath-pileser in the days of Pekah king of Israel, about B.C. 734. **18.** A Levite, one of the sons of Kohath (2 Ch 34[12]), in the days of Josiah. In the work of repairing the temple, about B.C. 620, this Zech. was one of the overseers. **19.** One of the rulers of the temple under Josiah (2 Ch 35[8]). As Hilkiah mentioned immediately before was chief priest, Zech. was probably second priest (כֹּהֵן הַמִּשְׁנֶה, like Zephaniah in Jer 52[24], 2 K 25[18]). He is also named in 1 Es 1[8]. See ZACHARIAS, **1.** **20.** The prophet. See next article. **21.** One of the family of Parosh or Phoros, who accompanied Ezra from Babylon to Jerusalem in B.C. 458 (Ezr 8[3], 1 Es 8[30]). **22.** Son of Bebai (Ezr 8[11]), leader of the twenty-eight sons of Bebai who returned to Jerusalem with Ezra. **23.** One of the chief men with whom Ezra consulted at the river Ahava or Theras near Babylon (Ezr 8[16]. See also 1 Es 8[44]). **24.** A descendant of Elam, one of the people who had taken foreign wives, and who undertook under Ezra's reformation to put them away (Ezr 10[26]). See also 1 Es 9[27]. **25.** One of the descendants of Perez (Pharez), son of Judah, whose descendant, Athaiah, was one of the heads of the children of Judah settled in Jerusalem after the return from Babylon (Neh 11[4]). **26.** Called the son of the Shilonite (Neh 11[5]), a descendant of Shelah, son of Judah, whose descendant, Maaseiah, was one of the heads of the children of Judah settled in Jerusalem after the return from the Exile. **27.** Son of Pashhur, a priest and courtier under Zedekiah, whose descendant, Adaiah, was one of the priests settled in Jerusalem under Nehemiah (Neh 11[12]). **28.** An Asaphite, son of Jonathan, who, 'with musical instruments of David, the man of God,' took part with Ezra in giving thanks at the dedication of the wall of Jerusalem (Neh 12[35]). **29.** A priest, one of the blowers of trumpets at the dedication of the wall of Jerusalem, who took part in that thanksgiving service (Neh 12[41]).

J. MACPHERSON.

ZECHARIAH, BOOK OF.—

i. The genuine prophecies of Zechariah (chs. 1–8).
ii. The activity and significance of the prophet.
Literature.
iii. Chs. 9–14: (1) Contents; (2) Relation of the different parts to one another; (3) Date of the various components; (4) Religious and theological value of these chapters.
Literature.

i. THE GENUINE PROPHECIES OF ZECHARIAH (CHS. 1–8). — The Book of Zechariah includes within it passages belonging to very different dates and proceeding from different hands. The superscriptions that appear in 9[1] and 12[1] divide the book into two larger parts: (1) chs. 1–8, (2) chs. 9–14.

For Zechariah, the contemporary of Haggai, who is named in 1[1], all that has to be taken into account is chs. 1–8, which fall into three divisions: (*a*) 1[1-6] a call to repentance, based upon an allusion to the impenitence of the fathers and the consequent judgment that overtook them. They and the prophets are gone, but God's word still abides in force.—(*b*) 1[7]–6[9] the nocturnal visions of Zechariah, with an appendix 6[10-15]. In eight visions, which are explained to him on each occasion by the *angelus interpres*, the prophet gives, as it were, a compendium of the eschatological hopes that animated him. The exposition of these is followed up by the direction in 6[10ff.] to him to take of the silver and gold brought by the deputies of the Babylonian Jews, and to have a crown made for the *Ẓemaḥ*, *i.e.* for Zerubbabel. This crown is then to be laid up in the temple as a memorial of those deputies. Side by side with Zerubbabel is to be Joshua as priest, and peaceful relations are to subsist between the two. Then shall the peoples come from far and help to build the temple of Jahweh. (The text of this passage has not come down to us intact, but has obviously undergone revision in order to obscure the difference between these hopes and the actual history. By aid of the LXX the original text may be reconstructed).—(*c*) Chs. 7. 8. Taking occasion from the question addressed to the priests and prophets whether the fast-days observed during the Exile were still to be kept up, the prophet points to the impending Messianic time, for which a moral reformation is the indispensable prerequisite. Then shall the fast-days become joyous festivals, when men from all peoples shall join themselves to the Jews in their pilgrimages to Jahweh, because they have heard that God has fixed His dwelling-place with them.

ii. THE ACTIVITY AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PROPHET.—According to 1[1. 7], Zechariah was a son of Berechiah and a grandson of 'Iddo, the latter of whom is mentioned as the head of a priestly family which returned from the Exile (Neh 12[4]). Zechariah will thus have been presumably somewhat young when he began his prophetical work amongst his people. We are told in 1[1] that he came forward, like Haggai, in the second year of Darius (Hystaspis), but two months later than that prophet; he continued to labour till the 7th month of the fourth year (cf. 7[1]). In this way his whole activity would appear to have been confined to rather less than two years. The political background is the same as in Haggai, namely, the violent commotions which the accession of Darius produced in the north-eastern portion of his empire. A feeling of profound depression had laid hold of the community at Jerusalem; Jahweh, it was felt, had not yet had compassion upon His people, He yet remained far from them. Zechariah strives to reanimate the hopes of his co-religionists, and to rekindle faith in the time of consummation, which will speedily set in; and it would appear that he was at least partially successful (cf. 7[1ff.]). An indispensable condition of the arrival of the Messianic era is the building of the temple; for as the commencement of the judgment formerly showed itself when the glory of Jahweh was seen by Ezekiel (cf. ch. 10) to forsake the temple, so upon the day when Jahweh once more makes His abode with His people all the distress of the time shall come to an end; in short, this dwelling of Jahweh in the temple is the *sine qua non* of the dawn of the Messianic age (cf. 8[15]). Hence Zechariah, like Haggai, concentrates all his energies upon the task of inducing the people to undertake the work of building the temple. It is from this point of view that one can understand Zechariah's view of the priesthood as the security for the coming of the *Ẓemaḥ*, *i.e.* the Messianic King (cf. 3[8ff.]).—Zechariah's endeavour to reanimate the hopes of his contemporaries explains also the central place which Messianic prophecy occupies in his book. The whole of the nocturnal visions turn essentially upon the Messianic expectations of the time, and in ch. 8 as well he has regard to these, so that from this book we can construct a pretty complete picture of the Messianic hopes that were then entertained. The central figure is the Messianic King, whom Zechariah, with reference to Jer 23[5] (33[15]), calls the *Ẓemaḥ* and identifies with Zerubbabel, although a redactor, who had regard to the actually existing relations, has sought to substitute the high priest Joshua for Zerubbabel. It is true, indeed, that even with Zechariah himself the high priest holds a highly significant place: he represents the community before Jahweh, and has at all times free access to Him. Cf. also the articles EZRA-NEHEMIAH, HAGGAI, and ZERUBBABEL.

In Zechariah, as in Haggai, we note the disappearance of immediate prophetic inspiration. Connected with this is the circumstance that the message is communicated to the prophet by the angel of Jahweh (cf. Ezk $40^{3ff.}$), and that his visions are no longer the outcome of intuition but rather of deliberate reflexion. Hence the *angelus interpres* is a standing figure in them. Side by side with the *angelus interpres* we have the *mal'akh Jahweh* and the *Satan*, the latter of whom also is thus obviously to be thought of as included among the messengers of God. The greater prominence thus assumed by angels is the result of the more transcendental character to which the idea of God has attained: Jahweh is One who is enthroned on high above men, and whose dealings with them must be through the medium of angels. Here for the first time we encounter *ha-satan*, still indeed as an appellative. It is not till 1 Ch 21 that it attains the character of a proper name. The Book of Job appears, in its idea of the Satan, to occupy a position intermediate between these other two. See, further, the article SATAN, above, p. 408b. —Not without significance, perhaps, for further development is the conception here met with of Sin as an independently existing power. Personified as a woman, she is carried off to the land of Shinar, *i.e.* the land of destruction (cf. $5^{1ff.}$). This last designation is considered, indeed, to include not only Shinar, but the whole heathen world; in Zechariah, as in Haggai, the way is paved for the notion so clearly defined in Daniel of the kingdom of God and the kingdoms of the world. Here the opposition is not yet sharply marked; here, partly as an after-effect of Deutero-Isaianic ideas, but partly also as a consequence of a vivid consciousness of being the bearers of the true religion and of being 'righteous,' in contrast with the 'ungodly Gentiles' (cf. 1^{15} 2^{12}), we meet with the thought that from all peoples those seeking for salvation shall flock to Jerusalem and dwell there, and that Jahweh will own them as His people (cf. $2^{4ff.}$ $8^{20ff.}$).

LITERATURE.—A. Köhler, *Die nachexilischen Propheten*, 1861–1863; K. Bredenkamp, *Der Prophet Sacharja*, 1879; C. H. H. Wright, *Zechariah and his Prophecies*, 1879; W. H. Lowe, *The Hebrew Student's Com. on Zechariah, Heb. and LXX*, 1872; K. Marti, *Der Prophet Zacharja, der Zeitgenosse Serubbabels*, 1892; J. Wellhausen, *Die kleinen Propheten*, 1892; W. Nowack, *Die kleinen Propheten*, 1897; G. A. Smith, *The Book of the Twelve Prophets*, ii. 1898. Cf. Sellin, *Studien zur Entstehungsgeschichte der jüd. Gemeinde nach dem babylon. Exil*, 1901; K. Marti in *SK*, 1892, pp. 207 ff., 716 ff.; J. Ley, *ib.* 1893, p. 771 ff.

iii. CHAPTERS 9–14.—(1) *Contents.*—Ch. 9 opens with the announcement of judgment upon Damascus, Tyre, Zidon, and the Philistines. Jahweh Himself protects Jerusalem and its inhabitants. Jerusalem is to be the seat of the Messianic King, who will enter the city riding upon an ass, the animal of peace. For He works not with secular resources, but by His word puts an end to the strife among the nations. For the sake of the blood covenant Jahweh brings back the captives of Zion. Judah and Ephraim, together with Zion, are to be the weapons wherewith He subdues the sons of Javan. Then will Jahweh feed His people like a flock in His land which is so good and fair.—After a short interlude, in which the Israelites are called on to ask rain from Jahweh, instead of turning to teraphim and soothsayers ($10^{1.2}$), comes 10^3–11^3: Jahweh threatens the shepherds and the goats; He removes them, and native leaders put themselves at the head of Judah, which with Jahweh's help overcomes those that ride upon horses. But Jahweh will have pity on the house of Joseph and will bring them back, so that they shall be His as if He had never cast them off. From Egypt and Assyria He will bring them back to Gilead and the Lebanon district, but the land will not suffice for them. Jahweh will be their strength, and in His name shall they boast. But the cedars of Lebanon and the oaks of Bashan shall howl because the forest is destroyed, the shepherds bewail the loss of pasturage, the lions roar because the glory of the Jordan Valley is gone. — In 11^{4-17} we have a narrative of what has occurred in recent times; the prophet is to put the contents of his preaching in pictorial form, as it were, before the eye. He receives the commission to take the place of the worthless shepherds in feeding the sheep. He took the two staves 'Graciousness' and 'Union,' in order to represent in a way the principles by which he meant to be guided. In like manner he cut off the three shepherds in one month. But soon he became disgusted with the sheep, and they abhorred him. Therefore he broke the two staves, and now received the commission to act the part of a foolish shepherd, for such an one Jahweh is to set over them by way of punishment. The conclusion of this threatening of 11^{17} is supplied by 13^{7-9}: Jahweh will smite the shepherd, so that the sheep shall be scattered.— 12^1–13^5 form a whole: the heathen, and with them Judah, besiege Jerusalem, but from Judah judgment goes forth upon the heathen, while Jerusalem itself remains peacefully in its place. Jahweh has at first helped the Judahites, that the pride of the house of David and of the inhabitants of Jerusalem might not become too great. Then Jahweh protects Jerusalem, the heathen who are moving against her are destroyed by Him. Then shall the inhabitants of Jerusalem look back to him whom they once pierced, and they lament over him as one does over an only son.* Then Jahweh opens for the house of David and its inhabitants a fountain for purification, then He roots out the names of the idols, and destroys the prophets, and expels the spirit of uncleanness out of the land.— Ch. 14 begins once more with a reference to an attack by the nations upon Jerusalem; the city is taken, the houses destroyed, half of the inhabitants go into captivity. Then Jahweh appears for her defence, treads upon the Mt. of Olives, which divides under His feet, and the other half of the inhabitants make their escape through the new valley thus formed. There is no more interchange of light and darkness, of heat and cold, but one day. Living waters flow from Jerusalem eastwards and westwards. Jahweh rules as king over the whole earth. The flesh of the peoples who fight against Jerusalem shall moulder away while they are yet alive, but the remnant shall all come to Jerusalem to worship Jahweh and to keep the Feast of Tabernacles.

(2) *Relation of the different parts to one another.* —In seeking to answer this question, the circumstance must be kept in mind that in these chapters events are frequently described not in their actual chronological order, but the final result emerges first, and the description follows of the way in which God brings about this result. Taking this into account, it will be seen that there is no occasion, with Rubinkam, to separate 9^{1-10} from vv.$^{11ff.}$; the latter verses supply an account of the incidents that precede the advent of the peaceful King. On the other hand, $10^{1.2}$ has a very loose connexion with ch. 9. $10^{3ff.}$ might be from the same hand as ch. 9; in the latter there was only a passing allusion to the return of the captives, in $10^{3ff.}$ this has the central place; as in $9^{1ff.}$ Syria is the subject of Divine judgment, so here it is אַשּׁוּר, which in late Hebrew stands for Syria.

It is very questionable, however, whether 11^{4-17} and 13^{7-9} are from the same hand as chs. 9 and 10. No decisive grounds can be alleged in favour of

* For the text of this passage, and the use made of it in Jn 19^{37}, see art. QUOTATIONS, p. 184b.

identity of authorship; on the contrary, there is a marked diversity in so far as it is only at 11^{17}, which has its continuation in 13^{7-9}, that the outlook into the future begins.—Ch. 12 is not, as Cornill (*Einleitung*[8], p. 203) maintains, the necessary complement of $11^{4ff.}$; in fact, the striking difference of diction makes it impossible to ascribe both chapters to the same hand. Seeing, further, that ch. 13 is undoubtedly closely bound up with ch. 12, a material objection to Cornill's opinion emerges. In ch. 13 the writer holds in abhorrence those who make a public claim to be prophets; Jahweh will make an end of such, just as He sweeps idolatry and the spirit of uncleanness out of the land. On the other hand, in $11^{4ff.}$ the prophet in his experiences is to represent in a way the conduct of the people, and the 'Canaanites (traffickers) of the flock' [reading כְּנַעֲנֵי הַצֹּאן for כֵּן עֲנִיֵּי ה׳], who watch his conduct, are to recognize that it is the word of Jahweh that determines his action. We cannot assent to Rubinkam's separation of 13^{1-6} from ch. 12, which is justified neither by the language nor the contents; the features in the picture of the last days mentioned in $13^{1ff.}$ complete the picture of ch. 12.

On the other hand, ch. 14 must certainly be assigned to another pen than 12^{1}–13^{6}. According to ch. 12, the destructive judgment is executed upon the heathen before Jerusalem, while the city itself stands fast; but, according to ch. 14, Jerusalem is captured by the heathen, the houses destroyed, etc. According to 13^{1}, a fountain is opened for the house of David and the inhabitants of Jerusalem for the purpose of purification, whereas the fountain of 14^{8} obviously serves different ends altogether. As little can we think of a connexion of ch. 14 with chs. 9 and 10, as is plain from the opposition between 14^{14} and 9^{10}.

The result of our examination is that we have the following independent pieces: (i.) 9. ($10^{1f.}$) 10^{3}–11^{3}; (ii.) 11^{4-17} 13^{7-9}; (iii.) 12^{1}–13^{6}; (iv.) ch. 14.

(3) *Date of the various components.*—(i.) 9. ($10^{1f.}$) 10^{3}–11^{3}. Of decisive weight for fixing the date is 9^{13}, where the בְּנֵי יָוָן ('sons of Greece') are named as the principal enemies of the people of Jahweh. The place here assigned to the Greeks carries us to the time subsequent to Alexander the Great. This conclusion is not opposed by $10^{10f.}$, where Asshur and Egypt are mentioned, for, as was noted above, אַשּׁוּר became in later days a name for Syria. It is from this same point of view that $9^{1f.}$ becomes for the first time intelligible: the word of Jahweh is directed against the land of Ḥadrach and Damascus, *i.e.* against the empire of the Seleucids. Thus also we understand certain other features in the picture of the future: the gracious favour shown to Ephraim and the turning again of her captivity, as well as her reunion with Judah, all this has come, since the time of Ezekiel, to be a fixed point in the eschatology of the prophets. The figure of the Messianic King is not opposed to the above date, for it is only an apparent identity that subsists between $9^{1ff.}$ and Is $9^{3ff.}$ $11^{1ff.}$. As a matter of fact, this King is quite passive, His form almost disappears, to make room for that of a *homo spiritualis*. Characteristic of the same period are passages like 9^{7}, where the return to Jahweh finds expression partly in the observance of Levitical laws about food, a notion utterly impossible in the pre-exilic period. A more precise dating for these chapters is unattainable, on account of a lack of clear allusions to the historical situation.

(ii.) 11^{4-17} 13^{7-9}. This section contains allusions to certain contemporary occurrences, but they are unintelligible to us, partly owing to the probably defective text that has come down to us, but partly also to our very inadequate information regarding considerable periods of the post-exilic history. This alone may be regarded as beyond doubt, that we are pointed to a time after the Exile: what is said in 11^{16} about the shepherds, as well as the similar expressions in v.[9], can be understood only in the light of their dependence on Ezk 34. The shepherds are to be understood as the native authorities, especially the high priest. It is of the latter that we must understand the רֹעִי of 11^{17} and the גֶּבֶר עֲמִיתִי of 13^{7},—he is, as it were, Jahweh's companion; קְנִיָנָן and כֹּרְרֵיהֶן (11^{5}) must be foreign rulers, who are hence fittingly called כְּנַעֲנֵי הַצֹּאן ($11^{7.11}$). Wellhausen is inclined to see in $11^{4ff.}$ a reflexion of the incidents in the last decade before the outbreak of the Maccabæan revolt, which witnessed rapid and violent changes of the high priesthood.

(iii.) 12^{1}–13^{6} bears, throughout, the post-exilic stamp. (*a*) The campaign of the heathen against Jerusalem is dependent upon Ezk 38 f. The thought that Jahweh in the first instance helps Judah, lest Jerusalem may exalt herself yet more, cannot be properly understood at any period earlier than that at which Jerusalem had become the rallying-point for the Diaspora of the whole Jewish world, and when the glory of the city and her temple was reflected also upon her rulers and her inhabitants. —(*b*) 13^{1}, too, points to dependence on Ezekiel, although his viewpoint has been transformed under the influence of notions of the Levitical period, as these find expression in the custom described in Nu 19.—(*c*) We are pointed to the later post-exilic period by the juxtaposition of בֵּית דָּוִד and בֵּית לֵוִי ($12^{12f.}$), which would have been an impossibility in pre-exilic times. And the whole description in $12^{11ff.}$ carries us to a time after the Exile.—(*d*) A late date is also indicated by the hostility breathed in $13^{2ff.}$ against prophecy, *i.e.* against those who come forward publicly, clothed in a hairy mantle. The place of these had been taken by anonymous and pseudonymous prophetical authorship. Our chapters lie upon the line of development, whose culmination is indicated in views like those expressed in 1 Mac 4^{46} 9^{27} 14^{41}, cf. *Sanhed.* 11*a*.

(iv.) Ch. 14 likewise belongs to later post-exilic times. (*a*) This chapter also is dependent on Ezk 38 f. It is true that the thought of the latter is transformed in quite a peculiar fashion, without our being able to recognize the motive for the change, but this cannot prevent our admitting the dependence which is unmistakably present in $14^{8ff.}$. —(*b*) In 14^{11} we are probably carried to the period after Malachi, for this verse is dependent on Mal 3^{24}; it is probable, moreover, that v.[9] is in conscious opposition to Mal $1^{11ff.}$.—(*c*) It is only during the later post-exilic period, when the Jewish Diaspora went on pilgrimage to Jerusalem from all parts of the world to hold the festivals, that we can understand the thought expressed here (v.[16]) that the converted heathen proclaim their conversion by a pilgrimage to Jerusalem to keep the Feast of Tabernacles.—(*d*) It is only during the same period that the notion of holiness expressed in v.[20] is intelligible, a notion which once more shows the influence of Ezekiel.

(4) *Religious and theological value of these chapters.*—We stand no longer upon the ground of prophecy properly so called, but of anonymous eschatological writing. Certain stereotyped features of eschatology recur. The writers are very strongly influenced by ancient prophecy; for the most part by its religious rather than by its ethical contents. Ethical features indeed recede far behind religious. Very marked is the influence of the Levitical period. The Messianic King still appears, it is true, in $9^{9f.}$, but He is a comparatively otiose figure which might be left out without damaging the connexion. He is no longer the leader in the conflict against enemies, but exclu-

sively Prince of Peace, with an extremely passive character. The conception of the final King had at this time assumed a pale cast, that it might be able to take on other colours, namely those of the priest and the prophet.—Highly significant is the conception of the Kingdom of God as embracing the whole world. Jahweh is King over all the earth, and, as He is one, His worship is also one (cf. 14^9). But this universalism has a strong Levitical colouring, as is shown especially by the closing verses of ch. 14 with their weighty emphasis upon the purity of the theocracy. The ordering of everything on the basis of the dominion of holiness, in other words the supremacy of the Law,—this is the end of the process of development.

Eckardt, it is true, maintains that the spiritual uniqueness of Deutero-Zechariah consists in the freedom with which he extends the theocratic universalism over the whole religious situation of his time. From passages like 14^9 13^2 9^1 Eckardt draws the conclusion that, according to Deutero-Zechariah, the heathen world unconsciously worships Jahweh in the person of its own gods, that in its ceaseless gropings and strivings it seeks Him without any clear notion of what it is doing. Deutero-Zechariah, he holds, goes beyond Mal 1^{11} and Is 26^{13}; for while Malachi exhibits a view which, carried to its logical conclusion, must end in syncretism and indifferentism, and while Is 26^{13}, on the other hand, shows a large-heartedness which might readily be abused to cover cowardly subservience and denial of the truth, Deutero-Zechariah in his universalism has avoided these errors. So far from seeing in idolatry only a readily excusable error in calculation, he considers that heathenism must be overcome in the most terrible conflict. Eckardt admits that the views of Deutero-Zechariah have a Levitical tinge, but urges that his universalism is not brought to a stand by the wall of the Law, but breaks through it whenever it presents itself as an obstacle. Ch. 14, it is true, lays great stress upon Levitical purity, but it is clear from the context, especially from the closing words of v.[21], that for the writer the building up of the Kingdom of God culminates in piety of soul, just as the Levitical purity of the last days passes over into inward purity. Nay, from 14^{19}, where he renders חַטָּאת by 'sin-offering,' Eckardt draws the conclusion that the particularistic narrow-mindedness of the laws about atonement is then to be overcome by the universalism of Divine grace, for there shall be a *ḥaṭṭāth* even for the peoples who defiantly refuse to join in the prescribed pilgrimage to Jerusalem.

An accurate unprejudiced exegesis, however, shows these contentions of Eckardt to be irreconcilable with the text. In view of the condition of things described in 14^{16-19}, how can the statement that there shall be no more a Canaanite in the house of Jahweh be made to justify the inference that 'the building up of the Kingdom of God shall be founded on piety of soul'? Or how can 14^9 'Jahweh's name shall be one' give rise to the notion that at present Jahweh is worshipped under a variety of names? In any case no support to this notion is given by 9^1, which cannot mean that the eyes of the heathen world are turned towards Jahweh. 9^7 alone would suffice to turn the scale against Eckardt, for in this verse the conversion of the Philistines is to evidence itself (1) by their eating no more of *εἰδωλόθυτα*, and (2) by their submitting to the Levitical laws about food, 'for Jahweh removes the abomination between their teeth.' It is beyond question also that in 9^6 we have not a promise, in contrast with Dt 23^2, but a threatening, as the context shows. Eckardt's view is thus shown to be untenable on exegetical grounds.

LITERATURE.—B. G. F. Flügge, *Die Weissagungen welche bey den Schriften des Propheten Zacharias beygebogen sind*, etc., 1784; W. Hengstenberg, *Beiträge*, i. (1831) 306 ff., *Christologie des A.T.'s* III. i.[2] p. 327 ff.; E. F. J. Ortenberg, *Die Bestandtheile des Buches Sacharja*, 1859; B. Stade, 'Deuterozacharja' in *ZATW* i. 1 ff., ii. 151 ff., 275 ff. [criticised by Kuenen in *Onderzoek*[2], §§ 81–83]; W. Staerk, *Untersuchungen über die Komposition und Abfassungszeit von Zach. 9–14*, 1891; G. K. Grützmacher, *Untersuchung über den Ursprung der in Sach. 9–14 vorliegenden Prophetien*, 1892; Rubinkam, *The Second Part of the Book of Zachariah*, Basel, 1892; Eckardt, 'Der Sprachgebrauch von Zach. 9–14' in *ZATW* xiii. 76 ff., 'Der religiöse Gehalt,' u.s.w., in *Ztschr. für Theol. u. Kirche*, iii. 311 ff.; A. K. Kuiper, *Zacharja ix-xiv, eene exegetisch-critische studie*, 1894; T. K. Cheyne, *JQR*, 1888, pp. 76–83; Boehmer, 'Das Raethsel von Sach. 12–14' in *Evang. Kirchenzeitschr.* 1901, p. 914 ff.; on the last chapter cf. Graetz in *JQR* iii. 208 ff. See also the relevant sections in the OT *Introductions* of Driver, Cornill, Strack, König, Baudissin.

W. NOWACK.

ZECHER (זֶכֶר).—A son of Jehiel the 'father' of Gibeon, 1 Ch 8^{31} (B Ζαχούρ, A Ζακχούρ, Luc. Ζεχρί); called in 9^{37} **Zechariah.**

ZECHRIAS (B Ζεχρίας, A Ἐζερίας, AV *Ezerias*), 1 Es 8^1.—Azariah, a priest in the line of Ezra, Ezr 7^1.

ZEDAD (צְדָד [the name occurs only with ה *locale*, צְדָדָה]).—One of the points mentioned in defining the Northern border of the Promised Land in Nu 34^8, and again in Ezekiel's ideal picture, Ezk 47^{15}. The reading is uncertain, the Sam. having in Numbers צרדה; LXX in Numbers, B and Luc. Σαράδακ, A Σαδάδακ, F Σάδδακ; in Ezekiel, BA Σελδαμμά. If the reading צדד is followed, the site is unknown; for, as Dillmann points out, the *Ṣadad*, on the road from Riblah to Ḳaryaten (accepted by Wetzstein, Mühlau, Furrer, *et al.*), is much too far to the east and north. If we read צרד, as we should probably do, the place may perhaps be identified (so van Kasteren, *RB*, 1895, p. 30) with *Khirbet Serādā*, N. of Abil, E. of Merj 'Ajûn, towards Hermon.

ZEDEKIAH (צִדְקִיָּה, צִדְקִיָּהוּ only in 1 K 22^{11}, Jer 27^{12} 28^1 29^3 'righteousness of J"'; LXX Σεδεκιά, Σεδεκίας, Σεδεκιού; Vulg. *Sedecias*). —**1.** Son of Chenaanah, and one of Ahab's four hundred court prophets (1 K $22^{11.\ 24.\ 25}$, 2 Ch $18^{10.\ 23.\ 24}$). When Jehoshaphat demanded that a prophet of J" should be consulted about the proposed expedition to Ramoth-gilead, Zedekiah came forward in that character in order to forestall Micaiah ben-Imlah. He produced horns of iron and apparently presented them to Ahab as from J", with a Divine commission: 'Thus saith the LORD, With these shalt thou push the Syrians, until they be consumed.' He maintained his attitude in the presence of Micaiah, and ventured to insinuate a doubt as to the source of the inspiration of the latter: 'Which way went the spirit of the LORD from me to speak unto thee?' The sharp retort in which Micaiah reaffirmed the coming defeat of Israel does not seem to have weakened the infatuation of the two kings. The lying spirit prevailed.

Josephus (*Ant.* VIII. xv. 4) embellishes this story, and transposes the incidents of it. He puts a speech to Ahab into Zedekiah's mouth, in which he tries to prove Micaiah to be a false prophet because of his disagreement with Elijah as to the place of Ahab's future death, and concludes by proposing a practical test: 'When struck by me, let him injure my hand as Jadaos dried up the right hand of king Jeroboam when he wished to arrest him.' Zedekiah then smites Micaiah, and as nothing happens to him, Ahab is convinced. The incident of the iron horns follows.

2. A prophet, one of the captives deported to Babylon with Jehoiachin. He and another, named Ahab, are denounced by Jeremiah (29^{21-23}) for gross immorality as well as for falsely prophesying a speedy restoration from Babylon. It was probably their action as political agitators that brought on them the cruel punishment of being roasted in the fire by order of Nebuchadrezzar. Jeremiah

prophesied that their fate would be proverbial. Zedekiah was son of MAASEIAH, who is probably to be identified with the priest whose son, 'the second priest' Zephaniah, was put to death at Riblah by Nebuchadrezzar (2 K 25$^{18ff.}$). **3.** Son of Hananiah, one of the princes in the reign of Jehoiakim (Jer 36^{12}).

4. The last king of Judah (SEDEKIAS in 1 Es 1^{46}, Bar 1^{8}). He was the youngest son of Josiah and full brother of Jehoahaz (2 K 23^{31} 24^{18}; in Jos. *Ant.* X. vii. 2, 'Jehoiakim' is a blunder for 'Jehoahaz'). In 1 Ch 3^{15} his name precedes that of SHALLUM or JEHOAHAZ, perhaps on account of the latter's insignificance, while in the following verse and in 2 Ch 36^{10} he is represented as son of Jehoiakim, perhaps as having been his successor. These variations are instructive as showing the degree of inaccuracy which may exist in biblical genealogies. The direct account of this reign is contained in 2 K 24^{17}–25^{7}, Jer 39$^{1-7}$ 52$^{1-11}$, 2 Ch 36$^{10-21}$. Considerable light is also thrown on this period by the prophetical writings of Jeremiah and Ezekiel, especially the narrative portions of Jeremiah which are here enumerated in their chronological order: chs. 24. 27. (Gr. 34.) 28. (35.) 29. (36.) 21. 37. (44.) 34. (41.) 38. (45.) 39$^{15-18}$ (46$^{15-18}$) 32. (39.) 33. (40.) 39$^{1-14}$ (46$^{1-3}$). There is, in fact, more contemporary material available for the construction of the history of this reign than of that of any other Hebrew monarch; yet there are few of which there is so little definite to record.

Zedekiah's eleven years' occupancy of the throne was but the last sigh of the expiring Davidic dynasty, one episode in the struggle of Egypt and Babylon for the mastery. The king himself was a weak man in a false position. As a private citizen he might have had an inoffensive and respectable career, for he was of an amiable disposition and religiously inclined, but in the Davidic vine he was 'no strong rod to be a sceptre to rule' (Ezk 19^{14}). Josephus in one passage (*Ant.* X. vii. 5) credits him with χρηστότης καὶ δικαιοσύνη. This is sufficiently evidenced in his dealings with Jeremiah. On two occasions we read of formal deputations from the king to the prophet (Jer 21^{1} 37^{3}), 'Inquire, I pray thee, of the LORD for us,' 'Pray now unto the LORD our God for us'; and when this State recognition was no longer possible, Zedekiah proved the sincerity of his own personal convictions in secret consultations (Jer 37^{17} 38^{16}). It is noteworthy, too, that the only occasions on which we read of Zedekiah's exerting his authority are when he mitigated the rigour of Jeremiah's imprisonment (37^{21}) and sanctioned his deliverance from the miry dungeon (38^{10}), see also Jer 38^{16}; and so it was promised to him, in marked contrast with the fate of Jehoiakim (Jer 22$^{18.\ 19}$), that he should die in peace and be buried as a king (Jer 34$^{4.\ 5}$). Jeremiah, in fact, never adopts a harsh tone when speaking of him. Others also felt the same personal attraction. They looked back on him as 'the breath of our nostrils, the anointed of the Lord . . . of whom we said, Under his shadow we shall live among the nations' (La 4^{20}). On the other hand, Ezekiel, whose moral and political judgment was uninfluenced by personal contact with the king, speaks of Zedekiah in terms of unqualified censure. He is the 'deadly wounded wicked one.' The prophetic sentence of deposition anticipates the act of man (Ezk 21$^{25-27}$). Ezekiel, in fact, is at one with the pro-Egyptian party in regarding Jehoiachin as *de jure* king. He dates his visions not by the years of Zedekiah's reign, but by those of king Jehoiachin's captivity. On other grounds it is difficult to avoid feeling sympathy with the pro-Egyptian party in Jerusalem. In comparison, indeed, with the exiles in Babylon, they were as bad figs, 'very bad, that cannot be eaten, they are so bad' (Jer 24, see also Ezk 5^{4} 11$^{15-18}$ 14^{22} 22. 33$^{24-26}$), but their patriotism was sincere if perverted, while Zedekiah's throne rested upon a renunciation of national ambitions. This is clearly marked in the words of Ezekiel (17$^{13.\ 14}$), 'The king of Babylon . . . took of the seed royal and made a covenant with him; he also brought him under an oath, and took away the mighty of the land: that the kingdom might be base, that it might not lift itself up, but that by keeping of his covenant it might stand.' In other words, it was Nebuchadrezzar's policy to reduce the Jewish nation to impotence and at the same time attach it to himself by motives of self-interest, and thus control the powerful fortress of Jerusalem. Josephus (*Ant.* X. vii. 1) gives the terms of the oath under which Zedekiah was brought: 'That he would surely guard the country for him, and neither make any political changes nor favour the Egyptians.' Accordingly, the hopes of the national party centred round Jehoiachin, whom they hoped to restore to the throne (Jer 28^{4}). Zedekiah's disloyalty, therefore, was directly against his own personal interests; but he was quite passive in the hands of the man or faction that happened to be nearest to him at the time; as Josephus says (*Ant.* X. vii. 2), 'As long as he heard the prophet speaking these things, he believed him and agreed to everything as true, and believed that it would be to his advantage; but then his friends used to corrupt him and draw him away from the suggestions of the prophet to whatever course they wished.' We have here an echo of the taunt-song which Jeremiah (38^{22}) puts into the mouth of the women of the royal harem: 'Thy familiar friends have set thee on, and have prevailed over thee: now that thy feet are sunk in the mire, they are turned away back.' 'The princes' to whom allusion is here made, seem in this reign to have usurped most of the executive power. They tried and sentenced Jeremiah on a charge of desertion (Jer 37^{14}). They reduced the king to abject terror (37^{17} 38^{25}). There was truth as well as pathos in the words with which he surrendered his best friend to them: 'The king is not he that can do anything against you' (38^{5}). In a ruler such weakness is the greatest crime, and in the case of Zedekiah it was aggravated by the fact that 'the princes' for the most part belonged to the pro-Egyptian party to which Jeremiah and Ezekiel (Jos. *Ant.* X. vii. 2) were opposed, and which encouraged the idolatrous reaction which followed on the death of Josiah. That reaction was now in full force (see Ezk 8 and 11). And yet it is not so much for abetting false or irregular worship that the prophets condemn Zedekiah as for breach of faith. The oath of fealty which he made to Nebuchadrezzar struck men as being of a peculiarly binding nature. He 'made him swear by God' (2 Ch 36^{13}) and place his hand under his thigh (Ezk 17^{18}). The lofty and stern morality of the Hebrew prophets did not palliate Zedekiah's subsequent violation of this solemn promise on the ground that it had been made to a heathen. On the contrary, 'Thus saith the Lord God: As I live, surely *mine* oath that he hath despised, and *my* covenant that he hath broken, I will even bring it upon his own head' (Ezk 17^{19}). The new name *Zedekiah* which he now received in place of *Mattaniah*, in token of vassalage, very possibly has reference to the righteousness of J" which was appealed to on this occasion; and this again may well be 'the circumstantial origin' of the Messianic aspirations after the Shoot of the Davidic stock whose name is 'J" is our righteousness' (Jer 23$^{5.\ 6}$).

It is difficult to say how long Zedekiah remained negatively loyal to the Chaldæans, but in his fourth

year (B.C. 590) his allegiance was so far questionable that the rulers of Edom, Moab, Ammon, Tyre, and Sidon (Jer 27[2]), incited thereto by their prophets and diviners, were emboldened to send envoys to Jerusalem in order to induce Zedekiah to join a league for the purpose of throwing off the Babylonian yoke. The prophets and diviners of Israel, too, both in Jerusalem and Babylon, were fomenting a similar agitation, uttering definite predictions that 'shortly' (Jer 27[16]), 'within two full years' (Jer 28[3]), would all the vessels of the LORD's house and Jeconiah himself be restored to their native land. The silver vessels which Zedekiah is said (Bar 1[8]) to have made to take the place of the gold ones served to emphasize the national humiliation. It seems to us unaccountable that the peoples of Syria could have had such provincial imaginations, so little sense of proportion, as to expect the speedy fall of the empire of Nebuchadrezzar. On the other hand, it must be remembered that the rise of Chaldæa was of very recent date, the sudden collapse of Nineveh must have made anything seem possible, and belief in the inexhaustible resources of Egypt was a tradition in the East. The prestige of centuries dies hard. In opposition to such men as Hananiah and Shemaiah at Jerusalem (Jer 28[1] 29[24]), and Ahab and Zedekiah at Babylon (Jer 29[22]), Jeremiah as chief prophet of the pro-Chaldæan party declared that resistance to Nebuchadrezzar was premature, futile, and suicidal, since supremacy had been assured by God to Babylon for 70 years.

With characteristic energy Nebuchadrezzar at once set about crushing the incipient revolt. He made examples of the agitators at Babylon, 'roasting them in the fire' (Jer 29[22]), and at the same time apparently sent to demand explanations from his vassal at Jerusalem. It is possible that the mission of Elasah and Gemariah (Jer 29[3]) to Babylon should be referred to this date; in any case Zedekiah's personal attendance was required, and he journeyed to Babylon before the close of his fourth year, accompanied by a leading member of the pro-Chaldæan party, Seraiah (Jer 51[59]). There is no reason to doubt the sincerity of the protests of loyalty which Zedekiah doubtless made at this time. He had, in fact, everything to lose by the defeat of Chaldæa, but he counted for nothing in the struggle of factions at Jerusalem, which continued as before, intense, sordid, monotonous. In his fifth year Ezekiel (1[2] 4[1ff.]) sees the fate of Jerusalem to be inevitable. The dominant party had an infatuated confidence in the impregnability of their fortress, 'This city is the caldron, and we be the flesh' (Ezk 11[3]); and as it was hopeless to expect any help from the exiles in Babylon, these latter—the real depositaries of the Messianic hope—came to be regarded as outcasts: 'Get you far from the LORD; unto us is this land given for a possession' (Ezk 11[15]). This was the state of feeling in Jerusalem in the sixth year of the reign.

Psammetichus II., who died in 589, was succeeded on the throne of Egypt by his brother Apries (Uahibri), and Zedekiah was induced to 'send his ambassadors into Egypt that they might give him horses and much people' (Ezk 17[15]). Edom, Moab, and Philistia now held back, but Judah committed itself to an alliance with Tyre (Ezk 26[7] 29[18]), Ammon, and Egypt against Babylon. This took place, according to Josephus (*Ant.* X. vii. 3), at the close of Zedekiah's eighth year; but the prophecy of Ezekiel (21) in which reference is made to it seems to be dated (20[1]) in his seventh year. In any case it was not until his ninth year, the tenth day of the tenth month, that the Chaldæan army actually invested Jerusalem. The delay is easily accounted for. At the time when war was actually declared, Nebuchadrezzar was probably engaged in reducing Elam or Susiana (Jer 49[34-39]), and when he did turn his attention to the Egyptian coalition he was uncertain whether he should first attack Ammon or Judah (Ezk 21[20ff.]). Finally, he established himself at Riblah, whence he despatched expeditions against Tyre and Jerusalem respectively. The division sent against Zedekiah, before settling down around the capital, reduced the smaller fortresses of Judah; Lachish and Azekah alone held out (Jer 34[7]). It was a day never to be forgotten (2 K 25[1], Jer 39[1] 52[4], Ezk 24[2], Zec 8[18]). Some, the king himself included, at last recognized the fact that deliverance from this danger would be a miracle comparable to one of the LORD'S wondrous works of old time (Jer 21[2]). The general alarm, indeed, was such as to cause a religious revival, one feature of which was a renewal, with the patriarchal ceremonial (Jer 34[8. 18]), of the covenant, and in particular a solemn engagement was made by all the people that they would in future observe the law as to the manumission of slaves (Ex 21[2], Dt 15[12]). Their zeal for this enactment may have been quickened by a desire to increase the number of defenders of the city.

Meanwhile the Egyptian army, commanded by Apries in person, was advancing from the south to the relief of his ally (Jos. *Ant.* X. vii. 3), and captured Gaza, and compelled the Chaldæans to raise the siege of Jerusalem. Josephus (*l.c.*) states that the two armies met in a pitched battle, and that the Egyptians were put to flight and driven out of all Syria. From Jer 37[7] we should infer no more than that Pharaoh was forced to retreat to his own land. The Chaldæan army had no sooner withdrawn than the base people of Jerusalem broke faith with their slaves and reduced them to bondage again—a step which called forth an indignant protest from the prophet (Jer 34[13ff.]). Meanwhile there were constant desertions to the Chaldæan army (Jer 37[13] 38[19] 39[9] 52[15]), caused at least in some measure by the predictions of Jeremiah. The burden of his utterances during the siege was that the city and all its contents was doomed, but that individual deserters would save their own lives (21[9] 38[2. 17]). We cannot wonder then that the anti-Chaldæan party regarded him as a dangerous traitor (38[4]), and viewed with suspicion his relations with the king. In fact, after he had been sentenced to imprisonment, Zedekiah could only see him by stealth (37[17] 38[16]).

The relieving force having been completely repulsed, the besiegers once more closed round the doomed city. Josephus displayed a true historical spirit in describing the siege in the light of his own experiences. It must have been an almost exact counterpart, in the desperate courage and the horrors of it, to the siege under Titus. There were the same circles of forts to keep the blockade, the battering-rams against the gates, the 'mounts' built high to overtop the city walls (2 K 25[1], Jer 32[24], Ezk 4[2] 17[17] 21[22] 26[8. 9]), while the besieged strained all their powers of mind and body to erect counter works, destroying even the royal palace to find building material (Jer 33[4]). But deadlier than the missiles of the Chaldæans were the pestilence and the famine (Jer 21[6. 7. 9] 32[36] 34[17] 38[2. 9], La 5[10], Ezk 5[12. 16. 17], Bar 2[25]), with the supreme horror of cannibalism (Jer 19[9], La 2[19-22] 4[10], Ezk 5[10]). The city yielded at last to famine (Jer 52[6]), and on the ninth day of the fourth month, in the eleventh year of Zedekiah's reign, about midnight the six generals who had been conducting the siege entered through a breach and sat in grim state in the middle temple gate (Jer 39[3]; Jos. *Ant.* X. viii. 2; cf. Ezk 9[2]).

In the confusion that followed, Zedekiah with his household and most of the surviving defenders

of the city broke through the cordon of the besiegers; they were betrayed, however, by some of the deserters, and had only succeeded in reaching the plains of Jericho when they were overtaken. The unfortunate king was conveyed to Riblah to the presence of Nebuchadrezzar, who 'spake with him of judgment,' taxing him, according to Josephus, with perjury and ingratitude. With a refinement of cruelty his eyes were put out, but not until he had seen the slaughter of his children.

Josephus calls attention to the remarkable manner in which the fate of Zedekiah fulfilled two apparently discrepant prophecies of Jeremiah and Ezekiel respectively. 'Thine eyes shall behold the eyes of the king of Babylon, and he shall speak with thee mouth to mouth, and thou shalt go to Babylon' (Jer 34^3), and 'I will bring him to Babylon, to the land of the Chaldæans; yet shall he not see it, though he shall die there' (Ezk 12^{13}).

In all probability, Zedekiah did not long survive his misfortunes. We hear no more of him. The hope of Israel henceforth centres round the more innocent captive, his nephew Jeconiah (2 K 25^{27}).

5. A 'prince' who 'sealed unto the covenant' at Nehemiah's reformation (Neh 10^1).

N. J. D. White.

ZEEB.—See Oreb.

ZELA(H).—A Benjamite city, Jos 18^{28} (צֶלַע, LXX om.), where was the family burying-place of Saul (2 S 21^{14} צֵלַע [here RV needlessly confuses by writing Zela*h*], LXX *ἐν τῇ πλευρᾷ* [taking it for צֵלַע 'side']). Its site has not been discovered.

ZELEK (צֶלֶק).—An Ammonite, one of David's heroes, 2 S 23^{37} (B Ἐλειέ, A Σβλεγί, Luc. Σαλαάδ)= 1 Ch 11^{39} (B Σέλη, A Σέλληκ).

ZELOPHEHAD (צְלָפְחָד).—A Manassite who died during the wilderness journeyings, leaving no male issue. His five daughters successfully asserted their claim to the inheritance of their father (Nu 26^{33} 27^{1-7} 36^{2-12}, Jos 17^3, 1 Ch 7^{15}). See vol. ii. pp. 129b and 341b. The LXX readings are: B Σαλπαάδ except in 1 Ch 7^{15} Σαπφαάδ; A Σαλπαάδ except in Jos 17^3 Σαλφαάδ (*bis*).

ZELZAH.—In 1 S 10^2 Samuel tells Saul: 'When thou art departed from me to-day, then thou shalt find two men by Rachel's sepulchre in the border of Benjamin בצלצח.' The last word is rendered by AV and RV 'at Zelzah.' But there are grave reasons for suspecting the correctness of this. No place of such a name is known to us, nor should we expect any further definition after the specific mention of 'Rachel's sepulchre.' The LXX translates by *ἁλλομένους μεγάλα* 'leaping mightily' (Ew. 'in grosser Eile'); *ἁλλομένους*=צלחים (v.6). But, as Driver points out, though צלח על may mean (metaphorically) *leap upon*, we are not justified in attributing to צלח absolutely the sense of *leaping*. Moreover, *μεγάλα* as an adverb does not occur elsewhere in the LXX, and Wellh. is doubtless right in regarding it as simply a Heb. word written in Greek letters and transformed into something significant in Greek (for other instances of a similar kind see Driver, *Text of Sam.* 60 n.). He himself takes *ἁλλομένους μεγάλα* to be doublets which have arisen from the words *ἐν Σηλὼμ ἐν Βακαλάθ* which are found in several MSS after the word *Βενιαμείν*. See, more fully, his *Text d. Bücher Sam.* 73 f.; and cf. Driver and Löhr, who take practically the same view of the passage.

ZEMARAIM (צְמָרַיִם).—A city of Benjamin, apparently in the vicinity of Bethel, Jos 18^{22} (B Σαρά, A Σεμρίμ, Luc. Σαμαρείμ). It prob. gave its name to Mt. Zemaraim (הַר צ, *τὸ ὄρος Σομορών*), in the hill-country of Ephraim, 2 Ch 13^4, from which the Chronicler makes Abijah harangue Jeroboam and his army. It is generally identified with *es-Sumra* to the north of Jericho (*PEF Mem.* iii. 174, 212 f.; Buhl, *GAP* 180, *et al.*); but Dillm. (*Jos. ad loc.*) doubts the correctness of this, holding that the place (see Berth. on 2 Ch 13^4) ought to be sought to the *south* of Bethel, and not far to the *east* where *es-Sumra* lies.

ZEMARITE (צְמָרִי).—Name of a tribe said to be one of the sons of Canaan and placed between Arvad and Hamath, Gn 10^{18}=1 Ch 1^{16} (A Σαμαραῖος, E [in Gen.] Σαμαρεῖος). The name seems akin to Zemaraim of Jos 18^{22}. The Arabian geographers mention several places with similar names; but the juxtaposition of this name with Arvad suggests comparison with Ṣumur of the Tel el-Amarna tablets, in which the two names figure more than once side by side. So 150. 59 (ed. Winckler): 'The people of Arvad have made a treaty to take away Tyre; Tyre they could not conquer, but Ṣumur they did conquer.' From 81. 13 it appears to have been a port, and is identified by Winckler with Botrys. In the fragmentary narrative contained in these tablets it appears to have been repeatedly taken, destroyed, and rebuilt. A place named Simyra, considerably to the north of Botrys, is mentioned by the classical geographers (Strabo, xvi. ii. 12; Pliny, *HN* v. 77; Ptol. v. xv. 4), and was supposed by Michaelis to retain a trace of the name given in Genesis (so also Schrader, *KAT*^{2} 105; Dillm. *Gen. ad loc., et al.*).

D. S. Margoliouth.

ZEMIRAH (זְמִירָה).—A son of Becher, 1 Ch 7^8 (B'Αμαρίας, A Ζαμαρίας, Luc. Ζαμαριά).

ZENAN.—See Zaanan.

ZENAS (Ζηνᾶς).—In Tit 3^{13} St. Paul exhorts Titus to bring or, more probably, send forward (*πρόπεμψον*) on their journey Zenas and Apollos with great care (*σπουδαίως*), that nothing may be wanting to them, and describes Zenas as *τὸν νομικόν*, *i.e.* 'the lawyer.' This may mean a lawyer in the secular sense, but more probably one skilled in the Jewish law (cf. Lk 7^{30} 11^{45} 14^3). Just above, the same word is used about disputes concerning the Law (Tit 3^9 'But avoid . . . strivings about the law, *μάχας νομικάς*').

A. C. Headlam.

ZEPHANIAH.—**1.** The prophet. See Zephaniah, Book of, where also the name is discussed. **2.** A Kohathite, mentioned among the ancestors of Heman the singer (1 Ch 6^{36}). **3.** Son of Maaseiah the priest in Jerusalem in the time of Zedekiah the king and Jeremiah the prophet. He belonged to the court party opposed to making any terms with Babylon, and inclined to trust to the help of Egypt. Though thus opposed to the policy of Jeremiah, he showed a good disposition towards the prophet by letting him see the letter which he had received from Shemaiah in which Zeph. was urged to stop every *mad* prophet, and was called in question for not having rebuked Jeremiah for prophesying that the Babylonian captivity would continue (Jer $29^{25.\ 29}$). He was sent by Zedekiah to Jeremiah to ask of the Lord through His prophet deliverance from Nebuchadnezzar, and carried back God's message to the king. He was then sent again to inquire as to the proposed league with Egypt (Jer 21^1 37^3). As next in rank to Seraiah, grandson of Hilkiah (1 Ch 6^{14}), Zeph. is called *second priest*, כֹּהֵן (הַ)מִּשְׁנֶה (2 K 25^{18}). On the occasion of the final overthrow of Jerusalem by Nebuzaradan, in B.C. 587, Zeph. was taken, along with Seraiah and others, down to the king of Babylon at Riblah, and was there put to death. **4.** The father of one Josiah, into whose house in

Jerusalem the messengers from the Jews remaining in Babylon went (Zec $6^{10.\ 14}$). As this occurred some sixty-seven years after the death of the son of Maaseiah, there is not much probability in the suggestion that he may be identical with the father of Josiah. It is not, however, by any means impossible. J. MACPHERSON.

ZEPHANIAH, APOCALYPSE OF. — A Jewish apocryphon, probably similar in contents to the *Ascension of Isaiah*. It is named in each of the two lists of OT apocrypha that have come down to us, viz. the Stichometry of Nicephorus, and an anonymous list found in Codex Coislinianus, and three other codices (Schürer, *HJP* II. iii. 125 ff.). The only extract known is given by Clemens Alex. in his *Stromata*, v. xi. 77, where, after quoting from Moses, Euripides, and Plato to the effect that true worship does not require material temples, he says: 'Are not these (sayings) like those of Zephaniah the prophet? "And the spirit of the Lord took me and brought me up into the fifth heaven and showed me angels called lords . . . dwelling in temples of salvation and singing praise to God, ineffable, most high."' The occupants of the fifth heaven are named also in *Ascension of Isaiah*, $4^{32ff.}$; *Slav. Enoch*, 18^{1}; *Testaments*, Levi, iii. 3; *Chagigah*, 12*b*.

Fragments of a Christianized Coptic recension of the *Apocalypse of Zephaniah* were discovered at Akhmim and published by S. Bouriant in *Mém. de la mission archéol. au Caire*, 1885. A Germ. translation by Stern appeared in the *Ztschr. f. ägyp. Sprache*, etc., 1886, p. 115 ff.; and the same fragments, with additions, and along with a fairly complete Coptic recension of the *Apocalypse of Elias*, have been edited by Steindorff in *TU*. The question of how much belongs to the *Apocalypse of Zephaniah* and how much ought to be assigned to an unidentified Apocalypse, is not yet settled (cf. James in *Encyc. Bibl.* i. 256).

LITERATURE. — Fabricius, *Cod. pseudepigr. VT* i. 1140 f.; Dillm. in *PRE*^{2} xii. 360; Zöckler, *Apokr. d. AT* 440; Schürer, *GJV*^{3} iii. 271 f.; Harnack, *Gesch. d. altchrist. Litt.* i. 854, ii. 1, 572 f.; Bousset, *Der Antichrist*, 1895, pp. 54–57.

J. T. MARSHALL.

ZEPHANIAH, BOOK OF.—

i. The Writer.
ii. Contents of the Book.
iii. Date and Unity.
iv. Literary Characteristics, Condition of Text, etc.
v. Religious Value.
Literature.

i. THE WRITER.—The title of the book reads: 'The word of the LORD, which came unto Zephaniah, the son of Cushi, the son of Gedaliah, the son of Amariah, the son of Hezekiah, in the days of Josiah, the son of Amon, king of Judah.' The name *Zephaniah* (צְפַנְיָה, LXX Σοφονίας; cf. the name צפנבעל in No. 107 of the Phœn. inscriptions in *CIS*) means 'he whom J" has hidden *or* protected,' and is borne in the OT by three men (see art. ZEPHANIAH) besides the author of the prophecy before us. It has plausibly been inferred that the Ḥezekiah named in the title is the Judæan monarch of that name (so Hitzig, followed by most moderns). This would account for the genealogy of Zephaniah being carried back four generations, whereas the usual practice in the case of the prophets is to name only their father (cf. Is 1^{1} 'Isaiah the son of Amoz,' Jer 1^{1} 'Jeremiah the son of Hilkiah,' Ezk 1^{3} 'Ezekiel the son of Buzi,' Jl 1^{1} 'Joel the son of Pethuel'). No argument against this conclusion can be drawn from the absence of the title 'king of Judah' after Ḥezekiah's name. This title could have been inserted only somewhat awkwardly, seeing that it had to be appended also to Josiah's name, and may have been felt to be unnecessary in the case of so well-known a name as that of Ḥezekiah. Ẓephaniah's great-grandfather, Amariah, will thus have been a younger brother of king Manasseh, and no difficulty in the way of Ẓephaniah's being a contemporary of Josiah is occasioned by the circumstance that the succession Ḥezekiah—Manasseh—Amon—Josiah appears to contain a generation fewer than Ḥezekiah—Amariah—Gedaliah—Cushi—Ẓephaniah. For we learn from 2 K $21^{1.\ 19}$ that Manasseh was 45 years old when his son Amon was born, a date at which his brother Amariah might easily have had a grandson (Cushi). Ẓephaniah may thus have been as old as, or even older than, Josiah. If the prophet belonged to the royal family, all the greater interest attaches to his strictures upon 'the princes and the king's sons' ($1^{8.\ 9}$). He was, clearly enough, a dweller in Jerusalem (note his familiarity with the various localities of the city, the Fish Gate, the Second Quarter, the MAKTESH [$1^{10.\ 11}$], and esp. the words in 1^{4} 'I will cut off the remnant of Baal *from this place*').

ii. CONTENTS OF THE BOOK.—The prophecy falls into two unequal divisions, the first and larger of these being occupied with threatenings, the second with promises.

A. *The Threatening*, 1^{2}–3^{7}.

A destructive judgment, universal in its scope, is proclaimed in terms which recall those that heralded the approach of the Deluge (Gn 6^{7}; cf. also Hos 4^{3} and Ezk 38^{19}); man and beast, the fowls of the heaven and the fishes of the sea, the stumbling-blocks with the wicked, are to be cut off ($1^{2.\ 3}$).

The word מִכְשֹׁלוֹת in v.^{3} is doubtful. In its only other occurrence (in the sing. מִכְשֹׁלָה Is 3^{6}) it means 'overthrown mass,' 'ruin,' which of course does not suit here; and even the rendering 'stumbling-blocks' (*i.e.* idols; cf. the use of the cognate מִכְשׁוֹל in Ezk $14^{3.\ 4.\ 7}$) is hardly appropriate to the context. Schwally would emend וְכִשַּׁלְתִּי [G. A. Smith prefers Hiph. וְהִכְשַׁלְתִּי] 'and I will cause (the wicked) to stumble' (cf. v.^{17} 'they shall walk like blind men'). LXX reads καὶ ἀσθενήσουσιν οἱ ἀσεβεῖς (=וְנִכְשְׁלוּ רְשָׁעִים). Wellh. and Now. (cf. Davidson) regard the words הַמַּכְשֹׁלוֹת אֶת־הָרְשָׁעִים as an interpolation of a late glossator, who missed a definite allusion to the sweeping away of idols in the general destruction.

In particular this judgment will overtake idolaters and syncretists in Judah and Jerusalem (vv.$^{4-6}$). The 'day of the Lord' (on this conception see the references in art. OBADIAH, vol. iii. p. 578^{a}) is at hand; He has prepared a sacrificial feast (cf. Is 13^{3} 34^{6}, Jer 46^{10}, Ezk 39^{17}), where the victims are the people of Judah, and to this the instruments of His vengeance (prob. the Scythian hordes; see below under 'Date') as 'sanctified' guests (cf. 1 S 16^{5} 20^{26}) are invited (v.^{7}). From the royal house downwards all classes are guilty, and shall share in the terrors of that day (vv.$^{8-11}$).

Nowack's transposition of v.^{9b} and v.^{8b} ('I will punish the princes and the king's sons, who fill their master's house with violence and deceit; and I will punish all who leap over the threshold, and all who clothe themselves with foreign apparel') is perhaps somewhat arbitrary, but it is attractive. As the clauses stand, the 'leaping over the threshold' is connected in such a way with the 'filling of their master's house with violence and deceit,' as to amount to a charging of the royal princes with housebreaking. Perhaps the prophet means to bring such a charge against them (Davidson, *et al.*); but, on the other hand, there is much to be said in favour of the supposition that what he has in view is their imitation of a foreign (? Philistine [see art. CHERETHITES, vol. i. p. 377^{a}]) custom of leaping over the threshold in entering a house. Upon Nowack's arrangement of the clauses, this habit and the aping of foreign manners in dress fall into line with one another.

In that day Jahweh will search Jerusalem with lanterns (cf. for the figure Lk 15^{8}), and hunt from their hiding-places (cf. Am 9^{3}) the men who are now sunk in religious indifferentism and who say, 'The Lord will not do good, neither will he do evil' (v.^{12}; cf. Ps 10^{4} 14^{1} etc., and, for the proverbial

expression, Is 41^{23}, Jer 10^{5}). The utter ruin and the war alarms of that day are further described in vv.$^{14-18}$.

Then in 2^{1-3} the prophet turns to his countrymen with an appeal yet to seek the LORD, if perchance they may be hid in the day of His fierce anger, when the Philistines (vv.$^{4-7}$), Moab and Ammon (vv.$^{8-11}$), Cush (v.^{12}), and Assyria (vv.$^{13-15}$) shall be overwhelmed.

There is no sufficient ground for Wellhausen's supposition that in 2^{1} the situation and tone are somewhat different from those of ch. 1, a difference due to the choice of the coast road by the Scythian host, and a consequent anticipation on the part of the prophet that Judah might, after all, escape the storm.

Vv.$^{4-7}$ and $^{12-15}$ are in the *ḳinah* measure (see LAMENTATIONS, vol. iii. p. 20^{b}, and POETRY, above, p. 5), although the rhythm is, now at least, in several instances imperfect.

In 3^{1-7} Jerusalem is once more the subject of denunciation, as the rebellious, polluted, oppressing city, whose princes, judges, prophets, priests, are all alike unfaithful to their duty, and whose inhabitants have failed utterly to learn the lesson God meant to teach them by His judgments upon the nations. V.^{8} appears to form the connecting link between the Threatening and—

B. *The Promise*, 3^{9-20}.

The faithful in Jerusalem are to wait till the judgment is accomplished, when all peoples shall be brought to serve the LORD with one consent (vv.$^{9, 10}$). Israel's sinfulness and pride shall be no more, they shall trust in the name of the LORD and shall dwell safely (vv.$^{11-13}$). The book closes with a triumphant call to the people to rejoice in the LORD who dwells in their midst, and who gives to them a high and honourable place amongst the nations (vv.$^{14-20}$).

The general sense of these closing verses is clear, but there is some uncertainty as to details, as the text is in several places more or less corrupt (see below, § iv.).

iii. DATE AND UNITY.—1. The title of the book assigns the prophecy, as we have seen, to the days of king Josiah. So far as ch. 1 is concerned, the correctness of this date is almost universally admitted, even by those who do not regard the title as an original part of the book.

The only important exception is Ed. König (*Einleit. in d. AT* 352 f.), who would assign the prophecy to the period of reaction that followed the death of Josiah (B.C. 608). But, while much in the book would suit such a date, there is one circumstance which appears sufficient to condemn König's view, namely the absence of any censure upon *the king* in 1^{8}. This is suitable in the case of Josiah but not of Jehoiaḳim (see G. A. Smith, *Twelve Prophets*, ii. 39 f.).

But the reign of Josiah (B.C. 639–608) is crossed by an important dividing line in the year 621, the date of the reformation on the basis of the Deuteronomic law-book. On which side of this line does our prophecy naturally range itself? We have no hesitation in reaching the conclusion that the description of the idolatrous practices in 1^{4-6} and of the whole religious, moral, and social condition of things in $1^{8, 9, 12}$ (not to speak of 3^{1} etc.), points to a period prior to the year 621. This opinion, which is the prevailing one among scholars (of moderns it may suffice to name A. B. Davidson, Driver, G. A. Smith, Wellhausen, Nowack, Cornill, Budde, Strack), is opposed for various reasons by Delitzsch (in *PRE*^{2}), Kleinert (in Lange's *Bibelwerk*), and Schulz (*Com.* 1892), who would date the prophecy subsequent to the reforms of B.C. 621.

The argument for a late date, which is drawn from supposed echoes of Deuteronomy (*e.g.* Zeph $1^{13, 15, 17}$ compared with Dt $28^{29, 30}$), need not detain us, for it is weak in the extreme. Nor can any great weight be laid upon the expression 'the *remnant* of Baal' in 1^{4}, as if this were an allusion to the survival of Baal-worship after the drastic measures adopted against it by Josiah in 621. For (*a*) it is possible that the original text was 'the *names* [שְׁמוֹת instead of שְׁאֵר; LXX *τὰ ὀνόματα*] of Baal'; cf. Hos 2^{17} 'I will take away the names of the Baalim out of her mouth,' and Zec 13^{2} 'I will cut off the names of the idols out of the land.' Or (*b*) שְׁאֵר may be taken in the sense of 'the rest'= 'every vestige,' so that the meaning will be 'I will wholly root out Baal-worship,' 'I will cut it off till not a trace of it is left' (cf. Is 14^{22} 'I will cut off from Babylon name and remnant'); so A. B. Davidson, Wellhausen, Nowack. Probably the same sense should be attributed to the שְׁאֵרִית of Am 1^{8} and the אַחֲרִית of Am 4^{12} 9^{1}. Or (*c*), even if the expression be taken in its narrowest sense, the 'remnant of Baal' may refer to the Baal-worship which survived the reforms which, if we can trust the Chronicler (2 Ch $34^{3f.}$), Josiah had undertaken six years previously. Besides, as A. B. Davidson points out, *Baal* may stand here for any kind of false worship, even that which is nominally offered to Jahweh. On the CHEMARIM see article under that title.

A difficulty in the way of assigning the prophecy to the earlier part of Josiah's reign has been felt owing to the mention of 'the king's sons' in 1^{8}, seeing that it is impossible that Josiah, who could not have been much over 21 years of age at the time (cf. 2 K $21^{1, 3}$), could have had sons capable of perpetrating the outrages attributed to them in v.^{9}. But here again (*a*) it is not unlikely that the LXX *ὁ οἶκος τοῦ βασιλέως* [*i.e.* בֵּית הַמֶּלֶךְ instead of בְּנֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ] has preserved the original reading—'the king's *house*.' Or (*b*) 'the king's sons' may mean simply members of the royal family (who had a king, but not necessarily the reigning king, among their ancestors); cf. 1 K 22^{2b}, 2 K 11^{2}, Jer 36^{26} [see Hitzig–Graf] 38^{6}. Owing to the youth of the king, his relatives at court would have all the freer scope for their malpractices.

The early date for which we are contending is further supported by the prophet's allusions to an approaching foe, whom he does not name, but who is with much probability identified by most moderns with the Scythians, whose incursions are referred to by Herodotus (i. 102 ff.), and who probably passed along the Philistine seaboard, *c.* 626 B.C. [This explanation is in every way preferable to that of Schwally, who supposes the foe to be *Egypt* (see A. B. Davidson, p. 98, for a conclusive refutation of Schwally)]. These Scythian hordes appear also to have been the subject of Jer 4^{6}–6^{30} in its *original* form, and to have suggested the imagery of Ezk $38^{4ff.}$. In the year 626 Josiah would be 21 years of age, and Ẓephaniah possibly a little older. The latter and Jeremiah probably began their prophetic activity in one and the same year (626).

The present position of the book, both in MT and LXX, between Ḥabaḳḳuḳ and Ḥaggai proves nothing, for the arrangement of the Twelve is in other instances (*e.g.* JOEL and OBADIAH) demonstrably unchronological. The proper place of our book is between Naḥum and Ḥabaḳḳuḳ.

2. While ch. 1, with the possible exception of a few expressions which may have found their way from the margin into the text, is universally attributed to Ẓephaniah, and dated by the great majority of scholars within the first half of Josiah's reign, there are considerable differences of opinion as to the unity and the date of the rest of the book.

Kuenen (§ 78. 5–8) accepted the genuineness of all but 3^{14-20}, which, on account, chiefly, of differences both in tone and situation from the rest of the prophecy, he was inclined to make post-exilic (*c.* 536 B.C.). He defended $2^{1-3. 11}$ against Stade (*GVI* i. 644 n. 3), who denied to Ẓephaniah also the whole of ch. 3.—Wellhausen (followed pretty closely by Nowack) is suspicious of $2^{2. 3}$, he rejects vv.$^{8-11}$, and treats ch. 3 as a later supplement, added in two stages, vv.$^{1-7}$ and vv.$^{8-20}$, upon the analogy of Mic 1^{1-6} and vv.$^{7-20}$.—Budde (followed by Cornill, *Einleit.*^{3} § 35. 3 [contrast his more conservative position in ^{2} § 31. 3]) would admit 2^{1-3} $3^{1-5. 7. 8. 6}$ [in this order] $^{11-13}$ as in harmony with Ẓephaniah's situation and a suitable sequel to ch. 1; he

rejects the whole of 2^{4-15} mainly because Israel appears in these verses as the victim instead of as the perpetrator of wrong (the conception in ch. 1); $3^{9.\ 10}$ are excluded as breaking the connexion between v.^{8} and v.^{11}, while vv.$^{14-20}$ are declared to be a later lyrical epilogue to vv.$^{11-13}$.—Schwally allows to Zephaniah nothing outside ch. 1 except 2^{13-15} and possibly 2^{1-4}, holding 2^{5-12} to be exilic and ch. 3 post-exilic. He concedes, however, that 3^{1-7} 'may be' Zephaniah's.—G. A. Smith accepts the whole of ch. 2 except vv.$^{8-10}$ (the oracle against Moab and Ammon, which is suspicious for reasons noted below) and v.^{11} which breaks the connexion between v.^{7} and v.^{12}. In 3^{1-13} he considers vv.$^{9.\ 10}$ to be 'obviously an intrusion,' while v.^{8} should possibly precede v.^{6}, as Budde proposes. He has no doubt about attributing vv.$^{14-20}$ to the end of the Exile or the period after the Return.—Driver remarks that 2^{11} seems to be out of place, and that 3^{14-20} is somewhat doubtful, although even here, the picture being of course an imaginative one, 'the question remains whether it is sufficiently clear that it was beyond the power of Zephaniah's imagination to construct it' (*LOT*^{6} 342 f., where the author adds a reference to his discussion on Mic 7^{7-20}).—Davidson considers it quite possible that 2^{4-15} has in various places been expanded, but defends the genuineness of ch. 2 as a whole. He allows that 3^{10} should possibly be omitted, but otherwise vv.$^{1-13}$ appear to him to be genuine, although they might suggest that the passage was later than ch. 1. Towards vv.$^{14-20}$ he holds the same attitude as Kuenen, recognizing in them quite a different situation from that of the rest of the book.—König would apparently accept the whole book as genuine, with the exception of that part of the title which refers the prophecy to the days of Josiah.

As to ch. 2, there will be little question that Schwally, in arguing against the genuineness of vv.$^{1-3}$, built too much upon the occurrence of ענו and ענוה in v.^{3} (cf. the criticisms of Bacher, Budde, and Davidson). Yet there is force in the remark of Nowack, that while the *word* ענו occurs in the older literature (Nu 12^3 [E], Am 8^4, Is 11^4), the *notion* has not yet assumed there that ethico-religious stamp which it bears in Zeph 2^3, and for which we must look for parallels to the later Psalms. No doubt, as an argument this is 'rather precarious' (Davidson, p. 101); but an instinctive feeling may be stronger than logic, and we confess that, like Wellh. and Nowack, we 'cannot repress a doubt' of the genuineness at least of v.^{3}, which with its 'Seek ye the LORD, ye meek of the earth,' 'seek righteousness, seek meekness,' has a decidedly late ring to our ears.

The objections taken to 2^{4-15} in general are singularly pointless (see Davidson or G. A. Smith), but vv.$^{8-11}$ can hardly be defended. The oracle against Moab and Ammon (vv.$^{8-10}$) denounces these peoples for an attitude towards Judah which seems out of place in Josiah's reign; their territories were not on the line of the Scythian invasion of Egypt *via* Philistia [but see, as bearing on this argument, Davidson, p. 99]; and, further, the verses are not, like those that precede and that follow, in the *kînah* measure. This last circumstance tells very strongly against their originality. Then v.^{11}, if it belongs to Zephaniah at all, is certainly out of place. The omission of these four verses gives a good connexion between v.^{7} and v.^{12}.

It may be held with some confidence that 3^{14-20} emanates from the period of the Return. Its entire difference of tone from ch. 1 and from the opening verses of ch. 3 is unmistakable. The language reminds us of Deutero-Isaiah, and the eschatology of Ezekiel. Like Am 9^{11-15} and Mic 7^{7-20}, the verses were probably introduced into their present place to relieve a sombre background, this having been only imperfectly accomplished in the instance before us by vv.$^{11-13}$. In all probability vv.$^{9.\ 10}$, which interrupt the connexion and spoil the antithesis between v.^{8} and v.^{11}, should also be assigned to the same or a similarly late hand. There does not appear to be any adequate ground of suspicion against the rest of ch. 3, making due allowance, of course, for textual corruptions (see next section).

iv. LITERARY CHARACTERISTICS, CONDITION OF TEXT, etc.—The style of Zephaniah is, upon the whole, clear and forcible; several of his figures are striking (*e.g.* 1^{12} 'I will search Jerusalem with lanterns,'* *ib.* 'the men that are thickened upon their lees,' v.^{17} 'they shall walk like blind men'). Powerful and awe-inspiring is his description of the day of the Lord in 1^{15-18}, whose opening words in the Vulg. *Dies iræ, dies illa*, commence also the well-known hymn of Thomas of Celano. We have a passage of exquisite beauty in 3^{11-13}. It is true, as Davidson points out, that, as compared with Nahum's description of the destruction of Nineveh, Zephaniah's prophecy of the same event is somewhat general and lacks the power of the other prophet's impassioned oratory; but this difference may be due partly to the fact that the picture in the one case is painted from the imagination, and in the other is the work of one who had beheld the kind of scenes he depicts. To a considerable extent Zephaniah borrows from his predecessors, esp. from Isaiah and Amos (cf. $1^{2.\ 3}$ with Hos 4^3; the description of the day of the Lord with Is 2^{19-21}, Am $2^{2.\ 14}$ 5^{20}; 1^{13b} with Am 5^{11}; 1^{18b} with Is 10^{23} 28^{22}; 2^{4-15} with Am 1^3–2^3).

There are traces in Zephaniah of the phenomena that characterize late Hebrew. It is partly, indeed, on account of some of these marks that Wellh. doubts the genuineness of 3^{1-7} (note נגאלה and יונה in v.^{1}, חוצות in sense of *fields* in v.^{6}, פקד על in sense of *command* in v.^{7}). For further instances see G. A. Smith, ii. 37 n. 1, who also gives on the preceding page a list of rare grammatical forms and phrases found in this book. Of *hapax legomena* may be noted נשיל in 1^{11}, גֵּוֹת and גֵּלוֹת (?) in 2^6, ממשׁק and מכרה in 2^9, ארוה (?) in 2^{14}, קָרְאָ (= קָרָה) in 3^1, גָּרַם (Qal) in 3^3, בוגדות (if correct; see Ges.-Kautzsch, § 124*e*) in 3^4, נצרו in 3^6, עָתֵר (different from Ezk 8^{11}) and פוּץ (?) in 3^{10}. See also 2^{1a}, v.^{b} RV (Aram.).

The *text* of Zephaniah is, unfortunately, in several places in rather a corrupt condition, and contains some suspicious words: in some cases, however, it can be corrected with the help of the LXX, and in others Wellh. and others have made plausible emendations (*e.g.* in $1^{5.\ 18b}$ $2^{1.\ 2.\ 6.\ 7.\ 14}$ $3^{7.\ 8}$), though naturally uncertainties still remain. For particulars we must refer to G. A. Smith, *Twelve Prophets* (ii. 35–37, 56–74), or, more fully, to Nowack's Commentary.

v. RELIGIOUS VALUE.—The abiding value of the Book of Zephaniah rests mainly upon three foundations: (*a*) the profoundly earnest moral tone of the prophet, with his deep sense of the sin of injustice and oppression, and inflexible demand for purity of heart and conduct; (*b*) his doctrine of the disciplinary value of suffering. God's judgments are meant to humble and chasten Israel, and when she has learned this lesson she trusts in God alone ($3^{7.\ 11-13}$). In vv.$^{9.\ 10}$, a later addition to the book, the same principle is applied to the heathen. Their lips are purified (הפך here in the same sense as in 1 S 10^9) by suffering, so that they become fit to call upon the name of the LORD. (*c*) The wide outlook of the prophet's philosophy of history, his doctrine of Divine Providence. The apparently irresponsible Scythians come upon the scene at the moment God needs their presence; the various nations are overtaken by the Divine judgment, in order that God's purpose may be accomplished of blessing not only the Jewish people but the whole world.

A universalism akin to that expressed in Jn $4^{21ff.}$ has sometimes been attributed to Zephaniah upon the ground of 2^{11} ('men shall worship him, *every one from his place*') $3^{9.\ 10}$; but in the first-named passage the words we have italicised are of uncertain meaning (but see Davidson), and all three passages lie under strong suspicion of belonging to a later age than that of Zephaniah.

It may be added that the Book of Zephaniah is

* This verse gave rise to the mediæval pictures of St. Zephaniah carrying a lantern in his left hand.

one of those from which the figure of the Messianic king is entirely absent. The standpoint of the prophet was indeed such as almost necessarily to preclude the appearance of any such conception.

LITERATURE.—Driver, *LOT*[6] (1897), pp. 340–343; Wildeboer, *Litt. d. A.T.* (1895) pp. 189–193; the *Einleitungen* of Cornill[3] (§ 35. 3), Ed. König (1893), pp. 352–354; Strack[5] (1898), p. 109 f.; Baudissin (1901), pp. 550–555.

Commentaries: F. A. Strauss, *Vaticinia Zeph. com. illustr.* 1843; Hitzig-Steiner in *Kgf. exeg. Hdb.* (1881); H. Ewald (1867–68), *Prophets*, Eng tr. iii. 14–26; E. B. Pusey, *The Minor Prophets*; von Orelli in Strack-Zöckler's *Kgf. Kom.*; L. Reinke (Rom. Cath.), *Der Proph. Zeph.* 1868; W. Schulz, *Com. über d. Proph. Zeph.* 1892; Wellhausen, *Die kleinen Propheten* (1893), pp. 28–31, 147–155; A. B. Davidson, 'Nahum, Habakkuk, and Zephaniah' in *Camb. Bible*, 1896 (a most valuable work); Nowack, 'Die kleinen Propheten' in *Hdkom. z. A.T.* (1897) pp. 274–296; J. T. Beck, *Erklärung der Propheten Nahum u. Zephanja*, 1899 (a curious work, with an interest of its own, but without any scientific value).

Miscellaneous: F. W. Farrar, 'The Minor Prophets' in *Men of the Bible* series (1890), pp. 153–158; Kirkpatrick, *Doctrine of the Prophets* (1892), pp. 253–263; W. R. Smith, art. 'Zephaniah' in *Encyc. Brit.*[9]; Buhl on Zeph 2[11. 14] 3[17ff.] in *ZATW* (1885), p. 183 ff.; Schwally, 'Das Buch Zephanja,' *ib.* (1890) p. 165 ff.; Bacher on Zeph 2[3], *ib.* (1891) pp. 185 f., 260 ff.; Budde, *SK* (1893), p. 393 ff.; Bachmann, 'Zur Textkritik des Propheten Zephanja,' *ib.* (1894), p. 641 ff. J. A. SELBIE.

ZEPHATH (צְפַת; B and Luc. Σεφέκ, A Σεφέρ).—See HORMAH, and add to the Literature there Dillm. on Nu 14[45] and Moore on Jg 1[17].

ZEPHATHAH.—According to MT of 2 Ch 14[10 (9)] Asa joined battle with ZERAH the Cushite in the valley of Zephathah (גֵּיא צְפָתָה) at Mareshah. No such place is known to us elsewhere in OT, and it is not unlikely that the LXX *κατὰ βορρᾶν* [*i.e.* בְּגֵיא עֲפָנָה instead of בְּגֵיא צְפָתָה] Μαρείσης, 'to the north of Mareshah,' has preserved the original reading.

ZEPHI, ZEPHO.—A son of Eliphaz, and one of the 'dukes' of Edom, Gn 36[11. 15] (צְפוֹ Zepho, LXX Σωφάρ) = 1 Ch 1[36] (צְפִי Zephi, BA Σωφάρ, Luc. Σεπφονή). It is impossible to decide between the claims of the two forms of the name, nor can its ethnological signification be determined.

ZEPHON, ZEPHONITE.—See ZAPHON.

ZER (צֹר).—A 'fenced' city of Naphtali, Jos 19[35]. It follows **Ziddim** (properly *Haẓẓiddim* [with art.]). The LXX tr. v.[35] *καὶ αἱ πόλεις τειχήρεις τῶν Τυρίων* [*i.e.* הַצֹּרִים], Τύρος [*i.e.* צֹר], *κ.τ.λ.*, but it is difficult to suppose that this can be correct. Haẓẓiddim may be the modern *Ḥaṭṭîn*, near *Ḳarn Ḥaṭṭîn*, N.W. of Tiberias (so Talm.; see Neubauer, p. 207). The identity of Ẓer is quite uncertain. Conjectures as to the site are noted in Dillm. *Jos. ad loc.*

ZERAH (זֶרַח; LXX Ζάρα, Ζάρε; Mt 1[3] Ζαρά).—**1.** One of the sons of Reuel, the son of Esau by his Canaanitish, or Ishmaelite, wife, Basemath (Gn 36[13. 17], 1 Ch 1[37]). The name appears again as that of the father of Jobab, one of the early kings of Edom (Gn 36[33], 1 Ch 1[44]). **2.** The younger born of the twin sons of Judah by Tamar his daughter-in-law. The peculiar circumstances of his birth are made to account for his name (Gn 38[30] [J]). He gives his name to the **Zerahites** (Nu 26[20]). Of this family was Achan the son of Zabdi (Ζαμβρεί, LXX Jos 7[1]; Zimri, 1 Ch 2[6]), who took of the spoil of Ai contrary to the Divine command. Zerah's sons are mentioned 1 Ch 9[6], and Pethahiah (Neh 11[24]) is one of his descendants. He finds a place along with PEREZ his twin brother in the genealogy of our Lord (Mt 1[3]). **3.** A son of Simeon, and the founder of a family of **Zerahites** within that tribe (Nu 26[13], 1 Ch 4[24]); called also **Zohar** (Gn 46[10], Ex 6[15]). **4.** A Levite name, borne by a Gershonite (1 Ch 6[21]) and by a Kohathite (1 Ch 6[41]). **5.** The name of the Cushite (2 Ch 14[9-15]) who invaded Judah in the reign of Asa (*c.* 911–871 B.C.), and suffered a disastrous defeat at Mareshah in the south-west of the land.

The invasion of Judah by Zerah the Cushite is unknown to secular history, and rests solely upon the authority of the Chronicler. This circumstance, together with the fact that the name of Zerah the Cushite does not appear in any list of the kings of Egypt, has led Wellhausen (*History of Israel*, p. 207), Stade, and others to pronounce the narrative unhistorical. It is, they say, an invention conceived for the purpose of making the historical overthrow of Rehoboam into a triumph on the part of his descendant: it had its origin at the time when Cushites ruled in Egypt, and transferred a condition of affairs which was true of a later time to the days of Asa. But this is an excess of historical scepticism. There is nothing in the inscriptions inconsistent with the narrative of the Chronicler.* 'There is so little known,' says Wiedemann (*Geschichte von Alt. Ägypten*, p. 155), 'from the time of Osorkon I. that it cannot be considered beyond the bounds of probability for an Ethiopian invader to have made himself master of the Nile Valley for a time in his reign, and for him and not Osorkon I. to be the Zerah of the Chronicler.' Zerah was identified by Champollion (*Précis du Système hieroglyphique*[2], pp. 257–262) with Osorkon I., the second king of the 22nd dynasty; and the identification has been accepted by Ewald and others. The discovery of M. Naville in the ruins of Bubastis (*Bubastis*, pp. 50, 51 f.; Sayce, *HCM* p. 363) goes rather to connect the invasion with Osorkon II., who is made to declare on a monument that 'the Upper and Lower Rutennu have been thrown under his feet.' This would show that Osorkon II. had been engaged in a campaign in Palestine, which is designated Upper Rutennu in the geographical language of Egypt. Hommel (*AHT* p. 315 n.; cf. Ball, *Light from the East*, p. 82) thinks that Zerah and his Cushites were from South Arabia, a view which is favoured by the character of the spoils,—tents, sheep, and camels,—as well as by the very name Zerah, which resembles Zirrikh or Dhirrih, a royal name in the newly-found Sabæan inscriptions. This view is favoured, too, by the designation of the people as Ἀμαζονεῖς in the LXX (2 Ch 14[15]), which may be compared with the *bânu Mazin*, the Ma'din of the same inscription.†

LITERATURE.—In addition to references given above see Sayce, *Egypt of the Hebrews*, p. 111; Maspero, *Struggle of the Nations*, p. 774; McCurdy, *HPM* i. 259; Herzog, *PRE*[2] xvii. 473. T. NICOL.

ZERAHIAH (זְרַחְיָה 'J" hath arisen *or* shined,' cf. Sab. זרחאל).—**1.** A priest, an ancestor of Ezra, 1 Ch 6[6 *bis*. 51] [Heb. 5[32] 6[36]], Ezr 7[4] (B in all Ζαραιά; A Ζαραΐας, Ζαρίας, Ζαραιά). **2.** The father of Eliehoenai, Ezr 8[4] (B Ζαρειά, A Ζαραιά).

ZERED (זֶרֶד).—The torrent-valley (*naḥal*) of Zered is named in the itinerary of Israel's journeyings, Nu 21[12] (B Ζάρετ, A Ζάρε, Luc. Ζάρεθ), immediately prior to their crossing of the Arnon, and in Dt 2[13] as the point that marked the close of the 38 years' wanderings. It is probably either the *Sail Sa'ideh* (Knobel), the principal confluent of the Arnon from the S.E. (Burckhardt, *Syrien*, 633), or the *Wâdy Kerak* (Ges., Hitz., Keil, Dillm., G. A. Smith, Buhl). The objection to the *Wâdy el-Aḥsâ* (Wetzstein in Del. *Genesis*[4], 567 f.; Tristram, *Land of Moab*, 49 f.) is that this *wâdy* must have formed the S. boundary of Moab on the side of Edom, whereas Iye-abarim, the station *before* the crossing of the Zered, is shown by Nu 21[11] to have been in the wilderness to the E. of Moab (see Driver, *Deut.* 38).

ZEREDAH, ZERERAH.—See ZARETHAN.

ZERESH (זֶרֶשׁ; B Ζωσαρά, A Σωσαρά).—The wife of HAMAN, Est 5[10. 14] 6[13]. Jensen (see Wildeboer, 'Esther' in *Kurzer Hdcom.* p. 173) compares the Elamite goddess *Kiriša* or *Giriša* (suggesting to read גרש). The explanations of the name from the Persian are doubtful.

ZERETH (צֶרֶת).—A Judahite, 1 Ch 4[7] (B Ἀρεθ, A Σάρεθ, Luc. Σάρηθ).

ZERETH-SHAHAR (צֶרֶת הַשַּׁחַר). — A Reubenite town, Jos 13[19] (B Σεραδὰ καὶ Σείων, A Σὰρθ καὶ Σιώρ). Its site has not been identified, although in

* Of course his numbers (580,000 men in Asa's army, 1,000,000 in Zerah's) are, as frequently happens, incredibly large.

† See, however, the criticism of this hypothesis of Hommel's in Ed. König's *Fünf neue arab. Landschaftsnamen*, 1902, pp. 53–57.

the vicinity of *Mkaur* (Machærus) the hot springs *eṣ-Ṣara* and the volcanic mountain *Hammat eṣ-Ṣara* may contain reminiscences of the ancient name (Buhl, *GAP* 268).

ZERI.—See IZRI.

ZEROR (צְרוֹר).—An ancestor of Saul, 1 S 9^{1} (BA Ἀρέδ, Luc. Σαρά).

ZERUAH (צְרוּעָה). — The mother of Jeroboam, 1 K 11^{26} (B and Luc. om., A Σαρουά) 12^{24b} (BA Σαρεισά, B* Ἀρειρά). In the latter passage, which is an addition of the LXX, it is further stated that she was a harlot (πόρνη).

ZERUBBABEL (זְרֻבָּבֶל; LXX and NT Ζοροβάβελ, **Zorobabel**).—

The etymology and the meaning of the name are doubtful. It is often taken as = Heb. זְרוּעַ בָּבֶל 'begotten of (*i.e.* in) Babylon'; but proper names with a passive participle as one element are scarcely, if at all, found in Hebrew, though frequent enough in Assyrian (Gray, *HPN* 201, n. 1; Driver, *Text of Sam.* 14; Nestle, *Marginalien*, 7 f.). The same objection applies to the explanation זְרוּי בָּבֶל 'dispersed of Babylon'; while philology and the fitness of things are both opposed to van Hoonacker's (*Zorobabel*, 44 f.) explanation זְרַב בָּבֶל 'crush Babylon.' Upon the whole, we should perhaps accept the view of Ed. Meyer (*Entstehung des Judenthums*, p. v) who makes it a Bab.-Assyr. name and punctuates *Zêru-Babel* = 'seed *or* offspring of Babylon.' The name is said to occur in Bab. documents as *Zêr Bâbili* (Strassmaier, *Inschr. von Nabonid.* 113, l. 13, *Inschr. von Darius*, 138, l. 2, 297, l. 2).

Zerubbabel played an important part in connexion with the return of the Jews from exile. Of Davidic descent, he is generally called the son of **Shealtiel** or **Salathiel** (Ezr $3^{2.\ 8}$, Hag 1^{1}, Mt 1^{12} etc.), who was one of the sons of Jehoiachin, the captive king of Judah (1 Ch 3^{17}). In one passage, 1 Ch 3^{19}, the MT (perhaps by a textual error; the LXX has Σαλαθιήλ) makes him the son of PEDAIAH, who was Shealtiel's brother. He probably came to Jerusalem along with the first band of exiles, under the leadership of Sheshbaẓẓar, who is not to be identified with him, and who may have been his uncle, the Shenaẓẓar of 1 Ch 3^{18}. See article SHESHBAZZAR, p. 493.

In direct opposition to Ezr 3^{7} and 4^{3} (the latter of which has, without any warrant, been set down as an interpolation)* it is contended by de Saulcy and others that Zerub. came to Jerusalem not under Cyrus, but in the second year of Darius Hystaspis; and appeal is made, in support of this opinion, to 1 Es 3–5^{6} and Jos. *Ant.* XI. iii. These last two authorities are indeed but one, for the Jewish historian simply follows, with modifications of his own, the narrative of 1 Esdras. As to 1 Esdras itself, it is possible that it has sometimes preserved a true reading where this has been lost by the MT (see ESDRAS, vol. i. p. 759b), and hence where the narrative is parallel with the Heb. Ezra we may occasionally get help from it, but it is more than questionable whether we ought to attach weight to its testimony as to facts where it contradicts the canonical book. As a specimen of the hopeless confusion that reigns in 1 Esdras, we may adduce the position occupied by 2^{15-25} (= Ezr 4^{6-23}), which is more out of place than even in the Heb. edition, while the independent narrative in 3–5^{6} introduces Darius Hystaspis as if he for the first time gave the exiles permission to return, although this has already in $2^{1ff.}$ been traced to Cyrus. This section (3–5^{6}) is not translated from the Hebrew, but is either a free composition of the author or borrowed by him from a Greek source. Its hero Zerub. is introduced as one of the bodyguard of Darius Hystaspis, who as a recompense for the skill with which he had conducted an argument (about the relative power of Wine, the King, Woman, and Truth) received permission from the king to return to Jerusalem and to build the temple. The details of this story are no doubt apocryphal, but it is possible that a substratum of truth underlies it,—Zerub. may have headed an embassy to Darius to invoke his aid against the Samaritans and other opponents of the Jews (cf. Jos. *Ant.* XI. iv. 9).

According to Ezr 3–4^{5} (narrative of the Chronicler), Zerubbabel, along with Jeshua the high priest and others, soon after their arrival in Jerusalem (in the seventh month) set up an altar for burnt-offerings, kept the Feast of Tabernacles, and took steps for the rebuilding of the temple, whose foundation was laid in the second month of the second year of their arrival, amidst ceremonies which the Chronicler describes in his characteristic fashion (3^{1-13}). Owing, however, to the opposition of 'the adversaries of Judah and Benjamin,' this act was followed by seventeen years of inactivity, until, in the second year of Darius (B.C. 520), and largely owing to the stimulus supplied by the prophets Haggai and Zechariah, the work was resumed in earnest (Ezr 5^{1}). A new delay, occasioned by the suspicions of Tattenai, 'governor on this side the river,' and others, was ended by an appeal to Darius himself, who ordered that the work should be allowed to proceed ($6^{1ff.}$). The temple was finished and dedicated four years later ($6^{15f.}$).

(*a*) There has been much discussion as to the date when the foundation of the temple was really laid. In Ezr $3^{8f.}$ this is distinctly asserted to have been done by Zerub. and Jeshua in the second year after their arrival in Palestine (*i.e.* 537). On the other hand, it certainly appears from Ezr 5^{2}, Hag $1^{14f.}$ 2^{15-18}, Zec 8^{9}, that the foundation was not laid till seventeen years later (520).* The discrepancy may be removed by the suggestion of Driver (*LOT*6 547) that the ceremony of Ezr 3^{8} was of so purely *formal* a character that Haggai could afford to ignore it. It is quite conceivable that the fulfilment of the project formed in 537 had to be postponed till 520, for, not to speak of the opposition of the Samaritans (Ezr $4^{1f.}$), the character of Cambyses (529–522), the successor of Cyrus, and notably his expedition to Egypt (527), would be unfavourable to the prosecution of the building. Others (see Literature below) prefer to suppose that the Chronicler, for obvious reasons, antedated the laying of the foundation by over fifteen years, while on the other hand he did substantial justice to the real course of events by representing the work of building as not seriously taken in hand till the second year of Darius.

(*b*) A more serious question is raised by Havet ('La modernité des prophètes' in *Revue des deux mondes*, 1889, p. 799 ff.), Imbert (*Le temple reconstruit par Zorobabel*, 1888), and Howorth (*Academy*, 1893), who contend that the Darius of Ezr $4^{5.\ 24}$ is not Darius Hystaspis (522–485), as we have hitherto taken for granted, but Darius Nothus (424–404). The rebuilding of the temple is thus brought down a whole century (422 instead of 520). The strongest argument in support of this theory is the mention in Ezr $4^{6.\ 7}$ of Ahasuerus (*i.e.* Xerxes) and Artaxerxes (Longimanus) in such a way as apparently to imply that Darius of 4^{24} is Nothus. But it has long been suspected (cf. Driver, *LOT*6 547 f.; Cornill, *Einleit.*2 268) that the section Ezr 4^{6-23} is out of place and should follow ch. 6. It really refers to events that happened in the time of Nehemiah, and describes opposition to the rebuilding, not of the *temple* but of the *city and walls*. How the Chronicler came to insert this section where he did, is a question we will not undertake to answer; but that even he was capable of supposing that a century elapsed between 4^{1}, when Zerub. and Jeshua stand at the head of the community, and 5^{1}, when under their directions the building of the temple is pushed on, is inconceivable.

The only other reason for identifying Darius with Nothus is found in Ezr 6^{14} 'according to the decree of Cyrus and Darius *and Artaxerxes* king of Persia.' But it is abundantly evident from the context that *Artaxerxes* is here an interpolation due to *prolepsis* on the part of a scribe who had in his mind the services rendered to the Jews by that monarch in the time of Ezra and Nehemiah. The identity of the Darius of Ezr 4^{24} with Hystaspis is further evident from Zec $1^{7.\ 12}$, where the 70 years must date from either 597 or 586, and in either case 70 (a round number) will bring us to the reign of this king. Apart from any other consideration, is it credible that a whole century would have been suffered to elapse between the Return and the rebuilding of the temple, seeing that the latter institution had since Josiah's reforms assumed such importance? The Chronicler could not in his narrative allow seventeen years, not to speak of a century, to pass before steps were taken to restore the building, hence perhaps his statement that the foundations were laid shortly after the Return, and about the same time as the altar was re-erected. So clearly does Imbert perceive the force of these considerations, that he admits that shortly after the Return a temple was built *by Sheshbaẓẓar*, which was afterwards destroyed, when or by whom we are not told, and then finally came Zerub., a contemporary of Darius Nothus, and restored it. Imbert most arbitrarily alters the text of Ezr 6^{14} so as to read 'Darius *the son of* Artaxerxes' instead of 'Darius *and* Artaxerxes.' The latter, as in Ezr 4, is held to be Longimanus, who, according to Imbert, is distinguished from Mnemon (under whom he places the activity of Ezra and Nehemiah) by having his name written אַרְתַּחְשַׁשְׁתָּא, while the latter monarch appears

* Howorth (*Academy*, 1893, p. 174 f.) is wrong in asserting that the first four verses of Ezr 4 are not found in the parallel passage in 1 Esdras. Strangely enough, Sayce (*HCM* 543) falls into the same mistake. As a matter of fact, Ezr 4^{1-4} = 1 Es 5^{63-68}.

* Van Hoonacker (*Zorobabel*, 63 ff., *Nouvelles Études*, 105 ff.) labours hard, but it seems to us unsuccessfully, to put a different interpretation on the language of Haggai and Zechariah.

as אַרְתַּחְשַׁסְתָּא. (This is pure fancy; the interchange of שׁ and ס is so common as to be a very precarious foundation for an argument of any weight). Imbert is even able to tell us that the Book of Ezra originally contained an account of the building and the destruction of Sheshbaẓẓar's temple, but that a later generation suppressed this, supplying its place by the list of names in Ezr 2, which was borrowed from Neh 7. It is needless to say that for all this there is not the slightest historical evidence.

The Darius, then, with whom Zerub. was contemporary, was beyond all reasonable doubt Darius Hystaspis.

How long Zerub. occupied a position subordinate to Sheshbaẓẓar we do not know, but in the beginning of the reign of Darius he was *peḥah* or governor of Judah (Hag $1^{1.\ 14}$ etc.). His history subsequent to the building of the temple is involved in hopeless obscurity. He is not named even in connexion with the dedication (Ezr $6^{15ff.}$). A Jewish tradition relates that he returned to Babylon and died there. It is possible that Darius, after the troubles that broke out during his reign, may have preferred to have a scion of the ancient dynasty of Israel under his eye rather than run the risk of his presence in Judæa stimulating projects for the restoration of the Davidic monarchy. Of the sons of Zerub. (1 Ch $3^{19f.}$) we know absolutely nothing. Zerub. is mentioned in Sir 49^{11} in 'the praise of famous men.'

In recent years new interest has been given to the personality of Zerubbabel by the extremely able and ingenious work of Sellin, *Serubbabel: ein Beitrag zur Gesch. der messian. Erwartung und der Entstehung des Judenthums*, 1898. Sellin seeks to make out that, at the instigation of the prophets Haggai and Zechariah (cf. Hag 2^{23}, Zech 4^{9} $8^{9ff.}$), Zerub. was actually raised to the throne of Judah, and the Messianic kingdom thus set up, but that he was soon overthrown by the Persians and put to death. The martyr king was even supposed by Sellin to be the suffering Servant of Is 53. The evidence in support of these conclusions is very skilfully marshalled, but one has a feeling that fancy plays too large a part in Sellin's reconstruction of the post-exilic history, and, so far as the argument rests upon Is 53 and kindred passages, it will have no weight with those (and their number is increasing) who refuse to see in the Servant an *individual* instead of a *collective* sense (cf. esp. Ed. König, *The Exiles' Book of Consolation*, 1899, and Budde, *Die sogenannten Ebed-Jahwe-Lieder*, 1900). [The identification of the Servant with Zerubbabel is abandoned by Sellin in his *Studien zur Entstehungsgesch. der jüd. Gemeinde nach dem Bab. Exil*, 1901].

The investigations of Professor Kosters led him to conclusions which, if accepted, involve a complete recasting of the traditional opinions about the Return from exile, and the influence of that event upon Israel's subsequent history. Founding partly on the undoubted fact that a great many Judahites were never carried into exile at all, Kosters contended that the temple was rebuilt, not by the returned exiles, but by the people of the land (at the generally accepted date 520–516). While Driver and Ryle are satisfied that the Chronicler gives in Ezr $3^{8\text{-}13}$ a substantially correct account of what transpired, Cheyne accepts Kosters' results. He agrees, indeed, with Wildeboer, that Kosters went too far in denying that any exiles at all returned at the accession of Cyrus, but is of opinion that the real Return was not till that headed by Ezra at Nehemiah's *second* visit (432). The story of the Return and the building of the temple as told by the Chronicler is, upon Kosters' theory, constructed with a view to glorifying the *gôla* (exiles) at the expense of the *'am-hā'ārez* (people of the land). Zerubbabel and Jeshua may have done all that is recorded of them, but they need never have been in Babylon at all. Kosters' conclusions have been combated, especially by Wellh., Ed. Meyer, and van Hoonacker (see Literature below), from different points of view, and it may be safely asserted that, if it has been the fashion to attribute too much to the *gôla* and too little to the remnant of Judah, the brilliant Leyden professor went to the opposite extreme.

Literature.—Kuenen, *De chronologie van het Perzische tijdvak*, 1890 [*Gesam. Abhandl.* 212 ff.]; de Saulcy, *Étude chronol. des livres d'Esd. et Neh.* 1868; Imbert, *Le temple reconst. par Zorob.* 1888; Stade, *GVI* (1888), ii. 98 ff.; Driver, *LOT*^{6} (1897), p. 545 ff.; Ryle, *Ezra and Nehemiah* (Camb. Bible), 1893; Howorth, 'Real character and importance of 1 Esdras' in *Academy*, 1893, pp. 13, 60, 106, 174, 326, 524, see also *PSBA* xxiii, 147, 305; A. van Hoonacker, *Zorobabel et le second temple*, 1892; Wellhausen, *IJG*^{3} (1897), p. 157 ff.; Schürer, *GJV*^{3} (1898), ii. 327 ff. [*HJP* II. iii. 177 ff.]; P. Hay Hunter, *After the Exile* (1890), i. 50 f., 156 f., 219 f.; C. C. Torrey, *The Composition and Hist. Value of Ezr.-Neh.* 1896; Sayce, *HCM* 539 ff.; Schrader, 'Die Dauer des zweiten Tempelbaues,' in *SK*, 1867, pp. 460–504 (the first notable attack on the historicity of Ezr 3; Schrader's view has been adopted by Kuenen, Stade, Marti, Ryssel, König, and many others). Kosters' epoch-making work, *Het herstel van Israël in het Perzische tijdvak*, 1894, was criticised by Wellhausen, upon the whole adversely (though he concedes a good deal to him), in *GGN* (1895, No. 2, 'Die Rückkehr der Juden aus dem bab. Exil' [to which Kosters replied in *ThT*, 1895, p. 549 ff.]), and has met with much more uncompromising opposition from van Hoonacker (*Nouvelles Études sur la restauration juive*, 1896, cf. also his art. 'The Return of the Jews under Cyrus,' in *Expos. Times*, viii. [1897] 351 ff.), and Ed. Meyer (*Entstehung des Judenthums*, 1896; Meyer was severely criticised by Wellh. in *GGA*, 1897, p. 89 ff., and replied in a pamphlet, 'Julius Wellhausen und meine Schrift *Die Entstehung des Judenthums*,' the controversy turning especially upon the genuineness of the documents professedly quoted by the Chronicler, which is affirmed by Meyer against Kosters and Wellhausen). As was noted above, Kosters' conclusions have been largely accepted by Wildeboer, *Lit. d. AT*, 411 f., 419 f., and Cheyne, *Introd. to Isaiah*, xxxiii–xxxix, *JRL* 5 ff.

J. A. Selbie.

ZERUIAH (צְרוּיָה, in 2 S 14^{1} 16^{10} 23^{37} צְרוּיָה; LXX Σαρουειά and Σαρουιά; *Saruia*).—The mother of David's officers, Abishai, Joab, and Asahel. Her husband's name is never mentioned, and the three heroes are always referred to as 'the sons of Zeruiah' (once in 1 Sam., 13 times in 2 Sam., 3 times in 1 Kings, and 7 times in 1 Chronicles). This fact may simply imply that Zeruiah's husband died early and was forgotten; or it may signify that the mother of these famous men was herself so remarkable a woman that her husband's name was comparatively unworthy of preservation; or it may be an interesting relic of the ancient custom of tracing kinship through the female line.

In the genealogy given in 1 Ch 2, Zeruiah and Abigail are mentioned as sisters of the sons of Jesse (2^{16}). The expression seems to imply that they were not daughters of Jesse, and in 2 S 17^{25} one of the two, Abigail, is called the daughter of Nahash. On this passage Stanley bases the conjecture that Jesse's wife was the mother of Zeruiah and Abigail by a previous marriage with Nahash, king of the Ammonites; but Budde prefers to emend נָחָשׁ into יִשַׁי (Jesse). See Nahash.

J. Strachan.

ZETHAM (זֵתָם).—A Gershonite Levite, 1 Ch 23^{8} (B Ζεθόμ, A Ζαιθόμ) 26^{22} (B Ζεθόμ, A Ζοθόμ, Luc. in both passages Ζηθάν).

ZETHAN (זֵיתָן).—A Benjamite, 1 Ch 7^{10} (B Ζαιθάν, A 'Hθάν, Luc. Ζηθά).

ZETHAR (זֵתַר).—A eunuch of king Ahasuerus, Est 1^{10} (BA 'Αβαταζά). The Heb. form of the name is compared by Oppert (*Esther*, 25) with Pers. *zaitar*, 'conqueror.'

ZIA (זִיעָא).—A Gadite, 1 Ch 5^{13} (BA Ζοῦε, Luc. Ζέα).

ZIBA (צִיבָא, צִבְא in 2 S 16^{4}; B Σειβά, A Σιβά, and in 2 S $16^{1.\ 2.\ 3.\ 4}$ Σιββά; *Siba*).—A servant or slave (עֶבֶד) of the house of Saul (2 S 9^{2}). The Philistine invasion, which was so fatal to his master's house, probably gave him his liberty (cf. Jos. *Ant.* VII. v. 5), and he comes on the scene at the head of a

household of his own, consisting of 15 sons and 20 slaves (2 S 9^{10}). He is consulted by David, who wishes for Jonathan's sake to show kindness to any surviving representative of the house of Saul, and informs the king of the existence of MEPHIBOSHETH, Jonathan's lame son, in the obscurity of Lo-debar (2 S $9^{3.4}$). When David thereupon receives Mephibosheth into his own house as a permanent guest, and confers upon him the estate which had belonged to Saul, Ziba is appointed Mephibosheth's land-steward (2 S $9^{9.10}$). At a later period, Ziba dexterously turns Absalom's rebellion and Mephibosheth's weakness to his personal account. To display his own loyalty, he fetches David a large supply of provisions during the latter's flight across the Mount of Olives, and at the same time, apparently without any grounds, accuses his master of having gone over to the enemy in the hope of obtaining the kingdom of Saul. For this sinister service Ziba is rewarded with a grant of all Mephibosheth's property (2 S 16^{1-4}). When the rebellion is stamped out, and the king returns to Jerusalem, Mephibosheth is able to rebut the false charges made against him by his treacherous servant. The king might justly punish Ziba, but in the hour of victory he is in a conciliatory mood. If Ziba has not been faithful to his master, he has at any rate been loyal and serviceable to his king. David accordingly contents himself with restoring half the property of Saul to Mephibosheth and confirming Ziba in the possession of the other half (2 S 19^{24-30}). J. STRACHAN.

ZIBEON (צִבְעוֹן). — Gn $36^{2.14.20.24.29}$, 1 Ch $1^{38.40}$ (Σεβεγών except 1 Ch 1^{38} A Σεβετών). See ANAH.

ZIBIA (צִבְיָא).—A Benjamite, 1 Ch 8^{9} (B Ἰεβιά, A Σεβιά, Luc. Σαβιά). This and the name **Zibiah** may be connected with צְבִי, fem. צְבִיָּה 'gazelle,' as totem.

ZIBIAH (צִבְיָה).—The mother of Joash of Judah, 2 K $12^{1(2)}$=2 Ch 24^{1} (BA Ἀβιά). See also ZIBIA.

ZICHRI (זִכְרִי).—**1.** A grandson of Kohath, Ex 6^{21} (B Ζεχρεί, A Ζεχρί), misspelt in modern edd. of AV *Zithri*, although ed. of 1611 has correctly *Zichri*. **2. 3. 4. 5.** Four Benjamites, 1 Ch 8^{19} (B Ζαχρεί, A Ζεχρί), v.^{23} (B Ζεχρεί, A Ζοχρί), v.^{27} (B Ζαχρεί, A Ζεχρί), Neh 11^{9} (B Ζεχρεί, A Ζεχρί, and so in the next three occurrences). **6.** An Asaphite, 1 Ch 9^{15} ‖ Neh 11^{17} (see ZABDI, No. **4**). **7.** A descendant of Eliezer, 1 Ch 26^{25}. **8.** A Reubenite, 1 Ch 27^{16}. **9.** A Judahite, 2 Ch 17^{16} (B Ζαρεί, A Ζαχρί). **10.** Father of a captain in Jehoiada's time, 2 Ch 23^{1} (B Ζαχαριά, A Ζαχαρίας). **11.** A mighty man of Ephraim, 2 Ch 28^{7} (B Ἐξεκρεί, A Ἐξεκρί, Luc. Ζαχαρίας). **12.** A priest in the days of Joiakim, Neh 12^{17} (BN*A om., $\aleph^{c.\ a\ mg\ inf}$ Ζεχρεί, Luc. Ζαχαρίας).

ZIDDIM.—See ZER.

ZIDON (צִידוֹן and צִידֹן; Σ(ε)ιδών, Arab. *Ṣaîda*).—The ancient city of Ẓidon lay 20 miles to the S. of Berytus (Beyrout), and about the same distance to the N. of its great rival Tyre. It was situated behind a small promontory, and, like Tyre and Jaffa, owed its maritime existence and commercial prosperity to a ledge of rock lying off a short distance from the shore. In the case of Ẓidon, this reef, with its detached islets rounding the N. side of the promontory, presented half a mile of breakwater, and afforded an excellent protection to its shipping. On the S. side of the promontory there was another harbour, more capacious, but less sheltered. The section of Phœnician plain belonging to Ẓidon stretched from the river Tamyras, Arab. *Damûr*, half-way between Ẓidon and Berytus, down to Zarephath, 8 miles S. of Ẓidon.

i. EARLY ASCENDENCY. — Ẓidon is considered to have been the most ancient of the Phœnician cities. On her coins she claims to be the mother of Hippo, Citium, and Tyre, and the name of Ẓidon is mentioned in the Egyptian records as far back as B.C. 1500. It is referred to as a city in Gn 10^{19}, and Josephus (*Ant.* I. x. 2) states that it received its name from the eldest son of Canaan (Gn 10^{15}). According to another derivation it owed its name, like Bethsaida of Galilee, to the fishing carried on in its waters. This is in agreement with the allusion to Ẓidon in Anast. *Pap.* i. to the effect that the fish at Ẓidon were as numerous as grains of sand. Ẓidon appears to have taken the lead in the development of industrial exchange among both the civilized and barbarous nations bordering on the middle and eastern divisions of the Mediterranean. In this way the vessels of Tyre on their longer and more perilous voyages still continued to be spoken of as vessels of Ẓidonian commerce. When the Phœnician traffic in cloth, brass, slaves, etc., is referred to in the Homeric poems, it is to Ẓidon, not Tyre, that reference is made (*Il.* vi. 290, xviii. 743; *Od.* iv. 618, xiv. 272–285, xvi. 117, 402, 404). Vergil (*Æn.* i. 446) in the same way calls Dido Ẓidonian, though he mentions Tyrian colonists, and gives his hero a Tyrian steersman, Palinurus. It may have been in this sense, as referring to the general protectorate of Ẓidon, that it is spoken of in Gn 49^{13} as reaching down to the border of Zebulun. This early pre-eminence of Ẓidon continued from the time of Egyptian decline after Ramses II. down to the unsuccessful conflict with the Philistines (B.C. 1252), provoked by the seizure of Dôr as a dyeing station. For an account of the colonial expansion of the Phœnicians see art. PHŒNICIA.

ii. POLITICAL HISTORY.—The public fortunes of Ẓidon were closely connected with those of Arvad and Tyre. These and the other Phœnician cities, although constantly attacked by one or other of their powerful military neighbours, seldom united under any leadership for the welfare of all. The town of Tripoli is said to have been occupied by residents originally belonging to three separate Phœnician towns, and to have been named from their three permanently separate quarters. They sometimes, however, combined against one of their own cities, as when Alexander sailed down upon devoted Tyre with a fleet of over 200 vessels, chiefly Phœnician, collected from the ports of Ẓidon, Cyprus, and Rhodes. One reason for such independence was that each town was nominally under the protection of its own deity, who, as his name, Ba'al-Ẓidon, 'Lord of Ẓidon,' or Melḳarth, 'King of the city,' implied, was expected to defend its rights and promote its fortunes. In the case of Tyre and Ẓidon, commercial jealousy also had an important influence.

(1) *Ẓidon under Assyria.* — Ẓidon came into relationship with Assyria by acknowledging the suzerainty of Ashur-bani-pal in B.C. 877. This position of nominal dependence, with permission to trade with Assyria, soon changed into a more exacting tributary relationship under Shalmaneser II. and Tiglath-pileser, and led to open rebellion in the reign of Shalmaneser IV. (B.C. 727), and to the complete subjugation of the country by Sennacherib in B.C. 701. About B.C. 676 Esarhaddon conquered Ẓidon, and, after beheading its king, 'Abd-Melḳarth, demolishing the citadel and palace, and killing most of the inhabitants, transported the remainder of the population to Assyria, and called the town 'Ir-Esarhaddon ('city of Esarhaddon').

(2) *Ẓidon under Babylon.* — The authority of

Assyria came to an end with the Scythian invasion (B.C. 630–610) and the attack of the Medes in the year 606. The interval of respite gave the Phœnicians an opportunity of consulting for their own better protection against Babylon and Egypt, and at this time Ẓidon and the other cities agreed to follow the leadership of Tyre (Ezk 27^{8}). The alliance seems to have extended beyond the coast towns to Edom, Moab, and Ammon ; and Jeremiah was instructed to give the LORD'S message to the deputation sent to Jerusalem (Jer 27^{3}). When Pharaoh-neco marched out of Egypt to invade Mesopotamia in B.C. 608, king Josiah of Jerusalem, in fidelity to the cause of Babylon, endeavoured to arrest him, and lost his life in doing so. Soon after, when in 605, at the great battle of Carchemish, Nebuchadnezzar defeated Neco, Phœnicia was overrun and laid waste by the savage soldiery of Babylon. So cruel was their treatment of the conquered cities that the yoke of Egypt seemed light in comparison, and in 598 they all rebelled, including Judæa. Another invasion followed, with its attendant sufferings. Judæa hastened to submit (2 K $24^{1.\ 12}$, 2 Ch 36^{6}), but Tyre justified the hegemony committed to her by enduring a long siege, submitting to Nebuchadnezzar in 585. By this humbling of Tyre (Ezk 28), Ẓidon was brought once more to the front, and maintained her position as chief of the cities till the overthrow of the Bab. kingdom by the Persians under Cyrus in 538.

(3) *Ẓidon under Persia, Greece, and Rome.*—A period of rest was enjoyed during the reign of Cyrus (B.C. 540–529). Afterwards the Phœnician cities were required to pay a light annual tax, and on demand to supply transport ships and war vessels to the king of Persia. They were allowed to have their own kings and administration, and their condition was much better than it had been under the Assyrians and Babylonians. In B.C. 351, as the power of Persia began to wane, Ẓidon took the lead in organizing a Phœnician revolt against Artaxerxes Ochus, king of Persia. In the punitive invasion that followed, Ẓidon was captured and reduced to ashes, as many as 40,000 perishing in the flames (Diod. Siculus, xvi. 40–44).

After the battle of Issus (B.C. 333), Ẓidon, with the other cities of Phœnicia, except Tyre, surrendered to Alexander, and Ẓidon contributed a large contingent of vessels to assist Alexander in his attack on the insular fortress. During the confusion that followed the death of Alexander, Ẓidon was at different times under Egyptian and Seleucid rule until, in A.D. 198, it passed to the latter, and became rapidly Hellenized. A school of Philosophy sprang up at Ẓidon, to which was added the school of Law and Jurisprudence transferred from Berytus after the earthquake there in A.D. 551. Under the Romans Ẓidon enjoyed, along with Tyre, the rights of a free city, having its own magistrates and municipal government. During the 12th and 13th cents. it was frequently taken and retaken by the Crusaders and the Saracens.

The modern Arabic town of 10,000 inhabitants lies along the shore of the N. harbour, with its ancient wall, crowded houses, narrow streets, and shaded bazaars. The gardens adjoining the town are irrigated from the river Awăly (Bostrenus), which enters the sea two miles N. of Ẓidon. These gardens are covered with fruit-trees, chiefly orange, and in early spring, when the dark foliage is variegated with fragrant blossom and golden fruit, and the banks of the water channels are beautiful with violets, Ẓidon may still claim the epithet of the Greek poet Dionysius, who called her *ἀνθεμόεσσα*, 'the flowery city.' In these gardens pillars and blocks of carved stone and ancient coins are continually being found. In 1855 the tomb of king Eshmunazar, probably of the 3rd cent. B.C., was discovered. A few years ago a much larger and more important discovery was made of a subterranean burial chamber, with side-rooms containing ornamental sarcophagi, one of which was at first pronounced that of Alexander the Great.

iii. BIBLE ALLUSIONS.—Except during the time of friendly contact produced by the building of the temple (1 Ch 22^{4}), and its restoration in the time of Ezra (Ezr 3^{7}), the general tone of reference to Ẓidon is that of hostility. 'Great Ẓidon' was on the border of the portion assigned to Asher (Jos 19^{28}), but the Ẓidonians remained unconquered, and proved a source of danger and temptation to Israel (Jos 13^{6}, Jg 1^{31} 3^{3} 10^{6}). They are mentioned with Amalek and Midian as having aggressively oppressed Israel (Jg 10^{12}, where perhaps Phœnicians in general are meant). The marriage of Ahab with the Ẓidonian Jezebel is denounced as a sin surpassing that of Jeroboam (1 K 16^{31}). The Ẓidonians are held up to abhorrence as having sought to make merchandise of captured Israelites, and of using the sacred vessels of the Lord at their heathen shrines (Jl 3^{5}). Ẓidon, with the other world powers, is to drink the cup of the Lord's fury (Jer 25^{22}), and it is seen lying cast away and forgotten along with its companions in oppression, Asshur, Elam, and Egypt (Ezk 32^{30}). Ẓidonians were among the multitudes who went forth to hear Christ (Mk 3^{8}), and the sin of Tyre and Ẓidon is made to compare favourably with that of the impervious cities of Galilee (Mt $11^{21.\ 22}$, Lk $10^{13.\ 14}$). The Syro-Phœnician woman whose daughter was healed came from the coasts of Tyre and Ẓidon (Mt $15^{21\text{-}28}$, Mk $7^{24\text{-}30}$), and Jesus, after this miracle, passed through Ẓidon (Mk 7^{31}). Ẓidon again appears with Tyre in the conciliatory interview with Herod in A.D. 44 (Ac 12^{20}), and, finally, was visited by St. Paul on his voyage to Rome (Ac 27^{3}).

Ẓidonians (צִידֹנִים, or, more commonly, צִדֹנִים; Σιδώνιοι, Φοίνικες).—From originally meaning the inhabitants of the city of Ẓidon (1 K $11^{5.\ 33}$, 2 K 23^{13}) the name came to be applied generally to all the cities of the same race, being thus = Phœnician.

LITERATURE.—Kenrick, *Phœnicia*; Rawlinson, *Hist. of Phœnicia*; Thomson, *Land and the Book*.

G. M. MACKIE.

ZIHA (צִיחָא, in Neh 7^{46}).—The name of a family of Nethinim, Ezr 2^{43} (B Σουθιά, A Σουαά, Luc. Σουδδαεί) = Neh 7^{46} (B𝔑 Σηά, A^{vid} Οιαά, Luc. Σουλαί), Neh 11^{21} (B𝔑*A om., 𝔑$^{c.\ a\ mg\ inf}$ Σιάλ).

ZIKLAG (צִקְלַג, in 1 Ch $12^{1.\ 20}$ צִיקְלַג; B Σεκελάκ except Jos 19^{5} 1 S $27^{6\ bis}$ Σικελάκ, 1 Ch 4^{30} Ὦκλά, 12^{1} Σωκλά, v.^{20} Σωγλάμ; A Σικελάγ except Jos 19^{5} Σεκελά).—A Judahite (Jos 15^{31}) or Simeonite (19^{5}, 1 Ch 4^{30}) town, which, in the time of Saul, was in Philistine hands and was assigned to David as his headquarters by ACHISH (1 S 27^{6}, 2 S 1^{1} 4^{10}, 1 Ch $12^{1.\ 20}$). It was plundered by the Amalekites during the absence of David, who, however, overtook and defeated the marauders (1 S $30^{1\text{-}26}$); see art. DAVID, vol. i. p. 560. It is mentioned as inhabited by Judahites after the Captivity, Neh 11^{28}.

The site of Ẓiklag has not been identified with certainty. The most probable of the sites proposed appears to be the ruin *Zuheilika*, discovered by Conder and Kitchener in 1877, lying E.S.E. from Gaza. This ruin occupies three low hills, and is at a distance of about 4 miles N. of *Wâdy es-Sherî'a* (prob. the Besor of 1 S $30^{9.\ 10.\ 21}$). This identification is favoured by Mühlau (in Riehm's *HWB*^{2} 1866^{b}), Buhl (*GAP* 185), Dillm. (*Jos.* 527, where other less probable suggestions are mentioned), *et al.* J. A. SELBIE.

ZILLAH (צִלָּה, Σελλά).—One of LAMECH'S two wives, Gn $4^{19.\ 22.\ 23}$. See ADAH, No. 1.

ZILLETHAI (צִלְּתַי).—**1.** The name of a Benjamite family, 1 Ch 8^{20} (B Σαλθεί, A Σαλεί, Luc. Σελαθί). **2.** A Manassite who joined David at Ziklag, 1 Ch 12^{20} (BN Σεμαθεί, A Γαλαθί, Luc. Σιλαθά).

ZILPAH (זִלְפָּה).—A slave-girl given to Leah by Laban, Gn 29^{24} (P), and by her to Jacob as a concubine, 30^{9} (J); the mother of Gad and Asher, vv.$^{10\text{-}13}$ (J), 35^{26} 37^{2} 46^{18} (all P). The LXX (A) has Ζελφά throughout.

ZIMMAH (זִמָּה).—The name of a family of Gershonite Levites, 1 Ch $6^{20\ (5)}$ (B and Luc. Ζεμμά, A Ζαμμά) v.$^{42\ (27)}$ (B Ζαμμάμ, A Ζαμμά, Luc. Ζεμμά), 2 Ch 29^{12} (BA Ζεμμάθ, Luc. Ζεμμά).

ZIMRAN (זִמְרָן).—A son of Abraham and Keturah, Gn 25^{2} (A*E Ζεβράν, A^{a} Ζεμβράν, D^{311} Ζομβράν) =1 Ch 1^{32} (B Ζεμβράν, A Ζεμράν). The ethnological signification of the word is doubtful. Possibly Knobel is right in connecting it with the Ζαβράμ of Ptolemy (VI. vii. 5), W. of Mecca, on the Red Sea. We may perhaps compare also the ZIMRI of Jer 25^{25}. The name is derived from זָמַר, 'mountain-sheep *or* -goat,' this animal having doubtless been the totem of the clan.

ZIMRI (זִמְרִי 'mountain-sheep' [see Gray, *HPN* p. 97, note 2]; BN Ζαμβρεί, AF Ζαμβρί; in 1 Ch 8^{36} A Ζαμρί; Vulg. *Zambri*, but in Chron. *Zamri*).—**1.** A prince of the tribe of Simeon, son of Salu (Nu $25^{6\text{-}14}$ [P], 1 Mac 2^{26}). While the congregation of Israel in general were expressing repentance for having joined in the impure worship of Baal-peor, Zimri shamelessly and ostentatiously continued in it. This outrage fired the zeal of Phinehas, who followed him and his partner into the alcove (קֻבָּה) and slew them both. **2.** Son of Zerah, and grandfather or ancestor of Achan (1 Ch 2^{6}, which also represents him as brother of the four sages who are mentioned in 1 K 4^{31}). He is called **Zabdi** in Jos 7^{1}. **3.** A Benjamite, lineal descendant of Saul (1 Ch 8^{36} 9^{42}). **4.** King of Israel (1 K $16^{9\text{-}20}$). He had been captain of half the chariots under Elah, and made use of his position to conspire against his master, whom he assassinated while the latter was drunk. Even amongst the series of deeds of violence that ushered in the constant changes of dynasty in the Northern Kingdom this act of Zimri seemed peculiarly atrocious. 'Is it peace, thou Zimri, thy master's murderer?' was the bitter taunt flung down by Jezebel at Jehu as he entered the gate of Jezreel (2 K 9^{31}). And in the formula which closes the narrative of the reign the historian specially notes 'the treason that he wrought' (v.^{20}). Zimri's *coup d'état* apparently had no general support, the people following either Omri or Tibni, and his brief reign of seven days only enabled him to accomplish the extirpation of the family of Baasha, which had been predicted by Jehu the son of Hanani (v.^{3}). The distance between Gibbethon and Tirzah leads us to infer that Omri must have marched at once on the capital, and that he met with scarcely any resistance. Zimri perished in the ashes of the royal palace to which he had himself set fire. **5.** 'All the kings of Zimri' are mentioned in the same verse, Jer 25^{25} (Gr. 32^{11}) with those of Elam and the Medes as amongst those who were to drink the cup of the fury of the LORD. There is considerable doubt as to what place is meant, or even as to the genuineness of the phrase. It is omitted in LXX (BNA), but Aquila seems to have read it. Delitzsch thinks that a place called Namri in the inscriptions of Shalmaneser II., and situated in north-west Babylonia, is referred to; but Schrader (*COT* ii. 107) discredits this opinion, without suggesting any rival theory. N. J. D. WHITE.

ZIN (צִן; Σεί*ν*, Σί*ν*; *Sin*), Nu 13^{21} 20^{1} 27^{14} 33^{36} $34^{3.\ 4}$, Dt 32^{51}, Jos $15^{1.\ 3}$.—A region passed through by the Israelites in their journeyings. The most exact indication of its position is given in Nu 34 and Jos 15. These passages (in which the boundary of Judah is traced in almost identical terms) refer to 'the wilderness of Zin' in v.^{1} of both, and further describe the boundary thus: '... and pass on to Zin' (Nu v.^{4} ... '[... and passed along to Zin (Jos v.^{3}) ...] ... to Kadesh-barnea'). The Hebrew is identical in both passages וְעָבַר צִנָה, but the *nun* is without *dagesh* in Numbers.

These are the only places where the word Zin occurs by itself, and it seems to denote a place or limited area from which the region round about was named 'the wilderness * of Zin,' the expression which occurs in all the remaining passages cited above.

In Nu 13^{21} 'the wilderness of Zin' is named as the southern limit from which the spies began to search the land. In Nu 33^{36} it is given as one of the stations in the journeyings. The brief note, 'the same is Kadesh,' serves to explain the following verse ('And they journeyed from Kadesh'...). Nu 20^{1} records the arrival of the children of Israel 'in the wilderness of Zin' in the first month [the year is not stated], and the following vv.$^{2\text{-}13}$ relate the events which took place at Meribah. The remaining two passages, Nu 27 and Dt 32, which are duplicates, refer to the punishment of Moses for his offence at 'the waters of Meribah of Kadesh in the wilderness of Zin.'

Hence it may be inferred (*a*) that the Wilderness of Zin formed part of the southern boundary of Judah at its eastern end towards the Dead Sea; (*b*) that Kadesh was included within its limits. A reference to art. PARAN leads to the further conclusion that the wilderness of Paran must have been adjacent to that of Zin, so that Kadesh was regarded as in either territory.

The LXX and Vulg. render both Sin and Zin by Σί*ν*, Σι*ν*, *Sin*; but in Nu 34^{4}, Jos 15^{3} the LXX B renders צנה by Ἔννααχ; AF Σίννααχ in Numbers, A Σινά in Joshua. Vulg. has *Senna* in Numbers, *Sina* in Joshua. The close similarity between the events recorded in Ex 17 and Nu 20 (noticed in art. MERIBAH), and other points of resemblance between occurrences before and after Sinai, suggest a further question whether Sin and Zin, the Sin of the pre-Sinai and the Zin of the post-Sinai narrative, may be variations developed in the course of tradition. Both names are found only in the Hexateuch, and there is no geographical indication of later times to guide us. The hypothesis does not appear improbable, but the narrative in its present form indicates two regions bearing different names. On the supposition of a Sinai to the E. of the Arabah, these two 'wildernesses' would be much closer together than on the traditional hypothesis. A. T. CHAPMAN.

ZINA.—See ZIZA.

ZION (צִיּוֹן; B Σειών, but Σιών in Am 1^{2} and in 28 places in the Psalms; A Σιών, but in Is 1^{8} 2^{3}, Jer 26^{18}, La 2^{4}, Jl $2^{1.\ 15}$, and in 6 places in the Psalms Σειών, and in Ca 3^{11}, Is 31^{9}, Jer 8^{19} Σιώ; in Ca 3^{11} B omits. In Apoc. and NT Σιών, *Sion*, where the AV, following the Greek, has *Sion*, the RV *Zion*).—The stronghold (מְצוּדָה) of Zion was the castle, or acropolis, of the 'city of the Jebusites' (Jg 19^{11}); see art. JEBUS. Its position must have been one of great natural strength, for it was regarded by its garrison and its inhabitants as impregnable, and when David laid siege to it he was received with taunts and jeers (2 S $5^{6.\ 8}$, 1 Ch 11^{5}; cf. Jos. *Ant.* VII. iii. 1). 'Nevertheless, David took the stronghold of Zion, the same is the city of David ... and David dwelt in the stronghold and called it the city of David. And he built round about from Millo and inward' (2 S $5^{7\text{-}9}$, 1 Ch $11^{5\text{-}8}$). In two other passages (1 K 8^{1}, 2 Ch 5^{2}) Zion is directly identified with the city of David by the expression 'the city of David which is Zion.' Within the

* For the meaning of 'wilderness' see art. JESHIMON.

city walls David built a palace (2 S 5^{11}, Neh 12^{37}), round which were gathered the houses of his warriors (2 S 11^{2}); and pitched a tent for the ark of Jahweh (2 S $6^{12\text{-}17}$, 1 Ch 15^{29} 16^{1}). Before his death, David purchased the threshing-floor of Araunah the Jebusite, upon which was erected, afterwards, the altar of the temple (2 S $24^{18.\ 25}$, 1 Ch $21^{18.\ 26}$); and when he died he was buried in the city of David (1 K 2^{10}, Neh 3^{16}).

The exact position of the stronghold within the later Jerusalem is one of the most important of the disputed points connected with the topography of the Holy City. In the article JERUSALEM it is shown that the ancient city stood on two spurs, or hills, separated from each other by a deep ravine. The western and higher spur is identified by Christian tradition with Ẓion; on the eastern and lower the temple was built. The western spur is broad-backed, and, so far as its original form is known, there is no broken ground or conspicuous feature upon it that would naturally be selected as the site of a castle such as those usually erected for the protection of an ancient hill-town. Moreover, there is no spring; and when, at a later date, the spur was covered with houses, this deficiency had to be met by the construction of reservoirs and aqueducts. The earliest settlement at Jerusalem cannot therefore be placed on the western spur. The eastern spur, on the other hand, is, for the most part, a narrow ridge of rock, upon which there are good natural positions for the construction of a hill-fort or castle. One such position is that which was occupied by the Macedonian Akra and the Herodian Antonia; another is the point, south of the present Ḥaram esh-Sherif, at which the Tyropœon ravine most closely approaches the valley of the Kidron. In that valley, at the foot of the eastern slope of the spur, rises the only true spring at or near Jerusalem—GIHON, now the Fountain of the Virgin.

The evolution of Jerusalem cannot have differed greatly from that of other ancient cities. The earliest settlement would naturally have been on the eastern spur, and it probably consisted of a village on the slopes above the spring, with a small fort on higher ground to which the people could fly on the approach of an enemy.

By about B.C. 1400 Jerusalem had become, according to the Tel el-Amarna letters, the fortified capital of a small district; and such it appears to have been when the Hebrews entered Palestine. The natural disadvantages of its position for trade, and the scarcity of fertile land in its vicinity, were against rapid growth; and there is no reason to suppose that, when taken by David, it was larger than other hill-towns in Palestine, or that it had spread beyond the limits of the eastern spur. The topographical argument in favour of placing the stronghold of Ẓion on this spur rather than on the western, is supported by the historical notices.

The temple area, which is now enclosed by the walls of the Ḥaram esh-Sherif, was *above* the city of David, and was not regarded as forming part of it (1 K $8^{1.\ 4}$,* 2 Ch $5^{2.\ 5}$; cf. 2 S 24^{18}). And the statements of Nehemiah ($3^{15.\ 16}$ 12^{37}, cf. 2^{14}), which place the stairs of the city of David, the palace of David, and his tomb between the pool of Shelah (SILOAM) and the temple, absolutely exclude the western spur as a possible site for the city of David. With this, too, agree the identification by Micah (4^{8}) of the 'tower of the flock' with 'the Ophel of the daughter of Zion'; the references in Ezekiel ($43^{7.\ 8}$) to the proximity of the royal palace and sepulchres to the temple; and the apparent connexion of Ẓion and the temple in Ps $78^{68.\ 69}$ and Jer 50^{28}. Perhaps also there may be an allusion to the relative positions of Ẓion and the temple in Ps 48^{2} 'Mount Ẓion, *on* the sides of the north, the city of the great King.' Throughout the OT there are passages which have no meaning, if Ẓion and the temple hill were two separate topographical features. Ẓion is the holy hill or mountain (Ps 2^{6}, Jl 2^{1}), the chosen habitation of Jahweh (Ps 9^{11} 74^{2} 76^{2} 84^{7} 132^{13}, Is 8^{18} 60^{14}, Jer 8^{19}, Jl $3^{17.\ 21}$, Zec 8^{3}). There He manifests Himself (Ps 14^{7} 20^{2} 53^{6} 128^{5} 134^{3}, Am 1^{2}); and there He must be worshipped and praised (Ps $65^{1.\ 2}$, Jer 31^{6}, Jl $2^{1.\ 15}$). Hence Mount Ẓion, the intangible mount, the city of the living God, is employed in the NT as the type of heaven (He $12^{18.\ 22}$, Rev 14^{1}). At the same time the name Ẓion is given, in some instances, to the whole city (Ps 126^{1} 146^{10}, Is 1^{27} 10^{24}, La 1^{4}; cf. the common expression 'daughters of Zion'); and in others it is mentioned as if it were a separate quarter of Jerusalem (2 K 19^{31}, Ps 51^{18}, Is 30^{19} 64^{10}, Jer 26^{18}, Jl 3^{16}, Am 1^{2}, Mic 3^{12}, Zec 1^{17}; cf. the distinction between Jerusalem and the quarter in which the kings were buried in 2 Ch 28^{27}).

In 1 Maccabees, written *c.* B.C. 100 by some one who was well acquainted with the localities, Ẓion is identified with the temple hill ($4^{37.\ 38}$ 5^{54} 7^{33} etc.), and so it is in 1 Es 8^{81}, 2 Es 5^{25}, Sir 24^{10}, and Jth 9^{13}. Josephus, who does not mention Ẓion, says (*Ant.* VII. iii. 1) that David took the lower city and the Akra (both of which he elsewhere places on the eastern spur), and (iii. 2) that, after driving the Jebusites out of the Akra, David rebuilt Jerusalem, called it the city of David, and dwelt in it.* The Rabbis,† without exception, place the temple on Ẓion, and Origen distinctly states (*in Joan.* $4^{19.\ 20}$) that the Jews did so in his day. Eusebius (*in Is.* 22^{1}) and Jerome apparently (*in Is.* 1^{21} 22^{1}) take the same view; but elsewhere they identify Ẓion with the western spur, and in this agree with the Bordeaux Pilgrim (*Itin. Hieros.*). From the 4th cent. onwards Ẓion is always identified with the south part of the western spur. This identification first appears after the official recovery of Golgotha, and it possibly owes its origin to the feeling that, without a Ẓion, the 'New Jerusalem' of Constantine would be incomplete and inferior in sanctity to the 'Old Jerusalem' with its temple on the lower ground to the east.

The identification of Ẓion with the eastern spur satisfies the topographical conditions and the historical evidence until the 4th cent. A.D. But the spur is now so completely covered with deep rubbish that its original form is unknown, and the exact position of the stronghold can be determined only by extensive excavations. The fort was probably small, for its builders could have had in view only the protection of the spring and the little town on the slopes above it. Lightfoot (*Op.* i. 553, ii. 187), Fergusson (*Essay on the ancient topog. of Jerus.* p. 55 ff., 1847), and a few other writers, place Ẓion immediately north of the temple; but, if the words of 1 K $8^{1.\ 4}$ (cf. 2 S $24^{18.\ 19}$) are to be taken literally, it must have been to the south of the Holy Place of the Jews. In this direction, on a site so situated as to command the spring, it has been placed by Birch (*PEFSt.* 1878, pp. 129, 178), Stade (*GVI* i.

* Notice here 'bring *up*': so regularly in OT people go *up* from the palace to the temple (Jer 26^{10}), and *down* in the opposite direction (2 K 11^{19}, Jer 22^{1} 36^{12}). If, however, the palace had been on the western spur (2520-50 ft.), the temple (2440 ft.) would have been *below* it.

* Josephus adds (iii. 2) that David took possession of the Upper City, which he called (*BJ* v. iv. 1) the fortress (φρούριον), and joined the Akra to it. This possibly refers to the first enclosure of the western spur, which David may well have undertaken towards the close of his reign, when the development of trade had greatly enriched the kingdom.

† Some of the copper coins struck during the war of Vespasian and the rebellion in Hadrian's reign bear the legends *Lig'ullath Zion*, 'Deliverance of Zion,' and *Cheruth Z.*, 'Emancipation of Zion.' See art. MONEY, vol. iii. p. 431.

315 f.), Robertson Smith (art. 'Jerusalem' in *Encyc. Brit.*[9] 1881), Sayce (*PEFSt*, 1883), von Alten (*ZDPV* ii. 18 ff., iii. 116 ff.), Klaiber (*ZDPV* iii. 189 ff., iv. 18 ff.), Guthe (*ZDPV* v. 271 ff., 1883), G. A. Smith (in *Encyc. Bibl.* 2418), and the majority of recent authorities. Guthe (*l.c.*) believed that his excavations proved the existence of a wide, deep ditch or hollow, cut through the hill, in a N.W. direction, from the Virgin's Fount to the Tyropœon Valley. But his excavations were not complete, and the view that he found the ditch of the stronghold must be accepted with reserve.

The identification of Ẓion with the *western* spur is accepted by Reland, Robinson, Ritter, Williams, de Vogüé, Stanley, Conder, and others; but, as will have been seen, it is exceedingly difficult to reconcile with the statements of the OT.

The following view may be suggested. When David took Jerusalem it was a hill-town on the south part of the eastern spur, with a small castle or acropolis, called Ẓion, situated at a convenient spot to the south of the present Ḥaram esh-Sherif. After David's capture of the city he at once commenced to rebuild and strengthen its fortifications, especially those of the stronghold and Millo.* Towards the end of his reign, when a period of great prosperity had set in, he commenced the enclosure of the western spur; and his work on both spurs was continued by Solomon (1 K $9^{15.\,24}$† 11^{27}), Ḥezeḳiah (2 Ch 32^{5}; cf. Is 22^{9}), and Manasseh, who 'built an outer wall to the city of David, on the west side of Gihon in the valley'‡ (2 Ch 33^{14}). The stronghold of Ẓion became the city of David, and this name was soon extended to the town at the south end of the spur. When the town spread northward, Ẓion was connected with the central part of the spur, on which lay the royal buildings and, adjoining them on the north, at the top of the hill, the temple area; and so it became a sacred name for the spot upon which the temple, the dwelling-place of Jahweh, stood. Afterwards, the name was frequently applied by prophets and poets to the temple enclosure, to the eastern spur, and to the holy city of Jerusalem.

In the time of Hadrian there was, according to Epiphanius (*de Mens. et Pond.* xv.), a small church on the western spur, which marked the site of the house—that of the mother of Mark—at which the apostles met after the Ascension. This church, apparently the same as that called by Cyril of Jerusalem the 'Church of the Apostles,' became in later years the basilica of holy Ẓion, or the 'Mother Church' on Ẓion. This tradition now attaches to the church of the Syrian monastery, which claims to be the oldest ecclesiastical establishment at Jerusalem. There was also a Church of St. Peter, or 'House of Caiaphas,' which is mentioned in the 5th cent. as being distinct from that of Ẓion (*Brev.*; Theodosius, *De loc. sanct.*; see discussion in *Antoninus Martyr*, App. ii. P. P. Text Series, vol. ii.). C. W. Wilson.

ZIOR (צִיעֹר).—A town in the hill-country of Judah, Jos 15^{54} (B Σώρθ, A Σιώρ). It is prob. to be identified with the modern village *Sa'ir*, about 6 miles N.N.E. of Hebron. A pretended grave of Esau is shown at the place, the origin of this tradition being probably the similarity of the names *Sa'ir* and *Se'ir* (see Mühlau in Riehm's *HWB*[2] 1871[a]; Guérin, *Judée*, iii. 150 f.; *PEF Mem.* iii. 309, 379; Buhl, *GAP* 158). The Ẓior of Jos 15^{54} can have nothing to do with the Σιώρ (Sior) of Eusebius and Jerome (*OS*[2] 293, 19, 20; 151, 1–3), which is described as between Ælia (Jerusalem) and Eleutheropolis (Beit Jibrin).

ZIPH (זִיף).—**1.** A son of Jehallelel, 1 Ch 4^{16} (B Ἀμηαχεί, A Ζιφαί, Luc. Ζίφ). **2.** A city of Southern Judah, Jos 15^{24} (B om., A Ἰθναξίφ [combining *Ziph* and the preceding *Ithnan*], Luc. Ζείφ). Its site has not been recovered. **3.** A city in the hill-country of Judah, Jos 15^{55} (B Ὀζείβ, A and Luc. Ζίφ), cf. 1 Ch 2^{42} (Ζείφ); fortified by Rehoboam, 2 Ch 11^{8} (B Ζείβ, A Ζείφ, Luc. Ζίφ). The wilderness of Ziph (מִדְבַּר זִיף) was one of the refuges of David (see vol. i. p. 564[b]) when fleeing from Saul, 1 S $23^{14.\,15.\,24}$ $26^{2\,bis}$. The gentilic name **Ziphites** (זִפִּים and זִיפִים; LXX Ζ(ε)ιφαῖοι) occurs in 1 S $23^{19.\,24\,[LXX\ only]}$ 26^{1}, Ps 54 [title]. Ziph is the modern *Tell Zîf*, S.E. of Hebron (Robinson, *BRP*[2] i. 492, 498; Guérin, *Judée*, iii. 159 ff.; G. A. Smith, *HGHL* 306 n.; Buhl, *GAP* 163). Jerome (*OS*[2] 159, 14) misstates its distance from Hebron as 8 M.P., whereas it is under 5 (Roman) miles (Robinson).

ZIPHAH (זִיפָה).—A son of Jerahmeel, 1 Ch 4^{16} (B Ζαφά, A Ζαιφά, Luc. Ζιφά).

ZIPHION. — See Zaphon. **ZIPHRON.** — See Sibraim.

ZIPPOR (צִפּוֹר, twice [Nu 22^{10} 23^{18}] צִפֹּר).—Father of Balak king of Moab, Nu $22^{2.\,4.\,10.\,16}$ 23^{18}, Jos 24^{9}, Jg 11^{25} (all Σεπφώρ). The name, which doubtless in this case and in that of **Ẓipporah** has a totemistic significance, means 'sparrow.'

ZIPPORAH (צִפֹּרָה; Σεπφώρα). — One of the daughters of the priest of Midian, Ex $2^{21.\,22}$ (J), wife of Moses and mother of Gershom. According to 18^{2} (E) she had another son.* For the part played by her in connexion with the circumcision of Gershom, $4^{24ff.}$ (J), see art. Circumcision, vol. i. p. 443[a]. Ẓipporah, who was a Midianitess, cannot of course be the 'Cushite woman' (see vol. iii. p. 442[b] note †) of Nu 12^{1}. On the name *Ẓipporah* see preceding article.

ZIV.—See art. Time, p. 765[a].

ZIZ.—The ascent (AV wrongly 'cliff') of Ẓiz (כְּעֲלֵה הַצִּיץ; BA ἡ ἀνάβασις Ἀσᾶε, Luc. . . . Ἀσισά) is only once mentioned in the Bible (2 Ch 20^{16}), and is generally classed among unidentified sites. The context, however, leaves no doubt in the mind of the present writer as regards identification. It is the ascent to a cliff, rising above the plain of the Dead Sea near En-gedi on the edge of the tableland or wilderness of Judæa (see En-gedi). Conder says of this spot: 'On the south are the wolds of the Negeb plateau, with the plains of Beersheba beyond. On the east is the "Solitude," with white peaks and cones of chalk, and deep and narrow watercourses, terminated by the great pointed cliff of Ziz, above Engedi, and by the precipices over the Dead Sea, 2000 ft. high' (*Tent-Work in Palestine*, p. 244). The gorge lying at its base offers one of the few ways of ascent from the western shore of the Dead Sea to the tableland of Judæa, and, on the occasion in connexion with which Ẓiẓ is mentioned, was selected by the hosts of Ammon, Moab, and Edom for a combined attack on the kingdom of Judah in the reign of Jehoshaphat. The attack, however, in answer to prayer, proved disastrous to the invaders (cf. *HGHL* 272). E. Hull.

ZIZA (זִיזָא).—**1.** A Simeonite chief who took part in the raid on Gedor, 1 Ch 4^{37} (B and Luc. om.,

* See art. Millo, and cf. Stade, *GVI* i. 343.

† [This passage shows that the palace was higher than, and therefore to the north of, the 'city of David.'—Ed.].

‡ This wall was built apparently to give more efficient protection to the passage leading to the Virgin's Fount, which was discovered by Sir C. Warren.

* The 'sons' of MT in Ex 4^{20} is from the hand of a redactor. See art. Moses, vol. iii. p. 439[a] note †.

A Ζουζά). **2.** A son of Rehoboam, 2 Ch 11[20] (B Ζειζά, A Ζιζά).

ZIZAH (זִיזָא).—A Gershonite Levite, 1 Ch 23[11]. The name, prob. by a copyist's error, appears in v.[10] as **Zina** (זִינָא). LXX has in both verses Ζιζά. One Heb. MS, cited by Kennicott, also reads זִיזָא in v.[10].

ZOAN (צֹעַן, Τάνις, Tanis. The Coptic *Jani* resembles the Hebrew and the Arabic *Sān*, but a Christian Coptic MS, containing a list of bishops, bears witness to the Greek pronunciation with *T.* [Amelineau, *Géographie de l'Égypte*, 1893, p. 413 f.]). —A city of Egypt which the LXX by their rendering identify with the city known to the Greeks as Tanis. It is described by Greek writers as a 'great city' (Strabo, *Meineke*, c. 802; Stephanus Byzant. in his list of cities), and the branch of the Nile on which it was situated was called from it the Tanaitic mouth. The city declined in importance when the river which flowed by it ceased to be a main waterway; and the surrounding country, which in ancient times was rich pasture ground, is now salt marsh and lake. An insignificant collection of dwellings (known as Sān on the Muiz canal), chiefly inhabited by fishermen who ply their trade on the neighbouring lake Menzaleh, marks the site of this once flourishing city. But widely scattered around are ruins which bear witness to its former greatness. From very early times it was a centre of worship, and successive dynasties enriched the city with costly buildings and obelisks which (such is the opinion of those who have explored the site) equalled, perhaps in some respects surpassed, many of the temples which have been more fortunately preserved.

The references to this city in Is. and Ezk. are in accord with the testimony of the monuments and of Greek writers. Isaiah (19[11. 13] 30[4]) describes it as the abode of princes and counsellors, and Ezekiel (30[14]) includes it in a list of the principal cities doomed to destruction. The note in Nu 13[22] that 'Hebron was built seven years before Zoan in Egypt,' opens up a wide field of conjecture, but yields little by way of certain inference. Hebron was regarded as an ancient city, existing in the time of Abraham, and the note implies that Zoan also was an ancient city, built before the migration of the Hebrews into Egypt; but whether anything more (such as community of origin) is suggested by the comparison is doubtful. The question of most interest to the biblical student in connexion with Zoan is: Was this city, already flourishing when Israel came into Egypt, in any way connected with their sojourn there? It is known that in Exodus the name Zoan does not occur. Rameses is mentioned (Ex 12[37]) as the place from which the children of Israel set out on their journeyings. But in Ps 78, which recounts the wonders which God had wrought for Israel, 'the field of Zoan' is twice mentioned (vv.[12. 43]) as the scene of the plagues. The Psalmist may have used this expression as a poetical parallelism to 'the land of Egypt,' just as Isaiah places the 'princes of Zoan' in parallelism with the 'counsellors of Pharaoh,' and the only inference to be drawn from the passage is that the Psalmist knew Zoan as a very important city. It is possible that the use of Zoan may be due to a tradition not elsewhere preserved. Ebers (*Durch Gosen zum Sinai*, p. 498) gives an inscription in which the words 'the field of Zoan' occur.

Brugsch asserts that Ramses II. transferred his court to Zoan, strengthened its fortifications and founded a new temple city; that the place was called Pi Ramessu, the city of Ramses, and that the new Pharaoh who 'knew not Joseph' *can be no other* than Ramses II. (*Egypt under the Pharaohs*, ii, 94, 96, 99). These statements if accepted go far towards locating the children of Israel at the time of their departure. But Egyptologists do not agree in interpreting the monumental evidence. In the articles PITHOM and RAMESES will be found the opinions of Naville and others who are not prepared to adopt Brugsch's identification. This at least may be said of the site now occupied by Sān. Its position on the Nile, in or near to what was the land of Goshen, its known antiquity and importance, mark it out as a residence of the Pharaohs and a probable dwelling-place of Israel in bondage.

A. T. CHAPMAN.

ZOAR (צוֹעַר, צֹעַר; LXX usually Σηγωρ, but Gn 13[10] Ζογορα, Jer 48[34] Ζογορ; Vulg. always *Segor*; Jos Ζοαρα and Ζοωρ).—The name of one of the 'cities of the Plain' (or Oval; Heb. *Kikkār*: see PLAIN, 4), near the Dead Sea, mentioned in Gn 13[10] 14[2. 8] (where its former name is said to have been *Bela'* בֶּלַע), 19[22] (where its name is explained, by a popular etymology, as signifying 'littleness,' and it is said to have been spared, on account of its smallness, at the time when the other 'cities of the *Kikkār*' were destroyed), vv.[23. 30], Dt 34[3] (in Moses' view from Pisgah: 'and the *Kikkār*, the plain [*bik'ah*; PLAIN, 3] of Jericho, as far as Ẓo'ar'), and as a city of Moab, Is 15[5], Jer 48[4] (read prob. with LXX [ἀναγγείλατε εἰς Ζογορα], Ew., Graf, *al.* 'make a cry to be heard *unto Ẓo'ar*), v.[34].

These are all the biblical notices of Ẓo'ar. Though no place bearing the name is at present known, it is, however, mentioned repeatedly by post-bibl. writers, down to the Middle Ages, as an important place lying at the S. end of the Dead Sea. Jos. says that it was still called Ζοωρ in his day (*Ant.* I. xi. 4), and states that the Dead Sea extended—as the context implies, from *Jericho* —for 580 stadia 'as far as Zoara [μέχρι Ζοαρων] of Arabia' (*BJ* IV. viii. 4). Euseb. (*Onom.* 261) says that the Dead Sea lay between Jericho and Zoora; and states (231, *s.v.* Βαλα) that it had a Roman garrison, and that the balsam and the palm still grew there, testifying to the ancient fertility of the locality. Ptolemy (v. 17. 5) speaks of it as belonging to Arabia Petræa; Steph. of Byz. calls it a κώμη μεγάλη ἢ φρούριον; in the ecclesiastical *Notitiæ* it is mentioned as an episcopal see in Palæstina Tertia, which was represented at the Council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451 (Reland, *Palæst.* 215, 217, 223, 226, 1065; cf. 230). Under the name Ẓughar (Zughar, Sughar, Suḳar) it is often mentioned by the mediæval Arabic geographers (see Tuch, *Genesis*[2], 280 f.; or, more fully, Guy le Strange, *Pal. under the Moslems*, 1890, 286–92) as situated one degree S. of Jericho (Abul-feda), at the 'end of the Dead Sea,' in a hot and unhealthy valley, but nevertheless an important commercial centre, capital of the province of esh-Sherâh or Edom (p. 39), a station on the great trade route between the Gulf of 'Aḳabah and Jericho, two days' journey from the latter place, and famous for its dates and indigo (cf. *HGHL* 506 f.).* From its proximity to Ẓo'ar, the Dead Sea is often called by these writers the 'Lake of Zughar.' The Crusaders also mention 'Segor' (cf. the Vulg. above) as pleasantly situated, with many palm trees, so that it was even called by them 'Villa Palmarum' and 'Palmer' (cf. Knob. on Gn 19[20-22] [fuller than Dillm.]; Rob. *BRP* ii. 517–9).

As regards the *precise* position of Ẓo'ar, it was argued by Robinson (*l.c.*) that the notices of Jos. and Eus., though they implied that Ẓo'ar was *near* the S. end of the Dead Sea, did not necessarily fix it *at* that end; and that as Jerome (on Is 15[5]) says

* Le Strange shows very clearly that Merrill (*East of Jord.* 233) is in error in saying that the Arab. geographers place Zughar at the *N.* end of the Sea.

that Luhith was between Areopolis and Ẓo'ar, the most natural site for it would be (see the maps) at *el-Mezra'a*, in the midst of a verdant stretch of woodland and pasture-ground behind the barren promontory el-Lisān, just where the Wādy Kerak, flowing down from above the old citadel of Kerak, fertilizes the soil on the E. side of the Dead Sea.* The same site was adopted by Tuch (*l.c.* 281 f.). Wetzstein, however, in an important Excursus on Ẓo'ar at the end of Delitzsch's *Genesis*[4] (1872), p. 564 ff., pointed out that it was not consistent with the *data*: the mediæval Ẓo'ar was one of the six stations on the usual caravan-route from Aila (Elath) by Hebron to Jerus.: it was two days' journey from Aila to Ghamr el-'Arabah, two more to Ẓo'ar, and two more to Hebron: el-Mezra'a, as a glance at the map will at once show, is entirely out of the line of this route (for Tuch was in error in supposing that it passed along the *E.* side of the Dead Sea and crossed the Jordan by Jericho: no road is possible along the E. side of the Sea); nor would the steep and narrow W. Kerak be, as Tuch supposed, a practicable route for Baldwin's army to take when marching to the relief of Kerak, for a handful of men could have effectually barred its progress (cf. Tristram, *Moab*, 65, 67–9, esp. 68). Pulcherius, moreover, accompanied Baldwin on an expedition from Jerus. to Petra, passing Hebron and Ẓo'ar on the way; but again, if Ẓo'ar was at el-Mezra'a, it would have taken them strangely out of their course. Accordingly Wetzstein supposes with great plausibility that Ẓo'ar lay near the S.E. corner of the Dead Sea, in the verdant and tropically-wooded oasis, some 6 miles long by 1–3 broad (see Tristram's Map, and pp. 329 f., 333 f., *Moab*, 46 f., 50–52; Rob. ii. 113; Grove in Smith, *DB* iii. 1182, § 26; Gautier, *Autour de la Mer Morte*, 1901, p. 52 f.), fertilized by the waters of the Wādy el-Aḥsâ ('the W. of the sand-wells'), flowing down from the S.E., and called now, from the high and smooth sandstone-range rising up behind it, the *Ghôr eṣ-Ṣāfiyeh* ('the Hollow of the Smooth (cliff)'). And an Arabic authority (Dimashki, *c.* 1300), *ap.* le Strange (p. 292), expressly places Zughar here. In the curious mosaic map of Pal., also, discovered in 1896 in a basilica at Mêdebah in Moab, and belonging probably to the 5th or 6th cent. A.D., BAAAK [LXX for *Bela'*] H KAI ZOOPA, with a palm-tree beside it, is placed clearly at the S.E. corner of the Dead Sea.†

On the *South* of the Dead Sea the character of the soil is very different: there is here a large saline morass, *es-Sebkha* (above, p. 512[a] note*), some 6 miles broad and 10 long, bounded on the N. half of its W. side by the cliffs of rock-salt called *Jebel Usdum* (vol. i. p. 575[b], iii. 152), consisting of fine mud brought down by the wādys on the S.W. and S. and mingled with drainings of the Jebel Usdum: this is entirely destitute of vegetation, and only passable with danger and difficulty (see descriptions in Rob. ii. 112; Tristram, *Land of Isr.* 326–9; Gautier, *op. cit.* 48–52). The Wādy Ghurundel divides the Sebkha from the Ghôr eṣ-Ṣāfiyeh.

At present there is nothing in the Ghôr eṣ-Ṣāfiyeh but a wretched village of reed huts, enclosed by a reed stockade, with camps round about, inhabited by Bedawis (Tristram, 330; Gautier, 53 f., with views, 48, 56); and Wetzstein (p. 568 f.) thinks that, from the climate, there could never have been a much more substantial place here; but he points to a castle which may well have been the site of the φρούριον mentioned in ancient times; and perhaps the ancient Ẓo'ar stood in a higher and more healthy situation than the actual floor of the Ghôr (cf. the two ruins to the S.E. a little way up the W. el-Aḥsâ [Tristram, *Moab*, 46–49]).

* Tristram, *Moab*, 60, 64. The map at the end of Tristram's *Land of Israel* shows very distinctly the different fertile spots on the shores of the Dead Sea. The elevations will be best learned from G. A. Smith's large *Topogr. and Phys. Map of Pal.*

† See Lagrange, *La Mosaïque géogr. de Mâdaba*, in the *Rev. Bibl.*, April 1897, Map (in which the *East* is at the top), and p. 173.

The usually accepted site of both Ẓo'ar and of the other 'cities of the *Kikkār*' has been at the S. end of the Dead Sea; but it was argued by Mr. (afterwards Sir G.) Grove in Smith's *DB*, *s.v.* 'Zoar,' that they were at the *North* end of the Sea; and this view has been followed since by Tristram (*L. of Isr.* 354 ff.), Conder (*Tent-Work*, 154, 207 f., 210), and other English writers (cf. above, arts. GOMORRAH and SODOM). The principal grounds upon which it is supported are (1) that in Gn 13[10] Lot is said to have seen from near Bethel (v.[3]) 'all the *Kikkār* of Jordan,' and afterwards to have dwelt in the 'cities of the *Kikkār*,' whereas the S. end of the Dead Sea is not visible from near Bethel, and a plain situated there would not naturally be called the 'Plain of Jordan'; (2) that the S. end of the Dead Sea is not visible from Nebo, as it is implied in Dt 34[3] (quoted above) that Ẓo'ar was; (3) that Gn 14[7], which states that Chedorla'omer, coming up from the S., after smiting the Amalekites in Ḥaẓaẓon-tamar (= En-gedi, 2 Ch 20[2]), proceeded to the Vale of Siddim, implies that this vale, and consequently the cities of the *Kikkār* (which were near it), were at the N. end of the Sea. It is true, the language of Gn 13[10. 11a. 12b] does not seem to suggest that the narrator (J) pictured the part of the *Kikkār*, to which Lot would naturally descend from Bethel, as separated from Sodom by the Dead Sea, with practically no passage along either shore: on the other hand, this conclusion is not *necessary*; the narrative may well be condensed, and Lot may not then and there have directly 'moved his tent as far as Sodom.' The evidence that the *post*-bibl. Ẓo'ar was at the S. end of the Dead Sea clearly cannot be resisted: and in the case of what must anciently have been a well-known place, it seems scarcely likely that the Ẓo'ar of Josephus was on a different site from the biblical Ẓo'ar. Further, as regards (1), *Kikkār* does not mean 'Plain,' but 'Round,' and it may thus have been applied to the entire basin in which both the lower Jordan and the Dead Sea lay, the '*Kikkār* of the Jordan' (Gn 13[10. 11], 1 K 7[46]) being in particular the part of it including the lower course of the Jordan: in Gn 13[10], also, it is not said that Lot saw the exact part of the *Kikkār* in which the cities were (for 'all' must be an exaggeration, even if the cities were at the N. end of the Dead Sea, since only a part of the plain there is discernible from near Bethel); (2) the view described in Dt 34[1-3] includes many points (as Dan) not actually visible from Nebo (Thomson, *L. and B.* iii. 653), and v.[3] implies naturally that Ẓo'ar was at some distance off, not a place at the foot of Nebo (*Tell Shaghûr*, Conder, *Heth and Moab*[3], p. 154 f., 6 m. N.E. of the Dead Sea, in spite of the facts that Shaghûr does not correspond phonetically to Ẓo'ar, and that Tell Shaghûr is not distinguishable from Rās Ṣiāghāh, *ib.* p. 137); (3) the route from En-gedi to the N. end of the Dead Sea, whether inland (across a succession of steep wādis: Rob. i. 526–32) or along the coast (by wading or clambering round promontories: Rob. i. 506 *n.*; Tristram, *Land of Isr.* 252, 274, 278, 284 f.), is much more impracticable for an army than that to its S. end: according to others also, Ḥazazon-tamar is not En-ged at all, but the Tamar of Ezk 47[19] 48[29], a village on the road between Elath and Hebron (*Onom.* 210), perhaps (Rob. ii. 202) *Kurnub*, 22 m. S.W. of the S. end of the Dead Sea.

And, in fact, there are biblical *data* which, when considered carefully, appear to support the S. site. To say nothing of Dt 34[3], just referred to, it is observable that Ẓo'ar is always spoken of as a *Moabite* town, and never claimed as an Israelite or (Jos 13[15-21]) Reubenite town, as it naturally would be if it lay at the N. end of the Sea; Ezk. also (16[46]) describes Sodom as being on the 'right' (*i.e.* the south) of Jerus. (Samaria being on its 'left,' or north), which shows that he did not picture it at the N. end of the sea (which is due E. of Jerusalem). The S. site is accepted by the great majority of recent authorities, as Knob., Del., Keil, Dillm. (on Gn 19[20]), Riehm, *HWB*; Socin, *ZDPV*, 1880, p. 81; Buhl, *Geogr.* 271 f., 274; G. A. Smith, *Expos.*, Dec. 1896, p. 413, *HGHL* 678 (cf. 505–8); Clermont-Ganneau, *PEFSt*, 1886, p. 20; Blanckenhorn, *ZDPV*, 1896, p. 54 f. (who gives further particulars).

On the singular argument by which Hommel (*AHT* 195–8) seeks to show that Bela' (Gn 14[2. 8]) is mentioned in Assyr. under the name *Malkâ*, *Malgu*, etc., see Johns (in the *Expositor*, Aug. 1898, pp. 158–60), who shows that it rests upon a series of misreadings and misunderstandings.

The site of Ẓo'ar carries with it the site of the other 'cities of the *Kikkār*,' which (Gn 19) may have formed a group by themselves, but cannot have been at any great distance from Ẓo'ar. Provided, therefore, it may be assumed (see SIDDIM, VALE OF) that in Abraham's time what is now the shallow S. part of the Dead Sea was the 'Vale of Siddim,' and the morass es-Sebkha a fertile plain (like the present Ghôr eṣ-Ṣāfiyeh), it may reasonably be supposed that the other four cities were situated on this plain; an earthquake, how-

ever, took place, producing on the one hand an eruption of petroleum, which, igniting, destroyed the four cities (Tristram, *L. of Isr.* 353 f.; Dawson, *Egypt and Syria*, p. 125 ff.), and on the other hand a subsidence of the soil, which caused the 'Vale of Siddim' to be covered by the waters of the Dead Sea, and the plain on which the four cities were situated to become the saline morass, now called es-Sebkha (cf. the descriptions of the site of the overthrown cities, Dt 29^{23}, Zeph 2^9; Is 13^{20}, Jer 49^{18} $=50^{40}$). S. R. DRIVER.

ZOBAH (צוֹבָא or צוֹבָה; Σουβά [A in 2 S 8^{12} and ℵ in 1 Ch 19^6 Σωβά).—One of the numerous kingdoms into which the Aramæans on the north and north-east of Palestine were divided. Apart from the short notice of the wars of Saul (1 S 14^{47}), which is probably the work of a later editor (see SAMUEL, I. AND II.), the first mention of Zobah or **Aram-zobah** occurs in the reign of David in connexion with his war against Hanun, king of the Ammonites (2 S $8^{3f.}$ $10^{1ff.}$). In the fuller and more accurate account of this campaign, given in 2 S $10^{1f.}$, it is stated that the Ammonites hired the Syrians (or Aramæans) of BETH-REHOB and of Zobah, together with Ish-tob, king of Maacah,* to assist them in repelling the expected invasion of the Israelites. Despite this important reinforcement, the Ammonites failed to withstand the Israelites under Joab and Abishai, and both they and their allies were forced to take refuge in flight. The Aramæans, however, seem to have realized that a wider issue than that of the temporary support of Ammon was involved in their struggle with the newly developed kingdom of Israel; for, owing to the enforced inactivity of the two great empires of Egypt and Assyria, it was obvious that the supremacy (for the time being) over northern Palestine would rest with the stronger of the two rival dynasties of Aram and Israel. Hence we find Hadadezer, king of Zobah, making further and more strenuous efforts to overwhelm the Israelite kingdom. To this end he assembled all the forces at his command, and with the aid of the powerful kingdom of Damascus (following 2 S 8^5 rather than 10^{16}: see below) again took the field. The opposing armies met at Helam; but the Israelites, this time under the command of David himself, once more proved victorious, and compelled the Syrians to accept terms of peace. It would appear from 1 K $11^{23f.}$ that this battle had an important bearing on the history of Syria; for, according to the notice there preserved, a certain Rezon, son of Eliada, took advantage of the defeat of Hadadezer to desert. Accompanied by a troop of men he fled to Damascus, where he set up a kingdom, and became 'an adversary to Israel all the days of Solomon.'

It cannot be denied that, at first sight, the impression of Zobah conveyed by the biblical narrative is that of a large and powerful kingdom in the north of Palestine, exercising sovereign sway over all the Aramæan tribes. Hence the majority of scholars, until recently, have placed it vaguely between Damascus and Hamath, the nearest approach to a definite site being that of Nöldeke, who assigns it to the neighbourhood of Emesa. As regards its *site*, this impression is confirmed by the Assyrian monuments (Schrader, *KGF* p. 122, *KAT*^{2} p. 182 f., art. 'Zobah' in Riehm's *HWB*; Fr. Del. *Par.* p. 279 f.); but the idea of its *importance* seems to be derived very largely from the fact that (according to the present text of 2 S 10^{16}, cf. 8^3) Hadadezer, king of Zobah, exercised control over the distant Aramæan tribes living 'beyond the River.' But a comparison of the two accounts of David's wars with the Ammonites and the Aramæans (2 S 8 and 10) shows clearly that the account given in 2 S 8^{3-8} is mainly the work of a later editor, who probably also substituted the phrase 'that were beyond the River' (10^{16}) for the original 'of Damascus'* (on the relation of $10^{1f.}$ to ch. 8 see SAMUEL, I. AND II., p. 390). On the ground of its importance, therefore, and of the extent of influence, there is no need to place Zobah so far north as the kingdom (or city) of that name mentioned in the Assyrian tribute—or geographical lists (see above). Moreover, a closer examination of the history of the two campaigns makes it more probable that Zobah lay considerably further south. The order in which the Aramæan tribes are mentioned in 2 S $10^{6f.}$ (Beth-rehob, Zobah, Maacah) is decidedly against the northern theory, for both Beth-rehob and Maacah lay to the S. or S.W. of Damascus, and apparently their territories bordered on that of Ammon: we should expect, therefore, to find the kingdom of Zobah in the same neighbourhood. Hence Winckler (*Gesch. Isr.* p. 137 f.) is no doubt right in identifying Zobah, or Aram-zobah, not with the Assyrian Šubiti (or Šubutu) lying to the N. of Damascus, but with the place of the same name, S. of Damascus and in the neighbourhood of the Haurân, mentioned by Assurbanipal in the account of his campaign against the Arabian king Jauta (Rassam-Cylinder, vol. vii. ll. 110–112; see *KIB* ii. p. 217). Winckler (p. 141 f.) is inclined to go even further and to identify Zobah with Beth-rehob, but the evidence which he adduces is scarcely convincing.

It is possible that the editor who is responsible for 2 S 8^{3-8} confused the two Zobahs, for the two cities of Zobah which he mentions, Berothai (=Berothah, Ezk 47^{16}) and Betah (1 Ch 18^8 TIBHATH, probably the modern *Tebah*), were situated N. of Damascus. In addition to the authorities cited, see also Tompkins in *PEFSt*, April 1885, pp. 108 f., 113. J. F. STENNING.

ZOBEBAH (צֹבֵבָה). — A Judahite, 1 Ch 4^8 (B Σαβαθά, A Σωβηθά, Luc. Σαβηβά).

ZOHAR (צֹחַר).—**1.** Father of Ephron the Hittite, Gn 23^8 25^9 (Σάαρ). **2.** The name of a Simeonite family, Gn 46^{10} (A Σάαρ, *D* Σάαλ), Ex 6^{15} (Σάαρ); called in Nu 26^{13} and 1 Ch 4^{24} **Zerah** (in former, BA Ζάρα; in latter, B Ζάρες, A Ζάραε, Luc. Ζάρα). **3.** The name of a Judahite family, according to the *Kĕrê* of 1 Ch 4^7 (וְצֹחַר) 'and Zohar,' which was followed in AV of 1611). The *Kĕthîbh* is יצחר which in modern edd. of AV appears as 'Jezoar' (an incorrect transliteration of יְצֹחַר) and in RV as 'Izhar' (*i.e.* יִצְהָר).

ZOHELETH, THE STONE (אֶבֶן הַזֹּחֶלֶת 'the serpent's stone'; B Λίθη τοῦ Ζωελεθεί, A τὸν λίθον τοῦ Ζωέλεθ).—The spot at which Adonijah prepared a sacrificial feast for all those who supported his claims to the throne of David (1 K 1^9). The stone was doubtless a *maẓẓēbā*, and marked the site of an old Canaanite sanctuary. In ancient times 'living water' was regarded as inhabited by *jinn*, usually in the form of a serpent or dragon; cf. 'the dragon's well' (Neh 2^{13}): hence such water was

* 2 S 10^6. Read as Wellhausen and Klostermann—וְאֶת־מֶלֶךְ מַעֲכָה אֶת־אִישׁ טוֹב וְעִמּוֹ 'and the king of Maacah, Ish-tob, and with him (12,000 men),' omitting the awkward 'with a thousand men.' In the parallel passage (1 Ch $19^{6f.}$), the Chronicler gives the sum-total as 32,000 men (*i.e.* 20,000+12,000): he obviously, therefore, did not include the extra thousand (see Klosterm. *ad loc.*).

* This seems more prob. than the substitution of 'Damascus' for 'beyond the River,' which was suggested in SAMUEL, I. AND II.; see also Budde, *Richter u. Sam.* p. 250, note 3. Winckler, *Gesch. Israel's*, p. 137 f., indeed, rejects the whole of 10^{14-19a} as redactional, arguing with some force that v.^{19b} really forms the conclusion to vv.$^{6-14}$; but, with the exception of the phrase 'beyond the River,' there seems no justification for doubting the genuineness of the passage.

itself sacred, and the source whence it issued usually became the site of a temple (see W. R. Smith, *RS*[2] 170 f.). The actual position of the stone is somewhat uncertain, and depends on the identification of En-rogel; the name seems to have been preserved in the modern *ez-Zehwéleh* (see art. EN-ROGEL and the authorities there cited). Wellhausen (*Skizzen*, iii. 171) suggests that the name Zoheleth may be connected with the Arabic *Zuḥal* = Saturn. J. F. STENNING.

ZOHETH (זוֹחֵת).—A descendant of Judah, 1 Ch 4[20] (B Ζωάν, A Ζωχάθ, Luc. Ζαώθ).

ZOOLOGY.—See NATURAL HISTORY.

ZOPHAH (צוֹפָה).—An Asherite, 1 Ch 7[35] (B Σωχάθ, A Σωφάρ, Luc. Σουφά)[36] (B Σωφάς, A Σωφά, Luc. Σουφά).

ZOPHAI (צוֹפַי).—An ancestor of Samuel, 1 Ch 6[26 (11)] (Σουφ(ϵ)ί) = ZUPH of v.[35 (20)] and 1 S 1[1].

ZOPHAR (צוֹפַר, Σωφάρ).—The third in order of Job's three friends, described in the LXX as 'king of the Minæans' (Job 2[11]). Probably the chief of a tribe on the borders of Idumæa.

ZOPHIM.—The 'field of Zophim' (שְׂדֵה צֹפִים, LXX ϵἰς ἀγροῦ σκοπιάν) was one of the spots to which Balaḳ took Balaam to view Israel, Nu 23[14] (JE). It is questionable whether we have here a proper name; the Heb. expression means literally 'field of viewers *or* lookers out' (note the addition 'to the top of Pisgah'). Such 'places of watching' (מִצְפֶּה) were naturally situated frequently on the tops of hills (see MIZPAH, vol. iii. p. 400[a]). On the impossible combination *Ramathaim-ẓophim* of 1 S 1[1] see art. RAMAH, p. 198[a].

ZORAH (צָרְעָה; BA Σαραά, with the following exceptions: B in Jos 15[33] om., 19[41] Σαράθ, Jg 13[2] Σαράλ; A in Jg 13[25] Σαρά, 18[2] Ἀραά; in Neh 11[29] Bא* A om., א[c. a] Σαραά, Luc. Σαρά).—A town allotted to Judah, according to Jos 15[33]; but elsewhere spoken of as Danite, Jos 19[41], Jg 18[2. 8. 11] (coupled with ESHTAOL); specially noted as the home of SAMSON, Jg 13[2. 25], who was buried between Ẓorah and Eshtaol, 16[31]. It was fortified by Rehoboam, 2 Ch 11[10], and is mentioned in Neh 11[29] as peopled by Judahites after the Captivity. The gentilic name **Zorathites** (הַצָּרְעָתִי) occurs in 1 Ch 2[53] (οἱ Σαραθαῖοι) 4[2] (B ὁ Ἀραθεί, A ὁ Σαραθί, Luc. Σαλαθιήλ) and prob. 2[54] (where read Zorathites הַצָּרְעָתִי for **Zorites** הַצָּרְעִי; B ὁ Ἡσαρσεί, A ὁ Ἡσαραεί, Luc. ὁ Σαραθί). In the latter verse the name *Manaḥathites* (Manoahites) is a reminiscence of Manoah the father of Samson.

Ẓorah is the modern *Ṣur'ah* on the northern side of *Wâdy eṣ-Ṣurar* (the Valley of Soreḳ) opposite *'Ain Shems* (Beth-shemesh), which lies on the southern side. This corresponds with the statement of Eusebius (*OS*[2] 293, 29) that it was 10 miles from Eleutheropolis on the road to Nicopolis. It is mentioned under the name *Zarân* in the *Travels of a Mohar* (Sayce, *HCM* 344), and as *Zarkha* in the Tel el-Amarna letters (Winckler, No. 173; Petrie, No. 265) as attacked by the Khabiri.

LITERATURE.—Robinson, *BRP*[2] iii. 153; Guérin, *Judée*, ii. 15 ff.; Baedeker, *Pal.*[3] 163; G. A. Smith, *HGHL* 218; Buhl, *GAP* 90, 195. J. A. SELBIE.

ZORITES.—See ZORAH.

ZOROASTRIANISM.—An account of the ancient religion of Iran, the religion of the Parsis at the present day, finds its place in a Bible Dictionary, not because of direct references to it in the Bible which need elucidation,—for these are exceedingly few,—but because of the widely-held opinion that some of the most important later developments of Judaism were profoundly affected by contact with Persian beliefs. The developments in question affect Angelology, Demonology, and the doctrine of the Resurrection. In the present article only that will be described which directly concerns the parallel phenomena in the religion of Israel.

1. The *Mazdayasna* ('worship of Mazda') is variously known as Mazdeism, Zoroastrianism, or Parsism. Its basis is the worship of a supreme deity, *Ahura Mazdāh*, or *Ormazd* ('the Lord Wisdom'), beneath whom stand six highly abstract archangels called *Amshaspands* (*Amesha Spenta*, 'immortal holy ones'), and a large number of angels (*yazata*), who are mostly nature-powers dethroned from the divine position they held in the days when the ancestors of Iranian and Indian tribes lived together as one people. The sacred book of the religion, the *Avesta*,* contains some ancient hymns which appear to come from *Zarathushtra*, called by the Greeks Ζωροάστρης. He is probably to be regarded as a real person, the reformer to whom may plausibly be assigned the monotheistic doctrine of the religion, and the philosophic system which attempts to solve the problem of Evil. This system involves an evil spirit, *Angra Mainyu*, or *Ahriman* ('destructive spirit'), who with his hosts of demons (*daēva*) presides over all evil things in the world and wages war with Ahura and the good creation, till the time when evil will be finally destroyed. Among the most powerful of the good spirits are the '*fravashis* of the pious.' A *fravashi* is part of a man's identity, dwelling in heaven but powerful to aid on earth. It belongs to good men past, present, and to come. It shares the fortunes of its earthly counterpart, when a living man; and if that man becomes evil, it apparently ceases as a *fravashi* to be. The good Zoroastrian had a code of simple and generally high-toned morality to observe, hampered by a complicated and often extremely foolish ritual, which is probably to be laid to the account of alien priests who fastened on the religion during the later Achæmenian reigns. After death, the pious receive a blissful immortality with Ahura in the 'House of Song,' while the *daēva*-worshippers are condemned to torment in the 'House of the Lie.' Ultimately the world is to be renewed under *Saoshyant* ('one who shall save'—a being miraculously descended from Zoroaster), after purification by the 'ordeal of molten metal,' which will consume all that is evil.

2. Such is, in the barest outline, the faith of Zoroastrianism. The only other preliminary left for us to determine here is the date at which this system had penetrated countries inhabited by Jews. It is obvious that if Judaism owed any of its eschatology, or its doctrine of angels and demons, to this foreign influence, Zoroastrianism must have been firmly established in Babylonia or Media before the Book of Daniel was written, and presumably generations before. The date of the Avesta is a warmly disputed question; but for our present purpose this matters little, for the doctrines which find parallels in Judaism are universally admitted to be early, on the witness of classical writers, from Herodotus downwards. That

* Its main divisions are the *Yasna* (abbreviated *Ys*), which includes the oldest part, the *Gāthās*, or hymns; the *Yashts* (*Yt*), hymns in honour of old nature powers; and the *Vendīdād* (*Vd*), the Leviticus of Parsism. Many of the most important of the 'Rabbinic' writings of Parsism are translated by Dr. E. W. West in the *Sacred Books of the East* (*SBE*). In this series also is found the best translation of the Avesta itself, by Darmesteter and Mills.

these doctrines were prevalent 'in the cities of the Medes,' and other regions inhabited by Israelites during and after the Exile, may also be regarded as certain. Moreover, it is fair to argue that the Jews would be predisposed to look favourably on the religion of their liberator Cyrus. (That the early Achæmenian kings did hold what may be fairly described as Zoroastrian faith, may be assumed as probable, though not at all certain.) At present we have to show how far the Zoroastrian and the later Jewish systems coincide, and examine what reason there is for assuming that foreign influence affected the development of Judaism. Before discussing this question, we may deal with the few passages of the Bible and Apocrypha in which direct allusion is made to Zoroastrian institutions.

3. There are two allusions in the Prophets which have caused no little difficulty, since both of them refer to pre-exilic times. In Jer $39^{3.\ 13}$ RAB-MAG appears to be the Babylonian title of an official head of a sacred caste, like the Magian ὀνειροπόλοι of Astyages in Hdt. i. 108. By itself this passage is not decisive: Tiele (*Religionsgesch.* ii. 110 f.) would deny the connexion of the Rab-mag with Median Magi, and make him no religious officer at all.* Tiele has not dealt with the very remarkable passage, Ezk $8^{16ff.}$, which creates a strong presumption that there were Magi outside Zoroastrianism, whose influence was felt at Jerusalem before the Exile. The prophet sees sundry 'abominations' in the temple, the worst of which are sun-worshippers who 'put the branch to their nose.' This 'branch,' despite Gunkel, must be the *barsom*, or 'bundle of fine tamarisk boughs' (Strabo, xv. 3. 14), which the Parsi priest of today holds up to his face at worship. Now, if this were 'a distinctively Persian rite' (Davidson, *in loc.*), it would be 'hardly probable at so early a date in Israel.' But it is only Magian, and not Persian at all. It belongs to the mass of ritual which the Magi contrived to graft long after this time upon the Mazdayasna, hitherto almost destitute of ceremonies and priestly rites. If, then, this characteristically Magian rite has penetrated as far as Jerusalem in the 7th cent. B.C., it is no longer 'improbable' (Tiele) that these famous medicine-men should have 'come from Media to Babylon.' On the contrary, their success at Jerusalem is more easily explained if they had already a footing at Babylon.

4. The presence of Parsism in *Tobit* is so clear that we may fairly discuss it at this point. That Ἀσμόδαῖος (B Ἀσμόδαυς) is *Aēshma daēva*, 'the demon Wrath,'† has been generally accepted, though no very successful attempt has been made to account for this and other Parsi traits in a Jewish romance. A key to the character of the book may perhaps be found in the recognition of a Median folklore story which a Jewish author has adapted: see the details of this theory worked out in a paper by the present writer in *Expos. Times*, March 1900. The following will be included among the features of the original story. (1) The scene is in Media, a meeting-place of Iranian and Semitic, and especially in 'Zoroastrian Ragha' (Ῥάγαι τῆς Μηδίας, 9^5 ℵ). (2) The demon Aëshma, as is natural in a popular story, has enlarged his functions to include 'Lust, hard by Hate,' his Avestan attribute. His opponent in the Median original would be Sraosha, the angel 'Obedience,' whom Parsism sets in special antagonism to Angra Mainyu's arch-fiend Aēshma. Behind him doubtless stands the 'grateful dead man' of the folk-tale, found widely in the East,* on which Hans Andersen based his *Travelling Companion*. Raphael therefore is ultimately substituted for the dead man of To 2^7. (3) The extraordinary emphasis laid on the duty of burying the dead strongly recalls the Vendidad, and it seems clear that the Jewish adapter has simply substituted burial for the Parsi 'Tower of Silence,' on which the vultures strip the bones. Great merit is accumulated when the faithful Parsi, with a companion,—it is mortal sin to do it alone,—removes a corpse thither from polluting the sacred earth. In the original, therefore, the prototypes of Tobit and Tobias must have done this pious work together. Moreover, a *dog* was necessary, that his glance might exorcise the corruption fiend.† Hence the entirely otiose and un-Jewish dog which survives in To 6^2 (ℵ) and 5^{17} 11^4 (B). In addition to this, there is a clear reference in 4^{17} (B) to the *draona*, the 'corpse-cake.'‡ (4) There seem very clear allusions (see 6^{12}, and note the attempt at explanation in ℵ: also cf. 3^{15} and 3^{17}) to the idea of the merit of marriage with near kin. Now this, in the form of first-cousin-marriage, has always been prominent in Parsism.§ The Magi went further, and made themselves notorious in antiquity by their vehement preaching of incestuous unions, to which they attributed extraordinary virtue. In the Median *Tobit* no doubt Raguel and the hero were brothers, so that 7^4 (ℵ) may be taken literally. (5) The charm by which Tobit's blindness is healed is very much like one found in the Shâh Nâmeh of Firdausi; see the story in Atkinson's epitome (Chandos Classics), p. 106. The parallel suggests that in the Median story the blindness may have been caused by demons' enchantment; the fish in 6^2 looks also like a demon. (6) In 8^3 (ℵ, the original text clearly) the demon flies ἄνω εἰς τὰ μέρη Αἰγύπτου. That the original Aramaic‖ מצרים was a blunder for מוגרן was suggested by Kohut,¶ and in spite of Nöldeke's objection seems highly probable. Mâzindarân was especially the land of sorcery; and on Mt. Dimâvand therein (cf. ἄνω in 8^3) the hero Thraētaona 'bound' (συνεπόδισεν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐπέδησεν, *ib.*) the old serpent Azhi Dahâka. (7) The seven angels of 12^{15} may in the original have been the Amshaspands, who are often made seven by the addition either of Ahura Mazda or of Sraosha. If this is so—and it is not really necessary—we have the only distinctively *Zoroastrian* feature in Tobit; the rest are probably Magian, and may well antedate the Zoroastrian reform. But, of course, we have no means of dating the original story. It is noteworthy that there is practically no eschatology in the book; if its original was untouched by Zoroastrianism proper, this would be natural. It follows that we cannot rely much on *Tobit* as a channel for Parsi influences on Judaism. The utmost, therefore, that the book teaches us is that Israelites dwelling in Media were not strongly prejudiced against their neighbours (cf. 14^4), nor perhaps impervious to their religion.

5. To the category of direct references belongs, according to general belief, the story of the MAGI

* He compares the Assyr. *maǧ* 'great,' so that the word would mean 'prince'; cf. שַׂר in Jer. *l.c.* But is this distinctive enough, where other classes of officers are mentioned side by side with him?

† The translation 'covetous or lustful,' given above under ASMODÆUS, is based only on an assumed etymology, and finds no support in Parsi texts. Note that the two words have become one, the Avesta here, as in *Ahura Mazdāh* and *Angra Mainyu*, keeping them separate.

* See a close parallel in F. H. Groome's *Gypsy Folk-Tales*, No. 1. In his note he gives a list of parallels elsewhere. Add Hinton Knowles, *Folk-Tales of Kashmir*, p. 40. A folk-tale closely connected with *Tobit* may be seen in *The Story of Aḥikar* (ed. Harris, Lewis, and Conybeare).

† See Geiger, *Civilisation of E. Iranians*, i. 85 ff.

‡ West, *SBE* v. 283 f. Also cf. Hartland, *Legend of Perseus*, ii. 288–312.

§ Technically known by the Pahlavi term *Khvētuk-das*.

‖ Assuming the truth of Rendel Harris's thesis, *Amer. Journ. of Theol.* 1899, p. 541 ff., esp. p. 554.

¶ Geiger's *Jüd. Zeitsch.* x. To this paper, vitiated by an impossible theory of anti-Parsic polemic and a very late date for *Tobit*, are due several points in (3)–(6) here.

in Mt 2. The assumption that the name is strictly used is as old as the early Syriac commentators on Matt.,* but it is curious that there is so little corroborative evidence. Discussion here is hampered by the necessity of assuming the investigation of Magianism in general. The difficulty lies in the very limited attestation which the most authentic sources of orthodox Parsism give to the connexion of the stars with *fravashis*. We have a very striking identification of stars with representative spirits of a community in Rev 1^{20}. Meanwhile, we may note that although the Avesta and the Pahlavi scriptures but faintly encourage this association, there is a remarkably strong consensus of tradition connecting the Magi with star-lore. It is a side of their activity which would naturally be strengthened by connexion with Babylon (see § 3, above). The extent to which these Magi were orthodox Zoroastrians must remain doubtful. It seems fair to assume that the star did for them represent the *fravashi* of a great one just born. If we insist on Avestan doctrine, that star must have been a brilliant new star, and not a planet, for these were considered malign; there seem, however, to be traces of an opposite view, so that this need not be decisive against Kepler's theory. The question remains why they expected a *king*, and a *king of the Jews*; a prophet or 'saviour' (*saoshyant*) would seem a more natural idea. It is possible that we may fall back on the oneiromancy traditionally associated with the Magi† (cf. Mt 2^{12}), and suppose that they interpreted the meaning of this new star by the help of an unrecorded dream. It must be noted, however, that both dreams and star-lore are extra-Avestan, though not inconsistent developments of the system as we know it. It is only provisionally that we may cherish the belief that the earliest Gentile homage to the Lord Christ was paid by priests of the lofty religion which in earlier times was perhaps privileged to stimulate within Judaism the growth of the doctrine of the Resurrection.

6. Such are the biblical passages in which direct allusion to Parsism may be traced or reasonably suspected; sundry more doubtful examples may be left to the end of this article. We pass on to a much more important question. It being granted that during and after the Exile great numbers of Jews were living in Mazdayasnian countries, have we reason to believe that the development of certain doctrines among these Jews was stimulated by what they knew of corresponding doctrines in Parsism, and that in this way the history of doctrine in Judaism was vitally affected? The essential parts of our problem may be stated in terms of Ac 23^8, where (if we may include demons under 'spirits') the Sadducees represent the older Judaism, the Pharisees the newer, which arose after the Jews came in contact with Parsism. *Post hoc*, obviously: is it also *propter hoc*? A detailed examination of Parsism will show the marked likeness between the two religions in respect of eschatology and spirit-lore. Is this coincidence, or has one religion affected the other? If the latter, which is the debtor, or is the obligation mutual? Finally, if foreign influence on Judaism is to be postulated, have the claims of Babylon or Hellas a prior right to be heard? The last question is rather beyond our present range; but we may at least plead that Parsism is incomparably nearer to the faith of Israel than any other religion can pretend to be, and that its influence is antecedently more likely to have been felt. The case for the independent development of Judaism may be seen in the articles on ESCHATOLOGY, ANGEL, and DEMON. But weighty authorities bespeak at least respectful hearing for the theory that the development of Jewish doctrine was stimulated by the knowledge of a creed which contained full-grown dogma that within Judaism was only in germ.* It is natural to assume that gratitude to the Persians as their deliverers, to whom the Jews owed the protection which made the birth of the Jewish Church possible, may have predisposed them in favour of religious ideas wherein thinkers could recognize what was latent in their own faith.

7. In *Eschatology* one ground of hesitation to accept a measure of Parsi influence has been the doubt whether the Resurrection is a truly ancient doctrine in Parsism.† The doubt is entirely groundless: the mere fact that Darmesteter himself, the great champion of a late date for the Avesta, acknowledges the Resurrection as a doctrine of Achæmenian antiquity, might silence questioning. The important differences between Parsi eschatology and the various systems which struggled for recognition among the Jews during the last centuries B.C. are drawn out by Charles, *Eschat.* p. 135 f. These divergences are fatal to any theory of *borrowing*, but they do not affect the assertion that the Jewish belief 'can hardly have developed without Persian stimulus' (Cheyne). It is generally conceded that OT passages speaking of an individual resurrection do not appear until a period when Persian stimulus is historically possible, when the knowledge that the Persians held this belief could encourage thoughtful Jews to develop their own doctrine in a thoroughly Jewish form. In this case the foreign influence would show itself by the absorption of details, minor doctrines or illustrations of doctrine. Now these are forthcoming, if not beyond dispute in individual cases, yet to an extent making coincidence improbable. Among these are the following.‡ Is $24^{21f.}$ is allowed by Charles, a hostile witness (*Eschat.* pp. 116 n., 159), to show probable traces of Parsism: the imprisonment of evil powers before their final punishment may be compared with Bund. 3^{26} (*SBE* v. 19), which seems to represent an Avestan picture of war in heaven, followed by the binding of the fiend, as in the Apocalypse. In Is 65^{17} 66^{22} a new heaven and earth, following the final judgment and destruction of evil, is parallel with the *frashō-kereti*, 'renewing,' which in Parsism follows the 'ordeal of molten metal' (§ 1). This last, the *ayō-khshusta*, somewhat resembles the figure of Mal 3^2 4^1. The four periods in Daniel have a very close parallel in the Pahlavi *Bahman Yasht* (*SBE* v. 193); but in this very late work it seems more reasonable to assume indebtedness to the Bible, as on p. 197 there is an apparent imitation of Lk $16^{19ff.}$, and on p. 203 of Mic 7^6.§ A characteristic of Parsism from the first is, however, recognizable in the new manner of looking upon general human history, and in the reckoning of millennia, which became prominent in apocalyptic. Parsi phraseology has been found (Cheyne, *OP* 440) in Is 26^{19}, where the 'dew of lights' is compared with 'the illimitable, self-created lights' of 'the Best

* See Gottheil, 'References to Zoroaster' in the *Drisler Classical Studies*, pp. 24–51.

† *e.g.* in Hdt. i. 107.

* See Kuenen, *Rel. of Isr.* iii. 32 ff.; Grätz, *Hist. of Jews*, i. 441 ff.; Ewald, *OT and NT Theol.* pp. 72–78; Nöldeke in Geiger's *Zeitschr.* x. 233 ff.; Renan, *Hist. Isr.* iv. 156; King, *The Gnostics*^{2}, p. 120; Bousset, *ThLZ* xxiv. 513; and esp. Cheyne, *JRL* 257 ff., *Nineteenth Cent.* for Dec. 1891, etc.

† So, among others, Schultz, *OT Theol.* i. 330; Schwally, *Leben n. d. Tode*, § 38. The latter observes that only two Avestan passages are quoted for the doctrine. He ignores the witness of Theopompus. Jackson (*JAOS* xv., lix.) adds *Ys* 30^7, a Gathic text.

‡ The word *paradise* is not included among these, because it has developed its theological meaning entirely on Jewish soil. The Avestan *pairidaēza*, equated by Spiegel, is a ἅπ. λεγ., equivalent in meaning to its congener περίτειχος.

§ P. 211 (§ 54) has a less decided resemblance to Rev 12^{12}.

World of the blest, shining, all illuminated' (*Vd* 19[36]); but this does not illustrate the *dew*, for which Schwally rightly denies comparison with the *Haoma*.* A more hopeful parallel may be seen when we note the Parsi view of the Dawn as a daily parable of the Resurrection—an idea witnessed in Vedic India by the phrase making the dawn the 'banner of immortality' (*Rgveda*, iii. 61. 3): for Parsism see Darmesteter, *Ormazd et Ahriman*, p. 239. There seems no adequate reason to deny the possibility of this conception in Psalms of the Persian period; and in Ps 49[14] 17[15] its presence is highly probable. The LXX, as Cheyne observes, shows the doctrine of the Resurrection unmistakably, as in Is 26[19], Job 19[26], Ps 1[5] 65 (title). Passing on to the Apocrypha, *Enoch* shows some decidedly Parsi traits: note the transformed heaven and earth (45[4. 5]), and the mountain of God's throne set in the *south* (18), compared with *Secrets of Enoch* 10, where a hell is placed in the *north*,—this connotation of north and south is exceedingly common in Parsi books. The Slavonic *Enoch* is notable as an early witness for the idea of seven heavens (see HEAVEN), which appears in late Parsi books,† but not in the Avesta, where there are four. In the Apocalypse, which seems to have assimilated not a little Parsism, presumably through earlier Jewish apocalyptic, we have the millennium, the binding and subsequent destruction of the 'old serpent' (see § 4 (6)), the assault of Satan on heaven and his casting down to earth (cf. *SBE* v. 19), the blasting of a third part of the sky (*ib.* 164 and 17), all of which can be more or less illustrated from Parsi sources: closer still are the parallels which may be seen in some late Parsi writings described by West, *ib.* lviii f. It is not till the Talmudic period that we get direct imitations without that thorough assimilation which makes all the comparisons hitherto noted individually disputable: for Talmudic-Parsic eschatology see Kohut in *ZDMG* xxi. 552–591. One interesting example may be quoted, as it has been used to illustrate Jn 11,—the adoption by the Rabbis of the Avestan doctrine that the departing soul hovers three days near the corpse and takes its flight on the fourth.‡

8. In *Angelology* the influence of Parsism was also confined to subsidiary points, but is more marked. A tradition is preserved in the Jerusalem Talmud (*Rosh-hashana*, p. 56) that 'the names of the angels came up with them from Babylon,' which may be taken as meaning 'from the Exile' in general. This coincides with the fact that the practice of naming angels, and placing them in an ordered hierarchy, does not appear before the Return. Except, perhaps, in the case of a few Talmudic angels,§ no parallels are to be expected between Hebraic names and Persian originals. As before, we are at most to postulate Persian stimulus behind the remarkable contrast between the impersonal angels of early Jahvism and the individualized and ordered celestial beings of Daniel, Zechariah, and the NT—still more of the Apocrypha.‖ The 'seven spirits' of Rev 1[4] 8[2] En 90[21f.]¶ (? cf. Zec 3[9] 4[2] and the 'watchers' of Dn 4[17]) may be linked with the Amshaspands by their appearing first in Tobit (12[15]): the sacred number would recommend the idea, and the Jews probably met with it in a form they would approve, with Sraosha (Raphael's prototype in Tobit) making up the seven, instead of the Deity himself (see § 4 (7)). There is exceedingly good reason for regarding as Parsic the national angels ('princes') of Dn 10[13. 20] 12[1], the decisive argument being that *Israel* has an angel other than J" (contrast Sir 17[17]). This makes a strong case for recognizing here the *fravashi*—a doctrine the more likely to be assimilated in that it had a (less developed) analogue in Babylonian religion. In the Apocalypse the conception comes out in the 'angels' of the churches. The *fravashi* of a nation or community is a conception found in three Avestan passages: see Mills' version of *Ys* 17[18] (*SBE* xxxi. 259). The two NT allusions (Mt 18[10], Ac 12[15]) confirm the doctrine of *fravashis* for individuals; but that the doctrine, whatever its origin, is completely assimilated may be seen from the apparent fact that the nation has its *fravashi* long before the individual. The latter may indeed have been developed out of the former, just as in the doctrine of the Resurrection. In Parsism, of course, the individual came first. The *yazatas* are fairly paralleled by genii in Enoch 61[10] 69[22], and in the Apocalypse by angels who watch over waters (16[5], cf. Anâhita), fire (14[18], Parsi Âtare), sun (19[17], Hvare), wind (7[1], Vâta). In all these parallels, however, we find the Parsi suggestion, if such there be, thoroughly assimilated. The *fravashi* is no longer a being necessarily good, but becomes a complete spiritual counterpart of the nation (Daniel) or the church (Apocalypse), and capable therefore of declension and punishment.* Similarly, the 'angels' of the little ones are nearest the throne (Mt 18[10]), because representing those who have not learned to sin. The study of St. Paul's attitude to these doctrines is instructive in more ways than one.† He accepts an elaborate ranking of spirits. The air, as in Parsism, is made the arena of strife between good and evil angels:‡ the spirit world is a reflex of the earthly in the inextricable mixture of contending powers. But he accepts these beliefs only as enhancing the supremacy of Christ: cf. He 1[4] 2[5], Rev 22[9]. Like Zoroaster, centuries earlier, he found his contemporaries in danger of a virtual polytheism (cf. Col 2[18]), and set them free by magnifying the one Divine Being whose transcendence made worship of mere angels impossible. In doing this, Zoroaster simply tried to ignore the deities of the faith he reformed, with the result that after his death they came back like a flood, losing little in position by their formal subordination, as angels, to Ahura Mazda. St. Paul was able to accept fearlessly the angelology he found, while greatly lessening its importance, and achieving a permanent success in raising Christ to an unapproachable height above the spirit world.

9. Much of what has been said can be repeated for *Demonology*. It would be absurd to think of Satan and his angels as borrowed from Angra Mainyu and the *daêvas*. The Semites had demons enough of their own, and the Satan doctrine in Parsism and in Judaism developed in very different ways. We may still believe that the ranking of demons and the elevation of one spirit to their head may have been stimulated by Parsism. There are native forces which largely account for the difference between earlier and later Jahvism in this respect; but when we find the Jews, after historical contact with Persians, advancing to a position

* The Indian *Soma*—the juice of a sacred plant, endowed in Veda and Avesta with miraculous qualities.

† Kohut, *N.Y. Independent*, Jan. 11, 1894. For other Parsic traits in this *Enoch* see Charles's ed. p. 74.

‡ The doctrine was probably taken from Parsism, but it is found elsewhere: Dr. J. G. Frazer quotes it from modern Greece and from Calabria.

§ Kohut (*Angelol.* pp. 43–45) has one or two plausible equations.

‖ For Philo, see Siegfried, *Philo*, p. 141.

¶ Charles notes here that the 'seven first white ones' come from the Amshaspands.

* Cf. Weber, *Jüd. Theol.*[2] p. 170 f.; also Söderblom in *Rev. Hist. Rel.* xl. 266 ff.: on the whole subject see the writer's paper, 'It is his Angel,' in *JTS*, 1902.

† See Beyschlag, *NT Theol.* ii. 100 ff. Mazdeism had probably mixed with indigenous cults in Cilicia (see *Rev. Hist. Rel.* xxxvi. 261), so that St. Paul may have been acquainted with it in youth.

‡ Against this view of Eph 2[2] see Findlay (in *Expos. Bible*), p. 103. He observes that the Rabbis regarded the atmosphere as Satan's abode—'a notion foreign to Scripture.' They, at any rate, may well have got the notion from Parsism.

more and more like theirs, it is hard to suppose the movement entirely independent. Stave well shows that the teaching of the Prophets, especially Deutero-Isaiah, tended to an absolute denial of existence to heathen deities; yet as early as 2 Ch 28^{23} the gods of Damascus are real, and before long they and other foreign gods are firmly established as demons. The striking contrast between this development and that towards which the Prophets led is explained satisfactorily by the *daēvas* of Parsism, who were to some extent themselves the deities of hostile tribes. The earlier history of Jewish and Parsi demonology may differ widely; but the doctrine of the NT might be broadly enunciated in terms which would accurately describe Zoroaster's own teaching, while that of the Talmud has much in common with accretions found in the Vendidad and the Pahlavi patristics. In both NT and Gathas, Evil is a lying and murderous spirit, which in the beginning chose evil thoughts, words, and deeds, and which has ever since the Fall* tempted mankind, with the aid of fiends who afflict the bodies and souls of men. In both, men are called to join in the strife which shall end with the destruction of Evil in hell. Could we believe that a pure Gathic religion was ever preached within the Jews' hearing, the historical connexion of the two systems would be almost indisputable. But the very corruptions of later Parsism must have helped to recommend it to the popular Jewish mind, which was equally in bondage to the fear of evil spirits and the foolish ritual that pretended to control them. It is noteworthy that Judaism deliberately forsook suggestions from its earlier writings—the Serpent of Gn 3 and Azazel in Lv 16—when it formed a new demonology with 'the Satan' as prince of evil. We naturally seek a foreign body whose attraction has drawn it from its proper course. Without pursuing this subject in detail, we may note in conclusion that in the Apocalypse, where parallels with Parsism (however explained) are especially numerous, there is a deep-seated connexion of thought in the characteristic balancing of the heavenly and the infernal—*e.g.* the devil, the beast, and the false prophet as the 'anti-trinity of hell' (see Milligan, *Baird Lecture*, p. 110 ff.). It seems reasonable to suppose that the author would readily make use of imagery from a system so subtly resembling his own. There is significance then in the identification of the Serpent of Gn 3 with Satan (12^{9}), whose binding and subsequent destruction is narrated in striking accordance with the Parsi story of Azhi Dahāka (above, § 4 (6)). We may perhaps fairly add that Azhi Dahāka is especially connected with Babylon,† a coincidence which might be claimed as no mere accident—the less so as in the Pahlavi *Bahman Yasht* (*SBE* v. 234) we find the serpent Azhi, in his brief release before his final destruction, swallowing 'one-third of mankind, cattle, sheep, and other creatures of Auharmazd.' The obvious parallels in the Apocalypse are only discounted by the impossibility of proving that the Pahlavi translator is here faithful to his original Avestan text, now lost. (See above, § 7).

10. The question of Parsi influences upon the ESSENES is raised by Lightfoot's dissertation (in Comm. on *Col.* pp. 387–389). He accepts (like Hilgenfeld) links with Parsism in (1) dualism, (2) sun-worship, (3) angelolatry, (4) magic, (5) striving after purity. Other points might be plausibly added, such as their white garments, the value set on truth, their devotion to agriculture, etc. (Their unbloody offerings must not be counted here, for Mazdeism has always had a sacrifice of flesh, as well as the libation and the Haoma offering). It must be allowed that there is little really distinctive here, except the sun-worship—the one point in which Cheyne (who in other respects endorses Lightfoot's view) thinks Josephus inaccurate.* Moreover, there was Magian sun-worship which was not Zoroastrian, as in Ezk $8^{16f.}$ (see § 3, above). Essene dualism seems to owe nothing to that of the Vendidad, which has no philosophical theory of the inherent evil of matter and no trace of asceticism. The most conspicuous features in the picture Josephus draws are alien from the spirit of Parsism. In their psychology and eschatology one or two surface parallels are neutralized by deep-seated divergences. Thus in Mazdeism the pre-existent souls (*fravashis*) came to earth voluntarily, to join in the warfare against evil, not ἴυγγί τινι φυσικῇ κατασπώμεναι. And in denying the Resurrection in favour of the immortality of the soul, the Essenes betray affinity with Hellenistic Judaism (especially the Book of Wisdom): note that Grätz and Montet trace the latter doctrine to Neoplatonism, recognizing Parsi influence only in the former. Unless Josephus (*Wars*, II. viii. 11) is entirely drawing on imagination, we must admit, with Söderblom, that Greek influence is demonstrable in their paradise beyond the sea, while the solitary Parsi feature, the hell ζοφώδης καὶ χειμέριος, is not sufficient to support an argument.

11. Sundry miscellaneous comparisons may be mentioned, and among them those given by Darmesteter in his attempt to prove that Parsism borrowed from Judaism. (1) Philo's Λόγος (mostly Neoplatonic) originates Vohu Manah ('the Good Mind'). (2) The enactments of Pentateuchal and Avestan law are regularly introduced with the formula, '(God) saith to (the lawgiver).' (3) Ahura creates the world in six periods—heaven, water, earth, plants, animals, man.† (4) Mankind in the Avesta descends from one couple, and the name *Mashya* signifies 'man,'‡ like אָדָם. (5) Sin begins with the first man. (6) Ahura bids king Yima collect in a subterranean palace the finest types of the human race, animals, and vegetables. When three destructive winters have depopulated the earth, this 'Var' shall open and re-people it with a higher race.§ (7) Yima's successor has three sons, between whom the world is parted as among the sons of Noah. (8) Zarathushtra holds converse with Ahura on a mountain before promulgating the Law. (9) Zarathushtra had three precursors in his religion, as Moses had the three patriarchs. (10) The Avesta, like the OT, is divided into Law, Prophecy, and Miscellaneous Literature. Darmesteter tries to show that these parallels must be interpreted by Parsi borrowing. As he has convinced no one, the point need not be argued. It is enough to say that (1) the really Avestan elements in these comparisons are demonstrably far too old to have been borrowed; (2) some features may come from Babylonian or even Accadian antiquity, influencing Hebrew and Parsi alike; (3) most of the parallels are obviously fortuitous, proving nothing even when presented apart from a setting which greatly modifies the resemblance. That some of the later parts of the Avesta (and, *a fortiori*, Pahlavi writings) may have been influenced by Judaism is likely enough. Thus Horn‖ thinks that the Fall is late in Parsism and due to the Hebrew, also that the virgin-birth of Saoshyant¶ owes something to Is 7^{14}. Sundry biblical and Talmudic

* If we may read Yima's fall in *Ys* 32[8]; Tiele denies.
† See *Yt* 5[29]; and Darmesteter's note (*Le ZA* ii. 375).
* *Expos. Times*, ii. 206.
† Cf. Cheyne, *OP* 283.
‡ Strictly *mortalis*.
§ See Geldner's tr. of *Vd* 2[21ff.] in Usener, *Sintflutsagen*, p. 208 ff.; Cheyne (*Encyc. Bibl. s.v.* 'Deluge') remarks that it seems influenced by the Hebrew.
‖ 'Med. u. Pers.' p. 330 (in Hellwald, *Kulturgesch.* pt. 5).
¶ This is a good example of a parallel made plausible by selective description: the Parsi story is a most extravagant marvel, to be classed with the miraculous births described in Hartland's *Legend of Perseus*, i. 133 ff.

parallels may be seen in Kohut, *JQR* ii. 223 ff. and iii. 231 ff. The period of the Babylonian Talmud seems to have brought a closer contact with Parsism. But these later contacts lie outside our range, as also does the Parsi heresy of Mani—if such it really be.*

12. The Book of *Esther* might reasonably be expected to show traces of Persian religion. But though strong Persian influence is betrayed by the loan-words (see Scheftelowitz, *Arisches im AT*), we cannot with certainty fix on anything of value for the questions we are discussing here. The Persian origin of the Feast of PURIM, which has received new importance from the theory of J. G. Frazer (*Golden Bough*², iii. 150–198), is examined elsewhere. An attempt has lately been made by H. Winckler† to find the names of the Amshaspands Vohumanah and Ameretāt in those of Haman and Hammedatha. It appears probable that these two archangels' names underlie the 'Ωμανοῦ καὶ 'Αναδάτου (? 'Αμαρδάτου), Περσικῶν δαιμόνων of Strabo (p. 512): it is clear that the names only have been borrowed in this Pontic appropriation, so that we need not consider the character of the Avestan originals. If the book really starts from an old story celebrating the victory of native Babylonian gods, Marduk and Ishtar, over the foreign divinities answering to 'Vashti' and 'Haman,' we should have to treat it as a composition essentially parallel with *Tobit*, as explained in § 4, above, that is, as a tale whose original significance was unknown to or ignored by a Jewish adapter writing with purposes of his own. In that case Jensen's identification of Haman and Vashti as *Elamite* deities is clearly preferable to Winckler's, which demands that *Persian* deities should suffer humiliation. But the whole theory will have to reckon with the explanation of all these names from Persian alone, as set forth in the new work of Scheftelowitz named above.

13. Two further comparisons may be added from the various suggestions of Prof. Cheyne. The later Jewish practice of prayer at dawn was, he thinks, prompted by Parsi usage—a point which would be hard to prove. He draws an interesting parallel between the 'Wisdom' of OT sapiential books and the *āsna khratu*, 'heavenly wisdom (?),' of the Avesta. But even if this translation were safe, the conception is almost isolated in the Avesta, and it would be better to compare the Amshaspand Vohumanah, a personification strikingly resembling the Wisdom with whom J" created the world. His rising up to welcome the soul of the good man as it enters *Garō demāna* is in agreement with Wisdom's φιλανθρωπία. The sex of the impersonation answers to another Amshaspand, Armaiti, the 'daughter of Ahura.' It is obviously impossible to assert, or to deny, that the one conception springs out of the other, or owes something to it, so long as the dates of the several literatures permit association.

14. To the foregoing, more or less plausible, contacts may be added one which has been rather too ingeniously pleaded by a scholar of great learning, but without meeting with much acceptance. In *ZDMG* xxx. 716 ff. Rabbi A. Kohut tried to prove an 'anti-Parsic bias' in Deutero-Isaiah. It will be enough in general to refer to the criticism by de Harlez in *Rev. d. questions historiques*, April 1877. One passage, however, cannot be so summarily set aside. In Is 45⁷ commentators since Saadya have seen a polemic against Persian dualism, a view from which the most recent writers have begun to recoil. If we are to recognize an allusion to some foreign dualistic ideas, it is more probably Magian doctrine than anything we could suppose held by Cyrus. It happens that in the Gathas (*Ys* 44⁵) we find Ahura addressed as 'the artificer of light and darkness, sleep and waking, dawn, noon, and night.' A yet more important parallel is the imprecation in Darius' great inscription (*Beh.* 4⁷⁸⁻⁸⁰), 'may Auramazda slay thee . . . and whatever thou shalt do, may Auramazda destroy that for thee.' It is clear therefore that even in the reign of Darius, Persian religion could have used the language of Is 45⁷, merely substituting Auramazda's name for that of J". The idea, therefore, of a veiled polemic against Cyrus' religion must be abandoned.

15. The student will have realized from the foregoing paragraphs that it is no easy task to sum up in the case before us, and that a verdict of 'not proven' is about as much as we can expect in the present state of our knowledge. The difficulty is one which confronts us everywhere in the study of ancient religions in Western Asia, in which certain ideas seem to float about with a freedom that vetoes almost any attempt to fix their parentage. The general independence of Israel's religious development has certainly come out more clearly from the investigation. Of the Hebraists hardly any will allow more than a trifling weight to Persian influence, and even Prof. Cheyne speaks in his latest utterances with more hesitation than he did.* On the Iranian side an able and exhaustive examination has been made in the new work on eschatology by Söderblom (named below), whose results are almost entirely unfavourable to the doctrine of Persian elements in Judaism. He notes how unlike anything in Judaism is the Avestan hell, a place of cold and stench and poison, not of fire — which was, of course, too sacred an element to be applied thus: on the other hand, the underground Hades, divided into two parts, for pious souls and sinners, is essentially Greek. He would allow no genuine contacts of Judaism and Parsism until a late epoch. Thus he compares with 1 Th 4¹⁵ the passage in *Yt* 19, where through the work of Saoshyant the world is renewed, the dead arise, and the living are endowed with immortality (p. 224). If this is supposed to be more than an accidental parallel, we may place it with the Pauline passages in § 8, above. Söderblom remarks on the uniqueness of the conception in 2 P 3⁵ff., of the earth brought out of water and reserved for fire: this aspect of the future is essentially an Indo-Germanic idea, being found in India, Iran, Greece, Gaul, and Iceland (p. 204). In sharp contrast to this adaptation of a nature myth he sets the purely poetical and spiritual conception of Deutero-Isaiah as to the 'new heaven and new earth' (p. 285). Looking back upon the narrow range of the parallels noted in § 7, we shall probably do well to allow Persian influence in Eschatology only some weight in stimulating what was none the less a native growth in Judaism. It may, however, have prompted the sudden change from a Resurrection of the Just (with some conspicuous sinners) to a Universal Resurrection: so Bousset, with a half consent from Söderblom (p. 317). The presence of Persian ideas in the Apocalypse can hardly be denied; and they can be reasonably explained from the adoption of Zoroastrian imagery in earlier apocalyptic.† In Angelology and Demonology we

* So Darmesteter and Jackson: Söderblom denies (*Rev. Hist. Rel.* xl. 427 ff.). See Harnack, *Hist. of Dogma*, iii. 330.

† In his *Altorientat. Forsch.*, 3rd series, I. i. (1901). On Omanos see Jensen, *Hittiter u. Armenier*, p. 181; on Hammedatha, *ib.* p. 204 n.

* Cf. his language in *Kohut Studies* (1896), and various notes in the *Enc. Bibl.*

† It is curious that Mazdeism so entirely failed to penetrate Western Asia Minor (Cumont, *Myst. de Mithra*, 273). Otherwise we should have naturally thought of Ephesus as a place where such ideas would be in the air.

seem justified in regarding the foreign influence as present in the elaborate ordering and ranking of spirits. In the former we have a very probable Zoroastrian feature in the 'representative angels'; while in the latter we may assign to the same cause the breaches of continuity (1) in the abandonment of earlier ideas, like Azazel and the Serpent, in favour of the Satan; (2) in the changed view of the gods of the nations, who were at first treated as real gods, then became 'nothings,' and finally developed into demons. It is an interesting result of these concessions, if allowed, that the New Testament is very much more concerned with them than the Old.

LITERATURE.—The fullest discussion will be found in Stave, *Über den Einfluss des Parsismus auf das Judentum* (1898: see summary of it in *Crit. Rev.* July 1900, p. 323 ff., and an important review in *Rev. Hist. Rel.* xl. 266 f., by Söderblom); Cheyne, *OP* 394–452, *Expos. Times*, ii. 202, 224, 248 ff., *Enc. Bibl. s.v.* 'Angel,' and in *Kohut Studies* (1896). The relations between Parsism and Rabbinic Judaism were examined by Schorr in his Hebrew periodical *He-Haluz*, vii and viii (1865) [not seen], who was closely followed by Kohut, *Jüd. Angelol. u. Dämonol.* (1866). The question is well discussed from the Biblical standpoint by M. Nicolas, *Des Doctrines Religieuses des Juifs* (1860). See also Kohut in *ZDMG* xxi. 552 ff., xxv. 59 ff.; Geiger in his *Jüd. Zeitschr.* iv. 72 ff., x. 113 ff.; Schwally, *Leben nach d. Tode*, p. 149 ff.; Moulton in *Thinker*, i. 401 ff., ii. 308, 490 ff., *Expos. Times*, ix. 352 ff., *Crit. Rev.* vi. 8–14, x. 99–106; Söderblom, 'La Vie Future d'après le Mazdéisme' (*Ann. du Musée Guimet*, 1901), esp. pp. 301–321. Too late for use came E. Böklen's *Die Verwandtschaft der jüd.-chr. mit der pars. Eschatologie* (1902), a very full, if somewhat uncritical, collection of parallels.

J. H. MOULTON.

ZOROBABEL.—See ZERUBBABEL.

ZORZELLEUS (B Φαηζελδαῖος, A Ζορζέλλεος, AV *Berzelus*), 1 Es 5[38]. See BARZILLAI.—A daughter of his, named Augia, is mentioned as married to Addus, the ancestor of a priestly family, who could not trace their genealogy at the return under Zerubbabel. The same change of the initial letter occurs in the LXX of Ezr 2[61] (B Ζαρβελθεί, A Ζερβελλαί; but in the same verse B Βερζελλαεί, A -ί).

ZUAR (צוּעַר).—Father of Nethanel the head of the tribe of Simeon, Nu 1[8] 2[5] 7[18. 23] 10[15] (all Σωγάρ).

ZUPH (צוּף).—**1.** An ancestor of Elkanah and Samuel, 1 S 1[1] (B ἐν Νασείβ [reading בנצוף for בן־צוף], A Σούπ, Luc. Σώφ), 1 Ch 6[35 (20)] (*Kĕrê*; the *Kĕthîbh* has צִיף **Ziph**; BA Σούφ, Luc. Σουφί), called in v.[26 (11)] **Zophai.** **2.** The land of Ẓuph (אֶרֶץ צוּף; B ἡ Σείφ, A ἡ γῆ Σείφ, Luc. ἡ γῆ Σιφά), 1 S 9[5], probably derived its name from having been originally settled by the family of Ẓuph (Driver, *Text of Sam.* 2). The gentilic name **Zuphite** (צוּפִי) probably underlies the name *Ramathaim-zophim* of 1 S 1[1] (see art. RAMAH, p. 198[a]). Neither the *Sôba* of Robinson (*BRP*[2] ii. 18 ff.) nor any other known site can be said to contain any certain trace of the name Ẓuph.

ZUR (צוּר 'rock').—**1.** A Midianite prince slain by the Israelites (Nu 31[8]). His daughter COZBI was killed, along with the Simeonite ZIMRI, by Phinehas (25[15]). In Jos 13[21] he is described as one of the (allied or vassal) princes of Sihon (נְסִיכֵי סִיחֹן); but this note is due to a harmonizing redactor (see Dillm. *ad loc.*). **2.** The name of a Gibeonite family settled at Jerusalem, 1 Ch 8[30] (B and Luc. Σούρ, A Ἰσούρ [*i.e.* וְצוּר 'and Zur']), 9[36] (BA Ἰσείρ [*i.e.* וְצוּר], Luc. Σούρ).

ZURIEL (צוּרִיאֵל 'my rock is El').—A Merarite chief, Nu 3[35] (Σουριήλ). On the precarious inferences which have been drawn by Hommel from the composition and meaning of this and the names *Ẓurishaddai*, *Pedahẓur*, and *Eliẓur*, see art. ROCK, p. 290.

ZURISHADDAI (צוּרִישַׁדַּי 'my rock is Shaddai *or* the Almighty').—Father of Shelumiel the chief of the tribe of Simeon, Nu 1[6] (B Σουρεισαδαί, AF Σουρισαδαί) 2[12] BA Σουρισαδαί, F Σουρισαδαεί) 7[36. 41] 10[19] (LXX in all three Σουρισαδαί). On the name see reference under ZURIEL.

ZUZIM (זוּזִים; LXX ἔθνη ἰσχυρά,—confusing with עֲזוּזִים or עַזִּים; Symm. Ζοιζόμμειν; Pesh. עשינא (pl.) 'the mighty'; Vulg. *Zuzim*).—In Gn 14[5] one of the prehistoric peoples whom Chedorla'omer is said to have smitten on his expedition against the kings of the Pentapolis, described as resident in 'Hām' (which see), and mentioned between the 'Rephaim' of ASHTEROTH-KARNAIM (in Bashan) and the 'Emim' (Dt 2[10f.]) of the region occupied afterwards by Moab. The locality indicated corresponds to what was afterwards the territory of the Ammonites, which is said in Dt 2[20] to have been occupied originally by the ZAMZUMMIM; and hence it has often been supposed that the two names were in some way or another different designations of the same people,—a scribal error having found its way into one of the two passages, or the old prehistoric name having become modified in form in the course of oral transmission. In Babylonian *m* and *w* are represented by the same characters; and hence Sayce (*HCM* 160 f.; *Expos. Times*, viii. 463) very ingeniously explained the difference by the conjecture that in Dt 2[20] the name appears as it was actually pronounced,—or at least nearly so (*Zuzim* for *ZaWZĕWim*), while in Gn 14[5] it appears as it was written by a scribe who was translating from a Bab. document (*ZaMZĕMim*), and did not know what the true pronunciation was. However, before this theory can be accepted, better proof is needed than has hitherto been produced that Gn 14 was really translated from a Bab. original; the strongly Hebraic style and colouring of the chapter do not favour the supposition. Whether the name is in any way connected with that of *Ziza*, a place 10 m. S.E. of Ḥeshbon, and 20 m. S. of Rabbath-ammon, a military station in Roman times, mentioned also in the Middle Ages (see Dillm.), and still possessing remains of massive forts and other indications of its former importance (Tristram, *Moab*, 182–190), must be left an open question.

S. R. DRIVER.

THE END OF VOL. IV.

PRINTED BY MORRISON AND GIBB, LIMITED, EDINBURGH.

BIBL. LONDIN. UNIV.

OL 2 0 JUL 1994